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THE REFUGEE PROBLEM OF GERMANY

Chauncy D. Harris and Gabriele Wülker

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WAST waves of population displacement engulfed the peoples of Europe as a consequence of World War II. According to Malcolm J. Proudfoot about 60 million Europeans were involuntarily moved from their homes either during the war or in the postwar period. Germany was the center of movement in both periods and the continued presence of more than 14 million refugees in Germany today constitutes a critical contemporary national and international problem.

TYPES OF REFUGEES IN GERMANY

There are four principal groups of refugees in Germany: displaced persons, expellees, political refugees from the Soviet zone, and neo-refugees from abroad (Table I). Except for the expellees, distributed throughout the four zones, the refugees are found only in the German Federal Republic (American, British, and French zones) and not in the German Democratic Republic (Soviet zone). In this paper western Germany will be used synonymously with the German Federal Republic, Germany with the present four zones and Berlin, and prewar Germany as the country within the boundaries of 1937.

Displaced persons (DPs) are non-German laborers brought to Germany

from other countries during the war; the eight million DPs formed the largest and best-known group of persons removed during the war. Most such laborers were returned to their homes immediately after the end of the war but about one million persons within western Germany either could not or did not wish to return to their former home areas, mostly east of the Iron Curtain in Poland, the Baltic states, and the Ukraine. This remnant received aid originally from Military Government, then from UNRRA, and later from IRO (International Refugee Organization); most of them have been resettled, partly in Israel but mostly in the English-speaking countries of the United States, Australia, Canada, and Great Britain. By October, 1951, only about 200,000 of them still remained in western Germany, of whom 33,800 were in IRO camps and presumably would be largely resettled overseas; the others probably will remain for the most part as permanent residents of Germany. On February 14, 1950, the Allied High Commission placed under German care many of the DPs formerly cared for by the IRO, and on February 28, 1951 the Bundestag gave those DPs who were to remain in western Germany equal civil rights with the Germans. For the most part the remaining DPs

TABLE I
ESTIMATED REFUGEE POPULATION IN GERMANY
(In thousands, 1950)

	<i>Germany (4 Zones and Berlin) (Estimate)</i>	<i>German Federal Republic Sept. 13, 1950 (Census)</i>	<i>German Democratic Republic (Estimate)</i>	<i>Berlin (Estimate)</i>
Total Population.....	68,800	47,696	17,800	3,300
Expellees.....	12,448	7,876 ^a	4,442	130
Reichsdeutsche.....	7,374	4,469	2,805 ^b	100 ^b
Volksdeutsche.....	5,074	3,407	1,637 ^b	30 ^b
Refugees from Soviet Zone and Berlin.....	1,555	1,555		
Displaced persons.....	249	249		
Neo-refugees.....	200	200		

Sources: German Federal Republic, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden: "Statistische Unterlagen zum Flüchtlingsproblem 10. Folge, 2. Lieferung, *Statistische Berichte*, Arbeit No. VIII/20/4. January 21, 1952. (Mimeographed.) Tables II.6 and II.1.

Europäische Forschungsgruppe für Flüchtlingsfragen: *Mitteilungen* No. 2, Munich, November 15, 1951.

International Refugee Organization: Statistical Report, July–September 1950. Geneva, 1950.

^a The number of expellees with Flüchtlingsausweisen (cards certifying refugee status) was 7,946,513. Expellee figures in table are based on place of residence on September 1, 1939, outside the four zones of Germany and Berlin.

^b Division among Reichsdeutsche and Volksdeutsche in German Democratic Republic and Berlin is made on assumption that the ratio was same in 1950 as in the 1946 census.

are not eligible for emigration; they represent the so-called hard core of people who are old, sick, or otherwise difficult to resettle.

The expellees numbering about 12½ millions form by far the largest block of peoples in Europe uprooted after the war. They are similar to the DPs in that they too could not return to their homes, mostly in the East. But outside Germany, they have received far less attention than the DPs. Expellees are German-speaking people who were expelled from their homes. There are two main groups: (1) Reichsdeutsche, or German citizens, who formerly lived in that part of prewar Germany which lay east of the Oder-Neisse line. (2) Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans, who formerly lived in other countries, in which they formed minority groups. Reichsdeutsche had always been citizens of Germany, but Volksdeutsche, though retaining German culture and language, had been citizens of non-German countries. The

ancestors of Reichsdeutsche in former German territory and of Volksdeutsche in Czechoslovakia (so-called Sudeten-deutsche) had lived in these areas for many centuries, often since the original settlement. Volksdeutsche in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Romania, the so-called Swabians, were mostly resettled into these areas from southwestern Germany in the 18th century in frontier settlements established to guard against the Turks.

A large group of German political refugees have fled from the Soviet zone of Germany to the western zones. Their number had reached 1.5 millions by 1950. In 1950, 245,000 migrated from the Soviet zone into western Germany compared to a movement of 32,000 in the reverse direction.

A new group of political refugees, sometimes called neo-refugees, similar to the DPs in being non-German, totals about 200,000. This postwar stream is filtering into western-Germany through the Iron Curtain from Czechoslovakia,

Poland, and Hungary, in part en route to Israel.

The problem of caring for the expellees and other refugees in Germany was complicated, particularly at the outset, by the presence of evacuees. Evacuees are mostly aged persons or women or children who left the cities and industrial areas during the war, either because of air-raids or because of actual destruction of homes. At the end of the war they numbered about 10 millions, but by 1951 all but about one million had returned to their home areas, if not to their actual former homes. Part of the remaining evacuees now feel at home in their new surroundings and will doubtless remain there, but many will wish to return to their old homes.

This article is concerned principally with the largest group of present refugees, the expellees, and only incidentally with DPs, with German refugees from the Soviet zone, or with non-German neo-refugees. The discussion of the origin and distribution of expellees will consider the whole of present Germany but the treatment of food, housing, and work problems and of governmental measures will be limited to the area of the German Federal Republic.

ORIGIN OF THE EXPELLEE MOVEMENT

The expulsion of the German expellees from eastern Germany and other lands, apparently the largest mass expulsion in European history, was another expression of the excessive and cruel nationalism which caused widespread suffering and loss of life during the war. In article 13 of the Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States recognized (reflecting the previous Yalta agreement) "that the transfer to Ger-

many of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, will have to be undertaken." On November 20, 1945, the Allied Control Council in Berlin set up plans for the transfer of 6.65 million expellees to Germany. The number of expellees, however, totalled nearly twice as many, or 12.5 millions. By the time of the Census of October 29, 1946, there were already 9.6 million expellees in Germany. The increase of nearly 3 million since that census includes returning prisoners of war whose former homes had been in the areas of expulsion, later expellees retained for a time for technical skills or other reasons, some expellees who had been evacuated to Denmark and were still there during the 1946 census, and the natural increase in population of the expellee group.

Of the 12½ million expellees now in Germany about 7½ millions are Reichsdeutsche who came from former parts of Germany and about 5 millions are Volksdeutsche from other countries.

The source of Reichsdeutsche, that part of former Germany east of the Oder-Neisse line, had a 1939 population of 10 million persons and an area of 44,240 square miles, one-fourth of pre-war Germany. This area included East Prussia, most of Silesia, most of Pomerania, and part of Brandenburg (Table II), all of which had been integral parts of Germany for many centuries.

The expulsion of Reichsdeutsche from this former German territory was carried out by Poland and the Soviet Union, partly under the thesis that Poland should receive land in the west to make up for land in the east lost by Poland to the Soviet Union in 1939. The northern half of East Prussia was annexed to the Soviet Union and the southern half of East Prussia and the parts of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and

TABLE II
SOURCE OF EXPELLEES

<i>Province or Country</i>	<i>German Federal Republic Census of September 13, 1950</i>	<i>Soviet Zone Census of October 29, 1946^b</i>
Reichsdeutsche....	4,469,460	2,274,000
East Prussia....	1,347,203	.....
Silesia.....	2,053,414	.....
Pomerania.....	891,078	.....
Brandenburg....	131,163	.....
Saar ^a	46,602	.....
Volksdeutsche....	3,406,751	1,327,000
Czechoslovakia..	1,912,000	841,000
Poland.....	409,654	246,000
Hungary.....	177,817	.....
Danzig.....	224,812	.....
Romania.....	148,596	57,000
Yugoslavia.....	147,494	.....
U. S. S. R.....	51,235	57,000
Baltic states....	59,440	.....
Memel.....	47,740	.....
Other Europe....	206,628	.....
Overseas.....	21,335	.....
Not specified....	.....	126,000

Sources: German Federal Republic, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden: *op. cit.*, Tables II.3, II.6.

Friedrich Edding, Hans-Erich Hornschu, and Hilde Wander: *Das deutsche Flüchtlingsproblem*, p. 5.

^a Germans in the Saar were not expelled but the census definition of Reichsdeutsche includes all German citizens living in present Germany but living on September 1, 1939, outside the four zones and Berlin but within German boundaries of 1937.

^b It is estimated that these figures increased by about 23 per cent between 1946 and 1950 (cf. Table 1), but actual 1950 figures are not available.

Silesia to Poland, although these annexations have not been recognized by the Western powers. About 10 per cent of this area was annexed by the Soviet Union and 90 per cent is administered by Poland.

Volksdeutsche were mostly expelled by governments attempting to solve difficult minority problems by the complete and immediate elimination at the end of the war of the German minorities within their boundaries. It should be noted, however, that some Volksdeutsche (about 250,000) had been brought to Germany during the war by governmental agreements between Germany on the one hand and Italy and the Soviet Union on the other, as in the cases of the removal of German minorities from the Tirol in Italy or from

areas then being incorporated into the Soviet Union—the Baltic states, Besarabia, Bukovina, and Volhynia. The expulsion of Volksdeutsche did not involve changes in political boundaries.

The two principal sources of Volksdeutsche have been Czechoslovakia and Poland (Table II); in both of these countries there were large minorities of ethnic Germans in the boundaries set up after World War I.

Nearly 3 million expellees came from Czechoslovakia, which before the war had about 3.5 million ethnic Germans, or Sudetendeutsche, who formed a relatively solid population in the mountain borderlands of the republic.

About 0.7 million Volksdeutsche expellees came from Poland. Several hundred thousand more ethnic Germans resettled in Poland during World War II from the Baltic countries, Romania, Yugoslavia, South Tirol, and the Black Sea area of the Soviet Union are commonly counted under these areas, although at the end of the war they actually were removed from Poland.

Volksdeutsche expellees have come out of many lands of Central and South-eastern Europe (Table II). The expulsion of the ethnic Germans in Hungary was mentioned in the Potsdam Agreement but the 0.2 million expellees from Hungary fell far short of the anticipated 0.5 million. Expellees from other countries were not considered by the Potsdam Agreement (except insofar as they had been resettled in Poland during World War II), but Danzig was the source of 0.2 million, Romania 0.2 million, the Soviet Union of 0.1 million, Yugoslavia of 0.15 million, and the Baltic countries, Memel, Bulgaria, and Italy (South Tirol) of smaller numbers. Also about 0.2 million Germans were sent back to Germany from western Europe and overseas countries.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPELLEES

The expellees are very unevenly distributed in Germany. In 1950 expellees made up about 18 per cent of the total population of Germany but the proportion varied from 25 per cent in the Soviet zone, 18 per cent in the American zone, and 17 per cent in the British zone, to only 7 per cent in the French zone (Table III). In 1950 Mecklenburg, in the Soviet zone, with 47 per cent of its population made up of expellees, was the most serious problem area. In many parts of Mecklenburg the proportion of expellees in the population exceeded 50 per cent (Fig. 1); that is, expellees outnumbered the native population. In most parts of the Soviet zone expellees exceeded 20 per cent of population. Schleswig-Holstein, in which expellees made up 33 per cent

of the population, is the most serious problem area in the territory now included in the German Federal Republic. Lower Saxony with 27 per cent and Bavaria with 21 per cent make up the other two of the three chief problem areas in western Germany. (The names and boundaries of the present German states are shown on Figure 2.)

The uneven distribution of expellees reflects five major factors: (1) distance from the eastern boundary of Germany, (2) location with respect to the Baltic Sea, (3) legal restrictions in the French zone, (4) housing availability in rural areas, and (5) lack of coordination in early days.

(1) A glance at Figure 1 shows that the area of highest concentration is the eastern part of Germany near the boundary of Czechoslovakia and the

TABLE III
REFUGEE POPULATION IN GERMANY BY STATES

<i>State</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Expellees</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Other Refugees</i>	<i>%</i>
German Federal Republic (Census of Sept. 13, 1950)	47,695,672	7,876,211	16.5	1,555,075	3.3
British Zone	24,193,809	4,156,355	17.2	949,889	3.9
Schleswig-Holstein	2,594,648	856,943	33.0	133,918	5.2
Hamburg	1,605,606	115,981	7.2	67,655	4.2
Lower Saxony	6,797,379	1,851,472	27.2	369,425	5.4
North Rhine-Westphalia	13,196,176	1,331,959	10.1	378,891	2.9
American Zone	17,916,278	3,347,626	18.1	506,835	2.8
Bremen	558,619	48,183	8.6	21,398	3.8
Hesse	4,323,801	720,583	16.7	165,686	3.8
Württemberg-Baden	3,907,848	649,597	16.6	94,319	2.4
Bavaria	9,126,010	1,929,263	21.1	225,432	2.5
French Zone	5,585,585	372,230	6.7	98,351	1.8
Rhineland-Palatinate	3,004,752	152,267	5.1	46,476	1.5
Baden	1,338,629	98,375	7.3	28,299	2.1
Württemberg-Hohenzollern including Lindau ..	1,242,204	121,588	9.8	23,576	1.9
German Democratic Republic (Soviet Zone) (Estimates)	17,800,000	4,442,318	25.0		
Saxony	5,800,000	988,743	17.1		
Saxony-Anhalt	4,300,000	1,062,285	24.8		
Thuringia	2,900,000	681,014	23.0		
Brandenburg	2,700,000	723,157	27.0		
Mecklenburg	2,100,000	987,119	46.5		
Berlin	3,300,000	130,000	3.9		

Sources: German Federal Republic, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden: *op. cit.*, Tables II.1 and II.2.
Europäische Forschungsgruppe für Flüchtlingsfragen: Mitteilungen No. 2, Munich, November 15, 1951.

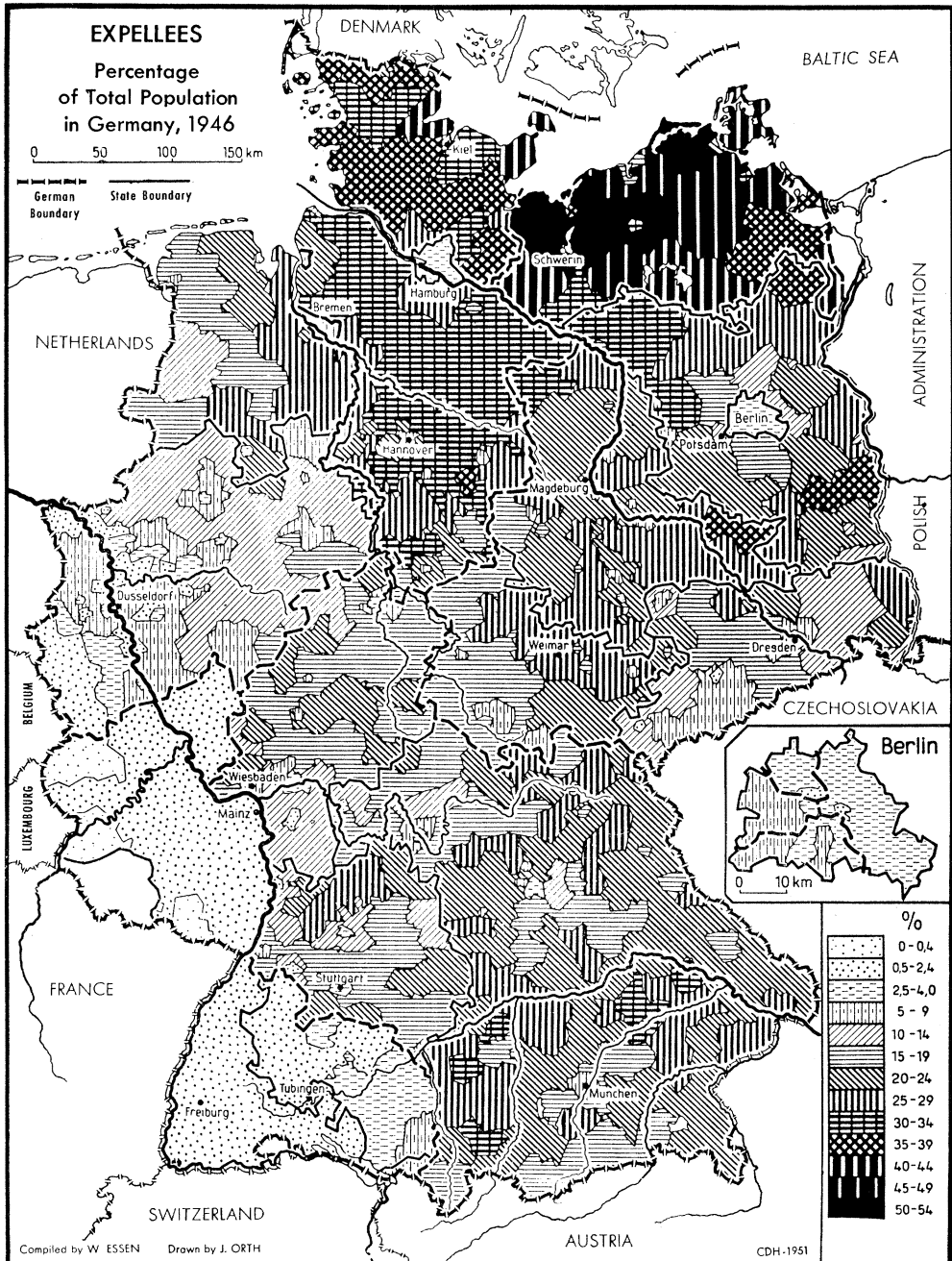


FIG. 1. Expellee Percentage of Total Population of Germany, Census of October 29, 1946. (Reproduced by permission of Werner Essen and the Institut für Raumforschung, Bonn, from *Das deutsche Flüchtlingsproblem*, Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für Raumforschung, p. 11.)

western limit of Polish administration. As the expellees moved or were moved westward, many did not get far beyond the nearest border. One can speak of the major area of concentration in the east, either northeast of a line from the western tip of Czechoslovakia to the North Sea west of Bremen or of Bavaria in the southeast.

(2) The expellees from East Prussia moved westward along the Baltic Sea and piled up in large concentrations in both Mecklenburg and Schleswig-Holstein on the southern coast of that sea and near the Danish border.

(3) The French zone in 1946 had very few expellees (only 1.9 per cent of the population) since France had not been a party to the Potsdam Agreement and on November 20, 1945, had agreed to a maximum of 0.15 million expellees from Austria only under strong pressure. In effect the borders of the French zone were closed (until 1948) to all refugees except those who entered specifically to join relatives or to accept previously arranged employment.

(4) The mass destruction of urban housing during the war accounts for the predominantly rural distribution of refugees. According to the 1946 census 85 per cent of the expellees in Bizonia (United States and British zones) were in rural areas (compared to 61 per cent of the native population). At the time of the 1950 census 70 per cent of expellees in the German Federal Republic were still living in rural communities with less than 5000 inhabitants.

The areas of lightest concentration of expellees, aside from the French zone, are in the Ruhr industrial district of North Rhine-Westphalia and in the commercial city-states of Bremen and Hamburg, where wartime destruction of nearly half the housing units resulted in an acute shortage of living space.

At the end of the war Germany was

a land of destroyed cities and overcrowded villages. Between 1939 and 1946 the present area of Germany gained in population by 5.2 millions but the 46 cities of more than 100,000 population in 1946 had declined in population in this period by 3.7 millions, or nearly 20 per cent. In contrast the communities with less than 20,000 inhabitants (both urban and rural) increased in population by 8.8 millions or nearly 30 per cent. The urban-rural ratio, which before the war had been rising rapidly, dropped back to the level of 1870. The 1946 census was taken on October 29, 1946, a year and a half after the end of the war, so that temporary evacuees from the cities had had time to return to the cities, if they could find any livable space there.

(5) Part of the unequal distribution of expellees must be attributed to the lack of coordination. The expellees were handled initially on a local basis within each state. For four years there was no central German government, since the occupation forces initially prohibited any governmental organization at higher than local levels. The American zone early attempted to equalize the burden among the various states (Länder) within this zone. The British and American zones were joined into Bizonia in 1948. Trizonia was formed by the addition of the French zone in 1949. A responsible elected federal German Government for these three zones was first established in 1949 (German Federal Republic) but up to the present time the Soviet zone has remained separate with its own government (German Democratic Republic).

The population of Germany at the time of the 1950 census (in 1950 boundaries) was about the same as in the prewar 1939 census (within boundaries of 1937). The 1950 population was about 69 millions compared to 69.5

millions in 1939. The influx of Volksdeutsche expellees from outside the former boundaries of Germany (5 millions) plus the natural increase in population nearly balanced the war losses.

This same population is crowded into a much smaller area. Within the boundaries of present Germany there were only 58.8 million people in 1939. The 17 per cent increase in population in this area is accounted for entirely by the movement of 12.5 million expellees into the area from beyond the present limits of Germany. The areas of expellee concentration are the areas with the largest population growth 1939-1946 (Fig. 2).

As a result of boundary changes and

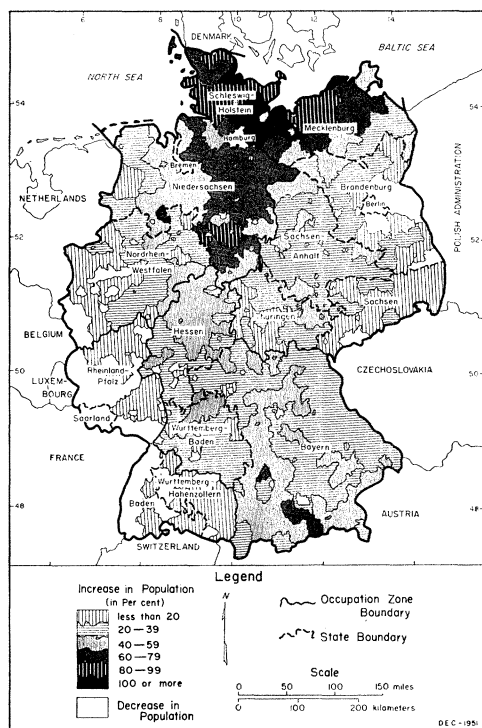


FIG. 2. Percentage Increase in Population in Germany, 1939-1946. (Redrawn with permission of Hilde Wander and Institut für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel from Friedrich Eddings, Hans-Erich Hornschu and Hilde Wander: Das deutsche Flüchtlingsproblem, Appendix Fig. 1.)

the movement of the expellees, the average density of population for Germany as a country jumped from 380 per square mile in 1939 to about 500 in 1950. The density of population within the area of present Germany, however, increased only from 435 to about 500, since the density of population in the areas east of the Oder-Neisse line was only 218 per square mile in 1939. Germany now is one of the most densely settled countries of the Western world. In Europe only Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom have higher densities. Germany has nearly three times the population density of France. There now are virtually no rural areas in Germany, no matter how poor the soil, with densities below 130 persons per square mile, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the average density in Iowa.

The integration and assimilation of this flood of expellees poses many difficult and complex problems. The expellees will have to be integrated into the German society and economy as there is little hope either of return to their former homelands or of emigration. Only the problems of economic integration will be considered in this article. The discussion will be limited to the area of the German Federal Republic, which contains 7.9 million expellees; lack of comparable data or information on plans precludes a similar discussion for the German Democratic Republic with an estimated 4.4 million expellees, or Berlin with 0.1 million.

In this area the expellees face three major economic problems: food, housing, and work.

FOOD PROBLEMS

Initially the expellees suffered from shortage of food. With the establishment of better welfare procedures, however, their food problems have become an undifferentiated part of the general

German food problem. The food problem of western Germany however was aggravated by the expellee-caused increase of population without any corresponding increase in agricultural land or food supply.

The food problem of Germany is serious. The area east of the Oder-Neisse produced about 25 per cent of the food grain of Germany before the war. That area not only fed its own population (14 per cent of the then total for Germany) but also produced a considerable food surplus which moved westward into other parts of Germany. As a result of the loss of this major agricultural area and the movement of its population as expellees into present Germany, western Germany now imports about 45 per cent of its food in comparison with 20 per cent (for all Germany) before the war.

In order to obtain adequate food for its population, Germany needs both to increase domestic agricultural production and to develop industrial exports with which to pay for food imports.

The chances of greatly increasing domestic agricultural production are not promising, although with application of fertilizers and other capital expenditures prewar levels of production were surpassed in western Germany by 5 per cent in 1951. Germany has had an intensive agriculture for decades and the best resources are intensively used already. Further developments will be expensive and not very productive.

Western Germany, becoming more and more like Great Britain in the structure of its economy and in dependence on imported food, faces similar problems in the production of exports with which to pay for food. Since these exports will need to be largely manufactured goods, Britain and the United States present keen competition in the world markets. The virtual severance

of trade with southeastern and eastern Europe because of the establishment of the Iron Curtain has hurt western Germany particularly, inasmuch as those areas formerly exported food to Germany in exchange for German industrial goods.

HOUSING PROBLEMS

The number of persons per room in Germany is now much higher than before the war. The causes of this increase are (1) the loss of about 20 per cent of all housing units through wartime air raids or other war actions (and the damaging of an additional 20 per cent), (2) the increase in population in western Germany by about 21 per cent through the arrival of expellees, and (3) the requisitioning of housing for occupation forces. The density of housing in western Germany according to the 1950 census was 1.17 persons per room, a much lower figure than pre-census estimates anticipated. The *maximum* legal space per person that any family may occupy (regardless of ownership or past occupancy) is only about half the *average* space per person in the United States. Any family having more space has had to take in additional persons. Thus many dwellings originally intended for one family are lodging two or three. These often unwelcome "guests" frequently establish an independent heating and cooking system with a minimum of capital expenditure. Furthermore, much space formerly considered unsuitable for human habitation must now be lived in.

It will be difficult to fill even the most pressing housing needs in the near future. Although 1950 and 1951 were two years of active construction, there was still a shortage of 2.5 million dwelling units in western Germany at the beginning of 1952. (The number of dwelling units now is about 10 million.)

The expellees fare much worse in housing than the native population. An extreme case of housing density differentials occurred in the village of Gedern in Kreis Büdingen in Hesse; here the density of natives on November 1, 1947 was 1.52 persons per room, of evacuees 2.27, and of expellees 4.52. In Schleswig-Holstein in 1949, 60 per cent of the expellee families still lived in no more than a single room per family and only 8 per cent of the expellee families had a private kitchen. In Bavaria in 1950 only 13 per cent of the expellees were living in decent and adequate quarters. On July 1, 1951, 324,112, or 4 per cent of the refugees in the German Federal Republic, were still living in mass quarters or camps.

The present housing for expellees is in rural areas but work opportunities occur almost solely in the cities. This separation of housing and work is the direct cause of enormous unemployment and also of considerable time loss for those expellees who by commuting long distances are able to work. In the suddenness of arrival of the expellees little or no attention could be given to economic considerations. The first thought was to get the expellees under some sort of shelter. Available space was largely in rural farming districts, which, unlike urban and industrial districts, had escaped heavy wartime damage. These were the very districts in which employment opportunities were and are meager. This separation of housing and possible work has plagued all efforts to ameliorate the lot of the expellees.

In some cases the wage-earner in the family has simply left the family to move as a single individual to a substandard temporary abode nearer his place of work. He may return home week ends.

In other cases the workers commute daily. Astonishing tales are told of the

amount of time spent in commuting, principally on bicycles or by train or both. In the hills near Frankfurt am Main one sees droves of bicycles as early as 5 a.m. with workers who live way up in the hills and who spend as much as several hours each day traveling to places of work in the cities on the Rhine-Main plain. In early morning or evening the railroad stations are jammed with workmen who travel distances up to a hundred miles daily. Large industrial firms in many areas have installed bus service either daily or merely weekly (to enable workers to get home week ends).

According to the 1950 census there were 3.2 million commuters in the German Federal Republic. The number of daily commuters into Frankfurt am Main (population just over 500,000) is currently estimated at 50,000 as compared with 38,000 before the war. Much but not all of the increase may be attributed to the expellees.

In contrast with typical situations in the United States, it is the more poorly paid workers who travel the farthest. The commuting is not from residential suburbs adjoining the great cities but from overcrowded agricultural villages far distant.

WORK PROBLEMS

Unemployment and underemployment problems afflict the expellees. At the time of the 1950 census 12.4 per cent of the expellee labor force was unemployed compared to 4.6 per cent of the native population. Although expellees constituted only 18 per cent of the labor force in the German Federal Republic, they accounted for 39 per cent of the unemployment at the time of the 1950 census.

Unemployment exhibits marked regional variation (Fig. 3). It is high in the northern and eastern sections of

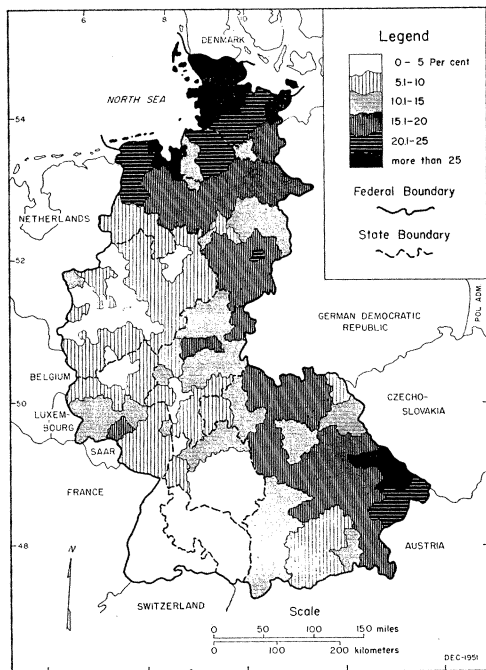


FIG. 3. Percentage of Labor Force Unemployed in German Federal Republic, June 30, 1950. (Based on a map prepared by German Federal Republic, Bundesminister für Arbeit, Statistik.)

the German Federal Republic; these are the areas in which the expellees are concentrated. In March, 1952, 22 per cent of the labor force in Schleswig-Holstein was unemployed and 51 per cent of this unemployment was among expellees. Furthermore, the proportion of total unemployment accounted for by expellees is high in the areas of expellee concentration (Fig. 4). The areal distribution of unemployment in Germany stands in sharp contrast to the cyclical depression unemployment of industrialized lands, since unemployment in cities or industrial regions is negligible but in rural areas, staggering. Thus unemployment represents a structural and areal problem in western Germany, not solved by the general economic improvement since 1950. The explanation of this pattern of unemployment lies in the enormous increase

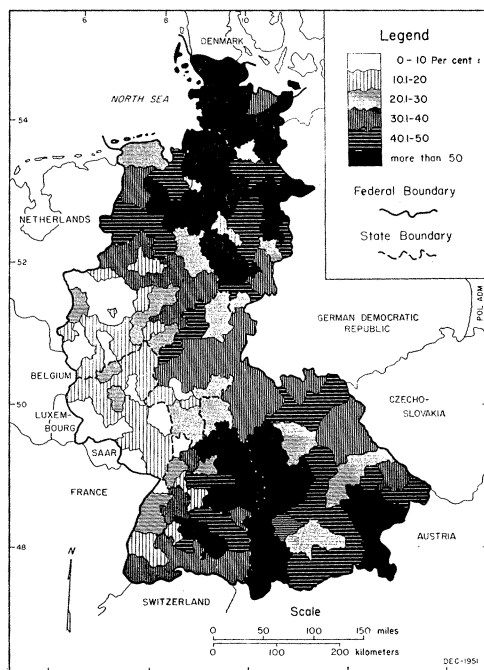


FIG. 4. Percentage of Unemployed Who Are Expellees, German Federal Republic, June 30, 1950. (Based on a map prepared by German Federal Republic, Bundesminister für Arbeit, Statistik.)

in the rural population as a result of the settlement of expellees almost solely in rural areas already overpopulated, and in the location of work opportunities in the cities and industrial areas, where housing is not available.

One of the key problems is whether to attempt a solution of the depressed areas problem by bringing industries to these areas or by moving the surplus population to centers of potential employment. Although much controversy centers on this point, in general it is felt that factory industries may be more successful in present industrial and urban centers (where housing would have to be built for any expellees brought in), but that some handicraft industries can be developed in the areas of present rural expellee concentration. A further consideration is that employment opportunities can be developed more rap-

idly by the expansion of present industrial centers than by the creation of new industrial points.

The bringing of the unemployed expellees into productive work constitutes a major challenge to the government of the German Federal Republic. Their integration into economic life will require enormous amounts of capital. As a result of wartime destruction of capital within the present area of western Germany and the inability of the expellees to bring their capital with them (in the form of farms, factories, houses, equipment, and investments), there is a dearth of capital available for investment in activities that would employ the expellees.

A mixed American and German ECA Technical Assistance Commission on the Integration of the Refugees in the German Republic, under the chairmanship of H. Christian Sonne, made a study of the problem and recommended that 12.5 billion DM be spent over the next six years in an attempt to integrate 605,000 unemployed expellee workers in agricultural and industrial production (150,000 in agriculture, 160,000 in handicrafts and trade, and 295,000 in industry). It is estimated that about 3.6 million refugees have found some type of employment, although many are not yet in types of work for which they are qualified by training or experience.

Great difficulties obstruct the effective utilization and integration of expellee farmers, estimated in western Germany at 294,000 formerly independent farmers and many more former farm laborers. Only a fraction of these can ever succeed in resettling on farms of their own, or even in working on farms at all. Long before the arrival of the expellees there was a shortage of agricultural land in western Germany. In this area 80 per cent of all

farms have less than 10 hectares (about 25 acres) of land. The average size of farm is less than 7 hectares (17 acres), or less than half the average size of farms in France or Denmark. Because of the shortage of farmland and very low agricultural wages, a strong rural-urban migration has characterized the past several decades.

There are three potential sources of farm land for the expellee: (1) division of large estates (the so-called Land-reform), (2) transfer to expellees of titles to existing farms, and (3) reclamation of waste land.

It is reported that the division of large estates was carried through rigorously in the Soviet zone (German Democratic Republic). Here the characteristic large estates were subdivided into small farms, reported to be 7 hectares in size regardless of the quality of the land or the location of the farm with respect to transportation and markets. It is further reported that in this zone 80,000 expellees and 120,000 natives were resettled. Within western Germany there were fewer large agricultural estates and there has been no such vigorous program for the division of such estates as did exist. Some states have carried through land reforms, but the principal beneficiaries have been the land-hungry native farmers rather than the landless expellees.

In 1949 a law on resettlement of expellee farmers (Flüchtlingssiedlungsgesetz) provided that farms without heirs or farms not currently worked should be made available to expellees either for ownership or renting.

The reclamation and cultivation of waste land offers some promise in a few areas. Germany, however, has been intensively cultivated for centuries and there remains little additional good land that could be cultivated profitably. The Emsland, a poorly drained area

along the Ems River near the German-Dutch border, offers some possibilities if sufficient capital can be found.

Altogether by January, 1952, a total of 23,000 farms were operated by refugees, about 60 per cent of them as owners, the rest as tenants. Only half of these farms, however, were large enough to support a family; the others were part-time farms.

The difficulties and limited possibilities of finding farms is revealed by the modest hopes of ECA Technical Assistance Commission. It proposed that 100,000 farms providing work for 150,000 persons should be made available to expellees in the next six years at a cost of 2.75 billion DM. But of these farms, nearly two-thirds (65,550) would be merely part-time farms averaging only 1 to 1.5 hectares, on which farm work would be done by women and children and from which men and grown children would commute to work in cities. Furthermore, land already in cultivation would be expected to provide 87,000 of the farms: 39,000 by dividing large farms and 49,000 by transfer of titles to existing farms under the law of resettlement of expellee farmers. Only 13,000 farms would be based on newly reclaimed land.

The majority of the unemployed expellees probably will have to find work in industry in cities, where there currently are employment opportunities but no housing. It is estimated that as rapidly as capital can be found for construction of urban housing 150,000 expellees can find work there.

Of lesser total importance but of great interest are the industries established by the expellees themselves. The expellees have set up industries similar to those in which they worked before the war in other lands: textiles, clothing, chemicals, metals, glassware, ceramics,

electrical and optical goods, musical instruments, toys, jewelry, leather goods, and wooden goods. The enterprises are oriented toward consumer goods and are relatively small. About 7 per cent of the industrial enterprises of western Germany are estimated to be operated by expellees. Expellee industries are especially important in Bavaria, to which expellees came principally from the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia and Silesia—both industrial areas. It is said that the Sudeten Germans accounted for 40 per cent of the exports of Czechoslovakia before the war. By April 1, 1951, some 2391 concerns had been established by expellees in Bavaria, employing 63,000 persons. At Kaufbeuren-Neugablonz the buildings of former war-chemical plants were converted to provide work for 6000 of the Gablonz glass workers from the Sudetenland. North Rhine-Westphalia has also been an important area of refugee enterprises. Studies in the distribution of expellee enterprises in Bavaria indicate three important factors in success: cheap skilled labor (of expellees), rapid turnover (reflecting shortage of capital), and location at transport centers. In conformity with the last-mentioned factor, the enterprises generally are in cities and towns and not in the areas of eastern Bavaria, which have high unemployment. This applies to all Germany as well as to Bavaria.

Expellees have had the same difficulties (and successes) in handicraft work as in larger industrial concerns. According to a handicraft census taken in the autumn of 1949 some 37,813 handicraft enterprises, or 4.4 per cent of those in western Germany, were owned by expellees or other refugees; this is less than a fourth the number one would expect from the percentage of expellees in the total population.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MEASURES
AND REDISTRIBUTION PLANS

The German Federal Republic, established in September, 1949, finally provided a responsible central government for western Germany. The government immediately created a Ministry for Expellees (Ministerium für Vertriebene). This ministry assumed responsibility for expellees on the Federal level as a supplement to the agencies of the states or local units.

Preliminary to the final Law on Equalization of Burdens (Lastenausgleich) for compensation of the expellees for war losses, immediate aid (Soforthilfe) was established on August 18, 1949. It extended aid and credit to the expellees, who previously had been cared for solely by the states and their political subdivisions.

The Law of Equalization of Burdens, which treats the entire problem of compensation for war losses by all groups, is the matter of much controversy among the various groups and the taxpayers. A capital levy of 50 per cent is to be declared on all property (of value over 5000 DM) of all types, whether agricultural, business, industrial, residential, forest, or of inventory of goods existing at the time of the currency reform (June 28, 1949). This levy is to be separated from all taxes and is to be collected over a period of 30 years. The proceeds are to be distributed to those suffering war losses: (1) expellees who lost property in the eastlands, (2) natives who suffered war losses to property, (3) persons who lost savings through the currency reform (but only if lacking other sources of income), or (4) political and racial persecutees. The expellees, conscious of their lack of capital, have demanded an immediate division of the property in western Germany to compensate them for war

losses, estimated at 75 to 100 billion marks. The capital losses in former German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line may have amounted to 40-60 billion marks, in the Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia 25-30 billion, and in other countries perhaps 10 billion.

The Ministry for Expellees established an expellee bank in the spring of 1950; this bank refinances the loans granted to refugees by local banks.

The government of the German Federal Republic has concerned itself also with areal redistribution of expellees. Such redistribution is urgently needed for many reasons, particularly to give better employment opportunities. Because the expellees were not distributed on the basis of economic considerations, the distribution of population and of carrying capacity are seriously out of balance. Several major distressed areas now exist.

In spite of many proposals for redistribution, little has been accomplished by official programs. By decrees of the government of the German Federal Republic on November 29, 1949, and May 22, 1950, plans were made to resettle first 300,000 and later an additional 600,000 refugees. Within the Federal Republic up to the end of 1950, however, only 160,000 persons had been resettled in groups and only 26,000 as individuals. The main fault with the official redistribution programs of 1949 and 1950 was the ignoring of economic considerations. Two-thirds of the persons resettled were directed to the French zone without providing the necessary jobs; consequently newcomers here continued to be unemployed and many of them later remigrated to places with employment possibilities, particularly the Ruhr area. Thus shortly after official transports had reached Rhineland-Palatinate (French zone) in

1950, migration thence to industrial centers rose sharply. The resettlement program for 1951 followed better principles in tending to direct refugees to industrial areas but lack of coordination with the housing program restricted the movement.

It was proposed by the ECA Technical Assistance Commission that an official resettlement program ought to move 700,000 refugees (260,000 workers and their families) from overcrowded areas to areas better able to support them. The carrying out of this plan depends, among other things, on the availability of adequate capital to build the necessary housing. It is significant, therefore, that the ECA Commission recommended that 7.9 billion DM be

spent on housing for expellees during the next six years; this expenditure would constitute nearly two-thirds of all governmental investments toward integrating the expellees into German life. This housing should be constructed not in areas of present expellee concentration but in cities, where the expellees may hope for productive employment. Thus the construction of housing is a major key to the redistribution of expellees, to their economic integration in the German Federal Republic, and to the reduction of structural (regional) unemployment. But in a larger sense the future economic welfare of the expellees is an integral part of the general problem of the economic future of Germany.

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