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PROVISIONAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT

MIGRATION FROM WEST GERMANY
TO EAST GERMANY
1952 - 54

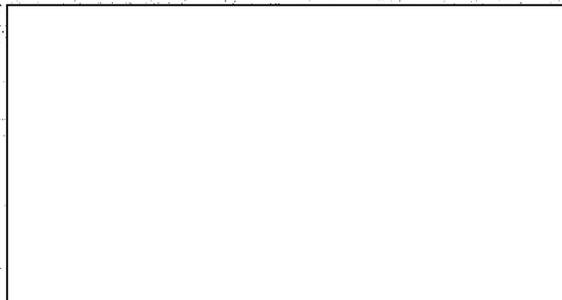


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CIA/RR PR-150

(ORR Project 41.995)

NOTICE

The data and conclusions contained in this report do not necessarily represent the final position of ORR and should be regarded as provisional only and subject to revision. Comments and data which may be available to the user are solicited.

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FOREWORD

This report is a companion study to CIA/RR 30, The Effects of Migrations into and out of East Germany on the Labor Situations in East and West Germany, 15 March 1954, [] The earlier report included some general observations on postwar migration from West Germany to East Germany up to and including the year 1953. The discussion, however, was by no means exhaustive, because at the time there was a lack of statistical data. New data permit for the first time statistical breakdowns of the various groups of migrants by age, sex, and occupation.

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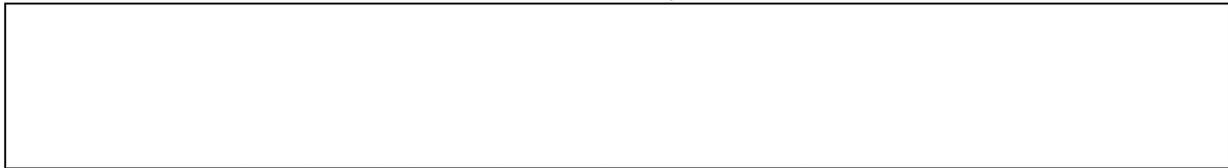
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MIGRATION FROM WEST GERMANY TO EAST GERMANY*
1952-54

Summary and Conclusions

Between the beginning of 1951 and mid-1955, about 1.5 million persons migrated from East Germany to West Germany. During the same period, about 300,000 persons went from West Germany to East Germany. No information is available as to how many of these West-East** migrants were returning East German refugees.*** It is known, however, that about 47 percent of the 58,640 persons migrating to East Berlin and East Germany from West Germany (not including West Berlin) between 1952 and 1954 were East German returnees. Thirty-three percent were indigenous West Germans, and the remaining 20 percent were German nationals or ethnic Germans expelled from former German territories or from territories outside the prewar borders of the former Reich.**** The distribution of these population groups among the total migrants from both West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin during the same period was probably quite similar.

A little more than half of all West-East as well as East-West migrants between 1952 and 1954 were in the labor force. There was about the same proportion of white-collar workers, engineers, and technicians

* The estimates and conclusions contained in this report represent the best judgment of ORR as of 15 July 1956.

** Unless otherwise indicated, the terms West and East as used in this report refer to West Germany (including West Berlin) and East Germany (including East Berlin), respectively.

*** According to German definition, refugees (Zugewanderte) are those Germans who on 1 September 1939 had their residence in East Berlin, East Germany, or the Saar and subsequently moved to West Germany or West Berlin. No separate statistics exist which would be limited to postwar refugees. It may be estimated, however, that about 45 percent of the 27,872 refugees who, according to Table 5 (p. 28, below), returned in 1952, 1953, and 1954 from West Germany proper to the East were returning postwar refugees. 1/ (For serially numbered source references, see Appendix D.)

**** According to German definition, expellees (Vertriebene) are German nationals or ethnic Germans who, as a direct or indirect consequence of World War II, were expelled from formerly German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line or from territories outside the borders of the former Reich as they existed on 31 December 1937.

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in both movements. The percentage of farmers, agricultural workers, and persons engaged in commerce and transportation was considerably larger among the migrants going to the West than among those going to the East. Conversely, the West-East migrants included a larger percentage of industrial workers, artisans, and scientists than the East-West migrants.

In the first postwar years the large migration from the East was an economic burden on West Germany. Subsequently, however, the continued expansion of the West German economy and a corresponding decline in its labor reserves have changed the situation. Many, if not most, of its considerably more than 1 million refugee residents who are able and willing to work have become a welcome addition to the West German labor force. In East Germany, on the other hand, the movement to the West has contributed much to the continual downward trend in total population. Moreover, it not only has resulted in the loss of a relatively large portion of the labor force but also has intensified scarcities of specialized and highly skilled personnel.

The relatively small West-East migration at no time has been large enough to offset the effects of movements in the opposite direction. Nevertheless, because the population of East Germany is much smaller than that of West Germany, even a few migrants mean a welcome addition to its declining population and an opportunity to make up for some of the quantitative and qualitative labor losses. The East German leaders have found the West-East migration so useful for their purposes that they have embarked on a vigorous policy of inducing refugees to return and, beyond that, of luring selected other West German residents to East Germany -- apparently with appreciable success.

Judged by Western standards, political, social, and economic postwar conditions in East Germany are unattractive. Many people, therefore, have found it difficult to understand why refugees should have returned and even West Germans emigrated to the East. Although the reasons for much of the migration to West Germany may be deduced from information obtained through the refugee screening process, the possible motives of the migrants to East Germany are largely a matter of conjecture. An analysis of the state of mind of the participants in the two movements and of the employment possibilities in each part of the country, together with an examination of the refugee situation in West Germany, seems to indicate that the movement to East Germany, like the East-West migration,

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was largely motivated by personal and economic, rather than political, factors. Some migrants apparently felt that they would be better off in East Germany even though in general its economic condition has been less favorable than that of West Germany.

I. Magnitude and General Characteristics.

It is estimated that between the beginning of 1951 and mid-1955 nearly 300,000 persons -- about 170,000 males and 130,000 females -- migrated from West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin (see Table 1*).

No information is available which could be used to present a breakdown of this 1951-55 migration apart from sex. Such data, however, are at hand for the years 1952 to 1954. As shown in Table 2,** 90,685 persons migrated in these 3 years from West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin. The number of females (45,987) exceeded that of males (44,698) slightly. About 44 percent of these migrants were economically inactive. Table 3*** shows that, although only about 41 percent of the female migrants were members of the labor force, about 70 percent of the male migrants belonged to it. Table 4,**** however,

* Appendix A, p. 16, below. As explained in footnote e to Table 1, it is assumed that 75 percent of the persons migrating from West Berlin with unknown destination went to East Germany, including East Berlin. This assumption may be too high by about 25 percent; if so, only about 287,000 persons -- 164,000 males and 123,000 females -- would have migrated from the West to East Germany and East Berlin. These figures and those in Table 1, however, are somewhat too low, because a substantial number of postwar refugees slipped back to East Germany clandestinely and thus are not included. Taking all these factors into consideration, the estimate of 300,000 migrants appears to be reasonable. The computations in subsequent tables include only the migrants with known destination.

** Appendix A, p. 20, below.

*** Appendix A, p. 22, below.

**** Appendix A, p. 26, below.

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indicates that, at least in 1952 and 1953, the average percentage of the total female migrants from the West 14 years old and over who were economically active (52.6 percent) was apparently considerably higher than the percentage of all women 14 years old and over who were in the West German labor force (40 percent). Similarly, about 90 percent of the total males 14 years old and over who migrated to the East in 1952 and 1953 were economically active, although the average percentage of all men in this age group who were in the West German labor force was only roughly 83 percent.

The percentage of economically active persons was slightly higher in the migrations to the East than in those to the West (56 compared with 54.5 percent).* As to occupational composition,** the percentage of farmers and agricultural workers and of persons engaged in commerce and transportation was considerably larger among the migrants going to the West than among those going to the East. The percentage of government employees, office workers, and members of technical occupations was similar in both movements. The West-East migrants included a larger percentage of the following types of workers: industrial workers and artisans; domestic, health,** and social workers; and scientists and artists.

Estimating the reasons for migration from West Germany to East Germany is even more difficult than estimating the reasons for migration from East Germany to West Germany. With respect to the latter, at least the migrants' own statements, taken during their screening in the reception centers, are available. The possible motives for West-East movements, however, are more or less a matter of conjecture.

Information obtained through the refugee screening process indicates that the mass movements from East Germany to West Germany have taken place primarily because of economic or personal reasons and that such motives as opposition to the Soviet system as such or belief

* See Table 3, Appendix A, p. 22, below.

** The names of the categories of workers in this report follow the nomenclature of the West German Ministry for Labor. East German terminology is almost identical.

*** Includes -- in addition to doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and nurses -- such professions as meat inspectors, veterinarians, barbers and beauticians, insect exterminators, masseurs, and embalmers.

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in West European democracy have played a relatively minor role. ^{2/} Migration from West Germany to East Germany has, to all appearances, been due preponderantly to the same reasons. The statement of a disappointed refugee who was about to return to East Germany that "my home is where I can find work and make a good living, never mind politics" ^{3/} probably is typical of the attitude of many West-East migrants. Such a point of view, which places economic considerations before political convictions, probably is due to loss of faith in political and economic stability resulting from the ruinous collapse of three seemingly stable politico-economic systems -- imperial, liberal, and totalitarian-nationalistic -- and the ultimate partition of Germany into a totalitarian-Communist and a democratic-liberal state.

The fact that between 1952 and 1954 almost 25 percent of all West-East migrants over 14 years old were not economically active may indicate the extent to which movements to the East were motivated by non-economic considerations. Although a number of these migrants may have gone East hoping to improve their economic situation in one way or another, the majority probably moved for different, and primarily personal, reasons. The wish to marry a person on the other side of the line of demarcation, to return to one's former community, to rejoin friends or a family split up during the war, to enjoy again the use of one's property, or even mere nostalgia apparently often have been stronger than awareness of the potential political, social, and perhaps even economic consequences of migration into the Soviet area.

Although it is not difficult to point out the personal motives of migrants to the East, it is not easy to surmise what economic factors may have caused people to leave West Germany for East Germany. By any yardstick, economic conditions in both East Germany and West Germany improved substantially during the period under discussion. The rate and scope, however, of over-all improvement was obviously greater in the West than in the East. Yet migration to the East, apparently, was not considered economically unwise in specific situations or by specific types of people.

Although living costs, toward the end of the period 1952-54, continued to be higher in the East than in the West, the expenditures for goods and services of people with very small incomes who lived near or at the subsistence level had become about the same in West Germany and East Germany. ^{4/} In this respect, therefore, such people had nothing to lose by migrating to the East. The fact that a number of the

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essentials of life were (and still are) rationed in the East and sold at relatively low prices may have been an incentive to move. The situation was similar with respect to those specialists and highly skilled workers for whom jobs were waiting in East German industry with compensation high enough to take care of the West-East cost-of-living differential or even to exceed it.

In view of great improvements in the employment situation in West German industry as a whole, the large demand for many types of labor in the East did not attract so many West Germans between 1952 and 1954 as in the earlier postwar period. The number of unemployed per 100 vacancies in West Germany proper decreased from 815 in 1952 to 672 in 1953, to 494 in 1954, and to 207 in 1955. 5/ In view of differences in the development of the various industrial sectors, the rate of the decrease, however, was not the same in all occupational groups. It was fastest in those groups employed in the capital-goods area (for example, electricians, building construction and metal workers, wood processors, and mine workers) and was more limited in other occupational groups such as workers in agriculture, commerce, textiles and leather, food products and stimulants (Nahrungs- und Genussmittel), and domestic workers. Job seekers, especially refugees, belonging to occupational groups with a less favorable employment situation therefore may have decided, under the influence of East German recruiters or on their own initiative, to try their luck in the East. Scarcity of housing also prevented many unemployed refugees of any occupation from moving to the chief industrial areas of West Germany, where they might have found jobs.

II. Population Groups Involved.

A. Members of the Labor Force.

No data are available to break down the total of 90,685 migrants from West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin during the period from 1952 to 1954 into expellees, returning refugees, and others. This classification can be made, however, with respect to a representative sample of them -- the 29,398 men and 29,242 women, altogether 58,640 persons -- who in the same period migrated to East Germany from West Germany proper (not including West Berlin). Table 6* shows that almost one-half (about 47 percent) were returning refugees, that approximately 33 percent were indigenous West

* Appendix A, p. 30, below.

Germans, and that the remaining 20 percent were expellees: According to Tables 5* and 7,** approximately 56 percent of the migrants were members of the labor force. Thirty-nine percent of these economically active persons were industrial workers (of whom 26.5 percent were metalworkers, 19.5 percent construction workers, and about 12 percent textile workers). Nearly 19 percent of all migrants belonging to the labor force were domestic, health, and social workers; 16 percent were engaged in commerce and transportation; 11.5 percent were farmers and agricultural workers; nearly 6.5 percent were office workers or public servants; and almost 5 percent were scientists and artists. Technicians, machinists, and related occupations accounted together for only roughly 4 percent. These percentages do not differ very much from the occupational distribution of all economically active migrants from West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin, which will be discussed below. The percentage of economically active persons in the total West-East migration was the same in both these migratory groups (56 percent).

Of the 27,872 refugees returning from West Germany proper in 1952-54, 9,074, or roughly 33 percent, were 20 years old or younger. Approximately 16 percent were under 14 years.

A breakdown of all these 27,872 returning refugees by both age and occupation is not available. Table 4,*** however, shows that about 73 percent of the refugees who were 14 years and over and who returned from West Germany in 1952 and 1953 were members of the labor force. The highest percentages were represented by age groups between 18 and 29 years. The same percentages, by and large, applied also to the indigenous West Germans migrating from West Germany proper to East Germany and East Berlin.

If, about half of the migrants from West to East in recent years have been former East German refugees returning home, the reasons seem mainly to be bad living conditions in West Germany, unemployment, or the inability to find (because of higher West German standards) a position comparable to the one occupied before. Under such circumstances, promises of jobs by East German recruiters, together with other inducements such as small cash bonuses, defrayment of living expenses for an initial period,

* Appendix A, p. 28, below.

** Appendix A, p. 31, below.

*** Appendix A, p. 26, below.

free transportation, interest-free loans, and return of property, obviously have frequently prompted persons dissatisfied with the unpleasant aspects of a refugee's life to re-migrate to the East.

B. Young Migrants.

According to Table 8,* about 20 percent of the 90,685 persons migrating from West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin between 1952 and 1954 were younger than 14 years.** Most of them, obviously, accompanied their families. Although East Germany probably did not derive immediate economic advantages from the immigration of these 18,000 juveniles, their arrival meant a welcome addition to its declining population which, in due time, could also be used to augment its labor force.

There is rather general agreement that the majority of the West-East migrants who were between 14 and 24 years of age (approximately 28 percent of the total) were returning refugees, many of whom had come to West Germany unaccompanied by older family members, and some of whom had already completed their occupational training before leaving East Germany. In general, they could and did find suitable jobs rather easily. The return to the East of most of these young people, therefore, was not due to economic difficulties.

[redacted] it rather resulted from the inadequacy of efforts to adjust them to the living conditions in a free country, to which they were not accustomed, as well as to unsuitable housing conditions after release from the camps. The Bonn Refugee Ministry cited as important causes for the re-migration inadequate attention and supervision as well as lack of contact with the native population in general and the native youth in particular. 6/

* Appendix A, p. 33, below.

** The percentage of persons in this age group in the simultaneous migration from East Germany and East Berlin to West Germany and West Berlin was slightly smaller (18 percent). The median age of the West-East and East-West migrants, however, was nearly identical.

C. Females.

The smaller percentage of females in the total labor force migrating from West to East may signify a reluctance of women workers to submit to the unhealthy and untraditional working conditions of women in East Germany. The relatively low number of females among the migrating industrial workers would seem to validate this inference. In other occupational groups, in which the working conditions of women are better than in industry -- for example, domestic and office workers -- the number of female migrants even exceeded that of men. Accordingly, it can be concluded that female as well as male workers have moved to the East largely in the expectation that the move would improve their economic condition.

III. Important Occupational Groups.

As shown in Table 3,* the largest group among the members of the labor force migrating from West Germany and West Berlin to East Germany and East Berlin in 1952, 1953, and 1954 -- more than 37 percent -- was composed of industrial workers. Of these industrial workers, nearly 28 percent were metalworkers, 19 percent construction workers, and almost 14 percent textile workers.

The second and third largest groups of migrating members of the labor force were made up of persons engaged in commerce and transportation (18.5 percent) and domestic, health, and social workers (17.5 percent). Only 10 percent were farmers and agricultural workers. Relatively few office and public employees (6.5 percent) or scientists and artists (5.7 percent) migrated to the East. The proportion of technical workers, such as engineers and technicians, was less than 5 percent.

A brief examination of the participation in the West-East movement of some of the occupational groups appears to bear out the above general statements regarding the probable economic motives of migration to East Germany.

A. Metalworkers.

In September 1952, 1,035 West German metal production and processing workers were unemployed per 100 vacant jobs. The figure for September 1953 was still 1,001. 7/ If compared with the corresponding figures for

* Appendix A, p. 22, below.

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West German industry as a whole (815 and 672), it is evident that the employment situation in this occupation was not favorable in the West. In East Germany, however, workers of this type were needed. The haphazard character of the migrations becomes particularly clear if notice is taken of the fact that the scarcity in East Germany was, at least in part, caused by defections to the West. At any rate, there can hardly be any doubt that the relative employment situation in this field has had something to do with the fact that about 27 percent of the industrial workers migrating to the East from 1952 to 1954 were metalworkers. In 1954, unemployment per 100 vacancies in West German metal production and processing declined to 382, and in September 1955 to 80.

B. Construction and Textile Workers.

In September 1952, 377 West German building construction workers were unemployed per 100 vacancies, 423 in the same month in 1953, and 178 in 1954, while, apparently, at the same time difficulties were encountered in East Germany in recruiting such workers. The relatively high rate of unemployment at the beginning of the period may explain, at least in part, why about 19 percent of the industrial workers migrating from the West to the East from 1952 to 1954 belonged to this occupational group.* Among textile workers, whose participation in the migration of industrial workers to East Germany amounted to almost 14 percent, unemployment per 100 vacant jobs was 1,128 in September 1952, 866 in September 1953, and 990 in September 1954.**

C. Commercial Employees.

The employment situation in West Germany in commercial occupations, to which nearly 14 percent of the emigrating members of the labor force belonged, was very bad: 1,607 unemployed per 100 vacancies in September 1952, 1,160 in September 1953, and 1,098 in September 1954. Unemployment did not go below 655 in September 1955. Although it is unlikely that the employment prospects of commercial personnel in East Germany were particularly encouraging, the 6,541 migrants to the East apparently believed that they had nothing to lose but, on the contrary, might get some job due to the great general demand for labor and, perhaps, the lower standards in the Soviet area.

* Unemployment of construction workers per 100 vacant jobs in West Germany decreased to 38 in September 1955.

** Still 347 in September 1955.

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D. Professional People.

The professional people, such as artists and physicians, among the migrants probably went to East Germany because of the shortages of specialists in their fields. The supply of physicians, in particular, has been ample in the West, although the ratio of practicing doctors to population in the East probably has not been better than about 1 to 2,000. A few artists have moved to the East for ideological reasons, but most migrants of this type left because of offers that were financially or professionally attractive.

E. Agricultural Workers.

There was considerable unemployment in agriculture in West Germany from 1952 to 1954. The rate of unemployment was 201 per 100 vacancies in September 1952, 163 in September 1953, and 125 in September 1954. The mass exodus of farmers from East Germany which started in 1953 further limited the chances of a migrant to find a place in West German agriculture.* This lack of opportunity applied particularly to refugees.

In East Germany, on the other hand, the emigration of so many farmers resulted in the abandonment of probably more than 5 percent of the total cultivated land, and the East German government, therefore, was forced to make very attractive promises to all farmers who would return. Yet, although almost 69,000 farmers moved to the West, only 5,000 -- almost exclusively returnees -- left West Germany for East Germany between 1952 and 1954. The majority of the farmers in West Germany obviously held that, unfavorable as their immediate situation was, they would in the long run be better off in the West than in the East.***

* The number of defecting East German farmers rose sharply between January 1952 and June 1953 and reached a total of nearly 26,000 during this period. 8/

*** Unemployment per 100 vacancies in West German agriculture declined to only 66 in September 1955.

F. Scientists.

The small number of scientists, engineers, technicians, and members of related occupations in the West-East migration indicates, among other things, that the opportunities which have existed in East Germany as a result of a shortage of trained people of this kind have not been attractive enough to cause much migration to the East. The relatively few who did leave West Germany were lured to the East by especially tempting offers such as good housing facilities; compensation high enough to guarantee an improved living standard despite higher living costs; higher rations which, because of lower prices, decrease living expenses; and other privileges. Such promises, which usually have been kept, may have attracted very highly paid as well as very poorly paid members of the occupational groups here discussed. The fact that for the most part they were left alone politically, as well as the fact that wage increases in the East after mid-1953 have been especially high for technicians and foremen, may have been contributing factors.

IV. Significant Aspects of West-East Migration.

Migration from West Germany to East Germany has in each year been much smaller than migration in the reverse direction. The losses suffered by emigration unquestionably have been much greater in the East than in the West, applying not only to the loss of numbers of people but also to the loss of needed skills and knowledge. Nevertheless, the immigration of a sizable number of workers and professional people has been a valuable asset for East Germany and has made up for at least a part of the losses suffered by the numerous defections.

Migration to East Germany dropped considerably in 1952, probably because of the improvement in the economic situation in West Germany. It reached its lowest point thus far in 1953, which was a particularly bad year politically and economically for East Germany. The migration eastward increased again very considerably in 1954, however, and apparently remained at least at the same level in 1955 -- 2 years of relative stability and economic progress in East Germany. It can be assumed that the relative size of migrations to the West or East will continue to be influenced greatly by the relative economic developments in the two countries, including cost of living, earnings, employment, and supply of consumer goods. Thus, improvements in economic

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conditions in East Germany would tend to increase moves to the East. Possible misgivings about potential political and social consequences of such a move probably would be further reduced if there were a liberalization of the general political atmosphere in East Germany.

The above statements may explain some of the motives of migrants to the East. It should not be overlooked, however, that migrations both to the East and to the West have been parts of a large, completely unorganized postwar adjustment taking place in a haphazard manner. A considerable portion of those who migrated into West or East Germany subsequently returned. [redacted]

[redacted] many of the persons who registered as refugees did not even apply for asylum but went back immediately to East Germany, preferring continuation of life under Soviet rule to the uncertainties of life as refugees -- uncertainties of which they apparently had not been aware. Not a few migrants, especially young people, have moved back and forth even more than twice. This type of movement has not necessarily been due to unhappy experiences by the migrants at their new places of residence. In any attempt to interpret the migrations, it must be taken into account that, despite the development of different socioeconomic systems and forms of government in the East and the West, Germany is still one country -- at least, it is considered by most Germans to be one country which is only temporarily divided because of external pressure. Accordingly, an appreciable number of West German residents have not hesitated to move from their part of the country to the other. There are no West German regulations preventing migration to East Germany.

The East German government, on the other hand, will, as a rule, permit permanent moves to the West only in the case of persons considered useless for its purposes. The fact that in spite of this policy many more people have moved to the West than to the East indicates that their belief that Germany is one country and that they have a right to move to either part of the country has proved to be more effective than all the vigorous East German counter-measures.

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APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL TABLES

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APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL TABLES

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Migrants Between West Germany and West Berlin and East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex
1 January 1951 to 30 June 1953
(Continued)

Table 1

a. 11/. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred without adjustment to group totals, which are independently rounded. A minus sign denotes a net migration to East Germany and East Berlin.

b. Migrants from the East to the West.

c. Migrants from the West to the East.

d. Although published reports show the area of origin of migrants to the West, the number who actually migrated from East Germany to the West must be estimated because of double-counting and the indication of an area of origin other than East Germany. Double-counting occurs when a migrant from the East goes first to West Berlin where he is counted as a migrant, later moving to West Germany where he indicates to the police that he is from the East and, consequently, is again counted as a migrant from East Germany. This double-counting is apparent from the fact that during 1953, West Berlin reported that 285,150 persons moved from West Berlin to West Germany, but West Germany reported that only 174,395 migrants indicated that they had moved from West Berlin. Again, during 1954 it was reported from West Berlin that 31,372 persons of the "other" population group (native West Germans and nonexpellees from other countries) moved from West Berlin to West Germany, but only 5,396 persons of this group said upon arrival that they were from Berlin. As for the migrants during 1953 noted above, it may be presumed that the 26,976 other persons of this group reported that they were from East Germany. This cannot be true, however, because only 22,148 persons of the "other" population group reported themselves as having come from East Germany. Even if it is presumed that each of the 22,148 persons was part of the group that came from West Berlin, 3,828 other persons of the group reported that they were from areas other than East Germany or Berlin. In this instance, and in the instance of the "other" population group during the first half of 1955, it was assumed that all persons of the "other" population group who reported themselves as having come from East Germany had reported themselves as having come from West Berlin and that migration to the West from East Germany is equal to the number who came directly from the East to West Berlin. On the other hand, it appears that, in the past, many migrants from East Germany gave West Berlin as their area of origin. This misreporting is evident from the fact that 60,782 persons were reported in West Berlin as having moved from West Berlin to West Germany during 1952, and 78,446 migrants during the same year reported themselves in West Germany as having come from West Berlin. Thus 17,664 persons, the difference between these two numbers, must have come from an area other than West Berlin, and it was assumed that they all came from the East.

In summary, migrants from East Germany to the West -- during 1954 and the first half of 1955 -- except for "other" migrants (that is, all those not counted as refugees or expellees) were estimated as follows: Migrants from the East to West Germany, as reported in West Germany, plus migrants from the East to West Berlin, minus migrants from West Berlin to West Germany, as reported in West Berlin. The basic data used for the estimates of migration to the West during 1952 and 1953 are presented in Table 2, p. 20, below.

e. Table 2 indicates the number of migrants during 1952, 1953, and 1954 reported as having an unspecified origin and destination. It may be noted that a great number of migrants of unspecified destination from West Berlin move to East Germany. In the absence of information which could be used as a guide in distributing migrants of unspecified area of origin and destination, the following arbitrary assumptions were used in estimating the number of such migrants coming from and going to East Germany:

1. The number of migrants of unspecified origin to West Germany is assumed to be proportionate to the number of known migrants from East Germany, West Berlin, the Saar, and former German Territory.
2. The number of migrants of unspecified origin to West Berlin is assumed to be proportionate to the number of known migrants from East Germany, West Germany, the Saar, and former German Territory.

Migrants Between West Germany and West Berlin and East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex
1 January 1951 to 30 June 1955
(Continued)

Table 1

Year	Net Number at Place of Destination	Number Reporting	
		at Place of Destination	at Place of Origin
Total, 1952	83,900	867,700	783,800
4th quarter	33,700	228,700	195,000
3d quarter	14,200	217,300	203,000
2d quarter	26,000	230,200	204,200
1st quarter	10,000	191,500	181,500
Total, 1951	69,800	911,800	842,000
4th quarter	32,500	239,100	206,600
3d quarter	8,600	232,300	223,700
2d quarter	25,000	250,100	225,100
1st quarter	3,700	190,300	186,700

3. The number of migrants of unspecified destination from West Germany is assumed to be twice the ratio that known migrants to East Germany is of known migrants to West Berlin, the Saar, and former German Territory.

4. Of the migrants of unspecified destination from West Berlin, it is assumed that 75 percent migrate to East Germany. As may be seen from the above assumptions, returning prisoners of war, those coming from and going to International Refugee Organization and other camps, and migrants to and from foreign countries were excluded from the total known migration figures on the assumption that the origin or destination of all such persons is known. It should be noted that a sizable portion of the number of migrants to West Germany during 1951 and 1952 considered to be of unspecified origin was the difference between the number of internal migrants within West Germany who reported at their place of destination and the number who reported at their place of origin. The difference between these numbers of internal migrants could have arisen because more migrants normally report at their place of destination than at their place of origin. The difference also could have arisen because of a time lag in reporting to the police upon arrival. With regard to the latter reason, the number who reported at their place of destination was larger than the number who reported at their place of origin for each quarter of the 2 years. These numbers are as follows:

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Migrants Between West Germany and West Berlin and East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex
1 January 1951 to 30 June 1955
(Continued)

With regard to the former reason, the Federal Statistical Office notes that: "A substantial part of this difference ... is apparently also due to the fact that persons who had immigrated across the boundary of the Federal territory and had been accepted in a refugee camp in which they were not under obligation to report to the police, were frequently registered at their final arrival in another state as having arrived from the state in which the refugee camp is located. Actually such cases were not examples of internal migration, but arrivals from countries outside the Federal Republic." 12/ Because the difference between the number of internal migrants who reported at their place of destination and the number who reported at their place of origin is considered by the Federal Statistical Office in its calculations of population change as a group of migrants coming into the country, this difference is considered here as being a group of external migrants whose place of origin is unknown.

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Migrants Between West Germany and West Berlin and East Germany and East Berlin,
by Sex, Area of Origin, and Destination
1952, 1953, and 1954

Table 2

Area of Origin and Destination	Total		Male		Female	
	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954
Migrants with specified origin and destination						
Net migrants from East to West	853,022	260,148	399,841	120,879	453,181	139,269
Total migrants from East to West	943,707	303,479	444,539	142,425	499,168	161,054
From East Germany to West Berlin	454,973	96,920	229,620	53,434	225,353	43,486
From East Berlin to West Berlin	74,769	17,515	36,255	8,365	38,514	9,150
From East Germany to West Germany	524,864	215,887	241,020	96,569	283,844	119,318
From East Berlin to West Germany	13,001	3,966	6,598	1,890	6,403	2,076
Estimate of migrants from East Germany or East Berlin to West Germany who were double-counted or not counted as having come from these areas a/*	123,900	30,809	68,954	17,833	54,946	12,976
Total migrants from West to East	90,685	43,331	44,698	21,546	45,987	21,785
From West Berlin to East Germany	22,851	8,039	10,948	4,221	11,903	3,818
From West Berlin to East Berlin	9,194	2,697	4,352	1,293	4,842	1,404
From West Germany to East Germany	56,884	31,816	28,479	15,636	28,405	16,180
From West Germany to East Berlin	1,756	779	919	396	837	383

* Footnote for Table 2 follows on p. 21.

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Migrants Between West Germany and West Berlin and East Germany and East Berlin,
by Sex, Area of Origin, and Destination
1952, 1953, and 1954
(Continued)

Table 2

Area of Origin and Destination	Total		Male		Female	
	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954
Migrants with unspecified origin						
To West Berlin	11,104	3,934	6,996	2,566	4,108	1,368
To West Germany	120,058	4,572	80,719	3,383	39,339	1,189
Migrants with unspecified destination						
From West Berlin	43,273	14,247	26,277	8,916	16,996	5,331
From West Germany	91,745	2,418	62,622	2,028	29,123	390

a. The estimated number of migrants from East Germany or East Berlin who were double-counted. This number was subtracted from the number of persons who indicated that their place of origin was East Germany or East Berlin. For an explanation of double-counting and the method of estimating the number of migrants from East Germany or East Berlin who were double-counted, see Table 1, footnote d, p. 17, above.

S E R I E M

Table 3

Labor Force Status, Occupation, and Percentage Distribution of Migrants in West Germany and West Berlin and in East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex and Year

Labor Force Status and Occupation ^{b/}	Net Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from West to East				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
Total migrants	853,022	399,841	453,181	943,707	444,539	499,168	90,685	44,698	45,987
Migrants not in labor force	388,843	117,699	271,144	429,041	130,943	298,098	40,198	13,244	26,954
Migrants in labor force	464,179	282,142	182,037	514,666	313,596	201,070	50,487	31,454	19,033
Agriculture	63,668	54,127	9,541	68,702	58,342	10,360	5,034	4,215	819
Industry and handicrafts	158,376	126,862	31,514	177,256	142,415	34,841	18,880	15,553	3,327
Mining	8,419	8,381	38	9,875	9,830	45	1,456	1,449	7
Construction	24,149	23,835	314	27,758	27,360	398	3,609	3,525	84
Metalworking	49,031	46,389	2,642	54,295	51,347	2,948	5,264	4,958	306
Woodworking and related	9,520	9,289	231	10,600	10,336	264	1,080	1,047	33
Textiles	23,614	5,779	17,835	26,188	6,474	19,714	2,574	695	33
Food, drink, and tobacco	17,737	13,487	4,250	19,628	15,011	4,617	1,891	1,524	367
Technical occupations	19,999	17,397	2,602	22,228	19,331	2,897	2,229	1,934	295
Engineers and technicians	14,788	13,848	940	16,258	15,242	1,016	1,470	1,394	76
Commerce and transportation	98,811	58,358	40,453	108,148	64,374	43,774	9,337	6,016	3,321
Commerce	76,554	41,206	35,348	83,095	45,001	38,094	6,541	3,795	2,746
Transportation	16,321	13,623	2,698	18,312	15,371	2,941	1,991	1,748	243

* Footnotes for Table 3 follow on p. 25.

Table 3

Labor Force Status, Occupation, and Percentage Distribution of Migrants in West Germany and West Berlin
and in East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex
1952, 1953, and 1954
(Continued)

Labor Force Status and Occupation	Net Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from West to East	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Domestic, health, and social	71,583	4.817	80,419	5.880	8,836	1,063
Domestic occupations	47,406	210	52,851	265	5,445	55
Health	22,850	4,528	25,689	5,315	2,839	787
Administration and justice	32,910	12,314	36,177	13,435	3,267	1,121
Administration and office occupations	30,490	9,773	32,907	10,581	2,417	808
Justice and security	2,379	2,108	2,591	2,296	212	188
Science and arts	18,832	8,267	21,736	9,819	2,904	1,552
Education and clergy	11,990	4,294	13,476	4,972	1,486	678
Distribution (Percent)						
Total migrants	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Migrants not in labor force	45.6	29.4	45.5	29.5	44.3	29.6
Migrants in labor force	54.4	70.6	54.5	70.5	55.7	70.4
In labor force	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	13.7	19.2	13.4	18.6	10.0	13.4
						4.3

Table 3

Labor Force Status, Occupation, and Percentage Distribution of Migrants in West Germany and West Berlin
and in East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex
1952, 1953, and 1954
(Continued)

Labor Force Status and Occupation	Net Migrants from East to West			Total Migrants from East to West			Total Migrants from West to East		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
	Distribution (Percent)								
Industry and handicrafts	34.1	44.9	17.3	34.5	45.4	17.3	37.4	49.5	17.5
Mining	1.8	3.0	(2)	1.9	3.1	(2)	2.9	4.6	(2)
Construction	5.2	8.4	0.2	5.4	8.7	0.2	7.1	11.2	0.4
Metalworking	10.6	16.4	1.5	10.5	16.4	1.5	10.4	15.8	1.6
Woodworking and related	2.1	3.3	0.1	2.1	3.3	0.1	2.1	3.3	0.2
Textiles	5.1	2.0	9.8	5.1	2.1	9.8	5.1	2.2	9.9
Food, drink, and tobacco	3.8	4.8	2.3	3.8	4.8	2.3	3.7	4.8	1.9
Technical occupations	4.3	6.2	1.4	4.3	6.2	1.4	4.4	6.1	1.5
Engineers and technicians	3.2	4.9	0.5	3.2	4.9	0.5	2.9	4.4	0.4
Commerce and transportation	21.3	20.7	22.2	21.0	20.5	21.8	18.5	19.1	17.5
Commerce	16.5	14.6	19.4	16.1	14.3	18.9	13.0	12.1	14.4
Transportation	3.5	4.8	1.5	3.6	4.9	1.5	3.9	5.6	1.3
Domestic, health, and social	15.4	1.7	36.7	15.6	1.9	37.1	17.5	3.4	40.8
Domestic occupations	10.2	0.1	25.9	10.3	0.1	26.2	10.8	0.2	28.3
Health	4.9	1.6	10.1	5.0	1.7	10.1	5.6	2.5	10.8

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Table 3

Labor Force Status, Occupation, and Percentage Distribution of Migrants in West Germany and West Berlin and in East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex 1952, 1953, and 1954 (Continued)

Labor Force Status and Occupation	Net Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from West to East	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Administration and justice	7.1	11.3	7.0	11.3	6.5	11.3
Administration and office occupations	6.6	11.4	6.4	11.1	4.8	8.5
Justice and security	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.1
Science and arts	4.1	5.8	4.2	5.9	5.7	7.1
Education and clergy	2.6	4.2	2.6	4.2	2.9	4.2

Distribution (Percent)

a. Except for migrants from West Germany to East Germany during 1953, data are available only for selected occupations within the major occupational groups. The sum of the numbers shown for the subgroups, therefore, does not equal the number shown for the major occupational groups.

b. Less than 0.05 percent.

Table 4

Percent of Migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin, 14 Years Old and Over,
Who Were in the Labor Force, by Age, Sex, and Population Group
1952 and 1953

Migrants (Age and Sex)	1952 and 1953					1953					1952 & /*						
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	
Total male and female, 14 years and over	71.7	67.7	72.8	63.2	66.0	63.9	65.1	69.3	76.4	69.9	80.2	76.1	71.7	67.7	72.8	63.2	66.0
14 to 17 years	58.4	57.2	60.0	56.4	55.1	47.0	57.7	54.4	61.0	62.4	62.2	57.7	14 to 17 years	58.4	57.2	60.0	56.4
18 to 20 years	90.4	89.7	91.9	87.7	89.4	89.0	90.0	88.2	91.0	90.1	93.2	87.3	18 to 20 years	90.4	89.7	91.9	87.7
21 to 24 years	86.3	86.8	88.1	82.7	81.1	80.4	82.7	78.5	89.4	89.7	91.4	85.4	21 to 24 years	86.3	86.8	88.1	82.7
25 to 29 years	78.1	81.8	79.4	73.5	73.6	82.0	73.4	69.3	81.4	81.7	84.1	77.1	25 to 29 years	78.1	81.8	79.4	73.5
30 to 34 years	72.9	75.5	71.1	73.5	67.9	69.6	64.1	72.5	76.7	78.9	77.3	74.3	30 to 34 years	72.9	75.5	71.1	73.5
35 to 39 years	75.6	79.3	74.4	75.2	70.5	84.9	67.2	68.8	79.9	76.0	81.6	79.6	35 to 39 years	75.6	79.3	74.4	75.2
40 to 44 years	72.3	68.8	72.5	74.7	67.3	63.5	66.8	72.3	77.3	73.5	79.8	76.3	40 to 44 years	72.3	68.8	72.5	74.7
45 to 49 years	72.2	69.7	72.1	74.3	66.8	61.9	66.7	70.4	77.0	75.0	79.9	78.0	45 to 49 years	72.2	69.7	72.1	74.3
50 to 54 years	67.5	66.2	66.6	70.6	63.2	61.0	61.2	70.5	73.2	69.7	77.5	70.8	50 to 54 years	67.5	66.2	66.6	70.6
55 to 59 years	54.5	45.4	54.6	66.2	50.2	42.6	51.0	57.7	62.0	57.7	63.2	75.3	55 to 59 years	54.5	45.4	54.6	66.2
60 to 64 years	43.4	29.4	46.2	46.6	42.2	32.5	44.3	47.4	45.3	26.5	51.1	61.3	60 to 64 years	43.4	29.4	46.2	46.6
65 years and over	13.9	6.6	16.4	22.7	15.7	10.9	17.2	17.2	12.1	4.4	14.7	27.2	65 years and over	13.9	6.6	16.4	22.7
Total male, 14 years and over	89.9	86.6	90.5	91.0	87.1	84.3	87.1	88.7	92.1	87.9	93.8	92.7	Total male, 14 years and over	89.9	86.6	90.5	91.0
14 to 17 years	56.7	51.6	59.1	55.9	55.7	40.0	58.1	60.6	57.6	59.2	60.3	52.8	14 to 17 years	56.7	51.6	59.1	55.9
18 to 20 years	94.1	93.2	94.9	93.3	92.8	91.5	92.9	93.5	95.0	94.0	96.5	93.1	18 to 20 years	94.1	93.2	94.9	93.3
21 to 24 years	93.7	92.0	93.9	94.6	88.9	88.5	89.0	88.9	96.6	93.5	97.0	97.9	21 to 24 years	93.7	92.0	93.9	94.6
25 to 29 years	93.6	92.9	94.9	92.2	91.2	92.1	93.5	87.5	95.4	93.4	95.9	96.2	25 to 29 years	93.6	92.9	94.9	92.2
30 to 34 years	96.8	96.2	97.3	96.6	95.7	92.6	96.6	96.2	97.6	97.9	97.9	97.0	30 to 34 years	96.8	96.2	97.3	96.6
35 to 39 years	97.8	99.1	97.5	97.5	96.4	97.7	96.0	96.3	98.8	98.6	98.7	98.4	35 to 39 years	97.8	99.1	97.5	97.5
40 to 44 years	98.6	98.3	98.2	99.5	99.3	100.0	97.7	98.6	99.1	98.6	98.8	98.0	40 to 44 years	98.6	98.3	98.2	99.5
45 to 49 years	99.1	100.0	98.0	98.6	99.3	100.0	99.4	98.6	98.9	100.0	98.5	98.6	45 to 49 years	99.1	100.0	98.0	98.6
50 to 54 years	98.0	96.9	98.3	98.1	97.9	97.1	97.9	98.3	98.1	96.8	99.0	97.9	50 to 54 years	98.0	96.9	98.3	98.1
55 to 59 years	99.5	89.7	96.3	98.6	94.4	87.9	95.5	97.1	97.2	92.0	96.0	100.0	55 to 59 years	99.5	89.7	96.3	98.6
60 to 64 years	82.7	71.1	82.4	94.9	82.0	72.7	82.5	90.0	84.1	82.4	82.4	100.0	60 to 64 years	82.7	71.1	82.4	94.9
65 years and over	32.5	18.0	38.1	39.1	34.9	26.7	37.9	34.9	29.1	13.0	40.7	43.2	65 years and over	32.5	18.0	38.1	39.1

* Footnote for Table 4 follows on p. 27.

Table 4
Percent of Migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin, 14 Years Old and Over,
Who Were in the Labor Force, by Age, Sex, and Population Group
1952 and 1953
(Continued)

Migrants (Age and Sex)	1952 and 1953				1953				1952			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Total female, 14 years and over	52.6	51.0	53.2	52.8	44.4	46.8	42.3	47.3	59.4	53.5	64.5	57.0
14 to 17 years	60.0	61.4	60.9	56.8	54.4	54.0	57.2	48.7	63.6	64.5	63.6	62.6
18 to 20 years	86.6	86.6	88.9	81.6	85.4	86.7	86.4	82.5	87.2	86.5	90.3	81.1
21 to 24 years	75.5	80.1	78.7	67.4	69.6	70.2	71.8	66.2	78.9	84.8	82.6	68.2
25 to 29 years	59.6	68.5	60.4	52.0	52.7	68.4	50.6	47.4	64.7	68.6	68.6	55.7
30 to 34 years	48.4	53.5	47.7	46.1	42.3	59.0	40.0	41.7	53.5	55.8	55.1	49.2
35 to 39 years	45.2	54.5	45.5	38.2	40.4	66.7	37.7	32.8	50.0	48.3	49.0	43.5
40 to 44 years	41.0	43.2	40.2	40.6	30.6	43.8	34.9	37.5	45.4	42.4	47.4	42.9
45 to 49 years	39.8	43.8	35.0	44.8	33.5	31.9	28.1	35.7	50.7	52.3	47.4	53.3
50 to 54 years	37.9	37.5	35.1	44.1	33.5	35.4	31.5	38.5	44.7	39.3	45.3	49.2
55 to 59 years	29.2	26.5	27.3	39.0	23.4	22.7	23.2	25.6	39.3	31.2	38.2	53.8
60 to 64 years	23.5	16.8	23.2	35.0	19.6	18.0	19.0	24.3	29.3	15.6	33.3	44.2
65 years and over	4.1	2.2	3.6	10.8	2.9	3.9	2.7	2.0	5.1	1.4	4.9	17.1

a. To East Germany only.

Table 5

Labor Force Status and Occupation of the Total Migrants
from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin, by Population Group
1952, 1953, and 1954

Labor Force Status and Occupation a/*	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Total migrants	58,640	11,450	27,872	19,318	32,595	6,055	15,283	11,257
Migrants not in labor force	25,900	5,049	11,322	9,529	14,934	2,804	6,485	5,645
Migrants in labor force	32,740	6,401	16,550	9,789	17,661	3,251	8,798	5,612
Agriculture	3,774	1,067	1,942	765	1,654	470	822	362
Industry and handicrafts	12,753	2,436	6,226	4,091	6,719	1,335	3,123	2,261
Mining	1,348	278	471	599	749	142	219	388
Construction	2,499	468	1,215	816	1,245	257	552	436
Metalworking	3,377	587	1,706	1,084	1,834	345	906	583
Woodworking and related	778	180	393	205	357	92	156	109
Textiles	1,551	355	771	425	882	204	439	239
Food, drink, and tobacco	1,235	218	635	382	718	129	362	227
Technical occupations	1,224	180	642	402	720	78	376	266
Engineers and technicians	759	61	417	281	537	38	291	208
Commerce and transportation	5,231	734	2,902	1,595	3,210	410	1,757	1,043
Commerce	3,661	473	2,084	1,104	2,347	273	1,300	774
Transportation	1,022	158	505	359	572	97	277	198

* Footnote for Table 5 follows on p. 29.

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Table 5

Labor Force Status and Occupation of the Total Migrants
from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin, by Population Group
1952, 1953, and 1954
(Continued)

Labor Force Status and Occupation	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Domestic, health, and social	6,111	1,394	2,932	1,785	3,292	738	1,600	954
Domestic occupations	4,123	995	1,933	1,195	2,208	541	1,042	625
Health	1,550	307	760	483	1,014	189	520	305
Administration and justice	2,108	364	1,169	575	1,136	132	633	371
Administrations and office occupations	1,391	164	782	445	986	105	560	321
Justice and security	144	26	65	53	113	18	53	42
Science and arts	1,539	226	737	576	930	88	487	355
Education and clergy	724	156	318	250	428	65	208	155

a. It was assumed that migrants whose occupations were not specified had the same occupational distribution as had those migrants whose occupations were specified.

Table 6

Migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin, by Sex a/
1952, 1953, and 1954

Area of Destination and Population Group	Total		Male		Female	
	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954	1952, 1953, and 1954	1954
Total migrants to East Germany and East Berlin	58,640	32,595	29,398	16,032	29,242	16,563
Expellees	11,450	6,055	5,351	2,793	6,099	3,262
Refugees	27,872	15,283	13,867	7,305	14,005	7,978
Others	19,318	11,257	10,180	5,934	9,138	5,323
Total migrants to East Germany	56,884	31,816	28,479	15,636	28,405	16,180
Expellees	11,206	5,944	5,242	2,749	5,964	3,195
Refugees	26,960	14,860	13,391	7,098	13,569	7,762
Others	18,718	11,012	9,846	5,789	8,872	5,223
Total migrants to East Berlin	1,756	779	919	396	837	383
Expellees	244	111	109	44	135	67
Refugees	912	423	476	207	436	216
Others	600	245	334	145	266	100

a. 13

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Table 7
Percentage Distribution by Labor Force Status and Occupation of Total Migrants
From West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin ^a/_{*}
1952, 1953, and 1954

Labor Force Status and Occupation	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total migrants	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Migrants not in labor force	44.2	44.1	40.6	49.3	45.8	46.3	42.4	50.1
Migrants in labor force	55.8	55.9	59.4	50.7	54.2	53.7	57.6	49.9
In labor force	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	11.5	16.7	11.7	7.8	9.4	14.4	9.3	6.5
Industry and handicrafts	39.0	38.0	37.6	41.8	38.0	41.1	35.5	40.3
Mining	4.1	4.3	2.8	6.1	4.2	4.4	2.5	6.9
Construction	7.6	7.3	7.3	8.3	7.0	7.9	6.3	7.8
Metalworking	10.3	9.2	10.3	11.1	10.4	10.6	10.3	10.4
Woodworking and related	2.4	2.8	2.4	2.1	2.0	2.8	1.8	1.9
Textiles	4.7	5.5	4.7	4.3	5.0	6.3	5.0	4.3
Food, drink, and tobacco	3.8	3.4	3.8	3.9	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.0
Technical occupations	3.7	2.8	3.9	4.1	4.1	2.4	4.3	4.7
Engineers and technicians	2.3	1.0	2.5	2.9	3.0	1.2	3.3	3.7
Commerce and transportation	16.0	11.5	17.5	16.3	18.2	12.6	20.0	18.6
Commerce	11.2	7.4	12.6	11.3	13.3	8.4	14.8	13.8
Transportation	3.1	2.5	3.1	3.7	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.5

* Footnote for Table 7 follows on p. 32.

Table 7

Percentage Distribution by Labor Force Status and Occupation of Total Migrants
 from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin
 1952, 1953, and 1954
 (continued)

Labor Force Status and Occupation	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Domestic, health, and social	18.7	21.8	17.7	18.2	18.6	22.7	18.2	17.0
Domestic occupations	12.6	15.5	11.7	12.2	12.5	16.6	11.8	11.1
Health	4.7	4.8	4.6	4.9	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.4
Administration and justice	6.4	5.7	7.1	5.9	6.4	4.1	7.2	6.6
Administration and office occupations	4.2	2.6	4.7	4.5	5.6	3.2	6.4	5.7
Justice and security	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7
Science and arts	4.7	3.5	4.5	5.9	5.3	2.7	5.5	6.3
Education and clergy	2.2	2.4	1.9	2.6	2.4	2.0	2.4	2.8

a. Derived from Table 5, p. 28, above. Percentages are based on unrounded numbers.

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Table 8

Total Number and Percentage Distribution of Migrants Between West Germany and West Berlin and East Germany and East Berlin, by Age and Sex a/ 1952, 1953, and 1954

Migrants (Age)	Net Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from East to West		Total Migrants from West to East				
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female			
Total migrants	853,022	399,841	453,181	943,707	444,539	499,168	90,685	44,698	45,987
Under 14 years	152,245	76,801	75,344	169,989	85,734	84,255	17,844	8,933	8,911
14 to 17 years	75,809	39,953	35,856	81,717	42,584	39,133	5,908	2,631	3,277
18 to 20 years	90,411	52,952	37,459	98,039	56,609	41,430	7,628	3,657	3,971
21 to 24 years	81,460	42,060	39,400	92,684	48,197	44,487	11,224	6,137	5,087
25 to 29 years	75,213	32,519	42,694	85,862	38,157	47,705	10,649	5,638	5,011
30 to 39 years	106,966	42,301	64,665	118,092	47,780	70,272	11,086	5,479	5,607
40 to 49 years	110,703	48,683	62,020	120,677	54,077	66,600	9,974	5,394	4,580
50 to 64 years	112,446	46,992	65,454	123,400	51,988	71,412	10,954	4,996	5,958
65 years and over	47,869	17,580	30,289	53,287	19,413	33,874	5,418	1,833	3,585
Median age-years	26.8	23.9	29.5	26.7	24.1	29.2	26.3	25.9	26.7

Distribution (Percent)

Total migrants	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 14 years	17.9	19.2	16.6	18.0	19.3	16.9	19.7	20.0	19.4
15 to 17 years	8.9	10.0	7.9	8.7	9.6	7.8	6.5	5.9	7.1
18 to 20 years	10.6	13.2	8.3	10.4	12.7	8.3	8.4	8.2	8.6
21 to 24 years	9.5	10.5	8.7	9.8	10.8	8.9	12.4	13.7	11.1
25 to 29 years	8.8	8.1	9.4	9.1	8.6	9.6	11.7	12.6	10.9
30 to 39 years	12.5	10.6	14.3	12.5	10.7	14.1	12.2	12.2	12.2
40 to 49 years	13.0	12.2	13.7	12.8	12.2	13.3	11.0	12.1	10.0
50 to 64 years	13.2	11.8	14.4	13.1	11.7	14.3	12.1	11.2	12.9
65 years and over	5.6	4.4	6.7	5.6	4.4	6.8	6.0	4.1	7.8

a. 1952 and 1953 figures derived from Tables 9, 11, and 13, pp. 34, 38, and 40, respectively, below.

Table 9

Migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin,
by Age, Sex, and Population Group
1952, 1953, and 1954

Migrants (Age and Sex)	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Total male and female, all ages	58,640	11,450	27,872	19,318	32,595	6,055	15,283	11,257
Under 14 years	11,670	1,709	4,359	5,602	6,560	961	2,356	3,243
14 to 17 years	3,745	788	1,913	1,044	2,251	468	1,129	654
18 to 20 years	5,208	970	2,802	1,436	2,910	506	1,546	858
21 to 24 years	7,953	1,409	3,959	2,585	3,792	608	1,785	1,399
25 to 29 years	7,430	1,525	3,372	2,533	3,843	715	1,692	1,436
30 to 39 years	7,255	1,364	3,313	2,578	4,003	701	1,789	1,513
40 to 49 years	5,615	1,081	2,939	1,595	3,270	587	1,718	965
50 to 64 years	6,183	1,443	3,403	1,337	3,715	837	2,076	802
65 years and over	3,581	1,161	1,812	608	2,251	672	1,192	387
Median age-years	25.5	27.8	26.3	23.4	26.0	28.4	27.4	23.5
Total male, all ages	29,398	5,351	13,867	10,180	16,032	2,793	7,305	5,934
Under 14 years	5,896	912	2,156	2,828	3,304	536	1,151	1,617
14 to 17 years	1,749	358	910	481	1,042	220	533	289
18 to 20 years	2,714	474	1,481	759	1,565	257	847	461
21 to 24 years	4,701	766	2,397	1,538	2,235	315	1,049	871
25 to 29 years	4,087	813	1,847	1,427	2,142	376	926	840
30 to 39 years	3,572	653	1,555	1,364	1,846	300	786	760
40 to 49 years	2,963	506	1,539	918	1,676	273	845	558
50 to 64 years	2,604	526	1,439	639	1,567	308	856	403
65 years and over	1,112	343	543	226	655	208	312	135
Median age-years	24.7	26.0	25.0	23.7	24.8	25.9	25.4	23.8

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Migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin,
by Age, Sex, and Population Group
1952, 1953, and 1954
(Continued)

Table 9

Migrants (Age and Sex)	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Total female, all ages	29,242	6,099	14,005	9,138	16,563	3,262	7,978	5,323
Under 14 years	5,774	797	2,203	2,774	3,256	425	1,205	1,626
14 to 17 years	1,996	430	1,003	563	1,209	248	596	365
18 to 20 years	2,494	496	1,321	677	1,345	249	699	397
21 to 24 years	3,252	643	1,562	1,047	1,557	293	736	528
25 to 29 years	3,343	712	1,525	1,106	1,701	339	766	596
30 to 39 years	3,683	711	1,758	1,214	2,157	401	1,003	753
40 to 49 years	2,652	575	1,400	677	1,594	314	873	407
50 to 64 years	3,579	917	1,964	698	2,148	529	1,220	399
65 years and over	2,469	818	1,269	382	1,596	464	880	252
Median age-years	26.7	29.8	28.0	23.1	27.7	31.9	29.9	23.1

Table 10

Percentage Distribution of Migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin,
by Age, Sex, and Population Group
1952, 1953, and 1954
(Continued)

Migrants (Age and Sex)	1952, 1953, and 1954				1954			
	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others	Total	Expellees	Refugees	Others
Total female, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 14 years	19.8	13.1	15.7	30.3	19.7	13.0	15.1	30.6
14 to 17 years	6.8	7.1	7.2	6.2	7.3	7.6	7.5	6.9
18 to 20 years	8.5	8.1	9.4	7.4	8.1	7.7	8.8	7.5
21 to 24 years	11.1	10.5	11.1	11.5	9.4	9.0	9.2	9.9
25 to 29 years	11.4	11.7	10.9	12.1	10.3	10.4	9.6	11.2
30 to 39 years	12.6	11.7	12.6	13.3	13.0	12.3	12.6	14.1
40 to 49 years	9.1	9.4	10.0	7.4	9.6	9.6	10.9	7.6
50 to 64 years	12.2	15.0	14.0	7.6	13.0	16.2	15.3	7.5
65 years and over	8.5	13.4	9.1	4.2	9.6	14.2	11.0	4.7

Table 12

Total Number and Percentage Distribution of Migrants
from West Berlin with Unspecified Destination, by Age and Sex a/
1952 and 1953

Migrants (Age)	1952 and 1953			1953			1952		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total migrants	29,000	17,400	11,700	14,900	8,900	6,100	14,100	8,500	5,600
Under 14 years	2,700	1,400	1,300	1,400	700	700	1,200	600	600
14 to 17 years	1,000	500	500	500	300	200	500	200	200
18 to 20 years	2,100	1,100	1,000	1,100	600	500	1,000	500	400
21 to 24 years	4,300	2,500	1,900	2,200	1,200	1,000	2,100	1,200	900
25 to 29 years	3,900	2,100	1,700	2,100	1,200	900	1,800	1,000	800
30 to 39 years	5,500	3,400	2,100	2,700	1,700	1,100	2,800	1,700	1,100
40 to 49 years	5,000	3,400	1,600	2,500	1,700	800	2,400	1,700	700
50 to 64 years	3,700	2,500	1,200	2,000	1,300	600	1,800	1,200	600
65 years and over	900	400	400	400	200	200	500	200	200
Median age-years	31.1	33.3	28.6	30.6	32.9	28.2	31.6	33.5	29.0

Distribution (Percent)

Total migrants	100.0			100.0			100.0		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 14 years	9.2	7.8	11.2	9.6	8.0	11.7	8.8	7.6	10.6
14 to 17 years	3.4	3.0	4.0	3.5	3.1	4.1	3.2	2.8	3.8
18 to 20 years	7.1	6.4	8.2	7.3	6.5	8.5	6.9	6.3	7.8
21 to 24 years	14.9	14.1	15.9	14.6	13.8	15.9	15.1	14.5	16.1
25 to 29 years	13.4	12.4	15.0	14.0	13.1	15.2	12.9	11.7	14.7
30 to 39 years	19.0	19.5	18.2	18.3	19.0	17.4	19.7	20.0	19.2
40 to 49 years	17.1	19.6	13.4	16.9	19.1	13.7	17.4	20.3	13.0
50 to 64 years	12.9	14.7	10.3	13.1	15.2	10.0	12.7	14.1	10.6
65 years and over	3.0	2.5	3.8	2.7	2.2	3.5	3.3	2.7	4.2

a. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred without adjustment to group totals, which are independently rounded. Percentages are based on unrounded numbers.

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Table 13

Total Number and Percentage Distribution of Migrants to West Germany and West Berlin from East Germany and East Berlin, by Age and Sex g/* 1952 and 1953

Migrants (Age) g/	1952 and 1953			1953			1952 b/			
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
Total migrants	640,200	302,100	338,100	408,100	194,100	214,000	232,100	108,000	124,100	
Under 14 years	121,300	60,600	60,700	79,200	39,900	39,200	42,100	20,700	21,400	
14 to 17 years	54,400	29,500	25,000	34,500	18,200	16,300	19,900	11,300	8,600	
18 to 20 years	60,300	36,700	23,600	39,000	23,300	15,800	21,300	13,400	7,900	
21 to 24 years	62,300	33,200	29,100	37,400	19,800	17,500	24,900	13,400	11,600	
25 to 29 years	56,100	35,200	32,900	34,700	15,500	19,200	23,400	9,700	13,700	
30 to 39 years	81,000	32,100	48,900	50,900	20,500	30,300	30,100	11,600	18,600	
40 to 49 years	83,600	36,800	46,900	54,100	24,100	30,000	29,500	12,700	16,900	
50 to 64 years	86,100	36,100	50,000	57,200	24,800	32,400	28,900	11,300	17,600	
65 years and over	33,000	11,900	21,100	21,200	8,000	13,200	11,800	3,900	7,900	
Median age-years	26.9	23.9	29.7	27.0	24.2	29.7	26.7	23.6	29.6	
		Distribution (Percent)								
Total migrants	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 14 years	18.9	20.1	17.9	19.4	20.6	18.3	18.1	19.2	17.3	
14 to 17 years	8.5	9.8	7.4	8.4	9.3	7.6	8.6	10.5	7.0	
18 to 20 years	9.4	12.1	8.6	9.6	12.0	8.2	9.2	12.4	6.3	
21 to 24 years	9.7	11.0	8.6	9.2	10.2	8.2	10.7	12.4	9.3	
25 to 29 years	9.1	8.3	9.7	8.5	8.0	9.0	10.1	9.0	11.0	
30 to 39 years	12.7	10.6	14.5	12.5	10.6	14.2	13.0	10.7	15.0	
40 to 49 years	13.1	12.2	13.9	13.2	12.4	14.0	12.7	11.7	13.6	
50 to 64 years	13.4	12.0	14.8	14.0	12.8	15.1	12.5	10.5	14.2	
65 years and over	5.2	3.9	6.2	5.2	4.1	6.2	5.1	3.6	6.3	

* Footnotes for Table 13 follow on p. 41.

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Total Number and Percentage Distribution of Migrants
to West Germany and West Berlin from East Germany and East Berlin, by Age and Sex
1952 and 1953
(Continued)

Table 13

a. 14/. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred without adjustment to group totals, which are independently rounded. Percentages are based on unrounded numbers.

b. For migrants to the North Rhine - Westphalia area, the source shows age groups of 14 to 20 years and 21 to 29 years. The numbers in these 2 age groups were redistributed to the 4 age groups between 14 and 29 years shown here by assuming that the distribution of migrants to the North Rhine - Westphalia area within these ages was the same as for migrants to other states of West Germany.

c. It was assumed that the age-sex distribution of migrants to the West from East Germany during 1952 and 1953 was the same as for the 195,140 migrants from the East to West Germany in 1952 and the 375,666 migrants from these areas in 1953.

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APPENDIX B

METHODOLOGY

In general, the footnotes to the tables in Appendix A point out in sufficient detail the necessary qualifications to the data used in this report. The following problems and assumptions, however, should be emphasized:

1. The number of migrants to the West whose origin was indicated in the source materials as having been East Germany (see Tables 1 and 2*) should be considered as estimates only because of problems of both under-counting and double-counting of migrants.

2. The proportion of migrants of unspecified origin who came from East Germany and the proportion of migrants of unspecified destination who went to East Germany are estimated on the basis of the assumptions given in footnote e to Table 1.** The data presented in the subsequent tables are for migrants whose origin or destination is indicated as East Germany.

3. The data

were adjusted as follows:

a. Migrants from West Germany to East Berlin in 1952, not shown separately in the tabulations, were assumed to have had the same distribution by age, by status in the labor force, and by occupation as had migrants from West Germany to East Berlin in 1953.

b. Migrants to East Germany from Hesse in 1952, not shown in the tabulations, were assumed to have had the same characteristics as had migrants from the other lands of West Germany in 1952.

c. Migrants in the labor force whose occupations were not specified were assumed to have had the same distribution by occupation as had those migrants of the same group whose occupations were specified.

* Pp. 16 and 20, respectively, above.

** P. 17, above.

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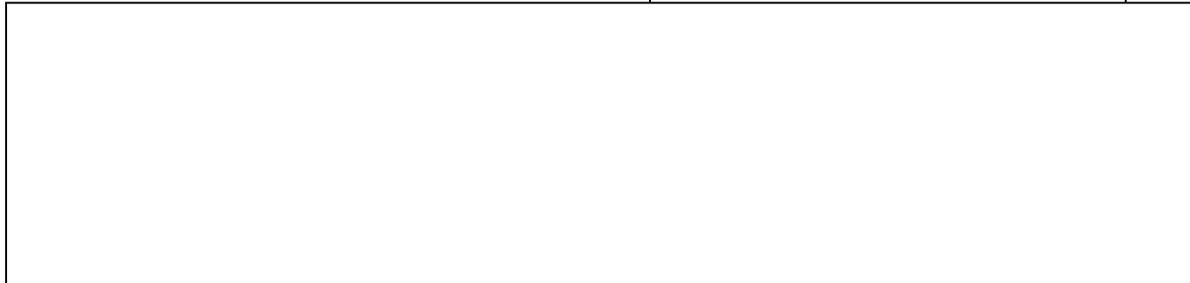
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4. The characteristics of migrants to the West were assumed to have been the same as for migrants to West Germany from East Germany and from both East and West Berlin. The validity of this assumption is largely dependent on (a) the extent to which migration from West Berlin to West Germany consisted of persons who moved to West Berlin from East Germany during the same time periods, and (b) the extent to which the characteristics of these migrants from East Germany to West Berlin who remained in West Berlin differed from those who later moved to West Germany.

5. Except for migrants from West Germany to East Germany during 1953, data are available only for selected occupations within the major occupational groups. For other groups of migrants, therefore, the sum of the numbers shown for specific occupations is not identical with the number shown for the major occupational group.

6. A breakdown of migrants from West Germany to East Germany and East Berlin, as undertaken in Table 4* for the years 1952 and 1953, could not be obtained for 1954.

7. The West German government has been publishing data on the number of East-West refugees registering at the emergency reception camps at Berlin, Giessen, and Uelzen.



* P. 26, above.

