

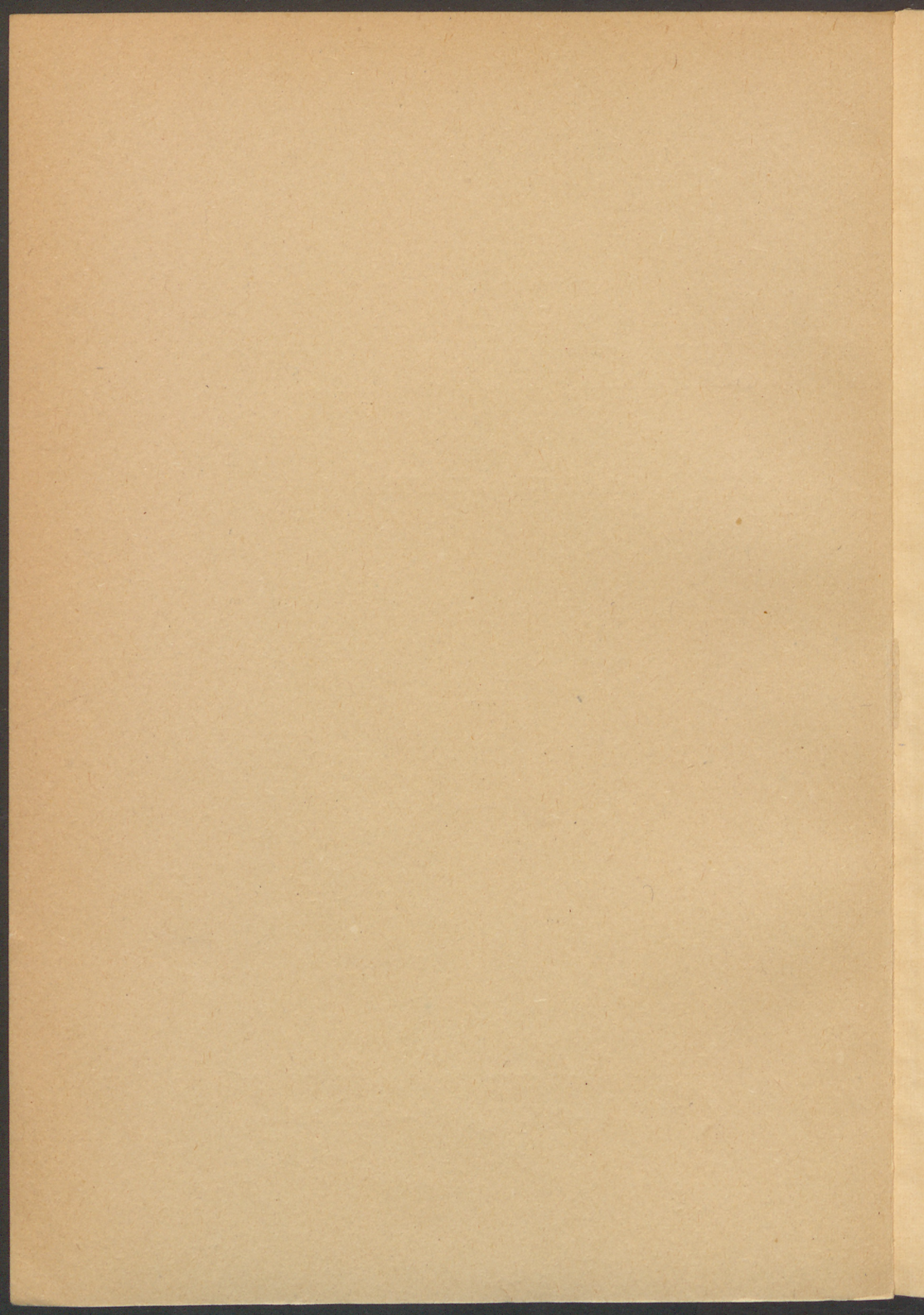
GERMAN RURAL POPULATION

BY
RAJMUND BUŁAWSKI



PUBLISHED BY THE BALTIC INSTITUTE
GDAŃSK — BYDGOSZCZ — SZCZECIN

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Wydawnictwo Instytutu Bałtyckiego w Gdyni

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Translated by B. W. A. MASEY



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The author of the present work, Dr Rajmund Buławski, is Director of the Bureau of Settlement and Resettlement Studies and Vice-Chairman of the Research Council for Recovered Territory Problems, Cracow.

The Research Council is an institution set up by the Polish Government and composed of about 70 persons drawn from the ranks of university professors and teachers in educational institutions of university rank as well as of those who have a practical acquaintance with the subject, with the aim of preparing material for a considered plan and proposals relating to the best method of settling and administering the districts recovered by Poland.

Dr Buławski's pamphlet was read as a paper at a meeting of the Council in December, 1945. All papers read at meetings of the Council express only the personal views of their authors.

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INTRODUCTION

The problem of the resettlement of the area recovered by Poland presents two aspects, the Polish and the German. The Poles, for their part, are naturally interested in the question of the possibilities existing for the colonization of the new territory with Polish settlers and of the means which may best be employed in carrying it out. Various reports presented to the Research Council have endeavoured to answer it. No less important, however, from the international point of view is the question what to do with the German population who are being compelled to leave the region and how to incorporate them in the German social economy in such way that they shall not be a burden on it, but may continue afterwards as before to be active in production. Insofar as concerns the non-farming German population who have been or are being deported, the present situation in Germany is too obscure to justify an attempt to indicate the solution of the problem of their reemployment, and even in the agricultural sphere we have to reckon with many unknown quantities which darken the picture. Nevertheless the subject is easier to deal with inasmuch as we have at our disposal in the data concerning agricultural holdings a safer basis for calculation than is offered by any pre-war data concerning industrial undertakings or urban

real estate. Accordingly, this investigation into the possibilities existent for the settlement of present-day Germany is undertaken with the conviction that, although its results may be purely tentative in character they will not be without value.

INTRODUCTION

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Chapter I

INSUFFICIENCY OF GERMAN RURAL POPULATION BEFORE THE WAR

The Flight from the Land

The proportion of the rural population to the whole mass of inhabitants as it appeared in Germany in the decades immediately preceding the war was paradoxical, for despite the general increase in the number of inhabitants the rural population continuously decreased, as may be shown by the following table:

*Table 1: Growth of Population in Germany**

Year	Total Population (Millions)	Population of Village Communi- ties of less than 2000 Inhabi- tants	
		(Millions)	(%)
1871	41.0	26.2	63.9
1875	42.7	26.1	61.0
1880	45.2	26.5	58.6
1885	46.9	26.4	56.3
1890	49.4	26.2	53.0
1895	52.3	26.0	49.8
1900	56.4	25.8	45.6
1905	60.6	25.8	42.6
1910	64.9	25.9	40.0
Area after the 1914--18 War			
1920	57.8	22.2	38.5
1925	64.4	22.2	35.6
1933	65.2	21.5	33.0

That is to say that the numbers of the population of rural communities — under which heading may be included

*) Source: *Wirtschaft und Statistik* 1935, Pl. 5, p. 158.

the great majority of communities of less than 2000 people — had substantially diminished during the course of sixty years, not only in proportion to the whole population, but even absolutely. The fall in the farming population, moreover, was even greater than that of the rural population, as is evident from the following figures:

*Population maintained by Agriculture within the
Territorial Boundaries of the Treaty of Versailles*)*

In 1882	15944 thousands
1895	15446 "
1907	14922 "
1925	14374 "
1933	13661 "

Thus the farming population diminished from census to census by more or less half a million, and of recent years by almost as much as three-quarters of a million. The fall was so great as not only to counterbalance the whole natural increase of the population, but even to diminish the total number of the farming population. If, according to the calculations of Quante**), to the farming population of Germany in 1882 within the boundaries of the time, amounting to 19,225,000, is added the natural increase up to the year 1907, the figure of 27,416,000 is obtained. That would have been the number of the farming population in 1907 had there been no efflux into other occupations. But in point of fact the census of 1907 showed only 17,681,000 as engaged in agriculture. So between 1882 and 1907 9,735,000 persons abandoned agriculture for other occupations. That this process continued unabated after the latter year is clear from the figures of our Table 1.

*) *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 458.

**) Peter Quante: *Die Flucht aus der Landwirtschaft* (The Flight from the Land), p. 248. 1933.

This transference of the farming population to other occupations, which went on with increasing momentum from year to year, is designated by German writers as *die Landflucht* (the Flight from the Land), and it led to a situation which may justifiably be described as the depopulation of the German countryside, and was felt most strongly in the eastern provinces of the Reich, so aptly described by Burgdörfer in the terse phrase *Raum ohne Volk* (Space without People). To show that this deficiency was a fact characteristic of agricultural conditions in Germany right up to the outbreak of the recent war, a number of authors may be quoted.

We constantly find German writers complaining that the number of workers on the land is insufficient. We will here quote a few such expressions. Sering, in his well-known work *), published in 1893, says: 'Large areas of agricultural country are without the workers necessary for their cultivation and clearance. Thousands of agricultural labourers' cottages stand empty. The shortage of good workers has reached such proportions that the rational conduct of agriculture has frequently become impossible'. **) That the conditions described by this writer in 1893 have not altered since then may be deduced from the fact that Quante, quoting him in his own work of 1933, adds: 'I do not propose to question these sometimes most alarming conditions in the Prussian east.' ***)

Other contemporary voices may also be mentioned, asserting that the shortage of workers was the sore spot in German agriculture. Discussing the causes of the diminution in the labour force employed in farming, Eichweber finds

*) *Die innere Kolonisation im Östlichen Deutschland* (Internal Colonization in Eastern Germany).

**) Sering, l. c., p. 8.

***) Quante, l. c., p. 39.

them 'in the first place in the flight of agricultural workers from the land, which has continuously diminished the supply of labour, so that ever since the closing decades of last century there have been ever-increasing complaints of a shortage of workers in agriculture.*) And this shortage was not remedied even by the increasing mechanization of German agriculture. Eichweber says elsewhere: 'The decrease in the demand for labour caused by the mechanization of farming was not at that time so considerable as to bring about a comparative permanent increase in supply. On the contrary, the flight from the land was so extensive that notwithstanding the introduction of labour-saving appliances there was still a shortage of labour.'**)

It was only this inability to find the required number of workers in the home labour market which explained the importation into German agriculture, particularly for seasonal work in the summer, of large numbers of workers from other countries, particularly from Poland. In 1906 the number of contractual foreign workers was 600 thousand, and by 1914 this figure had risen to 800 thousand.***) After the war of 1914—18 this influx of foreign workers was restricted as far as possible by the German Government for political reasons, but it continued none the less within the smaller limits.

In order to ensure to agriculture its required number of workers the Government was compelled to have recourse to Draconian methods, abolishing to a great extent the liberty of the farming population to move elsewhere. An enactment of May 15, 1934, concerning the engagement of workers empowered the President of the Reich Labour

*) Erich Eichweber: *Zur Frage einer Reagrarisierung Deutschlands* (On the Question of the Restoration of German Agriculture), p. 24. 1937.

**) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

***) Fr. Burgdörfer: *Zurück zum Agrarstaat?* (Back to an Agrarian State?), p. 31. 1933.

Office to issue regulations which made it necessary for his consent to be obtained before any workers who had hitherto been employed in agriculture could be accepted for work in non-agricultural undertakings. The President made wide use of this power, restricting the flow of workers from the villages to the mines and to a number of other important branches of the metal and building industries. By a decree of February 15, 1935, concerning the satisfaction of the labour requirements of agriculture the President of the Reich Labour Office was further empowered to issue regulations for the dismissal from non-agricultural undertakings of manual and brain workers who had been employed previously in agriculture. Much use was made of this decree, which placed the power of decision in particular cases in the hands of the competent Labour Offices.

The „Landhilfe”

These decrees, which were opposed to the fundamental principles of civic liberty and which seemed to bring back the old days of forced labour on the landowners' land, were yet evidently insufficient to ensure to agriculture the workers it needed, for the government found itself compelled to direct even non-agricultural workers to work on the land. An institution was set up under the name of *Landhilfe* (Aid for the Land), creating from among such persons as received assistance groups of 'village helpers' composed of at least five persons under the guidance of someone well acquainted with agricultural pursuits. The same purpose underlay the establishment of another institution, the *Landjahr*, or Year's Work on the Land, whereby young persons leaving school were compelled to work in agriculture for at least one year. As can be easily understood, however, neither of these institutions fulfilled the hopes of its initiators.

This is plainly stated by Rogmann, who says that 'the *Hitlerjugend*, the work of students on the land, and the women's labour service sufficed only partially to make up for the shortage of experienced agricultural labourers.*)

All these regulations confirm the thesis that the German countryside was insufficiently populated and afford evidence that this population was not in position without external aid to satisfy the requirements of agriculture in the sphere of work. We shall come to the same conclusion if we observe more closely the colonizing activity promoted by the German Government.

In its search for a natural solution of the problem offered by the depopulation of the villages, the German Government immediately after the 1914—18 war proceeded to the parcellation of the larger estates and the creation out of them of peasant holdings.**)

The basis of this action was the Reich decree concerning settlement, published on August 11, 1919, which among other things made it obligatory for the owners of large

*) Heinz Rogmann: *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung im preussischen Osten in den letzten hundert Jahren* (Population development in the Prussian East in the last Hundred Years), p. 184. 1937.

***) It should be pointed out that the colonizing action undertaken by the German Government before the 1914—18 war was principally directed against the Poles. Thus we read in Eichweber, loc. cit., p. 48: 'After the days of Frederick the Great there was stagnation in the work of colonization. New and powerful State activity began only after the re-foundation of the German Reich. It was due in the first place to political considerations. In the Prussian provinces of Posen and West Prussia, where the Polish element was very strong, it was necessary to give the German element stronger support by the introduction and settlement of German peasants. The importance of the Polish element had increased owing to the fact that the Germans, who had formerly been predominant here, had migrated in consequence of the industrial development of the Reich and the growth of population, and there had begun a flight from the land. It may be doubted whether, but for that political motive, colonization action would so quickly have been revived. After the war this colonization was given a broader ideological basis in Germany and was connected with social and cultural tendencies making for regeneration. Even now, however, political considerations play a great part. Even writers whose attitude to this activity is fundamentally sceptical consider it justified in the eastern provinces of Germany on account of the ever-present 'Polish peril'. Burgdörfer, for instance, makes constant mention of this peril and in his numerous works shows again and again that the high birthrate of the Polish peasantry, contributing as it does to the strengthening of the Slavonic element on the Slav-German border, facilitates the gradual infiltration of that element into German territory; a process which can only be checked by the creation of a strong line of defence consisting of German peasantry closely bound to the soil and biologically sound. (See, e. g., *Der Geburtenrückgang und seine Bekämpfung* (The Fall in the Birthrate and Efforts to Counteract It), pp. 160—. 1929.

estates (comprising more than 100 hectares, or 247 acres) to surrender for colonization purposes one-third of the area utilized for agriculture, except in cases where the whole area of agricultural land belonging to them did not exceed 10% of the total of such land in the whole colonization district. After the rise to power of the Nazis certain shortcomings in this decree were removed by the decree of July 14, 1933, ordering the creation of a German peasantry and putting the whole colonization activity under the control of the central organs of the Reich, instead of, as it had been before, under that of the particular component states.

Despite this legal sanction, and despite the fact that there was never a shortage of land for colonization — since, as is clear from published statistics and as is stated by various writers, such as Stremme,*) the voluntary supply of land by the large proprietors was such that there was no need to have recourse to expropriation — the results of this post-war activity were insignificant: between 1919 and 1941 only 79,779 new peasant holdings were established. This is not a large number, as we may realize if we compare the results of colonization efforts in other countries, such as Poland, where between 1919 and 1938 153,600 separate holdings were created, or twice as many as in Germany.

It is noteworthy that this comparison, so unfavourable to Germany, was made even by German writers. Thus, for example, we read in Eichweber: 'How essential it is to hasten on the work of colonization with all our strength is indicated also by a fact of political importance. According to the account given by Sering at the conference at Oeynhausen, the Poles succeeded between 1919 and 1928 in creating 109,000 new peasant holdings comprising 967,000 hectares of land (2.4 million acres). That is to say that the Poles up

*) Supplementary Part No. 228 to *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1937, p. 12.

to the year 1928 had established considerably more new settlers than we have done in the whole post-war period up to the present time. This shows that it is not only essential, but also quite possible, to hasten on colonization with all our strength.'*) It should be explained that the conference at Oeynhausen in question was held in February, 1933.

The small progress made in internal colonization by Germany is only to be explained by a lack of interest in the question on the part of the broad masses of the population. This conclusion is justified by a consideration of the methods employed in carrying out the project. Reasons of population policy required the creation of the largest possible number of medium-sized holdings, such as were calculated to support the largest number of people. And such was the course pursued in the first period. In 1933 the average size of a newly established holding was 12.3 hectares (30.4 acres), but after that year this figure began rapidly to increase, and by 1941 had reached 25.3 hectares, or twice as much.

The modifications which took place in colonization policy may be illustrated by the following table:

Table 2: *Separate Holdings created by Parcellation**)*
Tabulated according to Size

Year	Total holdings	Total area							
		Under 2 ha.		2—10 ha.		10—20 ha.		Over 20 ha.	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1919-32	57457	16852	29.3	14549	25.3	21150	36.9	4906	8.5
1933	4914	260	5.3	1678	34.2	2622	53.3	354	7.2
1934	4921	239	4.8	1226	24.9	2612	53.0	854	17.3
1935	3905	224	5.7	632	16.2	2091	53.6	958	24.5
1936	3308	169	5.1	496	15.0	1664	50.3	979	29.6
1937	1894	64	3.4	237	12.5	909	48.0	684	36.1
1938	1456	78	5.4	236	16.2	624	42.8	518	35.6
1939	846	33	3.9	105	12.4	374	44.2	334	39.5
1940	687	61	8.9	72	10.5	250	36.4	304	44.2
1941	381	10	2.6	25	6.6	162	42.5	184	48.3

*) loc. cit.

**) Source: *Wirtschaft und Statistik* 1942, p. 376.

The increase in the size of the freshly-created holdings finds expression principally in the increase in number of the holdings of more than 20 hectares. Whereas between 1919 and 1932 this group comprised only 8.5% of the whole number and in 1933 only 7.2%, this figure rose in 1934 to 17.3% and thenceforward continued to rise until in 1941 it was actually 48.3%. This increase was accompanied by a continuous fall in the percentage of the lower groups, of under 2 hectares and of from 2 to 10 hectares respectively. Only in the 10—20-hectare group did it remain at more or less the same level.

From 1934 onwards there appeared a clearly-marked tendency towards the creation of larger peasant holdings. If in 1941 the average size of newly-created holdings was 25.3 ha., it seems reasonable to suppose that in a number of cases that figure must actually have been considerably larger. And a glance at the data relating to particular provinces and component states of the Reich will show that this was so. The average size of newly-created holdings in 1941 was: in Schleswig and Holstein 39.7 ha., in Lower Silesia 46.8 ha., in Salzburg 58.8 ha., in Baden 57.4 ha. and in the province of Brandenburg 58.8 ha. This, then, really meant that when land was taken away from the larger proprietors in order to strengthen the peasant class, in actual practice fresh holdings were created approximating in size to the manors which had been broken up.

It is easy in these circumstances to see that the German Government in its plans for the future aimed at the establishment in its newly-won eastern territory of larger peasant holdings and holdings of the manorial type. Interesting information about this can be found in a work published by the Reich Commission for the Reinforcement of Ger-



manism *). According to indications here given, two-thirds of all the newly-created holdings were to consist of between 20 and 125 hectares (49.4—310.0 acres), so that three-quarters of the whole countryside would be covered by holdings of this size; and further it was provided that in every rural district there should be one or two holdings of even more than 125 hectares. These projects reveal the design of establishing seats for German landlords, for whom the Poles should work as unfree labourers.

These plans therefore constitute yet further evidence of the unwillingness of the German population to work on the land unless the conditions were extremely favourable to themselves. This change in direction of their economic interests also explains how it was that the reserves of land in possession of the Reich were still insufficiently utilized for agricultural purposes. According to the 1935 census of agricultural land there were at that time in Germany 28,637,000 hectares utilized for agriculture, or about 61% of Germany's total area, 47,069,900 ha, a figure which seems small when compared with Poland's 25,589,000 ha. of land utilized for agricultural purposes in 1931: about 66% of Poland's total area, 38,863,400 ha.

Forests and Wastes

Again, Germany was distinguished from the rest of Europe by the fact that a relatively high percentage of its total agricultural land was under forest: about 27.4%. According to the data given in the Polish Small Statistical Yearbook of 1939, p. 73, only Yugoslavia among European countries had a larger percentage of forest, namely 31.2%. In all others the figure is incomparably smaller. According to

*) *Planung und Aufbau im Osten* (Planning and Construction in the East), Deutsche Landwirtschaft, Berlin, reviewed in the *Kieler Zeitung*, 1932, No. 364, p. 16.

Ostendorf, about two-thirds of the German forests occupy land which might equally well be utilized for agricultural purposes.*)

Moreover, a surprisingly large proportion of land in Germany is described as 'marsh and swamp or waste': according to the 1935 census of agricultural land no less than 1,902,200 ha. (7,342 sq. m.).**) If reliance may be placed on statistics compiled by private investigators, this figure should be still larger. Ostendorf, for example, taking a soil map, the first embracing the whole of the Reich, prepared in the Mineralogical and Geological Institute of the Danzig Polytechnic under the direction of Prof. Stremme, which indicates 31,349,700 ha. (120,800 sq. m.) as suitable for agriculture in Germany and the Saare basin, and subtracting from this total 27,269,248 ha. (105,262 sq. m.) which are today actually so used, deduces that a further 4,080,452 ha. (15,650 sq. m.) might be drawn into agricultural use***). Further possibilities, likewise, of increasing the percentage of land under agriculture are offered by the amalgamation of holdings. According to German estimates the agricultural land of the Reich might have been increased in this way by 1.2 million hectares (4,630 sq. m.).****)

The Density of the Farming Population

The insufficiency of the German rural population was, however, most clearly shown in the high percentage of land under agriculture comprised in holdings of the larger peasant and manorial type. It may nowadays be taken as an axiom

*) Ostendorf: „Die bäuerliche Siedlungskapazität des Deutschen Reichs“ (The Peasant-holding Capacity of the German Reich), *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Supplement 228 (1937), p. 31.

**) *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1935, No. 21.

***) *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

****) Cf. Eichweber, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

that the comparative density or sparseness of the farming population of an area depends first and foremost on the agrarian structure of the area, in which the 20-hectare limit plays an important part. The density is greater in proportion to the amount of land comprised in holdings of under this limit. This interdependence of population density and percentage of land holdings of under 20 hectares is so marked as almost to take on the character of a function.*) Germany was distinguished from the rest of the countries of Europe by the fact that almost the half of its total agricultural land, 47.8%, was comprised in holdings of larger peasant and manorial type, whereas in Poland, where large estates were also numerous, the percentage of land they represented before the war was only 37.0.**) It is therefore evident that Germany must have had a comparatively sparse farming population. This conclusion is further supported by the occupational census of 1933 on the one hand, and the census of agricultural holdings of the same year on the other, where we find the number of persons gainfully employed in agriculture per hundred hectares throughout the Reich to have been 35.1: a lower figure than that in most European countries which could be brought into comparison. In Poland in 1931 the number was 46.8, in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland respectively over 50, and in Czechoslovakia and Hungary over 40.

The Colonization Potential of Germany as calculated by German Writers

The solution of the agrarian problems of the Reich by the redistribution of the larger landed properties is not a new

*) R. Bulawski: W sprawie optimum gęstości zaludnienia rolniczego w Polsce (The Optimum Density of Agricultural Population in Poland), *Ekonomista*, 1937, Pt. 3.

***) *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny* (Small Statistical Yearbook) 1939, p. 69.

idea, but is to be found in the writings of various Germans who have taken part in discussions on the restoration of German agriculture, promoted by interested circles for a number of years past. Sering, Oppenheimer and Mahraum among others demanded the abolition of the great estates. Oppenheimer desired to include in his redistribution all the larger peasant holdings as well, and to create out of them small and medium-sized holdings of peasant type. These German writers argued on the assumption that the Reich had at its disposal large reserves of land well-suited to colonization. The calculations made by Ostendorf are worthy of particular attention, for he asserts that the best results in the direction of colonization might be obtained if all holdings of over 50 hectares of cultivated land were taken for redistribution. 42,000 holdings would then be broken up, and in their place would be created 711,699 fresh ones of an average size of 10.76 hectares (26.6 acres). If not only land already under cultivation were taken into account, but also waste and marsh land capable of being reclaimed, then as many as 1,090,924 fresh holdings might be created. He says in so many words: *)

‘If groups of small holdings of under 5 ha. (12.35 acres) are accepted as something not to be increased, or only occasionally to be increased by the incorporation of additional parcels, and if anyhow these holdings are assured of sufficient subsidiary income from industry and the like, and if also larger peasant holdings are to be left as the basis of a tough, resistant rural class, almost three quarters of a million peasant holdings might be created out of land at present under cultivation (excluding forest), and if land capable of being brought under cultivation were taken into account, then a full million peasant holdings might be created;

*) Ostendorf, loc. cit., pp. 33—.

and for the creation of these 711,699 or 1,090,924 new holdings, as the case might be, 42,000 at present existing would have to be broken up. If the 100-hectare limit were observed, only 18,410 holdings would be sacrificed to make room for 452,388 or 831,621 as the case might be; and if the 200-hectare limit, then only 8,967 would have to be sacrificed to make room for 331,405 or 710,629. It is evident from this how greatly the number of farms which have to be broken up increases as their size decreases. The most satisfactory limit would seem to be 50 hectares (123.5 acres). If all holdings of over 20 ha. were taken into account, the following independent economic units of land could be created: in place of

249516 holdings of over 20 ha.	1183513	(1,562737)*
42000 " " " 50 "	711699	(1,090924)
18410 " " " 100 "	452388	(231621)
8967 " " " 200 "	331405	(710629)

If the area occupied by holdings of over 50 ha. is taken into account, and an average of 5.6 persons per peasant holding is assumed, then' (continues Ostendorf) 'on the million fresh holdings the creation of which is possible if waste and marsh land is brought under cultivation 5,600,000 persons might be established. From this total there should be subtracted, it is true, the number of workers at present employed on holdings of over 50 hectares, which according to statistical data is 2,700,000. But in any case the rural population would be increased by some 2,900,000, who would be peasants and not hired hands. In actual fact the increase would exceed 3 million, because even peasant holdings sometimes employ hired hands, particularly at harvest time.'

Of course all these calculations of Ostendorf's relate to the pre-war territory of the Reich.

*) The figures in brackets denote the number of farms it would be possible to create if land were included which could be brought under cultivation after drainage and other such work had been carried out.

One other assertion of his deserves attention at this point. Considering how many persons altogether are maintained in connexion with the agricultural production of any given country, he comes to the conclusion that apart from those who live directly by agriculture at least as many again are indirectly engaged in it. This is very important, for it gives an indication how at least a partial solution may be found of the problem how to provide employment for the non-farming population who will have to be transferred from the area ceded to Poland. As soon as any given number of agriculturalists transferred from that area are resettled on the land in Germany, opportunity is offered for the employment of an equal number of persons, not agriculturalists, who have been transferred. When, therefore, the question is considered, how the German population of the detached area is to be harnessed to productive work in the German social economy, there is no need for any anxiety concerning craftsmen (joiners, carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, shoemakers, or saddlers), shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, school-teachers, or petty officials, hitherto employed in the villages and small towns, since all of them will in the future as in the past be necessary adjuncts to the farming population and will settle alongside of them in their new homes.

Other writers also, such as Sering and Eichweber, lay stress upon the indirect influence which agricultural settlement exercises on population conditions. 'The mere settlement of colonists on the land,' says Eichweber, 'does not render them self-sufficient. They find themselves part of an economic system based on the division of labour and they require a market for their surplus production and also for the purchase of indispensable goods and services. Accordingly, institutions supplementary to pure agriculture are very soon established in the neighbourhood of new settle-

ments. This applies in the first place to craftsmen's workshops, but not only to them. And so both the settlements and the small towns in their vicinity soon come to include many more inhabitants than are directly engaged in work on the land.' *) Basing his argument on material published by the Colonizing Commissions for Posen and West Prussia between 1885 and 1905, Sering concludes that if the number of rural inhabitants in the neighbourhood of a small town is increased by 100%, the population of the small town itself will be increased by 40 or 50%. **) If, then, we assume that the non-farming population which serves the needs of the farming population settles not only in small towns, but also and above all in the villages, we may accept Ostendorf's figure of a 100% increase, due to the influx of non-farming occupationists into both alike, as justified. Furthermore, the realization of a large-scale internal colonization plan would require the employment of millions of persons in the construction and arrangement of agricultural settlements, and might thus contribute greatly to the relief of unemployment.

These calculations of Ostendorf's are very encouraging, for they tend to show that even after drastic reduction of Reich territory it would be quite possible to accommodate in German agriculture the rural population of the region ceded to Poland, and also a large proportion of the German non-farming population connected indirectly with agriculture.

Similar conclusions are reached by other German writers. It is usually considered that if all land-holdings of over 100 hectares were parcelled out, a further 2 million people might find room in German agriculture; and if smaller

*) Loc. cit., p. 63.

**) Max Sering: *Die ländliche Siedlung in Deutschland* (Land Settlement in Germany). Gutachten der Friedrich-List-Gesellschaft. 1933.

holdings (down to 20 ha.) were included in the process, even as many as 4 million. There are, however, other writers who take a less optimistic view. Some, such as von Batocki or Eichweber, think that the number of the rural population in Germany might be increased by colonization by something under a million *), while according to Quante the increase brought about by the parcellation of great estates would not amount to more than 400 or 450 thousand. **) If, however, the calculations of these writers are more closely examined, it appears that Ostendorf and others who put forward a higher figure are more likely to be correct. Those who see only very limited possibilities for increasing the rural population either make obvious mistakes in their calculations (as, for example, when Eichweber assumes only 4 persons occupationally employed and non-employed per peasant holding), or else do not take account of all the possibilities for colonization existing in the Reich, either omitting from consideration certain categories of land (such as waste land capable of being brought under cultivation, larger peasant holdings, and small manorial estates), or assuming too large an average size for the new holdings (15 ha., or 37 acres).

Post-war Changes

The sparseness of the rural population in Germany indicated that before the war there were gaps in it which could have accommodated a very considerable number of people. This situation, however, has been greatly changed by the detachment from Germany of a large area in the east.

*) Eichweber, loc. cit., p. 63.

**) Quante, loc. cit., p. 174.

Table 3: Area of Land utilized for Agriculture in Germany*)
after the Detachment of Territory in the East
according to the Size of Holdings
in 1933

Amount of land under cultivation per holding	Area under Cultivation					% of Reich	Reich af- ter de- tachment of east. territory in ha.
	Reich be- fore de- tachment of east. territory	Area detached			Total		
		Polish	Soviet	Total			
		in hectares					
Total	26623656	6193511	848977	7042488	26.5	19581168	
— 5 ha.	3682590	455635	46603	502238	13.6	3180352	
5— 20 ha.	10216287	2056727	196075	2252802	22.1	7963485	
20— 50 ha.	5836719	1222486	154830	1377316	23.6	4459403	
50— 100 ha.	2023128	515827	103523	619350	30.6	1403778	
Over 100 ha.	4864932	1942836	347946	2290782	47.1	2574150	

Germany is losing to Poland 6,193,000 ha. (23,893 sq. m.) of land under cultivation; and to the Soviet Union in East Prussia 849,000 ha. (3,280 sq. m.); together 7,042,000 ha. (27,174 sq. m.). This is 26.5% of the total pre-war area of such land within the Reich, which was 26,624,000 ha. (102,740 sq. m.). The percentage of agricultural land lost is, however, very different in the various groups of different-sized holdings. In the 100-ha. — and — over group almost half the total area is lost; in the 20—100 ha. group almost one-third. That is to say the loss of agricultural land is particularly serious in these two groups, where the possibility of increasing the population on the land was greatest; yet despite this there is still room for a considerable further number of persons who might be gainfully employed and maintained in German agriculture. We will endeavour more accurately to determine the number by various methods.

*) Source: *Moly Rocznik Statystyczny*, 1939, p. 69.

Chapter 2

THE NUMBER OF THE RURAL POPULATION IN POST-WAR GERMANY

Calculation from the Number of Holdings

The provincial governments of Brandenburg, East Prussia, Mecklenburg and Thuringia promulgated decrees at the beginning of September, 1945, confiscating all landed estates which belonged to war criminals, leading Nazis, and proprietors of more than 100 hectares (247 acres). These confiscated properties are put into a land pool, which includes also a portion of the public domain. Land owned by the Church, schools, hospitals, cooperative societies, local-government bodies and educational and scientific institutions is exempted from confiscation. The confiscated land is to be divided into holdings of 5 hectares (12.35 acres) if the soil is good, whereas if it is poor they may be as much as double this size.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the action initiated in the above-mentioned provinces will be extended to the remainder of the Reich, and if we assume that the same pattern will be followed throughout we have a basis for calculating the number of fresh holdings which may be created out of the confiscated estates and of additional persons who may be maintained on them. As we are unaware

what proportion will be represented by 5-hectare holdings and what by larger ones, we will assume an average size of 7 hectares, suggested by the German census of 1933. From the total area of land under cultivation in holdings of over 100 hectares, which amounts to 2,574,150 ha. (9,936 sq. m.), we will subtract 5% to cover the properties of the Church, schools and the like which are exempted from parcellation. This percentage is not too low, for in all the German component states, such as Baden, the Palatinate, Hesse, the Rhineland, Württemberg, Bavaria, Westphalia and Oldenburg (see Table 8) it is actually at the present time less than 5% of the land under cultivation in holdings of over 100 hectares. Dividing 2,445,442 by 7 we obtain the number of 349,349, or say 350,000, fresh holdings created out of large estates. How many persons can be accommodated on them?

Table 4: Persons living on various-sized holdings in Germany in 1933 *)

Amount of land under cultivation per holding	On each farm on an average		On each farm main or subsidiary occupation hired helpers on an average	Total
	Members of the farmer's family over 14 yrs. of age (incl. himself)	ditto, under 14		
Total	3.1	1.2	0.7	5.0
1— 2 ha.	2.3	0.8	0.1	3.2
2— 5 „	2.8	1.1	0.1	4.0
5— 10 „	3.2	1.3	0.3	4.8
10— 20 „	3.6	1.4	0.8	5.8
(5— 20 „	3.4	1.3	0.5	5.2)
20— 50 „	3.7	1.4	2.4	7.5
50—100 „	3.4	1.2	6.8	11.4
Over 100 „	2.7	0.9	33.8	37.4

*) Source: Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Vol. 459, Pt. 3 and Vol.

Let us assume 4.8 persons on an average for each 7-hectare farm: a number based on the figures of the German agricultural census of 1933.

As appears from the Table 4 for each holding in the 5—10-hectare group there are 4.5 persons in the owner's family (including himself) and 0.3 hired helpers.*) If we, then, multiply the number of holdings (350,000) by 4.8 we obtain a total of 1,680,000 persons who may be accommodated on them.

It should not, however, be assumed that the whole total thus obtained represented fresh settlers on the land. Manorial estates were not, after all, without inhabitants, and their staff or workers must not be excluded from our calculations. It seems reasonable to suppose that they would be the first to be provided for when the estates on which they worked were parcelled out. This would mean a corresponding reduction in the number as given above.

It is not easy to calculate the number of workers previously employed on the great estates, since the German census returns did not take account of all the components of the population living by work on the land; non-working members of the families of hired hands were passed over. This group is quite unimportant, it is true, when we are dealing with domestic servants, grooms and women-servants, who lived with their employers; but it may have been considerable in the case of daily workers, such as received their lodging and payment in kind, and craftsmen employed on the estates, who likewise had their own lodging. To determine the number of non-working members of the families of such workers, since there are no relevant German statistics, we will have recourse to the Polish census returns of 1931.

*) Members of the family of these hired helpers who are not employed in agriculture may be disregarded, for if there are any such, they will most probably be employed on holdings of 5—10 hectares as domestic servants, and thus be counted as unmarried. (Cf. Table 6)

These show that for each worker or craftsman employed in agriculture and living in his own lodging or in a lodging given him rent-free by his employer, there were in the western provinces of Poland from 1.1 to 1.4 non-working members of his family. Taking into consideration the general social and economic conditions and the lower birthrate in Germany, it will be justifiable to assume the ratio of non-working to working members in the families of agricultural workers (excluding domestic servants) as 1 : 1.

We then obtain the following figures relating to the various groups who in 1933 lived upon estates of more than 100 hectares in the Reich as a whole:*)

Proprietors of farms as their main source of livelihood	14649
Members of the families of such proprietors over 14 years of age, not working in other occupations	24166
Children under 14	13477
Fully employed hired helpers of over 14 (brain and manual workers)	620744
Non-working (occupationally) members of the families of workers paid in kind, daily workers, and craftsmen permanently employed on the estates	526459
Total	<u>1199495</u>

As large areas have now been detached from the German Reich and included in Poland or the Soviet Union, 47.1% must be subtracted from this total (cf. Table 3). The number of persons living on large estates within the restricted boundaries of the new Germany will then be 634,533. A further 5% must be subtracted for estates exempted from parcellation. If we then subtract the result, 602,806 (i. e. 634,533—31,727), from the figure given above, 1,680,000, for persons settled upon these newly-parcelled lands, it is to be deduced that parcellation enables an additional 1,077,000 persons to maintain themselves on the soil.

*) *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vo. 459, Pt. 3. The data concerning children of under 14 were calculated from Table 9a in vol. 461, pt. 1, by taking the average per proprietor there given.

As we see, the parcellation of larger estates into 7-ha. holdings enables the density of the population to be increased 2.7 times, — almost threefold. It will not be irrelevant to check this result by the aid of a further calculation, for it is of fundamental significance in our present enquiry into the possibilities of transforming the agricultural structure, not only of Germany, but also of Poland.

Taking the various categories of the rural population as they are distinguished in the German agricultural census of 1933, and adding to them the further category of non-working members of the families of hired helpers as estimated by us above, we obtain the following table:

Table 5: *Population of Agricultural Holdings of various size in Germany in 1933**

Amount of land under cultivation per holding	Per 100 ha. of land under cultivation:					
	Fully employed persons			Fully employed persons plus members of families maintain		
	Proprietors (farming main occupation) and members of their families over 14 yrs. of age	Hired helpers over 14	Total	Proprietors (main occupation) and members of their families over and under 14	Hired helpers and (occupationally) non-working members of their families	Total
Total	24.1	7.7	31.8	33.5	11.1	44.5
— 2 ha.	56.1	10.9	67.0	76.0	16.7	92.7
2— 5 „	60.9	3.8	64.7	85.7	5.0	90.6
5— 10 „	43.1	4.1	47.2	60.6	4.8	65.4
10— 20 „	25.0	6.0	31.1	34.6	6.8	41.2
(5— 20 „	32.9	5.2	38.1	45.8	5.9	51.8)
20— 50 „	12.4	8.3	20.7	16.9	9.8	26.8
50— 100 „	4.8	10.3	15.1	6.5	15.6	22.2
Over 100 „	0.8	12.8	13.6	1.1	23.6	24.7

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 459, Pt. 3.

The figures given in the last column of each set of three, relating to the whole of the population maintained on the land, whether fully employed persons or members of their families not working occupationally, give fundamentally the same ratio for the groups with which we are mostly concerned as was obtained from the previous calculation. In the over-100-ha. group we get 24.7 fully employed persons together with non-working members of their families; and in the 5—10-ha. group 65.4, or 2.6 times as many. This agreement between the results of the two calculations should not however delude us into the belief that they are strictly accurate. Both are based in part on mere estimates, and the second fails to take into account the fact that even land-holdings which constitute only a subsidiary source of income for their proprietors give full employment to a certain number of members of their families. Further, consideration has been omitted of hired helpers only employed temporarily (for a small part of the year) on farms: a category which according to German data is more or less equally represented in all the groups of peasant holdings (with 20—23 per 100 hectares of land under cultivation), but is less numerous (15 per 100 ha.) in the large-estate group. Both of these categories which we have omitted increase the population rather of the smaller-sized holdings. We may, accordingly, assert with all the more confidence that small holdings of between 5 and 10 hectares support almost three times as many persons as the same area of over-100-hectare estates

At the same time it should be borne in mind that the above result is obtained only by taking into account the whole population of the land-holdings, including not only the proprietors and the members of their families, working and non-working, but also hired helpers and their non-working families. The picture is quite different if calcula-

tions are made exclusively from data relating to fully-employed persons and passing over the non-working members of their families. These calculations are embodied in the left-hand side of Table 5. If we still concentrate our attention on the same two groups, covering holdings of between 5 and 10 hectares, and of over 100 hectares respectively, we shall see that the former shows, not almost three times, but almost four times as many fully employed workers per 100 hectares of land under cultivation as does the latter. This difference in the ratio, accompanied as it is by corresponding differences between other groups on both sides of the table, is to be explained principally by the unequal distribution of particular categories of workers in the general totals of agricultural workers shown under the various groups of holdings considered according to their size.

Table 6: *Agricultural Workers fully employed on Land-holdings of various size in Germany in 1933**)

Amount of land under cultivation per holding	Total of fully-employed workers	Percentages		
		Domestic servants	Daily workers, those paid in kind, &c.	Craftsmen
Total	1953790	54.6	44.2	1.2
0.0— 2 ha.	83397	33.0	66.9	0.1
2— 5 "	96584	65.6	34.3	0.1
5— 10 "	174878	81.9	18.0	0.1
10— 20 "	346548	87.8	12.1	0.1
(5— 20 "	521426	85.9	14.0	0.1)
20— 50 "	473298	80.9	19.0	0.1
50—100 "	198762	45.4	54.2	0.4
Over 100 "	581323	9.4	86.8	3.8

The domestic servants living with their employer and forming part of his household are for by far the most part

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 459 Pt. 3.

grooms and female servants who are unmarried; the majority of daily workers and of such as are paid in kind, as well as of craftsmen, on the other hand, are usually married, with families. On peasant holdings the former class (domestic servants) are the most common; on the large estates the latter. This affects the population-figures for particular sizes of holdings, since we are here dealing exclusively with persons fully employed and the non-employed members of their families. If, however, one speaks in general of the population-capacity of land-holdings of various size, one intends all categories together, working and non-working alike. Hence any demographic assessment of land-holdings of various sizes had better be based on data such as are contained in the right-hand side of Table 5 rather than on figures relating only to fully-employed persons.

It is most usual to regard farms of between 5 and 20 hectares as the most desirable type of peasant holding. If this type is compared with the manorial holdings of over 100 hectares of land under cultivation, then, if all categories of persons living on it are taken into consideration, it can accommodate twice as many persons as the large estates, or if only fully-employed persons are reckoned, three times as many.

Calculation from the Number of Persons actively engaged in Agriculture

The million and seventy-seven thousand additional persons who may be accommodated in German agriculture after the parcellation of the large estates is no great number. Does it exhaust all the possibilities for transferring people to agriculture in post-war Germany? We think not.

The pressure of population into agriculture which has been caused in Germany by the diminution of the territory of the State and the difficulties of making a living in non-agricultural occupations will presumably be so strong that it will not be confined only to the over-100-hectare group of estates. When estimating the possibilities of increasing the density of population of the German countryside one should not forget that even after the detachment of territory in the east 30% of land under cultivation is covered by holdings of between 20 and 100 hectares: 22.8% by those of between 20 and 50, and 7.2% by those of between 50 and 100 ha. Instead of attempting arbitrarily to determine what proportion of these groups might properly be given up for parcellation, we will apply, for the assessment of the potential population-capacity of German agriculture, a method which has served us well in another connexion, namely that of comparing the density of population in the various component states of the German Reich with their agrarian structure, as it is expressed in the percentages of land under cultivation in the various-sized estates and peasant-holdings.*) We have already mentioned that Germany has a comparatively low average density of agricultural population. There are provinces, it is true, with more than 50 occupationally active persons per 100 hectares of land under cultivation, but there are others where the figure is under 30.

A glance at the table 7 will suffice to show that there is a fundamental difference in density of rural population between the western and south-western German states, such as Baden, the Palatinate, Hesse, the Rhineland, Hesse-Nassau, or Württemberg, and the remaining provinces

*) Cf. R. Eulawski: *loc. cit.*

Table 7: Density of Rural Population and Comparative Size of Land-Holdings in Germany in 1933 *)

Component States or Provinces	Persons occupationally engaged in agriculture per 100 ha. land under cultivation	Percentage of Total Area under Cultivation occupied by Farms of ... ha. cultivated land					
		0,01-2	2-5	5-20	20-50	50-100	Over 100
Germany	35.1	3.6	10.2	38.4	21.9	7.6	18.3
Bavaria	40.0	3.1	13.1	55.0	22.2	3.7	2.9
Prussia	32.4	3.1	8.1	33.8	23.0	9.2	22.8
Baden	62.2	11.6	29.2	44.0	8.7	2.4	4.1
Palatinate	57.0	12.4	27.4	50.8	5.6	2.1	1.7
Hesse	56.9	8.6	22.2	55.7	7.3	2.3	3.9
Rhineland	56.1	7.0	18.5	47.6	16.6	6.8	3.5
Hesse-Nassau	53.4	9.1	24.8	45.4	12.1	3.6	5.0
Württemberg	50.8	7.3	24.1	50.0	14.1	2.2	2.3
Northern Bavaria	41.9	3.5	15.7	59.4	17.1	2.0	2.3
Westphalia	41.0	5.4	11.9	41.0	31.2	7.0	3.5
Southern Bavaria	36.6	1.7	9.5	52.0	28.0	5.2	3.6
Hanover	34.6	3.6	9.7	39.0	30.5	10.7	6.5
Saxony	34.4	3.2	7.9	44.5	25.0	6.3	13.1
Brunswick	33.7	6.0	7.1	32.5	25.2	10.8	18.4
Thuringia	33.5	6.5	13.3	48.5	16.6	5.3	9.8
Saxony (province)	31.9	3.9	6.4	31.9	22.9	10.2	24.7
Oldenburg	31.7	2.4	8.9	40.9	34.1	10.6	3.1
Anhalt	30.4	3.8	3.8	29.9	19.8	8.2	34.5
Brandenburg (part)	27.1	2.5	5.7	27.4	23.9	9.2	31.3
Pomerania (part)	23.3	1.0	2.4	18.5	13.4	8.1	56.6
Schleswig-Holstein	20.6	1.0	3.4	23.0	41.1	17.2	14.3
Mecklenburg	18.7	1.6	2.9	14.8	19.5	7.8	53.4

Note: In the above table regions have been omitted where the area under cultivation is less than 100,000 ha. (altogether 234,437 ha.) of the Reich. This is exemplified by the great increase we see between the figure for the rural population of Northern Bavaria and that for Württemberg. The greater density of the population of the countryside in the western and south-western states is a consequence of the far-reaching subdivision of land-holdings, which, however, cannot be

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vols. 454-456 and 459, Pt. 3.

considered an unhealthy symptom, since it has its roots in the systems of agricultural economy prevailing in those states. The general cultivation of vines and market-gardening of every kind enables the proprietor of even a small piece of ground to make a satisfactory living out of it. This economic distinction, therefore, prevents us from taking the density of rural population in the western and southwestern districts of Germany as a standard for the remainder of the country. Such a standard is rather to be found in the density of population in Westphalia: 41.0, or even in Northern Bavaria, where it is 41.9.

In these provinces the prevalent size of land-holding is the medium peasant farm of 5—20 hectares, though there is also a considerable proportion of land under cultivation in the 20—50-ha. group. In Westphalia and Northern Bavaria about 75% of all land under cultivation belongs to these two groups, and we consequently cannot regard the agricultural structure of the two provinces as unsound. Of the remaining 25% a large part is divided up into small and 'dwarf' holdings of less than 5 hectares, but this need not arouse anxiety, considering the industrial character of Germany, which, after the detachment of the eastern territories will be still more marked than hitherto. A large proportion of these very small holdings will continue to constitute a subsidiary source of income for their proprietors. The fact that the 50—100-hectare group of land-holdings is but little represented, and the over-100-hectare group hardly at all, in the economy of these provinces need not prevent us from taking their agricultural structure as a model for the other parts of Germany, for it is just the almost complete disappearance of these two groups which promises to be characteristic of agricultural conditions of Germany in the future.

If, then, the density of rural population in Westphalia and Northern Bavaria be taken as a standard for those parts of the country where the density is less, it will not be difficult to calculate the still existing colonization potential for the country as a whole. This is done in the following table.

Table 8: German States which have Possibilities for further Settlement (excluding eastern territory) 1933 *)

Component States or Provinces	Ha. under Cultivation	Persons occupati- onally engaged in agri- cult re per 100 a	Difference between present density and the figure 42		Difference between present density and the figure 45	
			in %	gross	in %	gross
Total	15029060			1439310		1890187
Mecklenburg	1011405	18.7	23.3	235657	26.3	266000
Schleswig-Holstein	1119560	20.6	21.4	239585	24.4	273173
Pomerania (part)	540489	24.7	17.3	93504	20.3	109719
Brandenburg(part)	1391793	25.7	16.3	226862	19.2	268616
Anhalt	140989	30.4	11.6	16354	14.6	20584
Oldenburg	422817	31.7	10.3	43550	13.3	56235
Saxony (province)	1062159	31.9	10.1	161818	13.1	209883
Thuringia	611991	33.5	8.5	52019	11.5	70379
Brunswick	204275	33.7	8.3	16954	11.3	23083
Saxony	917605	34.4	7.6	69737	10.6	97266
Hanover	2060898	34.6	7.4	152506	10.4	214333
Southern Bavaria	2182539	36.6	5.4	117858	8.4	183333
Westphalia	1120559	41.0	1.0	11205	4.0	44822
Northern Bavaria	1701981	41.9	0.1	1701	3.1	52761

If the number of 42 occupationally employed persons per 100 ha. of land under cultivation be taken as a standard, it is found that German agriculture can still accommodate 1,439,000 such persons. This number may legitimately be

*) Source: Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Vol. 459, Pt. 3.

rounded off to 1,450,000, having regard to the fact that districts with less than 100,000 ha. of land under cultivation have been omitted from the table, and that some of them have quite a dense population. The greatest colonization potential exists in the following provinces or component states: Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Saxony (province), the province of Hanover, and Southern Bavaria. If the ratio of persons occupationally engaged in agriculture to the total farming population be taken as 68.4 : 100, as appears from the census data applying to the Reich as a whole, then the figure of 2,120,000 is obtained, representing the number of additional persons who may be accommodated in German agriculture. This figure is more than a million larger than the one previously obtained, which took into consideration only the parcellation of estates with more than 100 ha. of land under cultivation. It can be reached only if holdings of under 100 hectares are made to accommodate a greater density of population by the subdivision of a certain proportion of them. Does this denote the maximum possibility for colonization in post-war Germany? It seems to us that if holdings of over 20 hectares are consistently parcelled out, a still higher figure may be attained. As appears from the right-hand columns of Table 8, if the average density of population in the districts enumerated in the table were raised to 45, then the population of German agriculture would be increased to 1,900,000 occupationally employed persons, or 2,777,000 persons employed and non-employed in agriculture as their main occupation. As has been said above, the reserves of land in Germany are not taken advantage of to the full. Tens of thousands of fresh holdings might be created if a certain proportion of forest, marsh and waste land were brought under cultivation. Such a change in the utilization of the soil would,

however, require considerable time to make it effective, and so for the present it is better to rely on the figures given above.

The German Rural Population in the Eastern Districts incorporated with Poland

Having now obtained a clear idea of how many persons may be accommodated in German agriculture within the diminished area now available, in more and in less favourable circumstances, we will now proceed to determine the number of the German rural population which was established in the area now detached, and which — whether they have already left it or are only in course of doing so — will be a burden on the German social economy, seeking work on the land.

*Table 9: The Total and the Rural Population in the Detached Area, 1939 *)*

Provinces and Regencies	Total Permanent Population	Rural Population	% of Rur. to Total Pop.	Persons occupationally engaged in agr.	% of latter to total agr. pop.
Total Detached Area	8694511	2493758	28.7	1675425	67.2
1. East Prussia	1285770	535635	41.7	334270	62.4
Reg. Königsberg	361262	165921	45.9	99338	59.9
Reg. Gumbinnen	79525	41875	52.7	27949	66.7
Reg. Allenstein	551415	246283	44.7	157381	63.9
Reg. West Prussia	293568	81556	27.8	49607	60.8
2. Western Pomerania	1770605	629304	35.5	408658	64.9
Reg. Stettin	639988	141856	22.2	94610	66.7
Reg. Köslin	660570	291509	44.1	183132	62.8
Reg. Grenzmark	470047	195939	41.7	130916	66.8
3. Brandenburg	593124	199914	33.7	144123	72.1
Reg. Frankfurt o/O.	593124	199914	33.7	144123	
4. Danzig (1929)	407517	71315	17.5	37269	52.3
5. Silesia	4337495	1057590	22.8	751105	71.0
Reg. Breslau	1941145	395726	20.4	275087	69.5
Reg. Liegnitz	1132425	307499	27.2	226316	73.6
Reg. Oppeln	1563925	354365	22.7	249702	70.5

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 557, Pts. 1, 2, 4, 5.

The table 9 gives the total rural population and the total number of persons occupationally engaged in agriculture in the detached area on the basis of the German census returns of 1939. It might be thought that the significance of the figures was indubitable, but they require a certain correction. Among those occupationally engaged we distinguish, according to the social position they occupy, the following categories of persons: independent, officials, workers and 'helping members of families', that is to say, wives and children of the proprietors, who devote the greater part of their time to work on the head of the family's land. While in regard to the first three categories there can be no doubt that they embrace persons for whom work on the farm is their main occupation, in regard to the 'helping members of families' the situation is not so clear. By this we do not mean merely that the definition of such persons is far from exact; but rather that among the persons included under the category there are both members of the farmer's family and members of the families of persons who are not farmers at all. If, for example, a village craftsman owns a plot of ground which he cultivates with the help of his wife and children, he himself is counted as a craftsman, but his wife and children may be regarded as occupationally engaged in agriculture, and included among the 'helping members of families', if they write themselves down as such on the census paper. Yet their connexion with agriculture, if it may be considered to exist at all, is a very loose one. Their chief source of income is and will be the handicraft practised by the head of the family, and it is that, and not their agriculture, which gives them their place in the community. Accordingly it seems that when attempting to determine the number of persons actively engaged in agriculture, and likewise the number of those actively

employed and non-employed in it, the 'helping members of families' should be left out of account, for agriculture is not their main occupation. And the number of such persons is not small. It can be determined from the German occupational census returns of 1939, where they are distinguished by marks according as the heads of their families are engaged in agriculture as their chief occupation or not. The data relating to the four eastern provinces are given in the Table 10.

Table 10: Helping Members of Families in the Agriculture of the Eastern Provinces 1939 *)

Particularization	East Prussia	Pomerania	Brandenburg	Silesia
	Gross			
Total rural population	881682	789593	666390	1071154
Total occupationally employed in agriculture	550558	508411	486447	762058
Total number of family helpers in agriculture	235118	213001	217436	356497
Family helpers of proprietors whose main occupation is agriculture	205352	181863	161356	266889
Other family helpers in agriculture	29766	31138	56080	89608
	Percentages			
Other family helpers in agriculture: % of				
a) the total rural population	3.4	3.9	8.4	8.4
b) those occupationally engaged in agriculture	5.4	6.1	11.5	11.8
c) the total number of family helpers in agriculture	12.7	14.6	25.8	25.1

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 557, Pts. 1, 2, 4, 5.

Table 11: *Helping Members of Families of Persons who are not Agricultural Proprietors by main occupation in the Detached Area, 1939 **

P r o v i n c e s	Occupationally employed		Occupationally employed and non-employed	
	Total arm. Helpers in Agric. lt.	arm. elp. of those not occ. p. in agric.	As in (a)	As in (b)
In general	726193	147330	764784	153947
East Prussia	150040	19055	153007	19431
Western Pomerania	160041	23366	185913	27143
Brandenburg	66490	17154	68777	17744
Silesia	349622	87755	357087	89629

From the Table 10 we see that in Silesia and Brandenburg the 'helping members of the families' of proprietors of holdings of land for whom agriculture is not the main source of income make up 25% of the whole number of such helpers; while in Pomerania the figure is 14.6% and in East Prussia 12.7%. If we apply these ratios to the detached districts, we get the figures for family helpers where the head of the family is not engaged in agriculture as his main occupation in the year 1939, given in the Table 11.

Under the heading of 'occupationally employed' in the detached area we have 147,000 helping members of families for whom agriculture is not their main occupation; and under the more comprehensive heading of 'occupationally employed and non-employed' we have 154,000. These numbers may be subtracted from the total of persons occupationally employed, and likewise from that of the rural population of the detached area, for they are the numbers of persons whose main source of income is other than agriculture. That is to

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 557, Pts. 1, 2, 4, 5.

say that in 1939 there were — not 2,494,000 persons constituting the real farming population in the detached area, as would appear from the Table 9, but — 2,340,000; and — not 1,675,000 persons occupationally employed in agriculture, but — 1,582,000.

From these numbers must now be subtracted the number of the Polish rural population long settled in the detached area. It is, however, not easy to determine. In another paper *) the present writer has assessed the number of the local Polish population at a million. This estimate is not too high if account is taken of the results of the verification of the numbers of the local population of the newly-attached area now being carried out, and of the fact that a portion of the population was forcibly dislodged by the retreating German army and driven to the west.

When it comes to the problem of dividing the Polish population according to occupation, as there are no data throwing light upon it, our only recourse must be to assume for the Polish population the same ratio of rural to non-rural population as is found in the territory inhabited by Poles as a whole, although in reality the ratio in this recovered area was probably higher. In the three regencies where a local Polish population was to be found, namely in those of Opole (Oppeln), Olsztyn (Allenstein) and West Prussia, the rural population in 1939 constituted 28.3% of the total number of inhabitants (in the Opole regency 22.7%, in the Olsztyn regency 44.7%, and in the West-Prussian regency 27.8%). If then, there were altogether a million Poles, there would have been 283,000 persons of

*) 'Problems of settlement and transference of population in the area recovered by Poland'. *1 Sesja Rady Naukowej dla Zagadnień Ziemi Odzyskanych* (Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Research Council for Problems of the Recovered Area), Pt. 2, p. 1

Polish nationality maintaining themselves by agriculture; while the number of the German farming population would have been at that time 2,057,000. This is 63,000 lower than the figure obtained by us above of 2,120,000 for the additional population which might be accommodated in German agriculture if the density of rural population in a number of German states were raised to 42. This number 2,057,000, for the German rural population now compelled to leave the area incorporated with Poland, includes 1,339,000 Germans occupationally employed in agriculture *). This number, too, is lower than that of the occupationally employed for whom room can be found in German agriculture within the diminished area, which was found to be 1,450,000.

If, then, it were only a question of accommodating the German rural population deported from Polish territory, the task would be easy — assuming, that is, far-reaching changes in the structure of agriculture in Germany. But, in addition to the numbers coming from Poland, there are also numbers of Germans coming back from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other countries. Unfortunately we have no data as to the occupations of these groups of population, but it seems obvious that it will be difficult at first to find employment on the land for the great mass of German rural population which will now be found in Germany. One thing, however, we have not taken into account so far in our argument, though it will very considerably ease the population situation in Germany now: namely the losses sustained by the German people during the war. It is quite probable that the diminution in numbers of the German people as a result of military operations is so great, in the

*) If we take the average percentage of persons occupationally employed in agriculture for the three regencies in 1939 (which was 67.0%), then the number of the local Polish population occupationally employed in agriculture comes out as 189,000.

agricultural section as in others, that the return to the fatherland of these groups from abroad, themselves less numerous than they used to be, may be very welcome as a means of filling the gaps. Indeed this might be taken as a certainty, were it not for the destruction of so many towns and industrial centres, which must undoubtedly cause the movement of a certain proportion of the urban population into the country and thereby increase the number of persons employed in agriculture.

The war has brought about so many changes in conditions in Germany that we cannot make use of pre-war statistical data without reserve; and in particular this is true of population data. Accordingly, in our attempt to picture the difficulties that may arise for the German economy in connexion with the deportation of the German rural population from neighbouring countries, it will be better, instead of relying on the numbers of that population, to take into account the number of farms, or agricultural holdings, which they possessed. It is to be assumed that every German who owned a farm in the country where he was living will ask for one in exchange in Germany. Will it be possible to satisfy this demand?

To answer this question insofar as it applies to those Germans who have to leave Poland, we have prepared the table 12.

In this table owners of farms (land-holdings) have been divided into those for whom their farms were their main source of livelihood, and those who drew from them only a subsidiary income, being actually craftsmen, merchants or shopkeepers, public officials, agricultural labourers, industrialists and the like. Persons coming under this latter category constitute a considerable proportion (27.6%) of the total number of owners. They cannot claim the right to a farm

Table 12: Owners of Land by Main or Subsidiary Occupation in the Detached Area (excluding Danzig) in 1933 *)

Provinces Regencies	Farms	Owners of Farms			% of s bsid- iary owners
		Total	As main source of in- come	As s bsid- iary so rce	
In general	463309	466026	337357	128669	27.6
1. East Prussia	84715	85862	67565	18297	21.3
Reg. Königsberg	21091	22346	17568	4778	21.4
Reg. Gumbinnen	7227	7406	6229	1177	15.9
Reg. Allenstein	44215	43992	34345	9647	21.9
Reg. West Prussia	12182	12118	9423	2695	22.2
2. Western Pomerania	81589	83337	61011	22326	20.8
Reg. Stettin	29159	31133	22577	8556	27.5
Reg. Köslin	52430	52204	38434	13770	26.4
Reg. Grenzmark	24422	24292	18261	6031	24.8
3. Brandenburg	48531	48849	33051	15798	32.6
Reg. Frankfurt	48531	48849	33051	15798	32.6
4. Silesia	224052	223686	157469	66217	29.6
Reg. Breslau	70366	69718	53491	16227	23.3
Reg. Liegnitz	71179	71208	50395	20813	29.2
Reg. Oppeln	82527	82760	53583	29177	35.3

Note: Owners of farms as main and as subsidiary source of income have been counted for areas forming part of regencies according to the ratio for the regencies as wholes. The total number of owners of farms does not quite agree with the total number of farms. The difference is due to the different conception of statistical units taken into account in the one case and in the other. A single farm may belong to several co-proprietors; or on the other hand a single person may own several farms. The term 'owners of farms' may also comprehend corporations etc. which possess farms, but these are not included in the above figures, which refer only to physical persons.

in Germany, for they ought in future as in the past to continue to practise their trade. There will remain, then, only such owners as drew their livelihood mainly from their farms, and for them the German authorities will have to try and provide

*) Source: Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Vol. 461, Pt. 1.

fresh farms in place of those they have lost. Their total number amounts to 337,000 *). From this number, however, that of Polish owners must be deducted. How many Polish farmers are there in the recovered area? We have no statistical data enabling us to give a direct answer to this question. It will be necessary, therefore, to proceed indirectly.

The number 337,000, denoting owners of farms as their main source of income, was in 1933 13,4% of the total number of the rural population excluding Danzig. If we assume the same proportion for the Polish farming population, then we must subtract from the above number 38,000 for Polish owners with farming as their main source of income. Comparing the result, 299,000, with the number of farms which may be created by parcelling out large estates in Germany, which according to our calculation was 350,000, we see that every German farmer deprived of his holding in Poland may quite well be provided for in Germany. And if, further, we assume that agrarian redistribution may be extended to the 20--100-hectare group of holdings, the conclusion is obvious that a considerable proportion of the German farmers dispossessed in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other countries may likewise be compensated even within the restricted borders of the new Germany.

This conclusion, however, is only admissible if we suppose that the fresh holdings created in Germany as the result of agrarian redistribution are to be utilized in the first place for the satisfaction of the claims of Germans dispossessed of their farms in neighbouring countries. It would be incorrect if the parcellation was intended in the first place to benefit the workers on the large estates, as we assumed above when calculating the additional population which might be accom-

*) We exclude from consideration the small number of owners of farms as their main source of livelihood in the area of Danzig, which according to the percentage ratio given in Table 9 would be perhaps 1800.

modated in German agriculture after the parcellation of the large estates. It seems, however, reasonable to suppose that German colonization policy will be directed principally to the satisfaction of the needs of such displaced farmers, as otherwise this group might become a very unpleasant burden on German economy. If this is so, the present agricultural labourers on the large estates and on the farms of which the owners have been dispossessed will have to continue working as hired helpers on farms, filling the gaps in the agricultural labour force made by the war. What is likely to be their number?

On p. 30 above the number of outside hired labourers employed on holdings of over 100 hectares of cultivated land in pre-war Germany was given as 621,000. Subtracting from this 51.1% representing agricultural holdings of over 100 hectares in the area given up to Poland and the Soviet Union and the proportion of holdings exceeding 100 hectares which are exempted from parcellation, we get the number 297,000 for such labourers, and 549,000 for their occupationally non-employed families.

With the aim of determining how many labourers were employed in agriculture in the territory recovered by Poland, we have compiled the table 13 from the occupational census returns of 1939.

The number of agricultural labourers in the recovered area amounted to 548,000 if Danzig were excluded, and to 560,000 if it were included *). From this must be subtracted the number of Polish labourers. Assuming the same percentage for them as for the whole body of labourers shown in the table, namely 33.5, with the total number of Poles

*) The figure for Danzig is estimated as 33.5% of those occupationally employed in agriculture, who were 37,000.

Table 13: Distribution of the Rural Population
in the Area Recovered by Poland (excluding Danzig)
according to Social Status, 1939*

Provinces Regencies	Gross figures				
	Total	Inde- pendent	Family Helpers	Offic- ials	Labour- ers
	Occupationally employed & non-employed				
Total	2422443	678993	764784	41862	936804
1. East Prussia	535635	151486	153007	6248	224894
Reg. Königsberg	165921	38697	37284	2042	87898
Reg. Gumbinnen	41875	12920	13325	403	15227
Reg. Allenstein	246283	80511	82545	2639	80588
Reg. West Prussia	81556	19358	19853	1164	41181
2. Western Pomerania	629304	157657	185913	11090	274644
Reg. Stettin	141856	34071	39749	2693	65343
Reg. Köslin	291509	71987	84034	5028	130460
Reg. Grenzmark	195939	51599	62130	3369	78841
3. Brandenburg	199914	53845	68777	3976	73316
Reg. Frankfurt o/O.	199914	53845	68777	3976	73316
4. Silesia	1057590	316005	357087	20548	363950
Reg. Breslau	395726	106848	109338	8989	170551
Reg. Liegnitz	307499	92193	107102	5775	102429
Reg. Oppeln	354365	116964	140647	5784	90970
	Occupationally employed				
Total	1638156	344114	726193	20316	547553
1. East Prussia	334270	66025	150040	3242	114963
Reg. Königsberg	99333	17165	36679	1113	44376
Reg. Gumbinnen	27949	6089	13033	188	8639
Reg. Allenstein	157381	33330	81082	1312	41657
Reg. West Prussia	49607	9441	19246	629	20291
2. Western Pomerania	408658	98969	160041	5194	144454
Reg. Stettin	94610	38340	18045	1280	36945
Reg. Köslin	183132	35064	81488	2260	64320
Reg. Grenzmark	130916	25565	60508	1654	43189
3. Brandenburg	144123	29406	66490	1902	46325
Reg. Frankfurt o/O.	144123	29406	66490	1902	46325
4. Silesia	751105	149714	349622	9978	241791
Reg. Breslau	275087	51799	106880	4562	111846
Reg. Liegnitz	226316	48073	103636	2908	71699
Reg. Oppeln	249702	49842	139106	2508	58246

* Source: Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Vol. 557, Pts. 1, 2, 4, 5.

*Table 14: Distribution of the rural Population
in the Area Recovered by Poland (excluding Danzig)
according to Social Status (%). 1939 *)*

Provinces Regencies	Percentages			
	Inde- pendent	Family Helpers	Officials	Labour- ers
Occupationally employed & non-employed				
Total	28.0	31.6	1.7	38.7
1. East Prussia	28.2	28.6	1.2	42.0
Reg. Königsberg	23.3	22.5	1.2	53.0
Reg. Gumbinnen	30.9	31.8	1.0	36.3
Reg. Allenstein	32.7	33.5	1.1	32.7
Reg. West Prussia	23.7	24.3	1.4	50.6
2. Western Pomerania	25.0	29.5	1.8	43.7
Reg. Stettin	24.0	28.0	1.9	46.1
Reg. Köslin	24.7	28.8	1.7	44.8
Reg. Grenzmark	26.3	31.7	1.8	40.2
3. Brandenburg	26.9	34.4	2.0	36.7
Reg. Frankfurt o/O.	26.9	34.4	2.0	36.7
4. Silesia	29.9	33.8	1.9	34.4
Reg. Breslau	27.0	27.6	2.3	43.1
Reg. Liegnitz	30.0	34.8	1.9	33.3
Reg. Oppeln	33.0	39.7	1.6	25.7
Occupationally employed				
Total	21.0	44.3	1.2	33.5
1. East Prussia	19.8	44.8	1.0	34.4
Reg. Königsberg	17.3	36.9	1.1	44.7
Reg. Gumbinnen	21.8	46.6	0.7	30.9
Reg. Allenstein	21.2	51.5	0.8	26.5
Reg. West Prussia	19.0	38.8	1.3	40.9
2. Western Pomerania	24.2	39.2	1.3	35.3
Reg. Stettin	40.5	19.1	1.4	39.0
Reg. Köslin	19.1	44.6	1.2	35.1
Reg. Grenzmark	19.5	46.2	1.3	33.0
3. Brandenburg	20.4	46.2	1.3	32.1
Reg. Frankfurt o/O.	20.4	46.2	1.3	32.1
4. Silesia	19.9	46.6	1.3	32.2
Reg. Breslau	18.8	38.9	1.7	40.6
Reg. Liegnitz	21.2	45.8	1.3	31.7
Reg. Oppeln	20.0	55.7	1.0	23.3

*) Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 557, Pts. 1, 2, 4, 5.

engaged in agriculture as 189,000, their number would be 63,000. If, then, the last-proposed solution were adopted, 497,000 of the German rural population deported from Poland would still have to find employment as hired hands on the land. Adding the non-employed members of their families, the total would come to 854,000 *). These numbers are not so high as to give cause for special anxiety. If the problem were properly handled these German agricultural labourers deported from Poland might as easily be absorbed in agriculture within the borders of present day Germany as the German owners of farms. And it should further be taken into account that the figures given above are based on pre-war data, and that they should consequently be somewhat reduced in view of war losses.

*) The number of agricultural labourers in the recovered area excluding Danzig was in 1939: 937,000 occupationally employed and non-employed and including Danzig, 964,000. From this number has been subtracted 110,000 for Polish agricultural labourers and the occupationally non-employed members of their families.

CONCLUSION

However things may be, the possibilities for the accommodation on the land of any additional number of persons will depend to a large extent on the future growth of population in the country; and in this connexion there is much to show that the favourable situation prevailing in Germany before the war is not likely to continue. The fall in the birthrate, which was noticeable in Germany even before the 1914—18 war, increased after it to such dimensions that the rate in 1933 was only 14.7 per thousand. *) By its measures for the encouragement of larger families — that is to say, by the material aid given to newly-married persons and to families with a considerable number of children in the form of marriage loans, tax reductions, priority in employment and the like — the Nazi government succeeded in 1934 and the succeeding years in reversing the prevailing tendency and bringing about a steadily increasing number of births from year to year. Even the early years of the war did not check this process: in 1939 and 1940 the birthrate was 20.4 per thousand, a figure which had not been attained in the country since 1925. Now, however, far-reaching changes in the population situation of Germany are to be expected. The complete political collapse, the disappearance of faith in the future, the bankruptcy of nazi propaganda, the loss of the eastern provinces, which were distinguished for their high

*) *Maly Rocznik Statystyczny, 1939, p. 45.*

birthrate, the loss of several millions of men on the field of battle, the difficult conditions of life after the war, and the withdrawal of material help for families burdened with many children: all these factors must, taken together, lead to a marked fall in the birthrate in Germany.

It seems highly probable that the demographic development of the Reich will return to its former channel, and that the recent increase will be replaced by a decrease of population. This may come about suddenly and with great force, first of all in the towns, which have long been on the borderline between increase and decrease of inhabitants, and afterwards in the villages also. It is evident that such a turn of affairs would greatly facilitate the assimilation by the German economic organism of the population now obliged to leave the areas ceded to Poland and other States.

We have here touched upon the question of the future development of population in Germany: a question which presents interest from many points of view. Even if Polish soil were to be completely freed from the German element, and if the attempt were made to keep it absolutely separate from the German State, none the less it would be impossible to prevent the infiltration of destructive influences. From this point of view the question of a sound economic and social structure for the future Germany is by no means a matter of indifference to Poland. The parcellation of the large landed estates, facilitating as it will the creation of hundreds of thousands of peasant holdings, may turn out to be one of the factors which will enable the German people to reconstruct its ruined social economy on new foundations. Such parcellation would have the further advantage that it would finally break the influence of the social class among the members of which German imperialism always found its strongest support, and which regarded the struggle against the Polish spirit and the

destruction of the Polish element as its historical mission: namely the Prussian Junkers. The liquidation of the great landed estates and the accompanying reinforcement of the peasant class would not only enable Germany to realize the aims of its population and economic policy, formulated by many writers in terms of the restoration of an agrarian Reich, but would further contribute to the strengthening of democratic tendencies in Germany.

The question of rural overpopulation in Germany seems, in the light of the material presented above, to be less serious than is commonly supposed. By increasing the area under cultivation and by planned changes in the agrarian structure it will be possible to find room in German agriculture for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ million of new farmers without thereby bringing about any deterioration in the general conditions of existence. This will more or less completely solve the question of the rural population transferred from the districts given up by Germany.

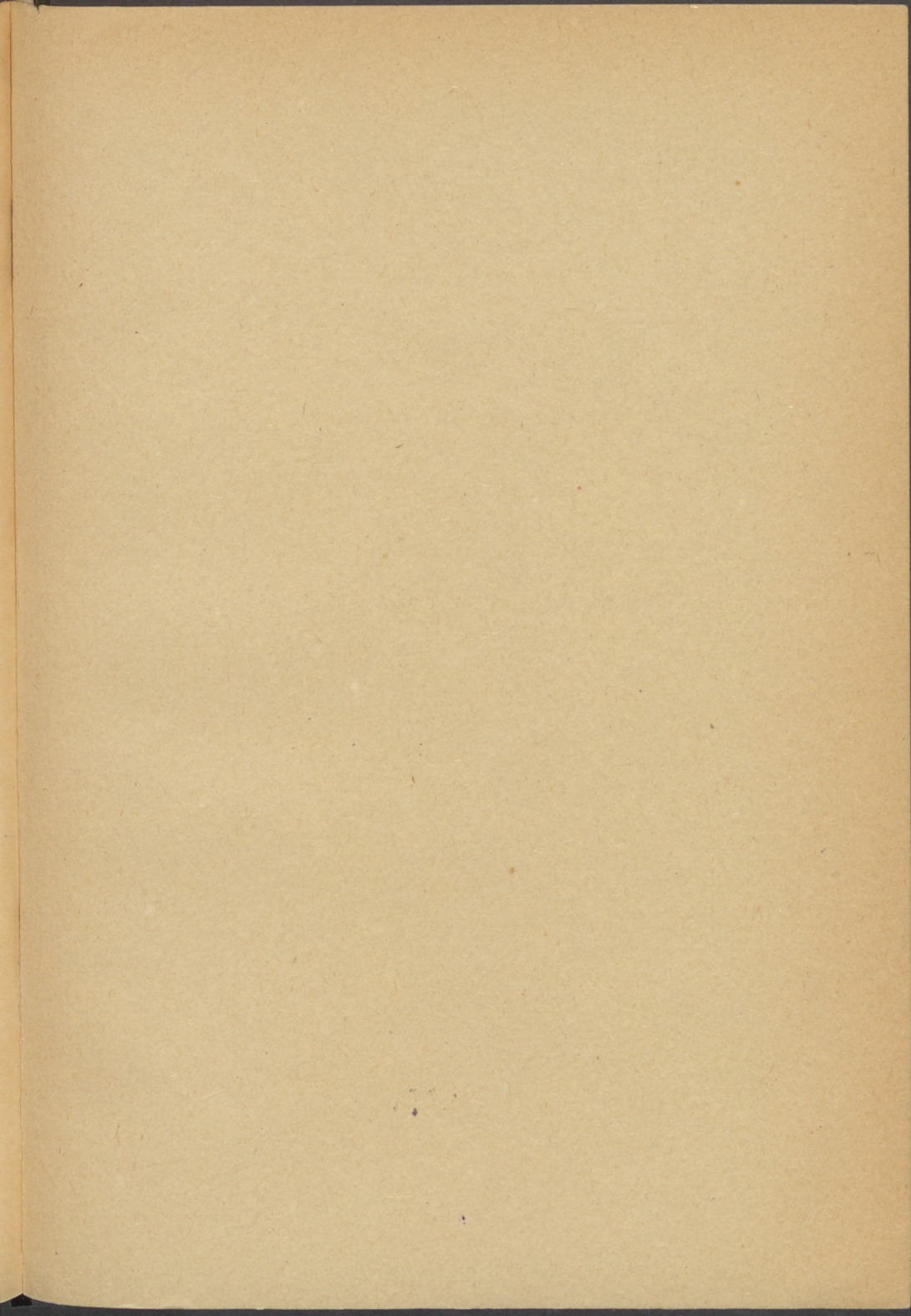
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