

PART 5. FLOWS AND NON-EU EUROPE

Historic East-West Migration in Central and East Europe

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Historic East-West Migration in Central and Eastern Europe¹

1. Introduction

International migration from the East has a long history and it is useful to distinguish the different waves of migratory streams. Focusing on the European region, one should underline that from the late 19th century until the mid 1900s, Central and Eastern Europe saw considerable emigration. The main flow was to overseas destinations such as the US.²

Characteristics of migration streams from Europe have changed since the mid of the 20th century. The end of the Second World War divided Europe into two. Spatial mobility is a crucial element characterising open societies. Totalitarian regimes can prevent citizens from travelling abroad or emigrating, or force them to settle in certain areas. These developments shaped the East-West migration of 1945-1989 as a unique period in the history.

2. Methodology Overview

2.1. The Years of 1945-1989

The post-war years have shown a specific emigration character especially from Central and Eastern Europe. Although the migration of these years has not been widely discussed in the Eastern (soviet) part of Europe, the number of emigrants have been considerable. The decades of the communist history of Central and Eastern Europe led to radical changes in the migration pattern. Borders have been controlled, people had no passport, traditional migration streams were blocked.

In 1989, strict emigration controls were over and replaced by immigration control of the west in the 1990s. Following the collapse of state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe, a new period in the history of European migration was underway.

2.2. Regions Covered

East-West migration should be defined clearly when we are speaking about out-migration from this region.³ Using the former Iron Curtain as the dividing line between East and West Europe, we speak about the East-West migration as emigration from the communist part of Europe.⁴ The 'East' countries are the Central and Eastern European region (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia), the Baltic states and other European countries/regions of the former USSR.

We do not focus on the (considerable) migration among the countries in the region but rather *outflow of the citizen of these countries* (except for mentions of basic tendencies between some countries).

There are no detailed data on the qualification of migrants (but for country of origin, legal

¹ This paper was prepared by Agnes Hars and edited by Annamaria Inzelt for the project *Brain-Drain Study — Emigration Flows of Qualified Scientists*.

² See: *Ewa Morawska* (1995); *Walter Nugent* (1995).

³ The definition of Central and Eastern Europe as a geographical region is not so evident. Turning to the historical roots of migration patterns German emigration has also been be part of emigration from Central Europe. (See *Nugent* (1995)

⁴ Cp. *Wallace* (2000)

status etc.).⁵ Facing the data shortage concerning qualification of migrants the paper will first overview the main (general) migration flows. As a second step, we make estimates to identify the highly qualified migrants among all international migrants.

3. Estimated Emigration from Central and Eastern Europe – 1945-1989

3.1. Overview of Migration, 1945-89

There are distinct periods in the history of East-West migration between 1945-1989. Turning to the phases used by *Fassman* and *Münz* we distinguish (1) the period of 1945-1950, when migration was directly related to the post-war situation, (2) the period of 1950-1985/87 when migration was related to the control of emigration by the communist countries and (3) the period of the late 1980s when rigid controls over emigration changed considerably.⁶

3.1.1. Post-war period (1945-1950)

Until the 1950s, there had been lively migration from the East to the West, in Europe and overseas.⁷ Migrants of the huge movement of the second half of the 1940s were partly displaced persons, post-war military force members, forced labourers, survivors of the concentration camps, etc. According to a rough estimate, which takes into account only the main migration flows, this amounted to the displacement of more than 15 million people who had to leave their former home countries. A large group of them (somewhat less than 13 million people) moved outside Central and Eastern Europe, while a smaller group (about 2.5 million people) moved among countries of the region.

About 12 million ethnic Germans (estimate for 1945-50) were also part of the post-war migration who either fled or were expelled from the eastern parts of the former Germany, i.e. from Central and Eastern Europe. As a consequence of Yalta and Potsdam treaties, new international boundaries were drawn up and followed by ethnic cleansing. About 1.5 million Poles and Polish Jews had to leave Soviet annexed previously east-Polish territories, about 115,000 Czechs and Slovaks, Hungary and Carpatho-Ukraine, 50,000 Ukrainians the territory of Czechoslovakia, over 500,000 Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians had to leave Poland and move to beyond the new national borders. More than 300,000 ethnic Hungarians from southern Slovakia, Romania (Transylvania) and Serbia (Voyvodina) were transferred to Hungary or forced to “exchange” by order of the governments.

Beyond that, less than 5 million displaced persons and post-war military force members were repatriated (partly forced) from Germany to the Eastern part of Europe and the Soviet Union. The total post-war migration (both internal and international) can be estimated as high as 30 million persons.⁸

⁵ *Findlay, A* (1995)

⁶ According to the periodicity of *Fassman – Münz*. (1995) there are three main phases of East-West mass migration since mid-nineteenth century: (1) before 1945, mainly 1850-1920, (2) directly related to the Second World War and its consequences in 1945-1950 and (3) 1950-1993 where migration has been significantly reduced. Differently from their periodicity, however, we divide the period of 1950-1993 into two sharply different epochs.

⁷ By 1950 the out-migration as the consequence of the War has been completed to the *first destinations*. To find the *final destination* took, however, longer time, until 1952-53.

⁸ Cp. *Fassman–Münz* (1995). p 470

3.1.2. The period of Cold War and the Iron Curtain (1950-1987)

The Iron Curtain and the Cold War put an end to the traditional migration routes⁹ During these years, although emigration from the communist countries was strictly controlled and limited, Central and Eastern Europe emigration did not come to a standstill. For a long time, East-West migration in Europe has been characterised by distinct waves of migration directly linked to political events like pre-Berlin Wall period until 1961, revolution of Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 or Poland in 1980-81. Other migrations can be linked to political bargaining between the countries involved, mostly ethnic migration, by far the greatest number ethnic Germans and Jews.

According to different estimates the net migration balance (i.e. the balance of emigration vs. immigration and return migration) of Central and Eastern Europe¹⁰ has been -4.0 million between 1950-1959 that gradually diminished to -1.9 million in the period of 1960-69, to -1.1 million between 1970-79 and increased again up to -2.3 million during the late communist period of the '80s (1980-89).¹¹ As for the USSR, during the 1950s and 1960s, there was almost no outflow from the USSR but some inflow. As a consequence, the net migration balance was positive in the USSR between 1950-1970 (during the 1950s about 40,000 and in the 1960s about 100,000). These decades were followed by a more liberalised period due to political pressure. Nevertheless, the net migration was still very moderate: -370,000 between 1970-79; -430,000 between 1980-89.¹²

3.1.3. The pre-transition period (1987 –)

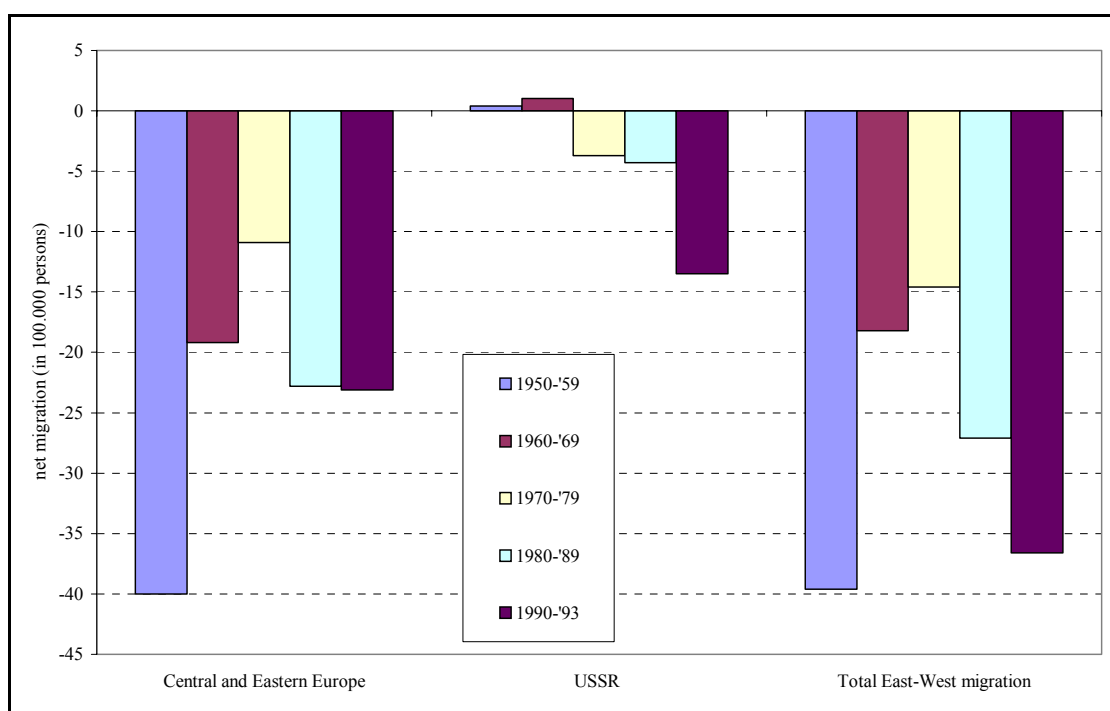
While emigration was still considerable during the 1950s, it began to decline over the next decades until rising again in the 1980s. Comparing the migration pattern of the 1980s and early 1990s, we can see a radical increase after the fall of the Iron Curtain and a continuous increase in the period before. Most of this increase happened in the late 1980s which we refer to as pre-transit migration period. (See Figure 1.).

⁹ More detailed on the closing up see: *Borhi* (1999)

¹⁰ Data cited below refer to the former socialist countries, including also Albania, the former Yugoslavia and East Germany.

¹¹ For the estimations see *Münz* (1995) based on *Chesnais* (1995); Council of Europe (1994); *Fassmann – Münz* (1994); *Rallu – Blum* (1991).

¹² Between 1948 and 1970 altogether 60 thousand Soviet citizens were allowed to emigrate See *Vishnevski–Zayonchovskaya* (1994)

Figure 1. Net migration in Central and Eastern Europe, 1950 to 1993.

Source: Münz (1995), based on Chesnais (1995); Council of Europe (1994); Fassmann – Münz (1994); Rallu – Blum (1991)

3.2. Emigration During the Post-war Period (1945 – about 1950)

Following World War II, migration was rather free. At the same time, forced migration was a peculiar form of migration in these period. (Data on total emigration are shown in Figure 1; European East-West migration by countries between 1945-50 are given in Table 1).

3.2.1 Ethnic German expellees – „Vertriebene”

By the beginning of the 1950s, approximately 12 million ethnic Germans had fled or been deported from the eastern parts of the former “Third Reich” and territories formerly occupied by the German Wehrmacht (Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, the Baltics, Ukraine, Slovenia, Serbia) or ruled during World War II by allied fascist and authoritarian regimes (Slovakia, Croatia, and Hungary).¹³ About 2 million people lost their lives as a result of this ethnic cleansing.¹⁴ Between 1945 and 1949, almost 8 million of these German refugees and expellees went to the western part of Germany, then occupied by the western Allies, and some 3.6 million to the eastern part of Germany¹⁵, controlled by the Soviet Army.¹⁶ Smaller numbers – 530,000 persons – made their way to Austria.¹⁷ That means altogether about 8.5 million to be part of East-West migration while the other 3.6 million as part of the East-East migration.

¹³ Münz (1995); Kay (1995); Stola (1992).

¹⁴ Referred by Münz (1995) to Benz (1985), Reichling (1985)

¹⁵ The census of 10 October 1946, registered 5,9 million refugees and expellees in the British and US zones and 3,6 million in the Soviet zone (the French military government in Germany did not allow the resettlement of expellees in the French zone). The census of 13 March 1950, counted 7,9 million refugees and expellees living in West Germany (FRG), 3,6 million in the Eastern part, e.g. in the GDR. Source: Münz-Ulrich (n.d.)

¹⁶ Referred by Münz (1995) to Lemberg.– Edding (1959)

¹⁷ Referred by Münz (1995) to Stanek (1985)

Table 1. European migration involving Central and Eastern Europe, 1945-1950.		
Country of Origin	Country of Destination	Number of Emigrants (in 000s)
Poland (including former German territories)	East and West Germany (mainly)	7,000
Czechoslovakia (both Czech and Slovak part)	East and West Germany, Austria	3,200
USSR (Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine, Baltics)	East and West Germany (mainly)	1,500
Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro)	East and West Germany, Austria	360
Hungary	East and West Germany, Austria	225
Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro)	Italy	200
USSR (Russia)	Finland	400
East-West migration together		12,885
USSR (Belorussia, Lithuania, Ukraine)	Poland	1,496
Slovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia	Hungary	315
Hungary	Slovakia	73
Poland	USSR (Belorussia, Lithuania, Ukraine)	518
Czechoslovakia	USSR (Ukraine)	50
USSR (Ukraine)	Czechoslovakia	42
East-East migration together		2,494
Germany, Austria (DPs, armed forces)	Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, USSR	4,700
West-East migration together		4,700
Total		20,079

Source: *Source: Fassman – Münz (1995) p 471, based on Bade (1992), Bade (1994), Chesnais (1992), Dövényi–Vukovich (1994), Heršak (1983), Kosinski (1982), Stanek (1985), Stola (1992), Urban (1993), Wehler (1980).*

Poland

The expulsion of ethnic Germans from Poland amounted to 7,000,000 persons. Half of them were from the territory of the previous Poland, the other half from German territories that were administered and later annexed by Poland (Stola, 1991). The expulsion was accepted and even encouraged by Western Allies. A small group of ethnic Germans of some 1-2 million did remain in Poland.¹⁸

Czechoslovakia

Between 1945-47, the Czechoslovakian government obliged 3,200,000 ethnic Germans to leave the country, mostly from the Western part. As with Poland, the expulsion was accepted or even encouraged by the Allies.¹⁹

Hungary

In Hungary, there were some 400,000 ethnic Germans; of them about 225,000 were expelled. This expulsion was arranged by local authorities or resulted from collective measures against German minorities.²⁰

¹⁸ About 1 million, according to Münz (1995) while based on census data and calculations around 1,5-2 million ethnic Germans still remained in Poland by the early 1950s. See: Brunner (1996) p 177

¹⁹ Stola (1992)

²⁰ Münz (1995)

Yugoslavia

Detention and expulsion of 36,000 ethnic Germans and former German citizens took place. As in Hungary, the measures were taken by local authorities.

In summary, 12 million ethnic German people emigrated: 8 million were part of East – West migration (mostly to Germany and to a lesser extent to Austria) and 3.6 million were part of East-East migration in this period.

3.2.2 Other ethnic emigrants to the West

Other ethnic cleansing took place in Europe from East to the West. For example, between 1945-50, more than 100,000 ethnic Italians were forced to leave Istria and Dalmatia.²¹

3.2.3. Displaced persons (DPs)

By the end of the War, there were over 11 million non-German exiled persons in Europe who mostly returned to their homes.²² By the end of September 1945 their number still has been estimated by the western Allies of some 7 million of different background and nationalities: nazis and collaborators, communist and other political activists, war refugees, families and orphans, war survivors and criminals etc. At the same time, less than 2 million of the total number of refugees remained in Western Europe (controlled by the Western Allies).

3.2.4. Eastward migration

As the Western Allies left parts of Central and Eastern Europe, a large number of displaced persons were forced to return to their homes in the East. In some months, over 2.7 million persons were nominated as of Soviet origin and to go to the USSR.²³

Between 1945-1950 about 4.7 million displaced persons (almost half of the total), members of war military forces, forced labourers and survivors of the concentration camps living in Germany and Austria in 1945 returned to their Central or East European countries of origin. Members of the military force and displaced persons from the USSR were, as mentioned before, forced to return.

3.2.5. Westward migration

In 1946, the Western Allies stopped forced repatriation to regions which were forming Communist Europe. The reasons were partly the inhumane consequences of forced repatriation, partly political and partly economic²⁴. Over 1 million persons were reluctant to return to their homes due to political and other reasons. There were 850,000 in Germany, 150,000 in Austria and others in Italy all waiting to migrate to a third country. The resettlement of the displaced persons to third country destinations (mostly overseas) went on constantly. They were drawn overseas by more favourable economic situations and the political and psychological impact of their past.

Estimated emigration: westward emigration of DPs could be, at a rough guess, not less than 500,000 (240,000 to the US alone) until 1953. Their number is likely included in the number

²¹ cp. Münz (1995)

²² See Puskás (1996), based on Kulischer (1947), Kun (1991)

²³ Wyman, M. (1989), cited by Puskás (1996)

²⁴ According to Puskás (1996) the number of immigrants exclusively to the USA amounted from July 1948 until July 1953 from Europe altogether 397,177 persons, 238,915 persons (60,55%) from CEE. (Source: US Annual Report of Immigration and Naturalization Service. Fiscal Years 1948-1953. Washington D. C.)

who migrated to first destination countries of Germany, Austria or possibly to other countries.

3.2.6. Other East-East migration 1945-1950

Poles and Polish Jews

1,5 million ethnic Poles had to leave their homes in former eastern Poland, i.e. areas that are now part of Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine. They were resettled in areas, cities and houses of former German inhabitants.

Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians

Almost 600,000 ethnic Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians had to leave Poland and Czechoslovakia and were resettled in territories that had become part of Soviet Union in 1945.²⁵

Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians

Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians were forced to move from East to the West part of Czechoslovakia vacated by Germans (115,000 persons), from Poland to Soviet Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania (over 500,000 persons), from Czechoslovakia to Ukraine (50,000 persons).

Ethnic Hungarians

Some 300,000 members of the Hungarian minorities in Southern Slovakia, Transylvania (Romania) and Vojvodina (Serbia) were transferred to Hungary or „exchanged” by order of their respective governments.²⁶ This list of enforced ethnic cleansing in central and south-eastern Europe could easily be prolonged.

A total of about 2.5 million people were involved in forced ethnic cleansing migration among Central and Eastern European countries in the late ‘40s.

3.3. Emigration during the Cold War and the Iron Curtain (1950 - late 1980s)

Since the late 1940s, emigration has been considerably limited. For a long time main characteristics of migration were distinct „waves” of migration directly linked to political events or even to political bargaining. The forms of emigration have been mostly streams of political and other refugees from Eastern Europe to the West, and partially turned into a kind of poverty migration.²⁷

3.3.1. The migration between East and West Germany – „Übersiedler”

Before the Berlin Wall (1950-1961)

During the early years of the communist dictatorship the borders were controlled both inward and outward. There was practically no migration but in Germany where, following the creation of the GDR in 1949, the border has not yet been closed between East and West until

²⁵ Kersten (1968), Urban (1993)

²⁶ Kosinski (1982), Dövényi – Vukovich (1994)

²⁷ Migration between countries was not frequent any more. The considerable migration between the Baltic states and the USSR has been important, however, and worth mentioning here even if these migration is not part of the East-West migration. The annual average net migration between Estonia and USSR has been 6,5 thousand persons, Latvia and USSR 10,4 thousand per year and between Lithuania and the USSR 6,9 thousand. (The immigration and emigration is considerably larger, however, in each cases.) © 1999 Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung, based on Lithuanian Department of Statistics; Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia. Statistical Office of Estonia. Actual source: <http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~migratio/Statistik/euost016.htm>

establishing the Berlin Wall in 1961.

After the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) there has been a mass emigration from East to the West. Each bottleneck in supplies and new steps in the socialist redistribution of property (nationalisation of small businesses, collectivisation of agriculture) coincided with a higher rate of emigration. More than 3 million East Germans crossed the line which gradually became the border between the two German states and part of the Iron Curtain (*Ulrich, 1990; Rudolph, 1994*).

The emigration from East to the West fluctuated between the number of 200,000 and 400,000 people per year. 1959 has been the only year when fewer than 200,000 individuals migrated from East to West Germany. The motivation for intensive migration was: dissatisfaction with the political system in the GDR, the attractiveness of West Germany during economic booms and, in many cases, family reunion. While the border was not closed between the two Germanys, a total of 393,000 persons also migrated in the opposite direction, from West to East Germany. The annual average was between 25,000 and 40,000. Marriage, family reunion or political reasons (e.g. as a result of the cold war communist party was declared illegal in the FRG) was the main motive. The total number of „Übersiedler“ (net: total out-migrants minus the returnees and immigrants) during 1950-61 has been 3.5 million persons.

From the GDR to FRG after the Wall (1961-1987)

The yearly loss of inhabitants as a result of emigration caused economic and political destabilisation in the GDR. After a new rise in east-west migration in 1960-61, followed the considerable drop in 1958-1959 the East German government closed the border by building the Berlin Wall in one night in August 1961. As a consequence, the number of East-West migrants radically dropped. From 1962 to 1988 the annual average of „Übersiedlers“ was 23,000. The number of West Germans moving to East Germany declined on average to 2,600 persons a year. Between August 1961 and late 1988, despite the existence of the Wall and a very restrictive travel regime, almost 600,000 GDR citizens managed to emigrate to the FRG.

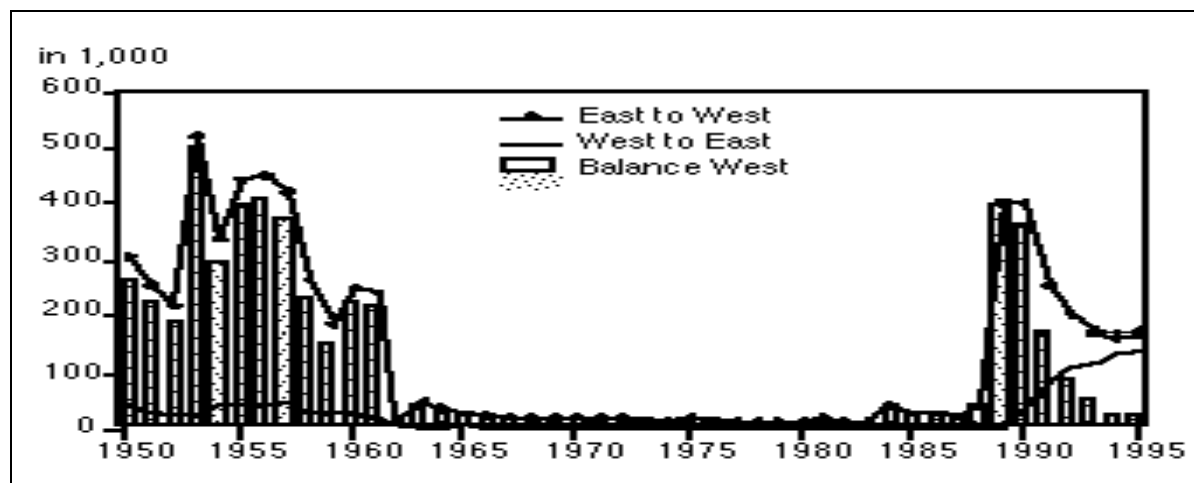
About half of these were either (1) people who had been freed from prison by the West German government which paid a certain sum for each of them – about 34,000 cases or (2) others whose emigration had been individually negotiated a number of 215,000 persons. The remainder were GDR old-age pensioners, who were allowed to travel freely to the West.²⁸

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, a mass exodus ensued. In total, about 390,000 people left the GDR in 1989, and another 395,000 departed in 1990. In sum up, during the existence of the wall, emigration amounted to:

25,000 persons of working age (1961-1988)
350,000 old age pensioners (1961-1988)
600,000 GDR citizens total (1961-1988).

An overview of the East-West migration between the two Germanys is shown in Figure 2.

²⁸ Münz-Ulrich (n.d.), Rudolph (1994)

Figure 2. Migration between East and West Germany, 1950-1995.

Source: Münz-Ulrich (n.d.), based on Rudolph 1994 (for 1950-90); data from the Statistisches Bundesamt (for 1991-94).

3.3.2. Ethnic emigration from the Soviet Block

Emigration of ethnic Germans – „Aussiedler“

From the beginning of the 1950s the socialist countries restricted the mobility of ethnic Germans (as much as that of members of other ethnic groups). Emigration was mostly based on family reunion: 47,000 in 1950 and a mere 4,000 in 1952. Although ethnic Germans were discriminated against in Poland, Romania and the former Soviet Union even after 1950, however, individuals requesting emigration to West Germany (and, in rarer cases, to the GDR) calculated the costs and benefits of such a move. The drive of the emigration decisions were basically individual decision.²⁹ During the following thirty-five years (1953-87), an average number of 37,000 „Aussiedler“ a year arrived in Germany. From 1950 to 1987 altogether 1.4 million newly arriving „Aussiedler“ were registered in the FRG, a majority (62%) from Poland, an other 15% from Romania.

The German-German migration came to a sudden stop in 1961 when GDR closed the border. The first waves of ethnic German emigration were also over. That period has been coincided with the guest-worker program of West-Germany, that has been initiated in the mid 1950s economic boom of FRG and closed in fear of labour market crisis of the early 1970s. At that time political initiatives had already been taken with the purpose to secure an additional influx of Germany from the East.³⁰ Bilateral treaties were signed by the federal government with Central and Eastern European countries – as „part of the new policy towards the East“. Important issue of these treaties was the freedom of exit of ethnic Germans. („Aussiedler“ could expect financial support, housing and training programs, language courses etc.) However, the treaties did not have a substantial impact on the number of „Aussiedlers“ before the second half of the 1970s.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain and easing administrative restrictions the emigration of ethnic Germans has sharply increased. However, the increase has happened gradually, in the last years of the 1980s already. The USSR and the successor states of the Soviet Union became the leading country in emigration of ethnic Germans (57%), followed by those from

²⁹ The immigration of ethnic Germans stemmed no longer from ethnic cleansing. This is the main reason for an analytical distinction between „Vertriebene“ of the period from 1945 to 1949 and other „Aussiedler“ who have moved since the 1950s. See: Münz-Ulrich (n.d.)

³⁰ Cp. Rudolph (1994)

Poland (32%) and Romania (11%). Actually no emigration from other sending region took place in the transition period.³¹

From Poland

In the early 1950s in Poland it was practically not possible to emigrate nor to cross the border. Some emigration still took place in 1950-51 (over 40,000 people) and than in some years, after 1956 some political liberalisation allowed the out-migration of some of the remaining ethnic German population, about 270,000 ethnic Germans left in 1957-58 but the out-migration has been stopped very soon.³² That only wave of emigration of ethnic Germans from Poland mounted up to the ¾ of the total emigration of ethnic Germans in the 50s from Central and Eastern Europe. A larger-scale emigration („ family re-unionising program”) took place in the mid 1970s. There has been a sort of agreement between Poland and the FRG concerning the emigration of ethnic Germans in order to negotiate economic and financial aid with the FRG.

Depending on census data and calculations, around 1.5-2 million ethnic Germans still remained in Poland by the early 1950s while around 300.000 in 1988.³³ According to *Münz* and *Ulrich* (n.d.), between 1950 and 1987 altogether 848,000 ethnic Germans left Poland for Germany, that gives the overwhelming majority of total ethnic German emigration, 62% of all ethnic German immigrants during this years. Ethnic Germans from Poland (1950-1987): 850,000.

From Romania

In the post-war period, in contrast to other countries with ethnic German minority, Romania had not collectively expelled ethnic Germans living in the country. During the 1950s there was practically no out-migration of ethnic Germans from Romania, and very limited until 1977 when the bilateral agreement urged migration. Actually the FRG sought to organise ethnic German emigration from Romania on bilateral basis.

Between 1950 and 1987,206,000 ethnic Germans emigrated from Romania to FRG, that runs 15% of the total ethnic German emigration during this period. Romania in particular used concessions concerning the emigration of ethnic Germans in order to negotiate economic and financial aid with the FRG. With Romania, the West German government even agreed to pay a certain amount of compensation per ethnic German allowed to emigrate.

The out-migration of a total of over 200,000 ethnic Germans has been doubled during the late 1980s and early 1990s when nearly an other 200,000 people left between 1988-92. According to estimation hardly more than 120,000 remained who are either unable or unwilling to leave.³⁴ Still, the share of ethnic Germans of Romanian origin is the same in the transit period than all over the period, it mounted up to the 15% of the total from Central and Eastern Europe.

³¹ See *Rudolph* (1994) based on data of Bundesverwaltungsamt, Cologne

³² *Korricelli* (1994) based on data of Polish Central Statistical Office.

³³ *Brunner* (1996) p.177

³⁴ Cp. *Fassmann – Münz* (1995)

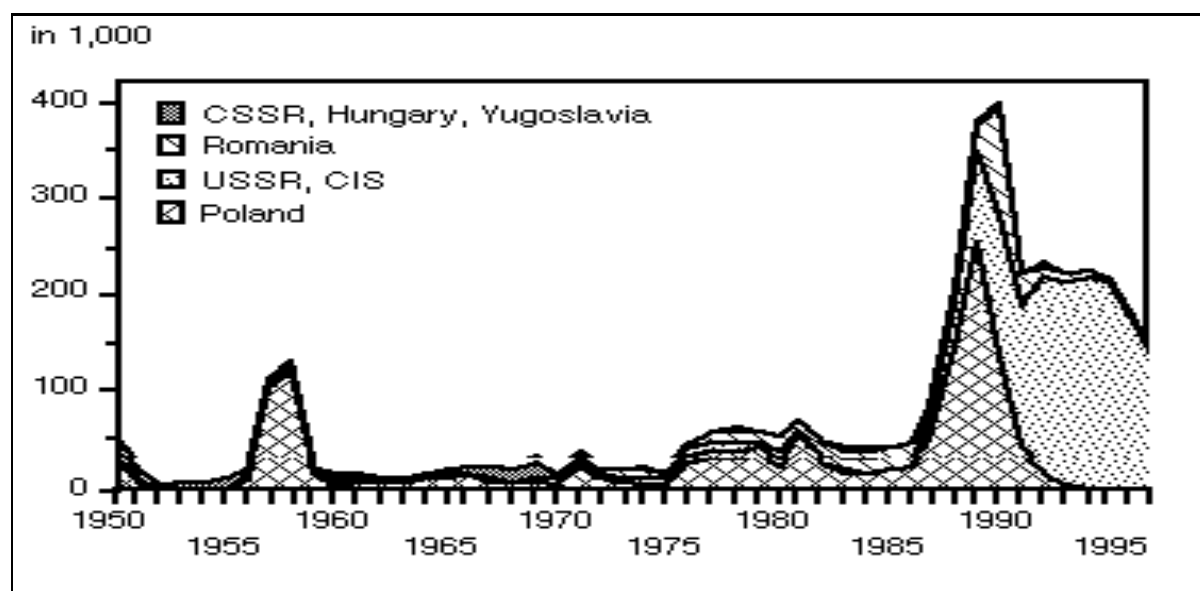
From the Soviet Union

In spite of the fact that the Soviet Union also had a large German minority living within its borders, only 110,000 of them (8% of all „*Aussiedler*”) were able to emigrate during the period of 1950 and 1987. Only after 1986 has the political liberalisation led to increasing emigration from the USSR (636,000 people) when nearly half of the total ethnic German out-migrants were from the USSR and successor states.³⁵

From other countries

During this period a limited number of ethnic German emigrants originated from other countries where some ethnic German population still remained. Some ethnic German emigration originated from Czechoslovakia (nearly 100,000), Hungary (16 thousand), Yugoslavia (86,000). Emigration of ethnic Germans coincided with political liberalisation, larger emigration waves due to political reasons like that of 1956 from Hungary or 1968 from Czechoslovakia.³⁶ Ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia were together 200,000 between 1950-1987.

Figure 3. Ethnic German emigrants to the FRG by country of origin, 1950 to 1997.



Source: Münz-Ulrich (n.d.), based on Information from Bundesverwaltungsamt, Bundesministerium des Inneren.

3.3.3. Jewish emigration

From Poland

In 1968 a considerable share of Poland's remaining Jewish population left the country.³⁷ According to official statistics, however, there is no change in number of emigration trends, according to data of the Central Statistical Office³⁸. That Jewish emigration has been limited in numbers, important, however, on political level (as well as from the point of view of emigration of highly qualified persons). Jewish emigration from Poland (1968): estimated 10,000-20,000.

³⁵ Münz-Ulrich (n.d.), Rudolph (1994), Vishnevsky-Zayonchkvsaya (1994)

³⁶ Rudolph (1994)

³⁷ Cp. Korricelli (1994)

³⁸ See: Korricelli (1994) p 173

From Soviet Union

Due to strict and rigid regulations of travelling and moving from and to the Soviet Union emigration in total has been moderate between 1948-1990. The majority (two thirds) of all emigrants from the USSR during 1948-1986 were Jews (while one quarter were the ethnic Germans and an additional 10 percent the Armenians). Most of the Jewish emigrants of the 1948-1986 were out-migrating in the 1970s (over 85%).³⁹

Some 300,000 Jewish emigrants left the USSR, 70% of this for Israel, the rest for the USA. Depending on the prevailing policy of the USSR the immigrants to Israel from the USSR has sometimes constituted the large part of the total immigration into Israel (1970s), while irrelevant in other periods (before 1970s, 1980s).⁴⁰ Jewish emigration from Soviet Union (1948-1986): about 300,000 (about 200,000 to Israel, about 100,000 to the USA).

From Romania

There has been sizeable Jewish emigration from Romania, as well. According to the overview of *Fassmann-Münz* (1995) 500,000 Jews left Romania between 1960-1992 to Israel and USA. Practically the total Jewish population has emigrated by the early 90s. Supposing the same share of Jewish emigrants before the pre-transit period and that since the mid 1980s as it has been the case of ethnic Germans about half of the total, that is about 250,000 Jews emigrated before the pre-transition period from Romania.⁴¹ Jewish emigration from Romania (1960-1986): estimation of 250,000.

3.3.3. Ethnic Turkish Emigration from Bulgaria

The ethnic structure of Bulgaria explains considerable emigration of ethnic Turks from the country. The share of Turks in the total population has been 10.% in 1926, 9.% in 1946 and 8.% in 1965 (the last year when statistics on the ethnic structure of Bulgaria's population existed)⁴²

According emigration agreements sequenced (legal) emigration waves took place from Bulgaria to Turkey. Between 1950-53 some 155,000 ethnic Turks were allowed to leave the country while no more (legal) emigration between 1954-1968.⁴³ The next wave of emigration has followed the 1968 agreement, when 95,000 Turks were granted the right to emigrate to Turkey and only 14% of them were reluctant to emigrate.⁴⁴ Finally, according to other data only 43,000 ethnic Turks left the country.⁴⁵ The Turkish government negotiated a further annual emigration of 10,500 ethnic Turks but did not stand perfectly. The emigration got a new push in the late 1980s when 218,000 ethnic Turks emigrated (in 1989), the outflow has subsided in the following years. Ethnic Turkish emigration from Bulgaria was 200,000 (1950-80s) of them 155,000 (1950-53); 43,000 (1969-76).

³⁹ *Heitman* (1991), cited in *Vishnevsky-Zayonchkvsaya* (1994)

⁴⁰ *Sabatello* (1994) based on data of Israel CBS, HIAS

⁴¹ *Fassmann-Münz* (1995), p 473

⁴² *Bobeva* (1994), *Brunner* (1996)

⁴³ Data from the Ministry of Interior referring to legal emigrants according to bilateral agreements, published in *Bobeva* (1994) p 224

⁴⁴ *Bobeva* (1994) according to unpublished data from the Ministry of Interior.

⁴⁵ Cp. *Fassmann – Münz* (1995), *Vasileva* (1992), Data from the Ministry of Interior referring to legal emigrants according to bilateral agreements, published in *Bobeva* (1994) p 224

3.3.4. Distinct emigration waves from the Soviet Block (1956-1989)

Hungary 1956

In 1956-57, some 194,000 Hungarians left their country just before Soviet troops and the Kádár regime closed the border, re-establishing the Iron Curtain between Hungary and Austria.⁴⁶ Nobody asked for their individual motives. Following the logic of the Cold War, everybody who came from a communist country was considered in the West to be a „true” refugee.

Czechoslovakia 1968

In 1968-69, some 162,000 Czechs and Slovaks fled from Czechoslovakia after the occupation of their country by Soviet and allied Warsaw Pact troops.⁴⁷ They too met with great western sympathy. World-wide media coverage of the Soviet military intervention had contributed to the sympathy on the side of the public.⁴⁸

Poland 1980-81

In 1980-81, following the offensive of communist political power against the Solidarity movement in Poland some 250,000 Poles fled from martial law and political repression to the West.⁴⁹ Public opinion did not generally accept them as political refugees. This time the willingness to receive new refugees was already limited.⁵⁰ (Table 2).

3.3.5. The pre-transit period (late 1980s)

While discussing the out-migration trends of the 1980s from Central and Eastern Europe, it has been referred to the late 80s emigration trends as well. We consider this sharply increasing migratory flows as part of the transition emigration of a considerably different character. That has been evidently shown in *chart 1*. That is the reason while we tried to separate the data of the previous periods (until about 1986-1987) from those of the turn of the decade.

3.3.6. Statistical estimations

Finally we try to give an overview of sizeable out migration trends from Central and Eastern Europe during the period of 1945-1987. Data inaccuracy and mostly unpublished sporadic data-sources serve for collecting hopefully reliable evidences.⁵¹ We have used different estimations compared with historical facts and the statistics.

Our estimations for the two separate periods (1945-50 vs. 1950-1987) are given in Tables 1 and 2. Based on the data an overview has been calculated that is shown in Table 3.

⁴⁶ Cp. *Dövényi – Vukovich* (1994)

⁴⁷ *Chesnais* (1992)

⁴⁸ Cp. *Fassmann – Münz* (1995/b)

⁴⁹ *Chesnais* (1992)

⁵⁰ Cp. *Fassmann – Münz* (1995, 1995/b)

⁵¹ We should cite here the general comment of *Vishnevsky–Zayonchkvsaya* (1994): “In using these estimates we have to bear in mind their approximate and illustrative nature, as is usually emphasised by the authors of publications.” p 240

Period	Country of origin	Country of destination	Emigrants
1950-61	GDR	FRG	3,500
1961-87	GDR	FRG	600
Übersiedler			4,100
1950-87	Poland	FRG	850
1950-87	Romania	FRG	206
1950-87	USSR	FRG	110
1950-87	Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia	FRG	200
Aussiedler		FRG	1,400
1968	Poland – Jews	Israel, USA	15
1948-86	USSR – Jews	Israel, USA	300
1960-86	Romania – Jews	Israel, USA	250
Jews		Israel, USA	565
1950-80s	Bulgaria – ethnic Turks	Turkey	200
1956	Hungary – 1956	Austria, UK, Yugoslavia, Canada, USA	194
1968	Czechoslovakia – 1968	FRG, Austria, USA, Canada, Australia	162
1980-81	Poland – 1980-81	FRG, Austria and others	250
Emigration waves		various	600
1950-87	Total		7,000
Source: own calculations based on various sources used in the paper and estimations.			

Period	Poland	Czechoslovakia	Hungary	GDR	Romania	Bulgaria	Yugoslavia	USSR	Total
Thousands of persons									
1945-50	7,000	3,200	225				560	1,900	12,885
1950-87	1,115	232	264	4,100	456	200	70	410	6,847
1945-87	8,115	3,432	489	4,100	456	200	630	2,310	19,732
In percent of total countries									
1945-50	54	25	2				4	15	100
1950-87	16	3	4	60	7	3	1	6	100
1945-87	41	17	2	21	2	1	3	12	100
In percent by the total by periods									
1945-50	86	93	46				89	82	65
1950-87	14	7	54	100	100	100	11	18	35
1945-87	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
In percent of the total out-migration									
1945-50	35	16	1				3	10	65
1950-87	6	1	1	21	2	1	0	2	35
1945-87	41	17	2	21	2	1	3	12	100
Source: own calculations based on various sources used in the paper and estimations.									

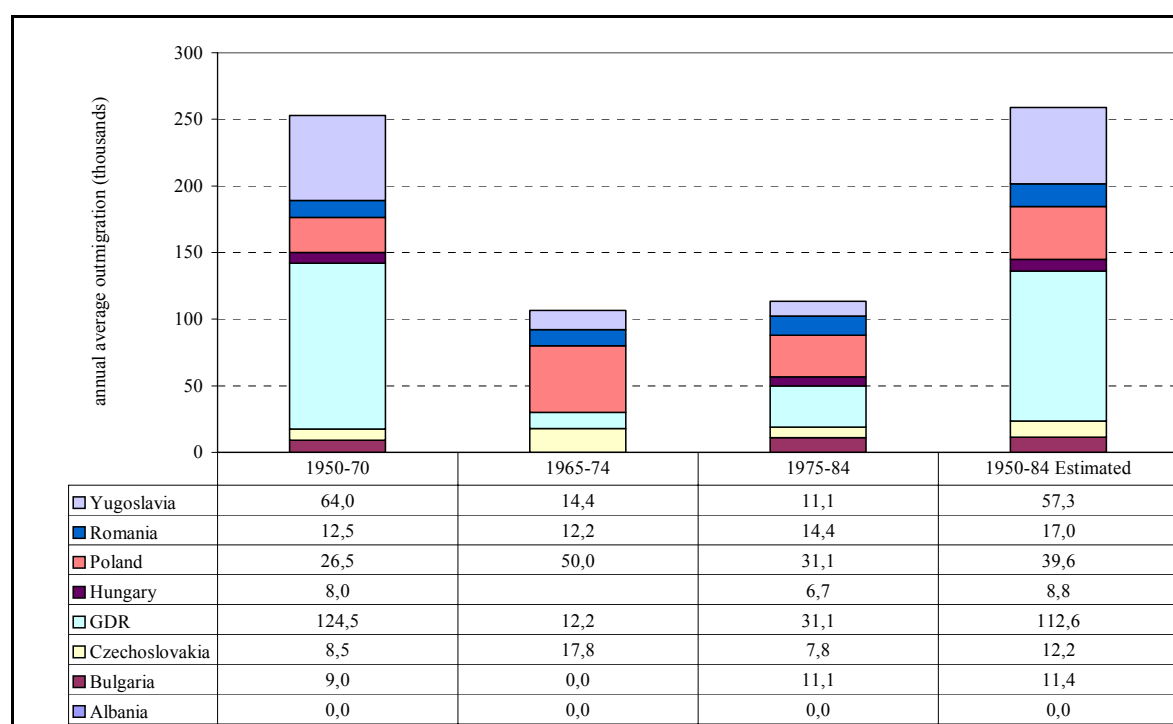
Table 4. Estimated annual average out-migration from Central and Eastern Europe.									
Period	Poland	Czecho-slovakia	Hungary	GDR	Romania	Bulgaria	Yugo-slavia	USSR	Total
Thousands of persons									
1950-87*	1,115	232	264	4,100	456	200	70	410	6,847
1950--84**	1,260	400	280	2,880	490	290	1,510		7,110
Difference	-145	-168	-16	1,220	-34	-90	-1,440		-263

* Data of table 3 (originating table 2)
 **Data of chart 4
 Source: own calculations based on data; refer to Table 3 and Chart 4.

Two thirds of the total emigration goes back to the historical period of the post Second World War. Overwhelming majority of the emigration during the period of the cold war has been originated, however, from Eastern Germany (60%) followed by Poland (16%).

There are other estimates. Below we show an overview prepared by the Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung in 1999 for the period of emigration from the Soviet Block (1950-1984). Figure 4 shows annual average out migration by distinct periods. Based on very different sources the trends are rather similar to what we have estimated using the various sources: the importance of the German emigrants from the GDR, the second place of Poland in emigration, the changing intensity of emigration during the whole period. According to Chart 4, out-migration was considerable prior to the Berlin Wall while less intensive since 1965. Comparing the increasing out-migration of the 1980s that has been shown in Chart 1 and the moderate data of 1975-1985 in Chart 4 refers to the definite increase of out-migration of the pre-transit period of the late 1980s.

Figure 4. Estimated annual average out-migration from Central and Eastern Europe (thousands) of persons).



Own calculation based on data of © 1999 Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung

Sources: (1) For 1950-70: The population Debate, Dimensions and Perspectives, New York, United Nations Department of Economic & Social Affairs I. (2) For 1965- 84, United Nations demographic Yearbooks. (1) and (2) quote in: Turmbock (1989)

Actual source: <http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~migratio/Statistik/euost014.htm>

Comparing the data of the two different sources tendencies supports our estimations. Our estimates. Our estimates are somewhat below the empirical data – however the bias are moderate. The difference could be explained by the fact that we have underestimated the not legally registered emigration (illegal). The somewhat larger difference in case of Czechoslovakia and Poland compared to Romania, Bulgaria or even Hungary would support it. Illegal emigration from the bordering countries has been more likely.

The more important difference between the out-migration data of GDR versus Yugoslavia are methodological. As for Yugoslavian out-migration we let out of our scope the legal labour migration that has been considerable from Yugoslavia into Europe until the mid 1970s with an increasing pattern. The successors of the previous Yugoslavia are still main sending countries of guest-workers. As for GDR data, German-German migrants are by definition not included in the migration data. Both estimations supports, however, the decisive importance of this emigration stream during the communist period of migration. (The estimation included in Table 4 fails to give data on the very limited out-migration from the USSR.).

4. Estimates of the Emigration of Highly Qualified Persons

There are different estimations and more often guesses to give the size of highly qualified emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. We are reminded of the fact that the Berlin Wall was initiated from the Eastern side to stop radical emigration.⁵² We do not agree, however, that emigration from behind the Iron Curtain was exclusively brain drain, *per se*.⁵³ We try to collect sporadic and limited evidences available concerning the emigration of highly qualified persons, instead of those rooted in public opinion mixed up with prejudices, mythical stories etc.

In our estimations concerning total emigration during the period of 1945-1987/89 we were looking at the relatively considerably emigration waves, even if that has not been a real mass emigration of the sense we experience in the 1990s. We should note, however that emigration of highly qualified persons may follow a different pattern of emigration.

Tamás (1993) points to the segmented character of the skilled labour market. While some professors are outstanding most of the emigrants with higher qualification are reliable experts with average abilities. While the former are part of the international competition of academic labour market the latter are part of the international migration of highly qualified. The two groups are frequently mixed up. During the years of communism, people with higher qualification from the CEECs had the privilege of supported jobs which ended during the transition. Some academics have good reason to mix up the different emigration patterns to prove their

⁵² *Rhode* (1993)

⁵³ “Migration from Eastern Europe over the past 40-50 years occurred as refugee waves following political turmoil and ethnic persecution. [...] The outflows that did take place during the period between 1946-1989 were always brain drains. The political ideal of proletarian autocracy hardly appealed to critical intellectuals, artists and scientists; neither did system tolerate criticism in general or an active opposition. Each wave of refugees from Eastern Europe was a loss for the remaining intelligentsia.” *Rhode* (1993) p.236

position both in emigration and in the hierarchy of their academic carrier.⁵⁴

The member of the Central and Eastern European intelligentsia, on the other hand, often had the unique privileged position to travel or even spend some time on scholarship etc. Prominent members of the intelligentsia in opposition in the communist countries, on the other hand, could have attracted more support from the West to leave the country and had a privileged position as refugee in the West. This sort of emigration is important, but out of the main emigration streams discussed above. That issue could be researched by interviews, oral history methods etc. that is beyond the scope of our paper.

4.1. Highly Qualified Emigrants in the 1940s

Post-war emigrants were a mixed population, persons with different cultural roots and backgrounds. These people had also various demographic characteristics and different qualifications. One group, the Hungarian emigrants of the 1940s in the US, have been investigated in detail.⁵⁵ We know, for example, most of them came from the cities and were relatively qualified. According to this evidence 11% declared themselves possessing university degree, 1.8% directors while 4.5% clerks, 18% craftsmen, 15 % employed in services, 18 % entrepreneurs, 7% industrial worker, 2.3% in housekeeping, 3.1% as service workers, 1.5% in agriculture. 33.8% were unemployed. Whether of Jewish origin (about 20%) or member of the Catholic middle-class, they were member of the “elite” of the country with relatively high qualification. Other sources also support the high number of people with university and professional degrees among Hungarian or Czechoslovakian emigrants.⁵⁶ The reason of the emigration of this group – politicians, academics and artists as well as businessmen – was both political and economical.⁵⁷

Following 1947, employment possibilities were continuously offered to the DPs waiting for destinations in the DP camps. Whatever qualification the DPs had, they had better hide their qualification to get the opportunity to take the offered manual work. According to a document of the Canadian Ministry of Labour, for example, several young DP-women did not declare their qualification in order to get the servant job offered. According also to Austrian sources, although the post-war emigrants were rather qualified, there was not much hope on exercising their qualifications, e.g. medical doctors were forced to take manual jobs and take additional exams later on to act as doctors.⁵⁸

Post war emigration was different compared with previous waves. Masses of highly qualified persons were now part of emigration and had not been seen in the earlier emigrations. The emigration has changed in geographic terms as persons increased flow toward South America and Australia, for example.

⁵⁴ Cp. *Tamás* (1993)

⁵⁵ See *Puskás* (1996)

⁵⁶ *Kunz, F. Egon* (1977), cited by *Puskás* (1996)

⁵⁷ Cp. *Puskás* (1996)

⁵⁸ See *Puskás* (1996)

4.2. Emigration of Highly Qualified Persons from the GDR

Following the foundation of the GDR the „ideological affiliation” of the academic class made them to become enemies of the regime in the GDR, alike in other communist countries. It led to an increasing number of many engineers, doctors, lawyers, professors and teachers in the considerable emigration from GDR to the FRG before 1961.⁵⁹

4.3. Highly Qualified in the 1956 Hungarian Emigration Stream

The 1956 emigrants from Hungary were mostly from cities, 53% alone from Budapest. The verbal and memoir evidences suppose the high share of intellectuals among them.⁶⁰ In fact two thirds of them were active earners and the others dependants. 64% of the active population was worker and 25% non-manual while 7% employed in the agriculture. Although there was a high share of non-manuals, among them a lot of intellectuals and considerable share of administrative staff and many students in the emigrant population, the overwhelming majority of the emigrants were manual worker, mostly industrial worker (over 52 %). Actually 9% of the non-manuals were engineers, 27% other technical employment, 3% medical doctors, 5% teachers, 1% academics, university professors, 8% other intellectuals. Nurses gave 4% while administrative staff 43%. There are strikingly many students among the 1956 emigrants: 40% of them students of technical universities, 22% of the agricultural universities while only 14% of the universities of Sciences.⁶¹

The loss was considerable: 3.3% of non-manuals, 4% of manual, 0.4% of the agricultural workers left the country. The loss of highly qualified people was even larger: 7.4% of the total technical intelligentsia, 10.6% of the engineers, 4.9% of the medical doctors, 11.2% of the students left the country.

According to *Palló* (1993)⁶² we know about more than 200 academic persons, who were 1956 emigrants. They were part of the younger researcher, men, mostly from Budapest, or lesser part from smaller cities. They were mostly specified in natural sciences or less theoretical fields of other sciences. Considerable part had scientific degrees, publications as well.⁶³ The previous evidence has been supported by the academic research, as well. According to *Palló* (1993) the reasons of the emigrants is complex: beyond the obvious political reasons and the fear of the political repression after the revolution the drive of migration has been also the hope on better off, better research circumstances, the free cultural life etc.

The general evidence of the qualification of the 1956-emigrants is important. The emigrant groups were mostly those with transferable qualifications proving the importance of

⁵⁹ Cp. *Rhode* (1993)

⁶⁰ *Rhode* (1993) takes it for example for granted in the paper on East European brain drain. *Tamás* (1993) points to the fact that Central and Eastern European emigration, however putting several researcher, members of the intelligentsia etc. to the west, that streams were mostly not emigrations of the highly qualified persons.

⁶¹ Cp. *Puskás* (1996)

⁶² Based on empirical research of the catalogue of the Society for Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL)

⁶³ As *Tamás* (1993) pointed the nature of the emigration of academics that has been a unique of outstanding persons before the war, however less so among the 1956 emigrants. The expectations of a supposed top-academic quality of emigrants is a misleading, however often supposed image of Hungarian academic emigration.

economic element in emigration decision.⁶⁴

4.4. Highly Qualified Polish Emigrants in the 1980s

We have some knowledge on the qualification of the emigrants in the late 1980s.⁶⁵ According to the Polish census data (1988) the migrants were better educated than the whole population. 13.3% of emigrant adults who emigrated or left for extended periods had college or university graduation, 46.6% completed secondary school while the share of college or university graduation is 6.5% in the total population and 31.3% the share of those completed secondary school.

Between 1981-1988 the emigration has been:

- 19,800 engineers
- 8,800 scientists and academics
- 5,500 medical doctors
- 6,000 nurses left the country as emigrants.

Beyond that some 15,000 students interrupted their studies in Poland to go abroad where the majority of them took jobs below their skill level. Often they were engaged in the informal employment.

Other estimations speak about 76,300 academics who have left from Poland during 1980-87. During 1983-87 36,000 technicians, 11,100 engineers, 10,000 students, 4,800 economists, 4,000 scientists (physicists, chemists, biologists, mathematicians) and 3,600 medical doctors were among those leaving the country.⁶⁶

Other reports of the early and mid 1980s, emigration indicate that young Poles embarked on higher education specifically to get a better start in the West, that is the emigration of highly qualified has been planned in a way, to get a better bargaining position in the West. According to other estimations on the considerable unrecorded emigration of Poles on tourist basis, in 1987, there were out of the nearly 700,000 persons more than 130,000 (nearly 20%) who held university Degree.⁶⁷

There is some information on employment of highly qualified emigrants in the destination countries. Although we don't know about the period passed from the date of emigration until the actual employment, data are still interesting. The academic emigration from Poland during 1981-1991 has been considerably, nevertheless most of the academics were not employed as academics in the destination countries. While 40% of the 292 researcher in the field of biology were employed in the emigration country, and the 224 physician and 163 chemists also had good chances, 31% vs. 27% got employment in research. Other technical fields are less promising: in mathematics and applied mathematics 23% of the 167 persons, other natural science 22% of the 119 persons, in the field of technical science 21% of the 791 persons got academic employment. The medical doctors had the least chances in the group to get research possibility: 15% of the 441 persons got academic employment. 16-18% of the smaller groups of agricultural researcher (68 persons), research economists (79 persons),

⁶⁴ Puskás (1996) points also to the fact that 56 emigrants sometimes declared their qualifications above the real one while in the previous emigration wave of the 40s emigrants were obliged to declare lower qualification.

⁶⁵ Source: Korricelli (1994)

⁶⁶ See Rhode (1993) based on Oschlies (1989)

⁶⁷ Cp. Rhode (1993)

philosophical scientist (212 persons) and others (148) got research possibilities.⁶⁸ The evidence is clear: highly qualified persons cannot easily secure an academic position in the destination country, not in the short run at least.

4.5. Highly Qualified in the Jewish Emigration

The best documented group concerning qualification of emigrants is that of the Central and Eastern European Jews who went to Israel. A large share of all Jewish emigrants left for Israel.

Between 1948-1951, 332,000 Jews left Europe and went to Israel, 93% from Central and Eastern Europe, between 1948-1990 a rough number of 1 million persons.⁶⁹ In the smaller waves of Polish emigration or other sporadic Jewish emigrations from this region share of highly qualified people has been reported extremely high, no data could have been found, however.⁷⁰

Among the largest group, that of Soviet migrants to Israel there were more children and elderly people than among those heading to the US and they were somewhat older on average. By the late 1980s, the tendency has changed, however. By education and occupational groups the picture shows a highly qualified group of people. In the 1970s, 43% of the about 100,000 Jews arriving to Israel were academics, scientists, technicians and professionals, while 51% of the much smaller group of about 6,000 emigrants to the US⁷¹. In the late 1980s both emigrant groups of Jews, those 70,000 persons who went to the US and the 330,000 people going to Israel were even more highly qualified than the groups in the mid 1970s (60 vs. 72 percent).⁷²

4.6. Qualified People in the Ethnic Turkish emigration from Bulgaria

We have not much information on the emigration of ethnic Turks by education. The latest (1990-91) emigration waves show, however, an interesting picture. The 15% of the 1990 emigrants (about 13,000 people) and 30% of the next year (about 12,500 people) had college or university graduation. That refers to the fact that emigration of highly qualified has been important after the transition. More important is the fact that 6.3% of these migrants headed to Turkey in contrast to the previous waves when most of the emigration went to Turkey.

5. Some Conclusions

The trend of total emigration is characterised by very limited out-migration except the post-war period, with distinct waves of out-migration bridged over with moderate outflows. Most of the emigration is of ethnic character or at least the reason of migration is based on it. The question whether the ethnic emigration is a real preference of the person or the only possibility for out-migration has not raised. The jump in ethnic emigration of the pre-transit and

⁶⁸ Hryniewicz et al (1992). p 58, cited by Tamás (1993)

⁶⁹ They must have been included in the total number of displaced persons of the 1940s.

⁷⁰ The reason must have been the difficulty in registering the highly qualified people, as mentioned before.

⁷¹ Cp. with the somewhat more than 10% of emigrees with university degree of the 1940s.

⁷² Sabatello (1994) based on data of Israel CBS, HIAS

transit period would support, however, our suspicion about their real ethnic preference.

As for the out-migration of highly qualified people, there are some peculiarities. All over Central and Eastern Europe during the communist period an overpopulation in research has been supported.⁷³ In periods of conflicts the emigration has been a possible solution for researcher of great number. Were they able to find their place in the competitive academic labour market is questionable even in the field of natural sciences.

There is a higher proportion of highly qualified people in all emigrant waves than in the total population, due to the general character of migrants who are younger and more qualified. The qualification of the successive emigration waves seem to be higher and higher. The 1940s emigrants in masses were overqualified for the jobs offered for them, as well as in the 1990s or in the previous periods when emigrants with higher qualification could not find the same academic job as they had before. The share of academic and highly qualified persons could be estimated as between 10% to 30% of the total number of emigrants of working age of the different emigration waves.

⁷³ Cp. *Tamás* (1993), *Rhode* (1993)

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