

V&R **unipress**

Transkulturelle Perspektiven

Band 10

Herausgegeben von

Sylvia Hahn, Dirk Hoerder,

Dobrochna Kałwa und Anne Winter

Pascal Maeder

Forging a New Heimat

Expellees in Post-War West Germany and Canada

With 7 figures

V&R unipress

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 978-3-89971-805-8

ISBN 978-3-86234-805-3 (E-Book)

Publiziert mit Unterstützung des Schweizerischen Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, der Christine Bonjour-Stiftung und des Max Geldner-Dissertationenfonds der Universität Basel.

© 2011, V&R unipress in Göttingen / www.vr-unipress.de

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Das Werk und seine Teile sind urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung in anderen als den gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen bedarf der vorherigen schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages. Hinweis zu § 52a UrhG: Weder das Werk noch seine Teile dürfen ohne vorherige schriftliche Einwilligung des Verlages öffentlich zugänglich gemacht werden. Dies gilt auch bei einer entsprechenden Nutzung für Lehr- und Unterrichtszwecke.
Printed in Germany.

Titelbildvermerk: Railway workers in Bremerhaven load the baggage of emigrants, November 1952, Digital Picture Archives of the German Federal Archives

Druck und Bindung: Hubert & Co., Göttingen

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

For Vivienne

Contents

Acknowledgements	11
List of Abbreviations	15
List of Maps and Charts	17
Introduction	19
Expellees in West Germany and Canada	19
Why Compare?	24
The Model of International Migration and Structuration Theory	29
At the Root of the Expulsions: Ethnic Nationalism	33
After the Expulsions: Integration through Ethno-National Identities	43
Sources and Chapter Outline	47
I. ‘Stranded Germans’	51
1 Inside the Rubble	54
Resettlers	54
Evacuees	59
Front Refugees	60
Escapees	64
Dischargees and Returning German Soldiers	66
Transferees	69
Special Transferees	71
2 Beyond the Sea	73
Prisoners of War and German Immigrants	73
Exilees	75
3 Chapter Conclusion	88

II. 'Distressed Outsiders'	91
1 'Emigration Hopes'	94
Deprivation, Poor Housing Conditions and the Struggle for Survival	94
Displacement and Emigration Dreams	100
Expellee Emigration, Allied Ban and Church-Based Relief Organizations	104
2 Relief Frenzy	111
Calls for Assistance, Decision to Stay and Aid Work	111
Immigration Ban and the Admission of Close Relatives	117
The CCCRR: Canada's Immigration Agency for Ethnic German Expellees	122
3 Chapter Conclusion	128
III. 'Willing Migrants'	131
1 Into the 'Economic Miracle'	134
Rural-Urban Migration and Employment Patterns	135
New Opportunities, 'Normalization' and Resettlement Schemes	138
Hardworking Labourers of the 'Economic Miracle'	144
2 The 'North American Way'	149
Migration and Employment	150
Betterment, Migration Windows and Conduits	156
From Hardworking to Settled Immigrants	161
3 Chapter Conclusion	166
IV. 'Professional Expellees'	169
1 Clamorous Organizations	171
Allied Ban and the Emergence of Multiple Expellee Organizations	171
The Federation of Expellees	176
Scions of Radical German Nationalism	179
2 Distant Echos	184
The Sudeten-German Organizations	184
The Danube-Swabian, Transylvanian and German-Baltic Organizations	190
Other Small Groups and the Absence of 'Prussian' Expellee Groups	192
Expellee Interests, Compensation Claims and Cultural Heritage	194
3 Chapter Conclusion	200

V. 'Fellow Citizens'	205
1 'German Provincials'	207
Resented Strangers	207
Accepted Co-Workers	210
The 'Virtues' of the Home Region	214
The 'Vanished Homeland'	218
2 Euro-Canadians	220
The 'Nazi Stigma'	220
'Docile Immigrants'	224
The Rise and Adoption of the 'Canadian Mosaic'	226
The Perception of the Home Region and West Germany	233
3 Chapter Conclusion	236
 Conclusion	 239
 Appendix	 251
 Bibliography	 265

Acknowledgements

Until the final manuscript was completed, the making of this book has moved, like some of the subjects it investigates, back and forth across the Atlantic. The origins go back to Switzerland where I first started to research expellees for my master's thesis. The shape and structure came from the time of my course work as a doctoral student at York University in Toronto. Then I spent endless hours in archives, perusing documents and tapes in both Germany and Canada. Thereafter, I wrote most of the dissertation while residing in the United Kingdom. Finally, I edited the manuscript for this publication back in Switzerland, sending it to my editors and publisher across Europe and North America in lightning speed thanks to modern IT. Along the way I have benefited from the advice, help and assistance of numerous people and organizations and it is to them that I would like to express my gratitude.

First of all I am very thankful to those expellees who generously allowed me to read their personal papers or those of their parents and siblings. Together with other sources, these papers provided the foundation for this book. Among them were Elenore Andres, Siegfried Bartel, Horst Duberg, Barbara Heinrich, Walter Marzinko, Max von zur Mühlen, Olga Schneider and Günther Schwichtenberg. Mathias F. Kuester has been particularly generous. From distant Edmonton he sent me copies of his mother's diary and the extensive correspondence he held with her in the years between 1944 and 1953.

I would also like to thank the archivists and librarians who in both Germany and Canada helped me find the necessary sources for this study. They advised on collections, helped locate documents and sometimes helpfully shared their reading of the source material. They include Renate Adolphi (Carl Schirren Gesellschaft), Johannes von Boeselager (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes), Art Grenke (National Archives of Canada), Michael Häusler (Archiv der Diakonie), Roland Hoffmann and Edgar Pscheidt (Sudetendeutsches Archiv), Almut Leh und Henriette Schlesinger (Institut für Geschichte und Biographie), Markus Leuschner (Bund der Vertriebenen), Horst-Peter Schulz (Archiv für soziale Demokratie) and Annette Wagner (Bundesarchiv Koblenz). Similarly, I

would like to thank Carina Jacobson and Johanne and Manfred von Harpe (CBIAS London) who kindly let me read their organization's considerable collection of memoirs.

I am thankful to the Department of History, the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Centre for German and European Studies at York University, the Chair of German-Canadian Studies at the University of Winnipeg and the Province of Ontario for the much-needed grants which I received to fund my research trips across Canada and to Germany. I also received generous financial support from the Institute of European History in Mainz, Germany, where I stayed and benefited from the Institute's extensive library and research facilities. For the publication of this book I benefited from a generous stipend from the Swiss National Science Foundation, the Christine Bonjour-Stiftung and the Max Geldner-Dissertationenfonds of the University of Basel.

Irmgard Steinisch as my thesis supervisor repeatedly offered thorough critiques of my work. I want to thank her for this and for taking a chance on me as her first PhD candidate. Her colleague and co-supervisor Roberto Perin introduced me to the study of migration and ethnic history when I was a graduate student at York University. He expanded my vision of history and provided substantial feedback on my dissertation. I am also thankful to the third member of my supervisory dissertation committee, Michael Lanphier. Lost in countless facts and stories about expellees, he sensed my conundrum in reconciling agency and structure and put, as he said, 'things together' by inspiring the theoretical grounding for this work. More recently I have greatly benefited from the support of my colleagues at the University of Basel. Josef Mooser, the Chair for the History of the Twentieth Century, has taken a keen interest in my work and generously took me on as his assistant. Moreover, at conferences, workshops, seminars or in private a series of scholars have given me constructive advice on my research. For this I want to thank: Klaus J. Bade, Mathias Beer, Bettina Bradbury, Heinz Durchhardt, Patrick Farges, Alexander Freund, Marcus Funk, the late Christiane Harzig, Douglas Hay, Bill Irvine, Michael H. Kater, Andreas Kunz, the late Hans Lemberg, Christoph Mauch, Ralph Melville, Jochen Oltmer, Gottfried Paasche and Alexander von Plato.

I am greatly indebted to my friend and colleague Geoff Read who carefully edited several of the early drafts of this book. For the proofreading I am indebted to Stan Nadel and in particular Kate Bird who was brought into this project thanks to the very helpful work of Ulrike Schermuly at V&R unipress. Sylvia Hahn and Dirk Hoerder have provided much advice and patiently waited until the final draft was concluded. I would very much like to thank them for accepting this book in *Transkulturelle Perspektiven*, the series they edit.

Both my parents and in-laws have been of great assistance. My mother and father came multiple times to relieve me from childcare duties. Much in the same

way my father-in-law Peter regularly took care of my children. In fact ‘*Opa Friday*’ freed invaluable time for the writing of this book. Finally, I am immeasurably indebted to Vivienne Herke who supported me through all the trials and tribulations of this book in every way she could. She has been a constant source of support without which I would not have been able to complete this book. It is to her that I dedicate this work; after all, she inspired the title of this study.

List of Abbreviations

ADSC	Alliance of the Danube Swabians in Canada
AO	Archive of Ontario
APS	Assisted Passage Scheme
ASG	<i>Archiv der Seliger-Gemeinde im Archiv der sozialen Demokratie</i>
AWD	<i>Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands</i>
BAKo	<i>Bundesarchiv Koblenz</i>
BdV	Federation of Expellees – Union of the Homeland Societies and State Associations (<i>Bund der Vertriebenen – Vereinigte Landsmannschaften und Landesverbände</i>)
BHE	Bloc of Expellees and Deprived of Rights (<i>Block der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten</i>)
BRC	Baltic Relief Committee
BvD	League of Expelled Germans (<i>Bund vertriebener Deutscher</i>)
CARE	Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe
CBIAS	Canadian Baltic Immigrant Aid Society
CCCR	Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees (outside the mandate of the IRO)
CCF	Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CIAS	Catholic Immigrant Aid Society
CLWR	Canadian Lutheran World Relief
CMBC	Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization
CNR	Canadian National Railways
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railways
CSG	<i>Carl-Schirren-Gesellschaft</i>
CSSR	Canadian Society for German Relief
DSAP	German Socialist Workers' Party of Czechoslovakia (<i>Deutsche Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei der Tschechoslowakei</i>)
EBL	Equalization of the Burdens Law
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany ('West Germany')
GDR	German Democratic Republic ('East Germany')
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
IdGL	<i>Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde</i>

IGB	<i>Institut für Geschichte und Biographie</i>
IGCR	Inter-Governmental Committee for Refugees
IRO	International Refugee Organization
LSSK	Homeland Society of the Transylvanian Saxons in Canada (<i>Landsmannschaft der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Kanada</i>)
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MHSO	Multicultural History Society of Ontario
NABICS	North American Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PAAA	<i>Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes</i>
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SdP	Sudeten-German Party (<i>Sudetendeutsche Partei</i>)
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany (<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>)
SudAr	<i>Sudetendeutsches Archiv</i>
TCA	Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians
TG	Loyal Society of Sudeten-German Social Democrats (<i>Treugemeinschaft sudetendeutscher Sozialdemokraten</i>)
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UTARMS	University of Toronto Archives & Records Management Service
VdL	Association of Homeland Societies (<i>Verband der Landsmannschaften</i>)
VOL	United East German Homeland Societies (<i>Vereinigte Ostdeutsche Landsmannschaften</i>)
WKAGSD	Western Canadian Working Community of the Sudeten Germans (<i>Westkanadische Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Sudetendeutschen</i>)
ZvD	Central Association of Expelled Germans (<i>Zentralverband der vertriebenen Deutschen</i>)
ZVSDO	Central Association of Sudeten-German Organizations in Canada (<i>Zentralverband Sudetendeutscher Organisationen</i>)

List of Maps and Charts

Maps

- Map 1: Resettlement of Ethnic Germans to the Reich (1939–1942), p. 56
- Map 2: German Settlements in Central and Eastern Europe around 1900, p. 58
- Map 3: Evacuees and Front Refugees, 1944/45, p. 62
- Map 4: Escapees to the Western Occupation Zones and the FRG, 1945–1961, p. 68
- Map 5: Transferees and Special Transferees, 1945–1949, p. 72
- Map 6: Sudeten-German Settlements, 1939, p. 78

Charts

- Chart 1: Structuration of International Migration ('multivariate systems model'), p. 32
- Chart 2: Expellees in 1000s per state (1946 and 1970), p. 136
- Chart 3: Change in Expellee Employment Patterns in Percent between 1939 and 1956 (West Germany), p. 139

Introduction

Trieb mich das Schicksal auch fort
Die Heimat blieb mir nie verloren,
Hier find ich sie an manchen Ort,
Wo sie aufs neue mir geboren.

Driven away by destiny
I've never lost the homeland
Here I find it in many places
Where it has been born to me again.¹

Expellees in West Germany and Canada

At first glance a comparative inquiry into the lives of expellees in West Germany and Canada appears farfetched. After all, only a fraction of the twelve million Germans who fled or were expelled from their homes in Central and Eastern Europe in the aftermath of World War II ever came to live in Canada. The overwhelming majority of expellees settled in Germany where they have since played a very prominent role. Indeed, in the 1950s and 1960s powerful expellee organizations emerged which profoundly influenced West Germany's social, cultural and foreign policies. The newly established federal government in Bonn even set up a ministry dedicated entirely to them, the Ministry for Expellees.² Moreover, in an attempt to deal with the recent past, in the first two post-war decades West German society consistently focused on the expellees' plight to highlight the suffering that Germans endured as a result of the war. The Soviet Union and its Central and Eastern European satellites were commonly blamed for the expulsions and its victims viewed on a par with Jews, Poles, Roma or other groups persecuted by the Nazis. Amid the plethora of scholarly works – by 1989 they had reached well over 4,600 titles³ – the government-sponsored

1 Peter Greverath, "Heimatklänge in Kanada," *Heimblatt Heidehof* 25 & 26 (August/September 1974), 4. Note: to facilitate reading, the author has translated all German quotes.

2 Mathias Beer, "Symbolische Politik? Entstehung, Aufgaben und Funktion des Bundesministeriums für Vertriebene und Kriegsgeschädigte," in Jochen Oltmer, ed. *Migration steuern und verwalten: Deutschland vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2003), 295–323. On the expellees' influence in West Germany, see most recently Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat: Die Geschichte der deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (München: Siedler, 2008); Ian Connor, *Refugees and Expellees in Post-War Germany* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); and Pertti Ahonen, *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe, 1945–1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

3 Gertrude Krallert-Sattler, *Kommentierte Bibliographie zum Flüchtlings- und Vertriebenenproblem in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in Österreich und in der Schweiz* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1989).

Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe profoundly shaped this view.⁴ Although public and scholarly opinion gradually moved against expellee interests and increasingly blamed Hitler's Germany for the expulsions,⁵ from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s expellees continued to attract considerable attention. For example, when in 1969 Willi Brandt's left-wing government dissolved the Ministry for Expellees and thereafter opened diplomatic relations with Central and Eastern European states calling for the atonement of German war crimes and thereby reversing West Germany's long-standing foreign policy against the recognition of Central and Eastern European states and borders, expellee organizations staged massive protests and for much of the 1970s succeeded in stoking public debates on the issue.⁶ In the 1980s, Helmut Kohl's accommodation of expellee interests – at least in rhetoric – similarly sparked public debates. While members of his conservative government regularly rubbed shoulders with leading expellee figures, in 1985 Kohl attended a major expellee rally organized by the Silesian homeland society despite widespread national and international criticism.⁷ Around the same time,

4 Published in the 1950s and edited by the country's leading historians, it documents at length the often cruel events expellees experienced during flight and deportation at the end of the war and immediately thereafter. It consists of five substantial volumes and eleven books. In all, this adds up to 4,998 pages. A shorter version also appeared in English in four volumes (and books) or 1,518 pages, see Theoder Schieder et al., eds. *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*, 5 vols. (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte, 1953–1961); and Theoder Schieder et al., eds. *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe*, 4 vols. (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Damaged, 1956–1961). Although not sponsored by the federal government, various expellee organizations also published similarly biased documentations of the expulsions, see notably Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Wahrung Sudetendeutscher Interessen, ed. *Dokumente zur Austreibung der Sudetendeutschen* (Munich: AGWSI, 1951), Donauschwäbische Kulturstiftung, ed. *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien*, 4 vols. (Munich: Donauschwäbische Kulturstiftung, 1992–2003).

5 On this change in perception, see in particular Manfred Kittel, *Vertreibung der Vertriebenen? Der historische deutsche Osten in der Erinnerungskultur der Bundesrepublik 1961–1982* (Munich: Oldenburg, 2007); Rainer Schulze's chapter "Memory and Commemoration of Flight and Expulsion in Germany" in Pertti Ahonen et al., *People on the Move: Forced Population Movements in Europe in the Second World War and its Aftermath* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 146–152; and Constantin Goshler, "'Versöhnung' und 'Viktimisierung': Die Vertriebenen und der deutsche Opferdiskurs," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 53:10 (2005), 873–884.

6 Ahonen, *After the Expulsion*, 119–256. On Willi Brandt's turn-around in expellee affairs and, more broadly, on his new course in foreign policy, see Carole Fink, ed. *Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: European and Global Responses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Julia von Dannenberg, *The Foundations of Ostpolitik: The Making of the Moscow Treaty between West Germany and the USSR* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Peter Bender, *Die 'Neue Ostpolitik' und ihre Folgen: Vom Mauerbau bis zur Vereinigung*, 3rd and rev. ed. (Munich: DTV, 1995).

7 Ahonen, *After the Expulsion*, 257–258.

Andreas Hillgruber's widely publicized publication, *Two Kinds of Collapse*, juxtaposed the Nazis' elimination of European Jewry and the expulsion of the Germans from Central and Eastern Europe and in doing so sparked a major argument among scholars with leading German historians forcefully rallying against some of their colleagues' interpretation of recent German history. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, for instance, criticized Hillgruber's publication as a blatant attempt to equate the fate of expellees with that of Jews and thus minimize the Holocaust.⁸ Despite the weakening of the expellee lobby, in recent years expellees have continued to be at the centre of public and scholarly interest. This was notably prompted by a series of TV documentaries and films on German expellees and Günther Grass' publication of *Crabwalk: A Novel* in 2002 in which the Nobel Prize Laureate broaches the issue of the expulsions by taking up the ghastly fate of the *Gustloff*, a Nazi passenger ship sunk by Soviet submarines and laden with thousands of expellees desperate to escape the Eastern Front in early 1945.⁹ Calls for a 'Centre Against Expulsions' have further added to this continued interest as scholars from Germany and elsewhere have fiercely been protesting against the construction of such a centre discussing also, more broadly, the forms and legitimacy of German public memories and discourses of victimhood as a result of World War II, Hitler's terror regime and the Allies' extensive bombing of German cities.¹⁰

8 This debate became known as the 'quarrel of the historians' and ran until the late 1980s. For the most important texts of the quarrel, notably those authored by Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Hans Mommsen, Martin Broszat, Andreas Hillgruber and Ernst Nolte, see Rudolf Augstein et al., eds. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler? Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1993).

9 On Grass' publication, see Robert G. Moeller, "Sinking Ships, the Lost Heimat and Broken Taboos: Guenter Grass and the Politics of Memory in Contemporary Germany," *Contemporary European History* 12: 2 (2003), 147–181; and Rainer Schulze, "Die deutsche Titanic und die verlorene Heimat: Flucht und Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa in der deutschen kollektiven Erinnerung," in *Annali dell'Instituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento* 29 (2003), 577–616. Among the TV documentaries and films, note *Die grosse Flucht* [The Great Flight] (2004), *Hitlers letzte Opfer* [Hitler's Last Victims], *Sturm über Ostpreussen* [Storm over East Prussia] (2005) or Kai Wessel's *Die Flucht* [The Flight] (2006) featuring one of Germany's most prominent actresses, Maria Furtwängler.

10 Samuel Salzborn, "The German Myth of a Victim Nation: (Re-)Presenting Germans as Victims in the New Debate on their Flight and Expulsion from Eastern Europe," in Helmut Schmitz, ed. *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 87–104; Karoline von Oppen and Stefan Wolff, "From the Margins to the Centre? The Discourse on Expellees and Victimhood in Germany," in Bill Niven, ed. *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (London: Palgrave, 2006), 194–209; Bernd Faulenbach and Andreas Helle, eds. *Zwangsmigration in Europa: Zur wissenschaftlichen und politischen Auseinandersetzung um die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten* (Essen: Klartext: 2005), 19–29; Jürgen Danyel and

In marked contrast, the comparatively few expellees who came to live in Canada generated very little public or scholarly debate. With the end of World War II the Canadian government condoned, though only half-heartedly, the expulsions of the Germans from Central and Eastern Europe.¹¹ Subsequently the Canadian press has only occasionally devoted articles to the fate of expellees whether at the height of the expulsions immediately after the war or, more recently, with the expellee organizations' call for a 'Centre Against Expulsions'.¹² Scholarly research on expellees in Canada is limited in scope and has focused on certain ethno-cultural and ethno-religious subgroups such as the Danube Swabians, German Balts, Sudeten Germans, Germans from Russia and Romania as well as Mennonites and Baptists.¹³ Except for one notable oral history study which examines their acculturation,¹⁴ scholarship has not yet examined the way expellees lived their life and forged their identity in Canada. Most often expellees have been subsumed into studies on German-language immigrants with a focus

Philipp Ther, eds. "Flucht und Vertreibung in europäischer Perspektive," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51: 1 (2003), 1–104.

- 11 Unable to influence the USSR, the USA or the UK, officials in Ottawa agreed quite reluctantly to the expulsion of Germans from Central and Eastern Europe, fearing the implications for a peaceful post-war European order, see Angelika E. Sauer, "Future Orders: Canada and Post-Hostilities Germany," in Hans Braun and Wolfgang Kloos, eds. *1945 in Canada and Germany: Viewing the Past through the Present* (Kiel: L&F, 1996), 37–50.
- 12 Symptomatic for the lack of press coverage, Canada's largest national newspaper has only once explicitly discussed the creation of a 'Centre against Expulsions', see *Globe and Mail*, 4 June 2005.
- 13 Key works include: Mathias Kuester, *Bricks and Mortar to a History of the Baltic Germans for Canadians* (Edmonton: private publication, 1997); Katherine Stenger Frey, *The Danube Swabians: A People with Portable Roots* (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1982); Patrick Farges, "Associating or Quarelling? Migration, Acculturation, and the Transmission among Social-democratic Sudeten Germans in Canada," in Matthias Schulze et al., eds. *German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration and Loss* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 245–258; Pascal Maeder, "Sudeten German Refugees in Canada and the Forced Migration of Germans in Postwar Central and Eastern Europe," in Schulze et al., eds. *German Diasporic Experiences*, 259–270; Willi Wanka, *Opfer des Friedens: Die Sudetensiedlungen in Kanada* (Munich: Langen Müller Verlag, 1988); Fritz Wieden, *Sudeten Canadians*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Sudeten Club Forward, 1982); Fritz Wieden, *Kanadas Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1986); Fritz Wieden and Michael Benzinger, *Canada's Danube Swabians* (Windsor: St. Michael's Church, 1992); Hans P. Werner, *Imagined Homes: Soviet German Immigrants in Two Cities* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2007); Marlene Epp, *Women Without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999); Pamela E. Klassen, *Going by the Moon and the Star: Stories of Two Russian Mennonite Women* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1994); on Baptists, see William H. Sturhahn, *They Came From East and West: A History of Immigration to Canada* (Winnipeg: North American Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society, 1976).
- 14 Sylvia Brown, "Voices from the Borderlands: The Problem of 'Home' in the Oral History of German Expellees in Canada," in Heinz Antor, Sylvia Brown and John Considine, eds. *Refractions of Germany in Canadian Literature and Culture* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2003), 33–57.

on migration patterns, social integration and acculturation.¹⁵ In fact to this day the exact number of expellees residing in post-war Canada has not been determined. The term ‘expellee’ is also not commonly used among researchers and the wider Canadian public. Its usage is limited to members of the German immigrant community, in particular the generation of Germans who lived through the expulsions and immigrated to Canada in the late 1940s and 1950s. In common with their counterparts in Germany they interchangeably refer to themselves as ‘expellees’ or ‘refugees’.¹⁶

15 Patrick Farges, *Le trait d’union ou l’intégration sans l’oubli: Itinéraires d’exiles germanophones au Canada après 1933* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2008); Christian Lieb, “Moving West: German-speaking Immigration to British Columbia, 1945–1961,” PhD thesis, University of Victoria 2008; Alexander Freund, *Aufbrüche nach dem Zusammenbruch: Die deutsche Nordamerika-Auswanderung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2004); Gerhard P. Bassler, “Germans,” in Paul R. Magosci, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Canada’s People* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 587–612; Gerhard P. Bassler, *The German-Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots and Heritage* (Ottawa: German-Canadian Congress, 1991); Andrea Koch-Kraft, *Deutsche in Kanada: Einwanderung und Adaptation mit einer Untersuchung zur Situation der Nachkriegsmigration in Edmonton* (Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer, 1990); Manfred Prokop, *German Language in Alberta: Maintenance and Teaching* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990).

16 As such, the term expellee began to be used during the course of the early post-war years. To designate expellees, Germans initially used terms such as ‘refugees’, ‘war expellees’ [*Kriegsvertriebene*], ‘refugees from the East’ [*Ostflüchtlinge*] or, pressured by the Allies, ‘new citizens’ [*Neubürger*]. In the late 1940s, expellee organizations began to propagate the term ‘expellees’ and ‘homeland expellee’ [*Heimatvertriebene*]. The Federal German Expellee and Refugee Law of 1953 distinguishes between ‘expellees’, ‘homeland expellees’ and ‘refugees’. By law, expellees are thus defined as expelled people of German nationality and ethnicity who settled in Central and Eastern Europe after 1938, whereas ‘homeland expellees’ refers to expelled people of German nationality and ethnicity who were residing in Central and Eastern Europe prior to 1938. According to the law, ‘refugees’ only refers to Germans who fled to West Germany from the Soviet occupation zone (and later the German Democratic Republic, GDR). See Mathias Beer, “Flüchtlinge – Ausgewiesene – Heimatvertriebene: Flüchtlingspolitik und Flüchtlingsintegration in Deutschland nach 1945, begriffsgeschichtlich betrachtet,” in Mathias Beer, ed. *Aufnahme und Eingliederung im historischen Wandel* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 147, 166–167. Most historians use ‘refugees’ and ‘expellees’ interchangeably. For the reader’s convenience, this book only uses the term ‘expellees’. I am also using the general terminology of ‘Germans from Central and Eastern Europe’ to designate a varied group that consisted of German citizens of the German Reich, ethnic Germans who were German nationals prior to 1938, naturalized after 1938 or never received German citizenship until after the end of World War II. Finally, historians also refer to the expellees’ region of origin as East Central Europe. In this book, I avoid this geographical denomination as it does not encompass all of the areas expellees came from such as, notably, South-Eastern Europe and Eastern Europe. Hence I stick to the more general ‘Germans from Central and Eastern Europe’.

Why Compare?

The juxtaposition of the lives of expellees in post-war West Germany and Canada allows, above all, a new and broader understanding of the expulsion process. Going back to the categorization outlined in the above-mentioned *Documents on the Expulsion* which claim to draw a representative picture for “every region, population group, event and destiny,” the expulsions have commonly been divided into three archetypical forms: flight, vigilante expulsions and organized mass transports.¹⁷ Flight, according to this literature, involved the east-west movement of roughly five million Germans who, alarmed by the Nazi portrayal of the Soviets as brutal and gang-raping ‘Asiatic hordes’, desperately sought refuge from the rapidly advancing Soviet armies in early 1945. In a war of attrition, the German civilian population had been left in the dark about the military situation and thus fled in panic, joining one of the many impromptu treks that headed overland or across the Baltic Sea to safety in the western parts of the Reich. En route, according to this standard narrative, the frail and disabled succumbed to the strains of the trek, strafing from Soviet planes or temperatures that plummeted well below freezing. For the second form of the expulsion, the vigilante deportations or ‘wild expulsions,’ the narrative focuses on the events and developments in Central and Eastern Europe during the months immediately after the defeat of German troops and Nazi Germany’s unconditional surrender in May 1945, when a massive wave of pillaging, revenge killings, suicides, rapes and random expulsions swept through the remaining local German population. Tens of thousands of Germans were killed, rounded up, incarcerated or, for about 200,000 of them, deported to forced labour camps in the USSR. This is also when as many as 1.4 million women, or one in five, were raped.¹⁸ Lastly, for the third form of expulsion, the narratives generally recount the systematic removal of the remaining German population from Central and

17 Schieder, *Dokumentation*, vol. 1/1, IV. For these standard categorizations, see also Alfred M. de Zayas, *Terrible Revenge: The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans. 1944–1950*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Alfred M. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsions of the Germans: Background, Execution, Consequences* (Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1977); Günter Bölddeker, *Die Flüchtlinge: Die Vertreibung der Deutschen im Osten* (Frankfurt a. M.: Ullstein, 1985); Wolfgang Benz, ed. *Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten: Ursachen, Ereignisse, Folgen*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1995); Guido Knopp, *Die grosse Flucht: Das Schicksal der Vertriebenen* (Munich: Econ, 2001); Hans Lemberg and Erik K. Franzen, *Die Vertriebenen: Hitlers letzte Opfer* (Munich: Propylaen, 2001); Mathias Beer, “Die Vertreibung der Deutschen: Ursachen, Ablauf, Folgen,” in *Flucht und Vertreibung: Europa zwischen 1939 und 1948* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter Verlag, 2004), 24–63.

18 Schieder, *Dokumentation*, vol. 1, 61E-62E, 140E-150E; Barbara Johr, “Die Ereignisse in Zahlen,” in Helke Sander and Barbara Johr, eds. *Befreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder* (Munich: Kunstmann, 1992), 46–72.

Eastern Europe and highlight how trains, mostly cattle cars used by the Nazis to transfer Jews or Soviet prisoners of war, shipped brow-beaten Germans to occupied Germany. All in all, in 1946 this third type of the expulsion involved the transfer of 2.2 million Germans from Czechoslovakia and between 1946 and 1948 the movement of well over three million Germans from Poland, the USSR and Hungary. Thereafter, smaller transports continued to arrive in East and West Germany so that, all told, six million people were transferred between 1946 and 1955.¹⁹

In marked contrast to this standard narrative, this study expands the spectrum of the expulsion process and includes not only the three categories as outlined above – consisting mostly of mothers, children and the elderly – but also men and women who had what one scholar termed “fictional” expulsion experiences.²⁰ Adult single women and men between the ages of 15 and 60, unless disabled or otherwise discharged, were systematically conscripted and experienced their ‘expulsion’ quite differently. Indeed, among the eleven million German men captured by the end of the war and the tens of thousands of women forced into labour camps or deported to the USSR, those who had their homes in Central and Eastern Europe experienced their ‘expulsion’ generally in absentia, scattered in POW or forced labour camps across Europe, North Africa and North America. In addition, there were also tens of thousands of Germans who became expellees whilst in exile in Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Asia, Africa or the Americas. In Canada, besides German immigrants and prisoners of war who originated from Czechoslovakia, Poland or elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the expulsions of Germans from Central and Eastern Europe affected in particular a group of 1,000 exiled German social democrats from Czechoslovakia. In 1939, they were among the few refugees fortunate enough to get past the country’s restrictive immigration laws. Most ‘German-Czech refugees,’ as Canadian officials called them, initially had no intention of staying permanently in their country of exile. However, by 1945 the expulsions of the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia considerably altered their outlook. Well informed by the Allied media, they knew that they were to be transferred to occupied Germany. Moreover, from personal letters they learned

19 Schieder, *Dokumentation*, vol. 1, 136E-151E; Beer, “Vertreibung,” 24–63; Lemberg/Franzen, *Die Vertriebenen*, 108–177.

20 As Lutz Niethammer noted, conscripted men frequently drew on the standard narratives when referring to their status as expellees, glossing over their own experience during the process of the expulsion which they most often lived through in prisoner-of-war camps. See his “Flucht ins Konventionelle? Einige Randglossen zu Forschungsproblemen der deutschen Nachkriegsmigration,” in Rainer Schulze, Doris von der Brölie-Lewien and Helga Grebing, eds. *Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte: Bilanzierung der Forschung und Perspektiven für die künftige Forschungsarbeit* (Hildesheim: A. Lax, 1987), 320.

about the wave of vindictive violence sweeping across the European continent after the downfall of the ‘Third Reich’. Thus, as this study shows, in exile they too became expellees and therefore made up an integral part of the group of Germans who lost their homes in Central and Eastern Europe in the aftermath of World War II.

Secondly, a comparative exploration of the lives of expellees in West Germany and Canada allows for an assessment of the widely acclaimed successful integration of expellees in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). What in the immediate post-war years seemed nearly impossible, proved feasible and became part of West Germany’s celebrated ‘economic miracle.’ As early as 1959, the federal West German government sponsored a major three-volume publication which highlighted the expellees’ rapid and successful integration. As Theodor Oberländer, the Federal Minister of Expellees, Refugees and War Damaged, noted in the preface, besides the rapid economic recovery no other development in contemporary West German society found as much international recognition as the incorporation of millions of destitute expellees.²¹ More recent studies similarly stress this achievement pointing out, however, that the expellees’ integration took longer and did not necessarily benefit all social groups, especially the elderly who often remained displaced and dependant on state help.²² Likewise, since the mid-1980s a host of local studies have revealed significant regional variations within the FRG. Thus, for example, expellees who came to the highly industrialized areas of North Rhine-Westphalia found employment more readily than those who came to Schleswig-Holstein, Bavaria or Baden-Württemberg, which in 1945 were still predominantly agricultural.²³ Moreover, as

-
- 21 Theodor Oberländer, “Zum Geleit,” in Eugen Lemberg and Friedrich Edding, eds. *Die Vertriebenen in Westdeutschland: Ihre Eingliederung und ihr Einfluss auf Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Geistesleben*, vol. I (Kiel: Ferdinand Hirt, 1959), V. For similarly laudative works see, for example, Hans-Joachim von Merkat, ed. *Aus Trümmern wurden Fundamente: Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge, Aussiedler; drei Jahrzehnte Integration* (Düsseldorf: Rau, 1979); or Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen, ed. *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Vertriebenen: Fünfzig Jahre Eingliederung, Aufbau und Verständigung mit den Staaten des östlichen Europa* (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen, 2000).
- 22 For this more critical view, see notably the path-breaking studies by Paul Lüttinger, “Der Mythos der schnellen Integration: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Integration der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis 1971,” *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 15 (1986), 20–36; and Marion Frantziach, *Die Vertriebenen: Hemmnisse, Antriebskräfte und Wege ihrer Integration in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1987).
- 23 The 1990s saw a proliferation of local integration studies. For an excellent overview, see Marita Krauss, ed. *Integrationen: Vertriebene in den deutschen Ländern nach 1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008). Among the early and path-breaking works are: Franz J. Bauer, *Flüchtlinge und Flüchtlingspolitik in Bayern, 1945–1950* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982); Uwe Kleinert, *Flüchtlinge und Wirtschaft in Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1945–1961: Arbeitsmarkt – Gewerbe – Staat* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1988); Paul Erker, *Vom Heimatver-*

oral, social and cultural histories have extensively documented, the first years after the expulsion were marked by cramped housing, food shortages and a difficult relationship between expellees and the local population.²⁴ Even so, despite the difficult reception in the aftermath of the war, these studies have also underlined the fact that ultimately expellees integrated. Research on expellees in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) has further sustained this view. On balance, expellees in the FRG appear to have fared better than their counterparts in the GDR where political repression and limited economic opportunities led to the emigration of nearly three million residents between 1945 and 1961. Apparently a disproportionate amount of the emigrants were of expellee background.²⁵

As a 'nation of immigrants' Canada has equally been widely acclaimed for its success in dealing with mass migration. Certainly expellees in Canada were comparatively few, but they were part of a long history of mass immigration. Compared to the FRG, which until recently has denied that it is a country of immigration despite the extensive and continuous influx of migrants since the late 19th century,²⁶ Canada has been promoting immigration since British and

triebenen zum Neubürger: Sozialgeschichte der Flüchtlinge in einer agrarischen Region Mittelfrankens, 1945–1955 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1988); Mathias Beer, ed. *Zur Integration der Flüchtlinge und Vertriebenen im deutschen Südwesten nach 1945* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994); and Klaus J. Bade, ed. *Fremde im Land: Zuwanderung und Eingliederung im Raum Niedersachsen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997).

- 24 Alexander von Plato, "'Fremde Heimat': Zur Integration von Flüchtlingen und Einheimischen in die neue Zeit," in Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato, eds. *'Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten': Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in nachfaschistischen Ländern*, vol. 3 (Bonn: Dietz, 1985), 172–219; Albrecht Lehmann, *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhause: Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in Westdeutschland 1945–1990* (Munich: Beck, 1991); Uta Müller-Handl, *'Die Gedankenlaufen oft zurück...': Flüchtlingsfrauen erinnern sich an ihr Leben in Böhmen und Mähren und an den Neuanfang in Hessen nach 1945* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 1993); Marita Krauss, "Das 'Wir' und das 'Ihr': Ausgrenzung, Abgrenzung, Identitätsstiftung bei Einheimischen und Flüchtlingen nach 1945," in Dierk Hoffmann, Marita Krauss and Michael Schwartz, eds. *Vertriebene in Deutschland: Interdisziplinäre Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven* (Munich: Oldenburg, 2000), 27–39.
- 25 Elke Melmert, "Ankunft in Deutschland – Vertriebene versus Umsiedler: Ostdeutsche Perspektiven auf ein Kapitel gesamtdeutscher Nachkriegsgeschichte," *Ost-Westliche Spiegelungen* (2005), 95–104; Michael Schwartz, *Vertriebene und Umsiedlerpolitik: Integrationskonflikte in den deutschen Nachkriegs-Gesellschaften und die Assimilationsstrategien in der SBZ/DDR, 1945–1961* (Munich: Oldenburg, 2004); Dierk Hoffmann, ed. *Geglückte Integration? Spezifika und Vergleichbarkeiten der Vertriebenen-Eingliederung in der SBZ/DDR* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1999); Manfred Wille, ed. *50 Jahre Flucht und Vertreibung: Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede bei der Aufnahme und Integration in die Gesellschaften der Westzonen/Bundesrepublik und der SBZ/DDR* (Magdeburg: Block, 1997). On the mass emigration from the GDR, see Helge Heidemeyer, "Vertriebene als Sowjetflüchtlinge," in Hoffmann/Krauss/Schwartz, *Vertriebene*, 237–249.
- 26 The FRG's first comprehensive immigration law was only enacted in 2004. For the debates

French settlers established the first colonies in the 17th century. Since the Canadian union in 1867, immigration has been a key component of federal policy and successive governments have stressed its importance for the country's economic development. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's 'national policy' (1878–1891) hinged on Canada's ability to attract foreign labourers and farmers to build a nation 'from coast to coast' and settle the Canadian West. The governments of Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911), William Mackenzie King (second term 1926–1930), Louis St. Laurent (1948–1957) or John Diefenbaker (1957–1961) all promoted immigration. As a result, of the total number of almost 15 million immigrants arriving in Canada between 1852 and 1992, nearly 2.5 million arrived alone in the post-World War II period. By 1961, one Canadian resident in six has been born outside of the country. By comparison, in 1960 one West German resident in seven was of expellee background.²⁷ Not surprisingly, public officials have widely been celebrating Canada's ability to integrate large numbers of foreign farmers, workers and refugees. In the early 1900s, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier suggested that economic growth and immigration would make Canada the country of the 20th century. In the early 2000s, the federal immigration minister, Elinor Caplan, declared that immigration had made the 20th century a success for Canada.²⁸ Academics generally echo this positive assessment and equally stress the importance of immigration in Canadian history and society. Indicatively, one edited volume in Canadian social history carries the title 'A Nation of Immigrants'.²⁹ Moreover, in the few studies which compare the integration of social groups between Canada and the FRG, the Canadian context appears to have offered more favourable conditions. In her study on Ukrainian displaced persons (DPs), Julia Lalande finds, for example,

around this law, see Matthias Hell, *Einwanderungsland Deutschland? Die Zuwanderungsdiskussion 1998–2002* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005). On Germany's immigration history, see notably Klaus J. Bade, ed. *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland 1880–1980* (Berlin: Colloquium-Verlag, 1983); Ulrich Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880–1980: Seasonal Workers, Forced Laborers, Guest Workers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

27 As calculated from the data printed in Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896–1994* (Toronto: M & S, 1995), 11, and Gerhard Reichling, *Die Vertriebenen in Zahlen*, vol. 1, 59.

28 As cited in Christopher G. Anderson, "A Nation of Immigrants: Past, Present and Future," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36:1 (Spring 2001), 180–194.

29 Franca Iacovetta, Paula Drager and Roberto Ventresca, eds. *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers and Communities in Canadian History, 1840–1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). For overviews on Canada's immigration history, see in particular Avery, *Reluctant Host*; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–1990* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992); Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); and Roberto Perin and Harold Troper, "Immigration Policy," in Magosci, *Encyclopaedia of Canada's People*, 700–713.

that in Canada they fared better than in the FRG.³⁰ In his study on Soviet-German immigrants, Hans Werner likewise reveals that this immigrant group experienced fewer tensions in Canada than in the FRG.³¹

Given the failure of the standard narratives on the expulsions to reflect more adequately the multiple facets of the expulsion experience and the claims in both Germany and Canada for the successful integration of migrant groups such as the expellees and their seemingly easier integration into Canadian society, this study therefore pursues two aims: a) it sheds a broader light on the expulsion and includes facets experienced by German men and women who at the time of their expulsion were not necessarily present in their homes in Central and Eastern Europe, but instead lived through their expulsion experience in exile or in prisoner-of-war camps and b) it assesses West Germany's achievement in integrating expellees against the record of a self-proclaimed homeland for newcomers. How did expellees fare in Canada compared to their counterparts in West Germany? This is in essence the main question that this book seeks to answer. After all, in 1945 conditions widely differed: on the one hand, in Germany expellees arrived in an occupied country which was politically, economically and morally bankrupt. On the other hand, in Canada expellees encountered a country which was prospering and prided itself as a land of democracy, opportunity and success. From that perspective, in 1945 Canada thus appeared to be better prepared to receive a large influx of newcomers than (West) Germany.

The Model of International Migration and Structuration Theory

This study sticks to the nation state as the basic framework of analysis despite recent calls for a shift in historical inquiry toward the study of people, ideas, institutions and cultures above, below, within and around nation states seeking,

30 Note that much of the difference between the FRG and Canada might be explained by the fact that practically the entire Ukrainian DP leadership emigrated overseas from occupied Germany. Among those remaining in the FRG, many were classified as so-called 'hard-core cases', that is, people who failed to pass immigration tests due to illness or their advanced age. Julia Lalande, "'Building a Home Abroad': A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War," PhD thesis, Hamburg University 2006.

31 Note here also that although it focuses on an immigrant group originating from the same ethnic group in the Soviet Union, Werner's study examines their integration during two different time periods. In the Canadian context, he examines the group of Soviet-German immigrants in the booming 1950s whereas in the FRG he looks at Soviet-German immigrants who arrived in the 1970s at a time when the economy was depressed. Werner, *Imagined Homes*.