

these men, Koehler issued a circular letter to the members of the Chamber telling them that trade unions were illegal and that it was not necessary to have any dealings with them.

e. Dr. Sonnen believes that Dr. Koehler has a great deal of influence on Dr. Walk, Minister of Economics in the Land government, who is also charged with reconstruction. He claims that Koehler is the man behind the scenes of the Economics Ministry and influences all its plans. In view of Walk's apparent political orientation and his present powerful position, this contention may not contain too much truth.

f. In general, Dr. Sonnen believes that Darmstadt is now in the grip of a big business dictatorship which is even worse than that under the Gauwirtschaftskammer and the Nazis, and he regrets that small business has no representation at present within the Chamber itself.

Dr. Koehler himself substantiates some of these accusations and contradicts others. He frankly believes that big business should play a leading role, due to its great importance in Germany. He also believes in the widest latitude for self-government of business, and he says he would like to see the structure of that self-government administration organized along lines which do not appear to differ markedly from the Nazi organization of business. Economic Groups (Wirtschaftsgruppen) would be set up for each line of industry in the same way that they were in the Reich Group Industry under the Nazis. These Groups would handle all questions of material allocation, of directing production, and other matters concerned with production control and even pricing. A parallel regional organization would be constituted to handle local questions such as traffic, legal, and financial questions. If necessary, owing to excess capacity, cartels would also come into this picture. However, Dr. Koehler believes that all these organizations should have elective officials (albeit membership would be compulsory). Larger busi-

nesses would, however, have more votes than smaller ones; he would not commit himself on any set ratio. In this connection he asked how soon positions in the advisory board and leadership of the Darmstadt Chamber would become elective instead of appointive, and said that he would welcome that change, since he does not believe in the present system.

With regard to labor relations, he does not have much confidence in the ability of labor and management to settle their problems themselves and thinks that some sort of government arbitration, with both sides represented, will be necessary. He definitely feels that labor organizations have no function in economic control agencies and should restrict themselves to questions of wages and working conditions.

Dr. Koehler's attitude toward denazification, which is shared by other Darmstadt business leaders, is that only the outstanding Nazis should be removed - and those men should be executed or sent out of the country. All the others should be allowed to remain. He fears the growth of a hard core of opposition to any democracy arising from a large mass of denazified officials and businessmen. He and his friends claim to differ strongly with the "adamant position" of the trade unions on denazification.

While some of Dr. Koehler's views coincide with the portrait drawn by Sonnen, the fact that Koehler would welcome elections of Chamber officials is not without significance. Furthermore, interrogation of the trade union leaders in Darmstadt has revealed that they have considerable respect for him, particularly for his intelligence, and they refer to him as "the best boss in town."

On balance, Koehler appears somewhat less malicious than Sonnen would paint him, but there is little doubt that his sympathies are strongly big business and that he would use his office to assist the larger concerns. While an advocate of

"free enterprise", as opposed to any sort of socialism, he nevertheless favors some sort of economic planning. The significant fact is, however, that he would like to see the planning done by businessmen themselves rather than by the state, and he does not believe that labor has any right to a voice in the direction of production. His attitudes are not so important as their results, and these are effective, owing to the structure and functions of the Chamber of Commerce at the present time. Some of Koehler's influence will be stripped through the emergence of the Landeswirtschaftsrat, but it will not be completely neutralized until representation in the Chamber of Commerce is made broader and more democratic, and until the advisory councils of the economic authorities are widened to include groups other than businessmen.

The Chamber of Handicrafts

The Chamber of Handicrafts (Handwerkskammer), which existed before the war and includes all of Land Hessen, like the Chamber of Commerce, was dissolved at the end of 1942 and incorporated into the Gauwirtschaftskammer. Following American occupation, the Chamber was reconstituted and the present President, Herr Mueller, a building worker, was appointed by Dr. Metzger, Oberbuergemeister of Darmstadt. The manager is Herr Langange, formerly secretary of the Metal Workers' Union and a 12-year veteran of concentration camps. There seem to be some differences of opinion between these two men, particularly over the question of denazification, toward which Langange would like to see Mueller take a stronger position.

Membership of all handicrafts establishments is compulsory. The Chamber is governed by the President and an advisory board consisting of the 12 Kreis Handicraft Masters (Kreishandwerk-

meister), each of whom governs a Kreis office (Kreishandwerker-schaft) of the Chamber. At the present time, these local officials are appointed by the appropriate Oberbuergermeister or Landrat.

The most important component of the handicraft organization, however, is the guild, which normally includes the establishments of a particular trade within a Kreis, although in exceptional cases it covers more than one Kreis. All the guilds within a Kreis compose the Kreis handicraft organization (Kreis handwerkerschaft) mentioned above.

The Chamber has a wide variety of functions, of which the most important are: regulation of the instruction and working conditions of apprentices; distribution and interpretation of official orders concerning handicrafts, and presentation of handicrafts problems to governmental authorities; promotion of the trade and technical education of masters, journeymen, and apprentices and the establishment and maintenance of special schools for that purpose; the certification of the quality and price of the products of the artisans; granting permission to new establishments to open up. The last function is of particular importance at present, when there are large numbers of former artisans returning, and unemployed workers wish to open handicrafts establishments; the decision to grant permission is reached in consultation with the governmental authorities of the Kreis and the local guild concerned. In addition to this, the most important current function of the Chamber is the distribution of materials, allocated to it by the Landeswirtschaftsamt, to the various guilds for reallocation.

The guilds, in addition to the allocation of materials to the individual artisans, supervise the treatment and education of apprentices, hold journeymen's examinations, and set up any necessary organizations (such as selling cooperatives) to serve the economic needs of their members. It is interesting to note

that the bakers' and confectioners' guild, the millers' guild, and the butchers guild must cooperate with the food offices.

The local handicrafts offices (Kreishandwerkschaften) are concerned with investigating questions of general interest to all guilds in a Kreis, presenting information and advice to local governmental authorities, and distributing orders and regulations from the Chamber of handicrafts to the guilds.

C. EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND SAVINGSIndustrial Employment

Darmstadt has an industrial life dominated by relatively few firms; seven firms accounted for 52 per cent of the industrial employment in 1939, and in June 1945 these same firms accounted for 59 per cent. The Merck Chemical Co. and six metal and machinery concerns make up this group. This domination continued over a six-year period, during which, however total industrial employment in Darmstadt dropped almost 75 per cent. According to statistics available to the Industry Division, USFET, total industrial employment in Darmstadt decreased from 15,884 in 1939 to 4,150 in June 1945.

Industrially Darmstadt has always been a minor satellite of Frankfurt a/M. Labor has been relatively skilled and individualistic. In 1939, of the 2,069,168 persons gainfully employed in Hessen and Hessen-Nassau, 844,976 were in industry or handicrafts; of this latter total, only 33,791, or four per cent, were employed in Darmstadt.

Unfortunately, no current figures for total gainfully employed have been compiled, so that it is impossible to present any accurate picture of the distribution of employment in the town. Certain qualified conclusions can, however, be found in the sample population survey conducted in Darmstadt. It should be pointed out that these figures are hardly an adequate substitute for an employment census, though they do indicate the rough outlines of the employment picture. At the present time the breakdown is as follows:

Table 1Current Employment*

	Group A Unskilled Semi, and Skilled	Group B White Collar
Un Employed	14 %	31 %
Part-time Employed	12	
Full-time Employed	65	66
No Answer	3	3
Other	6	
	100	100

*. Gainfully employed only, excluding Housewives.

The classification of those responding to the questionnaire into Group A or B was done by the interrogators themselves, i. e. of those who replied, for example, that they were unemployed 31 per cent seemed to be from the white collar class and 14 per cent from the other. The fact that about one-third of the white collar workers were unemployed checks quite closely both with the preponderance of white collar workers among those registered but not placed by the Labor Office (see below), and with the income data discussed in a subsequent part of this paper.

No single factor explains the heavy unemployment among white collar workers. There has certainly been a substantial reduction in administrative and office personnel in all firms operating in Darmstadt. But the drying up of the sources for white collar employment would not seem to account for all the unemployment in this group. The application of the denazification program in the town has also accounted for some of the present unemployment of these workers; white collar workers have to date been hardest hit by dismissals for Party membership and activities.

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The lump figure for unemployment among unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers (14 per cent) does not lend itself to accurate interpretation. In Darmstadt, as in other German towns, there is a trend toward increased unemployment at the same time that the shortage of certain skilled workers (especially construction workers, plumbers, etc.) has become increasingly acute.

Of those employed (about 65 per cent in both categories) some 80 per cent were reported as not looking for new jobs, though only roughly half of this group claim to be satisfied with their present jobs. It is likely that the attractiveness of any job stems largely from the sparsity of new jobs to which a worker or employee can turn. In a "seller's market" such as this one practically any job is a satisfactory one.

A breakdown of the type of work in which those employed are presently engaged reveals the following:

Table 2
Occupational Breakdown*

	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Professional	8
White collar and clerical	24
Self-employed	5
Artisan and skilled	17
Semi-and unskilled	20
None	5
No Answer	21

*Excluding Housewives.

The fact that of all those employed in the town but 37 per cent (17 per cent Artisan and Skilled, and 20 per cent Semi-and Unskilled) are in the usual categories found in industry is indicative of the inhibited condition of job opportunities in manufacture and production. This is in sharp contrast with the 1939 employment figures which indicate that industrial employ-

ment in Bamstadt accounted for almost 50 per cent of total employment.

Registration for Jobs

The following tabulation compiled by the Labor Office is a breakdown of registrations, total employed among those seeking work, and total jobs unfilled for the month of August, the only month for which detailed figures are available.

Labor Registration and Placement

	<u>August Total</u>
Registration during Month	4,825
Available for Work (Including carryover)	10,958
Placed at Month's End	3,568
Carryover (not placed)	7,390
Unfilled Positions at Month's End	3,851

During the month of August, 3,568 workers were placed in jobs--roughly one-third of the local registered for employment. Of this number, some 40 per cent were employed as helpers and common laborers, metal workers, or construction workers. It is not clear, however, to what extent those classified as employed metal workers are actually working at this trade in the metal plants. Moreover, since most of the metal and machine plants in the town are working only with materials and parts on hand, or obtainable locally, this source of employment does not look especially permanent.

Of the 3,851 unfilled jobs for which there were no takers, the greater number were for either helpers and common laborers, building and construction workers, or agricultural workers. As late as August shortages of workers in all these categories were pressing. However, with the gradual exhaustion of personal savings, the great number of workers who had engaged in repair-

ing their homes, salvaging belongings and cultivating their gardens began to drift back to the labor market during the late summer and early fall. Labor shortages in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories are beginning to be substantially erased.

In the total of workers available for jobs during August (10,958), and equally in the total for whom jobs could not be found (7,390), two groups of workers were dominant: (1) office workers and clerks, and (2) metal and machine workers. Both at present and in the future, it is more than likely that these two categories of workers will be in long supply.

One comment should be made on the labor shortages. They are clearly in a few specific trades or skills. Yet, no plans have been proposed by officials of the German city government or of the trade unions to ease this situation by a retraining program, with the possible exception of the reopening of the Architectural Institute at Darmstadt's Technical College.

Distribution of Income and Savings.

As many as 25 per cent of the total breadwinners in Darmstadt at the present time are earning no money at all, and less than half are earning as much as RM 40 per week. Average weekly earnings among all breadwinners are about RM 36; of these who are earning something, the average is about RM 48 per week. the current distribution of weekly income seems to be approximately as follows:

<u>Weekly Income (RM)</u>	<u>Per cent of total breadwinners</u>
None	25
Less than 30	18
30-49	31
50-89	18
Over 90	8
TOTAL	100

The analysis of available data on savings out of weekly income shows that the level of income earned by the overwhelmingly majority of the people is only barely sufficient to make ends meet. Although the data are rather sketchy, it may be estimated that only ten per cent of the breadwinners are saving anything. Saving is virtually negligible among those earning less than RM 30 per week; about one out of ten are savers among those earning between RM 30 and RM 50; and probably about one third of those earning over RM 50 are able to put something aside each week. These data indicate that, as pointed out in the section on banking conditions, the steady increase in the level of bank deposits is a result of the gradual inflow of currency which had formerly been hoarded in the home rather than a sign of large savings out of current income. It is more likely that many people, including particularly the unemployed and those affected by denazification, are drawing on their savings as their main source of income.

The distribution of income among worker, white collar, self-employed, business, and professional groups reveals significant differences among the groups. Although the percentage of those earning no income is greatest among the white collar workers, earnings of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers are somewhat lower on the average. While 52 per cent of the worker group earn less than the weekly average of RM 36 only 46 per cent of the white collar group and 35 per cent of the business and professional personnel fall below this average. Among the latter group, as a matter of fact, nearly half of the total have incomes exceeding RM 50 per week, and among those who are actually earning something, earnings are probably on the order of RM 70 per week on the average.

D. TRADE UNIONS

By early fall, the revival of trade unions in Darmstadt was still more an expectation than a reality. As in so many other towns in the American zone, a few old trade union functionaries had prepared plans for the speedy establishment of a trade union organization, but only recently had they been able to begin to apply some of these plans. This section, therefore, is concerned largely with a discussion of trade union plans and programs; yet it may to some extent indicate the form in which the new organization will develop and some of the problems with which it will be faced, as well as the relative significance of trade union in Darmstadt's community life.

As early as 10 May, the Military Government authorities received a request to permit establishment of a trade union in Darmstadt. MG refused on the ground that it was still too early to have any kind of a trade union body. During the subsequent three months these requests were re-submitted several times, and finally in August Dr. Bergstraesser, Oberregierungspraesident, interceded in behalf of the self-appointed trade union organizing committee. The committee asked simply to be permitted to establish a central trade union body which could proceed to organize the workers of the Land- and Stadtkreis. It was the policy of Military Government at that time to put exclusive emphasis on plant councils and worker representative bodies duly elected or selected in the factories and plants. Organizations on broader level than a Works Council were actively discouraged. Now this policy has been liberalized, and the authorities recently received a petition for the establishment of the Darmstadt local of the General Trade Union (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund - ADGB). There seems no reason to doubt that permission to establish such a body will shortly be granted.

Personalities

The organizing committee which has been pushing the trade union in Darmstadt consists of the following men: G. Wiesencke, formerly a local functionary of the Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband - DMV; F. Stahl, formerly a member of the Verband der Fabrikarbeiter Deutschlands; A. Ernst, formerly secretary of the local branch of the Allgemeiner Freier Angestelltenbund - AFA; J. Engel, formerly a member of the Einheitsverband der Eisenbahner Deutschlands; and A. Meyer, formerly a member of the Deutscher Baugewerksbund.

All five men were members of the Social Democratic Party before 1933. Their average age is between 55 years and 60. In discussions, Wiesencke, Stahl and Ernst seem to be the most vigorous and active of the lot.

The committee bases its claim for recognition as a trade union organizing group on the pre-1933 activities of its members. All had, at one time or another, filled petty functionary jobs in the trade union movement. Several had had experience as Works Council members; others had been full time trade union officials. Long before any recognition was forthcoming, they had already opened offices, printed up membership cards and a statement of policy, and were proceeding to create an organization. Because of the delay in MG approval, they first directed their energies to supervising the reactivation of the Works Councils in the individual plants of Darmstadt.

Works Councils

The recreation of the Works Councils proceeded in a characteristic way. In every instance old trade unionists who had formerly been Works Council members, or simply trade union mem-

bers, got together and appointed themselves as the council. They then proceeded to inform the plant management of their existence and took up the negotiation of grievances. These were usually concerned with the inadequacy of the denazification of the plant -- both on the managerial and the employee and worker levels.

Early in September, the Military Government authorities announced that elections of Works Council members were permitted. Upon the petition of one quarter of the employees of any plant an election would be held. Nominations for the council could be made by petition of the employees.

Within ten days of this announcement, 37 petitions were received at the MG office. In practically every instance the slate nominated was identical with the Works Council already functioning. The preparation of the petitions, their circulation in the plants, and their submission to MG was supervised by one or another of the five members of the trade union committee.

One complicating factor, from the point of view of the trade union organizing committee, is an MG decision to have the elections of the Works Councils accompanied by a question regarding trade union organization. Every voter in the elections will cast two ballots. One of these is a simple choice of names

from a nominated slate for Works Council membership. The other ballot asks: "Do you wish to belong to an organization?" (Wollen Sie einer Organization angehören?). The attempt to conduct something resembling a National Labor Relations Board election at the same time that a plant representative council is being elected has confused both workers and trade union leaders. Their own pre-1933 labor relations experiences never included such a procedure, and most of them can not understand MG's identification of the plant council elections with the affiliation of individual workers to a trade union.

The Works Councils as plant bodies were always something quite distinct from the trade unions to which the workers were affiliated. Here, as in other parts of the American zone, the Works Councils have been envisaged by MG as committees analogous to the shop steward councils so common in American plants; they would clearly be subordinate plant committees of the local trade union holding a collective bargaining agreement in the plant. Formerly Works Councils never functioned in exactly this way.

Wiesencke and Stahl, realizing that they must fit their organizational plans into the MG directives, have directed their attention to defining the role and function of these Works Councils so as to differentiate them from the trade union. At the outset, following the policy used in Frankfurt a/M, they called these plant committees "Employees Representatives" (Arbeitnehmer Vertretungen) rather than Works Councils (Betriebs-räte). The former title, they claim, would be more suitable for a committee representing all the workers, employees, and petty officials (Arbeiter, Angestellte, and Beamte) of a plant of firm; the Works Councils are still identified in the minds of most workers as plant organizations representing the workers alone.

The Arbeitsnehmer Vertretungen would be concerned solely with plant problems and the plant life of the workers; all of these would be worked out through joint labor-management discussions of such problems as re-conversion, employment and discharge, observation of existing standards of wages, hours, and working conditions, and denazification. Moreover, the plant committee would concern itself with seeing that trade union dues were checked off by the employer and that all new employees took out union membership.

The function of the trade union on the other hand, would be first to negotiate collective bargaining agreements, second

to represent the workers in their dealings with military government (or a ~~control~~ German government when one is established). All of the broader problems of workers' protective legislation, insurance and benefit programs, legal protection, job training and the like would be handled by the organization which has its existence and operation outside of the plant.

Organization of the Trade Union

The direct organization of a trade union has proceeded slowly. Meyer claimed that the balloting to indicate whether or not the workers wished to belong to an organization had complicated the membership drive. But they were proceeding to organize, concentrating on the plants in which the Works Council elections were already scheduled. By late September, sufficient membership had been obtained to set up trade union subdivisions (Fachgruppen) in the following categories:

- (1) Clothing, Textiles, Wood and Leather Workers
- (2) Chemical Workers
- (3) Printing and Allied Workers
- (4) Railroad Workers
- (5) Metal Workers
- (6) Employees of Public Enterprises

Stahl described the prospective organization as being built on the basis of the local committees (Ortsausschüsse). These committees, of from five to nine members, would be elected by all the trade union members of any locality: until elections could be held, the committees would be appointed by the executive of the union. At the present time, the main function of these committees would be to organize the Works Council ~~based~~ elections and to guide the Councils in their dealings with management.

At the same time that the local committees are functioning, the trade union divisions (Fachgruppen) are also intended to take on a life of their own. Acting on a conviction that only a single union, composed of workers, employees, and petty officials, fits the present situation, the union leaders plan on establishing some 18 industrial subdivisions.

The over-all supervision of the ADGB would rest with a managing committee (Geschäftsführender Vorstand) of seven, which is also part of the union executive committee (Bundesvorstand) of 27. The union advisory council (Bundesbeirat) would meet once a year after being duly elected by the combined voting of the members through their union subdivisions (Fachgruppen) and their local committees (Ortsausschüsse). This yearly congress would determine broad policy, review the activities of the directing committees, and elect the committees which operate the union between congresses.

The organizational structure of the trade union is notable in that there are no explicit provisions for meetings of members either of a local union or of an industrial subdivision of the union. All the business of the organization would be accomplished through the network of committees. Whether or not the rank and file members will be willing to accept this structure remains to be seen. On paper at least, it hardly appears to be a democratic form of organization sensitive and amenable to the wishes and desires of the members.

Another point regarding the contemplated organization is the duplication of the structure of the Labor Offices (Arbeitsämter). Just as the Labor Office has offices at the district (Bezirk), sub-district (Unterbezirk), and locality (Nebenstelle) levels, so the union local organizations would repeat this. The union hopes to participate in many of the administrative decisions of the Labor Office merely through the fact of physical juxtaposition.

Trade Union Orientation

Members of the top organizing committee of the union are as much concerned with Communist penetration of their organization as they are with Nazi penetration. There are no KPD members on the committee, nor have Communists played any important role in any of the activities to date. (Incidentally, former Christian trade unionists are as noticeable by their absence as Communists are.) Wiesencke claimed that the KPD had never been politically significant in Darmstadt prior to 1933 and had never had any influence on the trade unions there. He contended that unless the old union leaders actively directed and supervised Works Council elections, "untrustworthy" men might be elected i.e., former members either of the NSDAP or the KPD.

Though party politics and party influences are supposed to be excluded from union activities, it seems obvious that so long as only SPD members are in the top directing committee there will be no deviation from the straight SPD trade union line.

Until quite recently the main difference that Stahl and the rest had with MG was simply whether the new unions should be built from the "top down" or from the "bottom up". The trade unionists believe that unless the new organization is controlled and directed in its initial stages by a committee from above, there will be no guarantee that undesirable elements, will not take over the trade union movement. In fact, the organization will grow and is growing under the careful direction of the committee of five.

It is difficult to state precisely how significant a role a trade union, or these particular trade union leaders, will play in the future of Darmstadt. Certainly none of the men

interviewed is of a calibre or reveals an insight into future problems which is especially reassuring. They are more inclined to discuss compulsory dues payments and the usual trade union demands of wages, hours and working conditions than the really significant community problems of Darmstadt -- housing, food, fuel. They have made no request to become a party, as so many trade unionists in other towns have done.

Though they talk vaguely of participation with management in production problems, the absence of any concrete proposals leads one to suspect that they are hardly prepared to accept such responsibilities fully. For example, housing is the most pressing need of Darmstadt today: yet to date the union officials have not even prepared so obvious a trade union program as one dealing with the training of sorely needed construction workers. Equally nebulous is their attitude on production problems, reconversion, and the like. Though no one yet has a clear picture of exactly what the reparations and restitution policy will mean for Darmstadt, the trade unionists have not even begun thinking of their organizational future within the framework of reconversion, reduced output, and de-industrialization generally.

In any event, the political significance of a trade union organization can never be very great in Darmstadt because of the nature of the city's industrial life. As pointed out in a previous section, Darmstadt has never been an important industrial center, and could never be expected to develop and support a vigorous and significant trade union movement on so small an industrial basis.

Trade Unions and the Public

Analysis of replies obtained from the questionnaire indicates that Darmstadt represents a field for unionization only slightly more promising than in pre-1933 years. Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents expressed a desire to join a union, as against 21 per cent of the same sample who acknowledged trade union affiliation before 1933. As might be expected, 80 per cent of the old trade unionists are included in the group which is currently pro-union. Only six per cent of the women had been trade union members before 1933, as against 47 per cent of the men, but 12 per cent of those who intend to join now are women, 57 per cent, men. Self-employed and professional types showed a slightly higher interest in joining a union than either the white collar or the skilled and unskilled labor groups.

Invited to name the "outstanding labor leaders in Darmstadt today", only 12 per cent of the total had any positive answer, while 77 per cent said they didn't know. Familiarity with the city's labor leadership was not much greater among pre-1933 union members than among those who had never belonged to a union, which is further proof that trade union activities in the city have still made very little impression on the working population.

Unemployment was reported in almost equal proportion by unionists and the population at large, but the unionists tended to be rather more optimistic about their personal economic future than non-unionists. On less personal questions the replies of unionists were consistently different from those of the population at large on a number of points: fewer unionists think Nazis should be allowed to join trade unions, and more agree with a radical denazification policy and urge that more Nazis

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3 be removed from positions in business and industry. By percentage more unionists think that the Nazis constitute a danger in Darmstadt, and more than the general population, they describe Hitler's ideas as unequivocally "bad."

4 Cross tabulations on some of these questions confirm this general trend. For example, 70 per cent of those who said they wanted to join a political party also indicated a desire to join a trade union. Similarly, 44 per cent of those who considered Allied occupation policy "just" opposed allowing Nazis to join trade unions. In all these comparisons, however, it must be remembered that the trade-union group consists primarily of older men, and this group is shown, in another section, to be consistently less Nazi, more "liberal", than any other age group. Thus the age-sex factor as well as the fact of pre-1933 union membership is important in the responses of "unionists".

5 The tendencies expressed by unionists are for the most part reflected in the responses of skilled and unskilled laborers, taken as a group, although the differences are smaller and less consistent. In general, the "white-collar" class holds to relatively strong pro-Nazi ideas, as compared with workers. White collar respondents take a softer attitude toward denazification and more of them consider current Allied occupation measures to be too harsh. Sixty per cent of the white collar group said that Hitler's ideas were good or partly good, while only 36 per cent said they were bad. Percentages for the workers on this question were 42 and 49, respectively.

E. THE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE DARMSTADT CITY GOVERNMENT

The Darmstadt city budget for the current period dramatically illustrates the tremendous problems which face the city. The enormous destruction of housing and industrial property, the steep decline in economic activity, and the utter disruption of normal city life have resulted in a sharp drop in revenues. This drop has been increased by the disappearance of a central German government and the resultant cessation of Reich grants, which, prior to the war, had accounted for more than ten per cent of the total revenue of the city. At the same time, of course, all these factors have permitted reductions in expenditures in certain items, but many of these have been offset by increased obligations. As a result, the city has been forced to cut its expenditures to the bone. Despite the sharpest possible paring of outlays, the deficit is running at a rate of RM 1,781,000 per quarter, or RM 7,124,000 a year. With cash reserves available amounting to no more than RM 2,000,000 the city will be in dire straits before the end of the year unless some action is taken.

During the current quarter the provincial government of Land Hessen has agreed to repay to Darmstadt RM 200,000 of the trade tax which it is currently collecting, which will reduce the quarterly deficit by a little more than ten per cent, but will hardly solve the basically unsound position. Although the city is urgently requesting a larger "kick-back", it is the opinion of the provincial MG Fiscal Officer that the Land Hessen government is itself on the verge of bankruptcy.

Several other possibilities are open. First, it has been suggested by Herr Lucius, in charge of the budget office in the city government, that taxes on wine and beer might be increased somewhat, but this would be a very small contribution. Herr

Lucius also states that the Frankfurter Hypotheken Bank in Frankfurt is to make the city a loan of RM 5,000,000, without collateral, at an interest rate of 4 1/2 per cent repayable at a rate of RM 75,000 per annum. This loan is to be for reconstruction purposes only, but it could still defray some of the current expenses of the city. Finally, despite the large cuts which have already been made (these are explained in detail below), the city's outlays might be further reduced. For one thing, the annual interest burden on the debt amounts to RM 1,154,000 (an average rate of 3.28 per cent), and if payments on all or part of this debt were postponed by some arrangement until the city were on an economically sounder footing, considerable savings could be effected. Barring this last method, or something along similar lines, Darmstadt will be forced to borrow on a less limiting basis than that of loan offered by the Frankfurt bank.

Analysis of Income

The city estimates its total income for the current quarter at RM 2,261,000, or, on an annual basis, RM 9,044,000. This compares with the budget estimate for the year 1943 of RM 31,446,000, and represents a reduction of about 70 per cent from that level. With the exception of receipts from educational institutions, all significant income items have fallen very sharply, the largest drop appearing in the major item - general tax income.

The following table shows the general breakdown of income items for the year 1945, converted from a current quarterly estimate, compared with the budget figures for the year 1943:

Table 1

Income of the Darmstadt City Government, 1943 and 1945
(in RM 000's)

Income Item	1945	1943
General Administration	180	363
Police	36	127
Education	400	408
Culture and Community Life	60	75
Welfare and Youth	2072	8900
Health and Sport	500	1701
Construction and Housing	200	255
Public Utilities and Institutions	360	1777
Economic Undertakings	1088	1731
Finance and Tax Administration	2348	16168
TOTAL	9044	31446

Prior to the occupation, the largest source of revenue under Education was the large number of specialized schools, many of them technical, which flourished in Darmstadt. Under present conditions, with educational activities on a restricted level of activity, income from schools of all sorts will be limited, and the budget estimate indicates that the schools will be paid for from the reserves accumulated on the school buildings.

Income under Welfare and Youth came largely from payments from the Reich government for allowances to families with persons serving in the Wehrmacht; family allowances are again the largest source under this item. Herr Lucius has in mind a unique method for raising the RM 1,560,000 he shows for this in the budget. The collection system employed for the NSV, whereby the Blockleiters in each block went from house to house collecting for welfare, is to be employed for current purposes. People who made larger contributions under the Nazi regime because they wanted to show they ^{were} faithful Party members will now be expected to continue their proportionately larger payments. This will thus

be a means both of raising revenue and of levying relatively heavier taxes on Party members. Herr Lucius is eager to continue the use of the Blockleiter in this function, as he believes that they know their "customers" best and have the most detailed information on what people paid to the NSV prior to the occupation.

Economic Undertakings are another important source of city income. Under this heading, the largest items are general income from concerns, sales of agricultural and food products from agricultural undertakings, sales of construction lumber, and firewood from city-owned forests, and, most important of all, income from HEAG - the local electric power company, Hessische Elektrizitätswerke AG.

The most significant income item is Finance and Tax Administration, under which City Tax Income is the item which deserves attention. This is estimated for the year 1945 at RM 2,000,000 based on estimates for the current quarter. The staggering drop in the city's tax capacity as a result of the bombings, the occupation and the general disruption of normal life is shown by the fact that in the year 1943, tax income was about seven times as large (including Reich grants of RM 188,000, or a little more than one per cent.) The most important taxes from which the city receives income are the property tax, the business tax, and the per capita tax on citizens (Bürgersteuer) and this explains the loss of such large sums of income. The following table shows the historical development of Darmstadt's tax income:

Table 2
Tax Income of the Darmstadt City Government
Selected Years, 1939-1945
(in RM 000's)

Tax Income Item	1939	1940	1942	1944	1945
Reich Grants	1496	1594	521	---	---
Property Tax	3533	3645	3540	1757	1000
Business Tax	5077	5667	9611	6190	800
Citizenship Tax	1381	1536	2036	1325	200
Other Taxes	552	453	382	167	---
TOTAL	12039	12995	16290	9439	2000

It may be seen from this table that tax revenue increased between 1939 and 1942 by about 35 per cent, largely through the rise in the business tax. The table also shows, however, that by 1944 the devastating air-raids and declining economic activity had already taken their toll, and that the Reich no longer found it possible to return to Darmstadt any portion of the taxes collected there.

Another important item under Finance and Tax Administration is leased land and buildings, which is expected to supply RM 200,000 in 1945, compared with almost a million marks in 1943.

Analysis of Expenditure Items.

Outlays for the year 1945, based on estimates for the current quarter, are placed at RM 16, 168,000 compared to RM 31,446,000 in 1943. This is a reduction of just under 50 per cent, the largest cut (almost 60 per cent) having been made from Welfare and Youth. Table 3 below shows the breakdown of expenditure on an annual basis for 1945 compared with the full year 1943.

Table 3
Expenditures of the Darmstadt City Government, 1943 and 1945
(in RM 000's)

Expenditure Item	1945	1943
General Administration	1440	1657
Police	1416	1135
Education	1340	2435
Culture and Community Life	384	914
Welfare and Youth	4872	11344
Health and Sport	984	2148
Construction and Housing	868	1230
Public Utilities and Institutions	1424	2772
Economic Undertakings	520	721
Finance and Tax Administration	3020	7094
TOTAL	16168	31446

General Administration has been reduced in two ways. First the staff of the city government is being cut down through denazification and not all those removed are being replaced. Second, the government employees have taken a reduction in their salaries. On the basis of these two measures, the reduction in this item should be larger (the Oberbuergermeister and Buergermeister, for example, have had their appropriation reduced from RM 60,000 to RM 42,000 or 30 per cent. It has been offset, however, by an estimate of somewhat less than RM 200,000 for the War Damage Office, by an increased estimate for the Supply Office, and by certain expenditures which have not been reduced significantly from the former level.

More money will be spent on Police than in 1943, despite the cessation of expenditures for the Air Raid Police, which cost RM 227,000 in 1943. The reason for this is that the Reich formerly paid a certain portion of the cost of the local police force, and this source of revenue no longer exists. The police estimate has been pared down to allow for denazification, and it is probable that the very extensive reduction in the police force as a result of the denazification program may permit fur-

ther economies. The only other significant items under Police are the building police and the fire protection police, both of which are already cut to a level appropriate to a city damaged to the extent of Darmstadt.

Expenses for Education have been reduced by about 45 per cent, largely through cutting outlays for the special schools to a bare minimum. The only sizeable appropriations are for the primary-elementary schools (Volksschulen) and high schools, and both of these are at about 60 per cent of 1943.

Culture and Community Life has received a very small amount, as is to be expected. Except for RM 300,000 for the theater (and that is less than half of 1943), virtually no institution has received a grant. A wide variety of cultural activities has been eliminated from the budget.

The largest items under the heading of Welfare and Youth are "Higher Welfare" (Gehobene Fuersorge) at RM 412,000 and Family Allowances at RM 3,020,000 (annual rates). The latter is only one third of 1943 and the former about one-half. MG directives have forbidden the payment of pensions to anyone connected in any way with Party organizations or with the Wehrmacht except for soldiers who are too badly wounded to be able to work and who depend completely on such a pension for their livelihood. All other outlays for social welfare have been sharply cut, including the children's and old people's homes. This may imply severe discomfort to a city in the condition of Darmstadt.

Expenditures for Health and Sport have all been virtually eliminated with the exception of an appropriation for the hospital which is slightly more than half of that shown for 1943.

The reduction in outlays for Construction and Housing amounts to only 30 per cent and even that probably means foregoing much necessary repair and reconstruction. So much of Darmstadt is damaged that many streets are not used at all, and that factor has permitted a fair-sized cut in the main item,

street construction and maintenance. The appropriation for city-owned dwellings exceeds 1943, but all other public construction items show a sharp decrease. It should be remembered, however, that the RM 5,000,000 loan mentioned above can be used for these purposes, if it is obtained.

Public Utilities and Institutions will also be forced to operate at a greatly reduced rate (the 1945 estimate is about 50 per cent smaller than 1943), but, once again, the extent of destruction implies a smaller requirement for such items as street lighting, street cleaning, watering of the streets, maintenance of fountains and gardens. Similarly, the smaller food supply available means that less need be spent on the slaughterhouse, mills, markets, meat inspection offices, etc. The outlay for public baths has been reduced by about 70 per cent.

Expenditures on Economic Undertakings have been cut proportionately less than the income to be derived from them, although the largest share of the outlays is to be devoted to the agricultural and forestry undertakings which supply most of the income and which are, from many points of view, the most important to the welfare of the city.

With regard to Finance and Tax Administration, it is interesting to note that expenses exceed income at the present time, although in 1943, income was almost twice as large as outlays for this item. This is partially explained by the fact that the service on the city debt has not changed, while income has fallen sharply. Likewise, outlays on leased properties and buildings are carried at about the same rate as 1943, while income on them is estimated at less than one fourth of 1943. Debt service and the leased properties alone cost the city a total of RM 2,352,000.

It should be pointed out that the city budget in its present form does not make allowances for extraordinary expenses which it will probably have to bear. The estimate of RM 200,000 for

the war Damage Office is obviously nominal for a city which has suffered as much as Darmstadt. No mention at all is made of the costs of occupation, and of care for displaced persons (there are still several thousand Poles in Darmstadt) and returned prisoners of war. Herr Lucius has prepared unofficial estimates for these items, and they are sizeable. With quarterly estimates converted to an annual basis, these estimates are as follows:

Allied Military Government	RM 2,000,000
Displaced Persons	4,500,000
Prisoners of War	400,000
TOTAL	RM 6,900,000

If these expenses have to be incurred by the city government, total outlays will increase by more than a third, and the deficit will increase by almost 100 per cent.

F. THE BANKING SITUATION IN DARMSTADT

Banking conditions in Darmstadt probably are closer to normal than virtually any other aspect of economic life.

Seven banks, including the Reichsbank office, are in operation, albeit in greatly reduced quarters and even under somewhat primitive conditions. The Reichsbank, for example, does business in the cellar of its building, using just three or four rooms for offices, cashiers' windows, and for storing more than ten million marks in currency.

Although all the banks have a very large part of their assets in Reich paper - bonds, notes, etc. - supplies of currency are sufficient for them to meet withdrawal requirements of their depositors. Withdrawals consist largely of cash drawn for payroll purposes, in addition to withdrawals by private depositors to cover living expenses. Virtually no other claims are being made on the banks' funds, as no loans are being made.

It is interesting to note that during August the withdrawal limit of RM 300 per month was removed, and withdrawals were made unlimited on all except blocked deposits; despite the lifting of this restriction, withdrawals have not increased. This reflects the generosity of the former monthly limit of RM 300; few people are able to find enough things to spend money on to warrant their withdrawing that amount.

Deposits have risen steadily since the occupation and have consistently outpaced withdrawals, thus causing an increase in currency holdings. Between 2 July and 20 August 1945, for example, currency holdings of the Reichsbank (which holds the bulk of the cash in Darmstadt) increased from RM 12.2 million to RM 15.5 million at a weekly rate of about RM 400,000 to RM 600,000. It is the opinion of Reichsbank officials, and confirmed by the data from the sample, that the inflow of funds is

not a result of personal savings of individuals, since there is too little income being earned in Darmstadt for that to be the case. They believe that the inflow is caused by two other factors. First, it represents a gradual return of the funds which were withdrawn just prior to the occupation; not all this cash is back in the banks, and it is still dribbling in. Second, the cash inflow comes from business concerns who are selling some few goods from stocks, or manufactured from stocks, and, being unable to replace these stocks, are depositing their receipts in the banks instead of purchasing new supplies.

Darmstadt, unlike many other German cities, is not troubled by an outflow of currency to rural areas. This condition usually arises when the urban area purchases food from the farmers but does not have sufficient goods on hand for the farmers to buy in the city. This situation has been overcome in Darmstadt through the medium of the Landesbauernkasse, which is part of the Kreis banking system and clears through the Reichsbank while, at the same time, acting as a central and clearing bank for the small farmers' banks in the rural areas.

New clearing arrangements are being set up in Land Hessen which will make the Darmstadt office of the Reichsbank the clearing center for Lower Hessen, while the Giessen office will perform the same task for the northern part of the Land. The banks in Darmstadt formerly used the Girozentral in Frankfurt, which paid them interest on their deposits, but this system will no longer be employed. The Reichsbank in Darmstadt has been pledged RM 1 billion from MG to cover any contingencies which may arise in the clearing tasks.

It is important to realize that the banking system in Darmstadt has been able to function relatively smoothly despite a very thorough denazification of all the banks, from managerial levels to the most minor employees. This is the result not only

of energetic MG denazification policies, but also of action by the Reichsbank itself. The most active member of the Reichsbank managerial staff is Herr Fleischer (Tufts College, Boston, 1934). Herr Fleischer was formerly a mechanical engineer. Although rather conservative politically, he always refused to join the Nazi Party and suffered as a result. He now feels that, as he was willing to take the consequences of refusing to join the Party, no one who joined the Party has a right to a job as long as non-Party members are unemployed.

III. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN DARMSTADT

The family structure in the city has been seriously altered by the war. Only half the families are intact, a large proportion of family heads are women, and many married couples are involuntarily separated owing to war events, in addition to those where either the husband or wife has been killed. More than 80 per cent of the adult male population is over 40 years old, pointing up the exaggerated role that women will play in the life of the town. Attitude studies show that these older males are the least Nazified age group, and youth (13-18) are most heavily permeated with Nazi ideas, with young girls heading the list. The majority of the adult population is not basically opposed to "fraternization", while a small but significant proportion think that enigre German Jews should not be allowed to return.

Illegitimate births are proportionately high, as are suicides, but only a few of the latter can be directly traced to compromised Nazis. More marriages are being recorded than in the immediate pre-occupation months. Health conditions are poor and are expected to become worse during the winter. Denazification of teachers and the destruction of school buildings have combined to preclude all but an emergency elementary-school program. Church attendance is high, and the majority of the priests and ministers are reported to be alive to political and economic problems in the city. [The Catholics

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make a somewhat better showing than Protestants on attitude questions testing for survivals of Nazi ideology.

A. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND OPINIONS OF THE POPULATION

The overwhelming majority of persons now living in Darmstadt are old residents of the town. In the sample of 208 families interrogated 62 per cent had lived there since birth or early childhood, 21 per cent had lived there since before 1933 and another seven per cent since 1939. Since the war 47 per cent of the families sampled ^{said they} had been bombed out one or more times.

The average size of a household or family is 3.6 persons, slightly higher than in 1939, and the average number of "living and sleeping rooms" available to a household is 2.5. This comes to 1.4 persons per room, if one assumes that the housing is equitably distributed among large and small families; actually, since some small families are undoubtedly still clinging to their own more than adequate quarters, the index of crowding is probably higher than 1.4 for many large families.

The war has left only 54 per cent of these families intact. Of the remainder 17 per cent had had one or more members killed, 14 per cent had family members in PW or internment camps, and eight per cent were awaiting news from "missing" members of the family. Incidentally, worry over missing relatives is the "greatest concern" of 23 per cent

of the sample population, second only to worry over food. Out of 55 people killed and missing in these families, 14 were women and girls.

Thirty per cent of the heads of families interviewed were females, and the average age of the family heads, male and female, was over 49 years. Both of these figures undoubtedly reflect the casualties and disruptions brought on by the war. The marital status of the sample likewise bears the imprint of war. Some 18 per cent of the adults were single; 54 per cent were married and living together (the percentage of "intact families" was the same) but eight per cent of the subjects were widows or widowers and 15 per cent were married but involuntarily separated for various war reasons. Only two per cent were divorced.

Recreation is on a primitive level. The most frequent escape is reading and listening to the radio, with the usual avid interest in newspapers and news broadcasts. Swimming, hiking, etc., were next in order of preference, followed by gardening and doing odd jobs around the house. Twelve per cent claimed they do nothing for recreation, and another 13 per cent said they had no time for relaxation. In early October there were as yet no cinemas for civilians in the city.

Age Differences in Attitudes

[Without exception, in every political attitude studied,

(7) younger people showed themselves to be more Nazified than their elders. Youth under 19 consistently revealed a more Nazi orientation than adults between 19 and 40 years; and the latter group in turn was generally more Nazi than those over 40 years of age. The age differences in attitude were often quite marked.] For example, on the question whether they thought National Socialism was a bad idea or a good idea, badly carried out:

47 per cent of those over 40 years of age agreed it was a bad idea, 32 per cent said a good idea (the rest gave no opinion);

37 per cent of those between 19 and 40 years agreed it was a bad idea, 42 per cent said a good idea;

21 per cent of those under 19 years agreed it was a bad idea, 58 per cent said a good idea.

In general, the younger the respondent, the more reactionary, nationalistic, and Nazi-like is his attitude towards the future. A question was asked as to whether the reconstruction of Germany could best be achieved through religion, hard work, a strong new Fuehrer, a revival of the old national spirit of Bismark and Frederick the Great, a new political orientation, or other means. 42 per cent of the youth wrote "a strong new Fuehrer" while only 22 per cent of the adults felt so inclined. Only three per cent of the men and women over 40 saw Germany's future ensured by revival of the old national spirit of Bismark and Frederick the Great; 12 per cent of those between 19 and 40 favored this idea;

while 26 per cent of the youth favored it. It should also be noted that in answer to a question on the type of people that should be included in a future German government, more youth were opposed to having former concentration camp inmates take positions in a future German government than were in favor of them: older age groups showed much greater respect for these victims of fascism. Youth also were more opposed than older people to pre-1933 political leaders and political emigres now in the United States or England.

A significant difference also appeared in the attitude towards Hitler, the majority of the youth who ventured an opinion being ready to excuse Hitler as a good man with bad advisers, while the majority of the older people condemned Hitler as an evil character himself.

Clear age differences also appeared in answers to the questions whether Nazis should be allowed to join trade unions and whether party members should be dismissed from important jobs in government and industry. The older people showed a more determined opposition to the Nazis. For example, the majority (60 per cent) of the Darmstadt men and women between 19 and 40 did not like the idea of dismissing Nazi party members from important jobs in government and industry, while the majority (51 per cent) of those over 40 favored the idea, in spite of the fact that the older age group contained a slightly larger number of former Party members.

(4) [On the two questions inquiring into participation in political affairs ("Do you plan to join a party?" and "Do you intend to take a personal part in political life?") youth again showed the least interest, younger adults were next, and adults over 40 were highest. Finally, those over 40 expressed more optimism over Germany's economic future than any of the others. It should be noted, however, that all comparisons between younger and older adults are colored by the fact that the under 40 adult group contains only 13 per cent of the male adults and 50 per cent of the females. This is not, on the other hand, a factor which should be "adjusted" before making comparisons; rather, it points up the significant fact that for many years the "young adult" population in Germany will be overwhelmingly female, owing primarily, of course, to war casualties.

(9) [These figures bear out in general the theory that people over 40 -- i.e., those who have a reserve of pre-Nazi political and economic experiences to draw on -- are less subject to political apathy and pessimism than younger men and women, most if not all of whose mature life has been spent under the totalitarian regime. These people, now that the paternalistic system which arranged their lives for them has collapsed, are gloomy, bewildered, reject political activity, and cling desperately to remnants of the Nazi ideology which once seemed to them so unassailable.]

Sex Differences

German women in Darmstadt in general reflected a more Nazi point of view than did the men. This was true both in the older and the younger age groups. Young German girls thus turn out to be the most Nazified segment of the population when both sex and age differences are considered, and the older men the least Nazified. (10)

Sex differences, however, were actually not as great as age differences, -- the young boys ^{taken as a group} were still more Nazified than their mothers and older sisters. The greatest sex differences appeared in the questions concerned with problems of leadership, women, apparently, being much more desirous of totalitarian leadership than men. For example, in answer to the direct question "Do you think that Germany needs a strong new leader (Fuehrer) to recover from her downfall and destruction?" 75 per cent of the young girls and 55 per cent of the women said "Yes", whereas 38 per cent of the men said "Yes". This desire for a strong new leader is consistent with the greater political passivity of the women. Only ten per cent of the adult women indicated an interest in joining political parties, as opposed to nearly 50 per cent of the adult men. W

The German women and girls also took a dimmer view of the whole process of denazification than did their male counterparts. (11)

(11) The majority of the adult women with opinions on the subject opposed dismissing all party members from important jobs in business and industry, while the male majority was clearly in reverse. (12) More women than men thought that denazification in business had gone far enough already, and more women than men also thought Allied measures in general were "too harsh". Women, and particularly young girls, revealed less sympathy than men for former concentration camp inmates, a large number of young girls showing definite distaste for the idea that these individuals should be involved in the future government of Germany.]

Attitude towards the Return to Germany of Jewish Enigres

Two groups of Darmstatters were asked "Do you think Jewish enigres should be allowed to return to Germany?". The 208 adults in the first sample were interviewed personally, while the second group (youths and adults, about 150 each) filled in a questionnaire under conditions assuring anonymity. The results were as follows:

SHOULD THE GERMAN JEWS BE PERMITTED TO RETURN?

	<u>Interrogation</u>	<u>Anonymous Questionnaire</u>	
	Adults	Adults	Youth
Yes	91 %	82 %	77 %
Yes but not all	2 %	--	--
No	4 %	7 %	10 %
No opinion	2 %	--	--
No answer	1 %	11 %	13 %

The greater permeation of the youth group with anti-semitism is in line with their general attitude and ideology

discussed above.

Attitude towards fraternization

In addition to the reactions of the sample population, information on attitudes of the female population was secured by a woman informant in civilian clothes who interviewed 50 women and girls from various economic strata.

Salient facts in her report were the following. Very few of the girls interviewed expressed positive objections to associating with American soldiers, and the girls who either admitted or were widely known to be associating with Americans were by no means confined to those from poor families; many middle and upper class girls were astounding their parents and friends by their "wild" behavior. Several girls were engaged to soldiers and were planning to move to the States with their parents as soon as the soldier-fiance returned and sent for them. The hope of marrying a soldier and traveling to America was widespread and an important motive in breaking down traditional bourgeois moral scruples.

The sample population's reactions on the question were the following:

Question: What do you think of German girls who fraternize with American soldiers?

ANSWER

PERCENTAGE

It's all right, no harm in it, not opposed.....	32
All right if object is honorable	6
All right if both parties are single	11
Don't care, it's natural, it's normal	4
TOTAL Positive Answers	53

CONFIDENTIAL

ANSWER

PERCENTAGE

Depends on individual decency	10
Opposed: shows bad taste, is tactless	10
Opposed: if wives of soldiers	1
Opposed: if with colored troops	6
Opposed: relations with soldiers are not permanent	1
Opposed: betrays national honor	2
TOTAL Negative Answers	30

Other answers	12
No answer or no opinion	7

The Population's Outlook on the Future

Fifty-four per cent of the sample described themselves as optimistic regarding their economic future, while 23 per cent were "uncertain", and 18 per cent were pessimistic. When these data were cross-tabulated with the same people's answers to the more specific question "How long do you think it will take to rebuild Darmstadt?" it became clear that the "uncertain" group was the most pessimistic:

Views on Economic FutureMedian Number of Years
Expected to Rebuild City

Optimistic group	6 years
Pessimistic group	14 years
Uncertain group	17 years

Of the total, 25 per cent believe that it will take 20 years or more to rebuild the city.

B. VITAL STATISTICSMarriage

Marriages in the city dropped off sharply in the first

weeks of occupation -- 15 in April as against 31 in March, but since April there have been more marriages each month than in the immediate pre-occupation period. One third of the newly-married are Catholics, and the average age of the men is 34.7, of the women 29.6 years.

The only noticeable change in the newly-married population since March is in the relative age of the spouses. Before occupation only eight per cent of the brides were older than their grooms, and the average age difference was 2.6 years. After March, 16 per cent of the wives married husbands who were on the average 6.0 years younger.

Whether this relationship will continue in future months is difficult to predict; the normal expectation would be that -- in view of the reduced proportion of young men in the population -- more older men would be found marrying younger girls. The present situation may be the result of a temporary desperate raid on the younger men by aggressive and perhaps economically well endowed matrons.

Of the 106 marriages this year (since 1 January) involving Catholics, 64 were mixed (Catholic-Protestant), and 42 were Catholic on both sides. Only 15 per cent of the pre-occupation marriages were mixed Catholic-Protestant, while 29 per cent fell in that category after March.

Divorce

The courts have not been operating in Darmstadt

since at least the beginning of this year, which means that
no divorces have been granted since then. City officials expect
that reopening of the courts will bring on a large number of
divorce cases which have been postponed during these months.

Births

Live births in Darmstadt averaged 86 per month since
February 1945, the earliest date for which records are available.
About 20 per cent of these are illegitimate, which is about
double the normal rate for the Reich during the war. About
20 additional births a month are registered in the city by
parents who live outside Darmstadt, and nearly 15 per cent of
these are illegitimate. Still-births are not abnormally high,
averaging about two monthly among Darmstadt mothers and four
monthly for births by non-resident mothers.

Deaths

Natural deaths average about 75 monthly. An extraordinary
number (125) was registered in April, due partly, Darmstadt
doctors believe, to over-exertion and over-excitement among
older people during the period when the city was captured.
Another possibility is that the April "natural" death figure
includes some camouflaged suicide cases.

Suicide

The only records available on suicides are those for the
year 1945, showing five cases in the period of 1 January to

to 24 March. Since occupation the numbers are as follows:

24 - 31 March	8
April and May	8
June and July	3
1 August to 10 September	3

These figures are known to be incomplete. The police believe that there were "numerous" suicides in the early days of occupation which were never registered, owing to the collapse of normal administrative controls and the desire of families to conceal the fact. Although the suicide rate among Catholics is normally low, German officials believe that the desire to conceal the fact or at least the manner of death probably accounts for there being no Catholics at all among the 22 cases so far reported. There are no data on unsuccessful attempts at suicide.

While it is reasonable to assume that virtually all of the eight suicides in March were "political", i.e., a desperate escape measure taken by persons ideologically or otherwise identified with National Socialism, there is direct proof of this in only one case. This involved the director of a factory who took poison with his wife, 19 year old daughter, and a seven year old girl living with the family. Of the other cases three were young civil servants, four were retired civil servants 66 to 75 years old, and one was a factory owner.

The head of the Land Hessen Medical Society, Dr. Schuchardt, a psychiatrist, expects the suicide rate to increase during the winter, particularly among the "little Nazis". His theory,

(14)

(14) borne out he says by his professional interviews, is that convinced or "idealistic" Nazis are not subject to the suicide drive but that "muss-Nazis" -- opportunists or those who joined in order to keep their jobs or their business -- are now so depressed at being punished on the same terms as real Nazis, and see so little hope for the future that they will in increasing numbers take their lives in the coming months. He expected this to be particularly true among doctors and other professional people.

C. SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Crime

The widespread feeling in the town -- shared by the police chief -- that crime is increasing rapidly is not supported by the weekly crime reports. These show that the number of crimes reported to the police reached a peak (297 cases) early in May and has since slacked off, averaging about 85 cases weekly in the six weeks ending 10 September. Approximately 85 per cent (2590) of the crimes reported since occupation fall in the category "theft and plundering"; as might be expected, the bulk of these cases occurred in the first weeks of occupation when controls over Germans, displaced persons and American troops were at a minimum.

Rape and other morals offenses, including 67 professional prostitution cases, form the next largest category, but

account for only three per cent (82) of the total. In the whole period there were only 16 black-market offenses reported and 22 cases of price violation.

Arrests lagged far behind crimes reported. From April to September only 412 arrests were made by the German police out of 3034 known offenses. Of these arrests 309 were booked as "political", meaning for the most part minor violations of MG regulations covering curfews, registration, passes, etc.. The next largest arrest category was theft, for which 86 Germans were apprehended.

Even more than in normal times, "crimes known to the police" underrepresent the real incidence of crime; this is especially true in the case of crimes involving members of the occupying forces, which the Germans, fearing reprisals, are reluctant to report. Chief of Police Reibold expects thefts to remain the most frequent offence, but he believes that when the force is permitted to carry arms and is better equipped with motor vehicles these property violations will level off.

Youth Activities and Juvenile Delinquency

Interviews with MG and German officials and random questioning of individual boys and girls aged 13 to 18 indicated that there is virtually no organization of youth in present-day Darmstadt, either for work or recreation. An early effort to draft boys between 15 and 18 for rubble-clearing was discontinued when parents complained that their sons were badly

needed at home. Indeed, the urgent necessity for youths to help at home -- doing housework, repairing bomb damage, cutting and hauling wood, hunting for food -- apparently explains two phenomena attending the lack of organized youth activities. One of these is the remarkably low rate of juvenile delinquency; only one case of sabotage by youths has been reported, and except for a rising venereal disease rate among girls, other evidence of juvenile delinquency is scarce.

The other noteworthy fact is that young people themselves appear not to resent the lack of opportunity for organized activities, beyond expressing a wish to get back to school as soon as possible; they explain that they are simply too busy with family tasks to think about organized recreation, and add that in any case they prefer to entertain themselves.

There is a vague scheme afoot to organize a sports club for boys, and the local Red Cross officials are planning to establish a scouting organization to include both boys and girls. In the suburb of Arheilgen, a group of boys was meeting regularly on weekends to play soccer, and this activity was said to be encouraged by the local mayor. Beyond these few instances, individual recreation appeared to consist chiefly of visiting friends, walking, reading and listening to the radio. All youths interrogated hoped for prompt reopening of movie houses and theaters, and several wanted to buy bicycles to make weekend expeditions into the country. Officials and

youths alike agreed that churchgoing among the young was rare, a fact the adults attributed to habits formed during the Nazi period.

Public Health

The head of the city Health Office, Dr. Bensack, takes a gloomy view of the entire public health situation. Some of his main anxieties are the following:

Nourishment. As described above in the section on food, the people are receiving too little food and what they get is badly balanced nutritionally. Weight loss is marked and shows no signs of leveling off.

Disease. While there is no serious incidence of any one disease in the city, several diseases are threatening to become serious. Influenza is already picking up, and scabies and diptheria are lurking ominously in the monthly reports. Most serious is tuberculosis, which is increasing and will become worse this winter, owing to the collapse of the war-time check up and control system, plus the unfavorable food situation. Dr. Bensack anticipates that this winter damp dwellings, insufficient heat and food and overcrowding will produce a complex of public health problems centering around influenza, skin diseases, and tuberculosis.

Public Health Facilities. There is a shortage of hospital space and a distinct overcrowding in the eight

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hospitals available or partly available for civilians and displaced persons. Hospitals for German prisoners of war are under U.S. Army control. The hospital report for August showed a hospital population of 1,051, including out-patients; 783 beds were occupied, 212 were vacant, but a later report said hospitals were filled "almost to capacity". The gradual clearing of PW hospitals may relieve the space shortage to some extent, but the winter's health toll, in Dr. Bensack's opinion, will outweigh this possible increase.

In addition, there is a shortage of space and equipment for the doctors. The Health Office itself is jammed into a damaged and otherwise unsuitable building, and the two neighborhood clinics for mothers and children are even worse off. There is also a shortage of motor transport for doctors and the seven public health nurses.

Denazification. Speaking before the publication of the new MG directive on the treatment of ousted Nazi doctors, Dr. Bensack regarded the denazification program as one of his most serious problems. A Free Mason, he was able to avoid joining the Party and in general he takes a firm stand against maintenance in public life of anyone who joined the Party voluntarily. On the other hand, he makes the familiar distinction between men who joined the Nazis before 1932 -- who seriously saw it as a semi-egalitarian solution to the economic crisis -- and those who joined the movement after they

had seen its true character, after the pogroms in 1938, for example.

Speaking of the doctors who were forced to join the Party or some affiliated organization, Dr. Bensack found it difficult to believe that these men would never be permitted to practice again, especially in view of the great need for doctors in Germany during the coming months of physical deprivation. Dr. Bensack and other non-Nazi physicians will probably welcome the new scheme worked out by MG to permit former Nazi doctors to practice under rigid supervisions (see section on Denazification).

The following table is compiled from the MG monthly health reports:

	30 April to 27 May	10 June to 7 July	8 July to 3 August	4 August to 31 August
Diphtheria	11	24	12	11
Scarlet Fever	7	11	9	1
Whooping Cough	--	1	7	23
Typhoid Fever	1	--	7	3
Influenza	--	18	4	22
Tuberculosis	10	7	23	13
Gonorrhea	7	65	37	44
Syphilis	--	4	8	11
Scabies	--	147	136	115

An incomplete statement late in September reports a "general downward trend in public health", with tuberculosis and diphtheria increasing.

Public Welfare

In the month of August approximately 7500 Darmstatters received some sort of public welfare assistance, at an

expense to the city of slightly more than 334,000 RM. The following types of assistance were rendered:

a. General Welfare, or "Poor Relief". The scale of allowances followed for general assistance is the scale adopted generally in Germany in December 1941:

I. Married Couple or Two Adults

	<u>Without Children</u>	<u>With Children under 16</u>		<u>For each Addi- tional Child</u>
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Monthly Allowance:	51	66	81	15
Maximum Income for (workers	105	115	120	5
(employees	130	140	150	10

II. Single Persons

	<u>Without Children</u>	<u>With Children under 16</u>		<u>For each Addi- tional Child</u>
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Monthly Allowance:	33	45	60	15
Maximum Monthly Income for (workers	90	100	105	5
(employees	110	120	130	10

From April to August, 1945, about 850 persons were on the poor relief rolls at an average cost of 25,000 RM per month. The number of cases is expected to swell as various persons formerly living on pensions are cut off from that income and forced to go on the dole.

b. Recipients of Small-Pensioners' Assistance. These are old or unemployable persons who were impoverished by the inflation

following World War I. Formerly, these middle-class indigents received a higher allowance than the poor-relief cases, since their living standards had been higher and their adjustment to living on public funds was theoretically more difficult than for low-income groups. Currently, however, all recipients of public assistance are paid according to the poor-relief scale, regardless of their former living standards or income.

c. Recipients of "Temporary Assistance". The system of allowances (Family Assistance) formerly in operation for the support of the families of men called up for the Wehrmacht is no longer in operation. To take its place until the time when all prisoners of war have returned, these families are now placed in the Temporary Assistance (Uebergangsfuersorge) category.

These cases, too, are supported according to the General Welfare scale of allowances rather than the previous system based on the army income of the conscripted breadwinner. From 1940 to 1943 an average of 4500 families received this allowance, averaging about 625,000 RM monthly. In the first three months of 1945, however, only 2400 families were on the lists, a reflection primarily of dispersion and deaths in the civil population as a result of the 11 September 1944 air raid.

At the present time roughly 1700 families are maintained on this type of public assistance, at a monthly cost of about 210,000 RM. This amounts to almost exactly two-thirds of the total public welfare expenditures, and the Welfare Office has

recently complained that its traditional work is crippled by the necessity of devoting its limited funds to the support of soldiers' families.

d. Former Concentration Camp Inmates. Persons who "on political, racial or religious grounds" were persecuted by the Nazis receive special attention from the public authorities. In addition to cash allowances, they receive priorities in the acquisition of clothing and household equipment and in securing employment through the Labor Office. Some of the money available for this group comes from a special collection gathered by an organization called "Emergency Aid for Former Political Prisoners".

e. Unemployment Compensation. The unemployed are supported directly from the general relief funds and according to the welfare scale of allowances. Unemployment insurance contributions are currently used not for unemployment relief but to build up a fund to finance emergency public works.

f. Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign. After a lapse of several months, the systematic examination of the population for tuberculosis symptoms plus preparations for the hospitalization of advanced cases, has again been undertaken. RM 60,000 were spent in this field in 1944, and public health authorities anticipate that, because of the growing seriousness of the disease, much more than that will have to be spent this year. One of the problems currently being faced is that of finding

suitable quarters for the establishment of rest-homes outside the city for tuberculosis patients.

Plans for the Future

Under Haerting plans are being made for a wide variety of public welfare activities. A special committee is studying the possibility of simplifying and implenting social insurance administration and aid to war-disabled and the dependents of crippled or fallen soldiers. Arrangements have been practically completed to make the blocked funds of the Nazi People's Welfare Association (NSV) available for public welfare at the Regierungsbezirk level. Two institutions for the vocational rehabilitation of crippled soldiers are in operation in establishments not far from Darmstadt. Finally, the German Red Cross has been thoroughly reorganized and denazified and is resuming operation on a Land Hessen basis, supported by the Caritas (Catholic) and Innere Mission (Protestant) welfare organizations. Haerting is chairman of the new Red Cross, which currently reports "favorable progress" in its first major public activity -- a "Community Fund" drive.

D. EDUCATION IN DARMSTADT

Public education was resumed in Darmstadt on 1 October, when 1,650 children aged six to 14 attended opening classes in four different school buildings. That education is proceeding on a purely rudimentary basis, and probably will

continue to do so for some time to come, is indicated by several facts and comparisons.

School registration the 6-to-14 age group for 1939 was 10,170. This autumn, the registration figure was 3,587 -- a decline of almost 65 per cent. Even so, immediate accommodations could be found for only about 45 per cent of those registered.

Before the great raid of 14 September 1944, Darmstadt had a total of 28 public schools -- 15 primary schools (Volksschulen), plus secondary schools (Oberrealschulen), a humanistic secondary school for boys (Gymnasium), a school for mentally or physically handicapped children, a teachers' preparatory school, and several business and trade schools. Of the four elementary school buildings that reopened on 1 October, three had roof damage making their top floors unusable, while the fourth was habitable on the ground floor only. A fifth Volksschule opened in the suburb of Arheilgen, with 948 pupils, on 8 October. Sixteen of Darmstadt's pre-occupation 28 school buildings have been totally destroyed and replacing them probably will be a matter of years rather than months. Six of the remaining 12 should be in operation by the end of October, and it is hoped to reopen the others as rapidly as new accommodations can be found for the American troops or the German agencies now occupying them.

Military Government distributed Fragebogen to 217 registered

school teachers in Stadtkreis Darmstadt, who presumably represented all that was left of the teaching profession in the city. Among this group, 74 were listed for mandatory removal, 15 received adverse recommendations, 26 got no adverse recommendation, 99 offered no evidence of Nazi activity, and three had records of anti-Nazi activity. Theoretically the last two categories, and perhaps some among the 26 with no adverse recommendations, were available to staff the re-opening public schools. Actually, officials of the civil administration reported that as of 1 October only 38 teachers were available. Of these, 25 were assigned to the first four schools reopened, and six more went to the Arheilgen institution. City officials estimated that 69 teachers were needed in all for a minimum Volksschule program.

The apparent discrepancy between the results of denazification in the teaching profession and the number of teachers actually available on 1 October stems from two causes. First, a considerable number of those who passed the political screening are no longer interested in continuing to teach, either because of old age, poor health, or the difficulties attending educational work in present-day Darmstadt. Another portion of the politically acceptable group had not completed a compulsory re-indoctrination course by 1 October.

These courses, conducted in the reopened school buildings shortly before regular classes began, ran for a total of three