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**The Programme and Organization  
of the Christian Trade Unions of Germany**

(Congress at Essen 20-24 November 1920)

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The congress held at Essen on 21 November 1920 by the unions of Christian workers of Germany marks a new epoch in the history of these unions. The last ordinary congress was held at Dresden before the war, on 6 October 1912. A period of eight years, therefore, separates the two congresses. In the course of this long period, important events had happened, tending to define and even to modify the evolution of the Christian trade unions of Germany. It is essential to analyse the character and indicate the consequences of these events before showing from the speeches and discussions at Essen the present programme of the Christian trade unions.

It is well known that the Christian trade unions of Germany are combined in a vast association bearing the name of The General Association of Christian Trade Unions of Germany (*Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*). The Association has its seat at Cologne (Venloerwall); its President, Adam Stegerwald, is at present Minister of Welfare in the Prussian Cabinet. It is hardly possible in this brief study to describe the origin of the Christian organizations or the evolution which they have undergone from the time of their foundation until the Congress of Dresden in 1912. Suffice it to say that the most important Christian unions—particularly the Miners' Union—were founded during the year 1894, and that the Christian trade union movement has from its origin had its principal centre at Essen. The first congress was held in 1899 at Mainz. At that time the General Association of Christian Trade Unions already numbered about 80,000 members. Since then, its development has proceeded regularly.<sup>1</sup>

The principal events which have exercised a powerful influence on the programme and organization of the Christian unions since the Congress of Dresden, and more particularly since the war and the German revolution, appear to be the following:—

1. The end of the conflict between the Christian trade unions and the Catholic (confessional) trade unions;
2. The development, since the Revolution, of the union of agricultural workers and the unions of employees and public officials;
3. The importance progressively acquired by the Office of Christian Trade Unions established at Berlin during the war.

We will examine successively, with the assistance of the information furnished in the report presented by the committee to the Congress, each of these facts, and see what influence they have exercised on the organization and the programme of the Christian trade unions.

(1) The reader will find all necessary particulars of the origin and the development of the Christian social movement, or, more precisely, of the Christian labour movement, in the second volume of *Die Berufsvereine*, by W. Kulemann (Jena, 1908). This volume also contains a very complete bibliography (page 196). Kulemann distinguishes two periods in the history of the Christian labour movement. The first, which he calls the religious and patriarchal period, is marked by the creation of Catholic associations—for men, for workmen, for young men, for journeymen. The first of these associations, a journeymen's association (*Gesellenverein*) was founded by Father Kolping at Elberfeld on 6 November 1846. The second period, which Kulemann calls the period of emancipation, saw the rise of the Christian trade unions; the first of these, the German Union of Railwaymen (*Verband deutscher Eisenbahnhandwerker und Arbeiter*), was formed at Trèves on 1 May 1894.

### The End of the Conflict between Confessional and Interconfessional Trade Unions

It is impossible to relate in detail the history of the conflict between the Christian trade unions of Cologne and the Catholic trade unions of Berlin. The pamphlet published by the General Association of Christian Trade Unions, *The Trade Union Libel Action of Cologne*, supplies the most complete information on this important episode in the history of Christian trade unionism. We will confine ourselves to quoting certain dates and facts:—

The origin of the conflict between Berlin and Cologne goes back to the year 1899. At that time a certain number of German Catholics opposed the creation of Christian workers' unions, and advocated the organization of craft sections (*Fachabteilungen*) within the workers' Catholic associations, which had been organized, under the direction of the clergy, throughout Germany. They complained of the admission into their ranks by the Christian unions not only of Catholic workers but also of Protestant workers. They also reproached them with admitting into their programme the right to strike, which did not appear to them to be compatible with the principles of Christian doctrine.

War was therefore declared against the Christian trade unions. The conflict was carried on by the Union of Catholic Workers' Associations of Berlin (*Verband der Katholischen Arbeitervereine, Berlin*). This body did not confine its action to the Berlin district only, but possessed workers' branches throughout Germany, principally in the Dioceses of Trèves and Breslau. The Berlin Union was not content with an opposition of principle—it proceeded to act. At Whitsun 1902 it decided to organize craft sections (*Fachabteilungen*) within its associations.

The other unions of catholic workers' associations did not follow this example, but on the contrary assured the Christian trade unions of their support. These Unions were: the Union of Catholic Workers' Associations of Western Germany, with its seat at München-Gladbach; the Union of Catholic Workers' Associations of South Germany, having its centre at Munich; and lastly, the Union of Catholic Workers' Associations of Eastern Germany, organized from Breslau. Each of these Unions also possessed workers' branches, but, unlike the Berlin Union, they had only created these branches in the districts in which they carried on their activities.

The conflict between Berlin and Cologne reached its culminating point at the end of the autumn of 1912. On 24 September 1912 Pope Pius X. addressed to Cardinal Kopp, Bishop of Breslau, and to all the Bishops and Archbishops of Germany, his famous encyclical: *Singulari quadam*.

A certain number of passages in this encyclical were capable of being interpreted by the Catholic population of Germany against the Christian trade unions. The latter, without losing time, convened a great Extraordinary Congress, which was held at Essen on 26 November 1912. After an energetic speech by Mr. Adam Stegerwald, the Congress passed a resolution in the following terms :

Nothing will be changed in the character, form of organization, and future activity of the Christian trade unions. We shall continue to work as in the past.

The Christian trade unions therefore maintained their programme. But the conflict was not appeased. It gave rise during the year 1913 to violent attacks both on the part of the Catholic press and on the part of the Socialist workers' organizations. The Christian trade unions, firmly resolved to defend their cause, finally decided to bring a libel action against certain editors of Catholic and Socialist newspapers. The hearing of the action in Cologne lasted from 18 to 22 December 1913. It ended in a judgment against the journalists in question.

The war broke out in the following year, and afterwards, in 1918, the Revolution. The opposition between confessional and interconfessional trade unions still continued. In view of the troubles which were then agitating Germany, the Christian working class of that country felt the need of combining its efforts. At the beginning of the year 1919, the Christian unions and the Berlin Catholic unions entered into negotiations, and by 3 May 1919, a preliminary agreement had been established. But an important point had still to be settled. The Catholic Workers' Associations of Berlin claimed for the Catholic workers the right to refuse, without incurring penalties, to submit to certain trade union measures when they regarded such measures as opposed to the instructions of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Meanwhile, the annual conference of the German Bishops took place at Fulda in October 1919. In the course of this conference the German episcopate passed the following resolution:—

It is desirable, with a view to the development of a good understanding among German Catholics, and in the interest of the Catholic Workers' Associations of Berlin and the Christian trade unions, either in the form of an amalgamation of the two organizations or in the form of an amicable convention. The task of settling the terms of such agreement is left to the two organizations.

Cardinal Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne, communicated this decision to the Berlin craft sections, notifying them at the same time that it was not necessary, in order to settle the question finally, to consult the Pope again.

The intervention of the German Bishops resulted in the resumption of the negotiations. Finally, on 19 October, an agreement was concluded. Under this agreement the members of the craft sections consent to enter the ranks of the Christian trade unions on the following basis:—

1. In order to respond to the convictions of the Catholic workers, a trade union organization must be of such a character as to leave to those who belong to it the liberty of judging trade union questions from the point of view of religion and morality, and of determining their own action accordingly. In particular the members of the trade union organization must not be placed under any disadvantage in the event of their being prevented, by conformity with the religious obligations imposed upon them by the rules of the Church generally in force, from giving their approbation to certain trade union measures.

2. From the point of view of morality there is no objection in principle to the collective stoppage of work. Collective stoppage of work may, however, be open to condemnation in view of the intentions which it expresses, the circumstances in which it takes place, and the means which it employs. Stoppage of work is in any case to be condemned when it has recourse to the unjustified employment of force.

3. We are living in a period of industrial transformation. The creation of autonomous industrial organizations constituted on a legal basis and of free common associations of employers and employed will result in uniting more closely the different parts of the German industrial system. Such an evolution requires the establishment of conciliatory organs for the regulation of the conditions of labour, and particularly of industrial arbitration institutions provided with full powers. The development of these organs is demanded both by the Catholic Workers' Associations and the Christian trade unions.

4. The effective performance of the common task of the workers' Associations and the trade unions will be secured by the creation of a mixed committee composed of members of the two organizations.

The programme thus established has now been ratified by the Congress Essen, and the as conflict between the confessional workers' associations and the interconfessional trade unions has thus ceased to exist. Catholic workers and Protestant workers will henceforth be able without any obstacle to participate equally in the Christian trade unions.

The victory of the interconfessional Christian trade unions marks an important epoch in the evolution of the Christian trade unions. It will contribute to strengthen the bonds, which existed from the time of the formation of the first trade unions, between the Protestant working population and the Catholic working population of Germany.

The Minister of Labour, Dr. Brauns, one of the members of the German clergy who has done most to promote the Christian trade union movement, did not fail to point out in his speech at the congress the national importance of this close union between Catholic and Protestant workéas within

the Christian trade unions, and to emphasize afresh the necessity imposed upon the Christian unions of ensuring the most absolute equality of rights between the two confessions, as follows :

Essen is the cradle of the Miners' Christian Union. This Christian Union was not the first to be founded, but it is the most typical of our movement as a whole. Why then has it represented for us from the beginning the model union? — Because it was able in a remarkable way at its very origin to combine in the same group Catholic and Protestant miners. The Miners' Christian Union did not trouble to reckon what were the respective numbers of its Protestant and Catholic members. It immediately placed both on a footing of absolute equality, and appointed its officers accordingly—one half of them consisted of Protestants, and one half of Catholics. When the president was a Catholic, the vice-president was a Protestant. Thus from the very first day it clearly manifested its sincere desire to secure confessional equality. Today, when not only industrial life but the edifice of the State itself has to be restored, this determination to work in common, free from all prejudice of religion or of class, must be diffused more and more among the German population.

#### The Development of the Christian Unions of Agricultural Workers, Employees, and Public Officials

The development of the Christian unions of agricultural workers, employees and public officials dates from the war, but did not really become manifest until after the Revolution. This development also we can only sketch here in its broad outlines.

The German Revolution resulted at the very beginning in the abolition of the old Royal Ordinance of 1810 relating to domestics (*Gesinde Ordnung*). By the Provisional Order relating to agricultural labour of 24 January 1919, the most complete freedom of association was guaranteed to workers on the land. Unions of agricultural workers, both Socialist and Christian, immediately underwent a marvellous development. The Central Union of (Christian) Agricultural Workers (*Zentralverband der Landarbeiter*), which numbered only about 3,000 members before the war, has today nearly 150,000 members. Unlike a certain number of Christian trade unions, which draw the greater part of their adherents from the Catholic regions of Westphalia and the Rhine, the agricultural union includes both workers on the great estates of the old Prussian Protestant provinces and workers from the Catholic regions of Western Germany. Its president, Mr. Franz Behrens, is one of the best known and most respected leaders of the Protestant Christian social movement. In his speech at the first sitting of the congress, he expressed his satisfaction that "the Christian agricultural workers were for the first time represented at a Christian trade union congress".

Most of the unions of employees which are found in Germany today were already in existence before the war, and even at that time constituted powerful organizations. Their character and their programme were, however, somewhat different. Since the Revolution, in fact, the majority of the German Unions of employees have been reconstituted on a more strictly trade union basis. At the same time classification has taken place. The unions of employees have been gradually divided into three distinct groups—Socialist unions, Liberal unions, and Christian unions.

There are at the present time three great federations of unions of employees. The first comprises the Socialist or free unions, twelve in number, and is called the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Angestelltenverbände*, better known as the A.F.A. The second comprises the Liberal unions, four in number, and is known as the *Gewerkschaftsbund der Angestellten*; the third is the Christian federation, or *Gesamtverband deutscher Angestelltengewerkschaften*, and includes ten unions.

The most important of the Christian unions, around which all the others are grouped, is the old German National Association of Commercial Employees of Hamburg (*Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband*), founded on 1 December, 1895. The Hamburg Association is of almost exclusively Protestant origin. In 1914 it already numbered more than 100,000 members. It also has grown considerably since 1918, and today numbers nearly 250,000 members in more than 100 branches scattered over the whole of Germany, as against 35 in July 1914.

The federation of Christian unions of public officials is of quite recent origin<sup>2</sup>. It dates from the middle of 1920. Its president, Dr. Höfle, is one of the former general secretaries of the great League of Public Officials (*Deutscher Beamtenbund*), which was created immediately after the Revolution for the purpose of federating all the associations of public officials, of regulating their line of conduct, and of furthering their common interests. The right of association among public officials was subject in pre-revolutionary Germany to a certain number of important restrictions. These restrictions disappeared after the Revolution, and the unions of public officials were able to organize and develop more freely.

The Christian Federation of Unions of Public Officials and State Employees (*Gesamtverband deutscher Beamten- und Staatsangestelltengewerkschaften*), like the Christian Federation of Employees (*Gesamtverband deutscher Angestelltengewerkschaften*), has its seat at Berlin. Its internal organization

(2) It is the federation, of course, that is recent, not the organizations themselves. The Bavarian and Elberfeld Associations of Railwaymen, for example, are of more than ten years' standing.

is not yet complete. It includes at present twelve unions of public officials (unions of officials of the Bavarian, Baden, Saxon, Wurtemberg, and Federal railways, and of Bavarian Federal, and other postal services.

Christian workers, employees, and public officials were thus, by the middle of 1920, combined in three great distinct organizations. From that condition of things to the combining of the three organizations into one was only a step. This step was taken in June 1920. An inclusive Christian trade union league was created at Berlin under the name of *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*.

The new organization must not be confounded with the trade union league which immediately preceded it.

Following on the Revolution of November 1918, two Liberal and Christian associations set about combining their efforts with a view to resisting more successfully the revolutionary impulse. They organized a trade union combination, called the *Deutsch-Demokratischer Gewerkschaftsbund*. In the course of the year 1919, the revolutionary agitation quieted down by degrees. At the same time the progressive movement of differentiation and classification, which we have indicated, between the three great German trade union tendencies—Socialist, Liberal and Christian—began. The Christian-Liberal combination no longer answered its original purpose; it was not renewed, and the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* was created.

It now numbers two million members and includes 41 organizations. It has adopted as its programme:—

1. To defend the industrial, vocational, and social interests common to the different organizations of the League, in conformity with the requirements of their development.
2. To secure the defence of the individual interests of each of the trade union groups of the League by the whole of the organizations represented therein.
3. To combat the disintegrating influence exercised on the population of Germany by materialism, by diffusing among the said population the general principles of morality, and particularly national and Christian ideas.

Its internal organization comprises an executive committee consisting of 17 members; a special commission consisting of 35 persons; a central office at Berlin; State and district offices; and finally local offices. It publishes a journal which appears twice a month—the *Nachrichten des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes*—and also a monthly bulletin devoted to works councils—the *Betriebsrätepost*.

The Congress of Essen was no doubt more particularly a congress of Christian workers' unions. The Christian organizations of employees and public officials and the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* were only represented at it by

their presidents or secretaries. But the Congress ended with a special Congress of Christian Works Councils, convened by the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* and representing in reality the first official congress of the *Bund*.

The discussions were presided over by Mr. Otto Thiel, President of the *Gesamtverband Deutscher Angestelltengewerkschaften*, and were marked by a speech by Johannes Bredemann, one of the two secretaries of the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, setting forth the programme of the *Bund*.

#### Foundation of the Berlin Christian Trade Union Office

A third important fact, which cannot fail to influence the evolution and development of Christian trade unions, is the foundation of the Christian Trade Union Office of Berlin. Before the war, the Christian trade unions possessed no office in the German capital: they were grouped round Cologne as their centre. The need of Christian trade union representation at Berlin was only felt after the declaration of war. The Christian trade unions had then to take up a position on a great number of important questions, the solution of which affected the whole life of Germany. All these questions were discussed and solved in Berlin. To remedy the inconvenience arising from the general secretariat being in Cologne, it was decided to organize without delay a special office in Berlin. The work of this office was in the first place carried on by Mr. Joseph Becker, who was assisted by the members of Christian trade unions residing in Berlin or carrying on their preliminary duties there. At the beginning of May 1916, the General Secretary, Mr. Adam Stegerwald, was appointed to the Ministry of Food in Berlin, and he took over the direction of the office. It was transferred to Mr. Fritz Baltrusch in 1918 after the Revolution, when Mr. Stegerwald was nominated to the Prussian Ministry of Welfare.

The functions of the Berlin office, which were already very important during the war, have been considerably augmented since November 1918. It assisted in the establishment of the Central Labour Association (*Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft*), which was created at that time. It subsequently assisted in the preparation of laws and ordinances of a social or industrial character which were promulgated by the National Assembly. It assisted in the preparation of the Decree relating to the provisional Federal Economic Council. Mr. Fritz Baltrusch was appointed a member of that Council, and soon afterwards became Vice-President. He was also a member of the Second Socialization Commission.

The importance of the Berlin office is further increased at the present time by the fact that not only is the General Secretary of the Workers' Unions, Mr. Adam Stegerwald,

residing in Berlin as Minister of Welfare in the Prussian Cabinet, but that the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, the *Gesamtverband deutscher Angestelltengewerkschaften* and the *Gesamtverband deutscher Beamten- und Staatsangestellten Gewerkschaften* also have their offices in that city. The German capital now rivals Cologne as a centre of the Christian trade union movement.

What will be the influence on the Christian trade union movement of the three great events which we have described, namely, the amalgamation of the inter-confessional and confessional unions, the development of the Protestant Christian organizations of agricultural workers, employees, and public officials, and the importance acquired by the Berlin office? They seem already to have had two consequences. They have, in the first place, contributed to broaden the basis of the Christian trade union movement, by bringing into its ranks a whole group of workers who hitherto had not properly formed part of it. In the second place, they have compelled the Christian organizations to fix and define more precisely their National-Christian (*Christlich-National*) doctrine. This double result appeared very clearly in the course of the sittings of the Congress of Essen.

The Christian trade unions of Germany do not concern themselves exclusively with social problems, or confine their energies strictly within the limits of the labour movement. The general problems of German life equally engage their attention and enter into their programme. This programme, therefore, presents a varied aspect. It is at once of a national, political, social, industrial, and Christian character.

The sittings of the Congress of Essen were marked by seven important speeches or reports, delivered or presented by the principal leaders of Christian trade unionism—Mr. Adam Stegerwald, Mr. Hirtsiefer, the Secretary of the Union; Mr. Baltrusch, the Director of the Berlin office; Mr. Röhr, the Assessor; Mr. Imbusch, the President of the Miners' Union; Mr. Otte, the President of the Textile Workers' Union, and, finally, Dr. Theodor Brauer, who is, together with Mr. Adam Stegerwald, a recognized leader of the Christian trade union movement. Mr. Adam Stegerwald defined the attitude of Christian trade unionism to German national questions. Mr. Baltrusch and Mr. Hirtsiefer spoke on industrial problems, Mr. Röhr and Mr. Imbusch on the organization of labour, and Dr. Brauer on Christian trade union doctrine.

These various speeches contain the essential points of the Christian trade union programme of to-day. They may, however, be usefully supplemented by the declarations of various members of the Christian trade unions, particularly Mr. Giesberts, the Minister of Posts, and also by the speech of Dr. Brauns, the Federal Minister of Labour, already quoted.

## National Questions

The event of the Congress was the great speech made by the Minister, Mr. Adam Stegerwald, setting forth the programme of the movement. Mr. Stegerwald is a Bavarian of Franconia, formerly a joiner and a member of the famous Catholic association of journeymen, the Kolping Association. He was one of the leaders of the Christian trade union movement at its very beginning. He took part in the organization of the Congress of Mainz in 1899, and was appointed General Secretary of the *Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands* at the Congress of Munich in 1902.

“We have remained on the defensive for more than 20 years. The time has now come for us to take the offensive”, he declared at the beginning of his speech. What did he mean by that? What, in his view, were the main lines of this offensive programme? He wished the Christian trade unions to play a decisive part in the national life of the new Germany, and he indicated what should be the broad lines of their activity in the following manner.

First of all, a few general considerations. The Christian workers' unions must strive to make Germany a Christian State—that is to say, a State in which the qualities of simplicity, clearness, sincerity, fidelity, the spirit of sacrifice and of love for one's neighbour shall reign. But the activity of the Christian unions must not be limited to that alone. Their activity must be exercised equally in the domain of internal and of foreign politics.

It is hardly possible in this study to give an adequate exposition of the programme of German policy presented by Mr. Stegerwald. We will content ourselves with sketching merely its broad lines and by that means arriving at a clearer understanding of the general character of the Christian trade unions of Germany. In the domain of foreign policy, the Christian trade unions are to endeavour to obtain a revision of the Treaty of Versailles; in the domain of internal politics they are to work for the unity of the Federation, that is to say, for giving to Prussia the means of pursuing with even greater success than hitherto her efforts to realize that unity. They are, moreover, to demand the carrying out of the financial, industrial, and social reforms necessary to secure the reign of order and prosperity in the German State.

Such is the national task which Mr. Stegerwald assigns to the Christian trade unions. They will, however, only succeed in performing it effectively by the creation of a “great moderate party”, the National Christian Popular Party (*Christlich-Nationale Volkspartei*), whose programme will be at once national, Christian, democratic, and social.

“The party system as it exists to-day in Germany,” he declared “does not correspond to present needs. It is absolutely necessary to reform it in order to restore stability to German political life”.

With a view to promoting in a practical way the constitution of a new party, he proposed to the congress, which immediately approved his views, the following measures :—

1. The establishment of a Parliamentary committee, consisting of Christian trade unionists of various parties;
2. The creation of a great daily newspaper to appear in Berlin on and after 1 April 1921;
3. The foundation of a special bank for the Christian trade unions.

Naturally, we cannot comment here on the propositions of Mr. Stegerwald, or on the decisions adopted by the Congress of Essen as a sequel to his speech. It is interesting, however, to observe the influence which the events which we have been considering in the preceding pages appear to have exercised on the elaboration of this national programme of the Christian trade unions. Mr. Stegerwald desires to realize in the national life of Germany the unity between Catholics and Protestants which now exists within the Christian trade unions. He desires, moreover, to follow up his success in grouping the Christian associations of employees and public officials in the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* around the workers' unions as a centre by gathering together, in the future National Christian Popular Party, new elements of the German nation, taken in particular from the intellectuals and the lower middle class.

#### The Democratic Ideal of the Christian Trade Unions

The *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, like all German trade union organizations, claims to pursue its task without concerning itself with questions of denominations or parties. The Congress of Essen, therefore, had no occasion to occupy itself with strictly political questions. The members of the Christian trade unions belong indifferently to various bourgeois parties—the German National Party, the German Popular Party, the Centre Party, and even the Democratic Party. The Congress of Essen could not favour any particular group or any particular political conception at the expense of the others. When Mr. Adam Stegerwald recommended in his speech the formation of a great national Christian party, he had in view, not the formation of a new political party, but the constitution of a powerful group destined to play a determining part in the national life of Germany.

The Congress of Essen thought it desirable, however, without declaring its preference for any particular form of political constitution, but simply with a view to defining its doctrine more completely, to state its general conception of democracy. The Secretary, Mr. Fritz Baltrusch, accordingly devoted the first part of his report to a discussion of “the idea of the community in the State.”

In the opening words of his speech, he condemned in severe terms the political system which had existed in the old Germany, a system under which a single privileged class held the destinies of the country in its hands. Even during the war, the Christian trade unions had demanded extensive reforms, with the object of introducing into Germany political equality among all citizens. The new German Constitution of 11 August 1919, which the speaker analysed at length, sought indeed to establish bonds of solidarity between all the members of the German nation. But it sought this only in a somewhat formal manner. True solidarity could not exist in Germany until the whole of the nation was animated by the spirit of Christianity. He defined the political duties of the present time. The direction of Germany should not today be exclusively in the hands of a dozen powerful financiers or industrialists, possessing at the same time material riches and political power. The political ideal, which the Christian trade unions should endeavour to realize, consisted in the establishment of a popular régime (*Volkstaat*), and not of a class régime (*Klassenstaat*). “In the present condition of things, any return to previous forms of government is impossible. The Christian people of Germany must agree that popular sovereignty is the only ideal of a nation politically mature”. There must not, however, be any misunderstanding as to the meaning of the expression “sovereignty of the people”. Authority must come not merely from the people as such; it must have its source in the sentiment of duty which animated each citizen. True democracy could only be realized by the consent and collaboration of the whole nation. It would be the task of the Christian workers' unions to educate the masses of the people, so as to enable them to participate, with complete competence and with a full sense of their responsibility, in the government of the country.

#### The Social Programme

Having thus sketched in general outlines its conception of democracy, the Congress of Essen passed to the consideration of labour questions.

The social policy of the Christian trade unions is, as to its general principles, founded on the idea of *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*—that is to say, of the solidarity of vocations and classes, and more particularly of collaboration between employers and workers. “The Christian trade unions remain today as they were yesterday the convinced partisans of the idea of collaboration (*Arbeitsgemeinschaftsidee*); they will not allow themselves to be turned aside by any attack or by any calumny from what they consider to be the right road” (Fritz Baltrusch). It is for this reason that the Christian trade unions have remained faithful to the Labour Associations (*Arbeitsgemeinschaften*) which were established after the Revolution in each branch of industry, “although the present organization of these Associations is still far from satisfying the Unions” (Stegerwald).

The social policy of the Christian trade unions is further determined by the consideration of industrial requirements. The activity of the unions and the success of their efforts depend upon the prosperity of industry. “We all know that trade union life cannot develop and flourish unless industrial life revives. The two are closely bound together”. (Report of the Committee). The Christian trade unions are therefore careful to make no demands in labour matters except in pursuance of considerations at once industrial and social.

Three important speeches were made at the Essen Congress, which define very precisely the present social programme of the Christian workers' unions. Mr Röhr, the assessor, spoke first of workers' rights generally: Mr. Imbusch later dealt with the wage question, Mr. Otte with apprenticeship.

Mr. Röhr, the assessor, declared that since the German Revolution a very large number of laws, regulations, and conventions concerning social questions had been issued, and that all these alterations and reforms had unfortunately caused confusion in the legislation of Germany. A general code of labour was therefore urgently needed, so that the workers' rights might be clearly defined according to a single principle and method.

Article 7 (paragraph 9) of the Federal Constitution entrusts to the Federal Government legislation affecting the rights and protection of the worker. In considering protection, according to Mr. Röhr, it is first of all necessary to find an exact though adaptable definition of the terms “employer”, “employee”, “employment contract”, “wages”, and “hours of labour”. No definition can be given of “hours of labours”, unless due account be taken of infinitely varying economic and social conditions; a rigid application of the 8-hour day according to schedule is at once impracticable and unjust.

It is equally desirable to establish a clear distinction between work, properly so called, and the mere fact of attend-

ance. Determination of the normal hours of labour should be based on practical, not on theoretical, considerations: today the worker must work such hours as will ensure to Germany such a volume of production that she will be able to recover from her distress and attain a certain measure of prosperity. In regulating wages, also, cut-and-dried solutions and ready-made definitions are equally to be distrusted. In organizing employment, excessive centralization is undesirable. It is not fair to compel manufacturers to employ only workers sent them by the employment exchanges: manufacturers ought to be free to engage particular workers with special qualifications if they wish to do so. In questions of unemployment, the great necessity is to find work for the unemployed, and to limit as far as possible the system of grants of money.

Speaking on further developments of working-class rights, Mr. Röhr dealt in turn with questions of arbitration and the right to strike, collective contracts and trade organizations. An Arbitration Act is necessary, but what should be its precise object? To avoid as far as possible strikes unauthorized by the central organization (*wilde Streike*). To gain this end, according to the speaker, it would be unnecessary either to abolish the right to strike, even in public services, or to make arbitration compulsory. This passage in Mr. Röhr's speech was supported by a resolution passed by the Essen Congress on the subject of voluntary assistance during strikes (*Technische Nothilfe*). It is well known that since 1919 a great organization has existed in Germany, recognized and supported by the Government, bearing the title of *Technische Nothilfe*. This organization publishes a monthly magazine: *Die Räder*. The Essen Congress defined its attitude to this organization in a resolution sufficiently important to be quoted in full :

The Tenth Congress of Christian trade unions declares that the Christian trade unions condemn all unauthorized strikes, particularly in public services, and consequently denies all responsibility for events arising out of such strikes. The organization of voluntary strike workers appears an excellent institution for saving the management of public services from the consequences of unauthorized strikes. For these reasons the Christian unions declare themselves in favour of the maintenance and development of the organization of voluntary strike workers, acting under the direction of the Federal administration, always provided that the unions shall have a reasonable power of action in the central, local, or district organizations of the voluntary strike workers, and shall be consulted when the latter have to intervene in labour disputes. The Congress invites the workers to consider the public welfare in all labour disputes, to maintain indispensable services themselves during regularly declared strikes, and not to leave them to the voluntary strike workers' organization. All public services, especially those which assist in the supply of the necessities of life to the population, should be maintained, whatever the circumstances. When, owing to a refusal of the workers to do so, these services are maintained by the voluntary strike workers' organization, their intervention should be considered as a public service rendered to the whole population.



This resolution, which should be compared with the strike clauses in the agreement with the Berlin Catholic Workers' Association, was passed unanimously, except for the unions of railwaymen, who wished to abstain as long as the German Railway Administration would not undertake to observe the decisions of the Courts of Arbitration in labour disputes.

In conclusion, Mr. Röhr demanded that the execution of labour contracts should be guaranteed by the establishment of penalties. He also claimed that the great labour organizations should have an essential share in the law regulating conditions of labour, and in particular that they should be the sole agents recognized by the law for dealing with labour disputes.

The Essen Congress thought well to give special consideration to the questions of wages and of apprenticeship. In his report, the President of the Miners' Union, Mr. Imbusch, demanded especially that wages should be determined by economic and social considerations, in such a way as to ensure at once a sound social policy and an increase in production. His remarks on piece wages and wages for large families (*Familienlohn*) deserve special emphasis :

We cannot disapprove on principle of piece wages : we ought, on the contrary, to ensure their retention, for in certain cases piece work is valuable. It must be maintained wherever it is possible to obtain a large yield of work without supervision. In general, piece work facilitates a large yield, and large yields are the need of the hour. In the mining industry, for example, piece work is the most profitable system, and it is the same in other trades. The exploitation of the worker as a result of this system must, of course, be avoided.

Mr. Imbusch then explained as follows his idea of "wages for large families" (*Familienlohn*):

It seems to me absolutely necessary to take into account, in fixing wages, the size of the worker's family. We in the Miners' Union have always advocated this, and this part of our programme is justified. Wages, in fact, are not merely part of the cost of production: they are also the income of labour, which allows the workers and their families to live. The average family must be able to live on the wages earned by its head. Is it possible to take the family into account when fixing wages? It can be done at once in government enterprises, whether Federal, State, or municipal. It is possible without very great difficulty in large-scale industry, and all that is needed in small-scale industry, to overcome the difficulties which would arise, is goodwill.

Mr. Hirtsiefer, the other speaker, dealt with the question of apprenticeship chiefly from the ethical point of view. He, nevertheless, brought forward some eminently practical demands. He advocated especially the raising of the age for the protection of youths, the development and organization on a consistent plan of technical and vocational education, and the intervention of the unions for the setting up of apprenticeship contracts (*Lehrverträge*) on the joint system.

### The Christian Trade Unions and Industrial Democracy

The industrial programme of the Christian unions is based entirely, like their social programme, on the principle of *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, that is to say, the solidarity of all trades and classes, and more especially co-operation between employers and workers.

Discussion of industrial problems occupied a very large part of the meetings of the Essen Congress, quite as large a part as that of questions of the national life of Germany. Not only did the Secretary, Mr. Fritz Baltrusch, devote the greater part of his speech to the conception of the community in industrial life and in the State, but Messrs. Giesberts, Brauns, Stegerwald, and Röhr, the assessor, in turn saw fit to contribute fresh observations.

Questions of an industrial nature which at present exercise the mind of Germany are of two kinds: they concern the establishment of industrial democracy on the one hand in the factory, and, on the other, in the whole industrial system.

As far as the realization of industrial democracy in the factory is concerned, the Christian unions consider that they have today no higher task than to safeguard the just and practical application of the Works Councils Act. "The Works Councils Act represents a social endeavour of the first importance", said Mr. Giesberts at the Essen Congress. What did he mean by that? The Christian unionists regard works councils as agents of peace and concord, destined to put an end to class struggles and labour disputes and to ensure the effective co-operation of employers and workers. This is clearly shown by the resolution which was passed at the close of the Congress of Christian works councils.

The National Christian (*Christlich-National*) Works Councils consider it their duty to take an active part, in conformity with the spirit of the law, in works councils. In view of the prevailing industrial disorder, they consider that it would be particularly dangerous to yield to the pressure of certain sections of the working class.

In especial they reject the idea of putting the works councils on the Socialist footing of the class war. They demand from employers and from works directors alike exact observance and loyal execution of all the provisions of the Works Councils Act. From the works councils, on the other hand, they expect a just realization of the common industrial interests of workers and masters.

Dr. Brauns, the Minister of Labour, sought to define further the meaning of this resolution and to determine the exact conception which the works councils should have of their sphere of action.

The workers should not try to make use of the Works Councils Act to secure socialization, the possession of factories, and a direct influence on legislation and industrial affairs in general. The Works Councils Act should supply the workers solely with the means of determining justly their relations with the firm by which they are employed.

The Christian unionists therefore gave their attention to assisting the workers who take part in works councils to make effective use of the powers conferred on them by law. The Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* both already publish a monthly report for the use of members of works councils. Popular pamphlets will similarly assist the worker to increase his industrial knowledge and thus better to defend his personal rights in his own factory.

"The application of the Works Councils Act", added Dr. Brauns, "should entail as its necessary complement a number of reforms in industrial organization. We must clear away the uncertainties which still obscure the working of industrial undertakings".

Simplification in the economic sphere (*Durchsichtigmachung der Wirtschaft*) should be henceforward the watchword of the Christian unions. Legislation ought especially to be introduced to amend the provisions of the commercial code regarding the drawing up of balance sheets. The present method of drawing up balance sheets, according to the German minister, hardly makes possible a clear account of the progress of an undertaking. Legislation must give the members of works councils the means of exercising the functions, conferred on them by the Works Councils Act, in the Boards of Directors of great industrial undertakings, and of examining the balance sheets and annual accounts which are laid before them.

The Essen Congress finally demanded the completion of the system of councils by the creation, provided for months before, of district economic councils.

The speakers at the Essen Congress, having defined the attitude of the Christian unions to industrial democracy in the factory, were no less anxious to determine their policy as regards the introduction of industrial democracy in the whole industrial system. Christian unionists have included on their programme, besides *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, *Gemeinwirtschaft*, or public control. How do they imagine that this public control will be organized? Will it be a mere control of industry, or more precisely a transition from the system of private to that of collective ownership?

Mr. Stegerwald declared in his speech on policy that the worker ought at the same time to share in the ownership and the product of the undertaking (*Teilhaber an dem Gewinne und Mitbesitzer des Betriebes*); he did not speak simply of a share in management. He did not, however, define his conception of this share in ownership and product.

The sale of small shares to workers did not seem to him an undesirable measure in itself, so long as legislation regarding balance sheets and the establishment of people's

banks gave small shareholders the means to defend their interests effectively<sup>3</sup>.

After the position of the worker under a system of public control had been outlined, Mr. Fritz Baltrusch considered in all its details the problem of the reorganization of the German industrial system.

The speaker first made a very sharp distinction between industry in general and those industries which have a monopolistic character, such as iron and steel, the potash, electrical, chalk and cement industries. "Industries of a monopolistic character should be so administered as to benefit the whole community".

The first task of the Christian unions should therefore be to ensure the development of the first measures of public control provided for in these industries by the different laws enacted since the revolution.

In the mining industry the revision of the Act of 23 March 1919 is necessary.

The commissions which recently dealt with the question proposed to organize mining industries in great groups or concerns, including also smelting and other secondary industries. Part of the management of these concerns should be in the hands of the States, provinces, municipalities, and the consumers. More than this, the municipalities, provinces, States, and Federation ought to share not only in the control but also to a considerable extent in the ownership of them. The number of mining firms owned by these bodies should be increased.

In the potash, electrical, and iron and steel industries, Mr. Fritz Baltrusch propounded to the Christian unions a special scheme of public control, adapted to the legislation already in force.

The Union leaders nevertheless impose one very important condition on this reorganization of the great industries. It must in no way limit individual initiative.

An economic system must be found which in no way excludes the free initiative of the leader of industry or of a single undertaking. Centralization set up by the State and beginning at the top instead of at the bottom would in no circumstances lead to the desired end.

This limitation is important. It explains why the Miners' Christian Union, after having, in agreement with the "Free" Union, demanded the socialization of mines, later dissociated itself from the attitude adopted by the latter, vigorously opposed the proposals of the second commission on socialization, and adopted a prudent and reserved attitude towards this question.

(<sup>3</sup>) As has been stated, the Essen Congress decided to found a Christian Trade Union Bank.

**The Christian Doctrine of the Christian Trade Unions**

The discussions and reports of the Essen Congress were terminated by an important speech by Dr. Brauer on the Christian doctrine itself. His title was "Christianity and Socialism". The *Zentralblatt* of 22 November 1920 thus summarizes his object:

We must make clear our attitude with regard to Socialism. The arguments which recently took place between partisans of Christian ideas and Socialist theories respectively have too often left the impression that the latter, rather than ourselves, were in the right, which is an error. The Christian trade unions certainly reject and oppose all purely individualistic economic systems, but it does not therefore follow that we share the socialist theory. Individualism and socialism represent two different aspects of human evolution. Christianity alone can assign to each of these its appropriate part.

In the course of his long speech Dr. Brauer consequently contrasted Christianity and Socialism:

In opposition to Socialism the Christian movement is a vocational and corporate movement, not a class movement. Its object is to transform and revive industrial life by introducing into it moral principles . . . . . Christianity founds its development on liberty alone. It makes no use of force. . . . Its task is not to organize a mechanical industrial system, but to reconstruct it on the basis of duty, duty carried out unconditionally and to the end.

The general conception of the Christian duty of the trade unions thus developed by Dr. Brauer finds its legal complement in the theory of "Christian Social Law". The speakers at the Essen Congress continually referred in the course of their remarks to this "Christian Social Law, which places the good of the community above the wishes of the individual" (Report of the Committee). How did they define this?

In a propaganda pamphlet on Public Control <sup>4</sup> (*Gemeinwirtschaft*) published in 1919, the Federation of Christian Trade Unions wrote :—

From about the fifteenth century Roman law was gradually introduced into Germany, and became the only law recognized there. The main characteristic of Roman law is its abstract conception of personality. Its principles and the legal regulations which arise from it are based on the idea of an isolated personality existing in itself. The German theory, on the other hand, defines individual right in close relation with collective rights. It is for this reason that the ideas of faith, loyalty, piety, and contract play so great a part in it. It avoids all narrow formalism, and takes into account the changing character of life. The traditional German conception was thus an obstacle to the desire of princes for absolute sovereignty. Roman law, on the other hand, was perfectly adapted to this, which explains its introduction into Germany . . . . . It will be to the honour of the Christian social movement to have again put in its place the German conception of law.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Gemeinwirtschaft*, Cologne 1919, Page 4.

The meetings of the Essen Congress were, as has been shown, occupied with very varied discussions. No problem of organization or policy was overlooked. The Christian unions have fixed their future policy in the new Germany. They are henceforward grouped compactly within the Christian Trade Union League, which includes about two million members. This figure is far from equalling that of the workers included in the General Federation of German Trade Union (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*) or Federation of "Free" Unions, but the Christian unions are none the less called to play an important part in the social and industrial life of Germany.

APPENDIX I

**Development of the Christian Trade Unions**

	YEAR end of year	MEMBERSHIP
(Mainz Congress)	1899	
	1909	208,061
	1910	316,115
(Dresden Congress)	1912	350,574
	1913	350,930
	1914	341,735
	1915	162,425
	1916	178,907
	1917	293,187
	1918	538,559
	1919	1,000,770
(Essen Congress)	1920	1,250,000 (approximately)

YEAR	RECEIPTS	EXPENDITURE	FUNDS IN HAND
1909	4,612,920 Mk.	3,843,504 Mk.	5,365,338 Mk.
1910	5,490,994 "	4,916,270 "	6,113,710 "
1911	6,243,642 "	5,299,781 "	7,082,942 "
1912	6,608,350 "	5,222,727 "	8,575,658 "
1913	7,177,764 "	6,102,688 "	9,682,796 "
1914	5,863,674 "	5,871,801 "	9,727,958 "
1915	3,317,847 "	3,505,807 "	7,545,376 "
1916	3,231,432 "	2,901,243 "	8,850,243 "
1917	4,720,202 "	3,611,375 "	9,902,536 "
1918	8,725,078 "	6,284,432 "	12,444,942 "
1919	25,614,774 "	18,607,315 "	20,161,269 "

APPENDIX II

Composition of the "Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund" (German Trade Union League)

*Ausschuss für das Arbeitsrecht mit Ausnahme des Versicherungswesen.*

I. Manual Workers

*Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, Cologne. Membership about 1,250,000 (end of 1920)*

*Arbeiterinnendezernat*

*Jugenddezernat*

*Büro für Arbeitervertretung am Reichsversicherungsamt (Berlin)*

*Generalrechnungsstelle der Deutschen Volksversicherung (Cologne)*

*Geschäftsstelle Berlin des Generalsekretariats*

*Bayrisches Sekretariat*

*Sächsisches Sekretariat*

*Sekretariat für das Saargebiet*

UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP	
	end of 1919	1920
1. Metal Workers: <i>Christlicher Metallarbeiterverband</i>	210,005	230,000 (August)
2. Miners: <i>Gewerkverein Christlicher Bergarbeiter Deutschlands</i>	152,216	
3. Textile Workers: <i>Zentralverband Christlicher Textilarbeiter</i>	94,023	
4. Factory Workers: <i>Zentralverband Christlicher Fabrik- und Transportarbeiter, Verband Deutscher Keramarbeiter (pottery workers), Verband Deutscher Steinarbeiter (stone-masons), Verband Deutscher Glasarbeiter (glass workers), Gewerkverein Deutscher Ziegler (tilers)</i>	78,502	(end of year)
5. Agricultural and Horticultural Workers: <i>Zentralverband der Landarbeiter, Deutscher Nationaler Gärtnerverband</i>	77,523	152,000
6. Building Workers: <i>Zentralverband Christlicher Bauarbeiter</i>	41,277	
7. Wood Workers: <i>Zentralverband Christlicher Holzarbeiter</i>	34,170	
8. Tobacco Workers: <i>Verband Christlicher Tabak- und Zigarrenarbeiter</i>	28,384	
9. Clothing Workers: <i>Verband Christlicher Arbeiterinnen des Bekleidungs-gewerbes, Berufsverband Christlicher Hutarbeiter Deutschlands</i>	20,205	
10. Municipal Workers: <i>Zentralverband der Gemeindearbeiter und Strassenbahner Deutschlands</i>	18,452	
11. Women Home Workers: <i>Gewerkverein der Heimarbeiterinnen Deutschlands</i>	15,941	

UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP end of 1919
12. Domestic Servants: <i>Reichsverband weiblicher Hausangestellten</i>	14,380
13. Leather Workers: <i>Zentralverband Christlicher Lederarbeiter</i>	13,467
14. Food and Drink Trade Workers: <i>Zentralverband der Nahrungs- und Genussmittelindustriearbeiter</i>	10,244
15. Graphic Arts (lithographers, bookbinders, etc): <i>Graphischer Zentralverband</i>	7,923
16. Hotel Workers: <i>Reichsverband Deutscher Gasthausangestellten</i>	3,786
17. Painters: <i>Zentralverband Christlicher Maler und verwandter Berufsangehörigen</i>	3,542
18. Printers: <i>Gutenbergbund</i>	2,685

II. Non-Manual Workers

*Gesamtverband Deutscher Angestelltengewerkschaften (Berlin) Membership about 425,000 (end of 1920)*

UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP 1920
1. Commercial Workers: <i>Deutschnationaler Handlungsgelhilfenverband</i>	(end of year) 250,000
2. Clerks: <i>Reichsverband Deutscher Büro- und Behördenangestellten</i>	
3. Women Clerks and Commercial Workers: <i>Verband weiblicher Handels- und Büroangestellten</i>	
4. Booksellers: <i>Allgemeiner Deutscher Buchhandlungsgelhilfenverband</i>	
5. Chemists and Engineers: <i>Bund angestellter Chemiker und Ingenieure</i>	
6. Foremen and Overseers: <i>Deutscher Werkmeisterverband</i>	
7. Foremen Fitters: <i>Der Deutsche Richtmeisterverband</i>	
8. Technical Workers: <i>Neuer Deutscher Technikerverband</i>	
9. Bank Employees: <i>Deutscher Bankbeamtenverein</i>	
10. Professional Agricultural Employees: <i>Reichsverband land- und forstwirtschaftlicher Fach- und Körperschaftsbeamten</i>	

III. Public Services

*Gesamtverband Deutscher Staatsangestellten- und Beamten-gewerkschaften (Berlin) Membership: about 300,000 (end of 1920)*

UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP end of 1919
1. Railway Workers and Officials: <i>Gewerkschaft Deutscher Eisenbahner und Staatsbediensteter</i>	95,000
2. Bavarian Railwaymen: <i>Bayerischer Eisenbahnerverband</i>	30,123
3. Baden Railwaymen: <i>Badischer Eisenbahnerverband</i>	
4. Saxon Railwaymen: <i>Sächsischer Eisenbahnerverband</i>	8,045

UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP end of 1919
5. Württemberg Railwaymen : <i>Verband württembergischer Eisenbahn- und Dampfschiffahrts- Unterbeamten Handwerker und Arbeiter</i>	14,521
6. Transport Officials : <i>Verkehrsbeamten-gewerkschaft</i>	—
7. Bavarian Postmen : <i>Bayerischer Postverband</i>	—
8. Postal Workers : <i>Deutscher Postgewerkschaft</i>	—
9. Postal Officials : <i>Bund geprüfter Sekretäre und Obersekretäre der Reichspost- und Telegraphenverwaltung</i>	—
10. Nurses : <i>Deutscher Verband für berufliche Kranken- und Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	3,382
11. State Workers : <i>Reichsverband Deutscher Staatsarbeiter</i>	5,824
12. Financial Officials : <i>Finanzbeamten-gewerkschaft</i>	—

APPENDIX III

Publications of the Christian Trade Unions

I. German Trade Union League

*Nachrichten des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes*  
*Betriebsrätepost*

II. Federation of German Christian Trade Unions

*Zentralblatt der christlichen Gewerkschaften*  
*Betrieb und Wirtschaft* (supplement for works councils)  
*Deutscher Arbeit* (monthly review)  
*Die christliche Arbeiterin*  
*Die Jugend*

1. Metal Workers : *Der deutsche Metallarbeiter*
2. Miners : *Der Bergknappe*
3. Textile Workers : *Textilarbeiterzeitung*
4. Factory Workers : *Gewerkschaftsstimme*  
Pottery Workers : *Keramarbeiterzeitung*  
Stone Masons : *Steinarbeiterzeitung*  
Tilers : *Gut Brand*  
Glass Workers : *Glasarbeiterzeitung*
5. Agricultural Workers : *Die Rundschau*
6. Builders : *Die Baugewerkschaft*
7. Wood workers : *Der Holzarbeiter*
8. Tobacco Workers : *Tabakarbeiterzeitung*
9. Clothing Workers : *Die Bekleidungs-gewerkschaft*  
Hatters : *Allgäuer Strohhutarbeiter*
10. Municipal Workers : *Der Gemeindearbeiter*  
Tramway Workers : *Der Strassen- und Kleinbahner*
11. Women Home Workers : *Die Heimarbeiterin*
12. Domestic Workers : *Die Hausangestellte*

13. Leather Workers : *Deutsche Lederarbeiterzeitung*
14. Provision Workers : *Die Solidarität*  
Butchers : *Die Fleischn-gewerkschaft*
15. Graphic Arts : *Graphische Stimmen*
16. Hotel Workers : *Gastronomische Zeitschrift*
17. Painters : *Der deutsche Maler*
18. Printers : *Der Typograph*

III. Federation of German Professional Trade Unions

1. Commercial employees : *Die Deutsche Handelswacht*
2. Clerks : *Deutsche Büro- und Angestelltenzeitung* (Essen)
3. Women Clerks and Commercial Employees : *Die Handels- und Büroangestellte* (Berlin)
4. Foremen and Overseers : *Der Deutsche Werkmeister*
5. Technical Employees : *Der Deutsche Techniker*

IV. Federation of German Unions of Public Servants

1. Railway Workers and Officials : *Gewerkschaft Deutscher Eisenbahner und Staatsbediensteter*
2. Bavarian Railwaymen : *Der Eisenbahner*
3. Saxon Railwaymen : *Gewerkschaft Deutscher Eisenbahner* (Dresden)
4. Württemberg Railwaymen : *Der Württembergische Eisenbahner*
5. Bavarian Postmen : *Bayrische Post*
6. Nurses : *Deutsche Krankenpflege*
7. State Workers : *Der Staatsarbeiter*

## STUDIES AND REPORTS

already issued.

Where the English or French text of a Report has not yet been published it will be issued at a later date.

### Series A.

- N° 1. THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SPANISH WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS, issued September 25th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 2. THE DISPUTE IN THE METAL INDUSTRY IN ITALY. TRADE UNION CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, (First part) issued September 25th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 3. ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS 1920, issued October 4th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 4. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORKERS IN THE FOOD AND DRINK TRADES, issued October 11th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 5. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE MINERS' FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN. CONFERENCE BETWEEN SIR ROBERT HORNE AND THE MINERS' FEDERATION, issued October 11th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 6. THE CONGRESS OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, issued October 14th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 7. THE MINERS' INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, issued October 19th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 8. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. A COMPARISON, issued October 21st 1920. *French and English.*
- " 9. THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF METAL WORKERS, issued October 22nd 1920. *French and English.*
- " 10. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE MINERS' FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN. CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TRIPLE INDUSTRIAL ALLIANCE, issued October 26th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 11. THE DISPUTE IN THE METAL INDUSTRY IN ITALY. TRADE UNION CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. (Second part) issued November 4th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 12. THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF BOOKBINDERS, issued November 26th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 13. THE MINERS' STRIKE IN GREAT BRITAIN, issued December 21st 1920, *French and English.*
- " 14. THE XVth CONGRESS OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL) FRANCE, HELD AT ORLEANS, 27th SEPTEMBER TO 2nd OCTOBER 1920, issued December 23rd 1920. *French and English.*
- " 15. THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF GENERAL FACTORY WORKERS, issued on January 24th 1921. *French and English.*

- N° 16. TENDENCIES OF EUROPEAN LABOUR LEGISLATION SINCE THE WAR, issued February 11th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 17. THE GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM DURING THE TEN YEARS 1910-1919, issued February 16th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 18. FIRST SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS, London, November 22-27th 1920, issued March 15th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 19. THE MINIMUM PROGRAMME OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR OF FRANCE, issued March 18th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 20. INTERNATIONAL RAILWAYMEN'S CONGRESS, London, November 29-30th 1920, issued April 11th 1921. *French and English.*

### Series B.

- N° 1. COAL PRODUCTION IN THE RUHR DISTRICT. Enquiry by the International Labour Office, end of May 1920, issued September 1st 1920. *French and English.*
- " 2. PAPERS RELATING TO SCHEMES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF RAW MATERIALS AND FOOD STUFFS, issued October 5th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 3. THE CONDITIONS OF LABOUR AND PRODUCTION IN THE UPPER SILESIAN COALFIELD, issued December 10th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 4. THE SOCIALISATION OF COAL MINES IN GERMANY, issued January 25th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 5. THE ESSEN MEMORANDUM ON THE SOCIALISATION OF THE COAL MINES IN GERMANY (6 Nov. 20, issued 28th January 1921. *French and English.*
- " 6. WORKS COUNCILS IN GERMANY, issued January 29th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 7. THE BILL TO ESTABLISH WORKERS' CONTROL IN ITALY, issued February 28th 1921. *French and English.*
- " 8. A DEMAND FOR WORKERS' CONTROL IN INDUSTRY IN FRANCE. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FEDERATION OF METAL WORKERS AND THE ASSOCIATION OF METALLURGICAL AND MINING INDUSTRIES, issued March 31st 1921. *French and English.*
- " 9. THE REFORM OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF LABOUR (CONSIGLIO SUPERIORE DEL LAVORO) IN ITALY TOWARDS A TECHNICAL PARLIAMENT OF LABOUR, issued April 14th 1921. *French and English.*

### Series C.

- N° 1. BRITISH LEGISLATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, issued October 26th 1920. *French and English.*
- " 2. GOVERNMENT ACTION IN DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN ITALY, issued October 27th 1920. *French and English.*
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- " 4. THE ACTION OF THE SWISS GOVERNMENT IN DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT, issued November 13th 1920. *French and English.*
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**The  
International Congress of Transport  
Workers**

Geneva, 18-22 April 1921

The International Transport Workers' Federation, which comprises the organisations of railwaymen, port and dock workers, seamen, tramway employees, and motor drivers, held its Congress at Geneva from 18 to 22 April 1921.

An international conference, having for its principal object the reorganisation of the International Transport Workers' Federation and the re-grouping of its members, was held at Amsterdam on 29 and 30 April 1919. This Conference decided to transfer the secretariat from Berlin to Amsterdam and appointed a provisional committee composed of five members for the main purpose of preparing a new constitution. On the initiative of this provisional committee, a congress was held at Christiania from 15 to 19 March 1920. After the adoption of the draft constitution, the confirmation of the transfer of the headquarters of the Federation to Amsterdam, and the passing of resolutions relating to militarism, the international situation, and the unity of the labour movement, the Christiania congress decided that the next congress should be held at Geneva in April 1921. In addition the International Congress of Railwaymen, held in London on 29 and 30 November 1920 <sup>(1)</sup>, adopted resolutions relating to the 8-hour day, the standardisation of working conditions, wages, holidays, sickness benefit, etc., and the use of automatic couplings.

The membership of the International Transport Workers' Federation, which was only 758,342 on 1 May 1919, increased to 1,889,121 on 31 December 1919 and to 2,713,403 on 31 December 1920.

The following table shows the organisations affiliated to the Federation on 31 December 1920 and their membership according to their official figures.

(1) See International Labour Office *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 20.