

The

**NEW
GERMAN
TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT**

DRAFT PROPOSALS



C O N T E N T S

1. Preface
2. Preconditions for Trade Union Work in Germany
3. Reconstruction of the German Trade Union Movement
4. Purging of Public Administration and Economic Life
5. Social Policy
6. Social and economic Emergency Measures
7. Economic Policy
8. Education

A printed German edition of this publication is also available.

All enquiries regarding this publication and all comments on it as well as requests for copies of the English or the German edition should be sent to :

Hans Gottfurcht, 20, East Heath Road, Flat 3,

London, N. W. 3.



P R E F A C E

After exhaustive consultations, German Trade Unionists in Great Britain have drawn up this joint platform on the problems of the reconstruction of German Trade Unions and the tasks confronting the new Trade Union organisations.

The views of prominent personalities of the international Trade Union movement, of the International Labour Office and of German Trade Unionists living as emigrants in other countries have been taken into consideration.

The co-editors thank all those who took an active part in the discussions and in the formulation of the various sections of this platform.

In the new German Trade Union movement, old experienced Trade Unionists will stand side by side with young inexperienced persons who have never belonged to a Trade Union; Socialists and Communists will cooperate with members of Christian organisations and democrats who do not belong to any political party.

We hope that our proposals will offer some stimulation to all who are interested in the social-political reconstruction and democratic development of Europe.

London, Spring, 1945.

Walter Auerbach, Anna Beyer, Willy Derkow, Willy Eichler,
Walter Fliess, Hans Gottfurcht, Wilhelm Heidorn, Hans Jahn,
Heinrich Kamnitzer, Helmut Rauschenplat, Ludwig Rosenberg,
Wilhelm Sander, Erwin Schoettle, Minna Specht, Paul Walter,
Kurt Weckel, (all of London),
Willy Teller, Manchester; Gustav Heckmann, Glasgow;
Joachim Martin Mueller, Birmingham; Ernst Schnacke, Yorkshire

PRECONDITIONS FOR TRADE UNION WORK IN GERMANY

The common sacrifices and efforts of the attacked nations have inflicted military and political defeat upon the social and political forces in Germany which, with the assistance of the Nazi mass movement, first enslaved the German people and then, for the second time within a generation, made them the tools of their policy of aggression.

The fearful sufferings inflicted on all European countries by the Hitler regime and the will to freedom of the oppressed nations have given birth to a passionate desire to employ every possible means to prevent the return of the forces of aggression which shook the foundations of European civilisation with mass murders, concentration camps and poisoning of morality.

The best parts of the German people are at one with the victorious nations in the will to eradicate the last traces of these forces. The German opponents of Nazism had to make many sacrifices in their fight against the Nazi dictatorship. For almost 7 years they fought on in an isolation which appeared to be hopeless, and from the very start of this war they felt themselves to be allies of the nations fighting for liberty. Now, after the total defeat of the Nazi regime, the active democratic forces of the German people must resolutely create the premises of a democratic renewal in Germany. For this, it is, above all, necessary for all Germans to realise the extent of their share of the responsibility for this tragedy. They will have to draw the consequences ruthlessly in their practical work in the democratic reconstruction of Germany. Inexorable punishment of the war criminals, the elimination of the nationalist and militarist elements from Germany's public life for ever and reparations - so far as they are humanly possible - for the damage and suffering caused by the Nazi regime. These must be points in the programme of the democratic forces in the German people. These points must not be forced upon them from without but must be voluntarily accepted as preconditions for the recovery and genuine renovation of our people.

The German opponents of National Socialism have to face a huge task. For twelve years the material and spiritual resources of our nation have been directed exclusively to preparing for war and waging war and have been literally exhausted in the process. On retiring from the scene of its misdeeds, the Nazi dictatorship leaves Germany in a fearful plight. Surrounded by a wall of suspicion and justifiable indignation, the German people stare out upon the ruins of their towns and villages. Mass unemployment, starvation and epidemics threaten a nation that has already paid for Hitler's war with millions of dead and disabled, widows and orphans. The collapse of the dictatorship has also involved the collapse of the political structure of the German state, which had been adapted to the rule of a gang of adventurers and modern feudal lords dressed up as a political party.

Since in the 12 years of its rule Nazism had systematically suppressed all political opposition and endeavoured to eliminate potential leaders of an opposition, there is now a political vacuum. At the moment, the conscious democratic forces are weak and practically unorganised. Above all, the masses of the German people are in a state of mental confusion and helplessness which is the inevitable consequence of 12 years of Hitler's dictatorship and the experiences before and during the collapse. This condition can only be overcome by a planned process of political and spiritual renewal, in which the elimination of the remains of nationalist-militarist ideology, by no means yet completely uprooted, must go hand in hand with the revival of democratic institutions and ideas.

Today, there is no central German government and no political or economic organisation embracing all Germany. Political and military decisions made in the interests of the safeguarding and peaceful development of democracy in Germany lie in the hands of the allied governments and their armies of occupation. But this does not exempt the democratic forces reemerging in Germany from the obligation to develop their own initiative. In the way they contribute to the reconstruction of the shattered administrative system and to the solution of the most urgent social and economic problems, the German democrats honestly cooperating with the occupation authorities will have to prove not only their ability for leadership and administration but also their firm determination to break with the past and the forces which operated in it.

The co-editors approached the problems of democratic reconstruction from the Trade Union angle. In deliberations extending over several years, we have taken account of the weaknesses and mistakes of the past. We came to the conclusion that a reconstruction of the Trade Union movement in Germany must be something more than a mere return to the old state of affairs with its divided movement.

Unity in the Trade Union movement implies more than the uniting of the parts of the German workers' movement which formerly marched on as separate sections. It must embrace on a basis of genuine toleration all who belong together as workers and are animated by a common will to democratic renewal which transcends their differences of religion and outlook. If a Trade Union movement of this nature can envisage its task aright, it will produce an effect extending far beyond the immediate circle of the workers. It could stimulate in many spheres of activity, set examples, point the way to progress and thus become one of the strongest pillars of a living German democracy. For that purpose, the German workers must devote themselves to the realisation of the principles which the international Trade Union movement acknowledges as its own, i. e. Trade Unions based on internal self-government and democratic cooperation of their members in the work of the organisation, Trade Unions which champion the interests of the workers in the everyday life of their factories and in public affairs, but without losing sight for the wider tasks and with ability to show by example that they are willed to become the pillars and guarantors of a democratic Germany.

Finally, it must be the aim of such Unions to guide the German workers back into the community of the international labour movement by dint of their practical endeavours and therewith help to regain the world's confidence in the German people.

It was not our intention that our proposals should anticipate the programme any future German Trade Union movement may evolve. Such a programme can only arise from a constant coping with German realities, i. e. in Germany itself. We wish to see our work regarded as a contribution to a discussion which has only just begun and we hope our proposals may prove a means of stimulation for all engaged in working in Germany on the gigantic task of reconstruction. Our platform contains both suggestions for immediate measures and general principles for the new social and economic order, without which no genuine Trade Union movement would be possible. We are fully aware of the narrow limits to the accomplishment of the far-reaching aims of any genuine Trade Union in present-day Germany. The legacy left to us from the Hitler period will set rigid limits to the realisation of many of our aspirations, only strenuous work by all Germans will enable reparations to be made; likewise the reconstruction of German cities and German industry to the fulfilment of peacetime tasks can only be achieved by great sacrifices of all Germans. The fulfilment of many social tasks will only be possible when the material premises for it have been created.

Fully conscious of these limitations but with firm faith in the future of a free democratic German and Trade Union movement, we submit our proposals.

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RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GERMAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

This section was first published on September 15th, 1944, after it had been approved by all branches and sections of the Trade Union Centre for German Workers in Great Britain. We have decided to make no alteration in its text and we attach importance to the fact that this section is in agreement with the decisions made at later dates, by international Trade Union bodies and conferences.

We assume in this project that following the fall of the Nazi regime, it will be possible to undertake in Germany the immediate reconstruction of free and independent Trade Unions for all categories of workers.

Factory Committees

The first forms of Trade Union representation will be shaped by the underground organizations and forces which oppose the Nazi regime and the war. In factories and localities, urban and rural, committees will emerge backed by the confidence of the working masses. Their task will be to represent the workers in the factories and in the labour administration; and during the transition period, they will play their part also in local government, food supply and in meeting social and economic emergencies.

Trade Unions

From these committees, Trade Union organisations will emerge, locally and regionally, along the lines of industries or trades. This development will probably not be the same for all trades and industries nor for all regions.

Provisional Regional Councils

In each region it will fall to one of the Trade Union groupings most active on the local plane to promote and co-ordinate Trade Union reconstruction and to set up provisional bodies of a regional character in conjunction with representatives of other local groups.

Trade Union Federation

Similarly, representatives of these provisional Regional Councils will have to co-ordinate the regional activities, with the object of creating centralized industrial or craft unions. These unions would be linked together - locally, regionally, centrally - in an all-embracing General Federation of German Trade Unions.

Organizing Principles

All Trade Unions, as well as the General Federation of Trade Unions, shall from the outset be independent of employers, State and authorities.

As far as practicable, the formation of industrial unions should be furthered. The Trade Unions will be voluntary associations of workers and will not make admission to membership dependent on racial qualifications, religious allegiances or political creed.

Active Nazis and other active Fascist elements will not be admitted to Trade Union membership. The Federal Council of the German Federation of Trade Unions will lay down guiding principles on this question and will decide in last instance on appeals. All members of Trade Union shall have the same rights and obligations, and all governing bodies shall be periodically elected in accordance with a democratic procedure.

Relations With Political Parties

The Trade Unions shall not be in any way dependent on any political parties. They will include in their programme - as aims shared with Socialists and other Democratic Parties - Democratic Conversion of the State, Economic Security and Social Justice, and Co-operation between the Peoples. They will accordingly seek co-operation with all parties which pursue the same objects and are prepared to support Trade Union claims in Parliament and elsewhere.

Trade Union Reconstruction Commission

Following the liberation of Germany from the Nazi regime, it may prove expedient to set up forthwith a Trade Union Reconstruction Commission, which, in co-operation with Trade Union bodies already active locally and regionally, would give advice and render assistance in Trade Union reconstruction work, pending the creation of a provisional Trade Union Centre. It should consist of active German Trade Unionists and delegates of the International Trade Union Movement.

Liquidation of Nazi Labour Organisations

The German Labour Front and all other Nazi labour organizations shall be liquidated with immediate effect together with all other subsidiaries, institutions and formations of the N.S.D.A.P. All the possessions of these bodies to be confiscated and their staffs to be dismissed on the spot without any compensation whatsoever.

Administration of Funds

The whole of the funds of the liquidated organizations shall be administered by a Board of Trustees, on which the interests of the German Trade Unions shall be represented jointly by representatives of the International Trade Union Organizations and the provisional Regional Trade Councils. Without prejudice to the final settlement, the Board of Trustees shall draw on the funds and properties of the liquidated Nazi labour organizations for the purposes of Trade Union reconstruction work (e.g. opening of Trade Union Houses, office premises, printing shops, etc.)

Immediate Trade Union Programme

The first task to which the Trade Unions shall apply themselves will be, notably :

Co-operation in the freeing of political prisoners and other victims of the Nazi terror;

Fraternal co-operation with foreign workers still in Germany, with a view to improving their lot;

Co-operation in assisting and providing jobs for the victims of Nazi terror, unemployed persons and demobilised servicemen;

Co-operation in liquidation of the German Labour Front and all other Nazi organizations, in the purging of public life, public administration and economic life, and the barring of Nazis and Nazi agents from the new democratic organizations, public life, public administrations and economic key posts;

Co-operation in the adjustment of wages and working conditions to the changed conditions.

During the transition period more particularly, the Trade Unions will also have to play an active role in ensuring the food supply services and supervising the distribution of housing, clothing and fuel, and in supervising and democratizing public life, public administration and economic life.

Labour Law and Labour Administration

All laws, orders and regulations introduced since the beginning of the Nazi regime, which give legal force to Nazi principles or lay down discrimination, shall be immediately annulled.

The Trade Unions should play a decisive part in replacing the Nazi labour laws, orders, etc. by a uniform body of labour and social law and in remodelling the labour administrations by means of transitional provisions, which will form the starting point for a democratic and progressive labour law and for a democratic system of labour administration and vocational training.

The Collective Agreements Order of 23rd December, 1918, shall be temporarily put into force again. It shall serve as a basis for the re-establishment of collective agreements.

Similarly, the main provisions of the Works Councils Act of 4th February, 1920, essential for safeguarding Trade Union activity in the factories (more particularly Articles 84 and 86, protecting workers against dismissal on account of Trade Union activity) should also be provisionally put into force again.

Works Councils Elections

Pending the holding of Works Councils Elections, factory committees and spokesmen enjoying the confidence of the workers will have to be the backbone of the Trade Unions within the factories.

International Co-operation

We hope that in the difficult work of reconstruction, German Trade Unionists can count on the assistance of competent advisers from the ranks of foreign Trade Unionists. We should be glad if Trade Unionists delegated by the International Trade Union Movement were to give us the benefit of their experience, particularly by co-operating in the Trade Union Reconstruction Commission.

In establishing a new system of labour law and labour administration, the advice of experts in this domain, particularly from I. L. O. circles would be of invaluable assistance.

We feel sure that co-operation with the International Trade Union Movement will create the confidence which is fundamental for the inclusion of the German Trade Unions in the International Trade Union Movement and will contribute materially to the integration of a new and peace-loving Germany in the World Brotherhood of Peoples.

PURGING OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The radical elimination of all Nazis and Nazi agents, of all war criminals and their accomplices from public administration and economic life is an indispensable precondition for the democratisation of Germany. Her public administration and economic life must be fundamentally reshaped or built up anew.

We regard the following immediate measures as urgently needed :

All persons employed by the Reich, by the provincial and by local authorities must be temporarily liable to dismissal at a day's notice.

All appointments, promotions and advancements made under National Socialist governments or Reich or state governments containing National Socialist ministers and in all local administrations of a similar character must be considered.

All responsible departmental chiefs, chairmen of public boards and corporations, etc. to be regarded as immediately dismissed without notice. They are required to hand over their offices in perfect order and will have to remain under the supervision of reliable democratic commissars until they have handed over. All orders issued by them must be countersigned by these delegates.

This regulation shall apply also to honorary members of presidential boards, committees, administrative councils, trusteeships, self-governing institutions, etc..

The following are to be dismissed immediately and without notice, irrespective of their professional position :

- a) Persons who held the rank of a leader of a local party group or any similar or higher rank in the NSDAP or any organisation affiliated thereto.
- b) All members of the Gestapo and its auxiliary organisations and all active members of the SS and Death's Head formations, irrespective of rank.

All above mentioned responsible departmental chiefs, chairmen of public board and corporations, honorary officials and members of the Gestapo and SS, together with all heads of the armament industries bearing the title "Wehrwirtschaftsfuehrer" (leader of war economy) to be taken into precautionary custody so that they can be handed over for trial.

All persons dismissed by Nazi action from employment with the Reich, the provincial and local authorities or any other abovementioned administrative bodies on account of political or religious activities or views or for racial reasons have a right to reinstatement and complete restoration of all rights impaired by Nazi measures.

The same applies to all private economic enterprises and institutions.

S O C I A L P O L I C Y

In common with the organised workers of other countries, German Trade Unionists have always stood for social justice and social progress. Therefore they welcome the renewed confirmation and international recognition of old claims by the Declaration of Philadelphia. Proceeding from the demand that labour shall not be regarded as a commodity and that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to material welfare and spiritual development in conditions of economic security and equal opportunity, and proceeding also from the recognition that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere, we German Trade Unionists acknowledge the following

P R I N C I P L E S O F S O C I A L P O L I C Y

In view of the special conditions prevailing in Germany, these principles should be safeguarded by legal enactments embodied in constitutional statutes.

Full Employment

A planned economic policy by which all resources are used and developed in order to create opportunities for employment under the best possible conditions and with a guaranteed minimum wage for all persons willing to work is the very prerequisite to safeguard social security of the working population.

It is the duty of society to make the necessary provision to ensure that every person willing to work shall be able to lead a life compatible with human dignity, with a continuous rise in the standard of living.

Social Security

Anyone who, through no fault of his own, is prevented by personal or economic circumstances, either temporarily or permanently, from fully exercising his earning capacity shall be entitled to a minimum income guaranteed by a system of public social insurance. Dependent persons shall be entitled to a pension and a guaranteed existence after the death of the breadwinner. The lives and health of all wage-earners and their dependents must be sufficiently safeguarded. A free comprehensive public health service covering all private and occupational risks must be at their disposal without payment. Safety measures for the prevention of accidents must be promoted. Mothers and children are entitled to special protection and assistance by society.

Allotment of Costs

All classes of the population must contribute in proportion to their means to the financing of this social security. The costs of the social services must be met by contributions from insured persons, as well as by public funds.

Unification

In order to ensure a secure and systematically functioning of social policy it is essential to have uniformity of legislation and an self-governing labour and social administration controlled by bodies on which the workers and employers concerned are represented. This is an indispensable condition for every efficient social policy.

Democratisation

The workers' right to collective bargaining to participation in the factory managements and to equality of cooperation in the application of economic and social legislation must be safeguarded. These indispensable elements of a democratic economic policy presuppose the guarantees of the right of association.

I M M E D I A T E M E A S U R E S

German Trade Unionists will find themselves confronted by social-political tasks transcending the bounds of normal Trade Union activities in the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities. In many districts the public and social administrative systems will have broken down. Even in places where they function in some scanty measure, the workers cannot trust the heads of the departments. As representatives of the interests of all wage and salary earners, the German Trade Unions must play a leading part in the democratic re-shaping of public administration, and especially in the reconstruction or construction of social administrations, local administrations and offices controlling rationing and distribution of food and raw materials. On occasions, they will have to undertake such public tasks themselves until these bodies are in a position to function in orderly fashion.

In this respect, the following immediate measures may be considered indispensable.

Reorganisation of the Labour and Social Administration

Veiled Nazi influences and employers' interests which coincide with them will try to retain the largest part possible of the authoritarian structure of the administration. Success in this respect would facilitate their efforts to sabotage reconstruction and unload the main burden of reparations on to the shoulders of the workers. Reorganisation work is likely to take a considerable time. Therefore the Trade Unions in cooperation with the shop stewards will have to press for immediate emergency measures.

The Transition Stage

The former personnel and the new democratic authorities will have to be made fully responsible for the preservation of all mobile and immobile property together with all documents in an intact condition, especially those compiled since the Nazis came to power and those relating to foreigners, Jews and German political prisoners.

Restoration of self-governing bodies

The self-governing bodies on which the workers and employers concerned are represented are to be restored immediately in all stages of administration. Foreign workers deported to Germany are, if they so desire, represented on them, too, until repatriation, in order that they may put their claims forward and co-operate in their settlement.

Labour Administration.

After abolition of the institutions of the labour trustees and of all official bodies functioning under the general commissioner responsible for the direction of labour and after the abolition of all special military and economic warfare boards authorised to intervene in labour and social affairs, the machinery of labour and social administration must be carried on as a coherent organisation under central supervision. The division of the districts of the regional labour offices into gau labour office districts carried out by the Nazis as a war measure is to be abolished and the organisational and operational spheres of the former Reich Board for Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance are to be restored. In places where Labour offices are not yet functioning, the local government officials will have to take over their functions temporarily and especially that of the payment of allowances. The compulsory employment book is to be replaced by a general obligation to report and register. In order to prevent sabotage, employment books or equivalent certificates of "active Nazis" are to be provided with a distinguishing mark by labour offices until further notice.

Social Insurance

The special organisations administering the old-age and disability insurance for wage earners and salary earners together with those for miners and seamen, of the sickness benefit and of the accident insurances and all authorities in charge of the care of disabled or pensioned exservicemen and their dependents and of dependents of men killed in action are to be under the supervision of boards of commissioners, on which the Trade Unions will have to be represented. All voluntary, guild, factory and private insurance institutions and funds are to be incorporated in this system. The administering commissars must make arrangements for their incorporation into a coherent social insurance system.

Statistics

Experienced representatives of the Trade Union movement are to be called in to assist in the investigation and reorganisation of social and economic statistics, many of which were falsified by the Nazis. The Trade Unions must also start to compile independent sets of statistics.

Changes in Social Legislation

All laws, decrees, enactments, etc. issued since the beginning of Nazi power and embodying Nazi principles or sanctioning discriminations must be abolished forthwith. Trade unions must decisively cooperate in the promulgation of coherent labour and social legislation which will become the starting point for democratic and progressive developments. During the transition period however, such laws, decrees, enactments, regulations, etc. current in the pre-Nazi period - as are necessary - will come into force again. Local Trade Union organisations must establish joint workers' advice bureaux in order to advise their members, especially on questions of labour and social laws.

Collective Bargaining and Machinery of Arbitration

Collective wage decrees at present in force and those regulations as may have been issued for individual factories or individual workers containing better conditions will have to continue in force for a short transition period. All regulations and discriminations based on Nazi principles must be abolished forthwith.

The relevant parts of the collective agreements order and the decree on conciliation and arbitration to come into force again. All officials employed on boards envisaged in the acts mentioned above will have to be staffed by provisional appointment until democratic methods are functioning again. Trade Unions must be assured of appropriate representation.

In special cases these boards must have the right (for the duration of the transition period) to change existing wage decrees and factory rules. All wage decrees and factory rules, enforced since January 30th, 1933, are to be scrutinised.

Trade Union organisations must be entitled to bargaining with employers and employers' associations in accordance with the collective bargaining orders and these collective agreements shall be binding on all employers and workers concerned. Newly concluded collective agreements will require the sanction of the aforesaid commissars.

Conciliation boards and umpires shall cooperate in the drawing up of collective agreements if either party solicit their assistance, especially in cases when the organisational structure of one or other of the parties to the agreement is still not developed sufficiently.

Factory Democracy

In most German factories etc. employers, members of Nazi confidential councils and their assistants have terrorised and exploited the personnel. Ruthless speeding up systems have undermined the health of the workers and imperilled their capacity to work.

The relevant regulations of the Works' Councils Act and especially those dealing with preparations for the election of works councils and the scope of their activities will have to come into force again provisionally. The establishment of new factory representations must be taken in hand at once. In their capacity as representatives of the Trade Unions, these factory representations will have to supervise the observance of collective agreements, decisions of the arbitrating bodies and special factory agreements. Working in cooperation with the Trade Unions and the factory inspectors, they will be responsible for the reestablishment of factory democracy. Labour regulations for factories may only remain in force if and as far as they are not based on Nazi principles, contain no discriminatory clauses and are approved by the factory representation.

Hours of Work and Industrial Safety

As a matter of principle, the regulations concerning hours of work and the relevant enactments of the industrial code (Gewerbeordnung) and the commercial code (Handelsgesetzbuch) must be restored and remain in force for underground workers in mines must be gradually reduced from 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 7 hours. The regulation of working conditions for agricultural and domestic workers must be brought into conformity with general regulations, as far as it is possible. To a large extent the actual length of the working day will mainly depend on the food situation and the resultant physical capacity of the workers.

Overstrain and undernourishment render it inevitable that all industrial safety measures in force on January 30th, 1933, including the special regulations for children, juveniles, women and persons employed in trades injurious to health, shall be restored.

All improvements in regulations for the protection of workers made to foster warproduction that go further than the regulations in force on January 30th, 1933, must remain in force until further notice.

Joint committees are to be attached in all stages of factory inspection. Proposals made by the Trade Unions for the nominations to trade factory inspectorates (Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten and Geworberacten) are to receive due consideration.

Social Insurance

On principle, all previous maintenance allowances and pensions - where necessary with increased cost of living allowances - should be paid for a short transition period.

All discriminations enforced since January 30th, 1933, are to be abolished immediately. Persons wholly or partially deprived of their rights after this date are to receive compensation and be restored to their former status. All periods spent under arrest or in forced labour and all periods of unemployment occasioned by racial, religious or political discrimination are to count as periods during which the necessary insurance contributions have been made.

All privileges granted to Nazis and persons of equivalent status are to be abolished forthwith, and such persons may be liable to make restitution of financial benefits received owing to their privileged status. Such persons will have only the right to maintenance allowances or pensions according to their earnings prior to 1933 of which they have to furnish proof.

In the event of such persons being unable to furnish proof, they are only entitled to the current minimum rates.

Supplementary benefits paid by the various insurance institutions awaiting incorporation are to be suspended until further notice, but without prejudice to final settlement.

An immediate enquiry into all basic payments and staggered rates, together with all laws, decrees and administrative measures in force since December 1st 1930, is to start at once, due consideration being ^{given} therein to the above viewpoint. These principles are to be applied in the correct sense to the entire social insurance system and related services.

Unemployment Assistance

Until further notice, unemployment assistance is to be given for unlimited periods and without a means test. Rates are to be paid in ratio to the earnings for the previous year, on the basis of a 48 hour week. Temporarily unemployed victims of Nazi oppression shall receive the maximum rate for a period of at least 6 months.

The claim to unemployment assistance should expire only when the person concerned refuses employment of a suitable nature offered him by the labour exchange at the wage rates and working conditions corresponding to the agreed scale for the particular industry.

Nazis and persons of equivalent status shall be under compulsion to take any work assigned to them.

Emergency public work schemes are to be carried out within the framework of a regular contract of employment.

Victims of War and Clandestine Anti-Nazi Struggle

Direct and indirect war victims must be cared for on a basis of equality. Those entitled to such care will include not only persons injured in the war and their surviving relatives, irrespective of whether they took an active or a passive part in military operations, but also the victims of clandestine struggle against Nazism. During the transitional emergency period, no pensions should be paid to the groups mentioned above or to former officials which exceed the corresponding rates paid under the social insurance system but such restriction to be made without prejudice to eventual later adjustment of claims.

Welfare Work

The National General Welfare Act (Reichsverordnung ueber Fuersorgepflicht) with the national regulation on condition, form and extent of material Welfare (Reichsgrundsaeetze ueber Voraussetzung, Art und Mass der Fuersorge), 1924, must form the basis of all social work, together with the Youth Welfare Law of 1922 (Reichsjugendwohlfahrtsgesetz). Nazi methods and active Nazis must be eliminated from all branches of welfare work. The emergency period will require the coordination, locally and regionally of all organisations and means of public and private welfare work and their use according to a coherent plan. Isolated efforts would result in some needy persons receiving assistance from several sources while others would obtain insufficient help or none at all. During this period of transition, all welfare activities must therefore be directed by the local and district authorities, without prejudice to the final division into public and private welfare activities and without prejudice to the rights of succession. Close cooperation between these institutions and the other labour and economic departments is indispensable. During the transition period, committees composed of persons experienced in social work should be associated with the welfare offices. Trade Unions should be given due participation. Furthermore, the administrative bodies provided for in the Youth Welfare Law should be reestablished as quickly as possible.

The National Socialist Welfare Society (NSV) must be dissolved forthwith. After 1933, it took over all the institutions and resources of welfare organisations dissolved by the Nazi dictatorship, including the Workers' Welfare (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) and the Central Welfare Committee for Christian Workers, as well as those of public and private welfare organisations the activities of which were restricted.

Existing private welfare organisations which can prove that they do not offer cover to Nazi agents must act upon the instructions of welfare or youth offices during the transition period. When necessity arises these organisations must put all their facilities at the disposal of the latter. The welfare organisations must be represented in the above-mentioned committees.

Maintenance allowances can be paid according to a uniform standard only. Provisional standard rates must be fixed locally and take into account, local conditions. During the transition period, no "special" rates may be paid. An interlocal welfare adjustment fund will be needed to meet the extra burden falling on war-damaged cities. In cases where assistance is given in kind, the Trade Unions must cooperate in its assessment and insist that this form of assistance shall remain a transitional measure.

The local authorities must institute training courses for welfare personal. Trade Unions should be invited to cooperate in drawing up and carrying out the training syllabus and selecting the instructors.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EMERGENCY MEASURES

The terrible devastation in battle zones, the switchover from war to peace economy, the reabsorption of released prisoners of war and of war workers and the provision for the maintenance of war victims demand planning which will, at the same time, safeguard the interests of those already under economic stress. With an enormous surplus of women millions of women will be compelled by the death of husbands, fiancés and fathers to earn their own living. Hundreds of thousands of artisans and small traders directed by the Nazi dictatorship into war industries will also depend on the continuation of work in factories etc. Trade Unionists and factory representatives must be given far reaching participation in the drafting and carrying out of the schemes for demobilisation and the economic switch-over.

A.

Wages and Prices Policy.

Especially immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the purchasing power of wages will depend far more on the quantity and fair distribution of available goods than on the nominal wage rates. Whenever a rise of prices takes place, the question of nominal wages assumes special importance, however. Controlled prices, elimination of the black market and planned production of consumers goods are vital necessities. Failure to ensure a price stop while wages are not adjusted accordingly would lead to unjustifiable enrichment of the owners of real values at the expense of the wage and salary earners. This again would imply the enrichment of many persons who share responsibility for the Nazi terror and the Nazi war and would facilitate dumping on foreign markets, which in turn would imperil the standard of life of workers in other countries. Trade Unions must resist developments of this nature with all the means at their disposal.

The authorities responsible for economic control and especially those in charge of price control must be under boards appointed democratically. In fixing maximum prices and uniform cost of living allowances, they must cooperate with the arbitration boards.

Rationing

Trade Unionists therefore demand that the rationing and control system shall not be relaxed. An all-embracing rationing scheme for vital consumption goods at fixed maximum prices must be retained. Inns, hotels, catering establishments, department stores and retail shops must only supply food, clothing, fuel, etc. against coupons. All stocks must be reported to the authorities. Contraventions and circumventions are to be punished as sabotage.

Men employed on heavy work must receive supplementary rations. All discriminations on political, religious or racial grounds must be abolished forthwith. Persons affected by previous discriminatory regulations must receive the supplementary rations given for heaviest workers until their health is completely restored.

Wherever necessary and possible, works canteens, communal kitchens and school meals must be provided. Committees are to be attached to the local and regional authorities concerned, on which Trade Unions and consumers', women's and other organisations will have to be represented. Their task is to supervise the work of the authorities concerned and the enforcement of their orders.

Housing

All available housing accommodation must be placed at the disposal of housing authorities without consideration for the rights of ownership. Emergency repairs and conversion of big dwellings into smaller flats must be speeded up. Business, office and factory premises must be inspected with a view to ascertaining their suitability for conversion into dwellings. In case of necessity, former air raid shelters, barracks, hutments and other public buildings must be requisitioned for this purpose.

Housing accommodation must be allotted from a social viewpoint. Large families, invalids, bombed out persons and refugees must have priority. Housing offices must fix and control maximum rents. Exchanges of dwellings can only be made with their consent. Tenants' and householders' committees should be attached to the housing offices.

Persons returning to a locality and homeless persons should be accommodated in existing camps or such camps as it may be necessary to establish for those awaiting resettlement.

Health Protection

The health services must be completely purged from active Nazis and Nazi methods. All laws, decrees, regulations, etc., embodying Nazi principles must be cancelled. In view of the scarcity of doctors and the considerable shortage of medicaments, instruments, accommodations in hospitals and nursing homes, etc., this aim can only be achieved if all health services are, for the duration of the transition period, placed under public control and directed and administrated according to plan. Private institutions should only be allowed to go on working if they place their services at the disposal of the public health authorities.

These necessary measures adopted for the transition period shall not prejudice the final decision on the claims of non-Nazi institutions or persons dispossessed since January 30th, 1933. Doctors, midwives, medical assistants, dispensing chemists etc. may practice their professions only with the consent and under the control of the public health authorities.

The latter shall also control the manufacture, sale and prices of all drugs and medical appliances. Cooperation with neighbouring countries and international authorities for the purpose of preventing and stamping out epidemics is indispensable.

The Trade Unions must have suitable representation in all grades of the public health service.

Economic Administration

The Industrial Administration Board will be responsible for the speeding up of the restarting of economic life. To facilitate the accomplishment of this aim, according to plan local committees should be formed to co-ordinate the work of the public administration branches concerned.

Factory committees and Trade Union organisations should have due representation on these committees.

In places where economic administration has broken down, emergency local economic boards should take over temporarily, and should have the equivalent local committees attached to them. This emergency administration has to speed up the reconstruction of the economic administration.

District Economic Boards

The local economic authorities, temporarily and permanent, should be placed under the authority of district economic boards as quickly as possible. The latter should then coordinate the work of the local offices by laying down guiding principles and imparting the necessary instructions. Control committees made up of representatives of workers and employers should be attached to them.

Factory Managements

In places where owners, managing directors, departmental managers, etc. have fled or are known to have been active Nazis or abettors of the Nazis, qualified and politically reliable Antinazis must take their places provisionally and with the approval of the factory committees and the economic authority concerned in order to restart or carry on production, transport and distribution. They will act under the economic administration concerned and will take from them their general instructions. Active Nazis may not be employed in any position of authority whatsoever. In all other factories, democratically elected representatives of the personnel must be attached to the management for the above purposes.

Public Emergency Work

The local economic authorities and the regional economic board will have to decide about scope and priority of urgent measures for clearing debris and repairs and construction work, etc. especially with regard to the restoration of transport facilities, public services, erection of emergency dwellings and the provision of medicaments and medical appliances.

Production

The most urgent task is the restoration of production of goods for essential civilian demand. Special measures must be taken to prevent industrial sabotage.

Public utility corporations (^{Hausrat- and/} Gemeinnützige/Betriebs-Gesellschaften) established by municipal authorities might undertake or cause to be undertaken the serial production of household goods, utility furniture and clothing. Allotment growing of foodstuffs and selfhelp in the erection of dwellings should be encouraged.

Ensuring of Food Supplies.

The economic authorities will have to pool agricultural surplus areas with deficiency areas, with due consideration for conditions existing in the past. This should be carried out in such a way that food supplies could be secured even if the main railway lines and canals could not be used. The system of delivery quotas for agricultural products must be retained. The agricultural population will have to receive industrial consumer goods and means of production from available supplies as a quid pro quo, with special consideration in the case of exceeding the delivery quota.

Cooperatives

Former consumer cooperative societies which have been carried on in some form or other, e.g. as "Verbraucherringe" of the German Labour Front, must be restored to their original cooperative activities, with assistance from the Trade Unions and without prejudice to the final settlement of ownership rights. The same applies to shops and bakeries, factories etc. which were the property of consumers' cooperative organisations prior to May 2nd, 1933, as well as to building co-operatives and their subsidiary enterprises. Peasants' cooperatives must be supervised by the district economic administration and will have to take their instructions.

Transport

Economic administration must endeavour to ensure an emergency service on the most important roads, railwaylines and rivers and canals by the organisation of mobile repair gangs. It will be for them to decide which local transport facilities shall be first put into operation and for what purposes.

Banks and Finance Institutes

All finance institutes will have to be under the control of the local economic board concerned pending subordination to regional or central control. This refers also to branches of finance institutes with headquarters in other localities or regions. The withdrawal of credit balances must be limited and the transfer of large amounts to other accounts is to be controlled.

Finance

Rates, taxes and social insurance contributions must be collected as hitherto, all previous discriminations being abolished. The economic administration must take appropriate steps to ensure the unqualified sequestration of the fortunes of all war criminals, along with all profits derived from the war, armaments and the Nazi system, and a heavy capital levy on all large fortunes.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Aims

In addition to their recommendations for emergency and immediate measures, the Trade Unions submit proposals aiming at the complete and permanent elimination of all Nazi, militarist and imperialist tendencies and elements from Germany's economic life, the establishment of a truly democratic economy which will serve the cause of peace, which will abolish class privileges and which will protect the workers and consumers against exploitation and, furthermore, a just distribution of the burdens imposed by reconstruction and reparations, with measures to check the shifting of such burdens on to the shoulders of the workers.

Structural Changes

Far-reaching changes in the social structure are needed for the accomplishment of these aims. Immediately after the war, the political and social forces which again and again forced the nation into war must be destroyed absolutely. War criminals, war profiteers and abettors of the Nazis must be removed from all economic key positions. The economic organizations created by the Nazis must be abolished and replaced by new economic organs and administrations set up on a democratic basis. In agriculture, great estates must be taken over as part of a radical agrarian reform, while in industry and commerce the arbitrary domination of private monopolies which endanger democratic and peaceful construction must be broken.

For the expropriation needed for structural changes, with the exception of those dealing with the property of war guilty and war criminals, compensation must be paid. Compensation funds shall be raised by means of a general levy on fortunes, with specially high contributions from large personal fortunes. These structural changes will create the essential basis for a State planned economy.

Economic Planning

A State planned economy designed to ensure full employment and satisfaction of the needs of the masses prerequisites direction of credit and foreign trade. It must define the share of consumption and investment out of the total national product and the direction in which investment should proceed.

The right of ownership of small and medium owners and employers in handicrafts, agriculture, trade, industry and finance is expressly recognised; their right of disposition of their own property remains intact on principle and can only be restricted in accordance with the execution of the economic plan adopted in the interests of the community.

Economic Democracy

In their capacity as independent representatives of the workers, the Trade Unions will have to take an active part in the drafting and carrying out of economic measures. They must have representation on the committees of national economic planning and of selfgoverning economic authorities which are to be established, in order that they may cooperate actively in building up a free, democratic Germany.

Trade Unions and factory representatives must take part in the management of all large concerns. They consider the application of cooperative principles as a means to enable many workers to take a responsible share in shaping the processes of production and distribution.

Cooperative Societies

The Trade Unions advocate the promotion of cooperative societies as an instrument of selfhelp and an executive organ of planned economy. Close collaboration between the consumers' cooperative societies and the peasants' cooperative societies should be of advantage to both parties.

Basic Requirements of an Economic Policy

Industry and Commerce

The key industries must be freed from the arbitrary domination of private monopolies; the mining industry and its subsidiaries, the heavy industries and metal industries, the largescale chemical industry and all mineral resources must be transferred to public ownership.

Transport and power as well as public utilities will have to be transferred completely to public ownership, with the object of improving and cheapening their services.

All cartels, trusts, monopolies, price-rings etc., together with all concerns and all private undertakings, exercising any sort of monopoly must be supervised by a National Cartel and Monopoly Board, which shall have the task of checking business practices operating against the public benefit, such as maintaining high price levels, limitation of production and obstructing free competition.

A housing programme must be regarded as a part of a national investment policy. Local and regional authorities must supervise the erection and administration of dwelling houses with preference to cooperative building societies. Speculation in real estate must be checked by the control and supervision of the sale or leasing of building land. All largescale building contracts must be publicly advertised for tender.

Agriculture

The Trade Unions desire to see an equitable balance between country and town and therefore make the following proposals:

The estates of large landed proprietors taken over under agrarian reform legislation shall be placed at the disposal on favourable terms of landless peasants, agricultural labourers and other persons desirous of settlement on the land, insofar as it is suitable for cultivation. Peasant owners occupiers will be confirmed in their existing holdings.

In order to safeguard agricultural producers against excessive price fluctuations, state authorities must regulate the price of the most important agricultural product.

Agricultural cooperative societies which increase the product of the land and raise the productivity while simultaneously improving the condition of the rural population and lowering prices must receive every encouragement.

Credit, Banks and finance.

The Reichsbank must be freed from the influence of private banks and other financial or industrial circles. In addition to the state the growing group of enterprises owned by public authorities or public corporation, all important economic associations, above all, the Trade Unions and consumers organisations must be represented on its governing Board.

The larger German banking corporations must be nationalised. All other credit concerns, such as private banks, savings banks, credit giving institutions, insurance concerns, may continue to exist in their former status, so long and in as far they submit to strict state supervising and carry out instructions concerning their credit policy which will be issued by a National Banking Control Board.

Maintaining close contact with the Reichsbank, a National Investment Board will supervise and regulate the scope of private and public investments needed to ensure full employment in a system of planned economy and determine their priorities.

Apart from the collecting of statistics, this control of investments will apply only to largescale investment schemes. Its machinery will therefore impose no bureaucratic checks on free initiative.

Taxation will have to be devised according to the following principles:

Highly progressive taxes on incomes, legacies and gifts. The highest possible non-taxable amounts of incomes. If possible, indirect taxation to apply only to luxury goods. No poll taxes. Taxation of land values.

The Trade Unions reject an inflationist financial policy based on expenditure without regard to production possibilities. Inflationist rises of prices must be checked by rationing of goods, taxes and inducements to saving. Savings for earmarked purposes, as building etc. should be specially encouraged.

International Economic Cooperation.

If the abovementioned measures are carried out, the social and economic bases of German imperialism would be removed. This would constitute the creation of an important precondition for the incorporation of Germany in a system of international cooperation.

Expressly recognising Germany's obligation to make reparations, we German Trade Unionists are conscious of our solidarity with the workers of Europe and of the world. The rebuilding of destroyed cities, towns and villages, the restoration of normal production and transport and the restoration of normal currency and trade relations in Europe constitute gigantic tasks which are far beyond the capacity of any single nation and can only be accomplished by international cooperation. Within the framework of peaceful European collaboration, it should ultimately be possible to master this task and build up a sound European economy and to shape Europe's industrial reconstruction in such a way that there will be no danger of any revival of a German predomination.

In this spirit, the German Trade Unionists will support all measures of international cooperation and are ready to participate in all international institutions which aim at promotion of peace, full employment, social security and the raising of the general standard of living.

E D U C A T I O N

TRANSITION MEASURES

When drafting the proposals set forth below, we found it precarious to give a clear picture of the situation in which children, juveniles, parents and teachers would find themselves after the cessation of hostilities. We imagine that many areas of Germany will be left with an almost total administrative breakdown including educational authorities. There will be a great lack of suitable teachers and mental and physical exhaustion of children and adults.

The end of hostilities will find many children in the reception camps all over the country. As soon as transport and housing facilities will be available, these camps should be broken up and the children returned to more normal conditions. Meanwhile, the proposals set forth below must apply both to schools and these camps.

The break-up of the Adolf Hitler Schools, National Political Educational Institutes (Napola) etc. constitutes part of the political purging process and may therefore be presupposed.

A Short Interruption of Instruction

When hostilities have ceased in any district, there should be a short interruption of normal teaching which will afford an opportunity to introduce and carry out the next-named measures. During this period, there will have to be school meals, medical supervision and care and opportunities for occupation and play under supervision.

Educational Committees

Local educational committees should be formed. They should be composed of politically reliable teachers and doctors, along with available psychologists, vocational guidance workers and other persons interested in education, including representatives of interested organizations, among which we shall find the new Trade Unions. The next step will be the formation of regional educational committees. All educational committees must work under the supervision of the new self-government authorities.

All types of schools will be subordinated to these educational committees. The educational committees will have to work in close cooperation with the local and regional authorities and welfare offices to establish and manage children's nurseries, (especially for children living under the worst housing conditions), kindergartens, homes, youth centres and canteens. They will arrange for medical examination and supervision, find homes for orphans and homeless children and establish institutions for backward and difficult children. The local and regional educational committees shall be formed into provisional educational boards.

Heads of Schools and Inspectors

For the transition period, the regional educational committees will have to appoint politically reliable heads of schools and inspectors.

Selfgovernment

School advisory councils must be established. So long as it is impossible to hold elections, their members should be appointed provisionally by heads of schools and inspectors from among suitable parents and teachers. As soon as possible pupils should be trained in selfgovernment and share in it. For the vocational schools, the advisory councils should be composed of teachers, pupils, vocational guidance workers, works managers and Trade Unionists. Special care must be taken to prevent Nazi influence creeping into the advisory councils via the selfgovernment bodies.

Teachers

One of the first steps must be the reinstatement of all teachers dismissed by the Nazis on political, racial or religious grounds who are willing and able to take posts. Teachers who played no active parts in the NSDAP organizations and showed by their behaviour that they were not in sympathy with Nazism may continue their work, with the approval of the advisory boards. All teachers who were active Nazis must be dismissed immediately and forfeit their claims to pensions. Laymen with technical and educational qualifications must be drafted on to the staff. Training and advanced courses for teachers and laymen must be instituted. All teachers must be initiated into the spirit of the new democracy. This applies especially to teachers of history. All teachers must be appointed provisionally on probation. There should be a particularly severe scrutiny of teachers employed for history and all subjects dealing with German culture.

Curriculum

Abolition of the curriculum introduced by the Nazi authorities. Pending the drafting of a new curriculum, heads of schools must reach agreement with their staff about a temporary one. This will require frequent conferences for mutual discussion of difficult points that arise. Subjects such as history and German are especially in need of new guiding principles.

Means of Instruction and Equipment

All text books must be purged or withdrawn. All libraries and other means of instruction must be purged of all Nazi, nationalist and militarist tendencies. It will be the task of teachers, with the assistance of pupils, parents and skilled workers to prepare suitable substitutes for them. While the shortage of reliable qualified teachers exists, instruction should be eased by means of technical accessories, such as reading sheets (especially for history, German and training in citizenship), broadcasts, enlightening film, gramophone records (for teaching languages) and school drama.

Vocational Schools

All vocational schools, including work's-schools, must be subordinated to the educational committees. In work's-schools, the appointment and payment of teachers and the selection of pupils must not rest with the work's-managements, but with the educational committees. Reliable foremen, overseers and technicians should be appointed as teachers. Compulsory attendance must be employed as a means to confute the false conceptions of history and society inculcated by the Nazis, initiate the pupils in the democratic reconstruction and fill the gaps in their education.

Common Schools for all

The so called "higher" schools (secondary schools) must be divested of their traditional class character and reformed into higher grades of the common school which concentrate on preparation for entry into the learned professions. Pupils promoted to the three upper forms solely by virtue of their functions in the Hitler Youth must be removed. Gifted children and juveniles already in employment must be enabled to enter the senior school by means of preparatory courses and special grants. In the senior schools, prevailing circumstances (shortage of teachers, selection of pupils, change of curriculum) will - for the time being - lead to restriction of instruction. During the transition period, pupils should join working parties to help in the work of reconstruction.

Working Parties for Reconstruction.

Voluntary working parties should be formed for reconstruction tasks. They will participate in active reconstruction work inside and outside Germany. As soon as sufficient numbers of suitable teachers and instructors are available, the maximum use must be made of these working parties for educational purposes. In addition to the work itself and its manifest purposes, the educational means will consist of selfgovernment inside the group, filling of gaps in vocational training and general lessons to increase the recipients' store of knowledge, give them an understanding of past and current events and eradicate the false picture of history and society painted by the Nazis.

Note on the sections "Reform of the Educational System", "Education of Juveniles in Employment" and "Adult Education".

The change of heart in the German nation and especially the German youth, cannot be the task of parents and professional teachers alone. The education of the German people must be to a large extent selfeducation, in which the most advanced, clearly recognising the needs, help the others to educate themselves. Government authorities, self-governing bodies, social and cultural agencies as well as individuals qualified in or at least able to contribute to educational work all must give their collaboration in the task of changing an outlook which has made Nazism, militarism and jingoism possible and durable.

They must strive to create a German nation which will be conscious of responsible democracy, ready to strive for cultural and social progress able to understand other nations and cooperate with them and trained to shape a full life of their own. By means of such an education, German youth should be prepared to give their services to the community. The recognition of education as a common task of the German nation must be the hallmark of the entire German educational system, starting in the limited framework of the school community, carried on in vocational training and in the institutes for adult education and completed in conscious and responsible collaboration in all questions of human progress.

The Reform of the Educational System

As representatives of the workers, Trade Unions should take part in the framing of the new educational programme. They will insist that the schools should prepare their pupils for their vocations and the civic duties incumbent on a democratic community and that solely character, capability and inclination should constitute the right of admission to secondary education rather than capacity to pay or parental influence. Consequently, the following points arise:

A Public Educational System

All educational or research institutions must be public or, at least, under public control.

Free Education

There must be no fees required for instruction, school books, etc. Free medical attention, canteens, boarding schools, holiday camps, libraries, playgrounds and swimming baths must be established. Maintenance allowances must be given to pupils and students from public funds.

Compulsory Education

General compulsory education, including compulsory attendance at vocational schools from the 6th to the 18th year. As soon as it becomes feasible, the school leaving age for the elementary schools should be raised from 14 to 16. When this is accomplished, the vocational schools will have to adapt themselves to changing needs of their pupils.

Children under School Age

Nurseries, infant schools and kindergartens must be established for children under school age. Special attention should be paid to the needs of working mothers.

The Structure of the School System

Coherent but elastic formation of the educational system, with a common basic education for the first 5 or 6 years of a child's education, after which there should be specialised classes to cater for educational or vocational needs. Special schools will be needed for



physically or mentally defective children. In order to guarantee good educational results the size of classes should be adequately reduced.

Selfgovernment

The aim is an increasing participation of children and parents in the selfgovernment of the school. Consultative bodies including representatives of the Trade Unions should be attached to all schools.

Instruction

All learning should be based on activity. For this, workshops must be provided and activity-groups formed. Pupils must be gradually initiated into the problems of occupation and work, leisure-activities, the laws and administration of the community, the state and international cooperation. Pupils must obtain a practical insight into these questions -- presented in a form adapted to their age -- and cooperate in the solution of adequate tasks in some of these spheres. In the higher forms of all types of schools, pupils must be initiated into the questions of vocational life and the Trade Union movement, for which purpose the assistance of vocational guidance workers and Trade Unionists must be acquired.

Teachers

The training of teachers for all types of schools should take place at Universities or other High-schools. There must be close relation between the Teachers' Union and other German and foreign Trade Unions.

EDUCATION OF JUVENILES IN EMPLOYMENT

A. VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Administration of Schools

The vocational schools must be public institutions, incorporated into the public system of school inspection. All bodies charged with the administration of schools should have departments for vocational schools. On these, the Trade Unions should be duly represented. Factory managers should be brought in as experts in management and not as representatives of the employers. Expert advisers for trades and professions should be appointed as required.

Works Schools and Apprentice-Workshops

In places where works schools are established, the appointment and payment of the teachers and the selection of pupils should be the concern of the educational authorities. Apprentice-workshops should be established in connection with the vocational schools.

Compulsory attendance at Vocational Schools

The period of compulsory attendance at vocational schools begins with the pupil's discharge from the elementary school and ends with the school year in which he attains his 18th year. The average instruction should be at least 320 school hours per vocational school year.

School hours to count as working hours for payment

Time spent in and to and from school is to be deemed part of the working time and must be paid for as such by the employer. Fares for pupils attending district or other schools at a distance from the factory must be met by allowances from public funds.

Selfgovernment

Selfgovernment by the pupils must be instituted to the greatest possible extent. Pupils' representatives should attend the meetings of the advisory bodies in a consultative capacity. Pupils should have the right to join Trade Unions.

Consideration of Special Circumstances

Regional schools must be provided for in agricultural districts, especially during winter. Teachers, travelling from place to place should be employed to deal with this difficulty. The special circumstances occasioned by thinly populated areas and trades or professions weakly represented in a particular district can be met by the institution of central training courses lasting several weeks as a substitute for or supplement to the ordinary routine instruction of the vocational school.

Expert Instructors

Instructors who are experts on special subjects should have received a technical and pedagogic training and should have worked for at least 2 years in a factory before commencing instructional activities. Suitable workmen, foremen, overseers and technicians should be trained as instructors. Instructors at vocational schools should take refresher courses at intervals of several years.

Occasional Teachers and Instructors

In addition to the regular staff, it is desirable to enlist the occasional services of persons with suitable educational ability from the ranks of state officials, officials employed by self-administrative bodies, universities teachers and officials of the Trade Unions and Cooperatives. In particular, instruction given by foremen, overseers and technicians belonging to the branch of industry in question is indispensable for the maintenance of close contact with the vocational work.

Curriculum

The school timetable should be divided between compulsory subjects (e.g. technical knowledge) and a large choice of optional subjects (such as history, artistic activities, etc)

Training in Trade Unionism

One of the subjects in vocational schools should deal with the importance of Trade Union work, social insurance and factory legislation. But it remains with the Trade Unions to provide their own

instructional facilities for juveniles, to intensify their comprehension of the tasks of Trade Unionism and to give them a special grounding in factory legislation and the practices of works councils.

B. TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS

(full-time schools for persons not in employment)

School Administration

In contrast to present usage, all technical schools should become public institutions. All bodies administering schools should contain special departments to deal with technical and commercial schools; they should have advisory bodies attached to them. Among these, the Trade Unions should be duly represented. Factory managers should serve only as technical advisers. Expert advisers for trades and professions should be appointed as required.

Technical Works Schools

In places where works schools are established, the appointment and payment of teachers and the selection of pupils should be the concern of the educational authorities.

Selfgovernment

Selfgovernment by the pupils must be instituted to the greatest possible extent. Pupils' representatives should attend the meetings of the advisory bodies in a consultative capacity. Juvenile sections of Trade Unions should extend guest membership to pupils at technical schools.

Voluntary Attendance

Attendance at technical schools should be voluntary, exempting, however, the pupil at the same time from attendance at a vocational school.

Educational standards

Guiding principles shall be established to ensure uniform length of schooling and educational standards for every trade or profession.

Capacity of Technical Schools

The capacity of technical schools for the various trades or professions must be adapted to industrial needs and should be determined by the authorities in charge of industrial affairs.

Acceptance of Pupils

Applications of pupils for entry into technical and commercial schools shall be examined by the educational authorities concerned in accordance with the above limitations. The authorities should be guided by reports obtained from the applicant's teachers in the highest forms of the elementary school, teachers at the vocational school and the vocational guidance bureau concerned, and the school doctor.

Expert Instructors

Instructors who are experts on special subjects should have received a technical and pedagogic training and should have worked for at least 2 years in a factory before starting on educational activities. Suitable workmen, foremen, overseers and technicians should be trained as instructors in special courses. Instructors at technical schools should take refresher courses at intervals of several years.

Part-time Teachers and Instructors

In addition to the regular staff, it is desirable to enlist the occasional services of persons with suitable educational ability from the ranks of state officials, officials employed by self-administrative bodies, high school teachers and officials of Trade Unions and Cooperatives. In particular, instruction given by foremen, overseers and technicians from the trade concerned is indispensable.

C. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Vocational guidance bureaus should be attached to all labour offices. Advisers with training in psychology should be appointed to them. They should function according to a recruitment plan drawn up by the labour offices in conjunction with the Trade Unions based on facts and figures concerning the requirements of the various trades, professions and branches of industry collected by the authorities dealing with industrial affairs. The vocational guidance bureaus should be supported by labour offices, educational authorities, medical officers attached to schools and factories, teachers of the higher forms of the elementary schools and of vocational schools. As far as personal guidance is concerned, parents should be consulted. General vocational guidance (vocational knowledge, facts concerning shortages or overcrowding in various trades and professions) is given at the discretion of the vocational advice bureaus by means of lectures, visits to factories, etc. Individual vocational guidance should be given to all novices in a trade or profession and to all who find difficulties in the vocation they have chosen or who, for some other reason, want a change of vocation. Six months after the beginning of vocational work, the vocational guidance bureau will have to arrange for medical re-examination of the adolescent in order to test his physical suitability for the chosen vocation.

ADULT EDUCATION

The rebuilding of the Trade Unions can only succeed if it is linked with intensive and extensive educational work. Thereby, officials and members must equip themselves for their Trade Union activities. Moreover, this educational work will have to engender energy and endurance in the midst of the great difficulties which will have to be faced by rousing and strengthening the sense of solidarity and responsibility and by imparting a clear understanding of the importance of Trade Union work for German and European reconstruction. Therefore, the educational work will have to reach wider circles according to the growing decentralisation of Trade Union work and the shifting of responsibility to honorary functionaries.

Training of Members

In every way, educational work should arouse spontaneity and the ability to form independent judgment. Whenever the subject in question permits it, study groups, in which the participants really get know

and understand one another, are therefore preferable to lectures, followed by discussions. The principle of selfgovernment should be established in all lecture courses, study groups, Trade Union schools, holiday courses, holiday camps, etc. Secretaries in charge of educational work should be in continual consultation with education committees elected by the members. In addition to the regular staff, the services of as many part-time teachers as possible should be sought.

The main responsibility for Trade Union educational work should rest with the local and district organisations. The task of headquarters is meant, primarily, to support their work by:

Systematic stimulation (e.g. by publication of a journal for Trade Union educational work),

By training and preparing teachers and, above all, leaders of study groups,

By provision of instructional means and facilities,

By a systematical use of the wireless as an auxiliary to local educational work.

Headquarters must make special efforts to ensure that home workers, domestic servants, agricultural workers and industrial workers living in scattered communities in agricultural areas are drawn into Trade Union educational work. They must endeavour to promote international understanding by securing foreign guests for German Trade Union schools and holiday camps and by encouraging the participation of German Trade Unionists in similar arrangements in other countries.

Training of Trade Union Officials

Evening and weekend courses, training weeks, etc. must be established to train fulltime and honorary officials for their work in the service of the Trade Unions. They should be attended by:

Fulltime Trade Union employees of various categories,

Members of works councils,

Works managers,

Trade Union representatives in social insurance institutions, labour offices, vocational guidance bureaus, vocational schools, educational committees and in advisory bodies, labour tribunals, legal advisory bureaus, etc.

This educational work should not only aim at turning the functionaries participating in it into experienced specialists. It is equally important to strengthen their will to employ their expert knowledge in the service of the struggle to improve the social conditions of the workers and the shaping of the structure of society.

Training of Trade Union Officials at Public Educational Institutions

The Trade Unions will gladly make use of public educational institutions (high schools, schools of economics, and institutions cited in the next section) for the training of the officials selected by them, provided that they have equal rights in the arrangement of curricula. Trade Unionists taking lengthy courses must take special care to avoid an estrangement from Trade Union work. They should take part in the local educational work. They should extend their educational work over a period of several years, during which they carry on with their previous Trade Union work for a considerable part of the year while at the same time continuing their studies by correspondence courses.

Collaboration with other Educational Institutions

Trade Unions must work in close collaboration with educational institutions of the cooperatives, workers' sport, hiking and touring associations and workers' publishing concerns. Moreover, they must give suitable support to central and local general educational institutions as well as to cinema, theatre and wireless. They claim the right to "workers' hours" broadcasts, for which the Trade Unions should take full responsibility. Trade Unions must also support general adult educational schemes, such as peoples' high schools, peoples' libraries and peoples' theatres.

Participation in the people's high school system will consist, above all, in supplying teachers, in providing facilities for Trade Unionists to take part in all arrangements and activities of the peoples' high schools, in the collaboration of Trade Unionists in the administration of peoples' high schools and by publicly championing the interests of these high schools.

This active collaboration will depend upon whether the work of peoples' high schools accords with the guiding principles of the Trade Unions, i.e. whether they:

Eschew allegiance to any religion or political party,

Adapt their instructional matter and methods to the needs of their pupils,

Give adequate consideration to sociological subjects and viewpoints, Carry on intensive work by means of study groups and give facilities for selfgovernment by persons attending the schools.

Similar conditions apply to support given to peoples' libraries and peoples' theatres.

The stronger the collaboration given by the Trade Unions to adult educational institutions and the more the latter cater also for the needs of the Trade Unions, the more the Trade Unions are able to some extent to dispense with the necessity of building up similar institutions of their own. There remain, however, certain educational tasks which the Trade Unions will be obliged to take in hand for themselves. The most essential of these is to spread enlightenment on vital problems of social and economic policy. In this respect, it is indispensable for them to undertake their own educational work.