

Basic Programme of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB)

Adopted by the Extraordinary Federal Congress
of the German Trade Union Federation
held in Düsseldorf
on the 21st and 22nd of November, 1963

200 170

100 100

100 100

Preamble



A67291

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung e.V., Bonn

Nr. 37.890

Imbued with a deep sense of responsibility towards their members and towards the whole nation the German Trade Union Federation (DGB)¹ and its affiliated Trade Unions proclaim their faith in the inalienable rights of man to freedom and self-determination. They strive and will continue to strive for a social order in which human dignity is fully respected, and they demand the full realisation in all parts of the world of the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

Due consideration for the basic values of human society becomes an ever more imperative need in the measure in which the individual finds himself increasingly exposed to the hazards of the modern industrial world and subjected to ever new forms of economic, political and social dependence. The Trade Unions accept this challenge of the twentieth century. They know that the workers' movement has achieved glorious successes in the past, but they are also aware of the fact that ever new problems arise, calling for new methods of solution.

The proud achievements of the workers' movement in past years, which have opened up for the whole of humanity the road into a brighter future, must not be allowed to induce a mood of self-satisfaction. Rather they impose a continuing obligation for the future, calling forth those powerful impulses deriving from the ethical and political basic concepts which inspire the spirit of solidarity within the Trade Union movement.

From the very outset of the era of industrialisation the capitalist form of society, which determined the course of its development, denied social equality to the worker, subjected his person to the arbitrary will of the employer and his labour power to the law of supply and demand and subordinated his social security to the profit motive, thereby creating social abuses and economic crises. Despite savage resistance on the part of the sovereign state the workers succeeded in joining together to form their trade unions.

From the very outset too, the aim of the trade unions has been to enforce and maintain respect for the human dignity of the working man, to guarantee his social security, and to struggle for and to achieve a social order which would secure for every individual the free development of his own personality.

The indefatigable struggle of the trade unions for the political and social equality of the working man has achieved such a measure of success that many important trade union demands are to-day accepted and written into democratic constitutions and acknowledged by public opinion as being the basic rights of all citizens. It will continue to be the goal of the trade unions to play their part in the further consolidation of a social and constitutional state and of a democratic form of society. In pursuing this goal the trade unions will act as an integrating factor of democracy, and will represent an indispensable force in democratic development in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Free and independent trade unions can exist and be effective only within a democracy. They defend — as history has proved — within a democracy the foundations

on which democracy itself rests. For this reason the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) and its affiliated unions resolutely oppose every totalitarian and reactionary manifestation, and will resist any and every attempt to restrict or annul any of the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the Federal Republic².

The fusion of the various trade union trends of former years¹ in the modern, unified trade union movement has led to a logical realisation of the solidarity of all working men and women.

As the all-embracing organisation of manual and non-manual workers and of all established officials³ in the public services the DGB and its affiliated unions are the guarantors of the economic, cultural and social interests of all wage and salary earners and their families, and of the community as a whole. The fusion of all groups of workers in this organisation provides the surest guarantee not only that the individual interests of manual and non-manual workers and established officials shall be effectively safeguarded, but also their common interests. The trade unions formally proclaim their acceptance and support of the principle of a professional civil service³. The DGB demands the development and extension in accordance with modern concepts of the principles on which a professional civil service is founded.

The German Trade Union Federation and its affiliated unions are, and will remain, independent of governments, parties, and religious denominations, and of employers and industrialists. They re-iterate their determination to maintain ideological, religious and political tolerance¹.

The structural and economic changes which have taken place within modern industrial society, and the demands arising therefrom, have led in a large measure to the employment of women. Equal treatment for women and protection conforming to their special needs are an imperative demand.

The changes which have taken place within society, freedom of association, freedom of bargaining in the wages field, and the growth of a social policy, have all combined to change the visible manifestations of the social struggle. It is true that the general improvement in the standard of living, due in the first place to the creative energy and industry of the workers as well as to the unceasing pressure exercised by their trade unions, have opened up to many workers new possibilities of shaping their own living conditions. But the ancient injustices of the distribution of incomes and wealth and the inequalities of educational opportunities are far from having been overcome.

Post-war developments in the Federal Republic have in fact led to a restoration of the old ownership and power relations. The great concerns are more powerful than ever, and the further concentration of capital in a few hands is making rapid strides. Small and medium-sized undertakings are being relegated to the background, or are becoming economically subordinated to the large concerns.

The workers, that is to say the vast majority of the populace, are still excluded from control of the instruments of production. Their labour is still their only source of income.

The individual worker is incapable of bearing alone the social hazards to which he is exposed. His legitimate claim to social security can be met only by the full acceptance by society of its responsibilities for the common good.

The trade unions will continue to struggle for an extension of the system of co-determination¹ for the workers. Through this means they will aim at the initiation of a reform of the economy and of society, the object of which is to ensure that every citizen will be enabled to participate on a basis of full equality in every economic, cultural and political decision affecting his country.

In order to secure full employment, economic growth and development and rising real incomes, the narrow confines of national economies must be extended to embrace new forms of supranational co-operation. The problems of our age can be solved only by constructive, joint co-operation of peoples, nations, and states. The goal is a political and economic community of the free and democratic peoples of Europe and their close association with the free peoples of the world.

An indispensable basis for social and cultural progress and social security in all parts of the world is the preservation of peace. The supply of funds for social and cultural purposes must not be restricted because of expenditure on armaments. The trade unions demand the banning and prohibition of atomic weapons and all other media of mass destruction, as well as general and controlled disarmament. The conquest of hunger, poverty, illiteracy and oppression throughout the world is an important condition for the preservation of a lasting peace.

The trade unions re-iterate their unqualified faith in the self-determination of peoples. They condemn every form of racial discrimination and protest against every form of colonial oppression.

They demand the realisation of the self-determination of all peoples, including the German people. The re-unification of Germany is a pre-condition for a peaceful settlement in Europe. Berlin remains the capital city of Germany.

The German Trade Union Federation calls on all workers who have not yet joined its ranks to play their part within the trade unions in the further development and the strengthening of democracy, and in the establishment of a just and equitable economic and social system.

In particular the German Trade Union Federation turns to all employed juveniles, and calls on them to play their part in achieving the glorious aims of the trade union movement. In order to achieve these aims the DGB for its part will give to youth its most energetic support.

The German Trade Union Federation and its affiliated unions are ready and willing to consider the problems of our age² in frank and honest discussion with any and every group of our people.

Parliaments, governments, political parties, and religious denominations, and all who are of good will, are urged to lend their support to the trade unions in their efforts to establish a new and modern society. The unions consider that they are all the more entitled to claim such support in view of the fact that their efforts on behalf of their own members redound to the common good.

Our modern age demands above all else a democratic form of social, cultural, political and economic life in order that every human being can utilise his own particular gifts, develop his personality in freedom, and play a responsible part in the life of his community.

It is only if we succeed in establishing a form of society conforming to these requirements that the freedom of the individual, the freedom of the community, and a truly democratic way of life can be achieved. Only such a form of society can provide a guarantee for a way of life conforming with the natural dignity of man, and ensure protection against totalitarian and other objectionable systems of government.

In the spirit of the international solidarity of the working classes and their organisations the German trade unions proclaim their acceptance of the following principles:

विद्यया विमुक्तयेन मन्त्रो विमुक्तयेन
[विद्यया विमुक्तयेन]



I. The Bases of Economic Policy

The aim and object of the national economy must be to serve the end of the free and responsible development of the individual personality within the framework of the community. Like every other member of society the worker must be in a position to order his own life in free self-determination.

The functioning of every national economy is by its very nature social. It must not be allowed to be determined solely by the profit motive. It is the working classes in particular who feel the effects of all economic decisions. For this reason they, and their trade unions, must participate on a basis of equality in the organisation of the economy in which they live. The economic co-determination of the workers is one of the foundations on which a free and social order of society must be built; it conforms with the very nature and essence of a democratic and constitutional state.

The type of economic order for which the trade unions strive will:

- guarantee for every worker the highest attainable degree of freedom and individual responsibility;
- will enable him to participate on a footing of equality in the organisation of the economy;
- ensure for him permanent employment adapted to his own aptitudes and personality;
- result in a just and equitable distribution of wealth and incomes;
- ensure an optimal growth of the economy;
- prevent the abuse of economic power;
- employ both planning and free competition for the purpose of achieving the national economic targets;
- ensure a full understanding of economic relationships by publication of all relevant data.

II. The Aims of Economic Policy

1. Full Employment and Continuous Economic Expansion

One of the fundamental rights of man is the right to work. This right can be realised only through a policy of full employment. For the social and political development of the free world the security of full employment and an optimal growth of the economy and of the standard of living in all countries of the world is of decisive importance.

Economic policy must be directed to the full development and utilisation of all available productive resources. The whole body of scientific knowledge and every conceivable political action must be systematically deployed in order to avert

fluctuations in the industrial and business spheres, and consequently in employment.

An expanding economy necessitates continuous changes of the economic structure, as a result of which the employment situation in individual sectors can be adversely affected – even in a state of general full employment. The integration of the European economy, the intensification of the international exchange of goods, and continuous changes in the nature of demand will emphasise such tendencies. A carefully planned geographical distribution of industry must ensure a balanced, regional economic structure.

The trade unions accept technical progress without qualification as a decisive factor in the improvement of the general standard of living and in the alleviation of arduous human labour. But technical progress must be made to serve the common good – it must not be allowed to result in social hardship for the workers.

The economic and social changes to which technicalisation, and in particular rationalisation and automation, can give rise, must be kept constantly under observation and be subject to continuous checks; effective measures must be taken at an early stage to counter dangerous tendencies in this field of development.

It is essential to have at all times a clear picture of the trend of economic developments in all sectors, and to adopt early and properly planned measures to avert possible adverse economic and social consequences. Such measures must include steps to alter the nature of existing types of employment, as well as to create new types, and to guarantee the full social security of the affected workers.

2. A Just and Equitable Distribution of Incomes and Wealth

The current distribution of incomes and wealth is unjust and inequitable. It is urgently necessary to ensure that all classes of the populace participate in the expanding national wealth. The extent to which the workers participate in the whole product of all economic activity is the real yardstick of social justice. The just claims of the workers to a fair share of already existing wealth must be maintained.

An active wages and salary policy, as well as other measures of collective bargaining, as pursued by the trade unions, are directed at ensuring a just and equitable distribution of the social product. All economic political measures must serve this end.

Important pre-requisites for a broader distribution of wealth and ownership are an increased share of the national income for the workers, a systematic reduction of the taxation privileges enjoyed by higher incomes, and special measures to encourage the savings of and the possession of property by the lower and middle income groups.

3. Stability of the Currency

The maintenance of a stable currency must be the aim of every responsible economic policy. Depreciation of the currency redounds to the advantage of owners of real estate, equities and so on, and to the disadvantage of savings accounts and the recipients of fixed incomes. Rising prices adversely affect primarily the workers, old age pensioners, and retired persons.

An economic policy directed to the common good must aim, in addition to full employment and continuous economic expansion, at a general stable price level, and must ensure that reduced production costs shall be passed on to the consumer in the form of reduced prices.

4. Prevention of the Abuse of Economic Power

One of the characteristic features of modern industrial society is the progressive process of concentration in the economy, leading in the form of vast concerns and groups of enterprises to a concentration of power of quite extraordinary dimensions in a few hands. As a consequence the dangers of an abuse of economic power—both for economic and for political ends—are a growing menace. It is the duty of a democratic state to prevent such abuse.

5. International Economic Co-operation

Current economic and political problems demand international solutions. An important factor affecting increasing productivity, continuous economic expansion and a stable currency, is international economic co-operation. Existing institutions concerned with economic co-operation between the nations must be strengthened. And they must be subordinated to effective democratic control.

European economic integration must be accompanied by the will in the political sphere to achieve, with the participation of the trade union movement, a common economic and social policy, as well as the closest possible integration of all free countries which recognise basic democratic rights and free and independent trade union organisations. No country may be accepted into the European community which does not fulfil these conditions.

The free European trade union organisations must strengthen their own co-operation in order to be able to bring greater pressure to bear to safeguard the interests of the workers within an economically integrated Europe.

Aid for the development countries must be on a well-considered, planned basis, in order to ensure the establishment of a balanced economic and social structure in those countries. For this reason every development aid project must be linked with a social plan, in the preparation and realisation of which the trade unions of the countries affected must be associated. It is only through the medium of the establishment of democratic and independent workers organisations that the democratic overall development of those countries can be guaranteed.

III. Methods of Economic Policy

1. National Economic Overall Planning

In a modern, dynamic economy the co-ordination of all economic and political measures is a necessary pre-requisite for the security of full employment and of continued economic expansion, as well as for the stability of the currency. Economic developments cannot simply be left to their own devices.

A clear picture of the whole national economic process must be made available in the form of detailed overall national economic reports, in order that the flow of money and goods within the national economy and between the home country and foreign countries may be clearly discernible, and in order to render possible reliable forecasts of the future probable repercussions of ascertained changes in income and expenditure.

Based on these overall national economic reports a "framework" plan in the form of a national budget must be developed, which will lay down the targets to be set for the national economy within stated periods. The German Trade Union Federation must participate in the preparation of these budgets. The guiding principles laid down in them will be binding on all organs of governmental economic policy, and they will provide the data to which due consideration will be given in reaching free and independent decisions within the individual sectors and branches of the economy⁴.

2. Public Budgets, Fiscal and Taxation Policy

Fiscal and taxation policy is an important instrument of economic and social policy. The importance of the functions performed by Federal, Land and Local Authorities¹⁰ will continue to increase, particularly in the field of public expenditure. In the measure in which former sins of omission in the public sector are rectified the importance of public budgets in securing full employment and as an instrument of economic policy will continue to increase.

Disbursements in respect of investments must be kept separate from normal public expenditure budgets. They must be co-ordinated and must cover periods of several years. Procurement and expenditure in this budgetary sector must be adjusted in the short run to the necessities of the current market situation. Consequently the normal annual accountancy balance between income and expenditure must not be regarded as the sole guiding principle of fiscal policy.

In order to reach a social and equitable distribution of the burden of taxation fiscal policy must be directed towards a shift of the share borne by indirect taxes to direct taxes. The principles of taxation policy — equality, justice, simplicity — must become a reality.

3. Controlled Investments

The extent and form of investment policy exercise a decisive influence on the market situation and the future development of the national economy. Faulty and mistaken deployment of capital and manpower are just as detrimental to the standard of living as unemployment or a failure fully to exploit the given possibilities of economic expansion. For this reason both private and public investment must be in conformity with the market and structural requirements of the whole of the national economy.

In addition to an overall effective credit policy the necessary control of private investments renders essential measures directed to specific sectors of the economy or to defined regional areas. A differentiated control of investments of such a nature may be affected through the medium of taxation, by means of credit policy, or by amendments of the conditions under which depreciation allowances are granted.

As a basis for the control of investments estimates of the probable future requirements and demand for the products of individual branches of the economy and of industry must be drawn up and published. In this manner it would be possible to exert influence on private investment policy within the framework of national economic planning without depriving individual enterprises of the final decision as to the extent and nature of their investments.

4. Publicly Owned and Communally Owned (Co-operative) Undertakings

Communally owned property in its various forms has a decisive importance within modern industrial society, particularly as a controlling and corrective medium in the economy. The trade unions demand the retention and extension of the public ownership of economic undertakings and its further development into a rational system of publicly owned and publicly controlled enterprises.

Independent communally owned enterprises (i.e. Co-operative societies and other trade union and communally owned enterprises, such as insurance companies, banks, housing estates, publishing houses, etc.) are an important constituent of an economic system devoted to public welfare. The scope of their activities and their position in relation to free enterprise undertakings must not be restricted or hindered in any way by governmental action.

The growing importance of the atomic industry renders essential the public ownership of all fissionable materials, and a strict control of the erection of re-actors, with a view to an overall co-ordination of energy policy as well as for the protection of labour and of the populace as a whole.

5. The Control of Economic Power

In order to control economic power in its manifold forms differing methods must be employed, varying with its extent and significance. What is decisive is that the

abuse of economic power must be prevented and a truly social type of economy be ensured.

In particular the trade unions make the following demands:

Continuous observation of and enquiry into the process of concentration (e.g. the relevant clauses in the taxation regulations);

co-determination of the workers and their trade unions⁴;

an increase of relevant publicity;

an effective extension of the control of monopolies and cartels;

the encouragement of genuine competition, inter alia, through the medium of publicly owned and co-operative societies;

an extension of the system of publicly controlled enterprises;

the transfer to public ownership of key industries and undertakings occupying a dominating market or economic position.

6. Economic Co-determination⁴

Co-determination on a basis of parity for the workers must be secured in the case of all economic, social and personnel decisions. It must be made effective in all private, public and co-operative undertakings.

In order to ensure this aim:

Existing legal rights of co-determination within enterprises must be extended;

Boards of Supervision⁴ (Aufsichtsrat) consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the shareholders and the workers must be established in all large undertakings, without regard to their legal status under company law;

one member must be appointed to the Board of Management (Vorstand)⁴, or within the management of every large undertaking, and such member may not be appointed against the votes of representatives of the workers on the Board of Supervision;

co-determination at levels above plant and undertaking level must be secured by the establishment of bodies consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the shareholders and the workers.

7. Planning and Competition

Some measure of planning is essential within every national economy founded on the principle of free competition.

Free competition combined with planning serves to achieve economic targets.

Monopolies and cartels lead to the restriction and elimination of competition within a market economy. For this reason the law as applied to free competition must be rendered more effective. The law governing the operation of trusts and cartels must be prohibitive (i.e. what is not specifically permitted is prohibited, and not

the fact that the number of people who are employed in the public sector is increasing, and the fact that the number of people who are employed in the private sector is decreasing. This is a very important point, and it is one that we need to be aware of. It is also a point that we need to be aware of in the context of the current economic situation. The fact that the number of people who are employed in the public sector is increasing, and the fact that the number of people who are employed in the private sector is decreasing, is a very important point, and it is one that we need to be aware of. It is also a point that we need to be aware of in the context of the current economic situation.

Basic Political Principles

I. The Basic Rights of Labour

It is the bounden duty of a social and constitutional state to ensure the realisation of the right to work. To reach and maintain a state of full employment is one of the essential conditions necessary to fulfill this duty. A free and unfettered choice of employment, of occupation and of the place of learning or apprenticeship, must be guaranteed.

In order to be able to live their lives in decent human conditions the workers and their families are dependent on the wages of their labour, and such wages must be adequate to ensure their economic position and to enable them to participate in the cultural life of their nation.

Every worker has the right to join a trade union. The free and unfettered activities of the trade unions within the framework of the functions they have set themselves is an inalienable constituent of a free and democratic basic social order.

The trade union right to strike is inviolable.

Agreements on working conditions reached on their own responsibility and through the medium of collective bargaining is a function reserved exclusively to the trade unions and to the employers and their associations. Any and every attempt by the state to intervene in the process of free bargaining is impermissible. The same applies to every form of compulsory arbitration.

Rates of wages and salaries as laid down in collective agreements, and other agreed conditions of employment, which, in order to secure legal entitlement thereto, must also include any additional benefits provided for in works agreements, are applicable inalienably to, and solely to, those workers and employers who are parties to the relevant agreements¹¹.

II. Labour, Plant or Establishment, Public Administration

The right of manual and non-manual workers, and of established officials, and of their representatives, to co-determination in plants and establishments, as well as within the public administration, must be extended, rendered more effective, and placed on an improved legal basis.

The position of members of the Works Councils and the Personnel Representation (i.e. in the public services), as well as of the representatives of youth and of trade union shop stewards, must be based upon so secure a legal foundation that it will not be possible to subject them to any form of discrimination in the performance of their duties.

Within all plants and establishments, as well as in public administration, provision must be made to ensure that all members and representatives of the trade unions can carry out their trade union duties without hindrance.

III. Industrial and Human Relations

The personality of the worker and his dignity as a man must be respected at his place of employment, as elsewhere. His labour must not be regarded as being merely a commodity. The labour of the individual is also a personal service rendered to the community.

Men and women alike must have equal chances of employment and promotion.

Remuneration for equal work must also be equal, without regard to age or sex.

If the worker is prevented from following his employment by circumstances beyond his control, or for reasons for which he is not personally responsible, or for exceptional personal reasons, he shall be entitled to the continued payment of his wage or salary.

In the event of unfitness for work resulting from sickness, or during the course of measures designed to maintain, improve, or restore health, all workers shall be entitled to continued payment of their wage or salary for a period of at least six weeks.

Though an apprenticeship or trainee relationship is a teacher-learner relationship, it is legally predominantly of a worker-employer nature¹². Rates of pay and other conditions applying must therefore be laid down in collective agreements.

For groups of workers in need of special protection for the reason that the conditions necessary for regulating their wages, salaries, and other conditions of employment are in their case inadequate or non-existent, minimum earnings and other minimum conditions of employment must be laid down (by law), in which connection the trade unions must be closely consulted at all stages.

Current legislation governing hours of work¹³ must be simplified, improved, and adapted to actual modern conditions, in particular to the very considerable reductions in actual hours of work reached by agreement since its promulgation. For ethical and family reasons work on Sundays and holidays, and, because of their detrimental effects on health, shift work, night work and overtime, must be reduced to an absolute minimum.

Adequate periods of rest and recreation must be provided for every worker by means of an extension of paid annual holidays, and his ability to benefit therefrom made secure for him by the payment of an additional holiday allowance or bonus.

Protection against dismissal and adequate periods of notice must, so far as it is possible to do so, safeguard for the worker security of tenure, his social status in his place of employment and the standard of living to which he is accustomed.

Older workers, infirm workers, and other groups of workers exposed to specific dangers, must be accorded special protection.

The law as affecting paid employment must be codified in a socially progressive Labour Code.

IV. Occupation and Employment

An opportunity must be provided for every man or woman to be trained for an occupation suitable to his or her aptitudes and inclinations, and to continue training to a higher level. The opportunity for such vocational training must be secured both technically and financially, and it should be directed to ensuring the highest attainable degree of adaptability to changing conditions of employment. The law as affecting vocational training must be placed on a uniform legal foundation, in which connection the co-determination¹ of the trade unions on the nature, progress and supervision of a type of vocational training fully conforming to modern requirements must be assured. An equal opportunity must be given to everyone freely to choose his own form of vocational training. Suitable provision must be made for ironing out social inequalities. The system of financial grants in aid for the purposes of vocational training must be extended and made uniform throughout the country.

Every citizen has a claim to free, individual and impartial vocational guidance and advice affecting his employment problems, as well as to labour placing. In the course of giving advice or of placing applicants the inclinations and capabilities of the person seeking advice or employment must be given due consideration. He must be given full information on the social and economic aspects of the chosen employment.

Recourse to Vocational Guidance, to advice on employment problems, and labour placing must be voluntary. Compulsory measures, including compulsory registration, are incompatible with this principle.

If in the course of rationalisation and automation redundancies are threatened managements of plants and undertakings and heads of administrations are under an obligation, when considering their plans, and in consultation with the representatives of the workers, to take all steps necessary to deal with the situation, and to ensure that such steps are carefully considered and effectively controlled. Establishments affected by such measures of rationalisation must bear an appropriate share of the costs of transitional payments to displaced workers and of creating new jobs for them.

All workers in an establishment affected by rationalisation must share in the advantages deriving therefrom. Measures taken to deal with the situation arising must ensure that the workers do not suffer any social or financial losses.

V. Safety at Work

Places of work must be organised and arranged in conformity with the physical constitution of the workers. In order to protect the worker against accidents and hazards to health safety at work must be considerably improved technically, organisationally, and by the appointment of the requisite personnel. As a comple-

ment to these measures full medical protection for the health of the worker must be assured. Employers, as those responsible for industrial safety, must be placed under a legal obligation to take every measure necessary.

The Law governing Safety at Work (Accident Prevention) must be framed in a uniform and clearly understandable form, suitably adapted to the requirements of the technical world of labour.

Supervision of the proper observance of measures for ensuring safety at work, in establishments and public administrations, must receive full support from governmental organs and from the legal Industrial Accident Insurance Institutes. The Factory Inspectorate must base its activities on the most recent technical knowledge and principles. All authorities responsible for safety at work must co-ordinate their activities, with the close participation of the trade unions.

Research and teaching in the fields of safety at work (Accident Prevention) and Industrial Medicine must be promoted to an even greater extent than hitherto. The benefits of scientific research must be put to practical, every-day use, and must be given full consideration in the drafting of legislation.

Particular protection against dangers to health must be provided for all juvenile workers, including provision for adequate leisure time.

Special provisions for protection at work for all female workers are also essential.

VI. Health Services

The Public Health Services are responsible for all general measures required for the protection of the health of the populace. These include scientific research into the causes of common ailments and measures to combat them, the establishment of Public Health Guidance Centres, preventive measures for the maintenance of public health, for example vaccination and inoculation, measures to ensure pure air and water, measures to counter the harmful effects of noise and radiation, and to ensure the supply to the populace of unadulterated food.

In order to secure the highest attainable standard of health for the populace the operation of the Public Health Services, of all branches of Social Insurance, of the Factory Inspectorate, and of all other authorities responsible for Social Security, should be co-ordinated on a properly planned basis.

Healthy housing conditions, as well as adequate provision of facilities for sport, leisure, and rest and recreation, are an essential foundation for the maintenance of the health of the workers and their families, as well as for their working capacity.

Medical scientific research must be accorded full support and furtherance by all Federal and Land authorities.

The Public Health Services must make provision for the regular medical and dental inspection of all children and young persons. Arrangements must also be made to provide continuous guidance to the public at large on a healthy and rational mode of life. The protection of mother and child calls for extensive measures which will guarantee proper care of their health.

For the preservation of public health a complete reorganisation of the hospital system in accordance with the most modern discoveries of medical science and the requirements of the sick person is an urgent necessity. Federal, Land and Local Government authorities must co-operate in order, on the basis of a uniform plan, to build, extend, and maintain hospitals to the fullest extent required.

All workers and their families have a just claim to the benefits of all tried and tested discoveries and media resulting from medical research.

Comprehensive medical care of all workers and their families must be assured, in particular through the medium of Health Insurance. Medical care must be extended to include preventive medicine and guidance on the maintenance of health.

Everyone has a just claim to the provision of all medical and other benefits which may serve to preserve or restore his health and his working capacity. For persons suffering from any form of infirmity comprehensive medical and vocational provision must be made to enable them to participate on equal terms with others in their working and social life. Rehabilitation may not be made dependent on the nature, the cause, or the extent of the infirmity. Individual authorities and institutes responsible for providing such services must co-ordinate their rehabilitation measures and establish joint institutions for this purpose. This necessitates new legislative measures.

VII. Social Housing and Tenants' Protection

Every person has a justified claim to adequate housing. It is the duty of the state to secure this claim for every one. The housing policy of the Federal and Land Governments¹⁰ and of Local Authorities must be based on the principle of social equity. A housing policy based solely on the principles of a free market economy can never conform to these requirements.

Priority must be given to the provision of housing to meet the outstanding demands of people with small incomes at rents which they can reasonably be expected to pay. Necessary legislative provision must be made to this end.

VIII. Social Security

In order to protect the worker and his family against the contingencies of life, such as sickness, accidents, inability to pursue his normal occupation, or incapacitation, and in order to provide security for his old age, it is necessary to establish a comprehensive system of social security.

Social security must be administered primarily by the carriers of social insurance and by municipal and state controlled institutions. Social insurance is a form of self-help and self-protection mutually organised by the workers themselves and their families¹².

The organisation of the various types of social insurance and other social institutions must be established in such a fashion that they are enabled effectively to fulfil their set functions. With this end in view the organisation and expansion of social security must be further developed. The main consideration at all times must be the best interests of the persons entitled to the relevant benefits.

Medical examination and reporting within the framework of social security must be entrusted to an independent social-medical service. The reports provided are binding on all social insurance carriers. The social-medical service must be established as a joint institution of all social insurance carriers, and the form of its organisation must be clearly understandable to all concerned. The administration of the social-medical service will be in the hands of a self-governing body.

Any and every form of discrimination against individual groupings within social security must be eliminated.

All benefits provided under social security must be based on a legal entitlement.

IX. Cash Benefits under Social Security

The institutions of social security must provide adequate cash benefits to the worker and his family to balance any loss of wages, to an amount sufficient to enable the individual to maintain his customary standard of living. Such payments must be constantly re-adjusted in conformity with changing wage levels.

In the event of involuntary unemployment financial security must be provided through state unemployment insurance.

The financial security of persons unfit for work owing to sickness must, after exhaustion of any entitlement to the continued payment of wages or salary, be guaranteed by the Health Insurance Fund.

Every worker unable to follow his normal occupation, or incapacitated for work, or on reaching pensionable age — and the present pensionable age must be reduced — must be granted through the state pension insurance scheme a pension sufficient to enable him to maintain his customary standard of living. For women workers, for workers in particularly dangerous occupations, and for workers who, because of their age, are no longer able to find suitable employment, pensions must be made payable prematurely at an age limit to be fixed lower than the present pensionable age. Pensions must be made up of a fixed basic amount and an individual supplement.

The amount of pension payable to the victims of accidents or their surviving dependants must be paid by the legal Industrial Accident Insurance Institutes, and

must be calculated in such a manner as to represent a fair compensation for the loss sustained.

Financial security during the course of measures of rehabilitation must be borne, without any limitation as to duration, by the carriers of social security. During the process of re-integration to a working life, and to the amount necessary, supplements to wages and salaries and other necessary social benefits should be granted to the person concerned in order to facilitate the process of re-integration.

The protection of mother and child also calls for measures which guarantee financial security. Both before and after confinement there exists a just claim to release from employment with continued payment of wage or salary.

Society is under an obligation to make a contribution to families or other persons responsible for the care of children. An adequate children's allowance should be payable in respect of every child, without regard to income.

X. The Financing of Social Security

The financing of social security must be based on the principles by which a social, constitutional state is governed. The costs of performing any tasks alien to their own particular field must be refunded in full to the relevant institution.

The costs of vocational guidance, advice on employment problems, and labour placing, must be borne by public funds. The funds necessary for providing financial security for the worker in the event of unemployment must be raised by industry and commerce and by public administrations in the form of a levy. In the event of mass unemployment the state must provide any necessary funds.

Vocational training grants must be financed from public funds.

The disbursements of social health insurance are to be financed by the contributions of the workers and the employers, including public administrations. Any disbursements in respect of preventive medicine, or general guidance on the preservation of good health, must be refunded by the state to the carriers of health insurance.

In respect of state Old Age Pension Insurance the State must bear the cost of the basic pension. The individual supplements are to be financed from the contributions of the workers and the employers.

In order to finance adequate supplementary pensions in the case of the Miners' Special Insurance Scheme the necessary subsidies must be provided by the State.

The disbursements of the legal Industrial Accident Insurance Institutes will be financed by contributions in the form of a levy on employers, including public administrations.

The funds from which maternity allowances and children's allowances are paid are to be provided by the State.

For all forms of benefit under Social Security which are not financed in full by the State, the State must provide a guarantee to meet any deficiencies which may arise.

XI. Social Self-Government¹²

The workers will themselves administer all institutions of social insurance and other corresponding institutions of social security.

The right of the workers insured under the State Health, Old Age Pensions, and Unemployment Insurance Schemes, to regulate their own affairs on their own sole responsibility is inalienable. The principle of unrestricted and exclusive self-government by the workers applies indivisibly not only to the composition of the executive organs, but also to their functions and the extent of their authority. In the case of legal accident insurance the executive organs will be comprised of equal numbers of workers and employers. The right to self-government must be granted priority over governmental tutelage.

The trade unions, as the authorised representatives of the interests of the workers, have the sole right to nominate suitable representatives of the workers to the self-governing organs.

XII. Labour, Social and Administrative Jurisdiction

In order firmly to secure the establishment of a social and constitutional state, independent, special and distinct forms of jurisdiction in labour, social, and administration affairs are essential. The Labour and Social Courts are to be placed under the administration and overall supervision of the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, and the Administrative Courts⁹ under the administration and overall supervision of the Minister of the Interior. The aim of all judgments pronounced in these courts must be to safeguard the principles on which the social state is founded, and to ensure the continued improvement of labour, social and administrative legislation. Representatives of the workers are to be appointed as honorary members to all such courts. Workers with special knowledge and experience of labour and social affairs may also be appointed to these courts as full-time judges.

XIII. International Social Policy

The living and working conditions of workers in all parts of the world must be improved. This goal is to be reached by means of measures designed to promote constant progress and thereby to conduce to a reduction in the disparities within and between individual nations.

incorporating in and on of workers makes it urgently necessary to ensure equality of treatment in labour and social law for indigenous and foreign workers.

The emerging states, in supra-national communities, and all international social security institutions, as well as the I.L.O., must all promote improved social development.

The trade unions must be directly associated on a basis of equality with all international institutions devoted to social-political objectives.

Cultural Political Principles

I. Trade Unions and Cultural Policy

Trade union cultural policy is aimed at the furtherance and promotion of all spiritual and moral forces within our society capable of forming and shaping democratic consciousness and the communal spirit, and of providing guarantees for the realisation of the social idea within democracy.

With their cultural political programme the trade unions conform to the demands of the age. The social problems to which scientific discoveries and their utilisation give rise can be mastered only through the medium of an intensive social cultural policy. If it is to survive and flourish our society will need an improved educational system.

The free and manifold forms and classes within our democratic society prohibit all monopolistic attempts to frame cultural policy.

II. Cultural Policy at Federal, Land and Local Level

The responsible authorities in most cultural matters in the Federal Republic are the Lands¹⁰. The legislative powers of the Lands in cultural-political matters must not, however, be allowed to lead to provincialism nor to jeopardise rational planning and investment. In view of the vast problems with which the cultural policy of the free world is faced, of the great needs of the development countries, of the rapid progress being made in the field of European integration, and of the great problems still remaining to be solved within the Federal Republic itself, it is the bounden duty of the Lands to co-ordinate their cultural policy in a very much greater measure than hitherto.

In Federal cultural-political matters, for example in the promotion of scientific research and in foreign cultural policy, the Federal government and the Lands must exercise the closest co-operation. Wherever necessary, and particularly where special emergency measures are required, as in many sectors of the educational system, the Federal government and the Lands must render mutual financial assistance — without regard to questions of competence.

Local authorities have important and manifold cultural problems awaiting solution. It is their duty to make appropriate financial provision in their budgets. If their own resources are inadequate, then state aid must be forthcoming. The cultural expenditure of local authorities must be adjusted in accordance with the rising and changing requirements of modern culture. In particular those institutions which serve the needs of the great majority of citizens should be accorded particular support.

Country dwellers have an equal claim with townsfolk to the benefits of culture, and must be enabled to participate in cultural life on an equal footing.

The trade unions and other non-governmental organisations are in a position to render valuable aid to the Federal government, the Lands, and the local authorities in the solution of their manifold cultural-political problems.

III. Training and Education

Our school and educational system is inadequate to meet either present or future demands.

Its complete re-organisation is therefore a matter of urgency. Such reorganisation must provide in an adequate manner for the spiritual, social, technical and economic needs of a generation that finds itself called upon to master the problems of a rapidly changing world.

The priority of a public educational system over private schools is to be maintained.

An appropriate reform of the system of examinations and certification must take due account of the requirements of a dynamic industrial society.

1. The School

It is the function of the school to play its part in the development of the personality of the individual, and to inspire and promote a true understanding for social justice and a sense of responsibility towards society.

Suitable opportunities for education and training must be made available to every child according to his talents and ability, and irrespective of the financial and social status of the parents. Compulsory school attendance must be extended to cover a minimum of 10 years. School attendance and the provision of all requisite materials and apparatus must be free of charge. Reasonable financial grants towards education and university studies must be available to all.

The whole educational system must be organised as an organic entity, and must be accorded equality of treatment in all its branches. On this basis the elementary schools and the day continuation schools must be given a great deal more support than has so far been the case.

In the course of the reform of our system of training and education transfers from one branch to another must be facilitated — no single branch may be permitted to lead to a dead end.

Scholars in all schools must be made familiar with the social and political life of their community in order to enable them to become responsible citizens of their national and economic society.

Fully equipped and well-built schools must be provided in all country districts.

The size of classes must be reduced to conform with pedagogic standards. Steps must be taken to ensure an adequate supply of new and qualified teachers, amongst other methods by the provision by the state of a scale of salaries and of

conditions of employment sufficient to offer the necessary inducements to enter the profession.

Studies for all branches of the teaching profession must be carried out in science and classics colleges of university status.

2. The System of Vocational Training

Provisions for vocational training are a public obligation. It must be carried out in vocational training schools and in establishments providing further training and higher levels of training. In order to fulfil this task it is essential: —

- to increase the number of hours spent by scholars in day continuation schools;
- to ensure an adequate supply of qualified teachers;
- to equip the schools with every type of apparatus etc.;
- necessitated by changing technical developments.

The Technical School system must be expanded, but must at the same time be released from its present narrow confines. In technical schools at all levels political and social education must be made compulsory subjects.

All aspects of vocational training must be closely co-ordinated with the vocational training schools and other relevant establishments. Every establishment concerned with vocational training must be so adequately staffed and technically equipped that it is in a position to provide the comprehensive vocational knowledge and the skills required on the basis of the governmentally approved catalogues of vocational qualifications (Berufsbild¹²), and to conform with technical-pedagogical requirements.

All necessary measures for the training of qualified teaching personnel must be guaranteed, for example in central training establishments.

All types of occupation are nowadays subject to rapid changes, necessitating a constant re-adjustment of training curricula to changing demands. Methods of training must therefore be kept under constant review and amended as required. Workers must be given full opportunities for re-training in changing economic and technical conditions.

Within existing training establishments and those still to be founded every opportunity must be provided for individual workers to advance to leading positions in industry and administration.

Vocational training and education — known as the "second channel" — must be further developed. Vocational training must be acknowledged as the basis of further education to university standards.

3. Youth

It is the bounden duty of every democratic and progressive society to provide effective educational, ideal and material aid for young persons in order to qualify



them to undertake their social responsibilities. Full opportunities must also be provided making it possible for them to play their part, on their own initiative, in the democratic life of the community.

The assistance and support given to young persons must cover every aspect of social life.

4. Adult Education

The real fruits of education in its fullest sense can be appreciated only by adults. For this reason adequate provision must be made for adults to continue their education. The system of adult education has a just claim to be fully integrated into and acknowledged by the general system of education as an educational institution in its own right. In this connection guarantees must be provided that the mutual relationships of adult education to all other aspects of education, including the universities, is fully maintained at all times.

Adult education makes an important contribution to the qualifications of democratically thinking and active citizens. The main tasks which it must set itself therefore are: —

- political and social education;
- the furtherance of international understanding;
- the improvement and deepening of general education;
- further vocational training and education.

It is the duty of governments and municipalities to provide every possible form of support for adult education, including institutes properly equipped to do justice to the ever-growing demands of this branch of education.

Professorial chairs for adult education, as well as any other institutions necessary, must be established in the universities. Problems of adult education must be included in the curriculum of every level of teacher training.

Legislative provision must be made requiring employers to allow paid holidays and to make necessary financial grants to enable their employees to take part in adult educational courses.

IV. Science and Research

Research and teaching must remain free and independent. The fruits of research may be utilised solely for the benefit of mankind and for peaceful purposes. The public must be given the fullest information on the results of research and their possible consequences.

Science and research can do full justice to the problems with which they are faced only if governments and society as a whole make considerably more funds available than has hitherto been the case. This is an emphatic demand calling for careful planning transcending the frontiers of the Federal Lands¹³.

The universities are the home not only of scientific research and teaching, but also in an increasing measure of vocational training. They are a constituent part of the community, within which it is impossible for them to lead an isolated existence.

A comprehensive reform of the universities must ensure their close co-operation with all other institutions within the community.

Existing universities must be extended and new ones established to meet the needs of our society, necessitating a considerable increase in the number of professorial chairs, lecturers, and other scientific assistants. Independent research institutes must be entrusted with the task of preparing long-term plans on which cultural policy is to be based.

Entrance to a university must be open to every qualified person. Supplementary to all traditional methods it is therefore essential that other branches of education should be promoted in a greater measure than hitherto, and that further legislative provision be made to ensure educational opportunities for all, designed to iron out existing inequalities. This means primarily that appropriate steps must be taken to increase the percentage of university students coming from working class families.

Such students must be granted adequate financial assistance to ensure that they can pursue their studies without material hardship. The system of self-government within student communities must be further developed.

In all universities and high schools professorial chairs for the political sciences and political education, for industrial sociology, for labour and social legislation, as well as for industrial medicine, must be established. In addition centres must be established devoted to research in comparative pedagogics and related subjects, including statistics, as well as research into teaching and learning.

In all university and scientific bodies in which organisations from other sectors of society are represented adequate representation must also be accorded to the workers through their trade unions.

V. Art

Art is essential to the cultural life and development of human society. This applies in particular to the industrial society of our day and age, in which technical developments are threatening us with spiritual paralysis and a descent into the shallows of materialism.

Art must be free. It must not continue to be a preserve of the favoured few.

One of the tasks which the trade unions have set themselves is to ensure that all works of art, ancient and modern, are made available to everyone.

It is an obligation on society and on governments to promote the arts, ideally and materially. All institutions devoted to the arts such as academies, museums, theatres and orchestras, are valuable artistic assets of our nation, founded on our traditions. They must be preserved and further developed.

The artistic potentialities of film, radio, and television, must be fully exploited and expanded, since they are peculiarly adapted to carry the arts to broad sections of the people.

Support must be given to every effort to improve the artistic qualities of films and broadcasts and to improve the taste and the critical faculties of the public.

Films and broadcasts of particular artistic and educational value should be given special support.

VI. The Press, Radio and Television

In a free democratic state the press, the radio and television contribute in a high degree to the formation of public opinion. These media have important social and political control functions and must be utilised to strengthen, broaden and deepen social and constitutional ideas.

The freedom of the press is sacrosanct. Conversely it is the bounden duty of the press to defend our free and democratic constitutional order. Censorship of the press is inadmissible.

The freedom and independence of the press must not be jeopardized by the formation of trusts and monopolies.

Every citizen is entitled to full and accurate information on events. It is therefore an obligation on all organs of the press to ensure objective reporting and publication of items of news. News items must be kept clearly separated from commentaries. No attempt must be made to exercise influence on editorial control through the medium of the advertising section.

In view of its public functions the press should be accorded special legal protection through the enactment of a uniform Press Law.

The right of the press freely to obtain information, as well as the independence of journalists and their freedom of opinion must be fully guaranteed.

The organisations controlling radio and television are, in the Federal Republic, corporations in public law. This form of organisation must be retained, since it reduces the dangers of abuse and confers on the corporations the greatest possible degree of freedom. Control must not be allowed to pass into private hands. The independence of the radio and television corporations must remain inviolable. Neither the state itself nor any particular social group must be permitted to exercise a decisive influence on the programmes, financing or personnel policy of the corporations. The present federal structure¹⁰ of radio and television must be retained.

As a consequence of the privileged position they occupy the corporations must at all times be objective in their reporting. The democratic committees exercising control within the corporations must consist of representatives, in reasonable proportions, of all important social groups in the community. No obstacles may be placed in the way of these committees in the fulfilment of their duties.

In drawing up their general programmes the corporations must, because of the special responsibility they bear, exercise a high degree of objectivity in order to ensure balanced programmes.

Information, entertainment, education and edification must all receive equal treatment.

It is the duty of the corporations in drawing up their programmes to give due consideration to the cultural and social needs of the working population.

VII. International Cultural Relations

In the world of the second half of the twentieth century, in which all peoples have become neighbours and in which differing national cultures increasingly impinge on one another, an international cultural policy has become an essential constituent of every constructive foreign policy.

Of particular importance and urgency in this connection are the cultural-political tasks entailed in the union of Europe and the co-operation in a spirit of partnership with the peoples of the development countries.

Effective development aid without educational aid is impossible. It is a sine qua non for the ability of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to fulfil on their own initiative the tasks which have been set them, and so to become truly free.

The principles of a new and novel foreign and international cultural policy will have to be judged by the manner in which these great problems are solved. On the principle of solidarity and shared responsibility resulting from its co-operation in the relevant international and supra-national institutions the German Trade Union Federation is making its contribution to the fulfilment of these new and great tasks of foreign and international cultural policy. In this manner it serves the emancipation of all men, understanding between the nations and a lasting peace.

¹ In pre-1933 Germany there were 4 groupings, or trends, within the German Trade Union Movement: (a) the "Free" Trade Unions, with close affiliations to the Social Democratic Party; (b) the "Christian" Trade Unions equally closely associated with the Catholic Centre Party (though not all of its affiliates were Catholic); (c) the Hirsch-Duncker movement, usually described as the "liberal" T.U. movement; (d) a number of non-federated unions, largely in the public services. The Trade Union Movement as re-established after the war combined these various elements in a single united movement — the Einheitsgewerkschaft — under the name of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB). This Federation is the national centre to which 16 unions organised on the basis of strict industrial unionism are affiliated. That is to say that each union caters for wage and salary earners of every grade, occupation, or profession within its own lines of demarcation, in other words the 16 DGB unions attempt to organise every wage and salary earner in the Federal Republic.

The 16 unions with membership at 31st December, 1962, are: —

	Membership (in thousands)
1. The Industrial Union of Workers in Building, Quarrying and Public Works' Contracting	441,000
2. The Industrial Union of Mine and Power Workers	504,000
3. The Industrial Union of Chemical, Paper and Pottery Workers	527,000
4. The Industrial Union of Printing and Paper Processing Workers	146,000
5. The Union of the Railwaymen of Germany	434,000
6. The Union of Educational and Scientific Workers (The German Teachers' Union)	88,000
7. The Union of Horticultural, Agricultural and Forestry Workers	78,000
8. The Union of Salaried Employees in Trade and Commerce, Banks and Insurance	127,000
9. The Union of Woodworkers	148,000
10. The Union of Artists (incl. stage, variety, film, radio, television, musicians, commercial artists, etc.)	32,000
11. The Union of Leather Workers	86,000
12. The Industrial Union of Metal Workers	1,528,000
13. The Union of Food, Drink, Tobacco and Catering Trade Workers	282,000
14. The Union of Workers in Public Services, Transport and Communications	884,000
15. The German Postal Workers' Union	307,000
16. The Union of Textile and Clothing Workers	341,000
Total:	6,430,000

² The Federal Republic, in contrast to the United Kingdom, has a written Constitution — the Grundgesetz or Basic Law.

³ The term "Beamter" in German covers established officials in the service of the Federal Government, the Lands, the Local Authorities, and of some bodies in public law. Formal acknowledgment of the status of this group is stressed by the DGB for the reason that the authorities in the Soviet Occupied Zone have abolished such status and recognise only two groupings, namely manual and non-manual workers.

⁴ Co-determination is the name applying to a system of workers' control peculiar to Western Germany. It takes the following forms:

a) in the iron and steel producing and the coal-mining industries it is based on the Co-determination Law of 1951. This provides for equal representation on the Board of Supervision (Aufsichtsrat) of the undertakings affected for representatives of the shareholders and the workers. Normally the Board consists of 5 representatives from each side, and an eleventh man selected by mutual agreement. Under German Company Law the Board of Super-

vision decides the overall policy of the company and supervises its application. A member of the Board may not normally be associated with the day-to-day conduct of the business of the undertaking. This is the responsibility of the Board of Management (Vorstand), which, pursuant to this particular law, must be based on the collegiate principle, that is to say its Director members, usually a Commercial, a Technical, and a Labour Director, have equal authority. The Labour Director cannot be appointed against the votes of the workers' representatives on the Board of Supervision, so that his appointment lies in effect in the hands of the Trade Unions.

b) The Works' Constitution Law of 1952, which governs inter alia the election and the operation of Works Councils in all undertakings normally employing not less than 5 workers, including undertakings under the Co-determination Law of 1951. It provides for one third representation for workers on the Board of Supervision (in any undertaking having a Board), but not for the appointment of a Labour Director, and it gives the workers, through their representatives, a considerable degree of influence on the conduct of business, but in particular on social and personnel matters. The DGB is demanding a considerable extension of this system.

c) The Personnel Representation Law of 1954 which provides for a similar form of representation for employees in the public services, though with qualifications taking due account of the fact that the employer in this case is an elected body. Here again the DGB is still insisting on amendments and improvements.

d) Finally a Law Regulating Co-determination in the Holding Companies in coal and steel, made necessary by the fact that such companies were still illegal when the 1951 Law was enacted.

⁵ It has still not been found possible to establish any form of Permanent Joint Consultation in Western Germany, either at national or industrial level. There have been many meetings between the two sides, but they have been sporadic and inconclusive. In this section of the programme the DGB intimates its readiness to make more satisfactory arrangements.

⁶ In this section the DGB gives clear notice that whilst it is prepared to give due consideration to any findings and recommendations it will not necessarily accept any restrictions on its free powers of bargaining — nor will it expect the employers to do so.

⁷ Apprenticeship and trainee relationships have traditionally been regarded as teacher/learner relationships, as a result of which the apprentice or learner received not a wage but a training or educational grant (Erziehungsbeihilfe), often statutory. The Trade Unions desire the position to be regarded rather as an employer-worker relationship, calling for the payment of a wage or salary to be laid down in collective agreements.

⁸ Statutory Hours of Work. Hours of work in Germany are still formally regulated in law by a Nazi decree of 1934, which makes provision for a normal (maximum) working week of 48 hours. This law has been completely outdated by post-war developments and the unions are asking for a new law conforming to actually existing conditions.

⁹ Administrative Courts are separate courts, distinct from the ordinary administration of justice, in which a citizen may appeal against any decision given by an administrative authority.

¹⁰ The Federal Republic is, as its name indicates, a federal state, and the individual lands comprising it have a very considerable degree of autonomy exercised through their governments and parliaments. This situation naturally gives rise to disputes on questions of competence, to which reference is here made.

¹¹ In this section the Trade Unions are demanding that collective agreements should apply only to those persons who are parties to them, i.e. non-members would have no legal claim to the improved conditions for which they provide.

¹² On the grounds that the money is provided by the contributions of the workers and the employers all social insurance institutes, including Health, Unemployment, Old Age Pension, and Accident Insurance, are administered by self-governing bodies consisting normally of equal numbers of employers and workers. In the new programme the DGB is asking that (except in the case of Industrial Accident Insurance) administration should be entrusted exclusively to the workers.

¹³ In respect of every apprenticeship or trainee trade, all of which require governmental approval, a catalogue (Berufsbild) laying down in great detail the skills to be imparted, the methods of instruction, supervision and control, the records to be kept, examination and certification, is drawn up in consultation between employers and the Trade Unions. After approval by the Ministry of Economics this catalogue has the force of law for master and apprentice. The DGB is demanding a considerable extension of its influence in this field.