

DGB

Strong by Change

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1. MAI 1898



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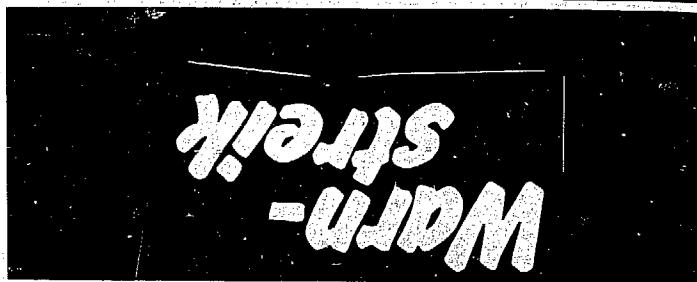
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The Notion and its History Advances and Setbacks

"Trade unions are free, voluntary and democratic unions of employees of more than one company, with the primary aim of bringing about permanent improvements to the economic and social circumstances of their members and also of employed people in general. They are established on a permanent basis and supported by the solidarity of employed people which arises from the similarity of their interests.

The trade unions have three main functions: the original one was to protect workers from the hazards and dangers of their work and private lives; with their recognition as partners in industrial relations, they acquired the function of creating and preserving order in the employment market and in relations with employers

and the state; and finally, their function in shaping living and working conditions for employed people and the legal environment as a whole grew up as their own view of their identity broadened and their scope for action as an acknowledged opposition force increased.

Trade unions' actions stem from a position of "critical integration" in the system." (Evangelisches Soziallexikon, pp 525 ff)

1849 Around 10 % of the German population are wage-earners. Germany's first labour organisation in the political sense was the „Arbeiterverbrüderung“ (Workers' Brotherhood), founded in Berlin. This was a year of revolution, in which a national association of lithographers and the association of cigar workers were also formed. The collapse of the revolution ripped these initial successes in organising workers in the bud. It was not until the 1860's that the labour movement had the political strength to bring forth a variety of associations and clubs.

1869 The last legal obstacle in the way of trade union organisation was removed by the industrial regulations introduced by the North German Alliance. However, the freedom of

association now granted in law did not do anything to change the routine obstruction and repression of trade union work by the employers and government agencies.

1878 The long arm of Bismarck's law enshrined in the "Prevention of the seditious aspirations of social democracy" Act reached the 50 000 trade union members organised in occupational associations.

1881 The imperial message of the year "that the healing of social wounds cannot be sought only by way of the repression of social democratic excesses, but equally by way of positive advancement of workers' welfare" gave a mandate to the Reichstag (imperial parliament) to bring in bills on accident insurance, health insurance and old-age and invalidity pension schemes.



Am 1. Mai.

„Kindermann, was wollen eigentlich, äh, diese Arbeiter?“

„Verzeihen, Durchlaucht, sie wollen den Achtfundentag.“

„Ganz unglaublich, Kindermann, wie dumm dieses Volk ist. Sagen Sie ihm doch, äh, daß Achtfundentag unmöglich! Einfach unmöglich! Tag wird immer, äh, vierundzwanzig Stunden haben!“

1890 When the "Socialism Act" fell, there were about 300 000 workers in organised trade unions. This was the year in which workers' rallies were held on May 1st for the first time, and a General Commission of Trade Unions in Germany was formed with Karl Legien as its chairman. It convened the first ever Trades Union Congress in Halberstadt in **1892**. The majority

On the first of May

"Kindermann, what do they want, these workers?"

"Pardon, Your Highness, they want the eight-hour-day"

"Totally incredible, Kindermann, how stupid those folks are."

"Tell them, that an eight-hour-day is impossible. Simply impossible!"

The day will always have twentyfour hours!"

of the 200 delegates voted in favour of centralised occupation-based associations rather than purely local organisations and recommended that the unions should accept female members on an equal footing with men. The election of the "General Commission" by Congress can be considered to mark the birth of the umbrella organisation for the trade unions.

1894 The first supra-regional organisations of Christian trade unionists were established.

1896 When the lithographers' association concluded a collective contract stipulating terms of work, collective agreements were criticised by many other unions as: "sentimental harmony" and "betrayal of the class struggle". Conversely, the bosses and the government opposed

the principle of recognition for the unions as equal bargaining partners.

1906 The SPD recognised the independence and autonomy of the trade unions in the so-called Mannheim Convention.

1914 The outbreak of war definitively changed the position of the trade unions. Because they were needed to keep the war effort going, they were given official government recognition under the "Burgfrieden" (home truce).

1918 After the collapse of the German Empire, a parliamentary system of government was introduced in October 1918. The conditions prevailing during the November Revolution enabled the unions to push through some important demands. They were now accepted as collec-

tive bargaining partners, and the 8-hour day and shop floor workers' committees were agreed.

1919 The General Commission is restructured into the General Confederation of German Trade Unions (ADGB). Its organisational structure and tasks were quite similar to those of the DGB of today, even though it was the confederation of the "Free Trade Unions" which bore the stamp of social democratic politics and were not "unified" trade unions (Einheitsgewerkschaft). Workers' education programmes were expanded, union publishing and printing units were set up, and union-owned enterprises were established, especially in the banking, building, housing and insurance sectors.

1920 The ADGB called a general strike in protest against the Kapp Coup, a right-wing attempt to sweep away the republic.

1922 By now, the ADGB had 7.5 million members, but half of these were lost due to inflation and unemployment by 1929.

1929 The trade union initiative to develop economic democracy perished with the slump. Cutbacks in social reforms went right to the top of the political agenda.

1930 The last social democrat-led parliamentary government collapsed in 1930 due to financial problems arising from unemployment insurance

1932 44 % of trade union members were unemployed, another 22 % on short time.

1933 When the Weimar Republic collapsed, the unions fluctuated between general strikes and conformity. The ADGB leadership declared neutrality towards Hitler. On May 2nd, SA forces suppressed the trade union movement. Many trade union leaders joined the resistance against Nazi dictatorship. Even before the end of the war, the reestablishment of trade unions had begun. Most of them were unified unions (Einheitsgewerkschaften), organised on the principle of industry-based associations - one factory, one union.

1949 After the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, the DGB held its constituting conference in Munich in 1949. Hans Böckler was elected as its chairman.

1951 The Federal Parliament (Bundestag) enacts the statute providing for equal representation of the employees in the supervisory boards for the coal and steel industries. IG Metall and IG Bergbau members (metalworkers and miners) had previously come out in favour of strikes to push through the co-determination legislation.

1952 The passage of the Works Constitution Act through parliament caused internal strife within the unions because it ignored many of the unions' demands.

1954 The DGB national congress rejects any contribution whatsoever towards armed forces by the Federal Republic of Germany.

1962 The main topic is the dispute over legislation for emergency conditions; the lines of those for and

against go right across the DGB. The majority in Congress votes against the Emergency Laws.

1963 The DGB sets out a political programme; in the light of growing economic productivity and improved living conditions for employees, there had been a growing demand for review and revision of the political principles on which the founding congress in Munich had been based.

1966 The beginning of the economic crisis forced the unions to concentrate their attention on job security and maintaining incomes.

1967 The representatives of the Grand Coalition government, industry, science and the DGB met to agree on concerted action.

1974 The DGB adopts its first environmental programme.

1977 The DGB puts forward its proposals for the restoration of full employment.

1981 and 1982 DGB protests against the social-liberal government's policies because they were failing to deal with the employment situation and were socially unfair. After the change of government, there were major demonstrations against the Kohl government's policies.

1982 "Der Spiegel" reveals the "Neue Heimat" financial scandal.

1983 Several hundred thousand people respond to the DGB's call to stop work for a minute's silence for peace in protest against the arms race with the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe.

1984 Strikes by the IG Metall and IG Druck und Papier (metal workers,

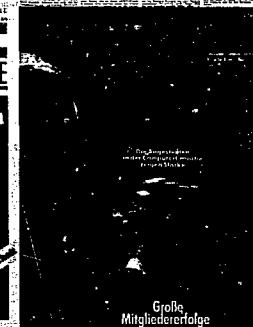
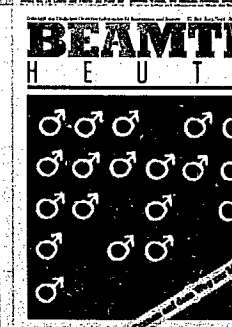
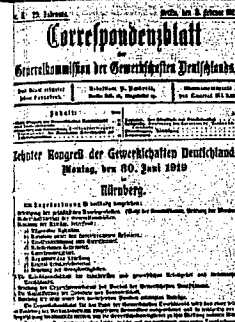
printers and paper workers) spearhead the campaign for a 35-hour working week.

1986 Demonstrations at over 200 DGB rallies bring around a million people out to protest against the government's plans to reform § 116 of the Promotion of Employment Act (Arbeitsförderungs-gesetz).

1990 The DGB helps to build up free trade unions in East Germany after the fall of the Berlin wall

1992 The DGB adopts a process of reform for its organisational structure, its political programme work and its work and communication methods.

1993 The DGB runs a campaign of resistance to fight off attacks from the employers and government on collective bargaining autonomy.



Strong by Change - DGB

The trade unions are undergoing a renewal process because the same is happening in our country. 1989 has proved to be the most incisive cut in German post-war history. We are even less able today to predict what is going to happen in the future than we were in 1945. The end of divisions at global, European and German level laid down a completely new challenge to the people before the previous ones had been fully resolved.

The failed national economies and ecological devastation in Eastern Europe have placed unforeseen pressures on Western Europe. Uncertainty arising from new technologies, unemployment, the destruction of the environment, the internationalisation of politics - all these ex-

isted before 1989. Now Western Europe's problems have to be tackled together with those of Eastern Europe. This is a major opportunity to set the signals so that long-term benefits can be achieved involving both halves of Europe, thereby consigning division to history.

Self-interest and the Common Good

Nowhere is the collision between risks and opportunities in East and West as direct as in reunified Germany. The present mood among Germans is to see the dangers of this situation rather than the opportunities it holds. Many people have responded primarily with entrenchment.

Thinking in terms of the common good is losing

ground. All the major institutions in society are suffering from a decline in membership, and nothing new is emerging on a scale that might go beyond individual interests.

The trade unions emerged in the last century from innumerable fragmented organisations with little power and limited fields of action. That was the reason for the resolution passed by the first trade union congress in 1892 in Halberstadt to establish centralised occupation-based associations. The first step towards unified trade unions (Einheitsgewerkschaften) was thus taken. With this foundation to build on, the workers organised in trade unions were in a position to fight for and win significant social reforms. The eight-hour day

and the universal franchise were part of those achievements, as were the rudiments of today's social security system. The trade unions set up the first unemployment, sickness and old-age benefit schemes on their own initiative before government took over these tasks. Collective bargaining autonomy ensured that government did not interfere in the running of the economy. The right to strike gave the trade unions sufficient strength in collective negotiations to achieve gradual improvements in the situation of working people.



First round of the "concerted action" on February 14th, 1967.

Strength in Unity

Even today, one hundred years after Halberstadt, the trade unions are still trying to prevent fragmentation among working people. The DGB makes sure that individ-

ual trade unions are not left out on their own. Public debates, talks with government and the employers' associations, scientists and artists are an important part of the DGB's work. Neverthe-

less, the trade unions are not just any old voice in the chorus of public discussion. They conduct their negotiations from a position of power. The voice of the DGB is given a hearing because of

its authority and its reforming energy. It is taken seriously because of the strength of the trade unions.

The source of trade union power is the immense number of members. In turn, this number of people who become members of the trade unions depends how much chance they have to become personally involved and stand up for their own interests. If commitment to trade unionism has flagged in recent years, the unions themselves must take part of the blame. Political culture within the unions had often grown cumbersome and unwieldy, and there was a lack of openness in the democratic process. In spite of this, individualism also has its limits. No society can work if everyone acts in their own private interest, whether at work or



in the political sphere, and behaves like a one-man band. Our task for the future is to find a new balance in the relationship between the private individual and the community, to provide a new experience of solidarity.

DGB Reform

The DGB is doing its part in this process of redirection. It wants more democratic involvement for its membership and less red tape. A review and restructuring of the organisation, political programming, working methods

and forms of communication within the DGB will be in place by the time the reform congress takes place in Dresden in 1996. What we have ahead of us is a period of internal identity-finding and debate on the design of trade union policies in the context of the

incisive changes taking place in conditions outside the DGB. This self-portrait brochure is not aimed at anticipating what the results of that process will be. In itself, it is part of the debate inside and outside the DGB. Strong by Change.

The Reform Debate

The way towards a new policy programme

The German Trade Union Congress (DGB) has prescribed a comprehensive modernisation process for itself. There are many reasons that have led to this, but they can be summed up in the statement that the conditions for trade union policy have changed so fundamentally that we can no longer escape the question as to whether the "old" answers are still the right ones. The DGB has to adapt its substance and its programmes to the imminent 21st century and reappraise the present model of trade union organisation to check whether it might also be in need of structures more appropriate to the times. The world has undergone major change since 1989. The

collapse of state-run socialist systems of society has brought with it new opportunities for political understanding between nations and opened up new dimensions of international division of labour in the economic field. The downside of this upheaval is economic collapse and a re-emergence of nationalism.

In addition to these supranational developments, German society is changing as well. It is becoming more differentiated and pluralistic. Self-determination and complete control of their time have become high priorities on people's personal scale of values. Society offers far more opportunities for the personal development of the individual without having released him from old dependencies. Unresolved conflicts



such as unemployment or the lack of equality between men and women still call for new concepts from the trade unions and politics.

The world nowadays is much harder to grasp. The new challenges conceal many risks, because very little will remain as it is. However, these ruptures with the past offer new opportunities for the trade unions.

The future DGB programme must provide answers to the elemental questions of our time and open up new perspectives for subsequent generations. The questions with which we are primarily concerned are:

How can we ensure that the internationalisation and globalisation of the economy is taking full account of social needs?

How can the interests of those in work and those who have invariably been excluded from it be reconciled?

There will never be an equitable distribution of the wealth we have all shared in earning, unless the ecological and social conditions for economic growth are reformed. How can ecology and economy be reconciled?

What form could a welfare state take to make it more than just a social insurance system. What have we achieved in the past that



must be defended and carried ahead into the future? What state benefits have outlived their usefulness?

What will the trade union of the future be like? How can we make our political action more transparent and more attractive to non-members? Have we allowed internal democracy within unions the scope it should have in an organisation of emancipated people?

The modernisation of the DGB and its member unions is not going on behind locked doors. We are an organisation that could never achieve and maintain its present power and political weight if it were not for the commitment of the countless working

people who put in so much voluntary effort, so it is of the utmost importance to us that they should all be involved in the reform process.

Ever since it was launched in 1992, the reform of the DGB has always been planned as a process of searching for future concepts.

An extraordinary national DGB conference in November 1996, convened especially for that purpose, will be the conclusion of the programme debate. This congress will adopt the new policy programme and also the new structures for trade union work.

Many trade unionists, scientists and personalities from politics, the churches,

even from business management have given their comments since 1992. Their input is very important to us in the programme debate.

During the course of this interchange of views, we have learned that the renewal of our own structures is inseparable from new demands on society in our programmes, and that the two are interdependent.

The ongoing discussion has also shown that the trade unions have reached a crossroads in their history. Should they confine themselves to concern for the material and social expectations of their members? Or should they uphold their claim to be a force for development and change in the world of work and society as a whole?

The trade unions must continue their fight on behalf

of working people, but they must also struggle for social justice. Concentration on this world of work does not rule out a share of the responsibility for shaping general economic conditions too. Over the past 50 years, the trade unions in Germany have built up their competence through their work. They have become an important part of this society and have been an active partner in shaping democracy and a market economy with a social conscience.

Trade unions will continue to be an essential element for the further progress of democracy.

Dieter Schulte,
Chairman of the
German Confederation
of Trade Unions

The Work and Structure of the DGB

National and International

As the trade union umbrella organisation, the DGB represents the German trade union movement in dealing with the government authorities at Federal State and national level, the political parties, the employers' organisations and other groups within society. It works within the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The DGB coordinates joint demands, themes and campaigns for its 16 member unions. It supports them in industrial disputes, advocates their interests vis-à-vis politicians and the general public. The DGB itself is not directly involved in collective bargain-

ing and cannot conclude pay agreements. However, it is important for its competence as a specialist body for larger issues in matters of a general political nature.

The responsibility for running the DGB's work rests with a five-member Executive Committee elected by the Federal Congress every four years. This Congress sets the framework for trade union policies.

The DGB has its headquarters in Düsseldorf with numerous branches and institutions in other Federal States towns and districts. Local offices broaden the union presence countrywide.

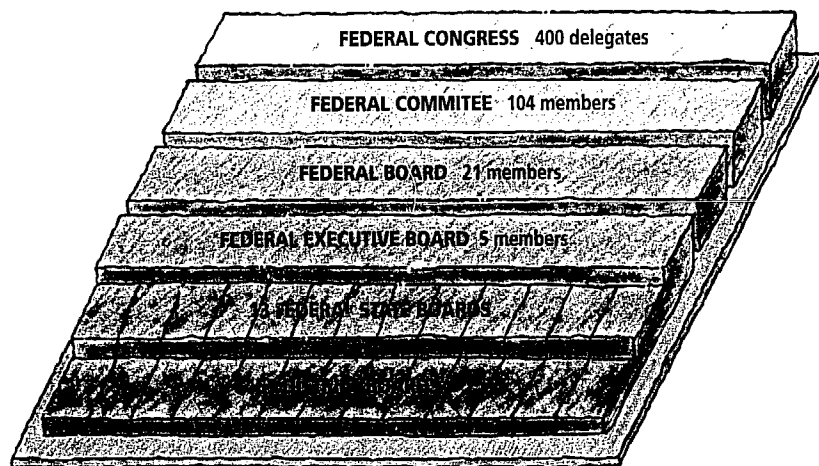
DGB Policy and Influence of Members

Action by the trade unions means primarily negotiating with employers and politicians. The DGB, however, sets its own initiatives in motion, such as the recent national compulsory insurance scheme for chronic nursing care. It devises regional and job-creation programmes, acts as a moderator in traffic initiatives, assists in Third World projects and supports cultural centres, youth cafés and child care initiatives. Recently, it has increased its involvement in campaigns against racism and xenophobia and initiated demonstrations of its own.

The DGB's members are unified trade unions and have no allegiance to political parties or religious denom-

inations. They are politically independent but not neutral. They fight for democracy and human rights and are opposed to political extremism.

The trade unions have their foundations in the world of work. Unemployed people, trainees and students can also join a union if they wish. In formal terms, the DGB has only 16 members as a federation, i.e. its member unions. But they represent nearly 10 million men and women organised within those unions. As individual unions have agreed on co-operation between themselves, even to the extent of a merger in some cases, the number of member unions is set to decline in the next few years. The development of union membership depends



crucially on the development of employment.

The formation of political will within trade unions is a democratic process operating from the bottom up (see chart). The union members elect delegates to the DGB executive committees at district or regional level as well as the national executive.

Protection of rights and social self-administration

The DGB lends its support to the individual unions at shop floor and company level in their function to protect and shape conditions for working people. It gives information and advice to its members in the workers' representative bodies at company level and in supervisory

boards. It offers all union members free legal advice, especially in cases before labour tribunals and social courts.

The DGB has equal entitlement to representation in the executive bodies for the self-regulation of social insurance funds - compulsory health, accident and pension insurance funds - as well as in the Federal Office of Employ-

ment. DGB representatives are members of the workers' compensation schemes (Berufsgenossenschaften) and vocational education institutions. It also provides magistrates and has a seat and a vote in the advisory councils of the public broadcasting organisations and in the private broadcasting companies' media institutes at Federal State level.

DGB Union Membership (updated to 31.12.1994)*

	Male workers	Female workers	Total workers	White collar male	White collar female	Total white collar	Male civil servants	Female civil servants	Total civil servants	Total male	Total female	Total	in %
Building, Stone and Earth	543 428	41 999	585 427	46 238	21 399	67 637				585 427	63 208	648 635	6.7
Mining and Energy**	292 491	9 918	302 409	69 745	17 594	87 339	232			302 409	27 512	329 921	4.0
Chemicals, Paper and Ceramics	467 673	124 248	591 921	98 961	51 485	150 446				591 921	175 733	767 654	7.6
German Railwaymen's Union**	181 021	37 864	218 885	38 139	28 788	66 927	124 009	13 282	137 291	218 885	79 994	298 879	4.3
Education and Science				31 936	118 555	150 491	51 937	67 501	119 438	102 145	214 051	316 196	3.2
Horticulture, Agriculture, Forestry	54 468	19 262	73 730	7 100	6 759	13 859				73 730	64 140	137 870	0.9
Commerce, Banking and Insurance	37 650	23 481	61 132	140 569	343 569	484 138				61 132	367 051	428 183	5.6
Wood and Plastics	139 263	27 371	166 634	8 472	4 566	13 038				166 634	157 735	324 369	1.8
Leather	11 617	10 972	22 589	1 566	868	2 434				22 589	13 181	35 770	0.3
Media	72 822	23 561	96 384	30 715	19 764	50 479				96 384	70 732	167 116	2.2
Metalworkers	2 086 254	363 872	2 450 126	361 992	164 220	526 212				2 450 126	546 202	2 996 328	30.7
Food, Beverages and Catering	169 387	94 172	263 559	32 671	40 009	72 680				263 559	134 181	397 740	3.4
Public Services, Transport and Traffic	597 244	230 519	827 763	350 615	625 483	975 998	60 056	14 334	74 390	1 007 315	870 036	1 877 351	19.2
Police	7 960	3 332	11 292	10 830	11 502	22 332	152 303	11 555	163 858	171 093	26 387	197 480	2.0
Postal Union	103 403	97 269	200 672	19 496	62 125	81 621	193 045	71 568	264 613	315 041	230 963	546 004	5.6
Textiles and Garments	51 332	71 217	122 549	10 162	9 636	19 798				122 549	93 407	215 956	2.4
DGB total	4 816 013	1 199 065	6 015 078	1 258 007	1 526 242	2 784 249	584 134	178 461	762 595	6 749 325	3 019 048	9 768 373	100.0
Percentage	80.1%	19.9%	100.0%	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%	75.6%	23.4%	100.0%	69.1%	30.9%	100.0%	

* A detailed breakdown updated to 31.12.1994 was not available when this article went to print. The present estimate totals around 9.8 million

** Some unions have "other members" besides workers, white collar members and civil servants (e.g. freelance, pensioners, trainees, etc.) They are included in the totals, which is why the bottom line does not always tally with the sum of "workers, white collar members and civil servants"

*** The German Railwaymen's Union reports a total of 451 002, although the difference cannot be attributed to DGB structures

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80336 München
☎ 089/5 14 16-0
Berlin-Brandenburg
Keithstraße 1-3
10787 Berlin
☎ 030/2 12 40-0
Hessen
Wilhelm-Leuschner-Straße
69-77
60329 Frankfurt
☎ 069/27 30 05-0
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
Gadebuscher Straße 153 G
19057 Schwerin
☎ 03 85/7 31 41-0

Lower Saxony/Bremen
Dreyerstraße 6
30169 Hannover
☎ 05 11/1 26 01-0
Nordmark
Besenbinderhof 60
20097 Hamburg
☎ 040/2 85 82 36
North Rhine-Westphalia
Friedrich-Ebert-Straße 34-38
40210 Düsseldorf
☎ 02 11/36 83-0
Rhineland Palatinate
Kaiserstraße 26-30
55116 Mainz
☎ 0 61 31/28 16-0

Saar
Fritz-Dobisch-Straße 5
66111 Saarbrücken
☎ 06 81/4 00 01-0
Saxony
Schützenplatz 14
01067 Dresden
☎ 03 51/48 53 01 00
Saxony-Anhalt
Lennestraße 13
39112 Magdeburg
☎ 03 91/6 25 03-0
Thuringia
Juri-Gagarin-Ring 150
99084 Erfurt
☎ 03 61/5 96 10

DGB's MEMBER UNIONS

IG Bau-Steine-Erden Building, Stone and Earth

Postfach 101144
60284 Frankfurt
☎ 069/74 37-0

IG Bergbau und Energie

Mining and Energy
Postfach 101229
44712 Bochum
☎ 02 34/319-0

IG Chemie-Papier-Keramik

Chemicals, Paper and Ceramics
Postfach 3047
30030 Hannover
☎ 05 11/76 31-0

Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner

Deutschlands German Railwaymen's Union
Postfach 170331
60077 Frankfurt
☎ 069/75 36-0

Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft

Education and Science
Postfach 900409
60444 Frankfurt
☎ 069/7 89 73-0

Gewerkschaft Gartenbau, Land- und Forstwirtschaft

Horticulture, Agriculture and Forestry
Postfach 410158
34063 Kassel
☎ 05 61/93 79-0

Gewerkschaft Handel, Banken und Versicherungen

Commerce, Banking and Insurance
Postfach 330211
40435 Düsseldorf
☎ 02 11/90 40-0

Gewerkschaft Holz und Kunststoff

Wood and Plastics
Postfach 102562
40016 Düsseldorf
☎ 02 11/77 03-0

Gewerkschaft Leder

Leather
Willi-Bleicher-Straße 20
70174 Stuttgart
☎ 07 11/29 55 55/56

IG Medien

Media
Postfach 102451
70020 Stuttgart
☎ 07 11/20 18-0

IG Metall

Metalworkers
Postfach 710418
60519 Frankfurt
☎ 069/66 93-0

Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuß-Gaststätten

Food, Beverages and Catering
Postfach 501180
22711 Hamburg
☎ 040/3 80 13-0

Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr

Public Services, Transport and Traffic
Postfach 103662
70031 Stuttgart
☎ 07 11/20 97-0

Gewerkschaft der Polizei

Police
Postfach 309
40703 Hilden
☎ 02 11/71 04-0

Deutsche Postgewerkschaft

Postal Union
Rhonestr. 2
60528 Frankfurt/Main
☎ 069/66 95-0

Gewerkschaften Textil-Bekleidung

Textiles and Garments
Postfach 320460
40419 Düsseldorf
☎ 02 11/43 09-0