

**The Polish Coal Miners' Union and the
German Labor Movement in the Ruhr,
1902-1934**

National and Social Solidarity

John J. Kulczycki



BERG

Oxford • New York

Abbreviations in Notes	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Map: Prussia's Western and Eastern Provinces	xiv
Map: The Ruhr Industrial Region	xv
Introduction	1
I National Solidarity in the Interest of the Working Class	
1 The Formation of a Polish Trade Union, 1902–1905	9
A Polish Working Class in the Ruhr	9
The Origins of the Polish Trade Union	20
The Creation of a Polish Trade Union	30
The ZZP and the Union Movement, 1902–1904	32
2 The Achievement of Parity: The 1905 Strike	45
The Origins of the Strike	45
The Strike Begins	49
The Miners' Meetings and Union Growth	51
The Strike and the Polish Community	57
The Strike Ends	58
3 Consolidation of the Polish Union Movement, 1905–1912	65
The Growth and Development of the ZZP after the 1905 Strike	65
Unification of the Polish Workers' Organizations in Germany	68
Restructuring the ZZP	71
Union Membership after the Fusion	75
Masurians	79
Ties between the ZZP and Its Members	81
The Politics of the ZZP and the Prussian Authorities	84
The ZZP and the Interests of the Working Class	90
National Solidarity versus Working-Class Interests	92
4 Integration of the ZZP in the Labor Movement, 1905–1914	97
Union Solidarity	97
The Split in the Commission of Seven	99
A Christian Union	102
The "Socialist" Union	104
Miners' Elections	106
The Triple Alliance	111

Contents

A Divided Labor Movement	114
Disaffection with the Unions	119
Divisions in the Polish National Movement	122
The ZZP and Ethnic Solidarity	125
The ZZP on the Eve of the War	130
II National Solidarity in the Interest of the Polish Nation-State	
5 The World War and the Reorientation of the ZZP	137
The Immediate Impact of the War	137
Union Cooperation	140
POW's and Forced Labor in the Mines	142
The Revival of the Labor Movement	143
The Changing Geopolitical Situation	147
A Socio-Political Program for the ZZP	150
The National Workers' Party	151
Transformation of the ZZP	154
6 Polish Disengagement from the German Labor Movement, 1918-1924	159
The Post-War Turmoil in Germany and the ZZP	159
Polish Participation in the Revolutionary Movement in the Ruhr	162
Polish Miners and Left-Wing Radicalism	165
Polish Miners and the Kapp Putsch	170
The Official Polish View	172
German-Polish Antagonism, 1920-1922	182
The French Occupation of the Ruhr	191
A Resumption of the Battle over the Length of the Workday	199
7 The Self-Liquidation of the Polish Miners' Union	205
The Return to the Homeland	205
Opting for Polish Citizenship	212
Migration to France	222
The Decline of the Polish Miners' Union in the Ruhr	231
The Final Phase in the History of the ZZP in the Ruhr	238
Conclusion: National Versus Social Solidarity	249
Appendix 1: Membership in the ZZP	253

Appendix 2: The Program and Demands of the ZZP, 27 October 1917	255
The Program of the ZZP	255
The Demands of the ZZP	257
Bibliography	259
Archival Sources	259
Other Primary Sources	261
Secondary Sources	265
Index	277