

Abstracts

■ Jürgen Mittag

Deutsche Gewerkschaften und europäische Einigung: Forschungsphasen, Desiderate und Perspektiven aus historischer Sicht

The article delineates the evolution of academic literature and research on the linkages between German trade unions and European integration. First studies have been published by social scientists in the 1950s revealing the potential of national trade unions in the course of European integration. Whereas a limited number of studies has been issued in the 1960s, research in the 1970s and 80s for the most part has covered trade union activities at the European level. From the 1990s up to the present research has predominantly focussed on the Europeanisation of trade unions comparing different strategies and attitudes of national unions towards European integration. Reflecting on the status quo the contribution concludes that German trade unions' linkages towards European integration have attracted growing academic interest but were hardly examined so far as a subject of historical research. Exploring the further articles of this issue the author underlines the necessity to analyse in-depth to what extent national trade unions have reacted to the process of European integration.

■ Willy Buschak

Der große Umbau der europäischen Wirtschaft. Die Arbeiterbewegung der Zwischenkriegszeit und die europäische Einigung

This article deals with the discussion about a united Europe during the interwar period from 1918 to 1936. Therefore the author points out some sources that provide information about the role and point of view taken by the labour movement in this time period. Referring to discussions on Europeanisation the article underlines some arguments for example the economic competition between the United States of America and Europe, problems caused by multinational companies and increased mobility of capital. By comparison some of these arguments sound surprisingly similar to current debates about European integration. Concepts regarding market freedom, tariff reduction and cooperation between the French and German mining- and steel industry as well as problems like mass unemployment, labour mobility and wage policy in a united Europe have already been considered during that period.

■ Bernd Bühlbäcker

Die Debatte um die Montanunion: Gewerkschaften und europäische Integration in den 1950er Jahren

The historiography of (early) European Integration concerning the role of trade unionism is still lacking severe historical research. Neither do we know which role national trade unions

and their umbrella organisations played, nor do we have detailed studies of their impact on the European Integration process in the 1950s. The author tries to analyse and evaluate early attempts, conceptions and ideas of the main German umbrella organisation, the DGB, and the most influential trade unions of that time, the steel and mining unions IG Metall and IG Bergbau, towards European integration. Beside that the author imbeds his case study into the social, political and economic background of the 1950s when national interests did not necessarily mean mutual interests and also did not cope with supranational ambitions of the European Coal and Steel Community.

■ *Hitoshi Suzuki*

The High Authority of the ECSC, the European Network of Trade Unions and the DGB: Ideas, Strategies and Achievements

This chapter examines how the trade unions of the six ECSC Member States constructed a European network in order to support the Schuman Plan and to influence the decision-making of the ECSC based on workers' interests. The unions agreed to support the Schuman Plan and aimed at achieving direct participation in the Paris negotiations and in the High Authority of the ECSC. The DGB was one of the few unions that were able to send members regularly into government delegations, and therefore played an indispensable role in both influencing the policies of the ECSC and developing the European network of trade unions: the ERO of the ICFTU, the Committee of 21 and the Bureau de Liaison. After achieving participation, the unions lobbied the High Authority under Jean Monnet's presidency and jointly claimed that dismantling coal cartels would cause mass unemployment in coalmines and would damage the economy. The unions successfully postponed the anti-cartel policy of the ECSC, but faced a split in supporting further integration.

■ *Karl Lauschke*

Zwischen Mitbestimmungs- und Europapolitik: Die IG Metall und die Anfänge der europäischen Integration

In contrast to the German federation of trade unions (DGB) and the union of mine-workers (IG Bergbau), the union of metal-workers (IG Metall) was rather sceptical about the Schuman Plan in the early 1950s. In particular, fears were expressed that the codetermination, just achieved in 1947, would be undermined and that the German iron and steel industry would suffer disadvantages against the French industry. Considering this point of view the union of metal-workers was isolated within the trade union movement. Hence, the metal-workers finally accepted the ratification of the treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community and shared the arrangement while continuing to pursue their objectives.

■ *Jelena Jojević*

Nachholende Europäisierung? Reaktionen und Strategien der IG Metall gegenüber der Montanunion in den 1950er Jahren

Confronted with a *fait accompli* by the ratification of the ECSC Treaty in 1951, the biggest German metalworkers' organization – IG Metall – initially came to the conclusion, not to

support the foundation of the new community. However, switching to the year 1957, when the Treaties of Rome marked the next step of European integration, this position became significantly modified: IG Metall was not merely participating in all the trade unions related ECSC structures, but rather drew the conclusion, that the ECSC has been an economic success and that integration should be deepened. Reviewing the development of this change and its reasons, this article states that IG Metall had undergone a process of Europeanization.

■ *Jörg Rumpf*

Plattformen gewerkschaftlicher Europapolitik: IG Metall und IG CPK und der Prozess der europäischen Integration in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren

The article focuses on influences and reactions of the German industrial unions IG Metall and IG CKP to the European integration process during the 1960s and 1970s. Within this context the author describes levels and instruments of engagement and points out the different views, problems and starting points of two leading industrial unions during the foundation of the EEC and ETUC. Therein, the article highlights different strategies of the trade unions due to their political and economic interests on the one hand and possibilities, given to them by European representative structures, on the other hand. In addition, the article also sketches their engagement at the level of sectoral trade union organisation.

■ *Stefan Remeke*

Gewerkschaften als Motoren der europäischen Integration? Der DGB und das soziale Europa von den Römischen Verträgen bis zu den Pariser Gipfelkonferenzen (1958–1974)

In particular in the research of Niethammer or Ruhwedel in the 1970s it was stated that the trade unions in Europe participated in the proceeding European integration in a defensive way. The so-called “defensive integration” in terms of the 1950s to 1970s was therefore characterized by a lack of leading trade unions’ initiative and their insufficient engagement in the European unification. This article reconsiders a counter-position by analysing the results offered by recent research works. The development from the 1950s and the treaty of Rome to the 1970s and the increase in social questions is regarded with special notion on the foundation of the “European Trade Union Confederation” (ETUC/EGB) and the efforts of the “Confederation of German Trade Unions” (DGB). The evaluation of previously unconsidered sources and documents leads to the conclusion that at least the Confederation of German Trade Unions and their elite have to be perceived as a moving power on the road to a united Europe.

■ *Jürgen Mittag/Maren Zellin*

Grenzen der Koordination europäischer Gewerkschaftspolitik: Die Episode der Abteilung ‘Europäische Integration’ des DGB (1972–1975)

During the 1970s, in the course of a renewal of European integration, German trade unions increasingly started to turn their attention towards the European level. In particular, the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) shifted the attention to European policy

preparation and making. This realignment also sheds light on the need of a more coherent internal coordination in regard of European policies. For this purpose a new department (Abteilung Europäische Integration) was established inside the structure of the DGB. Though the department had been set-up with high expectations, it remained a temporary institution, since it had been closed only after three years. This paper scrutinises the background and motivations for both the beginnings and the closure of the DGB's European Integration department, concentrating in detail on organisational aspects that still constitute a desideratum within research on Europeanisation.

■ *Stephan Seifen*

Die Bedeutung der europäischen Beschäftigungspolitik für den Strategiewandel der deutschen Gewerkschaften in der Phase der "Eurosklerose" (1973–1986)

The article deals with the evolution towards a European social agenda during the period of "Euroclerosis" and its relevance for a change in German trade unions' strategy. It follows the thesis that German trade unions changed their attitude concerning Europeanisation from an only complementary national strategy to a real multilevel strategy, shortly after the evolution of social policy issues like the European employment policy and the expansion of participation rights at the European level during the 1970s. Hence, the article includes a short description of German trade unions' evolution at national and European level by the time and beyond, an overview of the evolution of social issues at European level; it discusses national restrictions and problems and tries to work out a scientific classification applying a political science theory to work out coherences and interdependencies of important actors, parameters and strategies.

■ *Cyril Gläser*

Europäische Einheitsgewerkschaft zwischen lähmender Überdehnung und umfassender Repräsentativität: EGB-Strukturen und die Herausforderung der Erweiterung

In this article the author analyses and assesses two often neglected aspects of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and their relevance for and impact on two of its central and often paralysing dilemmas: representativeness vs. capacity to act and political independence vs. financial dependency on EU institutions. Firstly, the article refers to the membership, the internal structure and the financial background of the ETUC. Secondly, the affiliation of new members, especially from middle and eastern European countries, are examined. The participation of new members is considered as one of the key challenges for the ETUC in the last two decades having a deep impact on the ETUC and its structures.

■ *Walther Müller-Jentsch*

Die Dekade der Herausforderungen: Deutsche Gewerkschaften zwischen europäischer Integration und nationalstaatlicher Reorganisation in den 1990er Jahren

During the 1990s, mainly two processes challenged German trade unions: The German unification process at the national level on the one hand and the accelerated dynamics of integration at the European level on the other. While the unions were able to develop ade-

quate organisational and functional strategies for coping with the national unification, they can be regarded as latecomers within the European integration process, which developed a new dynamic at the beginning of the 1990s. This dynamic was fostered by the legal framework for the development of a social dimension and the single market – in fact crucial questions for the unions. However, the German unions' reactions were rather sceptical and reluctant while they had to concentrate their attention on the German unification process at the same time. According to these developments the article deals with the question how far German trade union's resources were occupied by the German unification process and to what extent this circumstance constricted their engagement towards the European level.

■ *Wolfgang Kowalsky*

Das Verhältnis von EGB und nationalen Gewerkschaften: Zwischen Europäisierung und Renationalisierung

This article focuses on the state of research relating to trade unions and European politics. An overview on the development of the European Trade Union Congress (ETUC) is followed by a glance at the trade unions' programmatic positions regarding ideas and concepts of European integration. In reference to the dictum of Vobruba, revealing the lack of a genuine intellectual discussion about Europe, it is possible to trace an intellectual critique concerning Europe from the right wing of the political spectrum as well as from the left. From the trade unions' point of view the debate on the future of Europe focussed on the establishment of a balance between economic and social aspects of integration. Since academic literature dealing with trade unionism is as comprehensive as literature on European integration it could be assumed that the combination of both entails similar results. However, a short view on trade union literature regarding European integration as well as a glance at European literature concerning trade unionism shows the limits of current academic research.

■ *Jürgen Mittag*

Zwischen Transfer- und Pionierforschung: Zwölf Problemfelder einer Agenda europabezogener Gewerkschaftsforschung

Based on earlier works that scrutinized the linkage between German trade unions and European integration this article intends to identify twelve systematic approaches to further academic research in the field of history. In order to benefit from the academic research that has been carried out so far an exchange between different disciplines seems to be inevitable. In particular, the conclusions from social sciences have to be taken into account by the humanities in order to draw a more nuanced picture and to rest on a more salient basis for further explorations. The interdisciplinary exchange has to be endorsed by further archive studies and the recourse to genuinely historical approaches.