

Abstracts

- *Klaus Dörre: Gewerkschaftseliten nach 1945 – Kontinuität und Wandel der Führungsgruppen deutscher Gewerkschaften: Das wiederbelebte Interesse an den gewerkschaftlichen Führungsgruppen*

The elite of the German trade unions is characterised by a high continuity regarding the social profile of the leadership, the recruiting patterns and the position of power inside the organisations. Despite the political integration of the trade unions this elite remains an outsider in a socio-cultural manner. Nowadays the unions are standing at a crossroads. The conditions have changed fundamentally: a tremendous loss of members, a dwindling political influence, a declining loyalty of the works councils and a diminishing ability to mobilise the rank and file. This process, caused by the erosion of the cooperative industrial relations in the course of the transformation of global capitalism, also has an effect on the leadership. One can notice an external recruitment of some chairmen, a rising importance of the works council chairmen of the big companies, a growing distance to the traditional ally, the social-democratic party, but the outcome stays open.

- *Ursula Bitzegeio: Hans Gottfurcht: Ein gewerkschaftlicher Handlungsreisender*

The political participation of trade unionists in post-war Germany politics has already not been pointed out. Within the representations of the young Federal Republic of Germany, the leader of the trade unions are often out of the question, although the design of the German Trade Union Federation had been such an exceptional factor for the re-establishment of Democracy in Germany. The biographical essay will introduce Hans Gottfurcht (1896–1982), who was the chairman of the national group of German trade unionists in British exile during the Second World War. The proposals of Hans Gottfurcht and the London group, in particular the setting up of industrial unions, based on the principles of voluntary membership and political independence, have made an important contribution to the re-organisation of the trade union movement in Germany.

- *Frank Ahland: Gegen alles Front machen, was der Demokratie gefährlich werden kann. Ludwig Rosenberg und die Verarbeitung des Nationalsozialismus*

Driven by the idea of a future democratic socialist Germany, Ludwig Rosenberg (1903–1977), forced into exile in Britain by the National Socialists and later to become chairman of the German Federation of Trade Unions, returns in June 1945 to his destroyed homeland. On the basis of his experience of a functioning democracy and a strong institutionalised worker's movement gained in exile, he wants to investigate the possibilities of establishing a German equivalent of the Workers' Educational Association. After six months in post-war Germany, Rosenberg, who lost part of his family to the Nazis, realises that the Nazis were far less suc-

cessful in instilling their ideology in the minds of the German people than leaving behind a moral indifference and complete ignorance.

■ *Jens Becker/Harald Jentsch: „Es darf nie wieder zu einem 1933 kommen!“ Das gewerkschafts-politische Selbstverständnis Otto Brenners in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*

The contribution reflects the trade union political self-conception of the IG-Metal president Otto Brenner. He belonged to the few working class leaders who fundamentally looked into fascism, capitalism and democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany. Cold War and the restorative socio-political climate of the fifties and sixties encouraged Brenner to claim that German society should work up the faults made in the past and fight against authoritarian tendencies in state and society. Under certain circumstances, Brenner considered conceivable not a recurrence of the Nazi regime, but a deformation or even destruction of democracy. To avoid this, Brenner regarded as one of the most important missions of the labour movement.

■ *Klaus Mertsching: Matthias Föcher: Ein christlicher Gewerkschafter in der Einheitsgewerkschaft*

There are only a few of biographies about christian trade unionists in Germany. The following “short biography” about Matthias Föcher shall give the impetus to further research about these trade unionists. He was one of the important christian trade unionist after the Second World War, who built up the unified trade union (Einheitsgewerkschaft) – DGB – together with Hans Böckler. Born in Köln 1886 and from the beginning of his work, he was a member of the catholic labour movement and till 1933 he was a secretary in the board of the christian metalworkers trade union. After the World War he was a “fighter” for the unified trade union even against his own party the CDU. At the founding congress of the DGB 1949 in Munich he was elect as vice chairman onto the board of the DGB. From 1949 till 1956 he was the vice chairman and even representative of that trade unionists, who where also member of the CDU.

■ *Till Kössler: Doppelte Loyalitäten: Willi Agatz, die KPD und die Durchsetzung gewerkschaftlicher Einheit nach 1945*

Through an evaluation of the rise and fall of the high ranking communist and trade union leader, Willi Agatz, this essay tries to shed light on the process of trade union integration after fascism. Agatz work was characterized by the initially successful attempt to reconcile a program of social revolution with day-to day union business. However, in the face of political polarization at the end of the 1940s Agatz position within the IV Bergbau became increasingly precarious. His refusal to renounce communist politics ultimately led to his expulsion from the union. All in all, his work as a TU secretary had a paradoxically effect. In fostering the integration of important groups of radical miners into the Trade Union organization he involuntarily helped to weaken the communist movement in the pit fields, the basis of his own power within the Union.

■ *Peter Hübner: Im Parteiauftrag: Herbert Warnke an der Spitze des FDGB*

This essay looks at how Herbert Warnke, 1948–1975 chairman of the federale executive board FDGB and member of the SED- (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) leadership, thought and behaved in the political scenery of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and how he understood his own role. The article focuses on the divergence between individuality and communist party-discipline. Another problem is the applicability of idea “elite” for the FDGB-leadership. Answer upon this is abiding ambiguous. Warnke’s political career was exemplary referring to this: Party-discipline on the one hand, and frequently to run withdrawal in private life otherwise.

■ *Knud Andresen: Heinz Brandt – Ein streitbarer Intellektueller und die IG Metall*

Heinz Brandt (1909–1986), a jewish-born socialist, worked since 1959 as editorial journalist for the “metall”, the official magazine for the members of the trade-union IG Metall. Brandts life and work is an example for a part of the labour movement, which tried to keep up the emancipatoric and even utopistic horizon of liberation from a capitalistic society. Brandt, who spent ten years in prison and concentration-camps in Nazi-Germany, fled from GDR in 1958. He was kidnapped in the GDR in 1961. An international campaign for his release had success in 1964.

After the release, Brandt tried to work for a human socialism, which was strongly inspired by his grand-cousin Erich Fromms ideas of a Being-society instead of a Having-Society. In the seventies he played a prominent role in the new social movements and in undogmatical leftwing critics in the trade unions, especially against the civil use of nuclear power. This prominence brought him in conflict with the trade union. This attitude was strongly non-compatible with the institutional character of the west-german trade union, nonetheless of the emancipatoric horizon, specially the IG Metall. As prominent trade unionist and active writer, he had power of discourse.

■ *Gisela Notz: Von der Schneiderin zur Bundestagsabgeordneten – Die Gewerkschaftsfunktionärin Liesel Kipp-Kaule*

Already at the age of 22, Liesel Kipp-Kaule joined the trade-union ‘Textile and Clothing’. From 1949 until 1963 she was a member of the prime executive board and furthermore, she worked for the Department of Women and Youth. In 1949 Dr. Kurt Schumacher recommended the resolute ‘Bielefelderin’ as a trade-unionist for the First German “Bundestag” (the Federal Diet). For sixteen years, she worked as a member of the Social-Democratic parliamentary party in the German ‘Bundestag’. She stood up for equality between women and men, for equal payment in equal jobs, for the implementation of unionised demands in the leave-taking of the law for maternity protection as well as for an improvement in the professionalism of custodial and social jobs. She has been a battlesome woman and as “a daughter of the people” she has never forgotten her proletarian origins.

■ *Michael Schneider: Walter Hesselbach: Bankier der Gewerkschaften*

Walter Hesselbach was born (20.1.1915) and grew up in Frankfurt/M. He was active in the socialdemocratic youth movement. After the Abitur (1933) he completed an apprenticeship as banker. Since 1940 he was soldier in the Wehrmacht and then became prisoner of war.

Back in Frankfurt/M. in 1947 Hesselbach started his career as banker. Besides he was active in the Frankfurt SPD as a local politician. 1958 he got the mandate to unite the regional branches of the cooperative banks (Gemeinwirtschaftsbanken) owned by the trade unions. As head of the central executive board he formed the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft (BfG) into one of the most successful banks of the 1960ies and 1970ies. For Hesselbach, working for the BfG was not only an economic and social task; equally important he considered his political mission: He aimed at the reconciliation between Israel and Germany, he supported the Ostpolitik of Willy Brandt and he backed up the process of democratization in Spain and Portugal. When in 1977 he retired from the executive board the BfG was on the peak of it's success. Some years later, in 1982, the smash of the Neue Heimat marked the decline of the cooperative economy. This overshadowed the last years of Walter Hesselbach who died on the 5. November 1993.

■ *Susanne Kreuzer: „Der Aufstieg findet nicht statt.“ Frauen und Führungspositionen in der Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (ÖTV) in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren*

The paper exemplifies the career opportunities of women describing the German trade union ÖTV (Public service and transport) in the 1950s und 1960s. It focuses on the biographies of four women who actively participated in the union's women's policy and the support of female nurses. The paper shows that the time of reconstructing the union offered a chance for women even without any political experiences to take over functions in the organization. However, if the women aspired to a position outside the area of the union's women's policy they met the strong opposition of the male union members. It can be shown that the lack of political experience was regarded highly different between women and men. Whereas men got the support of the organization, in the case of women the reference to missing political experience was used to exclude them from influential positions.

■ *Klaus Kempter: Der Funktionär: Eugen Loderer*

Klaus Kempter follows up his biographical sketch on long-time metalworker's union chairman Eugen Loderer (1920–1995) with a reflection on Loderer's being a member of the generation of the so-called "forty-fivers", which has frequently been under the focus of attention in recent years. It becomes evident that – irrespective of its anti-capitalistic rhetoric and its reception by the public – IG Metall under Eugen Loderer practiced essentially pragmatic politics of representing labour interests, not unlike supposedly more conservative trade unions under the leadership of other "forty-fivers". Loderer and his contemporaries, then, link to the older tradition of the "Gewerkschaftsbeamten" and thus make the generation of determined socialists of the in-between years (Otto Brenner, Willi Bleicher, and others) appear as an exception in trade union history.

■ *Stefan Müller: Heinz Dürrbeck: Erneuerer mit alten Zielen*

Heinz Dürrbeck (1912–2001), from 1954 to 1975 member of the board of the IG Metall, was one of the linking generation (“Brückengeneration”), connecting the experiences of the “old” labour movement before 1933 with the new conditions of trade union politics after World War II. He made many efforts to organise the low unionized employees and he improved the educational system of the union by expanding the institutions and training particular shop stewards capable of instructing the union members (“Bildungsobleute”). To this end he cooperated with young social scientists like Oskar Negt and Michael Schumann, most of them members of the SDS (German Socialist Students Union). In 1975 he was suspected of being a spy of the GDR; he escaped to Italy and later to Hungary.

■ *Stefan Remeke: Gerd Muhr und Maria Weber. Eine sozialpolitische Elite des DGB in den frühen Jahren der sozialliberalen Koalition 1969–1974*

In this article Stefan Remeke analyses the sociopolitical elite of the ‘Federation of German Trade Unions’ (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund/DGB) in the time of reforms of the socioliberal coalition, considering Gerd Muhr and Maria Weber as examples. From 1969 to 1990 Muhr was deputy chairman of the DGB as well as Weber. She, as head of the christian-social movement in the DGB was member of the board from 1972 to 1982. Both decided about crucial key positions in the social policy of the German trade unions over a long period of time. Borsdorf’s category of the “Gewerkschaftsmanager” will be applied on Muhr (SPD, member in the sociopolitical commission of the SPD) and Weber (CDU/CDA, chairperson of the CDA). The two acted as intermediaries between trade unions and parties (“Manager der politischen Beeinflussung”) and between the DGB and its particular members (“Manager der einheitsgewerkschaftlichen Partikularinteressen”). This interrelation will be presented in a comparative, biographical way.