



DOI: 10.22363/2312-8313-2024-11-3-382-394


EDN: BPUEMF

Research article / Научная статья

## “Alternative for Germany” against German trade unions: A political “right hook”

Oleg E. Grishin  , Alexander V. Kanushkin

RUDN University, Moscow, Russian Federation

 [grishin\\_oe@pfur.ru](mailto:grishin_oe@pfur.ru)

**Abstract.** The study examines the problems of German trade unions related to the ongoing confrontation with the young party of the right-wing spectrum “Alternative for Germany” for several years. Despite the fact that the AfD is an irreconcilable ideological opponent of trade unions, their members show sympathy for the party. The severity of the situation is due not only to the fact that more than a tenth of supporters of professional associations support the AfD in elections, but also to the fact that, as a percentage, trade union members vote more actively for this party than the average German voter. The reasons for the growth of right-wing sentiments among the class of employees are considered. The methods used by trade unions in the ideological struggle are shown, up to direct prohibitions for their supporters on parallel membership in the AfD. In this situation, the trade unions have clearly demonstrated themselves as an independent political actor, but, in our opinion, they have become the losing side in the fight against the AfD. The authors complement existing approaches to the study of the problems of the functioning of German trade unions in the political process in Germany.

**Keywords:** German trade unions, political actors, political struggle, right-wing populism

**Conflicts of interest:** The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

### Article history:

The article was submitted on 10.03.2024. The article was accepted on 10.06.2024.

### For citation:

Grishin OE, Kanushkin AV. “Alternative for Germany” against German trade unions: A political “right hook”. *RUDN Journal of Public Administration*. 2024;11(3):382–394. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8313-2024-11-3-382-394>



## Introduction

In the political life of modern Germany, a prominent place is occupied by the acute controversy that has been going on for several years between German trade unions, including in the person of one of their parent organizations — the Association of German Trade Unions (German Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB) and the right-wing party Alternative for Germany (AfD). The importance of this issue from the point of view of political science is due, in our opinion, to two factors. Firstly, the parties strongly criticize each other not only as specific, currently existing socio-political institutions, but also question the viability of the ideological principles underlying the opponent's activities. Secondly, this struggle is not perceived in German society as something abstract, the “front line” runs through specific labor collectives, while a significant number of citizens of the country are directly involved in the conflict, who were faced with a difficult choice when union membership in some cases becomes incompatible with certain political sympathies. For the authors of this study, the key issue is the ability of German trade unions to adapt to the rapidly changing realities of German society and the state (previously, we concluded that trade unions were not fully prepared for the challenges of digitalization and interaction with new types of employers, in particular in the field of the platform economy) [1].

### Choosing the “Alternative for Germany”

The history of Alternative, founded in 2013, has developed rapidly. Having failed to even overcome the five percent barrier in the Bundestag elections in the year of its foundation, the AfD receives 12.6% of the vote in 2017, and 10.3% in 2021. Over the ten years of its extremely active activity, the party has confidently achieved representation not only in the Bundestag, but also in the land parliaments, becoming a bright and recognizable political brand in Germany and beyond. Regarding the issue we are considering, the attitude of trade union members towards the AfD party is very indicative, most clearly expressed in voting in the Bundestag elections in 2013, 2017, 2021, as well as in the elections to the land parliaments. So, if in 2013 5% of trade union members supported the AfD in the federal elections, then in 2017 it was already 15% [2. P. 3].

In 2021, 12.2% of trade union supporters voted for the Alternative party lists [3]. Formally, this is somewhat less than in the previous vote, but it is important to understand what exactly is behind these figures. Firstly,

it is characteristic that it was trade union members who voted more actively for the AfD in percentage terms compared to the total mass of German voters (12.2% vs. 10.3%). It should be noted that this is not the only such case in the elections in Germany.

A similar situation took place in 2017, as well as during other election campaigns, including at the regional (land) level. For example, in the elections to the Landtag (land parliament) of relatively prosperous Bavaria in socio-economic terms, 14.5% of trade union members supported the “Alternative”, while the overall result of the party was only 10.2% [4]. Secondly, in absolute numbers these are hundreds of thousands of working-age citizens representing industry, services, education, public service, including, for example, the police and other fields of activity and members of relevant professional associations, which to a certain extent already indicates the manifestation of public and political activity. This is a social group that has been traditionally perceived in Germany as the backbone of German society for decades. And, finally, it is advisable to consider this issue in the context of the established relations between German trade unions and the parliamentary parties of Germany.

In the modern political landscape of Germany, the Social Democratic and Left-wing parties are traditionally the closest in their programs to trade unions, which is mirrored by the support provided by supporters of trade unions during elections at various levels. The Free Democratic Party (FDP) was considered the most distanced from workers’ associations throughout the post-war history of Germany [2. P. 3]. This is due to the fact that the liberal FDP, speaking with the economic slogan “As much state as necessary, but as little as possible” represents the interests of entrepreneurs, owners, company executives, but not employees and, quite understandably, did not receive much favor from the latter. The situation with the Alternative for Germany does not fit into this logic of political coexistence, which has been built up for many decades. The AfD has openly criticized trade unions as sharply and consistently as possible, and therefore its support by supporters of these associations itself contains an internal contradiction and has become one of the most acute challenges for the leaders of German trade unions in recent years. The choice in favor of the “Alternative for Germany” takes place against the background of an acute public debate, one of the topics of which is the complex history of relations between trade unions and right-wing parties in Germany. This issue is the subject of a separate study, but it is important to recall the tragic page of the German past — the forced dissolution of free trade unions in 1933, as a reference to the fascist period of German history (rightly or wrongly) It is actively used in the argument against the AfD. Opponents of the party call

it nationalist and right-wing populist. What allowed the AfD to challenge the left-wing parties, enter the ideological field traditionally belonging to them, oust them and win the sympathy of every tenth member of the trade union? Political scientists, sociologists, and journalists in Germany and beyond are trying to find an answer to this question. We note the most important, in our opinion, factors that played a significant role in this.

### **The components of the success of the “right” among the trade union electorate**

Speaking about the achievements of the “Alternative” in political battles at all levels of the German electoral system, it is fair, in our opinion, first of all to recognize both the party’s ability to sense the political agenda and the high effectiveness of its methods of influencing voters. In the context of the issues under consideration, it should be noted that the AfD correctly assessed the potential of working with trade union members and made them its target audience, it directly addresses them as a separate, independent group and acts decisively and aggressively. Stefan Brandner, federal deputy speaker of Alternative for Germany, in a statement published in October 2023, immediately puts all the dots over the “I” and makes it clear that the party he represents considers trade union members to be its electorate: “While trade unions are mired in the quagmire of the so-called ‘struggle against the right’ and are engaged in hateful campaign by bullying the AfD, she focuses on policies that prioritize the importance of those who support our country. We want... better working conditions and policies that really suit people on the ground. We don’t have time for a political positional war, because we want to turn Germany upside down. The workers know this and therefore choose the ‘Alternative for Germany’” [5]. It is important not only the content, but also the characteristic lapidary style, which resonates with employees against the background of general disillusionment with the activities of the parties. To denote this phenomenon, the German neologism “Politikverdrossenheit” is used — “dissatisfaction with politics”, an integral part of which is fatigue from lengthy and not always understandable discussions. Further, it should be noted that in the course of its evolution, the AfD has learned to respond sensitively to the requests of voters and touch on the most pressing topics of the political agenda. Founded initially as a Eurosceptic party, Alternative for Germany has been focusing primarily on economic issues for a certain period, but as the refugee situation in Germany and other European Union countries worsened, it began to rapidly gain popularity, sharply criticizing migration policy. Currently, the AfD actively expresses its point of view on employment

issues, the situation of industry, and the effectiveness of German enterprises, that is, those that directly affect employees and, accordingly, trade union members. Beatrix von Storch, a member of parliament and federal deputy speaker of the AfD, in her resonant speech in Chemnitz (Germany), dedicated to May 1, 2019, formulated the party's accusations against trade unions quite categorically and precisely in the plane of the problems of the "ordinary worker": "Trade unions are so blinded by their leftist ideology that they indifferently observe how The government is destroying the jobs of their supporters. Where are the protests of the trade unions against the completely meaningless energy turnaround and the abandonment of the use of coal? Against the threat to jobs in the automotive industry and coal fields? Against the burden that falls on the shoulders of people with low incomes due to rising energy costs?" [6]. Here, as in many other cases, we note that the criticism of the representatives of Alternative for Germany is aimed not only at the workers' associations themselves, but also at the left-wing parties and leftist (including social democratic) ideology associated with them, which will be further confirmed below. Noting the efforts of the AfD to win over the "trade union" electorate, it is necessary to consider the issue from the other side. It should be recognized that by the time the "Alternative" entered the political scene, the class of employees turned out to be well prepared for the perception of "right-wing" ideology. At the same time, according to a number of researchers, the problem in question existed before, but today it has received a new sound. Wolfgang Schroeder, a political scientist and professor at the University of Kassel, argues: "The far-right potential in trade unions has always existed, and this has not changed much". What is new, according to the scientist, is that right-wing populists adopt the rhetoric of left-wing populists and "portray the trade union establishment as corrupt and aloof". It looks "exactly the same as if they were waging a class struggle for the German workers" [4]. Richard Dethier, a member of the Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, and Dieter Sauer, Professor of sociology at the Munich Institute for Social Research, have been working together for a long time on problems of intra-corporate relations, crisis situations, democracy and solidarity in the field of work, as well as right-wing populism. Summing up the results of a large — scale ten-year study, scientists ask the question: is it enough for the fact that trade union members are not immune from extreme right-wing views, a simple general answer in the style: trade unions are just a "mirror of society"? The researchers' answer is unequivocal: in the corporate and trade union context, there are their own specific reasons for right-wing and right-wing populist orientations to become widespread here. Based on the materials of sociological research in 2011, 2013, 2018, the authors study the causes of right-wing sympathies among employees. At various stages, the negative

consequences of the global socio-economic crisis for the labor market, problems of representation — the perception of the state as a “state of others” and, finally, the migration crisis had a dominant influence [7. P. 159–160]. The latter is considered as a turning point in the radicalization of sentiments, a catalyst for the growth of “everyday” racism [7. P. 161]. The researchers conclude that the “uncertainty regime” is increasing among workers of large and medium-sized industrial enterprises, as well as those employed in the service sector, transport, logistics, and delivery. These people have less and less sense of stability and security, and life turns into constant perturbations with short “sprints” and a constant change of strategic goals, which in the new realities is called “flexibility”. According to the authors, this leads to fear of the future, a feeling of powerlessness, which contribute to the formation of subjective dissatisfaction, anger, despair [7. P. 162]. Digitalization is noted as a negative factor for the internal climate in labor collectives, which previously became the topic of our separate study [1]. The fundamental work on this topic was published by Klaus Derre, Professor of Sociology of Labor, Industry and Economics at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena. In his book “In line. Workers and the Radical Right” [8] he summarizes the extensive empirical material he has been working on for almost four decades. The title of the book, as well as the term “deep story” used by K. Derre, is a reference to the works of American sociologist Arlie Hochschild, who in 2016 published the results of field research of employees at a petrochemical enterprise in a small provincial town. “In the deep right story”, after A. Hochschild, workers stand in a long queue at the foot of the mountain, which for them symbolizes the American dream, as during a pilgrimage. However, preference is given not to them, but to persons with a migration background, which, in the opinion of the workers, is undeserved and does not reflect a real contribution to the common cause [9]. Analyzing the growth of sympathy for the “right”, K. Derre relies on surveys of workers in manufacturing enterprises, but other categories of employees also fall into his field of view. The researcher notes the “gradual radicalization of deep history”, which, in his opinion, “begins in the working environment of the old Federal Republic, associated with trade unions, and received independent party-political expression with the rise of the AfD as the strongest opposition party in the Bundestag” [8. P. 13]. K. Derre calls the success of the AfD in the 2017 elections a “populist uprising” [8. P. 163]. His research has shown that “popular nationalism” finds support in all population groups in Germany, but to a greater extent among workers, trade union members and the unemployed. At the same time, it is noted that men, people without higher education, residents of rural and underdeveloped areas vote more actively for AfD. Trade union members in the new federal states are more active in supporting the “Alternative” than

residents of the former Federal Republic of Germany (22 and 14%, respectively, in the 2017 elections) [8. P. 164]. According to the study, the growing right-wing orientations in the working environment are not just the result of division into certain cultural meta-classes. Sympathy for the right-wing radicals arises from the fact that the center-left parties have turned away from the workers and they feel abandoned. Employees have become invisible to the public. The roots of the problem, according to K. Derre, are that thinking in class categories has gone out of fashion both scientifically and politically. The “demobilized class society” is a breeding ground that the radical right uses to rethink socio-economic and cultural differences [8. P. 24]. In one of the many interviews, K. Derre answers the question about the attractiveness of the “Alternative” for workers as follows: “AfD makes the invisible visible. This is the key point. Alternative for Germany declares that we will return your vote to you. This gives employees the feeling that they have a voice in public, that they are the standard of normality. ... And this happens when, on election night, an analysis of the share of AfD votes in various social groups is carried out, and part of the workforce finally feels it again. She can be satisfied, her protest has become public, and it can no longer be ignored” [10].

### **The fight against “right-wing” sympathies: how far will the trade unions go?**

Representatives of German trade unions have taken seriously the danger of spreading right-wing views in the collectives of their supporters and over the past few years, through the joint efforts of all industry associations, they have opposed the “Alternative for Germany”, launching a large-scale propaganda, information and awareness campaign.

Let’s consider one of the important policy documents of the Association of German Trade Unions represented by one of its land offices in the district of North Rhine-Westphalia: “Arguments against right-wing populism. The AfD is in focus” [11].

The document, which has gone through several editions, is designed in the form of 20 cards, which are distinguished by theses, a certain emotionality, the presence of slogans, slogans in the text, as well as structuring and presentation of material in the form of answers to specific arguments (accusations, attacks) from the side of the AfD, which allows us to regard “Arguments” as material for propaganda work.

Among the issues on which the opinion of trade unions fundamentally does not coincide with the position of the “Alternative”, we see problems of European integration, tax, gender, education and energy policy, attitude to climate change.

The trade unions blame the AfD for the fact that, in their opinion, the party does not have specific proposals for structural changes, it does not offer alternatives to the pressing problems of the present time. It is noted that representatives of the right consistently try to reduce, as far as possible, every issue to the topic of migration. The document constantly emphasizes that the right-wing populist argument follows a simplified scheme: complex facts are reduced to simple images of “friend — enemy”. As a result, it is concluded that specific proposed solutions, for example, in the field of economic and social policy, are not the goal of the party, and it is trying to gain popularity solely by spreading its “racist worldview”.

Direct accusations against the “Alternative for Germany” of xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, incitement of ethnic hatred generally run through the entire document. Thus, it seems that the authors are trying to emphasize the marginality of the AfD and actually deprive it of the opportunity and moral right to a discussion in public space. The document clearly shows the essence of trade unions as political actors. “Trade unions stand outside parties, but not outside politics”, the authors of the text note. But if you can fully agree with the latter statement, then you can only partially agree with the first one.

This conclusion can be drawn on the basis that the trade unions respond to certain attacks by the AfD against the Social Democratic Party of Germany as if they were addressed to themselves, and thus fully associate themselves with this political force. Thus, the authors of the document react sharply to the attacks of the AfD when the party speakers call the SPD representative Sawsan Chebli a “talking doll who has a strict quota for public chatter” or claim that the SPD party is “dying” and refute these and similar statements in a rather emotional manner.

Other trade unions have also made a significant contribution to the criticism of the AfD, in fact making this topic one of the main ones on their agenda. The Bavarian branch of the Association of German Trade Unions called on the eve of the elections to the Landtag on October 8, 2023, “to unite all democratic forces against the AfD”. We see that gradually the struggle against the “Alternative” was elevated to the level of defending the very foundations of a democratic state [12].

In February 2024, the largest meeting of representatives of trade unions and entrepreneurs took place in Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg) under the patronage of Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier, dedicated to the adoption of a joint statement against the AfD and right-wing radical ideology. In particular, it says: “More than a third of the population of Baden-Württemberg has a migration background. ... It goes without saying that this diversity is reflected in the workforce. This is an important success factor for our companies. Diversity is our strong point. We do not passively observe how the culture of communication is being



undermined, but we strongly oppose all forms of racism, religious discrimination and, in particular, anti-Semitism”.

Iconic figures for the German industry actively supported the common position, adding bright details to it. Mercedes CEO Ola Kellenius said that without immigrant employees in her concern, “the S-Class would hardly have been developed”. And further: “Diversity is important for our business, in order to understand our customers around the world, our company must reflect this diversity. Those who work hand in hand can also live door to door” [12]. We see that all forces have been thrown into the fight against the ideological opponent — the “Alternative for Germany” — by the trade unions and they have received significant additional support from the state and business. It should be noted, however, that the colossal propaganda and agitation work carried out by trade unions did not allow to remove the problem of right-wing sympathies in the ranks of its members, and this forces the leadership of almost all industry organizations, led by the “umbrella” DGB — the Association of German Trade Unions to take extreme measures when the issue may be formulated very clearly: either a trade union or an AfD.

Here it is necessary to consider in more detail such an institution that has already become traditional for German political life as decisions on incompatibility (*Unvereinbarkeitsbeschluss*), which is understood as the provisions of parties and associations, according to which simultaneous membership in this organization is incompatible with membership in another, specifically designated organization, and is an obstacle to admission or grounds for exclusion. Such decisions go back to the 1950s, when at the height of the Cold War, trade unions expelled hundreds of communists from their ranks. In the 1970s, many young people in Germany, in search of political alternatives, actively joined the German Communist Party and numerous new left-wing groups (K-groups), which were just emerging at that time. Then they began to run for elections to industrial production councils on separate lists — against the DGB trade unions, the German union of Trade Unions, and in West Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, Kiel, Bremen and the Ruhr region, this approach allowed them to achieve significant success in some large enterprises. At that time, the trade unions of metallurgists and printers regarded this as damaging behavior, and in the spring of 1973 they decided on incompatibility with respect to the relevant organizations. The GEW (Education and Science) trade union, led by Erich Frister, tried to go the other way and promoted “active tolerance” — agitation work with those of its members who joined K-groups. However, under strong pressure from the German Trade Union Association, the practice of incompatibility decisions was introduced and since 1975, almost

300 members of the GEW trade union, mainly young people aged 20–35, have been excluded from the organization. The decisions provoked rejection even from members who were critical of K-groups. The outrage was caused by the fact that an administrative rather than a political path was chosen to resolve the conflict. As a result, this led to the fact that in the late 1970s GEW abandoned the practice of exclusion, and subsequently called the decisions on exceptions a mistake and completely revised its position on this issue [13]. The United Trade Union of Service Sector Workers is also critically rethinking its past. In September 2023, the Federal Congress of the organization called for working out the consequences of excluding colleagues from the trade unions of which he is the legal successor (trade unions of workers in the commercial, banking and insurance sectors, postal employees and others) [14]. At the same time, the Industrial Metalworkers' Union IG Metall still has regulations on incompatibility of the 1970s in relation to a number of “left-wing” political organizations.

Considering the history of this issue makes it possible to understand how radical and extremely controversial this measure of influence on trade union members is. However, despite such a problematic historical context, decisions on incompatibility are once again becoming a reality of modern German political life. On April 1, 2019, the Railway and Transport Industry Trade Union (EVG) was the first to decide on incompatibility. The chairman of the trade union, Alexander Kirchner, and the federal executive council stated that the goals of the AfD and other right-wing populist or far-right parties and groups are incompatible with the positions and goals of the trade union. In relation to two trade unionists who were simultaneously members of the Alternative, an exclusion procedure was initiated [15].

In March 2021, it became known that the largest police trade union (GdP) reported that it was unacceptable for members of the AfD to remain in its ranks. In an official statement, it was noted that the organization asks those of its members who belong to the AfD, recognize, support or sympathize with the party, to leave the trade union community [16, 17]. Other unions are still only discussing the possibility of such steps, but they are behaving less decisively. On the one hand, there are great fears of failure in court if the exclusion is challenged. According to trade union leaders, this will only play into the hands of the AfD, which can thus “acquire the status of a martyr”. Even more serious threats deter the IG Metall trade union, which believes that due to the decision on incompatibility it may lose a significant part of its membership in East Germany, where the popularity of the AfD is so high that the party gains up to a third of the votes [18].

## Conclusion

Thus, we see that in the fight against the right-wing opponent, the trade unions of Germany are already ready to take extreme measures, but even these steps can hit the trade unions themselves hard, which puts them in an extremely difficult position. Based on our research, it seems possible to draw the following conclusions.

Even though the battle between the Alternative for Germany party and the German trade unions continues, the loser is already becoming more and more clearly visible, and these are the trade unions.

Having missed the political “right hook” from the AfD, the trade unions lost the initiative from the very beginning and took the position of the defending side. They admitted that the far rights had rapidly invaded the ideological field traditionally belonging to them, which had historically been dominated by Social Democrats and to a somewhat lesser extent by conservatives, winning the minds and votes of a tenth of the members of German professional associations. By presenting a united front against the AfD and conducting one of the most massive information campaigns in the last few decades, the trade unions were nevertheless unable to fully resist the ideological erosion among their members. Some trade unions have already taken extreme measures in the form of direct bans for their supporters on parallel membership in the AfD, while others are actively discussing the possibility of such step. It is obvious that some of those against whom this sanction is directed may make a choice not in favor of trade unions. In this case, membership costs will be added to the reputational costs already incurred by the German trade unions, and a political knockdown can be counted.

## REFERENCES

1. Grishin OE, Kanushkin AV. Digital Transformation of the Economy as a Socio-political Challenge for German Trade Unions. *PolitBook*. 2023;2:107–119 (In Russ.).
2. Dribbusch H, Birke P. *Gewerkschaften in Deutschland. Herausforderungen in Zeiten des Umbruchs*. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Internationale Politikanalyse; April 2019. 41 s.
3. Bundestagswahl 2021: So haben Gewerkschafter\*innen gewählt. URL: <https://www.dgb.de/aktuelles/news/bundestagswahl-2021-so-haben-gewerkschafterinnen-gewaehlt/> (accessed: 17.04.2024)
4. Ritzer U. Viele Gewerkschafter wählen die AfD. *FAZ*. 12.11.2018. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/afd-bayern-gewerkschaften-1.4206091> (accessed: 22.04.2024)
5. Brandner S. Gewerkschaften vertreten Interessen der Arbeiter nicht mehr. *Presseportal*. 19.10.2023. URL: <https://www.presseportal.de/pm/110332/5629996> (accessed: 28.04.2024)
6. Von Storch B. Meine Rede in Chemnitz zum 1 Mai. URL: <https://beatrixvonstorch.de/2019/05/03/meine-rede-in-chemnitz-zum-1-mai> (accessed: 20.04.2024).
7. Sauer D, Detje R. Rechtspopulismus im Betrieb — Erscheinungsformen, Hintergründe, politischer Umgang. *WSI-Mitteilungen*. 2019;72(3):159–167. <https://doi.org/10.5771/0342-300X-2019-3-159>
8. Dörre K. *In der Warteschlange. Arbeiter\*innen und die radikale Rechte*. Münster: Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot; 2020.

9. Hochschild AR. *Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American right*. The New Press. 2016.
10. Monath H. Arbeiter und die radikale Rechte: “Die AfD macht die Unsichtbaren sichtbar“. *Tagesspiegel*. 05.12.2020. URL: <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/die-afd-macht-die-unsichtbaren-sichtbar-6861760.html> (accessed: 14.04.2024)
11. Argumentationskarten gegen Rechtspopulismus. III Auflage. DGB NRW. URL: <https://nrw.dgb.de/archiv/++co++122fcbd8-d652-11ea-a3c1-001a4a16011a> (accessed: 06.04.2024)
12. Streitzeit: Klare Kante gegen rechts — Höchste Zeit, für die Demokratie zu streiten! *DGB Bayern*. 03.07.2023. URL: <https://bayern.dgb.de/themen/++co++21cad03e-198d-11ee-a267-001a4a160123> (accessed: 19.04.2024)
13. Soldt R. In seltener Eintracht: Unternehmer und Gewerkschaften positionieren sich gegen die AfD. *FAZ*. 26.02.2024. URL: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/unternehmer-und-gewerkschaften-positionieren-sich-gegen-die-afd-19547359.html> (accessed: 17.04.2024).
14. Bois M, Jaeger A. *Fatale Eigendynamik. Die Unvereinbarkeitsbeschlüsse der GEW in den 1970er-Jahren*. URL: <https://www.rosalux.de/dossiers/der-radikalenbeschluss-wird-50/news/id/45684/fatale-eigendynamik> (accessed: 11.04.2024)
15. Jamal J. Erste Gewerkschaft führt Unvereinbarkeitsbeschluss mit AfD ein. *Diefreiheitsliebe*. 18.04.2019. URL: <https://diefreiheitsliebe.de/politik/erste-gewerkschaft-fuehrt-unvereinbarkeitsbeschluss-mit-afd-ein/> (accessed: 02.04.2024)
16. Auel J. Gewerkschaft der Polizei will keine AfD-Mitglieder in ihren Reihen. *Sueddeutsche*. 12.03.2021. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/polizei-gewerkschaft-afd-1.5233255> (accessed: 06.04.2024)
17. Schilff D. *Gewerkschaft der Polizei zur AfD. Wer unser Zusammenleben in Frage stellt oder angreift, ist bei der GdP unerwünscht*. URL: <https://www.gdp.de/bund/de/media/positions-papiere/demokratie-schuetzen> (accessed: 08.04.2024)
18. Specht F. Die AfD — Freund oder Feind der Arbeiter? *Handelsblatt*. 01.12.2023. URL: <https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/gewerkschaften-die-afd-freund-oder-feind-der-arbeiter/100001821.html> (accessed: 08.04.2024)

#### Information about the authors:


*Oleg E. Grishin* — PhD in Political Science, Associate Professor of the Department of Public Policy and History of State and Law of the Law Institute, RUDN University, 6 Miklukho-Maklaya st., Moscow, Russian Federation, 117198 (ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0669-1012) (e-mail: [grishin\\_oe@pfur.ru](mailto:grishin_oe@pfur.ru)).

*Alexander V. Kanushkin* — Deputy Director of the Institute of the Russian Language, RUDN University, 6 Miklukho-Maklaya st., Moscow, Russian Federation, 117198 (e-mail: [kanushkin\\_av@pfur.ru](mailto:kanushkin_av@pfur.ru)).

## «Альтернатива для Германии» против немецких профсоюзов: политический «хук справа»

О.Е. Гришин  , А.В. Канушкин

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва, Россия

 [grishin\\_oe@pfur.ru](mailto:grishin_oe@pfur.ru)

**Аннотация.** Рассмотрены проблемы немецких профсоюзов, связанные с продолжающимся несколько лет противоборством с молодой партией правого спектра «Альтернатива для Германии» (АдГ). Несмотря на то, что АдГ является непримиримым идейным противником профсоюзов, их члены проявляют симпатии к партии. Острота ситуации обусловлена не только

тем, что более десятой доли сторонников профессиональных объединений поддерживают АдГ на выборах, но и тем, что в процентном отношении члены профсоюзов активнее голосуют за данную партию, чем средний немецкий избиратель. Рассмотрены причины роста правых настроений среди класса наемных работников. Показаны методы, применяемые профсоюзами в идеологической борьбе, вплоть до прямых запретов для своих сторонников на параллельное членство в «Альтернативе». В данной ситуации профсоюзы ярко продемонстрировали себя как самостоятельный политический актор, но, по нашему мнению, стали проигравшей стороной в схватке с АдГ. Авторы дополняют существующие подходы к исследованию проблем функционирования немецких профсоюзов в политическом процессе Германии.

**Ключевые слова:** профсоюзы ФРГ, политические акторы, политическая борьба, правый популизм

**Заявление о конфликте интересов:** Авторы заявляют об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

**История статьи:**

Статья поступила в редакцию 10.03.2024. Статья принята к публикации 10.06.2024.

**Для цитирования:**

*Гришин О.Е., Канушкин А.В.* «Альтернатива для Германии» против немецких профсоюзов: политический «хук справа» // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Государственное и муниципальное управление. 2024. Т. 11. № 3. С. 382–394. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8313-2024-11-3-382-394>