

10/3/93 (Final alterations: 6/11/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Christian Democratic Union

Party Founding Date: October, 1950

Long Record #: G.C.0

Change#: 0

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chancellor or Party Chairman

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Konrad Adenauer

Characteristics of **Leader A** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: January, 1876

(Former) occupation: Assistant state prosecutor, city administrator, deputy for the city of Cologne, Chairman of the British Zone.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Strongly anti-utopian and was fundamental in pushing for a more pragmatic platform. Highly influential party leader.

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Christian Democratic Union

Long Record #: G.C.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: October, 1963

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chancellor or Party Chairman

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Konrad Adenauer

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Ludwig Erhard

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: February 4, 1897

(Former) occupation: Trained in economics and sociology, he joined the staff of Nuremberg Business school from 1928-1942. Removed by Nazis for refusal to join party. After war, he joined the government as an economist.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Promoted a "social market economy," favored free markets, but controls on monopoly, cartels and labor unions. In 1948 he simultaneously introduced new currency while ending rationing, thus stimulating the economy and his own popularity.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Retirement

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No: Adenauer renounced the party chairmanship on his 90th Birthday in 1966. He gave up his chancellorship in 1963. Although there is a 21 year difference in age between the two leaders, Erhard was 66 when he succeeded.

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Christian Democratic Union

Long Record #: G.C.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: December, 1966

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chairman/Chancellor

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Ludwig Erhard

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Kurt-Georg Kiesinger

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: April 6, 1904

(Former) occupation: Lawyer, Minister-President Baden-Wurttemberg
1958-66.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Nazi party member, but opposed party after 1934, at risk of his life. In favor of European union.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future?

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change: Erhard had lost his electoral appeal (a combination of recession and poor showing in the polls) and it is questionable to attribute his fall only to faction maneuvering. Part of the concern over how the party might do in the next national election was undoubtedly based on the poor performance in state elections. "After Christian Democratic defeats in key state elections in 1966, the Erhard government fell, ostensibly because of the departure of the junior coalition partner, the Free Democrats, but more through the internal maneuvering for power within the various factions of the union. A stunned, disbelieving Erhard, still somewhat of a political innocent, retired to elder statesman status" (Conradt, 1986, p. 163).

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No: (But see above.)

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

No

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Christian Democratic Union

Long Record #: G.C.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: October, 1971

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Kurt-Georg Kiesinger

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Rainer Barzel

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: June 20, 1924

(Former) occupation: Professional politician

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Blamed Brandt's Social Democrat government for "irresponsible levity" in dealing with the Eastern bloc, and for ruinous, inflationary economic policies.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Generational change

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

Yes: "Mr. Barzel's clear-cut victory gave the Christian Democrats a badly needed lift, following several years of conflict in the ranks. Mr. Barzel, who is 47 years old, also gives the party a new image of youth after two decades of being run by older men. His predecessor as chairman, former chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, is 67 years old" (*New York Times*, October 5, 1971).

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Christian Democratic Union

Long Record #: G.C.4

Change #: 4

Date of Change: June, 1973

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chairman and parliamentary floor leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Rainer Barzel

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Helmut Kohl

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: April 3, 1930

(Former) occupation: Lawyer; management of an industrial trade union; in politics since 1959.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change: The Bundestag rejected a United Nations bill Barzel had supported; he could not represent a majority decision he so strongly disagreed with.

"Bonn, June 12. The Christian Democrats, floundering in disunity since last fall when they were defeated by a wide margin by Chancellor Willy Brandt's coalition, elected Helmut Kohl as their new national chairman today. Mr. Barzel, who is 48 years old, announced his resignation as chairman and parliamentary floor leader on May 9, but stayed on as chairman until today" (*New York Times*, June 13, 1973).

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Free Democratic Party

Party Founding Date: December, 1948

Long Record #: G.F.0

Change #: 0

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman of the Party

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Franz Bluecher

Characteristics of **Leader A** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: March, 1896

(Former) occupation: Served in WWI, housing and bank executive, Finance minister of the N. Rhine-Westphalia, Chairman of Finance Committee in Economic Council, member of Bundestag, Federal Minister for the Marshall Plan, Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: March, 1954

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Franz Bluecher

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Thomas Dehler

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: 1898

[Note: This is deduced from the fact that he died at age 69 on July 21, 1967.]

(Former) occupation: Justice Minister, 1949-53.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Left-wing? A struggle went on between right and left wings in 1952-53. The right wing was more sympathetic to Nazis, but was not able to take over.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election: (It should be noted

that this is partly conjecture on our part. Our sources indicate that he "withdrew" from the election. We assume that this meant he withdrew after the voting process had already begun, and that he probably did so because the writing on the wall indicated he was likely to lose. If later, more detailed information suggests that this interpretation is incorrect, this will need to be recoded accordingly.)

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons: "A year ago the Free Democratic party appeared divided into liberal and conservative camps. Today's election of a new board showed that representatives of the liberal wing supported the re-election of a conservative deputy chairman. The conservative group helped liberal elements of the party to retain some key posts. Dr. Thomas Dehler, former federal Minister of Justice, was elected first chairman with 228 out of 243 votes after vice chancellor Franz Bluecher, who had held this party post since 1948, had withdrawn" (*New York Times*, March 7, 1954, p.21).

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: January, 1957

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Thomas Dehler

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Reinhold Maier

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: 1887?

[Note: We have not been able to locate the exact birthdate for Maier. However, according to Thomas Poguntke (personal communication), Maier was nearly 70 when elected. We estimate the birth year to be 1887, and will use that date in the data set until we are able to locate information to the contrary.]

(Former) occupation: Politician since pre-WWII. removed from Ministry of Justice of Wuerttemberg by Nazis. Former Chief Minister of Wuerttemberg-Baden.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Had a Jewish wife and children, connected with anti-Hitler resistance movement.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Thomas Dehler was "compelled" not to run again. His confrontational strategy vis-a-vis Adenauer had failed (Poguntke, personal communication). A guess is that concern over future elections was the cause of his not seeking reelection.

"The FDP elected today as its national chairman Dr. Reinhold Maier, former Minister President of Wuerttemberg. Dr. Maier replaced Dr. Thomas Dehler" (*New York Times*, January 25, 1957, p.2).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):
There was a split in the party in February, 1956. 16 of 48 Free Democratic Party Bundestag members withdrew from the parliamentary party, forming the Free People's Party which merged with the German Party in January, 1957. The breakaway group was more nationalistic, and had tried to remove a Christian Democratic Union Land Chief Minister (North Rhine-Westphalia).

It included the two ministers of the Free Democratic Party, who remained in the coalition as members of the Free People's Party and later the German Party.

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: 1960

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Reinhold Maier

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Erich Mende

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: October 28, 1916

(Former) occupation: World War II service, then entered politics.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Co-founder of the Free Democratic Party in 1945.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: It is likely that Maier did not run for re-election. Maier was almost 70 when he was elected and it was clear that he would be a "temporary solution." Mende was 63 (Poguntke, personal communication).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/3/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.4

Change #: 4

Date of Change: 1968

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Erich Mende

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Walter Scheel

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: July 8, 1919

(Former) occupation: World War II service, then entered politics.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Center-left.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Scheel was the only candidate proposed in the leadership election, and he received 216 out of 248 votes.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Resigned to go into private business, perhaps because of a factional dispute in the party.

Former leader lost leadership election

___ Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

Yes: From middle-right (Mende) to middle-left (Scheel). Scheel received 216 out of 271 delegate votes.

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

On factional strife:

"In the last year the party, which has only 50 members in the 518 member Bundestag, or lower house, has nearly torn itself apart in factional strife" (*New York Times*, Januray 30, 1968).

"The 19th annual congress of the party here elected Walter Scheel, 48 years old, as its new chairman, succeeding Dr. Erich Mende, who has gone into private business. Mr. Scheel, a Rhinelander, is regarded by West German political observers as a man of the "middle left" in the party, in contrast with Dr. Mende who has been placed in the "middle right." The leftward step was taken cautiously. The new chairman received 216 of the 271 delegate votes, or less than Dr. Mende gained when elected to his third term as party leader in 1966" (*New York Times*, January 31, 1968).

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.5

Change #: 5

Date of Change: May, 1974

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Walter Scheel

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Hans-Dieter Genscher

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: March 21, 1927

(Former) occupation: Studied law after the Second World War, but quickly got into politics. Served as Vice-chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: (See "Other" below.)

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

X Other: Walter Scheel was elected President of the Federal Republic on May 15, 1974. Thus, the FDP elected a new leader of the party. Genscher's formal election was in the party congress of October 1974.

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/3/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.6

Change #: 6

Date of Change: February, 1985

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Hans-Dietrich Genscher

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Martin Bangemann

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: November 15, 1934

(Former) occupation: Lawyer; entered the Bundestag in 1973, Economics Minister since June, 1984.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any):

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

X Other: (see statement below)

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

X electoral failure(s): "Mr. Genscher, facing a revolt from the party's disaffected rank and file, said last May that he would step down as party chairman and make way for a younger leader. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stepped down today as chairman of the FDP, making way for an untested politician who faces the task of reviving the party's fortunes. The party, which brought down a SPD-led coalition in 1982 by throwing its parliamentary support to the conservative CDU has been replaced by the left-wing Greens as West Germany's third political force. The Free Democrats are now represented in only 5 of the 11 state legislatures, and public opinion polls show the party hovering below 5% of the vote needed to gain legislative representation" (*New York Times*, February 24, 1985).

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

Yes: See statement above. Genscher had also lost backing inside the party as a result of the change of coalition in 1982. Although this move had secured the party's survival in federal government, the action itself had been very unpopular within large parts of the party and there was a feeling that the Free Democratic Party needed someone "new" as a party leader, now that the "Wende" had been consolidated (Poguntke, personal communication).

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Free Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.F.7

Change #: 7

Date of Change: October, 1988

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Martin Bangemann

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Otto Graf Lambsdorff

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: December 20, 1926

(Former) occupation: Military service, credit and insurance business since 1955, Land Treasurer North Rhine-Westphalia 1968, Bundestag since 1972.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Had been Economics Minister four years before but had left because of a political payoff scandal. Called "eloquent and abrasive" (*New York Times*, October 9, p. 14).

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Bangemann took a position as a European Community commissioner, and left the party

chairman position, thus the Free Democratic Party had an election which Lambsdorff won.

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other: (see statement above)

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/3/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.S.0

Change #: 0

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman of the Party

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Kurt Schumacher

Birthdate: October, 1959

(Former) occupation: Editor of party newspaper, member of the Landtag and the Reichstag.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Yes. Was in the group that opposed the EDC and Bonn agreements because they reduced Germany's status and possibilities for reunification.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Spent most of 1933-45 in a Nazi concentration camp. Strong anti-Communist. Dramatic speaker with strong personality (Chalmers, 1964).

10/3/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.S.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: September, 1952

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Kurt Schumacher

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Erich Ollenhauer

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: 1901

[Note: This is deduced from the fact that he died on December 14, 1963, at age 62.]

(Former) occupation: Socialist party official, spent World War II years in exile, returned and helped rebuild party.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Same as Schumacher. Opposed the EDC and Bonn Agreements because they reduced Germany's status and possibilities for reunification.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Deputy of Schumacher.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

X Former leader died: "Schumacher died unexpectedly in August 1952, from the accumulated effects of his 10 years in a concentration camp. One month later the Dortmund Party congress elected his deputy, Erich Ollenhauer, to replace him as chairman and chief candidate of the SDP" (Chalmers, 1964, pp. 141-2).

- Former leader resigned due to ill health
- Former leader resigned for other reason
- Former leader lost leadership election
- Forced rotation or term limitations
- Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

- electoral failure(s)
- fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future
- political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)
- other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/3/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.S.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: January, 1964

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Erich Ollenhauer

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Willy Brandt

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: December 18, 1913

(Former) occupation: Journalist. President of West Berlin House of Deputies, 1955-57. Chief Burgomaster West Berlin, 1957-64.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Brandt won the leadership election with 320 out of 334 votes, and was also elected as the party's presidential candidate.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died: Ollenhauer died December 12, 1963, and Brandt was elected chairman February 16, 1964.

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

___ Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change: Ollenhauer had lost (the Chancellorship) twice before. He remained on as party chair until his death, because of his skill as an administrator and compromiser who could hold the factions together. Brandt was nominated for Chancellor because of his greater general approval.

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

"[Brandt's] ability to challenge Adenauer, the champion vote-getter, was the basis of his selection..."

...press opinion has probably been more sympathetic to Brandt than to any other SPD leader in the postwar period. *Die Welt*, June 27, 1960, published an article by its columnist Sebastian Haffner entitled 'Ein Kronprinz aus der Opposition?' in which the author suggested that Brandt was the best candidate available to carry out the general line of foreign policy initiated by Adenauer. *Die Welt* is normally pro CDU...

The choice of Brandt over Schmidt indicates the party's willingness to adapt not only to the general system of values but also to the situation of the moment. The party chose the shooting star over the fixed one in order to exploit the existing wave of sympathy

with the 44-year old Berlin mayor, as well as take advantage of whatever doubts there might be about the 85-year old chancellor... The third ideal, the administrator and compromiser, clearly has Ollenhauer as its prototype" (Chalmers, 1964, pp. 148 and 153). Uk Heo (initial coder) speculated that Brandt was reelected as the chairman of the party in 1960 because he was a good administrator and compromiser, and the SPD needed a person who could control factions.

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.S.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: May, 1974

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chancellorship

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Willy Brandt

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Helmut Schmidt

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: December 23, 1918

(Former) occupation: Manager of Transport Administration, State of Hamburg 1949-53, then entered politics.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: At 55, Schmidt was the youngest chancellor to take office. An "Atlanticist" advocating closer friendship with the United States, particularly as regards economic and monetary affairs (*Keesings*, 1974, p. 26558).

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power): Schmidt's "accession to the Chancellorship in May 1974, following Brandt's resignation over the Guillaume spy scandal, however, came earlier than either leader had expected" (Derbyshire, 1987, p. 24). Willy Brandt stayed on as party chair.

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.S.4

Change #: 4

Date of Change: December, 1982

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Helmut Schmidt

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Willy Brandt

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: December 18, 1913

(Former) occupation: Journalist, but had been in politics since 1950.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Left-wing? The literature seems inconsistent on his involvement in factions, though it appears that by this time he was identified mostly with those in the party who were pro-student and pro-peace movement (i.e., anti-nuclear movement). See also *Keesings* (1982), pp. 31648-51.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: (See "Other" below.)

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other: The disintegration of the Social Democratic Party - Free Democratic Party coalition occurred between 1981-1982 following economic decline. The unemployment rate was up, and Schmidt had a hard time implementing policy due to lack of support (internal disputes and Free Democratic Party opposition).

"On 26 October 1982 its leader and Chancellor for the previous eight years, the 63-year old Helmut Schmidt, announced that he would not stand again. This decision was ostensibly taken on grounds of health. Schmidt was also, however, tired of the internal feuds and back-biting within the SDP and felt unable to work in the future with either the CDU, FDP, or the Greens as a possible coalition partner after the election. Schmidt was replaced as SDP Chancellor candidate by the 56 year old Hand-Jochen Vogel" (Derbyshire, 1987,35-42).

There was a feud between the left wing which supported the "peace movement" protesting the Warsaw Pact and NATO's armament policies and the rest of the party (Keesings, 1982, pp. 31648-51).

Though this was not a "resignation" per se, we use that designation above and on the short form since it comes closest to this situation.

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/3/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

GERMANY

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: G.S.5

Change #: 5

Date of Change: June, 1987

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Chair

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Willy Brandt

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Hans-Jochen Vogel

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: February 3, 1926

(Former) occupation: Lawyer, in politics since 1958 election to Munich city council.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: (See "Other" below.)

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

X Other: "I would code this 'old age' because it was clear that he would resign after expiration of his regular term of office one year later. With hindsight, the 'scandal' about the spokeswoman did not influence the fact of leadership change, but only the exact date, i.e., one year earlier" (Poguntke, personal communication). So this was a voluntary change due to a combination of age and personal frustration, exacerbated by the minor scandal and the reaction to it by some within his party.

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change: Named a Greek woman (not a German citizen or a member of the Social Democratic Party) as party spokesperson. The incident had caused internal disputes, and the Socialists had done badly in regional elections (*New York Times*, January 15, 1987).

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None