
#201 - Germany: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

NOTE: For the CDU, #201, there are no factional changes to code.

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition Change

Country #: ____

Party #: __ __

Change # (for party): __

YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 ____ (missing: 99)

Month of change: ____ (missing: 99)

A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change

____ complete change (100%)

____ substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition)

____ minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)

B> Nature of factionalism affected

____ primarily ideological/issue

____ primarily strategic/tactical

____ primarily leadership/personality

C> Factions or Tendencies involved?

____ factions

____ tendencies

D> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader?

____ yes

____ no

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

___ Strong
___ Moderate
___ Weak

#202 - Germany: Free Democratic Party (FDP) [#1 of 2 changes]

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition Change

Country #: 2

Party #: 02

Change # (for party): 1

YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 68 (missing: 99)

[According to Poguntke, in 1968 the "national liberal faction" was replaced by the "left liberal faction." Alternatively, the former might be thought of as being economic/national, and the latter as libertarian. This shift coincided with a change of leader from national liberal Erich Mende to left liberal Walter Scheel.]

Month of change: 99 (missing: 99)

A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change

 x complete change (100%)
 substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition)
 minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)

B> Nature of factionalism affected

 x primarily ideological/issue
 primarily strategic/tactical
 primarily leadership/personality

C> Factions or Tendencies involved?

 x factions
 tendencies

D> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader?

x yes

no

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

Strong

Moderate

Weak

9 Missing: insufficient information to code this variable

#202 - Germany: Free Democratic Party (FDP) [#2 of 2 changes]

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition Change

Country #: 2

Party #: 02

Change # (for party): 2

YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 81 (missing: 99)

[According to Poguntke (personal communication, 9/94), by the 1970s, the left liberals had increasingly moderated their positions and by 1978-79 a programmatic change was in the offing because of the country's economic problems. At the same time, issue positions of the FDP were changing and increasingly emphasized economic issues. Poguntke says that by 1978, the FDP was increasingly moving rightward, and that by 1981, the national/economic liberals had regained dominance within the party and the FDP then decided to join CDU in a coalition that succeeded the FDP/SPD coalition.]

Month of change: 99 (missing: 99)

A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change

 complete change (100%)
 x substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition)
 minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)

[In the absence of much information, we code this as major rather than complete since the leader of the party did not change for some time after the factional change.]

B> Nature of factionalism affected

 x primarily ideological/issue
 primarily strategic/tactical
 primarily leadership/personality

C> Factions or Tendencies involved?

 x factions
 tendencies

D> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader?

 yes
 x no

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

 Strong
 Moderate
 x Weak

[We do not feel that it would be appropriate to code this as strong or even moderate intensity, given Poguntke's comments about the moderating of left liberals' positions prior to the change of dominant faction.]

#203 - Germany: The Greens (Die Grunen)
[#1 of 2 changes]

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition Change
Country #: 2 (Germany)Party #: 03 (Greens)Change# (for party): 1YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 83 (missing: 99)

[From the formation of the party until 1983, the fundos were in control. Then, according to Poguntke (personal communication, 9/94), "the Greens' entry into the Bundestag marks the beginning of more clearly defined factional battle lines." In fact, he argues, the realists did not have a forum until the parliamentary party was formed in 1983. From 1983 through 1989, there was a period of intense rivalries, where in fact neither faction/wing was dominant. Hence, the shift in 1983 was from fundamentalist control to a highly competitive situation within which neither wing controlled.]

Month of change: 99 (missing: 99)A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change complete change (100%) x substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition) minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)B> Nature of factionalism affected (i.e. prior to change) primarily ideological/issue x primarily strategic/tactical primarily leadership/personality

[Although there was an ideological conflict within the fundamentalists (i.e. between left and right) prior to 1983, and though the realists did not yet have a forum, the

dimension of factionalism affected by this change in 1983 was clearly the fundo/realo rivalry over strategic orientation.]

C> Factions or Tendencies involved?

factions
 tendencies

D> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader?

yes
 no

[Given the antagonism of the party toward formal leadership, it is not possible to identify a formal "leadership change."]

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

Strong
 Moderate
 Weak

#203 - Germany: The Greens (Die Grunen)**[#2 of 2 changes]**

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition ChangeCountry #: 2 Party #: 03 Change # (for party): 2 YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 90 (missing: 99)Month of change: 99 (missing: 99)A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change complete change (100%) x substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition) minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)B> Nature of factionalism affected primarily ideological/issue x primarily strategic/tactical primarily leadership/personalityC> Factions or Tendencies involved? x factions tendenciesD> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader? yes x no

[It is impossible to determine changes in primary leader for the Greens, since no formal position is equated with primary leadership.]

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

 x Strong
 Moderate
 Weak

[Poguntke (personal communication, 9/94) says that fighting between the factions was so strong prior to 1990 that there were times when neither faction could get the policies identified with the faction passed at conference. He says that there were times when the factions were not even "on speaking terms."

By 1990 -- in part because of internal debate over German re-unification -- some radical leftwing eco-socialists (including Trampart) went to join the PDS and others dropped out of politics completely. Already by 1988-89 the centrist Aufbruch group was reaching out to both sides in hope of forming a centrist coalition to "get the party going again," a coalition that can be considered in place, and to a large extent "in control," by 1990. In 1991 -- after the organizational reforms -- the transformation was furthered as leaders of the radical left fringe departed from the party, though not taking many others with them. The remaining elements of the leftist fundamentalists began then to move rightward toward the center, and became more compromising than earlier. As a result, it is safe to say that the "intense" rivalries among factions no longer existed after 1990. (Based on Poguntke, personal communication, 9/94)]

#204 - Germany: Social Democratic Party (SPD) [#1 of 2 changes]

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition Change

Country #: 2

Party #: 04 (SPD)

Change # (for party): 1

YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 57 (missing: 99)

[According to Poguntke (personal communication, 9/94), prior to adoption of the Bad Godesberg program, the "modern social democratic (trade-union oriented) faction [labelled "SPD Right" by Tan] led by Schmidt became the dominant faction within the SPD.

The change actually took place during the Stuttgart Congress in 1957, when the radicals and new socialists (i.e. the SPD Right) rejected the re-election of the existing leadership group (made up of traditional Left socialists) and instead elected three new vice-chairs from the SPD Right (Panebianco 1988: 256). Ollenhauer's presidency became very tenuous as the radicals and the new socialists were able to gain a majority within the parliamentary group. According to Panebianco (1988), this change led to the adoption of the Bad Godesberg program in 1959 and the nomination of Willy Brandt as Chancellor-candidate in 1960.

Hence, this was a shift from dominance of the traditional SPD Left to the "new socialist," SPD Right, bringing a social democratic approach to replace the socialism of the past.]

Month of change: 99 (missing: 99)

A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change

- complete change (100%)
 substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition)
 minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)

B> Nature of factionalism affected

- primarily ideological/issue
 primarily strategic/tactical
 primarily leadership/personality

C> Factions or Tendencies involved?

- factions
 tendencies

D> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader?

- yes
 no

[However, see comments under "YEAR OF CHANGE" above.]

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

- Strong
 Moderate
 Weak

[This involved a complete redefinition of the party.]

#204 - Germany: Social Democratic Party (SPD) [#2 of 2 changes]

CODING SHEET: Dominant Faction/Coalition Change

Country #: 2

Party #: 04

Change # (for party): 02

YEAR OF CHANGE: 19 79 (missing: 99)

[According to Poguntke (personal communication, 9/94), from the mid 1970s to the late '70s, the missiles issue and nuclear power were the most divisive issues that faced the SPD. During this period, the SPD was increasingly seeing an influx of members with New Politics orientations. Challenges within the party to Schmidt's missiles and nuclear policies had led to a weakening of the social democratic (SPD Right) faction within the SPD.

Following efforts by the SPD Right to co-opt new politics positions and supporters, it seems safe to say that by 1980, the dominant coalition had been significantly altered. By the 1980s a major re-orientation of the party was in the offing. This re-orientation process culminated in the adoption of a new programme in 1989 which (according to Poguntke) is as important and fundamental as the Bad Godesberg program.]

Month of change: 99 (missing: 99)

A> Extent of dominant faction/coalition change

 complete change (100%)

 substantial/major change (involving 1/2 or more of coalition)

 x minor change (involving less than 1/2 of coalition)

B> Nature of factionalism affected

- primarily ideological/issue
 primarily strategic/tactical
 primarily leadership/personality

C> Factions or Tendencies involved?

- factions
 tendencies

[It is difficult to code this one, given that the new politics group might be considered just a tendency, while the SPD right is clearly a faction. We felt that since the dominant faction was ultimately affected (either by absorbing all or part of the new politics group or by joining in coalition with the latter), it would be reasonable to say that a faction was involved.]

D> Coincides (or predates by few months) change of party's primary leader?

- yes
 no

E> Intensity of factional/coalition rivalries (i.e. between -- not within -- dominant faction/coalition) [Code the situation that existed just prior to the change. Take both (a) the distance between the factions and (b) the competitiveness (i.e. relative sizes) into account.]

- Strong
 Moderate
 Weak

[According to Poguntke (personal communication, 9/94), the party almost split up in the 1970s because of "bitter infighting" over the missiles ("NATO double talk") and nuclear power issues.]