*Note: All code justifications which appear in ALL CAPS were part of the original ICPP project (Janda, 1980). All other code justifications were subsequently provided by Shawn McFarlane, unless otherwise noted.*

**Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation**

**1950-1962: 11**
**1963-1967: 8**
**1968-1969: 7**
**1970-1972: 8**
**1973-1974: 11**
**1975-1981: 12**
**1982-1990: 13**

THERE WERE THREE MAIN NATIONAL ORGANS IN THE CDU; THE FEDERAL PARTY CONVENTION, THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE, AND THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. ALL THREE NATIONAL ORGANS HAD STRICT RULES ON SELECTION, AND RESPONSIBILITIES WERE CLEARLY AND PRECISELY DELINEATED IN THE CDU CONSTITUTION. THERE WAS ALSO AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE WHICH INVOLVED THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION IN THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES.

"The Party Committee, whose composition was clearly weighted in favor of the Land leaders, was given the power of selecting the ordinary members of the Federal Party Executive (Bundesvorstand), for only the party chairman and his two deputies were elected by the Party Congress... The federal structure of the CDU was reinforced showing that the concentration of party organizers was to be found on the Land level." Pridham mentioned national co-optation in favor of Laender again: "The regional 'party barons' nevertheless comprised the largest single element in both party organs and could in effect exercise much influence if united on the national party leadership." (Pridham, Geoffrey. Christian Democracy in Western Germany, 1977, pp. 67-8, 117) The Laender were the most influential organs in the CDU.

While Konrad Adenauer may have been able to control the Laender during the original coding period, there was clearly a substantial amount of co-optation after he stepped down as Chancellor in 1963, hence the coding was changed to 8 to reflect the high level of Laender power.

The CSU underwent "total reorganization." (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 356). In 1967, the CSU's Land level (its topmost level, since it deals only in Bavaria) had six bodies: the Executive Committee (Geschaeftsfuehrender

Landesvorstand), the Land Executive (Landesvorstandschaft), which were also part of the Land Party Council (Landesausschuss), the Landesschiedsgericht (no translation given), and the Land Assembly (Landesversammlung), which elects the Chairman of the Party (Landesvorsitzender).

In 1968, the Land Executive was altered to consist not only of the Executive Committee, but also "the Regional Organizations (Bezirksvorsitzende), presidents of the Bundestag and Landtag, if they are members of the CSU, and the chairmen of the Affiliated Organizations (Arbeitsgemeinschaften), instead of delegates." The Land Assembly and Chairman of the Party functioned as a single unit, the Land Party Congress (Landesparteitag). The regional bodies' influence on Land level organs became more indirect (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 345). The Executive Committee was renamed the Praesidium and the Land Party Council was renamed the Party Council (Parteiasschuss). Land Party Court of Arbitration (Landesparteigericht) was the new name for the Landesschiedsgericht.

The CSU's structural changes demonstrated that its relationship with the CDU had solidified. Its Land structure mimicked the national structure of the CDU. The name changes reflect the CDU's absolute majorities in Bavaria, which began in 1962 and continue until the end of our coding period. The "Land" part of most bodies was replaced with "Partei," indicating that the CSU's party structure and the Bavarian Land government structure had become parallel.

The number of CDU national organs remained constant. Since the Praesidia of both the CDU and CSU were included in both the Party Congresses after 1968, then the CSU experienced functional overlap. Coding change of -1 to account for overlap caused by CSU streamlining.

The CDU lost the official government structure by which it disbursed much of its publicity and other benefits of being the party in power. "At the Hamm congress of the Young Union in November 1969, its newly elected chairman, Juergen Echternach, concentrated his speech on the organizational consequences of the party's role in Opposition:

'At present it [the CDU] appears predominantly as a disorganized, loosely united reservoir of heterogeneous associations and autonomous regional branches... the Federal party and its organizations must become the center of political decision-making in the CDU... that means tightening up the organization and modernizing the party machine.'" (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, 1977, p. 261)

The organization of the party was more clearly defined in 1970. Coding increased by 1 to account for the disappearance of major overlaps or co-optation.

"Kurt Beidenkopf [CDU General Secretary] saw the BGS [Bundesgeschaeftstelle,

the National Headquarters] more than simply the administrative center of the party.  In his speech to the Hamburg Congress in November 1973, he noted:

'The Konrad Adenauer House [site of the BGS] in Bonn is the place from which the party will be led.'" (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, 1977, p. 264)

In addition, "In 1973 the new party chairman Helmut Kohl and its then general secretary Kurt Beidenkopf started to centralize the party organization.  The Land parties were made responsible to the party headquarters in Bonn, which developed as... a service center for party activities at lower levels." (Jacobs, Francis, West European Political Parties, 1989, p. 455)

Kohl and Beidenkopf stripped the Laender organizations of their influence and concentrated all authority at the national level. Coding increased by 3 to reflect the loss of Laender power at the hands of the party chair.

"The party reorganization undertaken at the 1975 Mannheim party congress included the gradual phasing out of the Ortsverbaende and the strengthening of the role of its municipal organizations." (Jacobs, Francis, Western European Political Parties, 1989, p. 455).  Coding increased by 1 to reflect the removal of a level of party organization.

"The speaker of the parliamentary party of the European Parliament" was added to the CSU's Land Executive. (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 355)  The structure of the CDU was expanded to a higher level of government, namely, the EC Parliament.  +1 rise to reflect the change.


**Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization**

**1950-1974: 6**
**1975-1990: 4**


THE SMALLEST PARTY ORGANIZATION UNIT WAS THE STUTZPUNCT("UNIT") WHICH IS COMPRISED OF SEVEN MEMBERS OR LESS. THE MOST COMMON UNIT, HOWEVER, WAS THE LOCAL ASSOCIATION WHICH REPRESENTED VILLAGES AS A WHOLE OR BOROUGHS OF LARGER TOWNS AND CITIES.

"There was the problem of wanting to make the party more centralized in order to have more organization but in the process not to lose the freedom that the people had. No one wanted to take 'orders' from above." (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy

in Western Democracy. St. Martins's Press. , New York. p. 244) Same as above (by Chris Foulkes). The above passage was from a September 1974 interview that Pridham did in Bonn with Konrad Kraske, CDU Business Manager. No coding change; this is merely evidence supporting no change in the CDU's organizational intensity.

"The party organization was also restructured at the local level... The party reorganization undertaken at the 1975 Mannheim party congress included the gradual phasing out of the Orstverbaende (local organizations) and the strengthening of its municipal organizations. These were to develop into additional service centers to support the work of the district organizations." (Jacobs, Francis, Western European Political Parties, 1989, pp. 455-6) The CDU's goal was a coding of 3 (constituency/municipal basis), but the party congress called for a gradual phasing out of the branch or ward basis of party organization. Coding changed to reflect the move away from tiny groups of activists.

In 1982 the CDU had 251 [single-member constituency] district organizations (Kreisverbaende), 2706 municipal and municipal district organizations (Stadt- und Gemeindebezirksverbaende), and 6195 local organizations (Ortsverbaende). (Jacobs, Francis, Western European Political Parties, 1989, p. 455) While the CDU had tried to gradually eliminate the local organizations, many continued after the CDU's change from Opposition to Government. No coding change.

"For the CDU and CSU the Kreisverband, the county or city organization, is the basic unit. But most county organizations are subdivided into Ortsverbaende, or local organizations... All of these organizations within each party may vary widely in size." (Gunlicks, Arthur, Local Government in the German Federal System, 1986, p. 165) No coding change because local organizations persist despite the 1975 goal.

**Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization**

**1950-1962: 6**
**1963-1966: 7**
**1967: 8**
**1968-1990: 6**

THE CDU COVERAGE THROUGH LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WAS QUITE EXTENSIVE AND COMPLETE.

The CDU's reach was so extensive that it had delegates from East Germany (the GDR) during the Cold War. The Oder-Neisse, in politically Polish territory, sent 20 delegates to the CDU National Congress, while the Exil-CDU (in the GDR) sent 75

delegates.  Coding increased to 7 to reflect the presence of West German CDU apparata in East Germany and Poland (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 361).

"Delegates [to the CDU National Congress] will be elected by the district or Land congress.  Additional delegates will be sent by Exil-CDU and the CDU Oder-Neisse." (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 361).  Coding alteration indicated the increase in foreign extensiveness.

"The Land organization Oder/Neisse has no delegates and Exil-CDU has only 50... delegates from the Exil-CDU have no voting rights." (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 361)  The coding was switched to show the lessening of foreign members' influence in the National Congresses.

[General Secretary] "Beidenkopf's strategy was very clearly electorally motivated, for he maintained that the next Bundestag Election in 1976 could only be won if the CDU were revived from the grassroots upwards.  This meant among other things activating the party's interest and role in local politics, where it had traditionally been weak." (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, p. 265)  No coding change; local coverage was already structurally complete.  The change appeared to be attitudinal.

"Exil-CDU reduced to 30 delegates." (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 362)  Probably as a result of the SPD's Ostpolitik efforts in creating an atmosphere of detente between West and East Germany, the concept of a party-in-exile lost support.  No coding change.

The greatest amount of paid CDU officials worked at the regional level.  A change of having the purpose of organizations be more than electoral came after two to three generations of party leaders.(Pridham, Geoffrey. 1977. Christian Democracy in Western Democracy. St. Martins's Press, New York.  pp. 241-302.)  No coding change. [by Chris Foulkes]

The Land organization in North Rhineland-Westphalia was subdivided into two groups.  "In early 1986, the CDU in North Rhineland-Westphalia merged into a single party group.  This was a significant development, since it made the party organization in that Land easily the strongest.  The CDU leader in North Rhineland-Westphalia, Kurt Beidenkopf (born 1930), emerged as an increasingly influential figure in the party." (Delury, George, World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties, 1987, pp. 396-7)  No rise or fall in the coding; the change was a regional phenomenon, not a systemic party change.

**Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings**

**1950-1962: No Data**
**1964-1990: 2**

The CDU had 5986 party basic units at this time. (Katz, Peter, and Mair, 333) While the exact nature of these units is unclear from the single number provided, they undoubtedly worked for an electoral goal of some sort, hence they must have met during the campaigns. Coded at 2.

**Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings**

**1950-1956: 4**
**1957-1968: 3**
**1969-1990: 4**

ACCORDING TO PARTY STATUTES, THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE MET QUARTERLY AND MAY HAVE BEEN CONVENED BY THE PARTY CHAIRMAN. ADENAUER CHOSE TO CONVENE THE CDU EXECUTIVE ONLY ONCE BETWEEN SEPTEMBER, 1958 AND SEPTEMBER, 1959.

"Organizational reform, forced on the party (CSU) by the 1967 Bundestag law that laid down a set of requirements for democratic requirements within the Federal Republic, led to changes... Elections to party offices are held biannually." (Jacobs, Francis, West European Political Parties, 1989, p. 461) No change.

"A number of important organizational changes did occur or begin to develop during the first Opposition period, notably... more regular meetings of the Federal party organs and monthly conferences of the business managers of the Landesverbaende [regional branches]." (Pridham Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, quoting Die Zeit) While Pridham did not mention the exact frequency of the Federal party meetings, he noted that there was an increase. +1 for this general increase in frequency.

**Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records**

**1950-1968: 10**
**1969-1975: 13**
**1976-1986: 14**
**1987-1990: 17**

The district and local associations were responsible for keeping extremely

accurate and complete records of party membership. The party published massive amounts of propaganda over the years, often employing government facilities for these purposes. The CDU did not maintain any archives, rather it used information gathered by commercial organizations on government agencies.

"Since the party no longer had the benefit of official information sources, the Fraktion developed its own planning staff and body of research assistants, for prior to 1969 it had only a few auxiliary staff." (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, 1977, p. 262) The Bundestag Fraktion held a new preeminence after the CDU became the opposition party, and established its own researchers in the party structure. +3 points for the new researchers, as per the table.

"By 1976 it [CDU campaigning] had been developed to a sophisticated degree with stickers, campaign buttons, ballpoint pens, election records and balloons as well as the usual forms of glossy campaign literature." (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, 1977, p. 344) As the opposition party, the CDU moved toward more media-focused American-style campaign tactics. +1 for the increase in the publishing of party propaganda, especially, "election records."

"Since the organizational professionalization of these [CDU] organization varies considerably, data are difficult to collect in the case of the CDU which keeps no records for its affiliated organizations. The CSU, on the other hand, has kept centralized membership files on all affiliated organizations since 1978." (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 331) The CDU's lack of professionalization of record-keeping regarding affiliates was balanced by its sister party's detailed records in Bavaria. No coding change.

"A new development in the CDU's organizational structure is the party's commercial branch. In 1987, the CDU founded a computer software firm (Dico-Soft), which offers services for organizational work. (Jacobs, Francis, West European Political Parties, 1989, p. 456). The complete computerization of the CDU, to the point of its establishing a private software firm, demonstrates a coding change of +3 (in keeping with the table) to bring the "party archive" dimension to "outstanding research division."

**Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization**

**1950-1962: 18**
**1963-1967: 19**
**1968-1971: 20**
**1972-1987: 21**
**1988-1990: 22**

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There were at least five ancillary organizations [18 points] directly affiliated with the CDU, youth union (junge union), women's association (frauenunion), social committee, local government associations (kommunalpolitische vereinigung), and middle-class associations (meittelstandsvereinigung). In addition, the party encouraged the growth of the Christian trade union movement of Germany (CGD) which flourished in the German industrial sector. It appears that the party closely surveyed the activities of these ancillary organizations (Translations from Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, pp. 323-8).

The CDU's sister organization in Bavaria, the Christian Social Union, added five new groups to its list. (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 334) Their German names were: "Gesundheitpolitischer Arbeitskreis, Wehrpolitischer Arbeitskreis (WPA), Arbeitskreis Wohnungs- und Stadtebau, Arbeitskreis Oeffentlicher Dienst, AK Sport, Arbeiskreis Deutschlandpolitik und Aussenpolitik." No English translations given in the book; Arbeitskreis is a "working association." +1 to compensate for the extra ancillary organs of the CSU.

The CDU acquired auxiliaries Wirschaftsvereinigung (an employers' group) and Union der Vertriebenen und Fluechtlinge (group for those exiled after World War II) while the CSU added Arbeitskreis Juristen (Judicial Policy Group) and Arbeitskreis Polizei (no translation available) to its list of affiliates. (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 334) Coding increased by 1 to account for the new organizations.

The Christian Social Union added the Arbeitskreis Umweltschutz und Landesplanung (no translation) and the Kulturpolitischer Arbeitkreis (Cultural and Political Policy Group). (Katz, Richard, and Mair, Peter, Party Organizations, 1992, p. 334) A new organization was spun off under the auspices of the Young Union: a new organization for school pupils called, appropriately enough, the School Union (Schueler-Union). (Pridham, Geoffrey, Christian Democracy in Western Germany, 1977, p. 291) Plus 1 to reflect these new auxiliaries.

Peter Graf Kielmannsegg, political science professor at the University of Mannheim, wrote in a CDU policy except, "Between 1985 and 2000, the share of our [the West German] population under 20 will drop from 24 to 20%, while the share of 20-60 year-olds will continue to be 56%. At the same time, the percentage of people 60 years of age and older will increase from 20 to 24%. After 2000, this process will accelerate." (Livingston, Robert, West German Political Parties, 1986, p. 23) This attitude's impact can be seen in yet another addition to the CDU octopus of affiliated organizations, the Senioren Union, an association for the retired. The CDU's long-term political aim is clearly to increase its voter share as the demographics of the nation change. Coding raised by 1 for the Senioren Union.

*Note: All code justifications which appear in ALL CAPS were part of the original ICPP project (Janda, 1980). All other code justifications were subsequently provided by those credited after said justification.*

**Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation**

**1950-1990: 7**

THREE IDENTIFIABLE NATIONAL PARTY ORGANS--FEDERAL PARTY CONVENTION FEDERAL MAIN COMMITTEE, AND FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. EVERY PARTY MEMBER CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE FEDERAL PARTY CONVENTION. ITS FUNCTIONS WERE TO ADVISE AND DECIDE UPON BASIC POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATION QUESTIONS.

THE FEDERAL MAIN COMMITTEE WAS COMPOSED OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE DELEGATES OF THE LAND ASSOCIATION, AND EXTRA DELEGATES FOR GREATER NUMBERS OF MEMBERS. ITS DUTIES WERE TO TAKE ACTION ON ALL POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATION QUESTIONS, EXCEPT THOSE DECIDED BY THE CONVENTION.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE INCLUDED THE FEDERAL CHAIRMAN (OF THE CONVENTION), THREE VICE-CHAIRMEN, THE FEDERAL TREASURER, THE CHAIRMEN OF THE LAND ASSOCIATIONS, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BUNDESTAG PARLIAMENTARY PARTY, THE FEDERAL MINISTERS AND LANDER PREMIER, AND THIRTEEN OTHER MEMBERS. THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DECIDES ON POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATION QUESTIONS ALONG WITH THE OTHER NATIONAL ORGANS.

Three addition members are added to the National Executive, which now is called the Praesidium. Moreover a commission on budget and finance is also established within the Praesidium (Katz & Mair, 1992, p.357). [by Florence Adam]

The function of general Secretary is created, he is elected by the party congress on proposal of the party chairman (Stoss, 1984, p. 1366). [by Florence Adam]

A member of the European parliamentary fraktion is member of the Praesidium (Katz & Mair, 1992, p. 357). [by Florence Adam]

**Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization**

**1950-1990: 5**

THERE WERE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE FDP WHICH WERE QUITE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE CDU. IT APPEARS THAT THE FDP PARTY STRUCTURE WAS ABOUT THE SAME AS THAT OF THE CDU, ALTHOUGH DOCUMENTATION OF THIS IS NOT GOOD. WHILE THE CDU WAS SUBDIVIDED TO THE UNIT LEVEL, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE FDP ORGANIZATION WAS CARRIED PAST THE PRECINCT LEVEL.

Local structure includes the Kreisverbaende (county organizations), which are the basic organizational unit of the FDP. These 350 organizations are often very small in terms of membership. It also includes the Gemeinde (local government districts) which are the local branches. The party has branches in only about one fifth of the 9000 districts. Communication between these two and the party headquarters is poor; the local level is poorly equipped (Padgett, 1986, p.157). [by Christy Hartung]

The local presence of the FDP is made of 2185 local organizations, which covers only one fifth of the total of the districts (Oberreuter & Mintzel, 1990, p.269). [by Florence Adam]

**Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization**

**1950-1990: 6**

BASED ON FDP ELECTORAL SUCCESS AND STABILITY, IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE PARTY PRECINCT LEVEL ORGANIZATION EXTENDED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. It difficult to say when a change occurred, but it seems as if the FDP coverage at the local level is becoming much more sparse. [by Christy Hartung]

The Party is represented in 1930 (out of 9000) localities (Stoss, 1984, p. 1368). "The party opened 2000 new local branches in response to various studies the party commissioned which recommended intensification of grass roots party work" (Kolinski, 1984, p.103). [by Kyle Schueneman]

The liberal electoral body seems to be more solid on the national level, than on the local level (Stoss, 1984, p.1351) At the regional level the FDP has 11 Land Organizations, corresponding to the 11 Lander. Further branches are the districts, the circles, and the local organizations (Stoss, 1984, p. 1368). [by Florence Adam]

"In each of the six states where it no longer has parliamentary representation, the FDP tried to remain politically visible through the public pronouncements and other activities of a 'parliamentary work group' in the state capital. (See, 1985, p.165) "The

weakness of the FDP's membership organization has often been linked to its feeble electoral condition" (See, 1985, p.171). [by Christy Hartung]

"The FDP today consists of 11 state organizations corresponding to the 11 states of the Federal Republic. Each state organization is divided into regional, district, and local branches. " (Haussmann, 1986, p.43). The party has branches in only about one fifth of the 9000 districts (Padgett, 1986, p.157). [by Christy Hartung]

"This does appear to indicate a decline at the Land level which was not replicated at national level, until the party is now, on average, hovering very near the 5% barrier in the last seventeen state elections between 1982 and 1987" (Kirchner & Broughton, 1988, p.74). [by Florence Adam]

## Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

**1950-1990: No Data**

## Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

**1950-1990: 4**

THE FDP BYLAWS STATED THAT THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHALL MEET AT LEAST ONCE EVERY THREE MONTHS.

The National Congress meets every year. Extraordinary congresses may be convened by a majority of the members of the National Party Council, four Land Executives, or the federal parliamentary party (Katz & Mair, 1992, p. 366). [by Florence Adam]

Extraordinary congresses can now be convened by a majority of the members of the National Executive (Katz & Mair, 1992, p. 367). [by Florence Adam]

The party convention meets yearly (Delury, 1983, p.367). [by Christy Hartung]

## Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

**1950-1967: 12**
**1968-1990: 16**

Until 1968, no central records of the national party membership were kept (Padgett, 157). Secure data of membership starts only from 1968. (Oberreuter & Mintzel, 1990, p. 267). [This is the year the DM 2 membership fee was introduced in 1968. The party now has the maximum of points, since it has propaganda, archives, and membership lists]. [by Florence Adam]

"The party began computerizing its files for the first time amid many suspicions against a party machinery" (Kolinsky, 1984, p.102). [by Kyle Schueneman]


**Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization**

**1950-1981: 8**
**1982-1990: 3**

The German Young Democrats are affiliated with the party (Katz &Mair, 1992, p.344). There is no mention in the literature about the Taxpayer Federation. [by Florence Adam]

The Young Liberals are associated with the FDP (Katz & Mair, 1992, p. 334). [by Florence Adam]

The Young Democrats are no longer affiliated with the FDP; they continue to work as a politically independent organization (Katz & Mair, 1992, p. 334). [by Florence Adam]

The FDP had no control over the Young Democrats until they were officially disowned at the Berlin Conference (See, 1985, p.172). [by Chrisy Hartung] The Young Liberals become the official youth organization of the party (Katz & Mair, 1992, p. 334). [by Florence Adam]

"Its place was quickly taken by a better-groomed, well-behaved youth group, the Young Liberals (Julis), who had been waiting in the wings. They are still few in number, with a membership of almost 2,300 by the end of 1983" (See, 1985, p.173). [by Christy Hartung]

The FDP gets the support of the Association of the groups of liberal universities (LHG) (Oberreuter & Mintzel, 1990, p.265). [by Florence Adam]

*Note: All justifications for the codes listed below were provided by Ken Janda.*

### Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

**1980-1982: 11**
**1983-1990: 10**

"In a formal sense, the Greens' organization has the characteristics of modern parties (with) large national party congresses to vote policies, and smaller steering committees and executive boards to administer party affairs" (Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:106). Four national party organs are identifiable, the selection procedures are prescribed, and the functional responsibilities are relatively clear. First, the annual Federal delegate assembly is composed of elected delegates from the grassroots local groups. The assembly votes on political issues and policy decisions. Second, the Federal steering committee consists of members elected for two-year terms by the state party assemblies. It is the highest organ between delegate assembly meetings and can bind the federal executive board. Its two main functions are "to serve as the link between the grassroots level and the national executive committee, and to channel information from the grassroots level to the Bundestag Fraktion and back" (Spretnak and Capra 1986:246). Third, the Federal executive board is composed of eleven people elected for two years by the delegate assembly. This board provides collective leadership in daily affairs. The fourth recognized organ is less clear, but Frankland and Schoonmaker (1992:107) report the existence of Federal Working groups that serve as administrative agencies (also, see Poguntke and Boll 1992:347). (For elaboration, see Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:106-8, Spretnak and Capra 1986:246-7, Dittmers 1988:5-7, Poguntke and Boll 1992:329-88.)

In 1983, the structures from 1980 remain; however, the Greens are elected to the Bundestag for the first time. This leads to the creation of the Federal parliamentary group. The code changes because the functional responsibilities become unclear. "The Greens' structure has worked quite smoothly except for one area of contention: the relationship and 'pecking order' between the two highest committees (the executive and the steering committees) and the Fraktion (parliamentary group) in the legislative body" (Spretnak and Capra 1986:131). It is a matter of intense of controversy which of these bodies should have control and who the parliamentary group is responsible to (i.e.: the executive committee or the state that had elected them) (Spretnak and Capra 1986:247). This controversy has resulted in a major split in the party between the fundamentalists and the realists; the realists emphasize parliamentary politics, whereas the fundamentalists emphasize extraparliamentary politics (see Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:112-3). Officially, the "group in parliament is obligated to obey all resolutions and decisions passed by the federal assembly or federal committee"

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(Harmel 1987:25). However, it is not clear that this rule has been followed. The change comes as the result of the electoral success.

The code does not change, but it should be noted that electoral defeat on December 2, 1990, resulted in the loss of representation in the Bundestag for the Greens. On December 3, they merged with the East German Greens. In the aftermath of electoral defeat, major structural reforms were proposed (Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:116). Several reforms were adopted in April 1991 which changed the internal party structure for the first time (see Poguntke and Boll 1992:347-8).

## Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization

### 1980-1990: 6

"The fundamental unit of the Green party is the local group" (Spretnak and Capra 1986:243, Dittmers 1988:5). The score is six because the smallest sections have less than 100 members although most sections have more members (this is the most intense) (Kitschelt 1989:149).

## Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

### 1980-1990: 6

The Greens focus on maintaining grassroots democracy which requires "comprehensive organization and coordination, (and the Greens) are active in all political arenas; local, regional and national" (Die Gruenen 1980:5). It is important that all citizens have a say and this means establishment of party organizations in all areas. Indeed, although the strength of the organizations vary, the Greens do have members in all eleven states (after reunification five new states were added) (Dittmers 1988:8). Overall, there are about 350 local organizations (Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:107). It is imperative to maintain contact with all localities (Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:109). The Greens began their activities on the local level, and thus, had an extensive organization from the start (Frankland and Schoonmaker 1992:189). There is no sign that this variable changes.

## Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

**1980-1990: 6**

"The fundamental unit of the Green party is the local group. The groups meet biweekly or monthly" (Spretnak and Capra 1986:243, Dittmers 1988:5). This has not changed.

## Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

**1980-1990: 6**

The national steering committee meets approximately every six weeks while the national executive committee meets two or more times during the six-week intervals between the meetings of the national steering committee (Spretnak and Capra 1986:246). Thus, on average the national bodies meet every four and one-half weeks (the average is taken because it is unclear which body should be used for this score). This has not changed.

## Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

**1980-1990: 9**

Although the Greens do not have an official party newspaper, they "produce a flood of printed material" (Spretnak and Capra 1986:130). They produce reports from the Green Fraktion in legislative bodies, and reports on projects, actions, and issues from the party (Spretnak and Capra 1986:132). They also publish a national monthly bulletin, Gruner Basis Dienst, as well as numerous local newsletters. Thus, the score is "2" for propaganda; this does not change. "Membership figures of the Greens are more indefinite than those of the established parties because of the party's views regarding centralized data collection" (Frankland 1989:66-7). "Membership lists are not always quite accurate" (Dittmers 1988:6). The score for membership lists is "4" because there is some mechanism used to approximate membership; however, it is not "notable for quality". This also remains unchanged. Little information was found on the existence of party archives; however, it does appear that they maintain "numerous policy study groups (that provide) inputs from movement activists and outside experts to parliamentary deputies for future programmatic developments" (Frankland 1989:67). They have several "working groups" that help formulate policy. Thus, the score is estimated to be "3". Again, there is no evidence of change.

## Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

**1980-1990: 0**

In their longitudinal study of party organization, Poguntke and Boll report that the Greens are not affiliated with any organizations throughout their existence (Poguntke and Boll 1992:334).

## #204-Germany: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

### Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

**1950-1990: 11**

FOUR NATIONAL ORGANS CAN BE IDENTIFIED--PARTY CONVENTION, PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PARTY COUNCIL, AND CONTROL COMMISSION. FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WERE CLEARLY DELINEATED IN THE PARTY BYLAWS.

THE PARTY CONVENTION RECEIVED REPORTS ON THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES, ELECTS THE COMMITTEES, AND VOTES ON RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED TO IT. CONVENTION MEMBERS WERE ELECTED IN THE DISTRICTS, THE NUMBER OF SEATS BEING PROPORTIONAL TO THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS WHO PAID DUES.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WAS ELECTED BY THE CONVENTION. IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING PARTY BUSINESS AND SUPERVISING PARTY ORGANS. The Executive Committee leads the party. "The Parteivorstand [Executive Committee] acts for the party and controls the basic political position of all party bodies. It owns all money and property of the party" (Katz and Mair, 1992, pg. 349). Furthermore, when there is disagreement among lower party bodies over the nomination of a candidate, the Executive Committee has the right to make a final decision if it is called upon to do so by the respective party bodies. [by Jeff Swaddling]

THE PARTY COUNCIL WAS COMPOSED OF THE CHAIRMEN OF THE DISTRICTS, THE CHAIRMEN OF THE LAND COMMITTEES, THE CHAIRMEN OF THE LANDTAG PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES, AND THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE LAENDER. ITS RESPONSIBILITIES INCLUDE COORDINATING POLICIES IN THE FEDERATION AND LAENDER AND ADVISING THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON BASIC POLICY QUESTIONS.

THE CONTROL COMMISSION WAS ELECTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPERVISION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND AS AN APPEALS INSTITUTION FOR COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Added to the above list of SPD national organs is the Praesidium. "Created in

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1958, this 'inner cabinet' consists at present of eleven top leaders who are simultaneously members of the party executive" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 17). The praesidium is generally considered the highest party organ. Six of the eleven praesidium members automatically receive a seat because of their party office. This "rump praesidium" consists of the chairman, the two deputy chairmen, the Fraktion chairman, the secretary, and the treasurer. The executive committee chooses the remaining five members from the committee at-large. The praesidium is charged with implementing the decisions voted upon by the executive and with setting political and organizational regulations. In addition, the praesidium, "determines the general guidelines, the content of crucial resolutions, intraparty and organizational questions, the scheduling and agenda of upcoming party conferences, and strategy for election campaigns" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 19). [by Jeff Swaddling]

One additional national SPD organ is the arbitration commission. "A seven-member federal arbitration commssion deals with disputes over the statute and over the guidelines of constituent groups" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 23). The arbitration commission can also institute proceedings against any party member who has overly violated party principles or regulations. Penalties can range from censure to expulsion from the party in more extreme cases. [by Jeff Swaddling]

As noted, in 1968, "The Executive Committee can no longer decide upon candidate nomination in the case of disagreements. The Executive Committee represents the party legally" (Katz and Mair, 1992, p. 349). [by Jeff Swaddling]

In addendum to some of the other organs addressed above: The party council meets only four times a year and cannot be considered an active participant in policy-making decisions. The Control Commission serves in theory as a watchdog, but in actuality examines mostly the treasurer's financial reports and the secretary's report about party matters entailing expenditures. (Braunthal, 1983, p. 23) [by Scott Case]


**Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization**

**1950-1990: 6**

ON THE LOWEST LEVEL OF PARTY ORGANIZATION, MEMBERSHIP FIGURES INDICATE THAT ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS WAS OFTEN UNDER 100 PEOPLE. THE LOWEST LEVEL (ORTSVEREINE) CAN THEREFORE BE CONSIDERED CELLULAR. THERE WERE 9,100 LOCALS IN 1959, AVERAGING 69 MEMBERS EACH.

"The smallest units of organization in the SPD are the Town Groups, called Ortsvereine, whose relations with the party at the national level are conducted through the Bezirk organization" (Henig, 1969, p. 36). [by Jeff Swaddling]

As of the latest tally (1982), there are more than 10,000 local branches with memberships ranging from 15 or 20 up to 200-400 people. An exact average was not provided. Because of the number of people who attend the meetings, the local levels can still be considered cellular in nature. The groupings are not large enough to be coded 5 (Precinct, less than 1000), so it seems cellular is the better choice. [by Scott Case]

### Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

**1950-1990: 6**

THERE WERE AT LEAST 9,100 LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AVERAGING 69 MEMBERS EACH. CONSIDERING THE LARGE NUMBER OF LOCALS, AS WELL AS THE LARGE NUMBER OF PARTY MEMBERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, IT CAN BE SAFELY ASSUMED THAT LOCAL COVERAGE WAS FOUND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

In 1965, there were 9,490 basic party units in the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, p. 333). [by Jeff Swaddling]

In 1970, there were 9,573 basic party units in the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, p. 333). [by Jeff Swaddling]

In 1974, there were 8,520 basic party units in the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, p. 333). [by Jeff Swaddling]

In 1980, there were 9,281 basic party units in the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, p. 333). [by Jeff Swaddling]

With 10,000 locals averaging between 15-400 people in 1982, the assumption about local coverage is well founded and accepted. [by Scott Case]

In 1988, there were 10,346 basic party units in the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, p. 333). [by Jeff Swaddling]

### Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

**1950-1982: 5**
**1983-1990: 6**

FIGURES SHOW THAT THE LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MET ON THE AVERAGE OF BETWEEN 6 AND 8 TIMES PER YEAR.

In 1982, the executive of the local level meets at least once a month and decides on the admission of new members, prepares the yearly membership assemblies and carries out its decisions. (Braunthal, 1983, p. 29) [by Scott Case]   The increase in local meetings from six or eight per year to once a month is the justification for the one point change in coding. [by Jeff Swaddling]

## Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

**1950-1990: 6**

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MET ROUGHLY ONCE A MONTH.

The praesidium meets every week.  The Executive Committee meets once a month. (Braunthal, 1983, p. 19). [by Jeff Swaddling]

The original coding is confirmed by Braunthal, page 21.  "Meeting once a month, [the Executive Committee] deals with basic party policies, programs, organizational questions, personnel matters, and domestic and foreign policy issues." [by Scott Case]

## Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

**1950-1974: 16**
**1975-1990: 15**

LIKE THE CDU, THE SPD MAINTAINED COMPLETE AND CURRENT MEMBERSHIP LISTS.  A PARTY YEARBOOK SERVED AS AN ARCHIVAL SOURCE AND WAS QUITE COMPLETE AND THOROUGH.  OF COURSE, THE PARTY PUBLISHING PROGRAM WAS VIGOROUS AND UNENDING.

As noted in 1975, "By the mid-1970's, only eight of the nearly 400 papers remained that could be counted on to be sympathetic to SPD goals" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 53).  In 1929, the SPD had controlled about 200 newspapers containing party propaganda and policy statements.  Thus, a one point decline was justified because of this decrease in party propaganda in the media between 1950 and the 1970's.  [by Jeff Swaddling]

Membership lists are assembled at the local level and prepared by the local

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executive.  Also contained in the party yearbook and records are those individuals who contribute in excess of 100,000 DM, as mandated by the Party Law of 1967, revised. [by Scott Case]


## Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

**1950-1974: 17**
**1975-1978: 18**
**1979-1980: 17**

THERE WERE A LARGE NUMBER OF ANCILLARY ORGANIZATIONS.  NOT ONLY DID THE PARTY SPONSOR STUDENT, YOUTH, WOMEN'S, AND CULTURAL GROUPS, BUT IT ALSO SPONSORED NUMEROUS "ABREITGEMEINSCHAFT" WHICH BROUGHT TOGETHER SPD SYMPATHIZERS AND MEMBERS OF SIMILAR BACKGROUNDS (I.E. PROFESSIONALS, WAR REFUGEES).  PARTY CONTROL OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS APPEARED TO BE MODERATE TO HIGH.  THE PARTY HAD DIFFICULTY KEEPING CONTROL OF THE STUDENT ORGANIZATION (SDS), AND THE PARTY DID NOT ATTEMPT TO STRICTLY OVERSEE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ARBEITGEMEINSCHAFTS.  HIERARCHICAL WITH AT LEAST THREE IDENTIFIABLE LEVELS OF ORGANIZATIONS--FEDERAL PARTY, DISTRICT, LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The SPD has created numerous ancillary organizations including associations for workers, women, youth, the self-employed, health workers, teachers, municipal politicians, and lawyers.  These associations are not party organs which the SPD intended to collect dues from or choose delegates from to attend SPD conventions, moreover, "...their membership is in many instances open to anyone sympathetic to their goals, although in practice most association members are party members" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 25).  At least ten ancillary organizations existed in 1960, representing students, doctors, lawyers, teachers, veterans, youths, women, and federal worker associations (Katz and Mair, 1992, pg. 334). [Jeff Swaddling]

In 1964, a new affiliated organization representing federal urban construction and politics issues was recognized by the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, pg 334). [Jeff Swaddling]

At the 1971 SPD convention, the Young Socialists (Jusos) association tried to increase the autonomy of the SPD party associations.  Young Socialist leaders sought to grant associations the power to draft their own statutes and to introduce motions at party conventions (Braunthal, 1983, p. 25).  These efforts failed however because the SPD did not want these associations to become "parties within the party". [by Jeff Swaddling]

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In 1973, an SPD reform commission, seeking to reduce the proliferation of associations and the resulting growing party bureaucracy, recommended to the executive committee that the number of associations be limited to the biggest four- Jusos, women, workers, and the self-employed- and that the other associations be reduced to specialist circles without hierarchical organizational structure (Braunthal, 1983, p. 25). This reform commission withdrew its proposal after protest from several professional associations. [by Jeff Swaddling]

On February 1, 1975, the executive issued new SPD guidelines which stipulated that, "Executives must explicitly approve any association publications" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 26). This "muzzle decree" over associations' literature warranted a one point coding change to reflect the increased power of the party over the ancillary associations. [by Jeff Swaddling]

In May 1979, after four years of uneasy relations between the SPD and the associations, the executive liberalized the censorship decision it had made in 1975. "It decided that in the future it would be up to the secretaries at all party levels whether or not to apply the decree" (Braunthal, 1983, p. 26). The one point coding change reflects the SPD's easing of control over the ancillary associations. [by Jeff Swaddling]

In 1983, the ancillary organization representing urban construction and politics issues was dissolved by the SPD (Katz and Mair, 1992, pg. 334). [Jeff Swaddling]