# The party formerly known as "Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands"

Unified Germany in Perspective







#### Outline

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Background
1946-1989/90
Ideology & Voters
Strategic Behaviour at the Land level
The PDS/Left merger
Conclusion
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## History



- ► Forced KPD/SPD merger in 1946
- Dominated by Moscow-trained leadership (Ulbricht)
- ► Stalinist outlook until late 1960s/1970s
- SED cells present in every factory, school, larger enterprise; right and ability to control every aspect of public life
- ► Centralised, hierarchical structure

## History II



- ► Leading role incorporated in Article 1 of 1968 constitution
- Other parties ('Blockparteien') dominated by SED

- ▶ Bizarre surrogate for pluralism: 'Demokratischen Block der Parteien und Massenorganisationen' and 'Nationale Front'
- ▶ SED-Membership pre-condition for almost any career
- 2.3 Million party members in 1989

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- ▶ In a population of 16 Million (including children)
- ▶ About one fifth of the adult population

## History III



- Mass demonstrations in autumn '89 triggered power-struggle within leadership
- Honecker generation replaced by Krenz generation . . .
- ► SED officially gives up leading role in December; new leadership replaced by members of the '3rd rank' (Gysi and friends)
- ▶ Party not dissolved, but renamed (SED/SED-PDS/PDS)
- ▶ Party apparatus (40,000 staff) and economic empire unravel

## History IV

- Membership figures
  - ▶ 450,000 members in March 1990
  - ▶ 300,000 members in December 1990
  - ▶ 95,000 members in 1998, today about 60,000
- Who was left?
  - More than 95 per cent former SED members
  - ▶ More than 80 per cent of party members older than 60
  - Roughly 50 per cent women
- Party organisation from early 90s very similar to other parties
- ▶ But virtually no party members/structures in West Germany
- ▶ PDS Germany's first pensioners' party

## History V

- 'Hartz' → WASG breaks away from (West German) SPD/ Trade Unions in 2004/2005
- ▶ (Relatively) strong in Bavaria, NRW, Saarland
- Candidates on West German PDS lists in 2005 election
- ► Lafontaine joins party with a view to merge with PDS, 11,600 members in 2007
- ► PDS renamed to Linkspartei, formal merger of both parties summer 2007
- 'New' party highly successful in 2009 federal election

## PDS posters 2005 West vs. East



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## Posters 2005: 'East Only'



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www.sozialisten.de 100 Prozent für den Osten DIE LINKE. PDS

## Ideology

- ► Eclectic blend of all leftist ideologies
- No extremist traces left in official documents
- ▶ Party leadership made some public commitments to democracy, though some ideas look a bit odd
  - STASI connections/approach to history?
  - ▶ How democratic are the rank-and-file members?
  - Some orthodox Marxist sub-groups within the party (Kommunistische Plattform, Marxistisches Forum)
- Plus traditional, left-leaning unionism



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- Quite successful in 2009

## Units of analysis

- Four east German state parties ('Landesverbände')
- Two in government (Berlin, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), two not (Saxony, Brandenburg)
- How independent are they, what strategies do they pursue?
- ► Three strategic models:
  - 1. Office-seeking
  - 2. Policy-seeking
  - 3. Vote-seeking
- Rather a matter of emphasis than of choice
- Office-seeking not an option on the Federal level
- ▶ Indicators on the land level needed how to compare them?

# Wings within the PDS

- 1. 'Modern Socialist wing'
  - Not much sympathy for GDR
  - Radical left reform of existing system
  - By democratic means
  - ► A more radical SPD/Green party
- 2. Social/left-liberals
  - Interest: 'realpolitik'
  - Focus on local/regional level
  - Less interested in ideology 'pragmatic' left

# Wings within the PDS

- 3. 'Restorative ideologues'
  - Support for state socialism (Stalinism?!?)
  - High visibility
- 4. 'Radical alternative wing'
  - Oppose current system & GDR
  - Linked to anarchist/'autonomous' movement
  - 'Non-dogmatic' radicals
- ▶ 1 & 2 willing to participate in coalitions in principle
- 3 & 4 in favour of principled opposition

## Case study: Berlin



- ▶ Between East & West
- ► Enormous debts, huge structural problems
- ▶ PDS dominated by Modern socialists and social/left-liberals
- ▶ Willing to support a program of austerity and debt-reduction since 1997 (!)
- Formed coalition with SPD in 2002, renewed in 2006
- Very little (and ineffective) opposition within party

## Case study: Brandenburg



- ▶ PDS became more and more isolated after 1994, but electorally stronger
- ▶ Like in Berlin and MVP, PDS pragmatic and willing to govern in 1997
- Conflict over pragmatism/traditionalism, generational conflict
- Dominance of pragmatists 2001-04
- Strife re-emerged in 2004 but did not hurt electoral returns (Anti-Hartz-IV campaign, PDS 2nd party)
- 'Able to govern, but not willing to do so' (Bisky)
- SPD-PDS coalition 2009-

## Conclusion: 1990-05



- ▶ PDS not longer an opposition-only party but . . .
  - 1. Very heterogeneous
  - 2. State parties enjoy high degree of freedom from centre
  - 3. Variation over time
- Party base very old
- Party confined to East Germany → prospects of long-term survival?

#### 2005-07

- Schröder's 'Agenda' reforms highly controversial
- 'Labour and Social Justice/Electoral Alternative' founded by disgruntled SPD/trade union members
  - ► Too small to survive/make an impact
  - Largely confined to old West
- PDS/WASG alliance a high risk/high gain strategy for both partners
- Not time/support for full merger in before federal election 2005
- Internal conflict and strife within both groups
- ▶ Formally merged in June 2007

#### The 'New' Left

- ▶ In a sense, the end of the old SED
- Party initially dominated by Gysi and Lafontaine
- Electoral support in the East much higher, much broader party base
- But: parliamentary group dominated by Westerners
- ▶ Future course of SPD not clear
- No support for Red-Red-Green coalitions on federal level
- ► Coalitions in Western states highly problematic
- ▶ Leadership and ideological problems





## Class questions

- 1. What does the PDS/Left stand for, and how do you evaluate its political role in Germany?
- 2. Will the PDS/Left is survive? What is the most likely trajectory of its development?
- Can you conceive of a constellation where the PDS/Left could join a coalition after the Federal Election of 2013?