


Table VI.A.1: National Level Election Results (2nd Vote) and Seat Distributions (excluding Berlin)*

		CDU	CSU ^e	SPD	FRP	G	Other	Total
1949 ^b	v	5.978.636	1.380.448	6.934.975	2.829.920		6.608.419	23.732.398
	%	25,2	5,8	29,2	11,9		27,8	78,5
	s	115	24	131	52		80	402
1953	v1	9.577.659	2.450.286	8.131.257	2.967.566		4.392.992	27.519.760
	v2	10.016.594	2.427.387	7.944.943	2.629.163		4.533.185	27.551.277
	%	36,4	8,8	28,8	9,5		16,5	86
1957	s	191	52	151	48		45	487
	v1	12.093.132	3.068.418	9.651.669	2.276.234		3.066.761	30.156.214
	v2	11.992.507	3.015.892	9.495.571	2.307.135		3.094.323	29.905.428
1961	%	40,1	10,1	31,8	7,7		10,3	87,8
	s	217	53	169	41		17	497
1965	v1	11.622.995	3.104.742	11.672.057	3.866.269		1.738.403	32.004.466
	v2	11.283.901	3.014.471	11.427.355	4.028.766		1.796.408	31.550.901
	%	35,7	9,6	36,2	12,8		5,7	87,7
1969	s	192	50	190	67		0	499
	v1	12.631.319	3.204.648	12.998.474	2.562.294		1.040.314	32.437.049
	v2	12.387.562	3.136.506	12.813.186	3.096.739		1.186.449	32.620.442
1972	%	38	9,6	39,3	9,5		3,6	86,8
	s	196	49	202	49		0	496
1976	v1	12.137.148	3.094.176	14.402.374	1.554.651		1.525.167	32.713.516
	v2	12.079.535	3.115.652	14.065.716	1.903.422		1.801.699	32.966.024
	%	36,6	9,5	42,7	5,8		5,5	86,7
1980	s	193	49	224	30		0	496
	v1	13.304.813	3.620.625	18.228.239	1.790.513		359.584	37.303.779
	v2	13.190.837	3.615.183	17.175.169	3.129.982		348.979	37.459.750
1983	%	35,2	9,7	45,8	8,4		0,9	91,1
	s	177	48	230	41		0	496
1987	v1	14.423.157	4.008.514	16.471.321	2.417.683		374.969	37.695.644
	v2	14.367.302	4.027.499	16.099.019	2.995.085		333.595	37.822.500
	%	38	10,7	42,6	7,9		0,9	90,7
1990 ^c	s	190	53	214	39		0	496
	v1	13.467.207	3.941.365	16.808.861	2.720.480	732.619	135.999	37.806.531
	v2	12.989.200	3.908.459	16.260.677	4.030.999	569.589	180.057	37.938.981
1990 ^d	%	34,2	10,3	42,9	10,6	1,5	0,5	88,6
	s	174	52	218	53	0	0	497
1990 ^e	v1	15.943.460	4.318.800	15.686.033	1.087.918	1.609.855	199.287	38.845.353
	v2	14.857.680	4.140.865	14.865.807	2.706.942	2.167.431	201.962	38.940.687
	%	38,2	10,6	38,2	7	5,6	0,5	89,1
1990 ^f	s	191	53	193	34	27	0	498
	v1	14.168.527	3.859.244	14.787.953	1.760.496	2.649.459	517.134	37.742.813
	v2	13.045.745	3.715.827	14.025.763	3.440.911	3.126.256	512.817	37.867.319
1990 ^f	%	34,5	9,8	37	9,1	8,3	1,4	84,3
	s	174	49	186	46	42	0	497
1990 ^f	v1	17.707.574	3.423.904	16.279.980	3.595.135	2.589.912	2.678.420	46.274.925
	v2	17.055.116	3.302.980	15.545.366	5.123.233	2.347.407	3.081.670	46.455.772
	%	36,7	7,1	33,5	11	5,0 ^c	6,6 ^d	77,8
1990 ^f	s	268	51	239	79	8	17	662

Notes: v1 refers to first (candidate) vote and v2 to second (Land list) vote. % is percentage of second votes.

a. Including berhangmandat.

b. One vote electoral system.

c. Combined result of Die Grünen (West): 4.8% and Die Grünen/Bündnis 90: 6.0%. The parties did not unite before the election. Since the former FRG and GDR

d. Includes the former East German Communist Party PDS/LL which gained 11.1% and 16 seats in the East and 0.3% and 1 seat in the West.

e. The CSU runs only in Bavaria. Only in 1957, the CSU participated also in Saarland, gaining 117,168 votes.

f. All-German election.

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (1990) (ed.), Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Wahl zum 12. Deutschen Bundestag am 2. Dezember 1990; Fachserie 1, Heft 3, Stuttgart: Metzler-Poeschel Verlag; Statistisches Bundesamt (1989) (ed.), Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. 40 Jahre Wahlen in der Bundesrepublik. Sonderheft, Stuttgart: Metzler-Poeschel Verlag.

Table VI.A.2: Party Composition of National Government

	Party of Chancellor	Other Parties	Status
29.X.57-20.IX.60	CDU	CSU DP	Majority
20.IX.60-14.XI.61	CDU	CSU	Majority
14.XI.61-16.X.63	CDU	CSU FDP	Majority
16.X.63-20.X.65	CDU	CSU FDP	Majority
20.X.65-27.X.66	CDU	CSU FDP	Majority
27.X.66-1.XII.66	CDU	CSU	Minority
1.XII.66-21.X.69	CDU	CSU SPD	Majority
21.X.69-14.XII.72	SPD	FDP 1 non-party member until March 1972	Majority
14.XII.72-16.V.74	SPD	FDP	Majority
16.V.74-15.XII.76	SPD	FDP	Majority
15.XII.76-5.XI.80	SPD	FDP	Majority
5.XI.80-17.IX.82	SPD	FDP	Majority
17.IX.82-1.X.82	SPD		Minority
1.X.82-29.III.83	CDU	CSU FDP	Majority
29.III.83-11.III.87	CDU	CSU FDP	Majority
11.III.87-18.I.91	CDU	CSU FDP	Majority

Sources:

Keesings Archiv der Gegenwart; Peter Schindler, Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages, Baden-Baden, Nomos, Vol. 1949-1982 (3-1984), 1980-1984 (1986), 1980-87 (1988).

Table VI.A.3: Subnational Governing Status^a

	CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	G
1960	4	4	4	
1961-65	4	4	5	
1966-71	4	4	4	
1972-73	4	4	3	
1974-78	4	4	4	
1979	4	4	4	1
1980-85	4	4	3	1
1986	4	4	3	3
1987-88	4	4	4	1
1989	4	4	4	3
1990	4	4	3	3

Codes:

- 1 Not in any Land government
- 3 In a few (1-3) Land governments.
- 4 In many (4-7) Land governments.
- 5 In most (8-11) Land governments.

Note:

- a. Incumbency until the end of June is counted as "full year in government", i.e. changes of government after 1 July are only counted for the following year.

Table VI.A.4: Party Identification

	CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	G	Other	None	N	Missing
1972	29,4	48,8	3,6		0,2	18,3	1.599	89
1976	36,9	39,9	6		1	16,1	2.076	127
1980 ^a	32,5	41,2	5,1		2,4	18,8	11.986	985
1983	34,9	33,9	2,6	3,5	0,3	24,8	5.196	411
1987	34,7	32,3	1,8	5,5	0,5	25,2	1.544	124

Question: Viele Leute in der Bundesrepublik neigen längere Zeit einer bestimmten politischen Partei zu, obwohl sie auch ab und zu eine andere Partei wählen. Wie ist das bei Ihnen: Neigen Sie - ganz allgemein gesprochen - einer bestimmten Partei zu? Wenn ja, welcher? (Many people in the Federal Republic identify with a political party although they sometimes vote for another party. What about you? Generally speaking, do you identify with a particular party? Which one?)

Note:

a. Cumulated data from time series, January through November.

Table VI.A.5: Official Status of Parties

	Form Parliamentary Fraktion	Ballot Access	State Subvention
1960	15 MPs	Parties which have been represented in the Bundestag or in a Land parliament with at least 5 MPs are automatically eligible. Otherwise, they have to prove that they have a democratically elected leadership, a written program and a written statute. Land lists need to be signed by 1/1000 of those who are eligible to vote in the respective Land, to a maximum of 2,000.	Parties need to be represented in the Bundestag to be eligible for public subsidies.
1967	As above	As above	2.5% of the 2nd votes or 10% of the 1st votes if the party did not draw up a Land list.
1969	26 MPs, i.e. at least 5% of the members of the Bundestag	As above	0.5% of the 2nd votes.
1979	As above	As above	Independent candidates are also eligible if they win at least 10% of the vote in their constituency.
1989	As above	As above	As above

Table VI.B.1.i: Numbers of Direct Members*

	CDU	CSU	SPD	FDP ^b	G ^j
1960		52.501	649.578		
1961		58.631	644.780		
1962	248.484		646.584		
1963	252,245 ^c	56,018 ^d	648.415		
1964	279.770	70,222 ^e	678.484		
1965	287.591		710.448		
1966	280.781	80,904 ^e	727.890		
1967	285.804		733.004		
1968	286.541	73.618	732.446	57.034	
1969	303.532	76,655 ^e	778.945	58.750	
1970	329.239		820.202	56.531	
1971	355.745	109,787 ^e	847.456	53.302	
1972	422.968	106.951	954.394	57.757	
1973	457.393	111.913	973.601	63.205	
1974	530.500	122.794	990.682	70.938	
1975	590.482	132.591	998.471	74.032	
1976	652.010	144.263	1.022.191	79.162	
1977	664.214	159.475	1.006.316	79.539	
1978	675.286	165.710	997.444	80.928	
1979	682.781	169.248	981.805	82.546	
1980	693.320	172.420	986.872	84.208	18,320 ^f
1981	705.116	175.273	956.490	86.884	15,352 ^g
1982	718.889	178.964	926.070	73.952	25,000 ^h
1983	734.555	185.428	925.630	71.684	25,222 ^h
1984	730.395	184.226	916.485	68.872	31.078
1985	718.590	182.852	916.386	65.762	37.024
1986	714.089	182.370	912.854	63.946	38.170
1987	705.821	184.294	910.063	64.905	42.419
1988	676.747	182.738	911.916	64.417	41.070
1989	662,598 ⁱ	185.853	921.430	65.216	37.956

Notes:

a. Unless noted otherwise, all figures are from the end of the year.

b. Includes members living abroad.

c. At 30.VI.1963

d. At 2.VII.1963

e. Figures are always from the beginning of the following year.

f. Figures are from June 1980, May 1981

g. Estimate

h. Without AL-Berlin

i. 1989 data are from the financial reports of the parties.

j. Includes Alternative List Berlin.

Sources:

- CDU- 1962 - 70: Rechenschaftsbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle der CDU, Anlage zum Bericht des Generalsekretärs auf dem 18. Parteitag 25. - 27. 01.71 in D^{sseldorf}; 1977-1988: Bericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle. Anlage zum Geschäftsbericht des Generalsekretärs, 37. Bundesparteitag, 10-13. 9. 1989, Bremen.

- CSU-Landesleitung;

- FDP-Bundesgeschäftsstelle;

- SPD-Bundesvorstand;

- Green Party: 1980, 1981: Lilian Klotzsch, Richard St^{ss} (1984), "Die Gr^{nen}," in: Richard St^{ss} (ed.), Parteienhandbuch, Vol. 2, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, p. 1582; 1982: Alf Mintzel, Heinrich Oberreuter (eds.) (1990), Parteien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, p. 432.; 1983ff.: Bundesgeschäftsstelle der Gr^{nen}.

Table VI.B.1.ii: Numbers of Party Basic Units

	CDU	CSU ^c	SPD ^e	FDP	G
1960			8.768		
1961			8.768		
1962			8.824		
1963			8.822		
1964	5,986 ^a	2.350	9.162		
1965			9.490		
1966			9.628		
1967		5,700 ^d	9.717		
1968			9.476		
1969			9.427		
1970		3.216	9.573		
1971		3.500	9.708		
1972			8.648		
1973			9.097		
1974		3.200	8.520		
1975					
1976		2.800			
1977		2.744			
1978					
1979	7,920 ^a	2.874			
1980			9.281		
1981		2.870			
1982	9,500 ^b		9.587		
1983		2.864			
1984			9.599		
1985		2.904	9.630		
1986			9.689		
1987		2.918	10.412		
1988			10.346		
1989		2.893			
1990		2.893			

Notes:

- a. "Union in Deutschland", 22/1989, CDU-Dokumentation 22/89 "Moderne Parteiarbeit in den 90er Jahren".
- b. Schmidt, Ute, "Die Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands" in: St+ss, Richard (ed.) Parteienhandbuch, Vol.1, 1983, Westdeutscher Verlag: Opladen
- c. Annual reports of the Landesgeschäftsführer or the general secretary.
- d. Includes also representatives in communities without branches.
- e. Information provided by Rüdiger Feiden, party head office.

Table VI.B.1.c.iii: Numbers of Affiliated Members, CSU

	Junge Union ^a	Frauenunion ^b	CSA ^c	AGM ^d	WPA ^e
1978	45.177	13.107	13.144		
1979	46.891	13.864	13.623		
1980	50.064	14.411	14.591	3.011	
1981	51.965	15.177	15.199	3.520	
1982	52.878	16.272	15.369	3.777	6.942
1983	54.594	17.155	15.953	4.031	7.154
1984	54.229	17.755	15.787	4.167	7.021
1985	52.582	18.858	16.034	4.441	7.445
1986	51.754	19.861	16.114	4.604	7.558
1987	51.330	21.440	16.351	4.731	7.837
1988	49.417	22.334	16.271	4.833	7.898

Notes:

- a. Youth organization of the party (Junge Union in Bayern)
- b. Women's organization (Frauenunion)
- c. Worker's association of the party (Arbeitnehmer-Union).
- d. Association of middle-class entrepreneurs and employees (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Mittelstand)

- e. Security and military policy group (Wehrpolitischer Arbeitskreis)

Source: Statistics of the Land party head office (Landesleitung der CSU)

Table VI.B.1.iii: Affiliated Organizations

	CDU	CSUa	SPD	FDP	G
1960	1. Junge Union 2. Frauenvereinigung 3. Sozialausschüsse 4. Kommunal-Politische Vereinigung 5. Mittelstandvereinigung	1. Junge Union in Bayern 2. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Frauen 3. Christlich-Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft 4. Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung 5. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Landwirtschaft 6. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Mittelstand 7. Evangelischer Arbeitskreis 8. Union der Vertriebenen	1. Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Akademiker 2. Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialistischer Ärzte und Apotheker 3. Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Juristen 4. Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Lehrer in der SPD 5. Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemals verfolgter Sozialdemokraten 6. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Sportfragen 7. Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft selbständig Schaffendes in der SPD 8. Frauenarbeitsgemeinschaft in der SPD 9. Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft in der SPD 10. Jungsozialisten in der SPD	1. Deutsche Jungdemokraten	
1962	As above	As above	1 and 6 dissolved 7 renamed Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Selbständige in der SPD	As above	
1963	As above	9. Gesundheitspolitischer Arbeitskreis 10. Wehrpolitischer Arbeitskreis (WPA) 11. Arbeitskreis Wohnungs- und Städtebau 12. Arbeitskreis öffentlicher Dienst 13. AK Sport 14. Arbeitskreis Deutschlandpolitik und Außenpolitik	As above	As above	
1964	As above	As above	11. Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Wohnwirtschaftler und Wohnungspolitiker	As above	
1968	6. Wirtschaftsvereinigung 7. Union der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge	15. Arbeitskreis Juristen 16. Arbeitskreis Polizei	11 renamed Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft für Städtebau- und Wohnungspolitik in der SPD	As above	
1970	As above	As above	2 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Ärzte und Apotheker 7 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft Selbständige	As above	
1972	As above	17. Arbeitskreis Umweltschutz und Landesplanung 18. Kulturpolitischer Arbeitskreis	As above	As above	
1973	As above	As above	2 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Sozialdemokraten in Gesundheitswesen 8 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen 9 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Arbeitnehmerfragen	As above	
1976	As above	As above	4 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Bildung	As above	
1979	As above	As above	5 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft verfolgter Sozialdemokraten	As above	None
1980	As above	As above	As above	2. Junge Liberale	None
1982	As above	As above	4 renamed Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Sozialdemokraten in Bildungsbereich	1 no longer affiliated with the FDP; continues to work as a politically independent organization.	None
1983	As above	As above	11 dissolved	2 becomes official youth organization of the party.	None
1988	8. Senioren Union	As above	As above	As above	None
1990	As above	As above	As above	As above	None

Note:

a. Some Arbeitskreise have no vertical structure. They are not included.

Sources: CDU, SPD: Party Head Office; CSU: Party Head Office, Mintzel, Alf (1975) Die CSU, Anatomie einer konservativen Partei 1945-72, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag; FDP: Party Head Office, Dittberner, Jürgen (1987) FDP - Partei der zweiten Wahl. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Table VI.B.2.a: Obligations of Membership, SPD

	Minimum Subscription from Member to Branch	Minimum Subscription from Branch to Central Party	Other Obligations of Membership
1960	Minimum monthly membership fee is 1.20 DM.	The Parteivorstand decides in agreement with the Parteirat about the monthly amount paid from Bezirke to central party.	Every person can become a member of the party who identifies himself with the political goals of the party. Membership of other parties is not possible.
1962	Minimum subscription is 1.50 DM.	As above	As above
1971	As above	As above	Minimum age to become a member is 16.
1972	Minimum subscription is 3.00 DM.	As above	As above
1975	Minimum subscription is 4.00 DM.	As above	As above
1979	Minimum subscription is 5.00 DM.	As above	As above
1987	As above	As above, except share is paid every three months.	As above
1989	As above	As above	As above

Table VI.B.2.b: Obligations of Membership, CDU

	Minimum Subscription from Member to Branch	Minimum Subscription from Branch to Central Party	Other Obligations of Membership
1960	The amount of the minimum subscription is subject of decision of the Bundesausschuß. The subscription rules are determined according to the income of the individual members.	Beside the share of the income from membership fees of the Kreisverbände to the Landesverband, all Kreisverbände pay 0.10 DM per month per member to the national party. ^c	Members must be at least 18 years old and have to be German citizens with all civil rights. Membership in another party is not possible. Every person who identifies himself with the goals of the party can become a member
1964	Minimum subscription is 1 DM per month. ^a	As above	As above
1967	As above	As above	As above, except all membership rights are suspended if membership fees have not been paid for at least six months.
1969	The minimum subscription is determined by the Bundesparteitag.	The share from Landesverbände to the Bundespartei is determined by the Bundesparteitag.	As above, except membership possible at 16 years of age.
1971	The minimum monthly membership fee is 3 DM. ^b	National party gets 1 DM a month per member. ^b	As above
1975	As above	As above	As above, requirement of German nationality abolished. Aliens can participate as guests; they can become members of the party if they have lived for at least three years within the purview of the German Basic Law and worked within the party as a guest for at least one year. The loss of the active and passive voting rights prohibits membership of the party.
1976	The minimum monthly membership fee is 5 DM. ^d	As above	As above
1989	As above	As above	As above

Notes:

- a. Decision of the Bundesausschuß, 14.3.1964. Prior to this decision, membership fees were determined by the individual Land organizations.
- b. Decision of the 19th party congress, 4/5.10.1971.
- c. Between 1960 and 1971 the share of the national party was raised to 0.50 DM. The date is not known.
- d. Decision of the 23rd party congress, 23.6.1975.

Table VI.B.2.c: Obligations of Membership CSU

	Minimum Subscription from Member to Branch	Minimum Subscription from Branch to Central Party	Other Obligations of Membership
1960	The minimum monthly subscription is 1 DM per member.	The minimum share from local to district level is dependent on the size of the local organization. The smallest local organizations (5 to 10 members) pay 5 DM a month. The same is valid for all other levels. District level to regional level is at minimum 50 DM; Bezirke to Landesverband at minimum 100 DM monthly.	All persons at least aged 17 can become members of the party. Membership of another party is not possible. All members are obliged to represent the principles of the party, work for the party and pay the membership fees.
1968	As above	Membership fees are shared as follows: 1 DM to the Land organization, 0.25 DM to the regional organization, 0.25 DM to the local organization, and 0.25 DM to the Bundestagswahlkreis. ^a	As above, except minimum age is 16 years. All rights of a member are suspended if membership fees have not been paid for three months though the member was reminded of the fact and its consequences. The loss of the civil rights prohibits membership of the party.
1980	The minimum monthly subscription is 4 DM per member.	Membership fees are shared as follows: 1.50 DM to the Land organization, 0.25 DM to the regional organization, 0.25 DM to the Bundestagswahlkreis, 1 DM to the district and 1 DM to the local organization.	As above
1982	As above	As above	As above. Germans living abroad can apply for membership on the Land level. The Präsidium decides about the application.
1989	As above	As above	As above

Note:

- a. Though a discrepancy between minimum monthly subscription and the total sum to be shared can be observed, no other regulation can be found in the statute.

Table VI.B.2.d: Obligations of Membership FDP

	Minimum Subscription from Member to Branch	Minimum Subscription from Branch to Central Party	Other Obligations of Membership
1960	No rule in federal statute.	National party gets no share.	Members must be German and at least 17 years old. Only persons who have not lost their voting and civil rights by judicial decision of the Federal Republic or of the Land Berlin can become members of the party. Membership of other parties is prohibited. All members are obliged to participate in the organizational and political work of the party.
1968	The monthly membership fee is at least 2 DM as a general rule for all Land party organizations.	As above	As above. Members must be at least 16 years of age. Only individuals can become members. The Bundesvorstand decides about membership applications of persons who are by the location of their residence beyond the purview of the German party law.
1972	As above	As above	As above, except all persons being subject to the purview of the German party law can become members of the party. Legal aliens who apply for membership have to be subject to that rule for at least two years. Legal aliens cannot be members of other foreign parties which have other political goals than the FDP.
1974	As above. Applies also to the Auslandsgruppen.	As above	As above. The Bundesvorstand decides about the membership application of a person living beyond the purview of the German party law, unless the foreign party group is in charge of the acceptance of the application.
1976	As above	As above	As above, except persons who have lost passive voting rights cannot be members of the party.
1984	As above	The share of the Land party organizations paid to the national party is 1 DM per month per member.	As above
1985	Minimum monthly membership fee is 10 DM.	As above	As above
1989	As above	As above	As above

Table VI.B.2.e: Obligations of Membership, G

	Minimum Subscription from Member to Branch	Minimum Subscription from Branch to Central Party	Other Obligations of Membership
1980	Not specified in federal statute.	1 DM per member monthly, independent from the member's individual fee.	All persons supporting the program and the goals of the party can become members. Membership of another party is not possible.
1983	As above	As above, except 2 DM per member monthly.	As above
1989	As above	As above, except lower levels do not have to pay shares for imprisoned members of the party.	As above

Table VI.C.1.a: Numbers of Paid Staff, SPD

	Central ^a	Subnational ^b	Parliamentary ^c
1963		288	
1969			166
1970			282
1971			288
1972	55	341	275
1973			312
1974			327
1975		330	334
1976		321	422
1977			451
1978		351	534
1979		322	620
1980	67	348	567
1981		349	549
1982	60	351	611
1983	63	348	587
1984	76	325	588
1985	74	365	672
1986	73	371	719
1987	76	363	716
1988	76	350	838
1989	77	335	901

Notes:

- a. Anschriftenverzeichnis der SPD; secretaries and ordinary office staff (Sachbearbeiter) not included; includes the treasurer, who is a party employee. Sources do not distinguish between full-time and part-time employees. However, such senior positions are likely to be full-time.
- b. Anschriftenverzeichnis der SPD; political staff of Land, regional (Bezirk) and sub-regional (Unterbezirk) levels; includes staff of ancillary organizations (full and part-time not distinguishable).
- c. Full-time and part-time positions; cf. Peter Schindler, Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages, Baden-Baden, Nomos, Vols. 1949-82 (3:1984), 1980-84 (1986), 1980-87 (1988); data 1988/89: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2.

Table VI.C.1.b: Numbers of Paid Staff,* CDU

	Central	Subnational	Parliamentary ^b (CDU/CSU)
1960			
1961			
1962		224 ^h	
1963			
1964		251 ^h	
1965	153 ^d	218 ^d	
1966	110 ^s		
1967	83	2,238 ^h	
1968	98	2,248 ^h	
1969	108	2,398 ^h	207
1970	150 ⁱ		344
1971	162		375
1972	178		367
1973	196		413
1974	238		437
1975	229		434
1976	233		405
1977	213		493
1978	206		583
1979	218		670
1980	218		651
1981	218		567
1982	201	256 ^c	631
1983	199		606
1984	212		607
1985	237		988
1986	242		1.102
1987	205		1.145
1988	209		1.312
1989	196		1.309

Notes:

- a. Estimates of total party staff, excluding parliamentary party are: 550 (1965, source in note "d"); 322 (1974, source Frankfurter Rundschau, 16.10.74, based on an internal paper of the SPD); about 500 (1976, source in note "e"); 900 (1987, source in note "f").
- b. Source: Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages for the year 1969-1987. For 1988/1989: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2 (includes full and part-time positions). CDU and CSU always form a joint parliamentary party in the Bundestag.
- c. Source: Schmidt, Ute "Die Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands" in: St+ss, Richard (Ed.) Parteienhandbuch, Vol.2, 1983, Westdeutscher Verlag:Opladen.
- d. Source: Referat des geschäftsführenden Vorsitzenden Josef Dufhues, 29.3. 1965, p.27/28.
- e. Source: CDU-Pressemitteilung, 24.3.76
- f. Source: German Press Agency (dpa) news, 18.8. 1987 "Geibler stellt CDU vor Röntgenschirm".
- g. Source: 1966-1969, Schmid, Josef, "Die CDU - Organisationsstrukturen und Funktionsweisen einer Partei im Föderalismus", Opladen, 1990, S.146
- h. Source: Anlage zum Bericht des Generalsekretärs Dr. Bruno Heck, 17. Bundesparteitag der CDU, 17./18.11.1969, Mainz (includes full and part-time positions).
- i. Source: Information provided by Mr.Wilczek, CDU-Bundesgeschäftsstelle, during an interview on March, 13th, 1990. (All data 1970-1989 for staff employed in central organisation). According to Mr. Wilczek, there have been virtually no part-time positions since 1976. Ever since, the proportion has been as follows: 1/3 administrative, 2/3 political, including secretarial staff. In 1986, there were about 40 additional positions for the election campaign.

Table VI.C.1.d: Numbers of Paid Staff, FDP^b

	Central	Subnational	Parliamentary ^a
1969			25
1970			37
1971			42
1972			46
1973			56
1974			77
1975			92
1976			62
1977			69
1978			83
1979			106
1980			105
1981			123
1982			136
1983			130
1984			131
1985			207
1986			231
1987			241
1988			285
1989			278

Notes:

- a. Full-time and part-time positions; cf. Peter Schindler, Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages, Baden-Baden: Nomos, Vols. 1949-82 (3:1984), 1980-84 (1986), 1980-87 (1988); data for 1988/89: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2.

- b. For individual data protection reasons, the FDP would not provide documents or data.

Table VI.C.1.e: Numbers of Paid Staff, G

	Central	Subnational	Parliamentary ^a
1980			-
1981			-
1982	6 ^a		-
1983	12 ^a		75
1984			96
1985			125
1986	19 ^b		141
1987	19 ^b		146
1988	23 ^c		178
1989	27 ^d		183

Notes: There have been few temporary positions in the federal party head office for special activities like conferences and election campaigns. The parliamentary party has practiced job-sharing on a considerable scale. Many members of staff tended to work unpaid over-time, de facto turning part-time positions into underpaid full-time jobs.

a. 1982: 5.5 full-time positions; 1983: 11.5 full-time positions; Rechenschaftsbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle der Grünen zur Bundesdelegiertenkonferenz, November 1982 and interview with Robert Camp, federal party head office.

b. 1986: 4 additional, short-term position for the federal election campaign; Wahlkampfbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle, May 1987.

c. 21.5 full-time positions; Rechenschaftsbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle, March 1988.

d. 23 1/3rd. full-time positions; Die Grünen im Bundestag, Bericht zur Lage der Fraktion, March 1989.

e. Full-time and part-time positions; cf. Peter Schindler, Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages, Baden-Baden: Nomos, Vols. 1949-82 (3:1984), 1980-84 (1986), 1980-87 (1988); data 1988/89: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2.