The Perceptions, Attitudes and Political Strategies of "Die Linke"

A Political Discourse Analysis

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Die Abschlussarbeit „Die Linke: A Political Discourse Analysis" versucht zu verstehen a) wie und mit welchen Mitteln Sprache in der Politik strategisch genutzt wird, um Wähler zu beeinflussen b) welcher sozialer und politischer Kontext sich auf die Bildung von politischen Diskursen auswirkt c) welche Art von Effekten politische Diskurse auf aktuelle ‚policy making' Prozesse haben. Analysiert wird die Partei Die Linke. Das Ziel der Studie ist nicht, der schon existierenden Literatur über Die Linke, welche versucht den Erfolg der Partei mit dem rückläufigen wirtschaftlichen Wohlstand der Massen und dem erfolglosen ‚policy making' der anderen Parteien zu erklären, zu widersprechen. Um den Aufstieg von Die Linke besser verständlich zu machen, sollen jedoch linguistische Dimensionen der Analyse hinzugefügt werden. Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, untersucht die Arbeit zuerst die diskursiven Strategien eines ausgewählten Texts und diskutiert anschließend die kontextualen Auswirkungen auf die beobachteten Strategien, in dem die Grundlagen der Kritischen Diskurs Analyse herangezogen werden. Die zentrale Hypothese dieser Untersuchung ist, dass der politische Diskurs von Die Linke als Teil einer politischen Strategie betrachtet werden sollte, welche versucht gegenhegemoniale diskursive Praktiken zu kreieren und darauf abzielt Prozesse des ‚policy-making' zu beeinflussen. Dass Die Linke erfolgreich die Lücke im linken Spektrum füllen konnte, hängt nicht nur mit dem erfolglosen ‚policy-making' der anderen Parteien zusammen, sondern ist auch der Kompetenz der Partei, Wähler mit Hilfe von politischen Diskursen zu beeinflussen, geschuldet.

Stichworte: Die Linke; Kritische Diskursanalyse; Politische Diskurs Analyse; Deutsche Politik; Diskursive Strategien

The thesis 'Die Linke: A Political Discourse Analysis' tries to understand a) how and by which means language in politics can be strategically used in order to influence voters b) what kind of social and political context have an influence on the formation of political discourses and c) what kind of effects do political discourses have on actual policy making processes on the basis of the analysis of The Left Party (Die Linke in German). The overall aim of this study is not to oppose the already existing literature on Die Linke, which try to explain the party's success with the declining economic prosperity of the masses and the unsuccessful policy making of its opponents but to add the linguistic dimension to the analysis in order to understand the rise of Die Linke more comprehensively. In order to achieve this aim, the research first identifies the discursive strategies of the selected text and then discusses the contextual impacts on the observed discursive strategies by adopting the main principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. The main hypothesis of this research is that political discourses of Die Linke should be considered as a part of the political strategy which tries to create counter-hegemonic discursive practices and aims to affect policy-making process. Die Linke's success for filling the gap in the left is not only dependent on other parties' unsuccessful policy-making but also on the party's capacity to influence voters by its political discourses.

Keywords: Die Linke; critical discourse analysis; political discourse analysis; discursive strategies; German politics

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1. Introduction

It has become inevitable to accept the existence of the left wing party Die Linke (The Left) as an influential political actor in the German political system. At least on the electoral basis, the results obtained by the party endorse this claim. Considering also its predecessor PDS (Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus), it is possible to say that the party was successful in increasing its votes by 9,5% since the 1990 elections in which PDS gained only 2,4% of the total votes. In 2009 elections, Die Linke has reached its peak, gained 11,9% of total votes and became the second largest opposition party in the Bundestag after SPD (Tagesschau.de).

So, what we observe is a political party which consistently increases its votes and is becoming more influential as an opposition power by disturbing the electoral gains of other left wing political parties in the political system. It is very difficult to determine if the success story of Die Linke is a result of unsuccessful strategies and policy making of its opponents or the party's efficient political strategy making but it is obvious that even if the strategies adopted by the political opponents are uneffective and weak, Die Linke's political strategy also contributes to its electoral gains by deciphering and benefiting these weaknesses in order to redifine/reposition itself as well as the opponents. In that sense, researching Die Linke becomes a necessity because it seems to fill a gap in the political sphere and political discourses of the party give some clues about the ways of doing it. If the main motives and policy preferences could be determined by analyzing discourses, it would also be possible to evaluate the validity of labels (such as being extremist or populist) attached to the party (Andersen & Zimdars 2003; Decker & Hartleb 2007).

In the literature, the debate is generally about political/economic conditions and the reforms undertaken by the SPD-Greens-government between 2000 and 2004, which paved the way to Die Linke's political rise. While Thompson elaborates on social and political conditions which showed themselves as reimposition of state and political control over free markets which leaves a space for a party like Die Linke (Thompson 2009), Andersen and Zimdars point out that bad economic conditions increases the possibility of voting for right or left extremist parties (Andersen & Zimdars 2003). Likewise, when Schramme and Siller analyze the rise of Die Linke, they indicate that dissatisfaction with especially the economic/social policies of SPD caused that shift to the Die Linke and Die Linke managed to accumulate a considerable amount of votes

from people who were affected directly or indirectly by social and economic reforms (Schramme & Siller 2006). Decker and Hartleb's study about the right- and left-wing parties in Germany on the basis of populism is a considerable contribution for disclosing self-promotion strategies of Die Linke, but still it is not clear enough how and with which tools these strategies are formed and implemented (Decker & Hartleb 2007). Another shortcoming of these studies is that, the perception of rising support for Die Linke as a result of sociopolitical and economic conditions runs the hazard of neglecting dynamic relationship between the political actor and the voter which is based on political communicational skills meaning intentional usage of language in order to gain political support. So, without contrasting the main premises of these researches, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the already existing literature by analyzing the discursive aspect of political strategy making. By doing that, we would also be able to give a more precise answer to the question how and how far Die Linke is able to exploit the critique against the other political parties in actively formulating and transfering political strategies. It would be also possible to detect if these strategies are active policy proposals or passive and reactionary discourses which tries to benefit from the shortcomings of political opponents.

But understanding the features of these strategies and assessing them as powerful or weak depends on understanding the notion of political strategy and language as a crucial component of it which this study will heavily focus on.

Political strategies are defined as success-oriented constructions which are based on cross-situational aim- resource- environment calculations. (Raschke & Tils 2007: 127). The language of politics can also be considered as a part of political strategy regarding to:

1: its conditionality, which means situational use of linguistic elements and is defined as heteroglossia in Bakhtinian terminology (Bakhtin 1981). This principle emphasizes the priority of context over text and how different meanings are produced according to different social contexts. This principle can be adopted to the political realm by indicating that political actors can use different speech genres according to their political positions or according to the social environment where politics is done.

2: its success-orientedness, which means that linguistic elements in political texts can be organized in particular ways to influence voters by trying to create a common ground (ideological, historical, ethical etc.) between political text and consumers of

that text as well as to minimize the possible influence of political opponents on voters. Once this common ground is established, people can also be persuaded that only certain actors and solutions are capable of solving societal problems. This effort is also the basis of political discourse production.

So, this study will investigate political discourses of a left-wing political party on the basis of strategic use of language for political gain. This kind of investigation needs a critical approach towards language. Critical Discourse Analysis (now on CDA) is such a kind of approach. The main purpose of the CDA is to show the relations between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs (Paltridge 2006: 179). More specifically, 'CDA studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed' (Wodak 1997: 173). Staying loyal to these purposes of the approach, the main aims in this study would be to understand how Die Linke tries to position itself and its political opponents in order to gain more political support from the electorate and what kind of linguistic tools are used in order to achieve this purpose. This intentional and repetitive use of certain language would be evaluated as political discourse formation and would be a subject of systematic analysis.

But beyond this, the social context in which discursive strategies are developed and discursive practices which try to determine the social and political context would also be the concerns of the research. With the help of CDA approach, it would be possible to show the dialectial relationship between textual and contextual levels which directly reflects to the organization of political discourses.

The main hypothesis of this study is that political discourses of Die Linke should be considered as a part of political strategy which tries to create counter-hegemonic discursive practices and aims to affect policy-making process. Die Linke's success for filling the gap in the left is not only dependent on other parties' unsuccessful policy-making but also on the party's capacity to influence voters by its political discourses. So, the main motive in this research is to show the dynamics, instruments and political effects of these discursive strategies that would pave way to a more comprehensive analysis in the future. The Key Programmatic Points Paper is the selected text for discourse analysis. Party programmes and drafts like the Key Programmatic Points

Paper are the most structured materials in the sense that they have a macro discourse which is composed of discursive events and they intend to give messages and persuade the reader by intentional use of language. Unlike parliamentary debates, TV debates or newsletters, they aim to reflect the systematized views of political party about various topics to the reader. In our case, Key Programmatic Points Paper has another functionality: As it is stated in the Postscript, this text emerged from an intensive process of discussion in the Joint Programme Group of the Linkspartei PDS and WASG. That means it covers the shared views of the party on certain topics and due to this reason, it represents the party.

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

In the second chapter, methods and approaches of the study would be clarified. The Critical Discourse Analysis would be defined and especially, Norman Fairclough's three levels of analysis would be identified (Fairclough 1992). Fairclough's work has contributed to the methodology and approach of CDA (1989, 1992 & 1995). His three categories of analysis are important in the sense that they help to understand text in its context, show how textual elements are used to create discourses and how discourses become a part of social life.

Clarifying CDA and its goals by emphasizing the thoughts of prominent researchers about the field (Wodak 2002/ Wodak & Meyer 2002/ Van Dijk 1993), Piotr Cap's analytical categories (2002) would be identified and the data gathering method would be clarified. All these methods and approaches would be used to conduct a qualitative political discourse analysis and Die Linke would be the case of study.

In the third chapter, the institutional and political background of Die Linke would be highlighted in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of discursive practices in a written text, which is the Key Programmatic Points Paper (2007). Social and political conditions in which political discourses are constructed become crucial for understanding the linguistically strategical paths chosen by the political actor. This chapter would try to contribute to this aim.

In the fourth chapter, the textual analysis of the 'Key Programmatic Points Paper' would be made with the help of analytical tools defined in the second chapter. This chapter is divided into two parts: While the first part would look at the textual organization, topoi and some other syntactic elements, the second part would show

how these elements contribute to the discourse production and consumption which is called discursive practice (Fairclough 1992). Once discursive practices in the texts are identified and analyzed, it would be possible to see the main dynamics of linguistic strategies and their relation to social context which was explained in first chapter. For the first three chapters of the paper, every paragraph would be investigated individually whereas in the fourth chapter, sections would be the main units of analysis instead of paragraphs to preserve their semantic integrity. Finally, the Postscript was not included into the analysis because it is only composed of discussion questions about the development of the party programme.

In the fifth chapter, the outcomes of the analysis would be evaluated and the possible political effects of analyzed discourses on other political parties as well as on voters are discussed. This is also the part of Fairclough's third level of analysis, namely, social practice (Titscher/Meyer/Wodak/Vetter 2000). The main aim in the third and fifth chapters is to show the dialectical relationship between discourse and social reality. The third chapter is designed to show how social reality could determine the characteristics of political discourse while the fifth chapter is to show the capacity of political discourse to shape the social reality partially. While Malycha and Winters (2009), Hough (2000; 2001), Hough, Koss and Olsen (2007), Bergsdorf (2008), Patton (2006), Nachtway and Spier (2007) and Thompson (2009) are used to give the institutional and political background in the third chapter, the outcomes of the anaysis in the fifth chapter are supported with the analysis of Solty (2007), Blühdorn (2009) and Kurbjuweit (2010) as well as with the results of some polls (Die Zeit 2007; Der Spiegel 2010).

In the last chapter, concluding remarks and several suggestions for prospective studies are made.

2. Theory, Methodology and Data

This study aims to benefit from the premises of the Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) subsumes a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse which differ in theory, methodogy and the type of research issues which they tend to give prominence (Fairclough 1995b). It is possible to say that CDA tries to understand the dialectical relationship between discourse and social reality by looking at how discourse shapes social life as well as how certain social practices

reflect to discourses. As Fairclough indicates, the overriding objective is to give accounts - and more precise accounts than one tends to find in social research on change - of the ways in which and extent to which social changes are changes in discourse, and relations betwen changes in discourse and changes in other, non-discoursal elements or 'moments' of soci al life (including therefore the question of the senses and ways in which discourse '(re)constructs' social life in processes of social change) (1995b).

Van Dijk defines the objective of CDS (he prefers to use the term Critical Discourse Studies in order to point out the diversity of critical studies) more precisely by saying that CDS scholars are typically interested in the way how discourse reproduces social domination, that is, power abuse by one group over others, and how dominated groups discursively resist such abuse (Wodak/Meyer 2002).

However, CDA does not have its own methodology and theory for achieving these objectives. Wodak emphasizes that CDA has never been and never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards very different data and methodologies. Because of this variety of approaches, she wants to call CDA a 'school' (Wodak 2002). Van Dijk also emphasizes this point by stating that:

'It (CDA) is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis. Theories, descriptions, methods and empirical work are chosen or elaborated as a function of their relevance for the realization of such a sociopolitical goal' (Van Dijk 1993: 4).

The CDA approach used in this analysis would be that of Norman Fairclough. Fairclough understands CDA to be concerned with the investigation of the tension between the two assumptions about language use: that language is both socially constitutive and socially determined (Titscher/Meyer/Wodak/Vetter 2000). His basic theoretical assumptions are derived from Halliday's functional-systemic linguistics which assigns three metafunctions to language: ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (Halliday 1973). Every text has an ideational function through its representation of experience and representation of the world. In addition texts produce social interactions between participants in discourse and therefore also displays an interpersonal function. Finally, texts also have a textual function in so far as they unite

separate components into a whole and combine this with situational contexts (Fairclough 1995b). So, Fairclough adopts Halliday's three metafunctions and creates an analytical framework for discourse analysis.

At the textual level, content and form (texture) are analyzed. These two are inseparable: contents are realized by particular forms (Fairclough 1992b). For the purpose of this analysis some grammatical, lexical and semantic features of the text would be analyzed at the textual level.

The level of discursive practice is the link between text and social practice. It is to do with the socio-cognitive aspects of text production and interpretation. The analysis of discursive practice includes how the participants in an interaction interpret and produce texts, but also the relationships of discursive events to orders of discourse, that is the matter of interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1993). In this study, this level would be used to analyze how different discourses are blended together and how they are interpreted in order to influence voters politically. These can also be seen as discursive strategies. In the social practice level, the possible effects of the analysed discourses on sociopolitical level would be discussed. This can also be considered as the evaluation of the discursive strategies adopted by the political party.

In order to make an analysis on equal basis for the selected text, Piotr Cap's conceptualized categories would be used for the first two levels of analysis (Cap 2002). These categories are:

- Topicality: Dynamic pragmatic relationship between the Theme (topic) and the Rheme (topic-comment), expressing not only with what the clause or the sentence is concerned, but equally what happens to the object of this concern in terms of undertaken actions and assumed states.

- Relational Propositions: Relational propositions are implicit propositions which arise when clauses are combined to form a text. The phenomenon is, in other words, a combinational one, defined on two parts of a text. These relational propositions arise between portions of the text, allowing people to perceive relationships between parts of a text even though each of these parts may be longer than one sentence (Mann/Thompson 1983).

Following Mann and Thompson's classification, it is possible to list fifteen kinds of relational propositions (1983).

1. Solutionhood: The relational proposition that arises between both parts of the text is that the second part provides a solution to the problem posed by the first part of the text.

2. Evidence: The second part provides evidence for the claim put forth in the first part.

3. Justification: The first part of the text explicitly attempts to establish the appropriateness or acceptability of the performance of the speech act performed by the other part.

4. Motivation: They address a future action of the addressee, providing him with motivation to perform that action, so as to comply with the directive.

5. Reason: The second part of the text provides a rationale for believing the proposition expressed in the other part.

6. Sequence: Both parts of the text convey events and the second is understood to follow the first.

7. Enablement: The relation is also often found in directive texts. One part of the text provides information that enables the addressee to comply with the directive.

8. Elaboration: Part of the text elaborates or further specifies the concepts conveyed by the other part.

9. Restatement: The second part of the text restates the first part.

10. Condition: The first proposition provides the condition under which the other one holds.

11. Circumstance: A relation of circumstance arises when one of the parts of the text establishes a circumstance or situation and the other part is interpreted within or relative to that circumstance/situation.

12. Cause: Both parts of the text name events, the one being the cause of the other.

13. Concession: When stating this relation the speaker acknowledges, in one part of the text, the truth of a point which potentially detracts from a point in another part of the text.

14. Background: One part of the text provides background information without which the other part of the text can not be adequately comprehended.

15. Thesis-Antithesis: This relationship arises when two conceptions are contrasted, the speaker identifying with one and rejecting the other.

After identifying relational propositions in the selected texts, they would be classified according to their functions. There are five functional categories of relational propositions:

a. Approach-specifiers: The relations of elaboration and solutionhood can both narrow down the scope of approach to issues raised in the first part of the text.

b. Option-providers: The use of relational propositions of thesis-antithesis and concession serves to provide the addressee with two argumentative options, one of which is favored or adhered to by the speaker.

c. Rationale-makers: They give a rationale of the speaker either accepting a certain state or announcing an action. The difference between the individual propositions is defined by degree of the speaker's being specific about which of the parties, the speaker or the addressee, is concerned relative to a state or an action.

d. Proposition-grounders: Restatements and sequences belong to this category. Both display capacity for a repetitive enforcement of ideas.

e. Context-setters: The discussion of the relations of background and circumstance in terms of pragmatic instruments is essentially a discussion of two implicit propositions which possess highly similar, if not identical, illocutionary characteristics.

- Coherence and cohesion: Coherence and cohesion are two interrelated concepts. While coherence can be defined as a functional property which determines semantic features of the text , cohesion is the lexicogrammatical relations within the text which again contribute to the meaning-making process. Main tools for providing coherence in a text are syllogistic structures, linking concepts and implicatures. In order to create cohesion within a paragraph and between paragraphs such devices as anaphora, cataphora, reiterations,

conjunctions, collocations and references are used. By doing this investigation, it would be possible to assess the logical continuum of the text.

- Metaphorization: Methapors might drift the addressee's attention away from the literal meaning of the metaphorized notion(s). This follows from the internal structure of metaphor, in which disanalogies that hold between the referents of two separate concepts are offset by a unique, analogous attribute shared by these concepts. The result is that the meaning of the source domain may be either lost or changed. Cap defines three forces of metaphorization as stimulation of emotions, bewilderment and perplexity, intimacy (Cap 2002: 71).

a. Emotion: An unusual juxtaposition of conceptual referents in a methaphor is a stimulant of emotions in the addressee. Although perlocutionary effect can differ on different individuals, the illocutionary force of evoking various emotions is one of the main functions of metaphorizations.

b. Bewilderment and Perplexity: Puzzled by a semantic anomaly, addressee starts to wonder how the suggestion of the speaker can be real. He/She needs to speculate and reason in order to explain and overcome the conflict between the semantic referents in the metaphor. Metaphorization therefore is a functional tool to attract the addressee's attention by posing inference problems.

c. Intimacy: The more creative a metaphor, the tighter the bond of the common insight between the speaker and the addressee. The tighter the bond of insight, more the attention and understanding from the addressee.

So, the main concern is to show how these functions are realized in order to neutralize or intensify the meaning according to certain political claims of the party.

- Nominalization: In language of politics, politicians use nominalizations of certain concepts which are shared values and principles. By doing this, they both increase the chances of preferred response and obfuscate the message. Nominals can express moral values and ideas, refer to economic principles or contribute to the enactment of foreign policy issues. In this research, nominalizations are important for understanding the concepts through which political party tries to communicate and reach a concensus with potential voters.

- Instruments of handling responsibility: These instruments could be defined as ways of creating common goals between the owner of the text and the consumer of the text. Cap uses this categorization in order to investigate inaguaral speeches in which political actor is the main authority. So, sharing responsibility is realized by self-limitation of the decision-making capacity on the part of the speaker in order to legitimize the political actions and possible outcomes of that actions. However, this study investigates an opposition party and therefore the main motivation is to create an unified opposition against other political actors by using culture-determined (Historical dogmas, allusions, voter's share) and culture-independent indicators (Passive Voices and We/Let structures). In this situation, opposition addresses itself as the most competent actor for political change unlike inagurual speeches and voters who share the common beliefs and goals with the opposition have also the responsibility of nominating it as the ruling authority. So, devices of handling responsibility serving to this aim would be investigated in this section.

- Techniques of persuasion: Techniques of persuasion are both imposition of actions but more crucially enforcement of political perception which is persuader's perception. It is possible to say that persuasion devices aim to motivate voters for internalizing political thoughts of the party so that devices for sharing responsibility could function. Some of these tools are black-white perception of the world, fear appeals, low-balling (cost underestimation) and source credibility for attitude formation.

By using these macro and micro linguistic elements, the selected text would be investigated and the outcomes of the analysis would also be compared with different labels imputed to the party to evaluate the validity of these labels which are supposed to constitute the main characteristics of political strategy making.

This analysis would contribute to the understanding of Die Linke in different aspects. Firstly, we would be able to understand how the party evaluates the past practices of the left including GDR and how it relates itself to the past. It is crucial to know the predominantly used discourses about the topic and their weight in the whole text. Secondly, the party's understanding of socialism and its decisiveness as an ideological poisitioning would be clarified. By looking at coherence and consistency between the discourses we would try to answer if the party has extremist tendencies. In that sense,

discourses about capitalism would also be the focus of interest. From that point on, we would have a chain of discourses which may give us some clues about the general tendencies of the party. Thirdly, we would be able to see the general linguistic strategies that are used to influence the reader. Some strategies would be more frequent than others.

Intentional use of particular form of political discourses could derive from some historical and institutional reasons that shape and limit the party preferences. For this study, some expections were to find out strong emphasize on self-explanation, priority of practical issues over ideological stance, contradicting and eclectic discourses about socialism and capitalism, the intention to address various voters from different segments of society and extensive use of negative other representation as a discursive strategy. An embracing populist macro discourse which wants to differentiate itself from the negative heirship of the GDR and its state party SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) was another assumed trait of the party. With the help of this research, we would have the chance to see the validity of these assumptions and expose the outcomes. That is also crucial for evaluating other discourses about the party.

3. The short political history of Die Linke after 1990

In order to understand the reflection of social and political context to the textual practice, we should look at the evolution of Die Linke and consider the dynamics which shaped policy preferences during time. As a party which is accused of being a successor of the socialist state party SED and supporting GDR, Die Linke always tried to persuade people that it is a legitimate political party. In that sense, this chapter helps the reader to perceive the direction of change and the restrictions which altogether shaped the general traits of party's discourses.

Although The Left Party today could be considered as a successful political party by looking at its increasing electoral successes, the starting point was a disadvantageous one. The PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) which was the old name of the party, was the successor of the anti-democratic state party SED (Socialist Unity Party) that ruled German Democractic Republic more than forty years. Just after the collapse of GDR, it became an urgent necessity to reform SED politically, ideologically and also in the organizational level to be able to survive in the unified German political system. As

Malycha and Winters put it, 'It was not about using a new wallpaper but about constructing a totally new party which is based on democractic structures and it should not be a class or mass party' (Malycha/Winter 2009: 361). However, this need for change was contradictory in a sense. On the one hand, SED leadership realized that they should transform the party in accordance with German Basic Law and creating a new programme quickly when it became clear that unification is inevitable. On the other hand, radical changes would be out of question because the main support for the party was coming from the old SED members and if the party would lose the support of these people, it could face with total disintegration (Hough 2000: 5).

Another reason that makes a radical rupture undesirable was the ownership of the party assets and organizational strength which both SED leadership and the membership did not want to lose (Hough 2001: 6). So, these two reasons, namely the main body of voters who still support SED and financial as well as organizational advantages of being the heirer of a state party prevented party leadership from making radical changes. Therefore, on 17 December 1989, the party chose to adopt a transitional name SED/PDS. But it didn't last too long and new party leader Gregor Gysi pushed for further change because the new party was still facing the legitimacy problem. The result was dropping SED totally from the party name in order to show the clear break with the past. On 4 February, 1990 the party was renamed as PDS (2001: 6). According to Hough, although PDS's formal and structural change, it remained tied to ideological rhetoric of SED too much and it experienced serious difficulties in clarifying its position towards GDR. It was only the late 1990s when the party attempted to come to terms with GDR rule critically (2001: 7).

After doing this, another big issue would be to determine the future route for the party but this could not be done without a comprehensive discussion of socialism and future aims of the party. These contradictory issues created serious debates within the party and PDS was not able to create a coherent political programme in the early years of unification. The party programme of PDS in 1993 could be considered as a defensive one. Main topics were why 'real-existing' socialism in GDR had been a defensi ble attempt, why socialism is still legitimate and how a socialist state could overcome the 'illness' of capitalist world. That kind of approach was a result of already existing influence of left-wing orthodox groups on party policy (Hough/Koss/Olsen 2007: 25). The claims of the programme were vague such as 'Germany needs to undergo a radical

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democratization of political and economic life', 'the rightward shift of Germany needs to be halted', 'cu lture, education and science needs to be 'set free' and 'the relationships between employers and employees needs to be altered in favour of employees. The only claim was the abolishment of capitalism and establishment of a kind of socialist republic without knowing the features of this republic (2007: 25).

However, this vagueness could be evaluated as a part of strategy which tries to mobilize the dissatisfied people of eastern Germany by attacking the already existing structures of unified Germany without offering any concrete solutions to socioeconomic and political problems. As Hough puts it, 'those who perceived themselves as being subjectively worse off, or were uneasy at the social and economic fallout from unification, consequently expressed themselves politically in increasing numbers with a vote for the PDS' (Hough 2001: 17). So, the general traits of PDS's political discourse in the first years of unification can be summarized as defensive in the sense that supporting socialism ideologically as well as practically (GDR experience) and vague in the sense that it did not offer any clear solutions to societal problems. This strategy was targeting especially eastern Germans many of whom were feeling culturally and economically excluded from the west.

In 1994 elections, party succeeded getting into parliament with 4,4% of the votes and 30 deputies by securing four direct seats in the east (it should be at least three direct mandates according to Grundmandatsklausel) although they couldn't achieve 5% threshold in the federal level (Bergsdorf 2008). During the election campaigns, PDS tried to broaden its appeal by making nods to the western German left, the pacifist movement, environmentalism, feminism and eastern German interests in the election manifestos (Hough/Koss/Olsen 2007: 26). Another strategy adopted by the party was to persuade leading socialist figures to support their election campaign who were critical about GDR such as Stefan Heym (author) and Count von Einsiedel (Otto von Bismarck's great grandson) (2007: 26).

After 1994 election results, PDS was entered into a new era in which party's direction to follow was intensively discussed. Especially in Schwerin party conference in 1995, neoliberalisation of the society was strongly criticized. But the terminology that they used was also showing signs of changes. As Hough, Koss and Olsen indicate there was an issue of 'reforming majorities' on the left of the German pa rty system. They were accepting Germany's social-market economy instead of creating an overtly socialist

alternative model and they were talking about 'new social contract'th at also seemed appeared non-socialist in rhetoric. More to that change in rhetoric, SPD and Greens started to see PDS as a potential coalition partner through the mid-1990s. That was showing a change in perception of PDS. This kind of change was inevitable because both SPD and Greens realized that ostracising PDS was not doing them good at the polls and claiming that PDS was either extremist or too linked to the GDR were not the trump cards that they were back in 1990 (2007: 28).

So, it is possible to say that late 1990s were the times when PDS started to broaden its electoral aims by going beyond its core supporters in the east. In the federal election of 1998, it won 5.1 % nationally and gained greater support of countryside as well as industrial workers. Patton says that political analysts and PDS leaders viewed Gerhard Schröder as presenting an opportunity for the communist-successor party at that times. When Schröder became the chancellor candidate in 1998, he positioned his party as the party of 'new-middle'. This was a similar approach implemented by some other centre-left politicians like Tony Blair, Bill Clinton or Romano Prodi. Like these leaders, Schröder de-emphasized traditional social democratic concerns like income redistribution and regulation. Although SPD and Greens won the federal election of 1998, PDS increased its support outside its milieu (Patton 2006).

According to Hough, Koss and Olsen, the fundamentals of the PDS's post-1998 political strategy were simple and intuitively logical. It was extremely unlikely that PDS would govern at the federal level, so many of its policy proposals were almost certain to remain untried and untested (2007). As Schröder's government makes mis takes, it became PDS's duty to point them out and act as a left-wing corrective. While doing that, PDS was expecting that its traditional supporters in the east would remain royal to the party and therefore tried to influence disappointed Social Democrats and Greens. That was the aim of expanding to western Germany and becoming a left-wing Volkspartei. In the literature, this analysis was named as 'vacuum thesis', stating that a genuine ga p to the left of the SPD would enable PDS to situate iself in the German party system, at face value (Hough/Koss/Olsen 2007: 36).

However, 2002 elections was disproving 'vacuum thesis' in a way. As Patton emphasizes:

'Despite the centrist Schröder government and the P DS's attempted reincarnation as 'a better SPD', the party still could not fill the vacuum on the left in western Germany.

In 1999 the party received only 1.3 per cent of the western vote in the 1999 elections to the European Parliament, even though it was held in the wake of the NATO bombing campaign in Yugoslavia, the resignation of Oskar Lafontaine and the Blair-Schröder paper. It had not benefited in the west from the troubles of the SPD. In the federal election of September 2002, the PDS remained a fringe party with just 1.1 per cent of the western vote' (2006: 9).

At that point, it is vital to point out the peculiarity of the 2002 elections in order to understand PDS's electoral losses. Many voters perceived 2002 election as a decisive choice between two ideologically opposing camps: SPD/Greens versus CDU/CSU. After SPD indicated that they would not form a coalition or minority government with PDS, it could be seen as the rational choice of the social democrat voters not to vote for PDS. Because a vote for the PDS was widely viewed as being beneficial to the right (2006). More to that, Schröder's polit ical discourses were efficient in the sense that he did not emphasize his 'new middle' agenda and highlighted social justice as well as German style of social market economy. He also defended anti-war position in Iraq. If his proactive stance in the flood which effected eastern Germany would be added to this picture, it is possible to say that SPD/Greens succeeded to influence the eastern voters (Patton 2006). Hence, political discursive strategies were successful in stealing the role of PDS especially in three issues on which PDS was constructing its discourses: peace, social justice and taking care of eastern voters. On the realm of ideological contradictions, SPD was successful in persuading voters that the ideological stance of the social democrat party was overlapping with actual policy making concerns.

Patton adds two more factors which should be evaluated in terms of discursive strategies. One is PDS participation in state governments. He says:

'In Berlin and Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, the PDS, as a junior coalition partner to the SPD, assumed responsibility for unpopular social spending cuts. In both states, Red-Red coalitions came at the cost of a distinct, left-socialist identity for the PDS in office. This made the PDS less appealing to protest voters and to those looking for a viable left-wing alternative to the SPD' (2006: 10).

This factor is very crucial because it shows the contradiction between actual policy making and political discourses. Once a party comes into the power, it becomes possible for voters to compare and contrast what was said and what is done. As we have seen above, PDS used defensive and opposing political discourses in the first half

of 90s especially to gain the support of eastern voters more successfully because the claims of the party was not clearly testable. Arter's observation about Finnish and Swedish social democrat/socialist overlaps with this analysis. Arter states that VAS (Finnish left-socialist party) as a member of the government in Helsinki stagnated in the late 90s as opposed to Swedish social democrat party V which gained a relative success because the former one was less able to exploit the rightward shift of social democrats as a ruling party (Patton 2006).

The second factor was PDS's unsuccessful attempt to influence disappointed voters of the West Germany. Even when the PDS was benefiting from the unpopularity of the Red-Green government in 1999, it was mostly supported by east Germans (as it is compared to West) and it was a still an alien party for the German political system. Although its structure and aims are similar to western parties, political discourses were dominantly determined by a mixture of anticapitalist/socialist discourses with regional concerns.

The disappointing 2002 election -that paved the way to the criticism of vacuum thesis- give us important hints about the dynamism and characteristics of political discourses which we will investigate in our analysis in the next chapter. As it is understood from the historical experience, filling the gap in the left is not only about implementing social policies.

Adjusting and using discursive strategies according to special epochs could persuade voters even if they do not harmonize with policy making processes. Nevertheless, coming into power decreases the level of persuasion because political discourses are becoming testable to some extent. PDS primarily constructed its discourses on regional cleavages and gained political power in regional level. However, they could not be able to carry their political discourses into the next level until 2005 which means being a Volkspartei. When this twofold character of the discourses overlapped with dissappointing policy making in the east, SPD filled the gap instead of PDS although they would reform the country in favour of market economy and create dissatisfaction among social democrat voters.

However, conditions became suitable for the opposition camp at the same time when Gerhard Schröder's red-green coalition introduced a package of welfare reforms called 'Agenda 2010'. In addition to that, implementation of Hartz IV reforms beginning with 2004 created dissatisfaction among social democratic trade union members in the

West and they began to leave their party to form what became WASG (Labour and Social Justice- The Electoral Alternative) later. After negotiations with WASG, two parties decided to form an alliance for the 2005 elections. PDS has changed its name to 'The Left Party' and they included candidates of WASG on their lists for elections.

This was a urgent and legally imperative maneuvre of two parties succeeded by gaining 8,7 % of the total votes in 2005 elections. After 2007, two parties have merged under the name 'Die Linke'.

According to Nachtwey and Spier, the election success of 2005 was also a success of creating counter-hegemonic political discourses which challenge elite consensus on welfare reforms and neoliberalism but also put the frame of social justice into the debate as an alternative. According to them, the fact that support for the welfare state among the population has fallen only slightly in recent years and has indeed remained astonishingly stable reflects the elites' inability to develop a successful communicative discourse to legitimise their reforms (Nachtwey/Spier 2007).

Actually, these two points are strongly related to each other. As it is stated in the beginning of the chapter, when a political actor comes into the power, it also gains the power for implementing social hegemony with different ways of communication but because political discourses become comparable with actual policy making and social reality, it always gives a room to political opposition for generating counter-hegemonic discourses which challenge already established power structures. Except unsuccessful 2002 elections, it is possible to say that PDS was successful in developing that counter-hegemonic discourse which is based on providing social justice without being communist. In that sense, the frame of social justice was the right choice. As Nachtwey and Spier stated:

'They articulated an alternative to the free-market discourse, re-politicised the questions connected with social justice and new economic insecurities and found themselves politically in accord with the attitudes of a significant portion of the population in many questions. Furthermore, they expanded the political discourse by introducing an alternative interpretation. The frame of social justice formulated a social alternative, a guiding principle for the 'good society' that offered normative meani ng and ideological bonding. Social justice was a successful frame because it connotated on the one side with a positive concept of the welfare state and was at the same time vague enough to paper over the differences in the protest camp' (2007: 27).

So, when we look at the history of PDS after unification, we see a political party who situated itself first as a regional party but then it adopted itself to the sociopolitical changes and tried to extend its political influence. Some of the factors that put PDS/Die Linke into the political discussion as an alternative left wing party were independent of the political programme of the party. These historical reasons are discussed by Nachtwey and Spier on the basis of changing cleavages (decrease in blue-collar workers in Germany since 1960s) and SPD's new strategy to be a Volkspartei instead of workers' party which resulted weakening ties of workers to the party since 1980s. When SPD's lack of institutional background in the east is added to the picture, it is possible to say that SPD has largely lost its historical subject (working class) at least on the electoral basis (Nachtwey & Spier, 2007). But at the same time, it was also up to PDS's strategical success to form a realignment with blue-collar workers as well as other disillusioned segments of society to meet that societal and political demand. So, programmatic development of Die Linke was a direct result of that aim which reflected to the changing political discourses of the party and especially realized in Key Programmatic Points Paper of 2007 and afterwards.

Hence, it becomes crucial to consider which political and social context shaped and still shapes the discursive strategies, attitudes and perceptions of the political party. At this point, Thompson helps us to focus on main determinants in which party discourses are developed and presented.

Although he divides these factors as negative and positive ones in order to show the chances of a left-wing party in German context, they won't be divided into categories and will be listed as a whole.

1. Capitalism emerged as economically and socially triumphant in an intersystemic struggle that had dominated European and global politics for almost a century.

2. The appeal of socialism, let alone Marxism, as a governmental system was destroyed. The PDS's association with the SED, the constant description of it as 'the successor party to the SED' and 'die Stasi-Partei', limited its appeal to a relatively small section of the East German population and a tiny proportion of the western left.

3. Shifts in production towards the tertiary sector, although not as pronounced as elsewhere in Europe, had undermined the traditional heavy industrial base of

the West German working class. The inefficiency and uncompetitive nature of the East German economy meant that it all but disappeared within two years of re-unification. This led to both mass unemployment and a concomitant weakening of the bargaining position of the unions and a fall in real wages. As Oliver Nachtwey and Tim Spier point out, after rising to a high point of 77.1% in 1982, in the last year of an SPD-led government, the wage quota fell away to 70% under the CDU in 1997, rose slightly again under the new SPD government under Oskar Lafontaine as finance minister and then dropped away further to 67.3% in 2005, the lowest for nearly forty years. This post-Lafontaine turn of the SPD to a measured neo-liberalism in the form of the Neue Mitte, Hartz IV and, towards the end of the SPD-Green government, Agenda 2010 programmes after 1999 undermined support for the SPD amongst workers in both east and west.

4. Since 1989, despite the relative strength of German industry, these changes shifted the balance of class power in favour of the employer. Despite the complaints from the 'Masters of Wall Street', Germany has undergone considerable market reform. Over 20% of the workforce is officially in low wage jobs (the unofficial total is probably around 26%) and strikes are at an all time low in a country which already had notoriously tough strike laws. Labour unit costs have fallen faster in real terms than in the US or UK. Large sectors of the economy, above all telecommunications and energy, were privatised. Expenditure on pensions and health in real terms is below the EU average and costs for social spending in general have fallen in recent years, not risen. Taxes on capital are among the lowest in the EU and there has been an annual cut of 1% in jobs in the public sector over the past decade, with unemployment rising in Germany as a whole to around 9.9% by 2005 and in East Germany to 18.8% and rising. As a result, the OECD, in its 2005 report, described Germany as a model reformer. The deficits that do exist are largely a result of the massive costs of re-unification and have relatively little to do with structural weaknesses in the economy itself or with any property bubble, though the most recent problems with Hypo show that German banks are also exposed to the credit crisis. The costs and effects of unification also mean that the unemployment statistics themselves are distorted. If one takes West Germany alone, then its unemployment rate is below the European average. The comparison with the

UK, which is always made, is also erroneous as the latter still has around 2.7 million people on incapacity and other benefits. Nachtwey and Spier also demonstrate that support for the welfare state and social solidarity also fell in both East and West Germany between 1994 and 2004, although it remains at a relatively high level (33-34%).

5. The ideological appeal of socialism and Marxism as potential systems of governance given the right conditions also remained strong. The widespread feeling, especially amongst ex-GDR citizens, that socialism was a good idea which had been badly carried out continued to apply. In addition there had been 2.3 million members of the SED, almost 25% of the adult population (though most of these joined for careerist reasons, over 90% leaving the party for the same reason in 1989), and the Party had been much more firmly anchored in civil society than had been assumed by most western observers. This gave the PDS a political, organisational, financial and social base unrivalled elsewhere in Europe.

6. The dominance of the SPD on the traditional centre-left meant that the PDS was not able to move onto that ground, as ex-communist parties had in the rest of Eastern Europe. This forced it to maintain a leftist and oppositional stance on the major issues of the day. This meant that the PDS provided a 'melting pot' for general German left dissatisfaction with both the principle and consequences of unification as well as giving it an anti-capitalist focus.

7. The PDS was also a means by which many in the ex-GDR could express their sense of regional identity and Heimat (or homeland), becoming, in Toralf Staud's words, an East German CSU. This regional base and organisational strength also meant that it could prove itself as a party of power as well as radical opposition.

8. The formation of the WASG (Electoral Alternative for Work and Social Justice) in spring 2004 by union activists, disaffected SPD members and leftist intellectuals and activists formed a basis for the revival of the left in West Germany untainted by the negative associations with the GDR, which had always prevented a breakthrough for the PDS.

9. The fusion of the PDS with the WASG to form the new Die Linke has, for the first time since the Weimar Republic, created a significant political force to the left of the SPD, which has roots not only in the educated public-sector liberal middle class, as with the Greens in the early 1980s, but increasingly in the organised working class and amongst the unemployed, intellectuals and pensioners (the latter particularly in the ex-GDR). In terms of the longevity and survivability of Die Linke, there has been a significant shift in support (Thompson 2009).

This sociopolitical context drawn by Thompson is also evaluated by the party during the strategy making processes. But we still do not know how Die Linke deals with positive and negative aspects of these factors. Which factors are considered more than others? Do discursive strategies follow a consistent line or are they in contradiction? Can we label the party according to the findings of our analysis? These are the questions we want to answer in the end of analysis. By implementing that kind of approach, we will not only understand the main characteristics of strategy making but we will also be able to check if fabricated opinions and labels about the party overlap with discursive formation of the party itself.

4. Discourse Analysis of the "Key Programmatic Points" Paper

The text to be analysed in this chapter is 'Key Programmatic Points' paper (KPPP) which is considered as the founding programmatic document of the political party Die Linke and was written in 2007 as a reflection of the common ground established by WASG and Linkspartei.PDS on the road to a new political party. This text is structurally divided into five sections and each into paragraphs. These paragraphs are each separately scrutinzed through a microanalysis based on sentences, paragraphs and sections (for the third chapter of the text, unit of analysis is sections) according to the analytical factors presented in chapter two. The main aim of this examination is to highlight discursive events for determining the orders of discourse in the text. Discursive events are the instances of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough 1993: 138). For this text, they can be intepreted as the main intentions of the party which are realized and linked to each other by the use of discourses. Orders of discourse concern the totality of discursive

practices of an institution and relationship between them (Fairclough 1993: 138). So finally our aim would be to see how the main concerns of the political party are constructed pragmatically and linked to each other by the use of linguistic categories. Once we can understand the structure of the text after having done the microanalysis, we would also be able to see how the whole narrative of Die Linke functions in order to persuade the reader.

4.1 Together for a different policy

Discursive Event 1: Who are we?

We have called the first discursive event 'Who are we' because the party shares its aims and value orientations as well as the interpretation of societal problems with the reader.

4.1.1 Topicality

The general focus of the first chapter of KPPP is on the current situation of the German society, the policies and the value orientations of the party and the evaluation of the history of the German left. Below, we present the summaries of the topics of the respective paragraphs (p: paragraph) and some comments on these topics. The contents of the paragraphs are described through headings (our own formulations) that summarise the contents of paragraphs discussing similar themes.

p. 1-3: Analysis of German society focusing on economic problems p. 4-5: Die Linke's solutions to societal problems

p. 6-7-8: Die Linke's values and moral evaluations

p. 9-10-11: Private property/ Public ownership/ The need for expanding public ownership

p. 12: The mission of left politics/ Importance of welfare state

p. 13: History of left practice and Die Linke's role in politics p. 14: Support of Die Linke for new social movements

p. 15: Support of Die Linke for state control on capitalism and overcoming capitalist property

p. 16-17: Evaluation of the left practices in the past and Die Linke's political stance

4.1.2 Relational Propositions

The outcomes of the analysis for the first seventeen paragraphs are:

p.1: Background-Sequence

p.2: Sequence-Cause-Elaboration

p.3: Cause

p.4: Sequence-Thesis/Antithesis

p.5: Restatement

p.6: Condition

p.7: Condition-Elaboration-Solutionhood

p.8: Sequence

p.9: Solutionhood- Solutionhood

p.10: Sequence-Elaboration

p.11: Justification-Restatement

p.12: Elaboration-Reason

p.13: Elaboration

p.14: Restatement

p.15: -

p.16: Restatement

p.17: Restatement

The mostly used relational propositions are restatement, elaboration, sequence and solutionhood. As it is stated in the previous chapter, elaboration and solutionhood belong to approach-specifiers which either elaborate on a specific kind of problem stated in the first part of the text or offer solutions to the emphasized problem. They are both widely used in political texts but generally elaboration is used more frequently than solutionhood because it is a safer structure for specifying the problem without offering a solution.

Restatement and sequence also belong to the same category which are proposition-grounders. Both display capacity for a repetitive enforcement of ideas: restatements

are responsible for laying them out and sequences for enacting them (Cap 2002: 53). For this context, it points out the effort of a political party to explain itself and its political stance to the voters.

4.1.3 Coherence and Cohesion

Coherence:

A syllogistic reasoning is a logical conclusion derives from two statements which are supposed to be true. All arguments involve the claim that one or more premises provide some grounds for accepting another proposition (Goel/Dolan 2003). In the the first chapter they are used in order to explain the relationship between the problem and source of this problem as well as the solution of that problem. Some syllogistic structures in the first chapter are:

> However, they (opportunities for a life in justice, democracy and peace) are thwarted by destructive processes. These are the consequences of the concentrated power of capital; they arise from the primacy of the international financial markets and the transition of the rulers from a policy of welfare-state regulated capitalism to a radical market policy, a neo-liberal policy. (p.2)

In this passage, first the problem is hypothesized and then the declaration comes as the source of the problem. Die Linke indicates that opportunities for a life in justice, democracy and peace are hindered by destructive processes. After that assumption, destructive processes are seen as the consequences of the concentrated power of capital. Because the concentrated power of capital arises from the neo-liberal policy, the neo-liberal policy is destructive.

> A fundamental change in policy for a socially more just society requires linking the idea of solidarity with responses to new social challenges. (p.4)

In this sentence, a fundamental change in policy for a socially more just society is seen as an undebatable necessity. After making this assumption, the solution is declared as linking solidarity with responses to new social challenges. This solution and Die Linke's role in realizing that solution constructs the main discursive event in the first part of the paper.

> Democracy, freedom, equality, justice, internationalism and solidarity are our fundamental value orientations. They are inseparable from peace, the

> conservation of nature and emancipation. The ideas of democratic socialism are key guidelines for the development of the political goals of the Left. (p.6)

In the first part of the paragraph, it is seen that universally shared values are also adopted by Die Linke. Taking these values as granted, the second part of the paragraph relates the ideas of democratic socialism with fundamental value orientations. So, democratic socialism is declared as the solution of realizing these values. Although the relationship between the two are very indirect, it is coherent in the sense that fundamental values are put into an ideological framework. Hence, it serves to the political realization of the party itself.

> Freedom and social justice, democracy and socialism are contingent on one another. Equality without individual freedom ends in incapacitation and heteronomy. Freedom without equality is freedom only for the rich. Those who oppress their fellow human beings are not free either. The goal of democratic socialism, which wants to overcome capitalism in a transformational process, is a society in which the freedom of the other is not the limit but the condition for one's own freedom. (p.7)

After accepting that freedom and social justice as well as democracy and socialism are contingent on one another and explaining why it is so, again the main aim of democratic socialism is pointed out for providing that contingency.

> The condition for overcoming aberrations and social divisions is the comprehensive democratisation of all spheres of life. Democratisation of the economy requires subordinating the power to dispose of all forms of property to social criteria. (p.9)

Democratization of all spheres of life is taken as a necessity for overcoming aberrations/ social divisions and is equated with democratization of economy. It is important to note that this syllogism overlaps with the main premise of classical Marxism which sees economy as a determinant factor in all spheres of life.

> The primacy of politics must be established in the economy as well. In this spirit, the elected representatives of the left should work for the organisation of public welfare systems. (p.12)

The primacy of politics is defined and the mission of the elected representatives of the left is declared. That is again coherent with previous parts of the text. After defining

the problem and showing the reasons, the general mission of the left is defined and this mission is very much compatible with Die Linke's basis of existence.

> Our party makes a change of political direction its strategic objective. That requires of us a critical reappraisal of the history of left practice in the GDR and the FRG in a spirit of solidarity. (p.13)

Change of political direction is accepted as a goal for the party. In the second part, criticizing old practices of left politics are seen as a requirement for achieving this goal. This can be seen as a political strategy that is based on self-criticism and convincing the voters that the new party is not an inheritor of old leftist parties.

> We have learned from history that respect for the views of dissidents is a precondition for liberation. We reject every form of dictatorship and condemn Stalinism as a criminal abuse of socialism. (p.17)

Every form of dictatorship as well as Stalinism (as a criminal abuse of socialism) should be rejected because these systems did not respect the views of opponents and because of that they were not liberalizing. With this syllogism, the party distances itself from different practices of socialism (Stalinism in this context) so that they can redefine and support socialism which has not been practiced before. This can be seen as a part of the attempt of placing itself to political spectrum that is observed throughout the first chapter.

> Linking concepts are defined as structured sets of experience and knowledge of the addressee which enable him to correlate, at a clausal level, overtly disparate ideas into a meaningful and stimulating message (Cap 2002: 57).

In the first part of the chapter, unefficient government, wasted opportunities and threats are linking concepts which refers to Die Linke as a political alternative. As an application of syllogisms, implicatures in the first chapter are about the compatibility of democratic socialism with liberal values, necessity of a new kind of leftist politics and acceptance of a reformist way instead of a revolution. However, it is not possible to say that Die Linke totally convicts communism or GDR for the past experiences. Some of these implicatures are:

> Democracy, freedom, equality, justice, internationalism and solidarity are our fundamental value orientations. They are inseparable from peace, the

> conservation of nature and emancipation. The ideas of democratic socialism are key guidelines for the development of the political goals of the Left. (p.6)
>
> Our party makes a change of political direction its strategic objective. (p.13)
>
> We want to bring together basic concepts of an alternative policy. (p.5)
>
> The goal of democratic socialism, which wants to overcome capitalism in a transformational process, is a society in which the freedom of the other is not the limit but the condition for one's own freedom. (p.7)
>
> …In doing so it opposes simplifications, anti-commu nist prejudices and one-sided judgements and tries to arrive at sophisticated and balanced assessments. (p.16)

Cohesion:

Several cohesion-setting devices such as anaphora, conjunctions and reiterations are used in the text.

Anaphoric reference points out something which was previously defined in the text. So the addressee should read the previous sentence or parts of the text in order to understand what is meant.

> Democracy, freedom, equality, justice, internationalism and solidarity are our fundamental value orientations. They are inseparable from peace, the conservation of nature and emancipation. (p.6)
>
> The task of left politics in creating a modern welfare state is to sustainably protect people in major existential perils such as illness, unemployment and poverty. This also includes social responsibility for health, for the supply of water and energy, for waste disposal, for urban and rural development, for affordable housing in sufficient quantity, for public local and long-distance transport, for universally accessible free education, for a dignified life in old age and for the development of culture and science. (p.12)

Conjunctions usually are not used to provide cohesion between paragraphs in the text. The only conjunctions used for this purpose are 'however' (p.2) and 'to that end' (p.8). Within the paragraphs, 'however', 'yet', 'instead of', 'but', 'and', 'for', 'as well as', 'in keeping with that', 'in this spirit', 'in doing so' are used. Th is means, many unrelated

or indirectly related issues are discussed on the basis of Die Linke's stance towards them.

Unlike conjunctions, reiterations are mostly used to provide cohesion between paragraphs. These reiterations are in the form of the subject and have a function of stressing the role and vision of the political party as well as the German society. Repetitive use of pronouns together with the name of the party creates a unity between addressee and Die Linke which is also coherent with the title of the first chapter 'Together for a different policy'. Some examples are:

We: (p.4), (p.5), (p.8), (p.10), (p.13), (p.14), (p.17)

Die Linke: (p.7), (p.11), (p.16)

Our: (p.3- Our society), (p.4- Our alternative), (p.13- Our party), (p.15- Our recognition)

4.1.4 Nominalizations

Some nominalizations used in the first chapter are freedom, equality, justice, internationalism, solidarity, destruction, renewal, democratic structuring, dismantling, distribution, contribution, orientation, emancipation, conservation, development, exploitation, oppression, aberration, division, democratization, co-determination, regulation, proposal, ownership, organisation, enlightenment, movement, globalisation, commitment, repression, dictatorship, elimination, recognition, simplification, judgement, assessment and liberation.

Nominalizations like justice, freedom, equality, solidarity, development and democratization are repetitively used and point out the fundamental moral values of the political party which supposedly would also be shared by the readers.

Nominalizations like renewal, democratic structuring, distribution, contribution, orientation, co-determination, regulation, proposal, commitment, elimination, assessment and liberation give some clues about policy-making strategies of the party. It is possible to observe that more assertive nominalizations such as elimination, liberation, commitment and renewal go hand in hand with more moderate ones like co-determination, proposal and assessment.

Nominalizations like dictatorship, simplification, exploitation, oppression, repression, aberration, division and dismantling create negative impressions on the reader and the

party tries to link them to certain reasons like neo-liberal policies, concentrated power of capital and more generally to 'unbridled capitalism' which have to be fought.

4.1.5 Instruments of Handling Responsibility

Historical Dogma:

> We consciously place ourselves in the tradition of enlightenment and democratic socialism and of the great movements for the emancipation of working men and women. (p.13)

In this sentence, the writer puts the tradition of enlightenment with democratic socialism and great movements for the emancipation of working men and women together. That means, the reader who accepts and internalizes the values and outcomes of enlightenment is expected to adopt the values and outcomes of democratic socialism and emancipation of working men and women because they are presented historically sequential.

Allusion:

An allusion seen in the first part of the text is a direct and not a culture-determined one. It directly refers to lawfulness.

> In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Basic Law requires that laws and regulations ensure that property serve the common good. Articles 14 and 15 of the Basic Law provide the possibility of countering the agglomeration of economic power to political power. Under those articles, key areas of the economy can be transferred to public ownership. (p.11)

In these sentences, public ownership is legitimized not by refering to socialist principles but by refering to the Basic Law. So, if the reader respects the rule of law (because Basic Law takes care of citizens), he/she should also support Die Linke's proposals for transferring some key areas of economy to public ownership.

Hearer's/Reader's Share:

> We want to conduct a broad discussion on how that can be concretely realised. In this connection we want to clarify how public ownership as the basis of democratic politics and public welfare can be expanded and made both social and efficient. (p.10)

In this passage, we see Die Linke's emphasis on conducting a broad discussion for expanding public ownership. So, the party would like to share its responsibility with the participants of that prospective discussion. However, participants of that discussion would be most probably the ones who support expanding public ownership because the party has clear policy orientation on this topic. This is why they do not name the target groups for discussion.

When we look at the general structure of the first chapter, it is seen that Die Linke is ready for taking responsibility as a political actor. In that sense, instead of using passive voices, use of personal pronoun 'we' is very frequent. This was in vestigated as a lexical device which provides cohesion between paragraphs. But as a rhetorical device, we + want structure has also a function of asking permission. Instead of using we + will, we + want reminds readers their role as voters and thus shares the responsibility with the reader.

> We want to bring together basic concepts of an alternative policy. (p.5)

> We want to conduct a broad discussion on how that can be concretely realised. (p.10)

> In this connection we want to clarify how public ownership as the basis of democratic politics and public welfare can be expanded and made both social and efficient. (p.10)

4.1.6 Techniques of Persuasion

In order to prove its functionality, the party should persuade voters that the political situation is not encouraging and the continuity of current policy making would lead to undesirable consequences. We would call these negative persuasion strategies. Fear appeals are one of the rhetorical devices of that kind.

> However, they are thwarted by destructive processes. (p.2)

> Our society, like many others in the world, is characterised by mass unemployment, by economic and cultural cleavages. The destruction of nature and human-generated climate change are taking on more and more threatening dimensions. War has once more become a policy instrument. Imperial policies and fundamentalism reinforce each other reciprocally. (p.3)

Although it is not stated in a single sentence, the common good and neoliberal policy dichotomy is strongly emphasized in the text.

This is a kind of black-white perception strategy in the sense that it puts neoliberal economy into the centre of all problems and expansion of public ownership is seen as an ultimate solution.

> Above all, the profit-driven private control of largescale enterprises playing a determinant role in the economy has to be curtailed and overcome through broad democratic alliances, co-determination and welfare-state regulation where it conflicts with the common good. (p.9)

> In this connection we want to clarify how public ownership as the basis of democratic politics and public welfare can be expanded and made both social and efficient. (p.10)

> Die Linke is working on concrete proposals about how certain key areas of the economy and public welfare services have to be transferred to public ownership for the common good in order to make more democratic control and organisation possible. (p.11)

> primacy of politics must be established in the economy as well. In this spirit, the elected representatives of the left should work for the organisation of public welfare systems. (p.12)

There are also positive persuasion strategies such as consistency and source credibility. To be consistent with the overall message of 'public ownership is a necessary step of being a democratic society', contingency of the notions is discussed in a didactic way.

> Freedom and social justice, democracy and socialism are contingent on one another. Equality without individual freedom ends in incapacitation and heteronomy. Freedom without equality is freedom only for the rich. Those who oppress their fellow human beings are not free either. (p.7)

In addition to that, the party uses indisputable references such as freedom, social justice and democracy as the base of its policy orientations. These sources are credible and they create reliability. Because they can be defined in many ways, most people

tend to accept this references. However, the meanings they attribute to these notions differ.

Universally accepted values are also depicted as the values of democratic socialism so that Die Linke's policy preferences based on democratic socialism become both legitimized and trustworthy.

> Democracy, freedom, equality, justice, internationalism and solidarity are our fundamental value orientations. They are inseparable from peace, the conservation of nature and emancipation. The ideas of democratic socialism are key guidelines for the development of the political goals of the Left. (p.6)

> The goal of democratic socialism, which wants to overcome capitalism in a transformational process, is a society in which the freedom of the other is not the limit but the condition for one's own freedom. (p.7)

4.1.7 Summary

The first chapter of the Key Programmatic Points Paper aims at describing Die Linke's value orientations and policy preferences after defining the problem which is neoliberal policies and their negative effects on society. This is the main discursive event that we have seen in the chapter. The party's intensive effort to establish itself as a legitimate political actor is repetitively observed after the sixth paragraph. This legitimacy is tried to be provided by situating itself in the already-established political system and by defining the ideological and political concerns with fundamental value orientations.

Restatements and elaborations serve to this aim. Sometimes there is a lack of cohesion in the paragraphs but the text is coherent and cohesion between paragraphs also contributes to the general coherence of the text. Hence, it can be considered as a structured narrative.

However in the paragraphs 13, 16, 17, there is also an emphasis on the assessment of past practices of left politics. These parts can be read as 'who we are not' and aim to convince the reader that Die Linke does not wish to take the possession of whole left tradition.

In relation to that, refering to enlightenment values in order to legitimize democratic socialism is a meaningful attempt. Still, it is impossible to say that the party rejects all past practices of the left, including GDR history.

The text has also didactic parts which try to give information about the idea of democratic socialism and why its value orientations are universal. In the seventh paragraph, the relation between freedom and equality is elaborated in accordance with Marxist notion of alienation.

It is not possible to say that Die Linke has revolutionary policy orientations. There are some assertive nominalizations which give that impression at first glance but the overall character of the text signals rather a conciliatory position. It is indirectly stated in the seventh paragraph that the party is not a revolutionary but a reformist one.

It is also interesting that the words like class, proletariat or bourgeoisie are not used which are very determinant in Marxist literature although the party adopts a type of socialism. In that sense, an attempt to gain the support from different segments of the society is observable.

4.2 Another world is necessary

Discursive Event 2: What is the problem?

The second chapter is problematizing the current situation in the world as well as in Germany with reference to the neo-liberal policy making.

4.2.1 Topicality

The general theme of this chapter is the evolution of capitalism after the world-wide crisis of sixties and seventies and its consequences in the world. The problems mentioned in the first chapter such as unemployment, economic and cultural cleavages and wars are explained in a more detailed and historical perspective. Below, the topics and topic-comments of the second chapter based on paragraphs are listed:

p.1: Overall situation in the world as the result of global economic crisis and the reaction of capitalist countries to that crisis.

p.2: General characteristics of neoliberalism and its consequences

p.3: Domination and ownership structures of modern capitalism and their hinderance to global development.

p.4: Several kinds of splits within the society p.5: Ecological problems due to global capitalism

p.6: Neo-liberal capitalism's dismantling of democracy

p.7: New opportunities of struggle deriving from the existence of European Union p.8: Aims and actions of the imperial policy under the leadership of USA

p.9: Negative results of imperial policy

4.2.2 Relational Propositions

Types of relational propositions seen in the second chapter are:

p.1: Circumstance/Background p.2: Elaboration

p.3: Thesis- Antithesis /Elaboration p.4: Sequence/Restatement

p.5: Elaboration

p.6: Elaboration

p.7: Circumstance

p.8: Evidence

p.9: Sequence/Evidence

In this chapter context- setters like circumstance and background go hand in hand with an approach-specifier, elaboration. Elaboration was also the main relational proposition in the first chapter in order to clarify policy preferences and notions. Second chapter gives background information about the evolution of neo-liberal policies and also informs the reader about the circumstances that nourish these policies. Although thesis-antithesis structure is used once, it has a key role in pointing out the discrepancy between economic/technological advancements which can help to improve living standards of people and domination as well as ownership structures of modern capitalism impeding that kind of opportunity. Other parts of the text help to establish a ground for this argument. Elaborations for instance are used to speculate on certain features and functions of neo-liberal capitalism such as dismantling democracy or causing ecological crisis.

4.2.3 Coherence/Cohesion

Coherence:

The second chapter talks about the conditions that created neo-liberalism and the consequences of neo-liberal capitalism. These two topics are very much related to each other and are also related to the first chapter in which neo-liberal policy making is shown as the main reason of the problems of today's German society.

It is possible to say that the main aim of the second chapter is to show contradictions between fundamental values such as freedom, human rights, democracy and the neo-liberal organization of the society lead by financial markets and supranational corporations. Other parts of the text tell the reader about facts and these facts contribute to the main message of the chapter: Neo-liberal capitalism contradicts with fundamental values of humanity and due to that reason, it is a problem. Some parts serving to this aim are:

> Neo-liberal capitalism means dismantling democracy. Immense power is concentrated in the hands of the international finance funds, the transnational corporations and the supranational organisations of global capitalism – the World Trade Organisation, the Inte rnational Monetary Fund, the World Bank and so on. (p.6)

> Global capitalism is intensifying the ecological crisis. Its economy is oriented towards short term stock market shifts. This stands in deep contradiction to the long-term cycles of nature.(p.5)

> Neo-liberalism claims to be for greater freedom, yet all fields of life are subordinated to capital utilisation and in particular to increasing the value of stocks in the financial markets. (p.2)

In the some parts of the second chapter, neo-liberal capitalism is depicted as a criminal but instead of saying it directly, some implicatures are used.

> They are (International finance funds, the transnational corporations and the supranational organizations of global capitalism – the World Trade Organisation , the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank) shielded from any democratic control. (p.6)

> Barbaric methods of domination are being resorted to with less and less restraint. (p.6)

> The standard of international law forbidding any offensive war has been revoked. (p.8)

> In the name of a crusade against terrorism, thousands of innocent people are dying. (p.8)

> They start new imperial wars and heighten the danger of terrorist acts. (p.2)

All these sentences include a crime. Sometimes, the committer of the crime is named as supranational corporations, financial markets and USA in the rest of the paragraphs. Although it is not clearly stated, these actors are targeted as criminals who violate the law. So, what is implied is that the global actors of neo-liberalism are fooling people and commiting crimes against humanity in order to gain economic profit and they are so strong that the international law does not have any sanctions.

There is also another implicature concerning the dissolution of traditional society.

> The transition to flexible production and a flexible labour market in response to the needs of capital destroys family life and community life. (p.3)

Cohesion:

There are some paragraphs in which cohesion is provided by anaphoric references and conjunctions. Some examples are:

> Neo-liberal forces call for less state and dismantle the welfare state in favour of a repressive competition state. They pay lip service to democracy and try to weaken the trade unions and other democratic organisations and movements. They pursue a non-solidarity policy of privatisation, deregulations and subjection of all spheres of life to the market. They start new imperial wars and heighten the danger of terrorist acts. (p.2)

Continuous use of the pronoun 'they' helps to conce ntrate on the actor and intensifies the role of the actor for given actions. Moreover, it creates the image that there is one actor and not a bunch of different types of actors that are or are not related to each other.

In some paragraphs, repetitive use of the conjunctions help to intensify the effects of a certain entity, action or policy preference. Related concepts are divided by conjunctions as if they are totally different.

> The European Union has given us a new space for joint social struggles, movements for peace and sustainable business management, for democracy and against racism and nationalism, a new space for class struggles. (p.7)

> (the positive outcomes of EU are intensified)

> They (neo-liberal forces) pay lip service to democracy and try to weaken the trade unions and other democratic organisations and movements. (p.2)

(the negative outcomes of the action of neo-liberal forces are intensified)

The aims of imperial policy under the leadership of the United States of America are a world totally subordinated to capital exploitation, unhindered access to raw materials and sources of energy, and the expansion of domination and spheres of influence. (p.8)

(the negative outcomes of the policy preferences of USA are intensified)

Also, some adverbials are used repetitively to intensify the meaning.

Barbaric methods of domination are being resorted to with less and less restraint. (p.6)

When the greatest counterweight ceased to exist with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the destructive tendencies of the unbridled capitalist market were able to develop more and more. (p.1)

One inconsistency is becoming more and more acute. (p.3)

In all these sentences, it is possible to talk about a snowball effect which tries to warn the reader about an increasing problem and convince him/her for taking urgent action.

Neo-liberalism, global capitalism and neo-liberal capitalism are reiterations used instead of each other to provide cohesion between paragraphs. Besides that, there are not any cohesive devices used between paragraphs. This choice is understandable when the main aim of showing different facets of neo-liberal policies is considered.

In that sense, it would be proper to say that second chapter is cohesive considering single paragraphs, non-cohesive considering linkages between paragraphs and coherent as a whole. The instruments of cohesion are used to intensify the meaning and to create a snowball effect so that the fear appeals could be practiced and the persuasion through fear could be provided.

4.2.4 Nominalizations

Some nominalizations in the chapter emphasize the problems due to neoliberal policies and the general characteristics of neo-liberalism like expansion of domination, spiral of violence, arrogance of imperial power, imperial policy, capital exploitation, unhindered access to raw materials, capital utilisation, competition state, privatisation, deregulation and subjection.

Core value orientations like freedom, democracy, development, solidarity, emancipation, satisfaction of human needs, peace are also subjects of this chapter however they are used together with their opposites to create a dichotomy to intensify the criticism of neo-liberalism.

The noun 'class' and the noun phrase 'class struggl e' are firstly used in this chapter. In the fourth paragraph, it is used to emphasize the gap between different segments of the society.

> The openly emerging schism between the classes in our society coincides with other oppressive relationships…(p.4)

In the seventh paragraph, the European Union is seen as a space for new class struggles. However it is the last point that was emphasized after joint social struggles, movements for peace and sustainable business management, democracy and struggles against racism/nationalism.

> The European Union has given us a new space for joint social struggles, movements for peace and sustainable business management, for democracy and against racism and nationalism, a new space for class struggles. (p.7)

This is not a usual syntax preference for a classical Marxist party. In classical Marxism, class struggle is the main determinant of social change and all other spheres of struggle are subordinated to that struggle (Marcus & Menzies, 2007). However, in this sentence class struggle is one of the struggles of different kinds and it is used along with sustainable business management phrase which indirectly means to accept the continuity of class-based society.

4.2.5 Instruments of Handling Responsibility

In this chapter, instruments of handling responsibility are used rarely but in a crucial way. First one shares the responsibility with the reader indirectly:

> This is all the more depressing since whether a global climate catastrophe can still be prevented will have to be decided in the next few years. Drastic change in our way of life will be unavoidable. (p.5)

Here, the reader is warned for urgent action because of lack of time. This also goes hand in hand with moderate fear appeals. The reader/voter should also take the

responsibility as a citizen to vote for a political party who can quickly take precautions to avoid a possible catastrophe.

Another kind of sharing responsibility is emphasizing European Union as an opportunity for the joint political action of leftist parties. This emphasis becomes a necesssity after elaborating the international and supranational character of neo-liberalism and points out the internationalist character of the party.

> The coming together of trade unions, democratic initiatives, peace, women's and ecological movements, however, is only beginning. The Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) in the European Parliament came into being as a result of the elections to the European Parliament and makes a substantial contribution to giving profile to a left European policy in Parliament. With the Party of the European Left, a force has taken the road to uniting members of various left parties in Europe in joint political action. The European Social Forums and the European trade union movement are intervening in social and political conflicts. (p.7)

Besides sharing the responsibility, this chapter also clearly names the actors who are responsible for neo-liberal policies. USA, European Union, the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are emphasized political and economic actors.

4.2.6 Techniques of Persuasion

We can say that persuasion techniques in the chapter are again black-white perceptions of the world (creating dichotomy) and fear appeals. The main aim is to convince the reader that premises of neo-liberalism do not overlap with actual policy-making and urgent change is needed. Some examples are:

> Neo-liberalism claims to be for greater freedom, yet all fields of life are subordinated to capital utilisation and in particular to increasing the value of stocks in the financial markets. (p.2)

> The 21st century can be marked by the global development of all peoples and regions in solidarity and peace, by a world society of the free and the equal. Standing in the way of these possibilities on the other hand are the domination and ownership structures of modern capitalism. (p.3)

> Neo-liberal capitalism means dismantling democracy. (p.6)

A spiral of violence is generating more and more readiness to commit terrorist acts, the inhuman response to the arrogance of imperial power and the deep rifts between rich and poor countries. (p.9)

The aims of imperial policy under the leadership of the United States of America are a world totally subordinated to capital exploitation, unhindered access to raw materials and sources of energy, and the expansion of domination and spheres of influence. (p.8)

4.2.7 Summary

The discursive event 'What is the problem' in the second chapter is a coherent part of a whole narrative which informs the reader about the background of the economic crisis and emphasizes societal problems originating from the implementation of neo-liberal policies. The contents of fundamental values such as freedom, democracy or justice are not discussed but they are used to show the inconsistency between them and neo-liberalism. Fear appeals and inconsistencies between fundamental values and actual policy-making are emphasized.

Nominalizations help to create dichotomies such as freedom and domination, development and exploitation, democracy and barbarism. By doing that the reader is tried to be persuaded for an alternative policy. However, there is no information about the alternative policy in this chapter.

The party goes on sharing responsibility with the reader by reminding his/her share in changing the way of politics as a citizen. Die Linke also sees European Union as an opportunity and shares its responsibility with other left wing parties in order to create a joint political action. Besides that, it is possible to see the names of some economic and political actors who are targeted as responsible for ongoing problems.

We also see the use of the phrase 'class struggle' for the first time but this is just one of the emphasized areas so it does not have a determining role as it is seen in classical Marxist political parties.

4.3 Our alternative: Social, democratic and peacemaking reforms to overcome capitalism

Discursive Event 3: What are our solutions?

In this chapter, the main focus is on the alternatives of Die Linke to previously explained problems. Because the main aim of the analysis is to investigate how the party communicates with readers/voters and presents itself on the basis of political discourses rather than focusing on real policy orientations, we will look at the general structure of this chapter by identifying the basic characteristics of it.

4.3.1 Topicality

The section titles in this chapter clearly define the topics and the prelude is a kind of summary which sums up the aims discussed in the subsections in detail. These are:

- Democratisation of society that guarantees equal opportunities for everyone.

- A caring work and business environment.

- An economic democracy that measures all forms of property by social and ecological criteria.

- A new solidarity based on modern public services.

- An international order of peace, collective security and solidarity-based development.

After defining the aims, they are topicalized in eight sections as:

- Gainful work, gainful employment

- Change of course in economic, financial and environmental policy

- Renewal of the welfare state

- Democratisation of democracy

- Gender justice, recognition of diverse forms of cohabitation

- Science, education, media, culture and their contribution to enlightenment and emancipation

- A new start for East Germany and underdeveloped regions of West Germany

- International policy and European Union

4.3.2 Relational Propositions

Evidence and elaboration are the main relational propositions seen in the third chapter. Every section including prelude starts with the definition and elaboration of the

problem. Sometimes evidences are used to show that proposed problem is a real problem. Then solutions are listed as a package. Some examples are:

> The new Left presents the programmatic outlines of a comprehensive social restructuring to end the power of capital utilisation over the economy and society and meet the challenges of the day with an alternative path of development. It is a programme of change in the direction of policy and of the renewal of democracy. (Prelude-Elaboration)

> At the same time, social insecurity, mass unemployment, low wages, extreme dependence and forced subordination are spreading. Work in the home, partnership care, care and upbringing of children and social work are still done mostly by women. The proportion of migrant men and women in poorly paid work is especially high. (Section 1- Evidence)

> The prevailing policy has increased the power of the financial markets, the transnational corporations, market supervision and the large trusts. Five hundred trusts control half the national product of all the world's countries. (Section 2- Evidence)

> In more and more areas of society we note a curtailment of democratic rights, in part by means of international organisations and European institutions. The so-called war on terror is used to dismantle basic and liberty rights. (Section 4- Elaboration)

> The findings of the sciences and the revolution in information and communication technologies have increased the opportunities for development of the individual. Yet science, education, culture and information, specifically in Germany, are not equally accessible to everyone. (Section 6- Elaboration)

Solutionhood always comes after the elaboration part and in a new paragraph.

> In order to achieve this goal of a reorganisation of social life opportunities and work, we are working for curtailment of the power of the financial markets, for a substantial decrease in income and wealth differentials... (Section 1)

> Die Linke stands for the primacy of democratic politics over the economy and for a social and ecological change in the European Union. (Section 2)

> This process has to be reversed. Our foreign and peace policy has its basis in international law, it aspires to global justice and the realisation of human rights and it demands disarmament and the world-wide prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. (Section 8)

Most of the proposed solutions take their legitimacy from law and in that sense it is a revival of already gained rights of citizens. We see a mixture of moral values (especially justice and equality) and lawfulness which constructs the basis of proposed policy solutions.

4.3.3 Coherence and Cohesion

Coherence:

As a part of the whole narrative, third chapter is coherent with other parts of the paper and paragraphs are also coherent with each other. Every section defines a different problem area and the solutions related to this problem.

Some of the linking concepts and implicatures in the chapter can be listed as anti-imperialism, internationalism and euroscepticism. Following paragraphs are related to these implicated concepts:

> Our foreign and peace policy has its basis in internationallaw, it aspires to global justice and the realisation of human rights and it demands disarmament and the world-wide prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. Only social justice, sustainable development and democracy can guarantee stability and peaceful cooperation. (Section 8 – Anti-imperialism)

> The goal of the United Nations Charter, to achieve a world of peace and preservation of human rights, requires further strengthening and democratisation of the UN, more rights for the General Assembly and democratic restructuring of the Security Council. Kidnappings, secret prisons and torture have to be outlawed world-wide. The coordination of international efforts to achieve a just world economic and social order should be in the hands of a democratised and strengthened UN. (Section 8- Internationalism)

> Through their colonial history and the depletion of resources, through neo-liberal policy and militarisation in a whole series of regions of the world, the EU as well is substantially responsible for poverty, civil wars and environmental and ethnic conflicts in those regions. (Section 8- Euroscepticism)

Cohesion:

Solution parts in the beginning of each paragraph also provide cohesion within the chapter. Reiteration 'we' as well as 'Die Linke' is very fre quently used in this chapter as a part of the solutionhood. The party intensively shares its policy orientations and plans with the reader.

> With the method of respectful partnership between our two parties proceeding together towards becoming a new left, we have set a signal for overcoming political and cultural differences between east and west in Germany. (Section 7)

> As a consequence we are drafting a positive equal status policy for women making possible their access to social decision-making without imposing ways of life that they pay for with renunciation of possibilities of personal development. (Section 5)

> We counter the spreading of mistrust and suspicion, especially of Muslims, with a culture of dialogue and cooperation. (Section 4)

> Die Linke stands for development in the direction of the citizen's municipality - with a participatory budget among other things - in which people can themselves decide on and manage their own affairs. (Section 4)

The use of two conjunctions are very functional in the chapter. 'Instead of' and 'rather than' are used in the title of every section to create a dichotomy and stress the policy preference of the party. Some of them are:

> Welfare systems: Security and promotion for everyone instead of compulsion and social division (Section 3) Politics: Venture more democracy instead of authoritarian 'force of circumstance' policy (Sect ion 4)

> Economy and Environment: Strongly committed to public welfare rather than dominated by capital and destructive to the environment (Section 2)

However this structure is a manipulative one in the sense that first part usually stresses the positive and undisputable ideal goals whereas the second part is composed of negative connotations.

4.3.4 Nominalizations

Some of the nouns and nominalizations repetitively used in the text are everybody, equality, discrimination, solidarity, democratization, peace, justice, distribution,

security, democracy. Certain sections are identified with one or two nominalizations more than others. For instance, in the first section 'Work', security and gainful e mployment are the main nominalizations. In the second section 'Economy and Environment', destr uction, taxation and capital yield/capital interest are repetitively used to emphasize the affects of uncontrolled financial markets/trusts and the party's stance to them. Especially the nouns everybody and equality are very frequently used in this chapter. When we combine this with the use of the notion 'justice', we can conclude that the party's orientation to politics of equality is very dominantly stressed in the third chapter along with other related concepts such as opportunity, justice, discrimination and rights.

In the eight section 'International Policy and the European Union', the use of militarization, military intervention, military potential and military bases gives some hints about imperial policies and Die Linke's reaction to them. The link between imperial policies and the role of EU in these policies are provided by the use of nominalizations militarization, depletion as well as noun phrases neo-liberal policy and colonial history. The nominalizations like disarmament, prohibition (of all weapons), prevention (of civil conflicts), resolution, restoration, democratization and coordination symbolizes the policy preferences of the party against intervention, deployment, aggression and violation which carry negative connotations.

4.3.5 Metaphorizations

In the third chapter, it is possible to see two metaphorizations.

> Tax loopholes that mostly benefit the wealthy and big earners have to be rigorously closed and white-collar crime has to be combated more energetically. (Section 2)

In the metaphor white-collar crime, crime helps to intensify the meaning and evokes the emotions of the reader. Especially if we consider the decisiveness of middle-class citizens in elections, this metaphor is an effective one which tries to emphasize the decreasing wealth of middle-class people in Germany and targets big bourgeoisie as the committer of the 'crime' for implementing market based neo-liberal policies.

> Today more than ever before, gainful work is caught up in a tug of war between the drive for self-realisation on the one hand and exploitation and insecurity on the other. (Section 1)

In this sentence the metaphor tug of war creates and intensifies the dichotomy between self-realization (as a result of democratic socialism) and insecurity (as a result of neo-liberalism).

It both evokes emotions and tries to convince the reader that a compromise between two ways is impossible. Hence, the ones who want to get a gainful work should make a decision.

4.3.6 Instruments of Handling Responsibility

As a general tendency seen in the overall paper, the party blames neo-liberal policies and financial markets for not being responsible and suggests itself as an alternative. It is interesting that Die Linke does not use the name of the other parties directly or indirectly in order to question policy making.

Rather, they prefer to accuse transnational trusts, financial markets and USA partially. When it comes to criticism of current policy making, mostly passive structures are used. While talking about policy orientations and suggestions, the 'we-structure' is frequently seen in the text.

4.3.7 Techniques of Persuasion

Black-white perception of the world, source credibility and fear appeals are the main characteristics of persuasion in the third chapter. Some examples of these techniques that we see in the text are:

> Today more than ever before, gainful work is caught up in a tug of war between the drive for self-realisation on the one hand and exploitation and insecurity on the other. (Section 1) (Black-white perception)

> Neo-liberal strategies subordinate these potentials to locational competition and the dictates of self-marketing. They are banking on knowledge that will pay off in the short term rather than comprehensive education. This perspective limits the possibilities of getting an education. (Section 6) (Fear Appeal)

> The right to education free of charge belongs in the Basic Law. (Section 6) (Source credibility)

Sometimes numbers are given to persuade the reader. These numbers both help to create credibility for the party and to show the extent of problem to the addresee.

> World-wide arms spending has risen to over 1,000 billion dollars. (Section 8)

> Government investments and other expenditures in education, research, culture, ecological restructuring and public infrastructure must be increased by at least 40 billion Euro a year. One million jobs at Standard wages could be created in that way. (Section 2)

4.3.8 Summary

In the third chapter, political alternatives of Die Linke to the current policy making are structurally summarized as the discursive event 'What are our solutions'. While doing that, elaborations are widely used to discuss the core of the problem. Solutions are generally macro-scaled and technical details are not discussed. It is possible to realize the will of creating dichotomies in order to convince the addresee. Black-white perception of the world and fear appeals help to achieve this aim.

One of the important property of this chapter is the ongoing use of legal obligations and rights. Die Linke finds the Basic Law compatible with the main premises of democratic socialism and therefore does not develop a full-fledged critique to the whole capitalist system including legal authority. Rather, they prefer to critize certain kind of practice of capitalism, which is neo-liberalism.

Although property and power relations of capitalist system is discussed in a fundamental way, the peacemaking reforms are foreseen to overcome capitalism. The verb 'overcome' is meaningful in that sense because it both sounds radical but signals the process at the same time.

Implicatures and linking concepts give some clues about the policy orientations of the party which are not directly expressed. Anti-imperialist, internationalist and eurosceptic tendencies are observable especially in the eighth section. The party also emphasizes anti-racism, environmentalism and gender equality repetitively in different sections.

4.4 For a Change of Direction

Discursive Event 4: What are our strategic preferences?

The fourth chapter tries to summarize the strategic objectives of the party. There is a prelude explaining the possibility of change by indicating electoral success of the left and resistance movements against neo-liberalism.

4.4.1 Topicality

The topics and comments pointed out in the remaining nine paragraphs are summarized below:

p.2 Confronting the ideology of neoliberalism

p.3 Conditions for resisting neo-liberalism, importance of alliances p.4 Movements to cooperate, Die Linke's role in forming alliances

p.5 Die Linke's role in forming a broad-based movement, strategic roles of elections and political struggles, obligation of state and federal parliaments to be transparent

p.6 Social protest, development of alternatives and entitlement to shape policy

p.7 Meaning of participation in government and Die Linke's preconditions for participation in government

p.8 Conditions for forming parliamentary alliances with other political forces, importance of policy making in federal level

p.9 Function of European Left and Die Linke's participation in it p.10 Macro policy orientations of Die Linke

4.4.2 Relational Propositions

The main relational propositions used in the chapter are:

Evidence:

So far, the neo-liberal zeitgeist still prevails. Strikes against workplace reductions, demonstrations against Agenda 2010 and Hartz IV, and electoral successes of the left show that it does not have to remain that way. Citizens are beginning to resist. (p.1)

Cause:

We see the economic and social problems primarily as the result of false, neo-liberal-inspired answers to the new challenges under the influence of capital interests and as an expression of crisis processes and inconsistencies generated by the capitalist economy. (p.2)

Condition:

It will only be possible to resist the influence of neo-liberalism if a broad alliance and broad-based political movement for a shift in direction is formed in our society. (p.3)

It will only be possible to change the social balance of forces if the political Left together with strong forces of the trade unions, globalisation-critical and other social movements take an active stand, together with socio-critical initiatives and progressive representatives of science and culture, against neo-liberalism and all oppressive relationships in society. (p.4)

This is (participation in government) for Die Linke a means of political action and shaping of society if the prerequisites are given and if Die Linke distinguishes itself publicly in a recognisable manner with alternative left projects. (p.7)

We enter into such alliances only when it furthers the shift in political direction that we aspire to. (p.8)

Elaboration:

Decisive for having a shift in policy implemented, however, is the federal level. It is there that most of the requisite competences lie and the course is set in most cases. (p.8)

The Party of the European Left is a new factor in the political life of Europe. Like our party in Germany, it is a step towards the unification of the left and offers an opportunity to get together and shift the balance of power towards a social, democratic and peaceful Europe. (p.9)

Use of conditional propositions are seem to be dominant in ten paragraphs. This is because the party wants to be clear in its policy preferences and therefore sets some preconditions for forming alliances or participating in government.

4.4.3 Coherence and Cohesion

Coherence:

There is a sequence in narration which first implies the necessity of forming alliances in order to confront the ideology of neo-liberalism. And then some preconditions are represented in order to clarify the policy preferences of the party. These conditional propositions also function as syllogistic structures which help to provide coherence. (See above) Utility is a linking concept which discloses itself in the fifth paragraph:

> Political struggles and elections are used by us to advocate our alternative reform projects and gain majorities for their implementation. We shall organise our parliamentary work in such a way that it serves the purpose of cooperation

with extra-parliamentary forces of the Left, publicity for our own reform proposals and the introduction of alternative legislation, transparency of political processes, investigation of the abuse of political power, the development of new social power relationships and political majorities. (P.5)

Here we see that parliamentarism is seen as an utility for making propoganda and gaining popular support for policy proposals as well as creating cooperation with extra-parliamentary forces of the Left. In that sense it is implied that parliamentary work is one of the platforms of overall political struggle rather than the ultimate goal for the political party.

Cohesion:

Although whole text can be considered as coherent, it is not possible to say that there is cohesion between paragraphs. That is because every paragraph points out a different topic. But cohesion is provided within the paragraphs by using anaphoric references, reiterations and conjunctions.

Anaphoric references used in the chapter are:

Die Linke will bring together social protest, the struggle for social improvements and the development of reform alternatives under the given capitalist conditions and the shaping of development paths that lead beyond the present society. None of those three aspects can be neglected in favour of the others. (p.6)

The yardsticks for participation in governments are the improvement of the situation of disadvantaged persons and reinforcement of political co-determination and the implementation of alternative projects and reform plans. It must promote a shift in the balance of forces to the left and the start of a change in policy. (p.7)

Decisive for having a shift in policy implemented, however, is the federal level. It is there that most of the requisite competences lie and the course is set in most cases. (p8)

The Party of the European Left is a new factor in the political life of Europe. Like our party in Germany, it is a step towards the unification of the left and offers an opportunity to get together and shift the balance of power towards a social, democratic and peaceful Europe. (p.10)

Reiterations that create cohesion within the paragraphs are:

Neo-liberal (p.2), alliances (p.3), movements (p.4), political (p.5), development (p.6), public (p.7), political action (p.8), in which (p.10).

Main conjunctions in the chapter are if only, in which and however.

> It will only be possible to resist the influence of neo-liberalism if a broad alliance and broad-based political movement for a shift in direction is formed in our society. (p.3)

> We want to create a world in which the dignity of each and every person is really inviolable, in which social justice, freedom and self-determination, democracy and peace are united, in which human beings live in harmony with nature. (p.10)

> However, DIE LINKE will enter into coalitions with other political parties only if it can do so without compromising its principles. (p.7)

4.4.4 Metaphorizations

Three metaphors used in the text are:

So far, the neo-liberal zeitgeist still prevails. (P.1)

> Die Linke –whether in government or not – is strong only to the extent that it is anchored in the society and receives the support of the society. (P.7)

> Together we fight to ensure that capitalism is not the last word in the history books. (P.10)

The first metaphor symbolizes whole neo-liberal system with its implementations and effects on the society. It intensifies the meaning and makes the reader conscious about the intense influence of neo-liberalism on people.

In the second sentence, the metaphor 'anchor' is us ed for expressing strong organic relationship between the party and society. It both intensifies the meaning and evokes emotions of the reader.

The third metaphor 'the last word' refers to the ca pitalism as an ultimate economic and sociopolitical system which is not desired and could be 'fought'. Hence, the party reminds us that humanity could write its own history and capitalism is just a path among others which could be changed.

4.4.5 Nominalizations

Like in other chapters, enlightenment, dignity, social justice, democracy, peace, freedom, self-determination, improvement and development are the nominalizations which point out shared value orientations.

Nominalizations like cooperation, alliance, movement, unification and opportunity emphasize the search of Die Linke for a broad-based coalition with other social forces. In fact, fourth chapter is mainly designed to express the necessity and conditions of these strategic alliances.

4.4.6 Instruments of Handling Responsibility

In this chapter, Die Linke emphasizes the importance of broad social alliances. These alliances are set as the preconditions for fighting and overcoming neo-liberalism and capitalism. By doing that, the party takes the responsibility of getting these separate groups together but also emphasizes that it is the only way to achieve common political goals.

> It will only be possible to resist the influence of neo-liberalism if a broad alliance and broad-based political movement for a shift in direction is formed in our society. (P.3)

> It will only be possible to change the social balance of forces if the political Left together with strong forces of the trade unions, globalisation-critical and other social movements take an active stand, together with socio-critical initiatives and progressive representatives of science and culture, against neo-liberalism and all oppressive relationships in society. (P.4)

> We want to contribute to a social alliance that brings together highly qualified workers and core personnel as well as those in precarious and part-time jobs, plus unemployed and self-employed persons and socially oriented entrepreneurs. (P.3)

> gether we fight to ensure that capitalism is not the last word in the history books. (P.10)

Passive voices are not frequently used. Instead, the personal pronoun 'we' is extensively used in the text. Nearly every paragraph includes 'we' s tructure as a sign of agentive plurality and strong leadership.

4.4.7 Techniques of Persuasion

The fourth chapter rarely uses techniques of persuasion. One of them is to create consistency between reader's and persuader's goals by using com mon value orientations.

> We want to create a world in which the dignity of each and every person is really inviolable, in which social justice, freedom and self-determination, democracy and peace are united, in which human beings live in harmony with nature. (P.10)

> At the same time we stand for a new political style of transparency, social dialogue and direct participation of the citizenry. (P.8)

> Like our party in Germany, it is a step towards the unification of the left and offers an opportunity to get together and shift the balance of power towards a social, democratic and peaceful Europe. (P.9)

Another way of persuasion in the text is 'hearer's share' which tries to gain the support of the reader by sharing the responsibility and calling for action.

> Together we fight to ensure that capitalism is not the last word in the history books. (P.10)

4.4.8 Summary

In the last chapter, the main aim is to proclaim the main policy preferences of the political party as a discursive event. Because of this, the main relational propositions are conditional ones and they underline the priorities of Die Linke.

It is clearly stated that they oppose the privatisation of welfare services and the curtailment of social benefits. These two principles are put as a precondition for forming coalitions with other parties.

Another point emphasized in the chapter is the importance of forming social alliances both with different segments of society and extra-parliamentary forces of the left to resist the influence of neo-liberalism. Nominalizations like cooperation, alliance, movement, unification and opportunity help to give that message.

Metaphors are both used to intensify the effects of neo-liberalism (neo-liberal zeitgeist) and to show that it can be changed by people (to ensure that capitalism is not the last word).

Like in other chapters, moderate discourses about capitalism and neo-liberalism (e.g. to resist the effects of neo-liberalism) go hand in hand with more assertive ones (e.g. overcoming capitalism)

It is possible to say that the chapter is coherent with other chapters and within itself but there is not strong cohesion between the paragraphs. This can be a result of the attempt to include many different topics into a limited space. However, all separate topics are related to the each other by labeling them as the by-products of neo-liberalism.

Another important issue realized in the chapter is Die Linke's evaluation of parliamentarism. Although it is not very clearly stated, the party sees parliamentarism as one of the spheres of making politics and give special importance to extra-parliamentary forces of the left.

Persuasion strategies are rarely used and general value orientations are stressed again to create a consistency between voters and the party. By indicating the necessity of alliances, the party shares the responsibility with other social forces but also represents itself as the main actor of change by the extensive use of 'we structure' which is a sign of strong leadership.

5. The Outcomes and Effects

In this chapter the main aim is to share the main characteristics of the party discourses deriving from the analysis of the Key Programmatic Points Paper which provides the basis for a prospective party programme. By doing that, we would be able to see the policy preferences, self-representation traits and value orientations of the party and discuss the possible effects of these discourses on the public debate.

The Key Programmatic Points Paper is a highly structured text composed of four chapters and a postscript. Every chapter has different but interrelated discursive events (Who are we, what is the problem, what are our solutions and what are our strategic preferences) which construct together the main discourse which is 'we - as a new and legitimate political actor - are ready to take responsibility for an alternative policy'.

Considering the analysis, it is possible to characterize the party discourse in some points. These are listed and elaborated below:

1. There are contradictory discourses about capitalism. In some parts of the text capitalism is depicted as an ultimate target which should be fought and overcome. In these parts, the necessity of creating a new world, being against the profit derived economies, overcoming capitalist property are pointed out. However, these anti-capitalist discourse goes hand in hand with a more conciliatory discourse which proposes reforming capitalism, sustainable business management and curtailment of the power of the financial markets. Especially when it comes to propose an alternative policy, this second tendency becomes the dominant one.

2. This second tendency of conciliation with capitalism discloses itself with the depiction of neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism, neo-liberal capitalism, capital oriented neo-liberalisation are different forms of use and seems to be the main target of criticism. It is shown as the source of all societal problems and supersede the anti-capitalist discourse throughout the text.

3. In relation to second point, it is possible to say that Die Linke does not represent a revolutionary understanding of Marxism and socialism. In the first chapter, the reformist character of the party is clearly stated. Even the statement 'overcoming capitalism' seems to be radical at first glance but refers to a long lasting process of change. Democratic socialism is justified and harmonized with the liberal notions of freedom, liberty, rule of law and individual rights. The delegitimization of neo-liberalism is done by showing its inconsistency with these notions. Policy proposals of the party are limited to the current political and economic system and sometimes they are justified by the regulations of the Basic Law. However, when we look at the argumentation structure, economic determinism is visible and in that sense it is consistent with the main premises of classical Marxism.

4. It is also interesting that the party has a tendency to see itself not just as a governing party but also as a social and political force which controls and questions parliamentary operations as well as mobilizes people for a change of policy. This mission is clearly stated in the fourth chapter under the point 'extra-parliamentary and parliamentary work'. There, it points out the importance of extra-parliamentary work to achieve a broad-based alliance and use of parliament to spread the alternative reform projects of the party. In the

same chapter, conditions for a possible coalition are stressed by the 'only if' conjunction. This sho ws us the strict policy preferences of the party and the role of Die Linke as a catalyst or inhibitor in the German political system rather than articulating and limiting itself to the parliamentary work.

5. Anti-imperialist and Eurosceptic thoughts are observed in the text. Instead of the word 'imperialism', the phrases like 'imperial policy', 'imperial wars' and 'imperial power'are used and they are related to neo-liberal policies. Especially in the second chapter, EU and NATO are indirectly accused of supporting imperial policies. The USA are targeted as the leading imperial actor. More to that, EU's responsibility for poverty, civil wars and environmental as well as ethnic conflicts in other regions of the world is stressed. The European Union is seen as a new sphere to struggle against neo-liberal policies but already existing orientations and policies of EU are strongly criticized.

6. However, this does not directly mean that Die Linke is a nationalist party. The discourse of internationalism is noticeable in the text. While racism and nationalism are mentioned together, the EU is seen as an opportunity to fight against both. The topics like capitalist property relations, division of labour, law, peace, justice and neo-fascism are handled with an international perspective. It is not possible to see discourses which praise, prioritize or defense Germany and the language used to describe today's Germany is far from being emotional. Especially, the scarce of metaphorizations in the whole text supports this claim.

7. Non-frequent class orientation is another important feature of the text. While the words 'classes' and 'class' are used six times in t he whole text, the phrase 'class struggle' is used only once. Even it is used, it is just an issue among other policy orientations. In that sense, we can clearly state that Die Linke does not base its political strategy on a working class movement.

8. Die Linke's effort to legitimize itself as a new political actor is very obvious. The first chapter is structured to serve that aim. This effort at the same time is integrated with the support of democratic socialism. While the party identifies itself with universal value orientations like freedom, democracy, human rights and equality, the contingency of democratic socialism with these values is tried to be proved. In that sense, the first chapter could also be considered as a

didactic narrative which tries to persuade the reader that a) Die Linke is a new party b) Die Linke's ideological framework is democratic socialism c) Democratic socialism is a humane ideology which suits to the fundamental values of people.

9. Nevertheless, it would not be true to say that Die Linke totally rejects the past practices of the left and GDR. Rather, the discourse of assessment is observable especially in the first chapter. The assessment of the past means evaluating the positive and negative aspects of the previously implemented policies without any presumptions to which Die Linke calls 'anti-communist prejudices' and 'one-sided judgements'.

10. The importance of regionality becomes also obvious especially in the third chapter. In this chapter, there is a special section on East Germany in which the party underlies its continuous responsibility for defending East German interests even if the party is anchored both in the East and the West. This is not to say that Die Linke is a regional party but it has a strong focus on regionality. We can say that the discourse of defending East German interests presumes and implies that a) being an East German symbolizes more than a regional difference and b) social and economic policies in the unified Germany are offending and can offend East German interests so they should be defended. This can be interpreted as a strategy which tries to keep the East German identity awake (an identity which starts with regional belonging but also embraces social, cultural and economic heredity of the past) by putting emphasis on discrepancies between two regions/identities. It seems that if the party can not find suitable maneouvre areas for an embracing political discourse in the national level, the tendency to play the regionality card and acting like a regional party is too likely.

11. When we look at the party's value orientations, we see a strong emphasis on equality. Although freedom is always mentioned before equality syntactically, the frequence of equality (28) is more than freedom (19). If we look at the narrative, the problem of inequality which restricts freedoms is emphasized more although it is said that the two affect each other reciprocally. In the first chapter for instance, the outcomes of freedom without equality elaborated in a more detailed manner than the outcomes of equality without freedom, the restricting character of economic oppression on freedom is emphasized and it is

linked to the main premise of democratic socialism which is overcoming capitalism.

12. The party has an ideological stance in the sense that it supports democratic socialism and the left politics. The frequent usage of anti-capitalist discourse reduces its chances to attract voters with different ideological views and makes the impression of a radical party. This negative impression can be easily exploited by the political opponents and 'the extremist party' discourse is used as a counte r-strategy.

13. Throughout the text, the target of criticism is sometimes unclear. Especially this trend shows itself in the public policy debates. In these parts, passive voices are frequently used and neo-liberal policies as well as global capitalism are accused for societal problems. However, ruling parties and other national actors who implement or support these policies are not mentioned. So, we can not see the 'negative other representation' strategy which was expected in the beginning of analysis. This is the 'masking' strategy, which in this context serves to blur the relation between the action and the actor who is responsible for the outcomes of the indicated action. That kind of strategy is implemented to mask the internal political actors and the global dynamics which shape their policy preferences. Die Linke probably uses this strategy not to be labeled as an anti-system party because deciphering the relations between political actors and the global capital necessitates a very critical stance questioning the power and structure of the capital, its influence on whole political system and the legitimacy of the political system relatedly. More to that, if they would depict such an anti-system and extremist party picture, they could also lose the support of politically moderate (not situated in the extreme right and left) voters.

These outcomes totally overlap with Thompson's evaluations that we have mentioned earlier. (Thompson 2009). Focusing on anti-capitalism and neo-liberalism is the main strategy because the number of people who are disaffected by the outcomes of neo-liberal policies are increasing. Offering social justice instead of neo-liberal policies makes sense because this discourse is vague and therefore enables the party to unite people from different social and political backgrounds. When we consider the changing character of the labour market which undermined the traditional role of heavy

industry, Die Linke's unwillingness to use the words 'class' and 'class struggle' could be better unders tood. Besides working class, different segments of society like unemployed, pensioners or intellectuals are the potential targets of political propaganda.

Contradicting and intertwined discourses are very common in the text. In some parts, several concerns like rights of women and environmentalism are mentioned together noncohesively. In addition to that contradicting opinions about crucial topics are presented. Radical and moderate discourses about capitalism, defensive and critical stances towards GDR rule, the use of class struggle with emphasis on new social movements are some of them. One of the reasons for this could be the heterogeneity of the party structure. As Nachtwey points out, the different components which formed Die Linke are reflected within its federal and pluralistic structure. The party is fragmented into various tendencies and groups such as the Forum for Democratic Socialism, the Anti-capitalist Left, the Socialist Left and the Communist Platform (Nachtwey 2009). Because different groups from different ideological and social backgrounds form the party, it could be expected that this heterogeneity reflects to the discourses.

The on-going criticism about being the successor SED and supporter of the socialist rule in GDR seems to be another factor which affects Die Linke discourses in a negative way since the establishment of PDS. The party always has to prove that it does not have extremist tendencies or it is not under the influence of old SED cadres. This reality always necessitates to defend and justify its position rather than elaborating on opponent's position.

After defining the main characteristics of the party discourses and possible sociopolitical reasons shaping them, it would be also beneficial to indicate some changes in the political and social sphere in which political discourses also played a role.

According to Solty, one of the significant changes which is affected by Die Linke's discourses is a shift of discourse in public debate. Topics like minimum wage, underclass and social justice are discussed more intensively. (Solty 2007). This means the general political discourse shifted to the left.

Solty shares the results of a poll in order to show how the policy preferences of Die Linke expanded into the public debate and influenced people. According to the poll of Die Zeit in 2007: 68% of the population favored the introduction of a minimum wage demanded by Die Linke, 82% of SPD supporters, 80% of CDU supporters and even 71% of FDP supporters were in favor of rescinding the 'Pension at Age 67' bill recently introduced by the grand coalition, 76% of Die Linke, 72% of SPD and 71% of CDU supporters and even 57% of the supporters of the free market FDP liberal party were opposed to (further) deregulations and privatizations and in favor of keeping under national control the key infrastructural sectors of the economy such as telecommunications (Deutsche Telekom), postal services(Deutsche Post), the railway (Deutsche Bahn) and the energy providers, 72% of the population argued that the government was not doing enough to establish social justice, 46% of the population think that the power of the labour unions is rather too weak, 64% of the population opposes the war in Afghanistan, A large majority of the population wants more expenditure in the field of public childcare facilities (including two-thirds of CDU and even 82% of FDP supporters) (Solty 2007: 19).

The outcomes of the analysis also show that there is a strong emphasis on issues like work, unemployment, social justice and equality. These key concepts of the left are expanded to the whole text and elaborated as crucial problems which would affect the majority of the society.

Another sign of shifting discourses is the need for discursive change in the opponent political parties. According to Solty, the SPD is responding to the rise of Die Linke with double strategies. One of them is to appropriate the rhetoric and demands including minimum wage or reduced public transport tickets for the needy and the other one is to nominate leftists as top candidates in two Western federal states. On the whole, it is possible to observe the increasing use of leftist discourses in SPD and beyond (Solty 2007).

Likewise, the Greens have to adopt a new language according to the new political conjuncture because Die Linke also covers environmental issues and links them to a wider policy orientations. If we consider the primary discussions in German politics such as job market, social benefits and the restructuring of welfare state, the single policy orientation would not be enough to attract voters from different social

backgrounds in the medium and long-term. Blühdorn also draws attention to this problem by saying that:

'Thus, whilst the 'alternatives' of the 1970s and 1 980s self-confidently believed in their own resources and their own networks and institutions, the contemporary underclass is directly competing for the resources claimed by the mainstream from which they are excluded. As victims of the 'political economy of uncertainty', they are longing, in both material and non-material terms, for protection, certainty and guidance rather than independence, flexibility and self determination. Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, however, neither offers the clear-cut normative truths required to cope with the complexities and pitfalls of 'liquid modernity' nor holds out unambiguous promises of material provision and inclusion into the consumer culture' (Blühdorn 2009:14).

Although it is too early to say that Die Linke succeeded in creating a counter-hegemonic discourse in politics, this is obvious that they manage to disturb the hegemony of neo-liberal policy orientations by challenging already established discourses in the public debate. One of them is 'imperial wars' and their relation to neo-l iberalism. Especially, the war in Afghanistan is now widely discussed in the society and the political parties became more sensitive about their policy proposals on the issue. Two thirds of the German citizens opposing to the war in Afghanistan proves that the on-going Afghanistan policy of Germany lacks legitimacy in the eyes of people (Kurbjuweit 2010). Despite the fact that the decisiveness of public opinion on policy making in Afghanistan is very debatable, it is still possible to say that Die Linke's discourses about the war in Afghanistan created a certain level of public incovenience and interrogation.

It is also possible that political discourses of Die Linke which are christalized in the Key Programmatic Points Paper could have a positive impact on the perception of socialism among citizens. Two different surveys of Der Spiegel and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung indicate that a majority of the people in Germany see socialism as a good idea which was applied badly (Solty 2007: 20). In addition to that, a new Spiegel article published in 2010 also states that 80% of East Germans and 72% of West Germans could imagine themselves living in a socialist state (2007: 20).

In short, we can say that the political struggle between different actors also reflects to the use of language and Die Linke is also a part of this struggle. What makes Die Linke discourses peculiar is their multi-faceted character. While communicating with voters,

party members and the state, Die Linke should consider many different dynamics and persuade the audience in several ways. It should not stay as a regional party but it should also use regionality to keep the traditional support of eastern states alive. It should not be too radical in order not to be excluded from the political system but it should also use radical and provoking discourses in order to differentiate itself from other left-wing parties, especially from SPD. It should not lose the support of working class people and therefore stick to economic principles but it should also cover potential voters from different social and economic backgrounds with its discourses. This tension is clearly seen in the text and it also gives us ideas about the ideological and programmatic development of the party. The electoral success of the party shows that it has succeeded to realize this difficult mission to some extent and the strategic use of language has an important role.

6. Concluding Remarks

The main aim of this study was to show that and how the political discourses of Die Linke are also part of party's political strategy and contribute to its electoral gains. Besides already existing literature focusing on economic and political conjunctures which paved the way to the rise of Die Linke, we added another dimension to the analysis namely, the role of language. While doing that, the main motive was to see the language both as a determining and a determinated component of social life. For our analysis, this means we have to examine in which sociopolitical conditions the party discourses are constructed and utilized as a strategy as well as what kind of impacts these discourses could have on social and political life.

To achieve this purpose, the 'Key Programmatic Points Paper' was selected for a textual analysis. It was written by WASG and Linkspartei.PDS cadres and presented as a common ground established between two political parties in 2007. This text serves as a base for the prospective party programme of Die Linke and represents the main shared concerns about major issues in a structured way. Therefore, it was more suitable for an analysis than other text genres such as newspaper articles, parliamentary debates or newsletters.

After choosing the text, we applied Piotr Cap's analytical categories which were developed for inaugural speeches in order to make a bottom-up analysis of the party discourses. Every section was investigated individually and the main strategical uses as

well as the characteristics of the party discourses were exposed. While doing that, the historical background of the party as well as the changing character of the political context due to external political discourses are both considered in order to show the dialectical relationship between language and social life. We saw that past experiences and organizational structure of the party sometimes limit the strategy-making ability of the party. The continuous effort to explain the position of the self rather than focusing on political opponents is the most prominent sign of that kind of limit. At the same time, we also observed that the party tries to use new counter-discursive strategies to exceed these limits, such as the GDR experience, the on-going relations with SED and Stasi (GDR secret service) members, the changing character of class affairs and the voter profile were some of the factors which enforce Die Linke to defend and explain itself as well as its ideological concerns intensively rather than focusing on political opponents.

However, the strategies of focusing on one common enemy, using contradictory discourses, elaborating and redefining notions all help the party to situate itself in the political spectrum as a socialist reformist political party with internationalist, anti-imperialist and Eurosceptic tendencies. In that sense, it is not possible to call Die Linke an extremist, populist, nationalist or a regional party if we stick to the outcomes of this analysis.

Nevertheless, it would be necessary to indicate that it is not possible to make a full-fledged analysis of the party just by focusing on the outcomes of one publication although it is a crucial one which forms the basis of the prospective party program. This research contributes to our understanding of political actors but it would be more helpful if the outcomes of this study are compared with other studies and supported with the analysis of different text genres such as newspaper articles, newsletters, parliamentary debates and debates on tv.

Methodologically, there is not a single way of analysing the texts. Because the categories used in this research are developed for inaugural speeches, the categories sometimes did not completely fit into the structure of the text or some other useful tools and concepts for analysis were set aside to provide consistency. In order to overcome this problem, unique sets of concepts can be developed for the analysis of party programmes in the future. If these new categories could be conceptualized and applied to the party programmes, it would be possible to define the main discursive

traits in the texts and thereby contribute to the prospective political discourse theory which has not been written yet.

The scope of this study could be expanded to other party discourses, especially to the ruling right-wing parties. This is crucial because it could be hypothesized and tested if the ruling parties are more tended to use discursive strategies in a manipulative way in order to persuade the society so that they could stay in power. The comparative analysis of political discourses could give us some insights about the dynamics of political communication and could help to figure out how far KPPP is a reaction to a specific political climate and to specific power relations at the time of being written or a response to other parties discourses at that time.

For the democracy studies, language in politics also plays a crucial role because of its capacity to determine the flow of discussion about societal problems and to create public opinion. Therefore, the outcomes of these kind of studies could be compared with different national contexts in order to expose the differences between the political actors and the debates about democratization processes could be deepened by adding the communicative tools into the discussion.

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