

Advances in Political Science

Comparative Political Finance in the 1980s

This book, the first from Cambridge in the series Advances in Political Science, concerns the financing of politics, political parties, candidates and elections in eleven countries. It contains case studies of individual countries, various country-by-country comparisons, and a conceptual framework enabling the reader to understand the context of financial sources and implications of funding sources. All the chapters demonstrate the problems common to democracies seeking to regulate uses and abuses of money in politics in pluralistic societies in which there are numerous openings for political disbursements; many present themes emphasizing forms of public funding (alternatively called state aid in some countries) in which governments assist parties or candidates to subsist and compete. Professor Alexander has assembled a distinguished international team of contributors to present this first major appraisal of such a vital aspect of democratic practice for nearly twenty years.



Advances in Political Science: An International Series reflects the aims and intellectual traditions of the International Political Science Association: the generation and dissemination of rigorous political inquiry free of any subdisciplinarity or other orthodoxy. Along with its quarterly companion publication, the International Political Science Review, the series seeks to present the best work being done today (1) on the central and critical controversial themes of politics and/or (2) in new areas of inquiry where political scientists, alone or in conjunction with other scholars, are shaping innovative concepts and methodologies of political science.

Political science as an intellectual discipline has burgeoned in recent decades. With the enormous growth in the number of publications and papers and their increasing sophistication, however, has also come a tendency toward parochialism along national, subdisciplinary, and other lines. It was to counteract these tendencies that political scientists from a handful of countries created IPSA in 1949. Through roundtables organized by its research committees and study groups, at its triennial world congresses (the next of which takes place in summer 1991 in Buenos Aires, Argentina), and through its organizational work, IPSA has sought to encourage the creation of both an international-minded science of politics and a body of scholars from many nations (now from more than 40 regional associations), who approach their research and interactions with other scholars from an international perspective.

Comparative Political Finance in the 1980s, edited by Herbert E. Alexander, is the seventh volume in Advances in Political Science: An International Series. Like its predecessors, it comprises original papers which focus in an integrated manner on a single important topic – in this case, how eleven countries finance their politics, political parties, candidates, and elections. Originally presented at meetings of the IPSA Research Committee on Political Finance and Political Corruption, the volume taps the vast intellectual resources of political scientists linked to the International Political Science Association.

Richard L. Merritt, Editor, Advances in Political Science



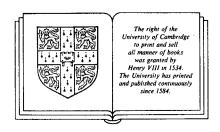
Comparative Political Finance in the 1980s

EDITED BY

HERBERT E. ALEXANDER

Citizens' Research Foundation University of Southern California

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF JOEL FEDERMAN



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521102483

© Cambridge University Press 1989

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1989
This digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Comparative political finance in the 1980s/edited by Herbert E.

Alexander with the assistance of Joel Federman.

p. cm. – (Advances in political science)
Includes index.

ISBN 0 521 36464 7

 Campaign funds.
 Comparative government.
 I. Alexander, Herbert E.
 II. Federman, Joel.
 III. series.
 JF2112.C28C64 1989

324.7'8-dc19 88-29938 CIP

ISBN 978-0-521-36464-5 hardback ISBN 978-0-521-10248-3 paperback



> Dedicated to the memory of Khayyam Zev Paltiel, a respected and beloved student of political finance, who gave selflessly to the work of the Research Committee on Political Finance and Political Corruption, and to the development of this book.



Contents

	Preface and acknowledgements List of contributors Introduction	<i>page</i> ix xi 1
1	Money and politics: rethinking a conceptual framework HERBERT E. ALEXANDER	9
2	Trends in British political funding, 1979–84 MICHAEL PINTO-DUSCHINSKY	24
3	Canadian election expense legislation, 1963-85: a critical appraisal or was the effort worth it? KHAYYAM ZEV PALTIEL	51
4	Public funding of elections in Australia ERNEST A. CHAPLES	76
5	American presidential elections since public funding, 1976–84 HERBERT E. ALEXANDER	95
6	Party financing in Israel: experience and experimentation, 1968–85 JONATHAN MENDILOW	124
7	Public financing of parties in Italy GIAN FRANCO CIAURRO	153
8	Financing of Spanish political parties PILAR DEL CASTILLO	172
9	The "modesty" of Dutch party finance	200



viii	CONTENTS	
10	The new German system of party funding: the Presidential committe report of 1983 and its	220
	realization HANS-PETER SCHNEIDER	220
11	Structure and impact of public subsidies to political parties in Europe: the examples of Austria, Italy,	
	Sweden and West Germany KARL-HEINZ NASSMACHER	236
	Index	268



Preface and acknowledgements

This book emerged as a product of several meetings of the Research Committee on Political Finance and Political Corruption of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), including those at Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, Oxford, and the 1985 IPSA Convention in Paris. The Research Committee is a network of scholars interested in aspects of the financing of politics in their own countries, countries they study, and on a comparative basis. The Committee is similarly interested in political corruption in all its manifestations. While this text deals only with issues of political finance, the Committee hopes to publish a volume on political corruption in the near future.

Many people contributed their talents and energies to the creation of this volume. Among them, I am happy to give special acknowledgement to Joel Federman, Research Assistant at the Citizens' Research Foundation and a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at the University of Southern California. Joel managed the project from its inception, contributed greatly to the editing of each chapter, drafted the introduction and, not least, suggested the title for the volume. His invaluable contribution is also given recognition on the title page.

I am grateful to each of the chapter authors, who met every deadline with aplomb despite the often-great disadvantages of distance. Also greatly appreciated is the patience and cooperation of the IPSA series editors, Richard Merritt, John Trent and Jean A. Laponce, and of Michael Holdsworth, our editor at Cambridge University Press.

Several people contributed information for the public financing inception dates table in Chapter one. Particularly helpful were Mr. Wang at the Consulate General of Brazil in Los Angeles; Mr. Hazar at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Morris at the Colombian Embassy in Washington, D.C.; Roy Pierce at the University of Michigan with



X PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

information concerning French public financing and Henry Wells with information about Costa Rican and Venezuelan public funding.

Klauss Klott, a graduate student in the German Department at USC, helped to edit the footnotes in the Schneider and Nassmacher chapters.

Barbara Sanchez typed the first draft and early revisions to the text and Annie Tran typed the final changes to the manuscript; each did their part quickly, ably and with a smile.

Gloria Cornette, CRF's assistant director, coordinated the transfer of the text onto computer files and provided technical expertise and moral support at every stage of the manuscript's development. For all who worked on the project, Gloria's encouragement has been especially appreciated.

None of those who were so helpful is responsible for errors of omission or commission; for those, as for interpretations, I bear sole responsibility.

I always appreciate the cooperation and encouragement received from officers and members of the board of trustees of the Citizens' Research Foundation and of my colleagues at the University of Southern California, but the presentation is mine and does not reflect their views.

Without the contributions of numerous supporters of the Citizens' Research Foundation, this study would not have been possible.



Contributors

HERBERT E. ALEXANDER is Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern California and Director of the Citizens' Research Foundation. He has taught at Princeton University, Yale University, and the University of Pennsylvania. In 1961–1962 he was executive director of the President's Commission on Campaign Costs and has been a consultant to various levels of government in the United States.

PILAR DEL CASTILLO is Profesora Titular of Constitutional Law at the Universidad a Distancia (UNED) in Madrid. She studied Political Science at Ohio State University sponsored by a Fulbright scholarship. She is the author of *La Financiacion de Partidos y Candidatos en las democracias occidentales*, as well as of several articles on Spanish political parties finance in Spanish journals.

ERNEST A. CHAPLES is Senior Lecturer in Government at the University of Sydney. He is co-author of *The Wran Model, Case Studies in New South Wales Electoral Politics*, and a wide variety of articles concerning Australian, American and Scandinavian politics. He is a regular commentator on Australian network radio.

GIAN FRANCO CIAURRO is Associate Professor of Constitutional and Parliamentary Law at the University of Rome. He is Recording Secretary of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, Director of the quarterly review, *Nuovi Studi Politici*, and the National Secretary of the Italian Association of Political and Social Science. He is the author of several volumes concerning Italian parliamentary democracy and political finance.

JOEL FEDERMAN is a doctoral candidate at the University of Southern California and Research Assistant at the Citizens' Research Foundation. His fields of interest are political philosophy, international relations and



xii

CONTRIBUTORS

comparative politics. His dissertation will concern the theory of nonviolence and conflict resolution.

RUUD A. KOOLE is Director of the Documentation Centre on Dutch Political Parties of the University of Groningen and lecturer in political science at the University of Leiden. He has published various articles on party organization, party finance and on the defense policies of political parties. He has edited several Yearbooks of the Documentation Centre and two other volumes on political parties and parliament.

JONATHAN MENDILOW is Associate Professor of Political Science at Rider College in Lawrenceville, New Jersey. He has published widely in British and American journals on Israeli politics, comparative politics and political theory.

KARL-HEINZ NASSMACHER is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of Comparative Politics (ICP) at the University of Oldenburg (West Germany). Since 1981 his comparative study of party finance has included field research in Canada, the United States, Austria, Italy and Sweden, and resulted in several articles on public funding published in German and Austrian periodicals.

KHAYYAM Z. PALTIEL was Professor and former Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. He was the author of *Political Party Financing in Canada* and many studies on the control of election expenses, party finance, political broadcasting, corporatism, and Israeli politics. He served as consultant to numerous public bodies in Canada and abroad. Professor Paltiel passed away on April 17, 1988, during the process of publishing this volume.

MICHAEL PINTO-DUSCHINSKY is Senior Lecturer in Government at Brunel University. He is co-executive secretary of the International Political Science Association's research committee on political finance and political corruption. He is the author (with David Butler) of *The British General Election of 1970* and of *British Political Finance*. He contributed to *Britain at the Polls, 1974* and *Britain at the Polls, 1979*.

HANS-PETER SCHNEIDER is Professor of Public Law, Philosophy of Law and Ecclesiastical Law at the University of Hannover. He is the author of Judge Made Law, The Parliamentary Opposition in the Constitutional Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as numerous related articles. In 1982–83, he was a member of the President's Committee on Party Funding.