

VOX POP Newsletter

of Political Organizations and Parties

An official section of the American Political Science Association

Produced by the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron

How McCain Hurt Himself and the GOP with McCain-Feingold

Raymond J. La Raja, University of Massachusetts

The spectacular emergence of Barack Obama—just five years ago, an African-American State Senator from the South Side of Chicago—and his defeat of the war hero John McCain made quite a story for the 2008 presidential election. How the two candidates funded their campaigns provides an interesting lens into their different strengths as candidates and also into how the campaign finance system affects fortunes of politicians and their political parties.

Three things about money stood out clearly in the 2008 elections. First, as was widely reported by the news media, Obama exceeded all expectations raising money for his presidential campaign, although his ability to rely on small donors has been greatly exaggerated. Second, the GOP's mighty fundraising machine faltered due to a "perfect storm" pitched against the party: an unpopular Republican president, a demoralized base, and a candidate whose signature reform legislation—the McCain-Feingold Act—snarled his own bid. Third and finally, the campaign dynamics demonstrated clearly that the campaign finance system is outdated in spite of changes introduced only six years ago through the McCain Feingold Act, officially known as the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA). In fact, this new law exacerbated longstanding problems with the campaign finance system, while providing significant short-term advantages to Democratic candidates in both presidential and congressional races.

Some of what follows is explained in greater detail in *Small Change: Money, Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform* (University of Michigan Press 2008), where I argue that the current system of financing American elections emerged more than a century ago in the anti-partisan culture nurtured by the Mugwumps and Progressives. These early reformers emphasized limits on contributions and expenditures as a way to disgorge "fat cat" financiers from political parties. The clamp-down had the effect of dampening voter mobilization and scattering political funds into various political committees that were controlled by candidates, interest groups and party officials operating independently of the party organization.

Legislation such as the Tillman Act (1907) and Federal Corrupt Practices Act (1925) hurt Republican Party organizations especially. Gone were the glory days of the 1896 McKinley campaign when RNC chair Mark Hanna organized a voter

mobilization strategy that remains the envy of Karl Rove. Enfeebling the party apparatus was precisely the goal of the Progressive wing of the Republican Party (with help from Democrats like "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman), since the organization was controlled by GOP party stalwarts. John McCain, as sponsor of the BCRA, re-enacted this intraparty drama a century later in helping to pass BCRA, which was firmly opposed by traditionalists in his party. In a bitter twist of irony for both McCain and party traditionalists, candidate McCain had to rely overwhelmingly for his campaign on a weakened RNC—the very organization that immediately filed suit against his reform because the law banned party soft money.

Indeed, history shows that campaign finance reforms have had unfavorable effects on political parties by depleting their resources and weakening their organizational competence. BCRA has been no different. The major parties, however, adapt quite differently to such reforms based on their strategic resources, which are rooted in their unique coalitions.

The anti-party regulations have tended to benefit the heterogeneous Democratic Party, which has rarely been as unified ideologically or as efficiently as the business-like Republicans (hence Will Rogers' claim: "I don't belong to any organized party. I'm a Democrat."). The alliance between the Democratic Party and labor movement, forged during the New Deal era, allowed Democrats to take advantage of the money and muscle of labor

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unions to win elections. Republicans, of course, fought to negate this advantage by passing laws to ban labor contributions and limit their campaign activity (such as the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947). These back-and-forth skirmishes illustrate that campaign finance laws have important partisan effects, and that politicians from both parties have “reformed” the system to undercut rivals.

How does this help us interpret money in the 2008 elections? Barack Obama, the most prolific fundraiser in the history of presidential elections, combined adroit fundraising strategies in a political climate highly favorable to Democratic candidates. The party was fortunate to have a charismatic, young nominee who was comfortable exploiting new media technology to mobilize citizens for money and votes. Indeed, the blackberry-holstered Obama has been to the computer generation what Kennedy was to the TV generation. He benefitted extraordinarily from the Internet, pulling in small donations from liberal baby-boomers and younger professionals who are linked through hundreds of political and “friendship” networks on the web.

But it is also clear that Obama raised money the old-fashioned way by reaching out to major donors. He benefitted significantly from his connections to traditional party fundraisers, starting with the venerable Pritzker family of Chicago (Penny Pritzker was his Finance Chair). According to the Campaign Finance Institute (CFI), 24% of the Obama record \$730 million came from donors whose contributions aggregated to \$200 or less (Malbin 2008). The percentage of small contributions he received is similar to George W. Bush in 2004 (25%), John Kerry in 2004 (20%) and John McCain in 2008 (21%). At the top end, Obama received about 80% more money from *large* donors (cumulative contributions of at least \$1,000) than from his small donors, which is far more than any previous candidate. However, since Obama also raised a significant sum from middle-range donors (\$200-\$999), the proportion of large donors to his campaign seems more modest relative to other candidates: 47% for Obama compared to 56% for Kerry, 60% for Bush and 60% for McCain.

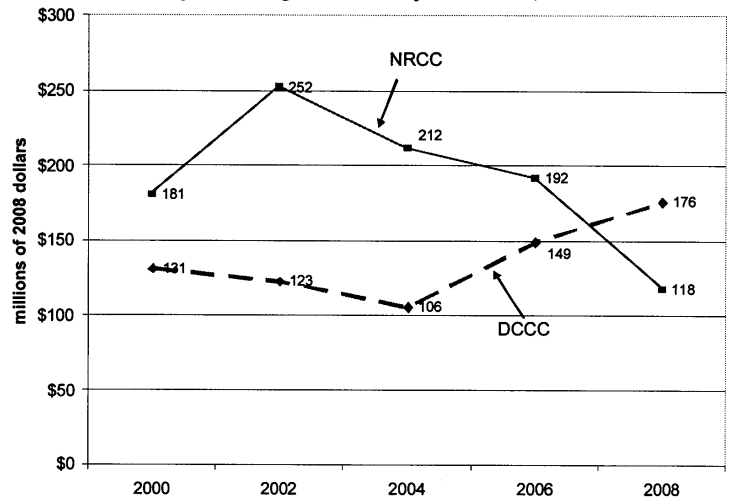
Obama’s good fortune was to face a rival who tripped on his own political reforms. McCain had never been a great fundraiser, but he put himself at a distinct disadvantage by helping to pass a bill that increased the importance of individual political contributions to candidates and simultaneously eliminated party soft money. In effect, the McCain-Feingold Act rendered the presidential public funding system obsolete, and put his own party at a disadvantage.

For reasons that are not entirely clear, McCain locked himself into public financing which meant he would receive only \$84 million for his campaign. The rest had to come from the RNC and outside groups, none of which could coordinate with the McCain campaign organization. The RNC performed rather well under the circumstances raising \$430 million to help narrow the gap with the Democratic candidate. In a maneuver that should raise doubts about what it means to be a “public-financed” candidate, McCain solicited large *private* contributions up to \$70,000 for national and state parties through a special joint fund-raising account called “McCain-Palin Victory 2008”. Nonetheless, in the final weeks of the campaign, the ad-tracking firm CMAG noted that the Obama campaign was outspending McCain by a ratio of at least four to one in the final weeks.

What happened to the mighty GOP fundraising machine? For roughly a century, the Republican Party has only “lost” six times to the Democrats in fundraising for the presidential campaign. In 2008, however, the party faced a huge challenge. Linked with an unpopular president, deteriorating economy and costly war, the national tide was clearly against the Republican candidate. Given the maverick status attributed to him by the media, McCain was probably the most viable candidate for Republicans. But mavericks do not open wallets of devoted party loyalists, and swing voters who are fond of mavericks are cheapskates by comparison.

The demoralization of the GOP extended to Congressional campaigns. Neither the NRCC nor NSRC kept pace with their rivals—again a rarity. Strategic donors understand that in the contemporary climate of party polarization, the minority party has much less power than previously, especially in the House. Thus, we observe in Figure 1 the sharp swing of political contributions from House Republicans to Democrats since they took control of Congress. The dynamic is similar though, not surprisingly, less dramatic in the Senate given that the minority party has relatively more influence in this chamber.

Figure 1. Congressional Party Committees, 2000-2008



The decline of GOP resources raises questions related to the McCain-Feingold reforms. As I argue in *Small Change*, this law was partisan from the outset, particularly the ban on soft money to political parties. Before it passed, some called it an awful bill for Democrats because the party appeared to rely on soft money more than Republicans. The reform, however, made good sense for them even if it presented a strategic risk. Throughout much of the party’s history, the Democrats never used the central organizing model of the Republicans because the party has always been a looser construction of political interests. Instead, allied interest groups—labor unions, environmental groups, African-American churches and community organizations—have engaged voter mobilization for party candidates.

In contrast, the Republican Party lacks a natural, member-oriented organization that pulls in volunteers and mobilizes voters. Beyond the Christian Right, whose enthusiasm varies depending on the candidate’s affinity for their goals, the Republican Party must rely on the party infrastructure. Karl Rove was not the first to recognize this. The RNC had used what is now called “soft money” to build the party since the 1970s. Democratic Party organizations, however, could forego soft money (though it would be painful) knowing they could rely on the soft money spending by allied organizations which were not covered by BCRA.

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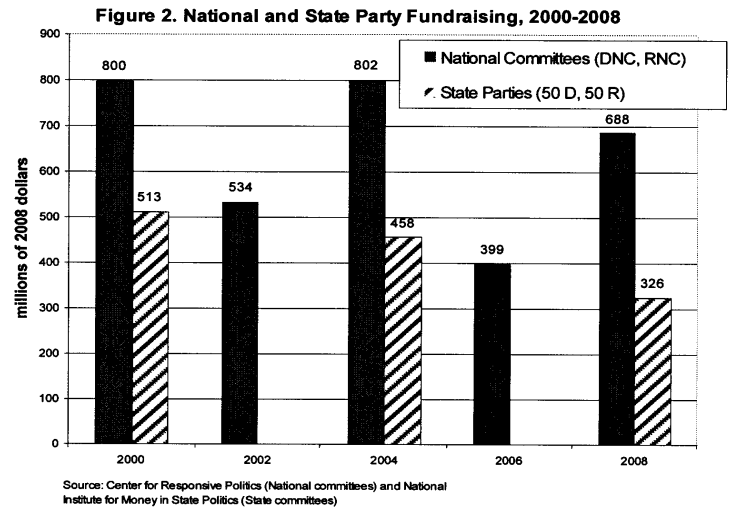
Indeed, outside organizations were as active in 2008 as in 2004, even though the Democratic nominee had a surfeit of campaign funds. According to the CFI, Section 501(c) nonprofit groups and Section 527 political organizations spent more than \$400 million in the 2008 federal election, just shy of the amount they spent in 2004 (Weissman and Sazawal 2008). The interesting shift was that 527s spent relatively less than previously. This was likely due to the FEC tightening its regulations on 527s, which encouraged organizations to pursue the 501(c) model of organizing. But it is also true that the 527s have been predominantly a Democratic organizational model and the wealthy Obama campaign discouraged uncoordinated outside activity because they did not want to muddy their message. (Nonetheless, when the race tightened in September they started to loosen the reins and we observed more outside spending.)

In contrast, soft money spending by 501(c) groups tripled in the 2008 Election to an estimated \$200 million. Most of this came from Republican-leaning operations such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. All told, outside soft money groups on the Republican side controlled almost two-and-a-half the amount that their nominee John McCain had under his control with public funds. In a more favorable year for Republicans, such groups would have raised and spent considerably more money. Strategic donors, however, recognized that the McCain candidacy was a long-shot and focused instead on a targeted number of congressional races. More critically, perhaps, the ideological groups favoring Republicans simply did not like McCain and his politics. Indeed, many organizational leaders were resentful that before McCain announced his candidacy, he had been pushing for stronger enforcement against the political activities of such groups. Once again, McCain made a strategic blunder.

In the end, it was impossible for the Republicans to catch up to Democrats this election, particularly under the McCain-Feingold rules. For this reason, just one week after the election, the RNC filed suit against the FEC to eliminate the ban on soft money—a ban co-authored by its own presidential candidate. Republican Party lawyers have been arguing that the law infringes on First Amendment rights of free speech and association by limiting contributions and expenditures. They claim these funds would be used for nonfederal activities such as state elections and re-districting efforts. Their hope, of course, is that a newly configured Supreme Court will rule against McCain-Feingold now that the more conservative Justice Alito has replaced Justice O'Connor who supported BCRA.

The RNC actions raise the broader question of whether McCain-Feingold hurts the political parties—a question I address in *Small Change*. It has been argued that McCain-Feingold has resulted in the “spectacular resurgence of political parties” (Ornstein and Corrado Jr. 2007). In truth, it will take several cycles before we understand the full effects of these reforms. But recent financial figures suggest they are doing worse than before. Figure 2 indicates that the national committees—the DNC and RNC—raised about \$100 million less in 2008 than before BCRA and much less in the 2006 midterm following than in the pre-BCRA election of 2002. The exception is the 2004 election when both presidential candidates took public funds and raised private money for their national committees. It is also notable that the national committees have had fewer funds to spend during midterm elections.

Meanwhile, state political parties have fared even worse. Party receipts (nonfederal) have declined from \$406 million to \$326 between 2000 and 2008, even after eliminating pre-BCRA transfers of soft money from national to state committees for issue ads.



The only parties that appear to be doing well are the majority parties in Congress. The DSCC and DCCC are back to pre-BCRA levels of funding. Democratic Party leaders have exploited their majority status to raise additional funds from major interest groups and leaned on members to give contributions to the party. According to the CFI, more than 20% of party funds for the DCCC come from members in the House, suggesting that the money chase has hardly abated since the McCain-Feingold. Meanwhile, Republican hill committees have both experienced declines in funds since 2002.

Overall, BCRA has left major problems in the campaign finance system unresolved or made them worse. First, there remains a large and growing gap between money for congressional incumbents and challengers. Second, the campaign arena is rife with spending by outside groups with opaque-sounding names like “Friends of America Votes” or “American Solutions for Winning the Future”. Third—and more bizarrely—political parties must spend money “independently” of their candidates as the chief way of supporting them. The irony here is that candidates obviously raise lots of money for the party, and then must claim they have nothing to do with party advertising that benefits them.

Most distressingly, the presidential public funding system guarantees that the nominee who participates is greatly disadvantaged against any candidate raising private money. Despite the moralizing editorials that urged the candidates to take public financing, the decision to take public funds is a strategic choice, not a moral one, since both candidates end up raising private funds anyway.

McCain made the wrong strategic choice. The public hardly cared whether either candidate took public funds, and Obama did exactly the right thing. His bounty allowed him to expand campaign operations to states where Democratic presidential candidates rarely win—places like Indiana and Virginia.

Republicans have little choice but to focus on rebuilding the party. But it will be much harder for them without having soft money to do this. Hence, they are pressing their case in court to remove the ban. If the court battle fails, my hunch is that Republican leaders will establish organizations outside the party structure, which

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can use soft money (like Democratic partisans) to help support party-building activities such as voter databases, recruitment, research and candidate training. The future of the Democratic Party organizations depends on whether president Obama chooses to use his fundraising prowess to strengthen the DNC and state parties. His alternative, given his charisma and opportunity to spend billions in government funds, is to build a coalition around the presidency much like FDR did through his New Deal programs (Milkis 1993).

Regardless of how the parties fare, the activities of politicians in either party will continue to grind down the McCain-Feingold Act, even if court challenges do not knock it down completely. As we learn from history, campaign experts in both parties will find legal ways around the arcane financing rules we've inherited from our Mugqump forebearers who were determined in their quixotic quest to remove partisanship from politics. John McCain may have learned this painful lesson during his bid for the presidency.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2008. *Small Change: Money, Political Parties, and Campaign Finance Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Malbin, Michael. 2008. "Reality Check: Obama Received About the Same Percentage from Small Donors in 2008 as Bush in 2004". Washington, D.C.: Campaign Finance Institute.

Milkis, Sidney M. 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ornstein, Norman, and Anthony Corrado Jr. 2007. "Reform That Has Really Paid Off." *Washington Post*, April 1, B3.

Weissman, Steve, and Suraj Sazawal. 2008. "Soft Money Political Spending by 501(c) Nonprofits Tripled in 2008 Election." Washington, D.C.: Campaign Finance Institute.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

We are happy to announce the launch of a new website on "The Legal Regulation of Political Parties in Post-War Europe" which we want to share with academics, researchers, and students interested in (comparative) party politics, legal scholarship, and democratic theory.

The site is available at www.partylaw.bham.ac.uk

The website hosts two major research projects: one funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) on the *The Constitutional Regulation of Political Parties in Post-War Europe*, and one funded by the European Research Council (ERC) "*Re-conceptualizing Party Democracy*". Together these two projects address the various dimensions of party regulation in 33 European democracies in the post-war period—ranging from the regulation of the internal party organizations to the question of how parties are to be financed—as well as the underlying normative concept. Among other things, the website contains a searchable database of party regulation. The database currently contains a comprehensive dataset of constitutional provisions related to political parties from all post-war European democracies. It will be expanded to include party laws and party finance laws over the course of this year.

For comments, suggestions and queries, please contact us at partylaw@contacts.bham.ac.uk.

Ingrid van Biezen, Principal Investigator

FROM HEADQUARTERS

Letter from the Chair February, 2009

Dear POP members,

We want to share the very good news that the Political Organizations and Parties section (POP) of APSA and the journal *Party Politics* have agreed to a formal association. Beginning with the June 2009 issue (15/3), *Party Politics* will be the official journal of the section. We will jointly acknowledge this association, including formal POP representation on the journal board of editors. Membership in the POP section through APSA will now include a printed version of the journal as another benefit of membership.

The section has long had a goal of associating with a journal, and this fulfills this ambition with the leading journal in the field. Moreover, the journal spans our dual interests in political parties and political organizations. Its masthead reads "An international journal for the study of political parties and political organizations". We believe this will increase visibility of the section (and the journal), provide an additional outlet for the research of POP members, and enhance scholarship.

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

One specific benefit of membership is that *Party Politics* is willing to host a special issue developed by POP members. To achieve this, we are making a call for proposals. The special issue should ideally reflect the diversity of the section; such as a topic spanning both interest groups and parties, and including American politics and comparative politics. An issue of the journal runs about 40-45,000 words, so this provides a framework for planning the number and form of the contributions to the special issue.

We are requesting brief proposals on the thematic focus of the proposed issue and a list of potential articles and authors (5-10 pages). Proposals are due May 1, the launch date for the journal/POP association. An ad hoc committee of the section's executive committee will review proposals to identify a candidate for this special issue in consultation with the *PP* editors. As a peer-reviewed journal, *Party Politics* has a blind review of articles for prospective special issues as well. So the quality of the proposal and the fit to the section's research themes will be the prime criterion.

This new association will increase membership dues to \$29 for faculty (\$21 for students), but this represents a very considerable discount in the individual subscription rate for *Party Politics*. The APSA will implement the new fee structure as POP members renew their APSA membership. However, many of you might want to begin receiving the journal at the discount price before your present APSA membership reaches renewal.

The members of the POP executive committee, the editors of *Party Politics*, and Sage Publications are all looking forward to making this a successful partnership. We think this will benefit all of us, and our field of scholarship.

Russ Dalton
University of California, Irvine

FROM HEADQUARTERS

APSA Organized Section Counts for January 2009

The Committee on Organized Sections oversees policies related to Organized Sections and monitors section size. If a section membership falls below 250 members for four consecutive quarters the Committee will notify the section that they will not be included as part of the next official Program Committee of the Annual Meeting then forming (for example, if notified in the summer of 2007, a Section would be excluded from the 2008 Program Committee). The section typically has a year to reach the 250 member level, and will be listed on the APSA Membership Renewal form with an asterisk indicating the threshold is below the minimum number. If the Section does not reach 250 members in any quarter during the year, it will be required to disband, and can merge with another section, become a related group, or cease to function. If a section merges with another, its remaining treasury will go to that section. If a section disbands without merging, use of any remaining funds must be approved by the Organized Section Committee and the APSA Treasurer. If a section which disbands wishes to return as an Organized Section, it may re-petition as a new section. If reinstated, it would keep its original number and order in the section listing.

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Law and Courts	773
Legislative Studies	622
Public Policy	995
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Representation and Electoral Politics	378
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Race, Ethnicity, and Politics	566
International Politics and History	439
Comparative Democratization	626
Human Rights	363
Qualitative and Multi-Method Research	936
Sexuality and Politics	197
Health Politics and Policy	170
TOTAL	20,756

SECTION AWARD ANNOUNCEMENT TO PUBLISHERS AND PH.D. DEPARTMENTS

APSA mailed information about your 2009 awards to publishers and Ph.D. Departments who might be interested in nominating an individual for a book or dissertation award. They were given **February 15, 2009** as the deadline date for submitting nominations.

APSA asks that Organized Section Chairs submit the names of the Award Recipients to APSA before **June 15, 2009** in order to have them included in the final *Annual Meeting Program*. Section chairs should **only send one list** to Linda Davis with all Award Winners listed. The list should include the recipient's name and university, in addition to the award name, title of paper, article, book, or dissertation and amount awarded, if any.

BUSINESS MEETING AND RECEPTION REQUEST FORMS — *Now Available* —

Departments, Organized Sections, and Related Groups are invited to host business meetings and receptions during the 2009 APSA Annual Meeting in Toronto, ON, Canada. Business meeting and reception request forms are now available on-line at www.apsanet.org/2009.

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FROM HEADQUARTERS

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SHORT COURSE APPLICATIONS

— *Now Available*—

Each year, APSA hosts short courses during the Annual Meeting. Scheduled for the Wednesday prior to the start of the convention, short courses are half-or full-day sessions that provide opportunities for APSA attendees to enhance their knowledge and to reinvigorate teaching and research skills. APSA Organized Sections and Related Groups as well as non-APSA affiliated organizations may propose short courses by completing the application available on the APSA website. All applications should include the proposed short course name with a detailed description, sponsor, participants, expected attendance, and location if it is held offsite. Please mail or fax your application by March 15, 2009 to: Lauren Barry, Assistant, Meetings and Conferences, Fax: 202-483-2657; lbarry@apsanet.org.

To access the short course application, please visit www.apsanet.org/2009.

CALL FOR PAPERS: THE MEANING AND LEGACY OF THE MAGNA CARTA

Contributions are invited for a print symposium on the meaning and legacy of the Magna Carta, for publication in *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Contributors are invited to reflect on the historical context in which the Magna Carta was drafted and signed, as well as its multifaceted role in the development of modern political thought.

Signed by King John on the banks of the River Thames on June 15, 1215; the Magna Carta is an iconic and much mythologized document that sets out the terms of a new constitutional arrangement between the Crown and the country's most powerful nobles. Over the centuries, the Magna Carta has come to be regarded as a charter of individual liberty and a bulwark against despotism. Recent scholarship has explored the document's relationship to canon law, Roman law, and customary practice, as well as to the Charter of the Forest that was produced in the same era. This symposium will draw on this scholarship in an effort to recover the Magna Carta "in its fullness," as the historian Peter Linebaugh has written. The aim of the symposium is to situate the Magna Carta as a political document with powerful implications for concepts of citizenship, kingship, property, state-church relations, and the sources of legitimate authority.

Contributions for across the social sciences and humanities will be welcomed, with a special emphasis on political theory, medieval history, and legal studies. Completed papers should be roughly 12-15 pages in length.

The deadline for submission of papers is **April 15, 2009**. The provisional deadline for completed papers is **September 15, 2009**, for publication in Spring 2010.

Proposals and inquiries should be sent to Professor Kent Worcester, Department of Political Science, Marymount Manhattan College, 221 East 71st Street, New York, NY 10021, USA (kworcester@mmm.edu).

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

BOOK SCAN

- The American Congress Reader** by Steven S. Smith, Jason M. Roberts, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen (**Paperback** - Dec 15, 2008)
- Anti-Democratic Thought** by Erich Kofmel (**Paperback** - Dec 1, 2008)
- The British Labour Party and the Wider World: Domestic Politics, Internationalism and Foreign Policy (International Library of Political Studies)** by Paul Corthorn and Jonathan Davis (**Hardcover** - Mar 18, 2008)
- The British Party System** by Stephen Ingle (**Paperback** - April 3, 2008)
- Cameroon's Social Democratic Front: Its History and Prospects as an Opposition Political Party (1990-2011)** by Milton Krieger (**Paperback** - Mar 1, 2008)
- Cartel Parties and Cartel Party Systems: The Rise of Irresponsible Party Government** by Riccardo Pelizzo (**Paperback** - Oct 10, 2008)
- Catholics and Politics: The Dynamic Tension Between Faith and Power (Religion and Politics)** by Kristin E. Heyer, Mark J. Rozell, and Michael A. Genovese (**Library Binding** - Dec 2008)
- Choices and Changes: Interest Groups in the Electoral Process** by Michael M. Franz (**Paperback** - Mar 28, 2008)
- Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies** by Russell J. Dalton (**Paperback** - May 15, 2008) – Illustrated
- Contemporary Spanish Politics** by Jose Magone (**Paperback** - Dec 1, 2008)
- Declaring Independence: The Beginning of the End of the Two-Party System** by Douglas Schoen (**Hardcover** - Feb 5, 2008)
- Democracy and Party Systems in Developing Countries: A Comparative Study of India and South Africa** by Clemens Spiess (**Kindle Edition** - Dec 24, 2008)
- Democracy And The Organization Of Political Parties - Vol. I** by M. Ostrogorski (**Hardcover** - Nov 4, 2008)
- The Europeanization of Cyprus: Polity, Policies and Politics (Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics)** by Angelos Sepos (**Hardcover** - Nov 11, 2008)
- The Europeanization of National Political Parties: Power and Organizational Adaptation** by Thomas Poguntke (**Paperback** - Oct 8, 2008)
- The Evolution of Political Parties, Campaigns, and Elections: Landmark Documents from 1787-2008** by Randall E. Adkins (**Paperback** - Feb 1, 2008)
- Global Political Parties** by Katarina Sehm Patomaki and Marko Ulvila (**Paperback** - Jan 8, 2008)
- Grand New Party: How Republicans Can Win the Working Class and Save the American Dream** by Ross Douthat and Reihan Salam (**Hardcover** - June 24, 2008)
- The Great Game of Politics: Why We Elect, Whom We Elect** by Dick Stoken (**Mass Market Paperback** - Jul 29, 2008) – Illustrated
- Green Parties in Transition: The End of Grass-roots Democracy?** by E. Gene Frankland, Paul Lucardie, and Benoit Rihoux (**Hardcover** - Dec 15, 2008)
- Hamas and Israel: Conflicting Strategies of Group-Based Politics** by Sherifa Zuhur (**Paperback** - Dec 15, 2008)
- Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence (Columbia/Hurst)** by Jeroen Gunning (**Hardcover** - Mar 18, 2008)
- Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle For Palestine** by Jonathan Schanzer and Daniel Pipes (**Hardcover** - Nov 11, 2008)
- Hezbollah: The Story of the Party of God: From Revolution to Institutionalization (The Middle East in Focus)** by Eitan Azani (**Hardcover** - Dec 23, 2008)
- The Historiography of Communism** by Michael E. Brown (**Hardcover** - Dec 28, 2008)
- A History of the British Labour Party, Third Edition (British Studies Series)** by Andrew Thorpe and Jeremy Black (**Paperback** - May 13, 2008)
- In the Balance of Power: Independent Black Politics and Third-Party Movements in the United States** by Omar H. Ali and Eric Foner (**Paperback** - Sep 2, 2008)
- Intra-party Politics and Coalition Governments** by Daniela Giannetti and Kenneth Benoit (**Kindle Edition** - Dec 27, 2008)
- Labour and the Left in the 1930s** by Ben Pimlott (**Paperback** - Dec 11, 2008)
- The Labour Party and Constitutional Reform: A History of Constitutional**

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

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- Conservatism** by Peter Dorey (Hardcover - Sep 2, 2008)
- The Labour Party In Perspective** by C.R. Attlee (Hardcover - Nov 4, 2008)
- Learning Democratic Practices: Political Parties, Media and American Political Development** by Janet Youngblood (Paperback - Jan 9, 2008)
- Left at the Altar: How the Democrats Lost the Catholics and How the Catholics Can Save the Democrats** by Micheal Sean Winters (Hardcover - Jun 30, 2008)
- Minority Nationalist Parties and European Integration: A Comparative Study (Routledge/Uaces Contemporary European Studies)** by Anwen Elias (Hardcover - Dec 24, 2008)
- New Parties in Government** by Kris Deschouwer (Hardcover - April 25, 2008)
- On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship** by Nancy L. Rosenblum (Hardcover - Aug 25, 2008)
- Our Political Parties** by Benjamin Franklin Tefft (Paperback - Oct 9, 2008)
- Paranoid Nation: The Real Story of the 2008 Fight for the Presidency** by Matt Towery (Hardcover - Dec 10, 2008)
- Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics)** by Bonnie M. Meguid (Hardcover - Jun 9, 2008)
- Party Crashing: How the Hip-Hop Generation Declared Political Independence** by Keli Goff (Paperback - Feb 25, 2008)
- The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform (Chicago Studies in American Politics)** by Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller (Paperback - Oct 1, 2008)
- The Party Faithful: How and Why Democrats Are Closing the God Gap** by Amy Sullivan (Hardcover - Feb 19, 2008)
- Party Images in the American Electorate** by Mark D. Brewer (Hardcover - Dec 12, 2008)
- Party Polarization in Congress** by Sean M. Theriault (Hardcover - Aug 18, 2008)
- Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the Post-Suharto Era (Routledge Contemporary Southeast Asia)** by Dirk Tomsa (Hardcover - Sep 10, 2008)
- Party Politics And Social Welfare: Comparing Christian and Social Democracy in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands (Globalization and Welfare)** by Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, Silke van Dyk, and Martin Roggenkamp (Hardcover - Jul 30, 2008)
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