

Electoral Systems and Political Parties

Tim Scully
Department of Political Science
University of California, Berkeley

Paper prepared for the project, "The Role of Political Parties
in the Return to Democracy in the Southern Cone," sponsored by the
Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
and the World Peace Foundation

INDEX

i. Introduction

I. Electoral Systems and Political Parties

- A. Types of Electoral Systems
- B. Open- and Closed-List Ballots
- C. Methods of Allocating Seats
- D. Type of Republic
- E. Timing of Elections
- F. Type of Democratic System

II. Methods of Electing National Executives and Legislatures

A. Argentina

- 1. Method of Electing the President
- 2. Description of the Legislature
- 3. Method of Electing the National Legislature
- 4. Results of the 1983 Elections

B. Brazil

- 1. Method of Electing the President
- 2. Description of the Legislature
- 3. Method of Electing the National Legislature
- 4. Election of the President on 15 January 1985
- 5. Results of the 1982 and 1985 Elections

C. Chile

- 1. Method of Electing the President
- 2. Description of the Legislature
- 3. Method of Electing the National Legislature
- 4. Electoral Process in the Constitution of 1980
- 5. Results of the 1973 Congressional and 1970 Presidential Elections

D. Uruguay

- 1. Method of Electing the President
- 2. Description of the Legislature
- 3. Method for Electing the National Legislature
- 4. Results of the 1984 Elections

INTRODUCTION

Electoral systems and the ways in which they may or may not be related to political stability in Latin America is a subject of growing interest. It seems certain that the specific institutional arrangements present in each country play an important role in shaping the party system and defining the political process. The purpose of this document is to provide some minimum background information about the electoral systems of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.

The document is divided into two parts. The first offers a brief comparative discussion of certain critical electoral mechanisms which define the representational system in each national context. The second, in greater detail and with reference to relevant legislation, outlines the methods by which these four countries elect national executives and legislatures. In all four cases, in varying degrees, these electoral processes are currently being reviewed. An attempt has been made to include the electoral legislation for the most recent national elections. In the case of Chile, the legislation prior to 1973 is put forth, as well as the electoral legislation proposed by the Constitution of 1980.

I. ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The party systems of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay are strikingly different. Electoral and representational systems affect significantly political party behavior by determining the political and legal context in which the parties operate, thus orienting party participation and competition. What follows is a brief discussion of the electoral systems of each country in comparative perspective, in an effort to understand some of the underlying forces which shape party behavior. Tables I and II which follow this discussion, summarize the characteristics of, and differences among, the electoral systems of the four countries and, for added comparison, Spain and the United States.

A. Types of Electoral Systems

Two major types of electoral systems are employed in Latin America: the majority system, and the proportional representation (P.R.) system. The best known majority system is the "simple majority," used in the United States congressional elections, wherein the candidate is elected who receives the largest number of votes in a single-member district. This system recently has been used among the four country-cases only for the Brazilian Senate.

The more common type of electoral system in Latin America is proportional representation. World-wide, P.R. has many variations. All forms of P.R. share the aspiration to proportion seats in legislatures in some manner consistent with the proportion of the total vote received by each party. It is generally agreed that P.R. encourages minority parties and stimulates multi-party systems, whereas the majority-type electoral systems restrain minority parties and encourage limited (one- or two-) party systems. This generalization requires careful qualification for these four countries.

There are two basic types of P.R. systems: the single transferable vote and the party list systems. The former, employed in Ireland and Australia, is not used in Latin America. It allows the voter to express preference for individual candidates (who need not have party affiliation) by assigning them consecutive numbers according to preference. Seats are then distributed after tallying the preferences by a device known as the "droop quota." The second basic type of P.R., the party list systems, has several variations that are used among the country-cases.

B. Open and Closed List Ballots

The first variation involve the type of ballot used. One is the "open list," under which the voter expresses a preference for the candidate whose name appears among several on a list submitted by the party. Another ballot variation is the "closed list" in which the voter has no choice of candidates, but votes for the entire party list. In both instances seats are apportioned according to the total number of votes the party receives. With the open list, those candidates that receive the highest number of votes are seated consecutively until the total number of seats assigned to the party based on its total vote are filled. With the closed list, seats are assigned to candidates according to the order established by the party in its lists. The open list is less common, having been used only for the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and both houses of the Chilean

Congress. In the remaining legislative elections, some variation of the closed list is used. Normally the open list provides the voter a greater range of choice, providing a primary selection within a general election. The closed list allegedly strengthens party organizations and increases party discipline by endowing party officials the prerogative for selecting candidates.

C. Methods of Allocating Seats

Seats won by either open or closed- list ballots can be allocated in several ways depending on the formula used. Two general types of formulas predominate. These formulas are known as the d'Hondt and the Hare, named after their respective originators. Under the d'Hondt formula, a party's total vote in each constituency is divided by consecutive divisors (1, 2, 3, etc.) and each party's resulting quotients are arranged in numerically descending order, with seats awarded successively to the party with the highest quotient until all seats are distributed. Under the Hare formula, the total votes cast in a constituency are divided by the total number of seats to be distributed, with the resulting quotient being known as a quota. Seats are then awarded to each party for every multiple of the quota in its total vote. Any seats yet undistributed when this process has concluded are normally awarded according to the largest remainder of the votes for each party. In Chile, prior to 1973, an electoral quota was established after using the d'Hondt formula. After the quotients were ranked in descending order, the quotient in the position corresponding to the total number of seats to be allocated became the electoral quota. The electoral quota was then divided into each party's total vote to determine—along the lines of the Hare formula—how many seats a party was to receive. The fundamental difference between the two formulas, other things being equal, is that when there are many parties (more than three), distribution under the d'Hondt formula tends to prevent the smallest parties from receiving seats, while a greater probability for electoral success accrues to weak parties under the Hare formula. Both formulas, however, serve as a brake upon the natural propensity for party proliferation under P.R. The d'Hondt system has been employed in Argentina for the lower chamber and for both houses of congress in Chile and Uruguay. The remaining have used the Hare method for distribution.

The precise impact of different electoral formulas upon political socialization and party organization is a central question relating to political stability and party representation in the four country-cases. As the case of Uruguay clearly demonstrates, P.R. need not result in a proliferation of parties. The open list ballot and, in Uruguay, the DSV (double simultaneous vote) gives the voter a primary within the general election. Quotas and sub-quotas for distributing seats, as well as the basic formulas of the Hare and d'Hondt type systems, retard indefinite proliferation of parties and can, by minor alterations of the formulas employed, provide greater or lesser incentives for smaller parties and general party participation.

D. Type of Republic

Federalism further modifies total congressional influence of political parties. In the large, federal republics of Argentina and Brazil, the Senate is elected from state constituencies like in the United States. In the smaller, unitary republics of Chile and Uruguay the Senate is comprised of,

in the case of Chile, provincial representatives elected from 10 groups of provinces and, in the case of Uruguay, representatives elected from the nation as a single electoral district.

E. Timing of Elections

The timing of elections also affects the behavior of political parties. The naturally change-retarding effects upon a system of staggered elections in which only a fraction of the entire legislative house is elected at a given time are uncharacteristic of South American political systems. Only Argentina and Bolivia have prescribed staggered elections for both houses of congress. Brazil and Chile prescribe it for their upper houses only. In Uruguay, and in all other instances in South America, members of each house are elected at the same time although (as in Mexico) length of terms of office may vary between the two houses.

A distinct, but related, issue is the timing of the presidential election relative to congressional elections. Theoretically, concurrent elections of both houses of congress together with the president, as in Uruguay, should strengthen the executive office. In contrast, the Chilean electoral laws prescribed nonconcurrency between the congressional and presidential elections with uneven effects upon the political system.

F. Type of Democratic System

A final, somewhat separate factor which contributes significantly to political party behavior, and structures the nature of the electoral competition between parties is the type of democratic political system employed. As Juan J. Linz' essay makes clear, there are basically two types of competitive political systems: parliamentarism and presidentialism. In parliamentary systems, the only democratically legitimated institution is the parliament itself. The Prime Minister is nominated by the monarch or the head of state from among the members of parliament to form a government. The Prime Minister is dependent upon the continuing confidence of the parliament to govern. Presidential systems are based upon the opposite principle. The President is elected directly by the people for a fixed period of time and is not dependent upon the formal vote of confidence by the members of parliament.

All four country cases—like the United States—are presidential systems. This is somewhat odd given the fact that most stable democracies of Europe and the Commonwealth are or have been parliamentary systems, while, as Linz shows, most presidential systems have been unstable democracies or authoritarian regimes. Linz argues persuasively that, in countries where the bulk of the electorate does not place itself in the middle of the political spectrum (as they surely do not in most countries of Latin America), presidentialism can lead to political polarization. Nevertheless, different electoral formulas, such as the second-round vote between the two candidates with the highest plurality, can obviate the worst effects of polarizing presidential elections. Table II provides a brief description of the methods used for electing the President in the four country—cases, Spain and the United States.

TABLE I

Electoral Systems of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Spain and the United States

Country	A		B		C		D		E	
	Types of Electoral Systems		Types of Ballots		Methods for Allocating Seats		Type of Republic		Timing of Elections	
Argentina	Proportional Representation (P.R.) in Chamber of Deputies		Closed List		d'Hondt in Chamber of Deputy Hare in Senate		Federal; Senate from State constituencies		Staggered in both Houses	
Brazil	P.R. in Assembly only		Open List in Assembly		Hare		Federal; Senate from State constituencies		Staggered in Senate	
Chile (prior to 9/16/73)	P.R. in Both Houses		Open List		Modified d'Hondt in Both Houses		Unitary; Senate from Provincial Reps.		Staggered in Senate	
Uruguay	P.R. in Both Houses		Closed List		Modified d'Hondt		Unitary; Senate from Provincial Reps.		Concurrent	
Spain	P.R. in House Plurality in Senate		Closed List		d'Hondt in House Hare in Senate		In transition from unitary State to "estado de los autonomías"		Concurrent Parliamentary (4 yr. term in both Houses)	
U.S.	Plurality in House & Senate		Closed List		Hare in both Houses		Federal; Senate from State constituencies		Staggered in both Houses Presidential semi-concurrent	

TABLE II

Method of Electing Chief Executive in
Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Spain, and the United States

Country	Description of Method
Argentina	The president is elected to a six year term indirectly by electors chosen by direct vote. Electors are chosen by Proportional Representation from the provinces and from the Federal District. An absolute majority of electors is required. If no candidate receives an absolute majority of the electors, the Congress chooses between the two highest, also by absolute majority. The President of the Senate decides in case of a tie.
Brazil	The president is elected to a six year term by an electoral college composed by members of Congress and representatives of State legislatures and municipalities. It is expected that this will change to a direct election by a simple plurality of the popular vote.
Chile	Prior to September 11, 1973, the president was elected directly if a candidate received an absolute majority of the popular vote. If not, the Chamber of Deputies elected the president by choosing among the two highest candidates. The President of the Senate decided in the case of a tie (for transition period, see separate discussion of Chile).
Uruguay	The president is elected directly by a simple plurality of votes under the DSV whereby votes for sublemas are added to arrive at a total vote count for the lema. The candidate of the sublema with the highest number of votes within the lema with the highest vote total is elected president.
Spain	Spain is a <u>parliamentary system</u> . The monarch nominates a member endorsed by the majority party(ies) of the chamber of deputies to the office of Prime Minister (this person is almost invariably the leader of the majority party in Madrid). The Prime Minister is asked to form a government, and remains P.M. until the chamber of deputies votes no-confidence (using the German "constructive no confidence" system).
United States	The president is elected indirectly by electors chosen by direct vote. Electors are chosen from states and the District of Columbia.

0

11. METHODS OF ELECTING NATIONAL EXECUTIVES AND LEGISLATURES

A. ARGENTINA

1. Method of Electing the President

The President is elected indirectly by electors who are chosen by direct vote in the Federal Capital and each of the provinces. Elected by proportional representation, these electors number double the total of Senators and Deputies that each electoral jurisdiction sends to Congress. An absolute majority of the votes of these electors is required for the election of a President, and if no candidate receives this, Congress chooses between the two highest, also by absolute majority. The President of the Senate decides in case of a tie.

The President and the Vice-President of the Argentine nation hold office for a term of six years; and may not be re-elected except after an interval of one term.

2. Description of the Legislature

Representatives to the Chamber of Deputies are apportioned at a rate according to the population with each province and the Federal Capital entitled to a minimum of two. They are elected for four years, the Chamber being renewed by halves every two years.

Two Senators are awarded each province and the Federal Capital. In the provinces they are elected indirectly by a plurality vote of the provincial legislatures, and in the Federal Capital the two Senators are chosen by an electoral college. Senators serve for a term of nine years, and may be re-elected indefinitely. The Vice-President of the nation is president of the senate, but has no vote except in the case of a tie in the balloting.

3. Method of Electing the National Legislature

Presidential electors, the Federal Capital's senatorial electors, and national Deputies are elected by a closed list, proportional representation system which works in the following way:

- (a) Votes are counted by list, without taking into account errors or substitutions which the voter may have made.
- (b) Party lists which do not receive at least three percent of the total valid votes cast in that electoral jurisdiction are eliminated.
- (c) The total of votes obtained by each list is divided successively by one, by two, by three, etc., up to and including the total number of seats to be filled.

*Based on The Constitution of Argentina 1853 (as amended)

- (d) The highest quotients, in a number equaling that of the seats to be filled, are arranged in descending order.
- (e) If there are two or more equal quotients, the list with the largest total number of votes precedes. If the totals are equal, the order is determined by drawing lots.
- (f) The quotient that occupies the last place in the order prescribed in (d) constitutes the distributing number (*cifra repartidora*), and determines, by the number of times it is contained in the total number of votes each list has received, the number of seats to which that list is entitled.
- (g) Seats are assigned to each list according to the order in which names were placed on that list by the political party or nominating group.

4. Results of the 1983 Elections

The following Tables (III, IV, V and VI) show the number of deputies, senators and governors elected from each province and the Federal Capital. Table VI shows the results of the 1983 presidential election.

TABLE III

Chamber of Deputies by District

District	Total	PJ	UCR	Others
Capital Federal	25	7	14	4
Buenos Aires	70	30	38	2
Catamarca	5	3	2	-
Córdoba	18	8	10	-
Corrientes	7	2	3	2
Chaco	7	4	3	-
Chubut	5	2	3	-
Entre Ríos	9	4	5	-
Formosa	5	3	2	-
Jujuy	6	3	2	1
La Pampa	5	2	2	1
La Rioja	5	3	2	-
Mendoza	10	4	6	-
Misiones	7	3	4	-
Nequén	5	1	2	2
Río Negro	5	2	3	-
Salto	7	4	3	-
San Luis	5	2	3	-
San Juan	6	2	2	2
Santo Cruz	5	3	2	-
Santa Fe	19	9	10	-
Sgo. del Estero	7	4	3	-
Tucuman	9	5	4	-
Tierra del Fuego	2	1	1	-
Totals:	254	111	129	14

TABLE IV
The National Senate by Province

Province	PJ	UCR	Others
Federal District	-	2	-
Buenos Aires	-	2	-
Catamarca	2	-	-
Córdoba	-	2	-
Corrientes	-	-	2
Chaco	1	1	-
Chubut	-	2	-
Entre Ríos	-	2	-
Formosa	1	-	1
Jujuy	2	-	-
La Pampa	2	-	-
La Rioja	2	-	-
Mendoza	-	2	-
Misiones	-	2	-
Neuquén	-	-	2
Río Negro	-	2	-
Salto	2	-	-
San Luis	2	-	-
San Juan	-	-	2
Santa Cruz	2	-	-
Santa Fe	2	-	-
Sgo. del Estero	2	-	-
Tucumán	2	-	-
Totals:	22	17	7

TABLE V
Gubernatorial Results

Province	Party
Buenos Aires	UCR
Córdoba	UCR
Santa Fe	Peronist Party
Mendoza	UCR
Tucumán	Peronist Party
Corrientes	Aut. Liberal Pact
Sgo. del Estero	Peronist Party
Formosa	Peronist Party
San Juan	Bloquista Party
La Rioja	Peronist Party
Neuquén	Mov. Pop. Neuquino
Chaco	Peronist Party
Entre Ríos	UCR
San Luis	Peronist Party
Jujuy	Peronist Party
Río Negro	UCR
Salta	Peronist Party
La Pampa	Peronist Party
Chubut	UCR
Santa Cruz	Peronist Party
Misiones	UCR
Catamarca	Peronist Party
<u>Party:</u>	<u>Totals:</u>
Peronist Party	12
UCR	7
Aut. Liberal Pact	1
Bloquista Party	1
Mov. Pop. Neuquino	<u>1</u>
	22

TABLE VI

National Results -- 1983 Presidential Elections

Parties/Districts/Votes	Alfonsoín UCR	Luder PJ	Alende PI	Frigierlo MID	Manrique AF	Alzogaray UCD
Total:	7,659,530 (317)	5,936,556 (259)	344,434 (3)	179,589 (1)	56,506	51,588
Buenos Aires	2,854,696	2,339,108	178,893	49,255	32,913	24,265
Capital Federal	1,278,748	545,092	89,161	14,553	14,231	25,302
Catamarca	48,590	45,105	670	730	-	-
Córdoba	763,780	557,852	12,173	13,072	-	-
Corrientes	109,678	92,662	2,406	11,008	2,147	-
Chaco	155,523	159,107	1,417	7,198	-	-
Chubut	56,692	45,955	1,940	2,651	-	-
Entre Ríos	256,127	231,436	7,542	8,254	-	-
Formosa	43,664	53,744	539	15,990	-	-
Jujuy	61,995	85,853	887	1,465	-	-
La Pampa	50,682	50,058	1,934	3,405	-	-
La Rioja	35,363	47,599	454	1,547	228	-
Mendoza	358,726	227,703	6,070	7,163	-	-
Misiones	119,159	115,257	749	3,972	-	527
Neuquén	46,069	22,594	2,076	845	-	-
Río Negro	83,825	62,699	2,976	2,581	-	-
Salta	132,323	132,432	1,331	1,855	-	-
San Juan	97,274	74,670	1,960	2,696	73	-
San Luis	58,363	49,233	524	4,367	6,081	-
Santa Cruz	19,423	22,172	657	844	-	-
Santa Fe	712,707	597,809	25,848	20,849	-	-
Sgo. del Estero	112,237	129,542	1,156	1,417	752	-
Tucumán	196,396	244,731	2,667	3,494	-	1,389
Tierra del Fuego	5,300	4,132	404	326	81	105

Legends:

()	Electoral votes
UCR	Unión Cívica Radical
PJ	Partido Justicialista
PI	Partido Intransigente
MID	Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo
AF	Alianza Federal
UCD	Unión del Centro Democrático

B. BRAZIL*

1. Method of Electing the President

The President and Vice-President are elected to a 6-year term by an electoral college composed by members of congress and representatives of state legislatures and municipalities. (It is expected that President José Sarney, in response to the wishes of the vast majority of Brazilians, will call for direct elections to the presidency at or before the end of his term. Other structural changes in the electoral process are likely, if, as anticipated, a constitutional convention is held within the next two years.)

2. Description of the Legislature

The bicameral National Congress consists of 69 senators (3 for each of the 23 states) elected by a majority vote principle** to 8-year terms, and 479 deputies elected at large in each state and territory to 4-year terms on a basis of proportional representation. The senate is renewed alternately every 4 years by one-third or two-thirds respectively. In the Chamber of Deputies, the States, the Federal District and the territories are represented at a vote established by the Electoral Board for each legislature, in proportion to the population, and adjusted to ensure that no state has more than 55 or fewer than 6 deputies with the exception of the territory of Fernando de Noronha, each territory shall be represented in the chamber by two deputies (Constitutional Amendment Eight of April 14, 1977).

3. Method of Electing the National Legislature

Elections to the Chamber of Deputies are by an open list, proportional representation system in which votes are cast for candidates on party lists. A party's total vote is found by adding all the votes cast for candidates on that party's list. The total number of seats awarded the party are given to those candidates with the highest individual totals on the party list.

The number of places to which a party is entitled is determined in the following way:

- (a) An "electoral quotient" is found by dividing the number of valid votes cast in each district, including blank votes, by the number of places to be filled in that district, disregarding the fraction if equal to or less than half.

*Based on The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Brazil, 1969 (as amended).

**Constitutional Amendment Eight of April 14, 1977 provides that, for the Senate, "in the renewal of one-third of the representation and for the filling of one of the vacancies in the renewal of two-thirds, the election shall be carried out by direct secret vote, according to the majority principle. In the renewal of the two-thirds representation the other vacancy shall be filled by election resulting from the vote of the constituted electoral college..." Thus, one-third of the Senate was comprised by the so-called "bionic" Senators. (This provision, enacted to favor the military government, will surely be done away with.)

- (b) The number of places to which each party is entitled is found by dividing the number of valid votes cast for its list by the electoral quotient, disregarding the fraction.
- (c) If, after this procedure, there are still places to be distributed, it is done in the following manner:
 - The number of valid votes cast for each party or alliance is divided by the number of seats already received plus one; the party or alliance which shows the largest quotients will have one of the remaining places.
 - This operation is repeated until all places have been distributed.
- (d) If no party or candidate receives the electoral quotient, places are distributed to individual candidates according to the number of votes each one has received.
- (e) Alternates for party representation are those on the party list receiving the highest individual totals after those who were elected.

4. Election of the President on 15 January 1985

The President was elected indirectly by a college of 686 delegates, each with a single vote. The distribution of these delegates was the following:

- (a) 479 members of the chamber of deputies, of whom: 235 of the ruling PDS, 200 of the PMDB, 24 of the PDT (led by Leonel Brizola), 13 of the PTB, and 7 of the PT (led by Luis Ignacio da Silva).
- (b) 69 Senators, of whom: 45 of the PDS, 22 of the PMDB, and one each from the PDT and the PTB.
- (c) 138 delegates from the state legislatures. Each legislature sent six delegates, chosen by the majority party—the PDS in 12 states (72 delegates), the PMDB in 9 states (54 delegates), and the PDT in one (6 delegates). In Mato Grosso do Sul, the two largest parties were equally represented—three delegates each.

5. Results of the 1982 and 1985 Elections

Tables VII, VIII and IX show the number of deputies senators and governors elected from each province and the Federal Capital. Table X show the results of the 1985 presidential election.

TABLE VII
Chamber of Deputies by State*

State:	PDS	PMDB	PDT	PTB	PT
Rio de Janeiro	14	10	16	5	1
Sao Paulo	16	30	-	8	6
Minas Gerais	26	27	-	-	1
Paraná	14	20	-	-	-
Rio Grande do Sul	12	12	6	-	-
Santa Catarina	8	8	-	-	-
Bahia	25	14	-	-	-
Pernambuco	15	11	-	-	-
Ceará	17	5	-	-	-
Maranhão	13	4	-	-	-
Sergipe	6	2	-	-	-
Paraíba	8	4	-	-	-
Rio Grande do Norte	5	3	-	-	-
Piauí	6	3	-	-	-
Alagoas	5	3	-	-	-
Goiás					
Mato Grosso					
Mato Grosso do Sul					
Acre					
Amazonas					
Pará	45	45			
Espírito Santo					
Rondonia (New State)					
Amapá (Territory)					
Roraima (Territory)					
Total:	235	201	22	13	8

*The areas in the North and Western frontier were areas of relative equilibrium between the two major parties. The data available does not permit further disaggregation.

TABLE VIII
Federal Senate by State

State	PDS	PMDB	PDT	PTB	PT
Rio de Janeiro			X		
Sao Paulo		X			
Minas Gerais		X			
Paraná		X			
Rio Grande do Sul	X				
Santa Catarina	X				
Bahía	X				
Pernambuco	X				
Ceará	X				
Maranhão	X				
Sergipe	X				
Paraíba	X				
Rio Grande do Norte	X				
Piauí	X				
Alagoas	X				
Goiás		X			
Mato Grosso	X				
Mato Grosso do Sul		X			
Acre		X			
Amazonas		X			
Pará		X			
Espírito Santo		X			
Rondonia (New State)	XXX (3)				
Amapá (Territory)					
Roraima (Territory)					
Total:*	15	9	1	-	-

*The PDS retained a majority of exactly two-thirds in the Senate (46-23).

TABLE IX
1982 Gubernatorial Elections

State	PDS	PMDB	PDT	PTB	PT
Rio de Janeiro					X
Sao Paulo		X			
Minas Gerais		X			
Paraná		X			
Rio Grande do Sul	X				
Santa Catarina	X				
Bahia	X				
Pernambuco	X				
Ceará	X				
Maranhão	X				
Sergipe	X				
Paraíba	X				
Rio Grande do Norte	X				
Piauí	X				
Alagoas	X				
Goiás		X			
Mato Grosso	X				
Mato Grosso do Sul		X			
Acre		X			
Amazonas		X			
Pará		X			
Espirito Santo		X			
Rondonia (New State)	X				
Amapá (Territory)					
Roraima (Territory)					
Total:	13	9	-	-	1

TABLE X

Results from January 1984 Presidential Contest*

Tancredo de Almeida Neves	480 votes
Paulo Salim Maluf	180 votes
Abstentions	26 votes

*An indirect election by an electoral college made up of a total of 686 votes.

C. CHILE*

1. Method of Electing the President

The President of Chile was elected directly if a candidate received an absolute majority of the popular vote. If no candidate received over one-half the popular vote, Congress elected the President by choosing between the two highest candidates. In case of a tie, the President of the Senate cast the deciding vote. The President and Vice-President of the Republic of Chile was elected for a term of six years.

2. Description of the Legislature

The Chilean Senate was composed of five Senators for each of the nine provincial senatorial groupings. Elected for eight year terms, twenty-five senators were chosen at one time and twenty the next.

Seats in the Chamber of Deputies, elected as a whole every four years, were apportioned according to the population of the electorate.

3. Method of Electing the National Legislature

The Election Law prescribed that in an election for one person, a simple plurality determined the winner. In elections for more than one person, closed list, proportional representation system of the following sort was used:

- (a) Votes, which in Chile were cast for individual candidates, were totaled by party list, yielding what was known as "votos de lista."
- (b) The numerical total of each list was divided successively by one, two, three, four, etc, until there were for each one of the "votos de lista," as many quotients as Deputies or Senators being elected.
- (c) These quotients were arranged in regular descending order until there was a number of them equal to that of the Deputies or Senators being elected. The quotient which occupied the last of these places was known as the cifra repartidora, and was used to determine how many were elected on each list.
- (d) Each party total was divided by the cifra repartidora and the quotients yielded were the number of seats to which the party was entitled.
- (e) The candidates elected were those who obtained the highest number of votes. If there were fewer candidates on a list than seats to which the party was entitled, then all the leftover places were divided among the lists as if it had been a new election, following the method described in (b), (c), and (d).

*Based on The Constitution of the Republic of Chile: 1925 (as amended)

- (f) If a seat belonged with equal right to several lists, it went to the one with the largest number of "votos de lista." In case of tie among separate lists, the candidate on those lists who had obtained the largest number of votes was elected. In case of a tie among these candidates, the winner was determined by drawing lots.

4. Electoral Process in the Constitution of 1980

The constitution approved by plebiscite in 1980 provides for a three-stage return to democracy. The first is called the transition period. The second, the presidential election of 1989, and the third, the permanent legislation which will be in force from 1990 onwards.

- (a) Insofar as the transition period is concerned, which is to last eight years beginning with the promulgation of the 1980 constitution (11 May 1980), the constitution provides that the "current president, Army General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, will continue as President of the Republic during the period indicated in the previous disposition (i.e., for the full eight years)." (Artículo 14, inc. 1).
- (b) At least 90 days before General Pinochet is to hand over the presidency, (11 March 1989, the three heads of the Armed Forces and the Director General of the Carabineros will propose to the country, by unanimity, the person who will occupy the office of President of the Republic for the next eight years. This nomination is subject to ratification by plebiscite. The prohibition against re-election provided by the constitution is not applicable to the person selected by the junta.

If the junta fails to arrive at a unanimous choice, the full membership of the National Security Council, plus the Comptroller General of the Republic, will propose a candidate arrived at by an absolute majority. The person will be subject to ratification by plebiscite (not before 30 days, nor after 60 days, from the date the person is named candidate.)

- (c) In the final stage of the return to democracy, the permanent legislation of 1990 onwards calls for the following:

The Election of the President - President and Vice-President of the Republic to be elected directly by an absolute majority of votes validly cast. If no candidate receives an absolute majority, a second round popular vote is held between the two candidates who obtained the highest relative majorities. The President and Vice-President are to hold office for a term of eight years.

o

Description of the National Legislature - The National Congress is to be composed of two houses, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies will consist of 120 members elected by a direct vote of the electoral districts established by the respective organic constitutional law. The Chamber is to be totally renewed every four years.*

The Senate is to be elected by direct vote in each of 13 regions of the country. Each region shall elect 2 senators. Senators will serve an eight year term of office, to be replaced alternately every four years. Those representing odd-numbered regions will be replaced in one period, and those representing even-numbered regions and the metropolitan area will be replaced in the following period.

The Senate is also integrated by:

- i. Former presidents of the republic who have served continuously for 6 years in that capacity (for life);
- ii. Two former Ministers of the Supreme Court elected by the latter in successive balloting and who should have held their post for at least two consecutive years;
- iii. A former Comptroller General of the Republic who should have held the post for at least two continuous years, also elected by the supreme court;
- iv. A former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, one from the Navy, another from the Air Force, and a former Director General of the Armed Police, who should have been in their posts for at least 2 years, elected by the National Security Council;
- v. A former rector of the State University, or of a university recognized by the State, who should have held the post for a period of no less than 2 consecutive years, appointed by the President of the Republic; and
- vi. A former minister of State who should have held that position for more than 2 years continuously, in presidential periods prior to that in which the appointment is made also designated by the President of the Republic.

The Senators referred to in ii, iii, iv, v, and vi shall serve for the term of 8 years. Should there be only 3, or fewer, persons qualifying as per requirements set forth in ii through vi, citizens having held other relevant positions may be designated.

*However, should the President dissolve Congress, as is within his authority given by the Constitution, the newly elected chamber functions only for the time lacking for the dissolved chamber to complete its period.

5. Results of the 1973 Congressional and 1970 Presidential Elections

Inasmuch as Chile has not yet experienced a transition from authoritarianism, the electoral results presented in Tables XI and XII are intended to reflect the relative strength of each major political party.

TABLE XI

1973 Election of the National Chamber of Deputies

Party	No. of Votes	Percentage of Votes	No. of Deputies
National	777,084	21.1	34
Radical	133,951	3.6	-
Christian Democrat	1,049,676	28.5	53
Socialist	678,674	18.4	29
Communist	595,829	16.2	25
Others			9

TABLE XII

1970 Presidential Elections in Chile

Candidate	No. of Votes	Percentage of Vote
Allende (Unidad Popular)	1,070,334	36.2
Tomic (Christian Democrat)	821,159	27.8
Allesandri (National Party)	1,031,159	34.9
Blank and Void	<u>31,505</u>	<u>1.1</u>
Total Vote:	2,954,799	100.0
Total Registration:	3,539,747	
Percentage of Abstentions:		16.5

D. URUGUAY*

1. Method of Electing the President

The President and Vice-President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay are elected directly by a simple plurality of votes under the DSV (double simultaneous vote) system in which votes for separate party fractions (sublemas) are summed so that the candidate of the fraction (sublema) with the highest number of votes within the lema with the highest total number of votes is elected. (For example, even though Wilson Ferriera of the Blancos had the highest number of votes in the election of 1971, the Colorados obtained the highest total number of votes giving Bordaberry, who had a lower popular vote than Ferriera, the victory). The President and Vice-President serve for a term of five years.

2. Description of the Legislature

The Chamber of Representatives consists of 99 members, each department having at least two. Their term of office is five years. The following procedure is used to determine the number of Representatives for each Department.

- (a) The national electoral cipher is found by adding to the total number of votes cast in the country in the last election, that of those citizens who have been added to the Civic Register since the date of the last election.
- (b) The departmental electoral cipher is determined by adding to the total number of valid votes cast in each department in the last election that of the citizens who have been added to the Civic Register in that department since the last election.
- (c) The quotient of representation is obtained by dividing the national electoral cipher by ninety-nine. The electoral cipher of each department is divided by the quotient of representation and each department is assigned as many representatives as units result from this division.
- (d) If the preceding operation yields to any department a single seat, it is awarded one more. If it yields none, the department is awarded two seats.

If there remain places to distribute, these are assigned, one by one, to the departments in the following form:

- (a) The electoral cipher of each department is divided by the number of representatives plus one which was assigned to it in the earlier distribution, and an additional representative is awarded the department with the largest quotient.

*Based on The Constitution of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay: 1967 (as amended) (It should be noted that Uruguay's electoral laws are in flux and that changes in the law can be expected before the next election in 1987.)

- (b) This procedure is repeated as many times as there are seats to distribute.

The Senate is composed of 31 members elected directly by the people with the Republic considered as a single electoral district. Their term of office is five years.

3. Method for Electing the National Legislature

The following system of closed list, proportional representation is used in elections for Senators:

- (a) All the valid votes are counted, then divided by the number of places to be filled (31). The result is an electoral quotient.
- (b) Each "lema" (the name given to party-labels) receives as many seats as times the electoral quotient will go into its total of valid votes.
- (c) For the distribution of leftover seats, each lema's total is divided by the number of seats plus one which it has already received. The lema with the largest quotient resulting from this operation receives an additional seat. In case of tie, all lemas with the equal quotients receive an additional seat, unless there are not enough to go around, in which case the seats go, in order, to the lemas with the largest totals.

In Uruguay, parties or lemas usually contain a number of factions, called sub-lemas. The operation for distributing a lema's place among its sub-lemas is exactly the same as the one described above. The places available within the lema are considered in the same ways as those which are available in the national distribution; the various sub-lemas are treated as the lemas were in distributing those places.

The procedure for distributing seats for Representatives on a departmental level is the same as that for Senators on a national level. Leftover seats are not, however, distributed within the department. Instead, they are added together for the country as a whole, then the number of valid votes cast in favor of each lema in the whole country is divided by the total number plus one of places it has been assigned. An additional place goes to the lema yielding the largest quotient. If several equal ones are largest, each receives a place. If there are not enough places to go around, distribution is made according to the total number of votes the lemas have received in the whole country. This operation is repeated until all seats have been filled.

For each department the Electoral Court then arranges in descending order the quotients which the lemas present by the process of dividing the total of valid votes in that department by the number of places plus one already assigned in that department. The Court distributes the seats for each department following this order. When the maximum representation which the law grants to a department or lema is reached, it is not taken into account for any additional seats.

Places are distributed to candidates according to the order in which their names appear on the lists.

4. Results of the 1984 Elections

Tables XIII, XIV and XV show the results of the 1984 legislative and presidential elections in Uruguay.

TABLE XIII

Election of the National Chamber of Deputies, By District

District	National Party	Colorados	Frente Amplio	Unión Cívica
Montevideo	13	18	16	1
Canelones	4	5	1	1
San Jose	1	1		
Flores	1	1		
Cerro Largo	1	1		
Treinta y Tres	1	1		
Maldonado	1	1	1	
Rocha	1	1		
Artigas	1	1		
Salto	1	1	1	
Paysandu	1	1	1	
Río Negro	1	1		
Soriano	1	1		
Colonia	2	2	1	
Rivera	1	1		
Durazno	1	1		
Tacuarembó	1	1		
Florida	1	1		
Lavalleja	1	1		
Total:	35	41	21	2

TABLE XIV

Election of the National Senate*

National Party	11 seats
Colorado Party	13 seats
Frente Amplio	6 seats
Total:	30 seats

*Recall that the Senate is elected on the basis of proportional representation with the Republic considered as a single electoral district.

TABLE XV

URUGUAY - ELECCIONES GENERALES, 25 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1984 - RESULTADOS GENERALES

--- PARTIDO COLORADO ---

Candidato	SANGUINETTI - TARIGO			PACHECO - PIRAN			PARTIDO COLORADO		
	Sanguinetti Icigliutti Tarigo "15" - "85"	Flores Silva "89"	Singer	Vascon- cellos	Jude	Silveira "723"			
URUGUAY	458,807	72,502	31,296	25,920	588,143	170,796	12,792	183,588	777,701
MONTEVIDEO	160,631	41,817	11,486	20,018	233,952	75,855	7,615	83,470	318,588
RESTO DEL PAIS	298,176	30,685	19,810	5,902	354,191	94,941	5,177	100,118	459,113
Porcentajes:									
URUGUAY	59,00	9,32	4,02	3,33	75,63	21,96	1,65	23,60	
MONTEVIDEO	50,42	13,13	3,61	6,28	73,43	23,81	2,39	26,20	100%
RESTO DEL PAIS	64,95	6,68	4,31	1,29	77,15	20,67	1,13	21,80	

--- PARTIDO NACIONAL ---

Candidato	ZUMARAN - AGUIRRE			ORTIZ		PAYSEE		PARTIDO NACIONAL
	Purepa	Lacalla	Garat	Ortiz	Paysee			
URUGUAY	428,776	117,597	14,121	76,014	21,903	660,767		
MONTEVIDEO	176,460	48,812	1,448	5,278	6,549	239,080		
RESTO DEL PAIS	252,316	68,785	12,673	70,736	15,954	421,687		
Porcentajes:								
URUGUAY	64,89	17,80	2,14	11,50	3,31			
MONTEVIDEO	73,80	20,41	0,61	22,08	2,74		100%	
RESTO DEL PAIS	59,83	16,31	3,00	16,77	3,64			

TABLE XV (continued)

--- FRENTE AMPLIO (legalmente "Partido Demócrata Cristiano") ---

Candidato Presidencial	CROTTODINI - D. ELIA							FRENTE AMPLIO
	Batalla "99"	Cardozo (P.S.)	P.S. + "99"	Arcujo (Demo- cracia Avanzada) 10001	Young (Demo- cracia Cristiana) 808	Roballo (Izquierda Democrática Independiente) 101		
URUGUAY	157,908	61,278	219,086	113,116	39,203	26,783	401,104	
MONTEVIDEO	128,805	41,417	170,222	83,491	22,170	21,341	297,490	
RESTO DEL PAIS	29,003	19,861	48,864	29,625	17,033	5,442	103,614	
Porcentajes:								
URUGUAY	39,34	15,27	54,62	28,20	9,77	6,68		
MONTEVIDEO	43,30	13,92	57,22	28,07	7,45	7,17		
RESTO DEL PAIS	27,99	19,17	47,16	28,59	16,43	5,25	100%	

Las diferencias a 100% son debidas a votos al Lema.

Fuente: Corte Electoral - Uruguay.

SOURCE MATERIALS

1. Blaustine, Albert, ed., Constitutions of the Countries of the World, Oceana Publications (New York: 1921).
2. Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems, "Methods of Electing National Executives and National Legislatures in South America," Special Memorandum No. 21, 1964.
3. Gott, Richard, ed., A Guide to the Political Parties of South America, Penguin Books (Baltimore: 1973).
4. McDonald, Ronald, H., Party Systems and Elections in Latin America, Markham Publishing Co. (Chicago: 1971).

Argentina:

1. The Constitution of Argentina (1853).
2. Etchepareborda, Roberto, and Perry, William, Latin American Election Series, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1983, Argentine Election Project.

Brazil:

1. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Brazil (1967).
2. Schnieder, Donald M., Final Report: Results and Ramifications, 1982 Brazilian Elections Project, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.
3. Perry, William and Schnieder, Donald M., The 1985 Brazilian Political Report, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.

Chile:

1. The Constitution of the Republic of Chile (1925).
2. The Constitution of the Republic of Chile (1980).
3. Valenzuela, Arturo, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile, The Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore: 1978).
4. Valenzuela, Arturo, "Origins and Characteristics of the Chilean Party System: A Proporsal for a Parliamentary Form of Government," Wilson Center Working Paper No. 164, May 1985.

Uruguay:

1. The Constitution of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay (1967).
2. Rial, Juan, Uruguay: Elecciones de 1984, Ediciones de La Banda Oriental (Montevideo: 1984).