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FINAL RESULTS OF THE
ITALIAN POLITICAL
MAY - JULY 1946; FEB.

10000/136/96

FINAL RESULTS OF THE SUB-COMM. UPON RESULTS OF
ITALIAN POLITICAL ELECTIONS OF 2-3 JUNE 1946
MAY-JULY 1946; FEB. 1947

20 May 1946

Dear Minister Romita:

I am forwarding you herewith two requests
for electoral certificates, addressed to Admiral
Stone, for such action as you may deem appropriate.

Very truly yours.

EDWARD J. BEHN
Lt(jr), USNR
Flag Lieutenant to CG

Mr. Giuseppe Romita
Minister of the Interior
Italian Government
Rome

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Il Ministro per la ^{DIFESA}
~~Guerra~~

Roma 22 Febbreio 1947

F.1153-S.

Caro Ammiraglio,

Le restituisco - dopo averne fatto
copia - gli uniti documenti che Ella corte-
samente mi ha dato in visione, e La ringrazio
per l'utilissimo contributo che essi rappre-
sentano per lo studio in corso riguardante
l'organizzazione del Ministero della Difesa.

Con molti distinti saluti.

per J. Caporali

24/2/47

~~~~~  
Ill.mo Ammiraglio  
Ellery S F O N E  
Capo della Sezione Affari Militari Italiani del  
1° A.F.H.Q.

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July 1946

FINAL REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE ITALIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS  
DATED ON 2/5 JUNE 1946

1. The basic material of this Report is contained in the four annexed statistical tables. These have been prepared from information supplied by the Electoral Service of the Ministry of Interior, to which a cross-check has been applied specially in so far as information communicated directly by the Sub-Commission has permitted. An explanation of and comment upon each Table is annexed.

2. The Tables are therefore a complete analysis of the results of the elections as far as the material available. They will be of value mainly as a study of the operation of the electoral techniques employed by Italy on this occasion and as to the trained professional administrator rather than the political observer who may find them of use. In the following pages, therefore, comment and inference of a purely political nature has been eschewed as being outside the scope of this Report and the sphere of interest of the Sub-Commission. The Report in fact completes the record of this Sub-Commission's operations in relation to the Italian elections and in preparing it the possible needs of students of public administration and of detailed historical research have been borne in mind.

3. These preliminary paragraphs appear to be a suitable point at which to record an preliminary note upon some of the political parties whose names appear in the Tables and the comment upon them, as their nature is not always apparent merely from their names. It is assumed that the reader has some familiarity with the main lines of division

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1. The basic material of this report is contained in the four annexed statistical tables. These have been prepared from information supplied by the Electoral Service of the Ministry of Interior, to which a cross-check has been applied sporadically in order to ascertain information accumulated directly by the Sub-Commission has been verified. An explanation of each current upon each Table is annexed.

2. The Tables are therefore as complete as an analysis of the results of the elections can be made upon the material available. They will be of value mainly as a guide to the operation of the electoral techniques employed by Italy on this occasion and to the various professional administrative bodies rather than the political influence of a purely political nature has been evidenced as being outside the scope of this Report and the sphere of interest of the Sub-Commission. The report in fact concludes the recent of this Sub-Commission's operations in relation to the Italian elections and is preparing it the possible needs of students of public administration and of detailed historical research have been borne in mind.

3. These preliminary paragraphs appear to be a suitable point at which to re-consider explanatory notes upon some of the political parties whose names appear in the tables of the constituent tables, as their nature is not always apparent merely from their names. It is assumed that the reader has some familiarity with the main lines of division of political parties in Italy during the last two or three years and no explanation of the philosophical or programmatic of parties is itself to be attempted. This report therefore limits itself to noting:

a) The Democrazia Nazionale which in a combination of the historic Liberal Party and the Libero Partito and St. Nitti's concentration movement, formed with the in addition a group of fighting the elections and which may be very not continue after.

2. Table I has been prepared for the purpose of illustrating under various conditions the effect of the various factors on the relations to population and the registered electorate.

3. For the first time exact figures for the registered electorate (column 3) have become available. Up to a short time before the elections the electoral lists were subject to day-to-day variations by reason of the cancellation of those disqualified and the promulgation of additional lists for various reasons. The cancellation of those disqualified for fascism could be made as late as 10 days before the elections. As from 23 May however, the lists became fixed and it was possible to ascertain the exact electorate. The registered electorate of 24,144 is 65% of the population, a figure which bears out the estimates previously given by the Sub-Commission.

4. The figures as to electoral certificates remaining undelivered after the close of the polls (Cols. 4 & 5) will be of interest in view of the agitation raised on the point during May and to some extent since the elections. The percentage of certificates remaining undelivered throughout Italy (5.2%) is entirely satisfactory. Even in countries which have been spared the damage to public buildings and machinery of accuracy in the functioning of the machinery of government, it would be impractical to look for a 100% delivery. It is considered that the figure of 5.2% for undelivered certificates can be fully explained by the practical difficulties inherent in the circumstances of the countryside that this figure appears. At all for allegations that there has been a deliberate withholding of certificates. On the contrary, the figures show that taking the country as a whole, there has not been a serious attempt of this nature.

The extent to which heavy war damage has affected the delivery of certificates is to be noted. Attention is drawn to the 6 election districts having the highest percentage of undelivered certificates, i. e., those election districts in which the figure is above 6%. These are:

|                                     |       |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| III Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona | 10.3% |
| IX                                  |       |

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|                                          |       |
|------------------------------------------|-------|
| III Genova-Imperia-In Spezia-Savona      | 10.3% |
| IX Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone         | 6.7%  |
| XIII Napoli-Caserta                      | 6.7%  |
| XV Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Brini | 6.7%  |

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The 1st district (XXIII - Val d'Aosta) is somewhat of a surprise, since in the district in which proportional representation was not operative, it returned but one Deputy who was elected by simple majority. Two candidates only were nominated, the ballot papers contained two symbols only and there was no question of recording preference votes. This is about as simple a ballot paper as anyone could devise. Yet the Val d'Aosta presents by far the highest percentage of spoiled Constituent assembly ballots - 17%. It is however to be noted that this district has also yielded the highest percentage of spoiled referendum ballots - 11.3%. Among many factors which may have contributed to these results, it is possible that the autonomous constitution which the Val d'Aosta has enjoyed for some 6 months may have somewhat dulled the interest of the Vallois in national politics.

10. Having to mind the complications with the proportional representation system, the numerous lists of candidates, the elusiveness of the ballot papers and the fact that the electors were called upon to vote upon two issues and with only one paper at the same time, the general picture as to spoiled ballot papers is encouraging. The overall percentage of spoiled Constituent assembly ballots (7.3%) and spoiled Referendum ballots (5.3%) are to be considered gratifyingly low. The figures certainly afford no evidence of either apathy or lack of interest or of "political immaturity".

TABLE II

1. Table II has been assigned to illustrate arithmetically the operations involved in counting the votes and assigning the seats in each election district. For this purpose, it shows:
  - a) the basic figures from which the allotment of seats is calculated (cols 2-5);
  - b) the votes gained and the seats thereby won by each of the contending parties (cols. 6-19 and 24-30);
  - c) the votes which remained unused in each district and which either became available for use in the National College (cols. 20-31) or else could not be used at all (cols. 34-35).
2. The phrase "electoral quotient" at the head of the Col. 3 possibly needs a little explanation. In fact this electoral quotient is the minimum number of votes which a party must obtain in order to win one seat. It will be recollected from previous remarks, the electoral quotient is obtained by dividing the total number of valid votes cast in the district (col. 2) by a figure related to the number of seats assigned by law to the district (col. 4). The phrase "related to" is used because the law enacts that the divisor will be the number of seats assigned (a) plus 2, where the seats assigned are over 20 and (b) plus 1 where the seats assigned are 20 or less.
3. As is known the electoral quotient is divided into the total number of valid votes obtained by each party in order to obtain the number of seats won by that party. The result of this is to distribute a lesser number of seats than the total assigned to the election district. Columns 4 and 5 illustrated this. The difference between the totals of these columns ( $3568-476 = 80$ ) is the number of seats which became available in the National College. The operations in the National College for the assignment of these 80 seats are illustrated in the next Table III.
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4. In order to relate the operations in the National College with those in the election districts illustrated by Table II, it has been necessary in the present table to distinguish those parties which nominated lists in the National College and those which did not. Figures as to votes obtained and seats in the election districts are given in cols. 6-19 for 7 parties. These are the 7 parties which won seats in the districts and also nominated candidates in the National College. In every case the division of the party's votes by the electoral quotient gives a remainder. The total of these remainders resulting from this division of the number of votes gained by each of these 7 parties in the individual districts is given in col. 20. As these 7 parties all nominated lists in the National College, all these remainders are usable. In effect,

7. The chart annexed at Appendix A groups the parties according to their success or failure in the election districts and in the National College. This, with the following tabular statement may help to clarify the picture.

| <u>Election Districts</u><br><u>ONLY</u>       |  | <u>Parties winning Seats in</u><br><u>Election Districts</u><br><u>AND</u><br><u>National College</u> |  | <u>National College</u><br><u>ONLY</u> |
|------------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------|
| 1. Centadini d'Italia (1)                      |  | 1. Communist (104)                                                                                    |  | 1. Christian Social (1)                |
| 2. Near Democrats (1)                          |  | 2. Demo-Christian (207)                                                                               |  | Party                                  |
| 3. Sicilian Independent Movement (4)           |  | 3. National Bloc of Liberty (11)                                                                      |  | 2. Dem. Repub. Conc. (2)               |
| 4. Bard Party of Action (2)                    |  | 4. Republican (14)                                                                                    |  | 3. It. Union, Movement (1)             |
| 5. Democratic Progressive Republican Front (1) |  | 5. National Democratic Union (50)                                                                     |  | 4. Parti of Action (7)                 |
|                                                |  | 6. Socialist (115)                                                                                    |  |                                        |
|                                                |  | 7. Uomo Qualunque (20)                                                                                |  |                                        |

- |                                                |                                   |                          |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Labour Democrats (1)                        | 2. Demo-Christian (207)           | Party                    |
| 2. Sicilian Independents                       | 3. National Bloc of Liberty (41)  | 2. Dem. Repub. Conc. (2) |
| 3. Movement (4)                                | 4. Republican (14)                | 3. It. Union, Novem. (1) |
| 4. Grand Party of Action (2)                   | 5. National Democratic Union (30) | 4. Parti of Action (7)   |
| 5. Democratic Progressive Republican Front (1) | 6. Socialist (115)                |                          |
|                                                | 7. Uomo Qualunque (20)            |                          |

8. Finally there are 33 insignificant parties or local groups which entered the contest in various districts, but failed to win a single seat and did not nominate any candidates for the National College. All the votes cast by such parties are wasted. They are given in col. 33, and amount in total to 411,985. A list of these 33 parties is given in Appendix "B".

9. The gross total of wasted votes is therefore obtained by adding together the totals of col. 31 and 33, 113,073 + 411,985 = 525,058. This figure may be expressed as about 24% of the total valid votes cast throughout the country. This is quite a good figure and shows that the National College has operated in the main as intended, i.e. as a balancing factor for the purpose of rendering representation in the Assembly as strictly proportional as is reasonably possible.

TABLE III

1. This table illustrates the operations leading to the assignment of seats in the National College. Col. 2 shows the seats assigned by the electoral law to the various Districts; col. 3 shows the number of seats which were actually won by the various contesting Parties in each District. As mentioned in connection with Table I, in no District did the operations of counting the votes result in filling the whole of the seats assigned to the District by law. In every case, therefore, some seats remained unfilled and so became available for use in the National College. The seats thus becoming available are shown in Col. 3.

2. As has been noted in connection with Table II, in each Electoral District the process of dividing up the electoral quotient the total of the valid votes obtained by each Party has invariably resulted in a "remainder" of votes unused in the District. In cols. 3 to 15 are given these remainders for each District and for each of the 14 Parties which submitted a list of candidates for the National College.

3. In the case of 4 of the 14 Parties, however, the term "remainder" is not strictly correct. The four Parties in question are the Italia Unitarista Movement (col. 4), the Christian Social Party (col. 5), the Democratic Republican Concentration (col. 6) and the Party of Action (col. 11). In none of these Parties polled in any District sufficient number of votes to win a seat, it follows that the whole of the votes polled by them everywhere became available for use

in no District did the operations of counting the votes result in filling the whole of the seats as equal to the District by law. In every case, therefore, some seats remained unfilled and so became available for use in the National College. The seats thus becoming available are shown in Col. 5.

2. As has been noted in connection with Table II, in each Election District the process of dividing the electoral quotient by the total of the valid votes obtained by each party invariably resulted in a "remainder" of votes unused in the District. If only 5 to 15 are given these remainders for each District and for each of the 11 divisions which numbered a list of candidates for the National College.

3. In the case of 4 of the 11 divisions, however, the term "remainder" is not strictly applicable. The four parties in question are the Italian Unionist Movement (col. 4), the Christian Social Party (col. 5), the Democratic Republican Concentration (col. 6), and the Party of Action (col. 7). As none of these parties polled in any Election District sufficient number of votes to win a seat, it is clear that the bulk of the votes polled by them everywhere became available for use in the National College. The seat striking example of this appears in the Party of Action, Col. 13 shows that this party contested 25 out of the 34 Election Districts and polled a total of 221,750 votes. Although the party failed to win a seat anywhere in the Election Districts, yet

APPENDIX "A"

54 - PARTIES OR GROUPS - 54  
nominated lists in the 31 Election Districts  
and won votes

42 - PARTIES OR GROUPS - 42  
won no seats in  
the Election Districts

12 - PARTIES - 12  
did win seats

of the above  
11 - PARTIES -  
also nominated list  
National Coll

of the above 12

of the above

5 - PARTIES - 5  
won their seats in the  
Election Districts only

7 - PARTIES - 7  
won seats in the  
Election Districts AND National College

4 - PARTIES - 4  
won seats in the  
National College

therefore

16 - PARTIES - 16  
are represented in the  
Constituent Assembly

"APPENDIX"

54 - PARTIES OR GROUPS - 54  
nominated lists in the 31 Election Districts  
and won votes

- 42 12 - PARTIES - 12  
did win seats

of the above 12

of the above 54  
11 - PARTIES - 11  
also nominated lists in the  
National College

of the above 11

- 5  
in the  
ts only

7 - PARTIES - 7  
won seats in the  
Election Districts AND National College

4 - PARTIES - 4  
won seats in the  
National College ONLY

therefore

16 - PARTIES - 16  
are represented in the  
Constituent Assembly

## APPENDIX "B"

|    | PARTY<br>1.                                           | ELECTION DISTRICT<br>2.                                                        | VOTES<br>3.                           | TOTAL VOTES<br>4. |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Partito Comunista<br>Internazionale                   | II - Cuneo<br>IV - Milano<br>VII - Mantova<br>XVIII - Catanzaro                | 3,219<br>3,068<br>2,527<br>43,953     | 22,767            |
| 2. | Unione Nazionale Sinistrati<br>di Cuorini             | III - Genova<br>IX - Roma<br>XXII - Benevento<br>XXIII - Napoli<br>XXV - Bari  | 3,094<br>575<br>705<br>4,633<br>1,317 | 10,524            |
| 3. | Schieramento Nazionale                                | IV - Milano                                                                    | 2,771                                 | 2,771             |
| 4. | Partito Liberale Italiano                             | X - Venezia                                                                    | 4,110                                 | 4,110             |
| 5. | Unione Democratica Indipen-<br>dente Lavoro e Libertà | XXVIII - Ancona<br>XX - Roma<br>XXI - Aquila                                   | 9,955<br>2,223<br>2,945               | 36,123            |
| 6. | Movimento Ricostruzione                               | XIX - Perugia<br>XX - Roma<br>XXI - Aquila<br>XXIII - Napoli<br>XXIX - Catania |                                       |                   |















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Maps on this order too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed clockwise beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | 2 |
| 3 | 4 |

|   |
|---|
| 1 |
| 2 |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 7 | 8 | 9 |























































