

Política Internacional e Geopolítica

a crise do mundo globalizado

**INSTITUTO CULTURAL
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**2020-2021
SESSÃO Nº4**



PARTE I – NOTAS BREVES

(Política Internacional)

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (1) [FONTE: Nick Danforth / FP, 23/10/2016]

Turkey's New Maps Are Reclaiming the Ottoman Empire

Erdogan's aggressive nationalism is now spilling over Turkey's borders, grabbing land in Greece and Iraq.

[Nick Danforth](#) October 23, 2016, 4:00 PM



In the past few weeks, a conflict between Ankara and Baghdad over Turkey's role in the liberation of Mosul has precipitated an alarming burst of Turkish irredentism. On two separate occasions, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan [criticized](#) the Treaty of Lausanne, which created the borders of modern Turkey, for [leaving](#) the country too small. He spoke of

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (2) [FONTE: Nick Danforth / FP, 23/10/2016]



But the specific history behind the borders they envision provides the first indication of what's new and what isn't about Erdogan's brand of nationalism. These maps purport to show the borders laid out in Turkey's National Pact, a document Erdogan recently suggested the prime minister of Iraq should read to understand his country's interest in Mosul. Signed in 1920, after the Ottoman Empire's defeat in World War I, the National Pact identified those parts of the empire that the government was prepared to fight for. Specifically, it claimed those territories that were still held by the Ottoman army in October 1918 when Constantinople signed an armistice with the allied powers. On Turkey's southern border, this line ran from north of Aleppo in what is now Syria to Kirkuk in what is now Iraq.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (3) [FONTE: Nick Danforth / FP, 23/10/2016]

Erdogan, by contrast, has given voice to an alternative narrative in which Ataturk's willingness in the Treaty of Lausanne to abandon territories such as Mosul and the now-Greek islands in the Aegean was not an act of eminent pragmatism but rather a betrayal. The suggestion, against all [evidence](#), is that better statesmen, or perhaps a more patriotic one, could have gotten more.

Among other things, Erdogan's reinterpretation of history shows the ironies behind the widespread [talk](#) in the United States of his supposed "neo-Ottomanism." A decade ago, Erdogan's enthusiasm for all things Ottoman appeared to be part of an effective strategy for improving relations with the Muslim Middle East, a policy that some U.S. critics saw as a challenge to their country's role in the region. But refashioning the National Pact as a justification for irredentism rather than a rebuke of it has not been popular among Turkey's neighbors. Criticism of Erdogan's neo-Ottoman foreign policy is now as likely to come from the Arab world as anywhere else.

Criticism of Erdogan's neo-Ottoman foreign policy is now as likely to come from the Arab world as anywhere else.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (4) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 1/11/2020]

Egypt slams Turkish role in Syria

Egypt has recently condemned Turkey's role in Syria, which prompted condemnation on the part of Ankara, fueling the already existing tensions between the two countries.

[Hagar Hosny](#)



Nov 1, 2020

CAIRO — Turkey condemned Oct. 15 the comments of Egyptian Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry regarding [Ankara's role in Syria](#), stressing that its military presence in the country not only aims at protecting its national security, but also ensures the Syrian territories' sovereignty and unity.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (5) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 1/11/2020]

During a [virtual meeting](#) Oct. 22 of the foreign ministers of the Small Group on Syria, Shoukry had said that the Turkish presence in Syria does not only constitute a threat for Syria alone, but it also seriously [harms the whole region](#). Any plans to flare up extremism and transfer foreign terrorist fighters must not be tolerated, he added.

Tensions have already been high between Egypt and Turkey due to [Egypt's condemnation](#) of the [Turkish violations](#) in the eastern Mediterranean region, as Turkey insists on drilling for gas in the Mediterranean near the borders of Greece and Cyprus (riparian countries with Egypt). Meanwhile, [Turkish forces](#) and armed militias are deployed on the Libyan lands (bordering Egypt from the west) to support the forces of the Libyan Government of National Accord headed by Fayez al-Sarraj in their fight against the Libyan National Army (LNA) led by military strongman Khalifa Haftar who is backed by Egypt.

Tarek Fahmy, a professor of political science at Cairo University, told Al-Monitor over the phone, "Shoukry's statements regarding the Turkish intervention in Syria are not new, and they are in line with previous [Egyptian stances](#) that have always rejected any regional or other interventions in Syria.

Fahmy added, "Shoukry's statements confirm two things: First, Egypt is keen on condemning the Turkish moves — whether in Libya, Syria or [Iraq](#) — and its intervention in the eastern Mediterranean. Second, the scope of disagreement and disputes between Egypt and Turkey has extended and now includes Syria."

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (6) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 20/10/2020]

Turkey' fears further downward spiral in relations with Saudi Arabia

Ankara worries that the "unofficial boycott" is just the start of increased acrimony with Riyadh.

[Pinar Tremblay](#)



Oct 20, 2020

"We have been spiraling deep down the rabbit hole since the Syrian civil war started in 2011," a senior bureaucrat working for the security establishment told Al-Monitor. "We tried to mend bridges with Saudi Arabia, hoping to isolate Abu Dhabi — hoping that when the embargo against Qatar ends, we will continue on good terms with Riyadh."

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (7) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 20/10/2020]

Ankara is deeply worried about worsening relations with Saudi Arabia or becoming Riyadh's new Tehran. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, known for his [perpetually choleric attitude](#), has treaded extremely cautiously around Riyadh.

The economic impact of the boycott is likely to be felt in Turkey, as Riyadh's sphere of influence easily reaches over to [Morocco](#), [Jordan](#), Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and potentially other Gulf countries. It also [includes international brands](#), particularly but not only textiles, which are produced in Turkey. Saudi Arabia has asked its citizens and businessmen to cut all interactions with Turkey, from investments to tourist-related trips. In an already [depressed economy](#), such a boycott could be harmful to some Turkish industries.

However, there are three other concerns that deeply worry Ankara's suits about aggregated Saudi anger.

First, it is a major blow to Islamist government ideals overall. The Turkish president has always valued the kingdom as it represents the holy land for Muslims. He frequently visited Saudi Arabia and posed in religious garb while [touring the holy sites](#) of Islam. Indeed, the opposition has criticized Erdogan for his ritualistic umrah trips [before each election](#) with his media entourage. Erdogan's love for Riyadh was so deep that Turkey declared an [official day of mourning](#) for the death of Saudi King

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (8) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 20/10/2020]

If Riyadh issues a ban on AKP officials or Turkish leaders for hajj and umrah, that will be a serious blow to Ankara's Islamist claims.

The third concern of Ankara keeps serious analysts awake at night. That is [Riyadh's power](#) and reach over mosques and religious groups inside Turkey and Europe. Although [Saudi Arabia's aid distribution](#) globally is expected to decrease, [Gulf countries' ability](#) to challenge Muslim Brotherhood groups in Europe is potent.

The bitter rivalry in Europe could be mirrored inside Turkey as well. The [number of Salafi groups](#) has flourished in Turkey in the last decade. After Turkey's involvement in Syria, increasingly porous borders and Ankara's blind love for the Muslim Brotherhood has made the vetting process rather loose. Ankara has welcomed individuals and groups before its intelligence and security apparatus could understand their goals. These groups have been tolerated as they have not been vocal against Erdogan, but their presence is like a ticking time bomb. To make matters worse, they have benefited from lax gun ownership rules since the July 15 coup attempt. Ankara's suits know that several groups have flourished and reformed in the last decade. Their connections to other Salafi groups and how susceptible they are to Saudi or Emirati influence is the part that they are trying to gauge now.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (9) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 20/10/2020]

That connects with Ankara's second major fear: Saudi Arabia's power to manipulate the precious hajj quotas. For decades, Riyadh has politicized the hajj management system, banning [Muslim leaders and countries](#) effectively by minimizing or eliminating their entry visas for the annual pilgrimage. For example, Tunisian leader [Rachid Ghannouchi](#) has been banned for nine years. The Saudi-led [embargo against Qatar](#) also meant a three-year ban from hajj for Qatari citizens. Turkey fears Riyadh might utilize the hajj card, either minimizing or eliminating quotas for visas or harassing Turkish pilgrims during their visit. Plus, this action alone may have serious economic repercussions for Ankara. Umrah and hajj organizations are a major source of income for Turkey's notorious [Religious Affairs Directorate](#) (Diyanet).

A possible ban is a major concern for the AKP's voter base and elites. For decades, the [black market of hajj visas](#) has benefited senior AKP officials. It is an open secret that most AKP parliamentarians, bureaucrats and cronies have completed the pilgrimage as [VIP guests](#).

An owner of a tourism agency who has worked to organize annual hajj trips told Al-Monitor on the condition of anonymity, "Regular people wait for a decade or more for the visa to do hajj. Premium or VIP Muslims get all the paperwork done for themselves as well as their families in 15 days.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (10) [FONTE: Associated Press News, 16/10/2020]

Reports: Turkey tests Russian-made S-400 defense system



ANKARA, Turkey (AP) — NATO-member Turkey has tested its Russian-made advanced air defense missile system, Turkish media reports said Friday, raising the specter of a new standoff with the United States.

A Haber television, which is close to the government, said on its website that Turkey's military test-fired the Russian S-400 air defense system in the Black Sea province of Sinop. It based its reports on an amateur video, reportedly filmed in Sinop, showing a contrail shooting into the sky. Other media carried similar reports.

Turkish military and defense officials have refused to comment on the reports.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (11) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 19/10/2020]

Turkey approaches point of no return on employing Russian air defense system

Ankara's decision to test-fire its controversial Russian missiles, overriding US warnings, appears driven by a combination of motives related to its ties with both Washington and Moscow.

[Metin Gurcan](#)



A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (12) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 19/10/2020]

While Ankara has neither confirmed nor denied the six-hour test, an [anonymous US official](#) told Reuters that Turkey did test the S-400 system. Turkish authorities had issued an [aviation notice](#) earlier this month that unspecified missiles would be fired near the Black Sea city of Sinop in mid-October. [Experts analyzing](#) footage of a missile launch in the area Oct. 16 have identified the projectile as an S-400 missile of the 40N6E type, which has a range of 400 kilometers (248 miles), based on the engine ignition type and the angle and route of the smoke. Two other tests were expected to take place in the same area by Oct. 19.

The test, which reportedly lasted about six hours, represents the most crucial phase on the way to the activation of the S-400 systems — a red line drawn by the United States — following earlier drills in November 2019, when Turkey used US-made [F-16 and F-4 fighter jets](#) to test other components, most likely radars, at an air base outside Ankara, where the four S-400 batteries have been kept since Russia [began deliveries](#) in July that year.

Now, the last step to watch before a full activation will be the official assignment of the S-400 operators to the Turkish air force's combat structure, probably on the level of regiment, and their operational deployment to their places of duty.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (13) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 19/10/2020]

The chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Republican Jim Risch, said Turkey had gone “beyond the pale” and urged the administration to “send a [strong signal](#) that Turkey must divest its S-400s.”

NATO, for its part, said, “Any test of the S-400 air defense system by Turkey, if confirmed, would be regrettable. It is important Turkey continues to work with other allies to find [alternative solutions](#).”

In Turkey, meanwhile, members and supporters of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) were in a celebratory mood. The [pro-government media](#) hailed the test as a sign of how a confident Turkey is standing up to the United States or growing independent from the West or as “a move that will [drive crazy](#) those who cannot stomach” Turkey’s growing strength.

Referring to domestic critics of the S-400 purchase, AKP parliamentary whip [Bulent Turan](#) tweeted, “The S-400 were tested in Sinop today. The biggest problem of this beautiful country are those wretches passing off as intellectuals who can never reconcile with the values of the nation and never trust their state and those shallow [opposition] politicians who cannot grasp where they should stand on national issues.”

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (14) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 19/10/2020]

President [Donald Trump](#) has been reluctant to slap further sanctions on Turkey despite pressure from Congress, especially the Democrats, who have often questioned [Trump's relationship](#) with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Many believe Ankara is already maneuvering to strengthen its hand against the prospect of Joe Biden winning the Nov. 3 elections. The argument rests on the assumption that Ankara is using the S-400s to extract concessions from Washington on other contentious issues such as northeast Syria, which is controlled by US-backed Syrian Kurds, and Turkey's cross-border struggle against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party, which has waged an armed campaign against Ankara for nearly four decades, has close links to the Syrian Kurds and uses bases in northern Iraq to attack Turkey. Accordingly, Ankara might eventually step back from a full activation of the S-400s, depending on the concessions it obtains.

Others, however, believe that Ankara has long made up its mind to activate the S-400 and has no intention of backing down. According to this vantage point, the S-400s reflect Turkey's drive for "independence" from the Western security block and NATO in favor of a "non-aligned" posture. In other words, the argument goes, the S-400s are the symbol of the new geopolitical standing and self-confidence of a Turkey asserting itself as an independent regional power.

Another perspective focuses on the domestic woes of the government. Turkey is in the grips of a deep economic crisis that is badly bruising low-income and middle-class groups, which make the bulk of the AKP's voter base. Hence, Ankara needs "success stories" on the international arena to stoke nationalist sentiment and distract the public, ready to brave foreign policy risks to sustain its popular support. The S-400s, portrayed as a symbol of Turkey's independence, are handsomely serving this purpose.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (15) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 26/10/2020]

Erdogan distracts from plummeting lira with call to boycott France

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan accused France's Emmanuel Macron of pandering to anti-Muslim "fascists" in a desperate bid to bolster his electoral fortunes ahead of presidential elections in 2022, yet many would agree that Erdogan's anti-Western tirades are designed to divert attention from his country's mounting economic woes.

[Amberin Zaman](#)



A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (16) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 26/10/2020]

Erdogan accused France's Emmanuel Macron of "[leading the campaign of hatred](#)." Europe needs to tell the French president to "stop" and Turkish citizens must [boycott all French goods](#), Erdogan thundered during a speech peppered with Quranic verses to mark the launch of Prophet Mohammed Week, organized by Turkey's state-run Religious Affairs Directorate.

His calls for a boycott came as Turkish Airlines was poised to take delivery of its first Airbus A350. The jets are manufactured by a French-led European consortium. "[What do they do with the plane?](#) Chuck it in the Bosphorus?" mused Brussels-based journalist Sam Morgan.

The war of words between Erdogan and Macron has been growing steadily nastier, prompting Paris to recall its ambassador to Ankara for consultations in response to Erdogan's Oct. 23 assertion that the French leader required a "mental examination" among other slights. Macron's characterization of Islam as "a religion in crisis" has elicited angry reactions across the Muslim world amid a sharpening debate over secularism and Islam, deepened by the beheading in France of schoolteacher Samuel Paty, who had shown his class cartoons of the prophet.

A ambição neo-otomana de poder da Turquia (17) [FONTE: Al-Monitor, 26/10/2020]

The Turkish lira sank to an unprecedented low today, trading at over eight against the American dollar. The lira has shed more than a quarter of its value since the start of the year. Apparently unfazed by the currency's meltdown, Berat Albayrak, the finance minister and Erdogan's son-in-law who last month proclaimed that he was "not interested in the exchange rate," asserted that recent data indicated that Turkey's economy was back on the path to growth.

The same tone-deaf approach was on display during Erdogan's Malatya trip. A local shopkeeper complained to the president about soaring inflation, saying that he couldn't "bring bread to our house." Erdogan riposted that his words seemed "exaggerated." He then [tossed a bag of tea](#) at the man and counseled him to enjoy a "pleasurable" drink. Erdogan's comments prompted a deluge of derisory comparisons with the French queen Marie Antoinette, known for supposedly telling citizens to "eat cake" if they couldn't afford bread.

Erdogan's idiosyncratic views on the economy, notably his aversion to raising interest rates on the idea that higher rates spur inflation, are an abiding source of worry for foreign investors. But more recently, Turkey's growing tensions with its Western allies underpinned by its growing appetite for military intervention have had a compounding effect.



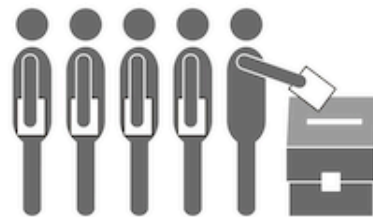
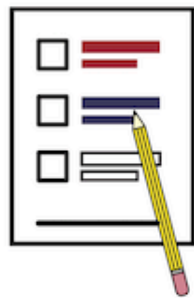
PARTE II – TEMA PRINCIPAL

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (1) [FONTE: US Government]

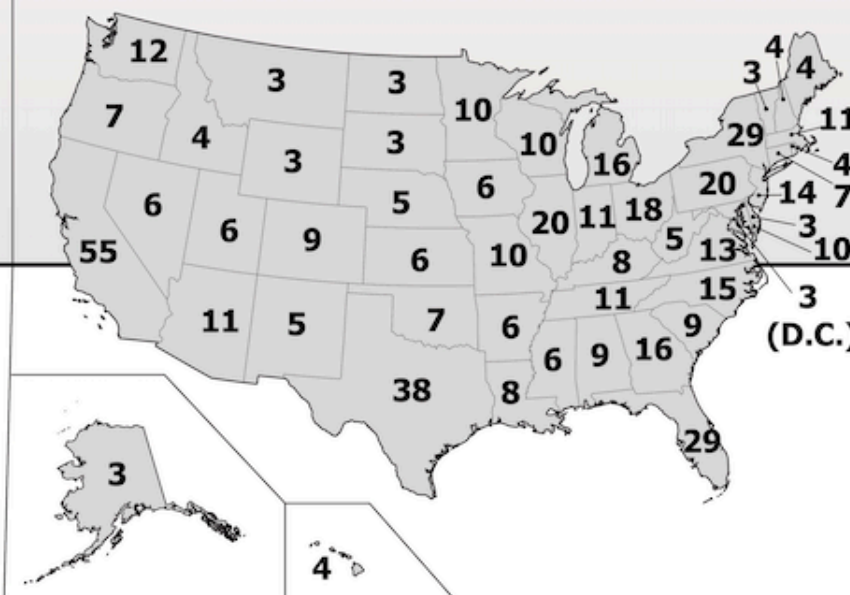
STEP 3 GENERAL ELECTION

People in every state across the country vote for one President and Vice President.

When people cast their vote, they are actually voting for a group of people called **electors**.



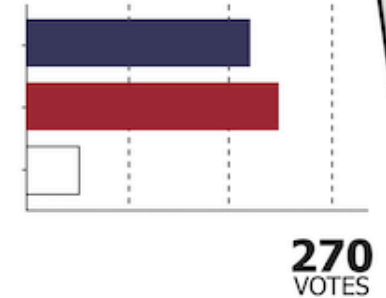
STEP 4 ELECTORAL COLLEGE



In the electoral college system, each state gets a certain number of electors based on its representation in Congress.

Each elector casts one vote following the general election, and the candidate who gets more than half (270) wins.

538
ELECTORAL
VOTES



270
VOTES

DEFINITIONS

Based on 2010 Census

Caucus: A meeting of the local members of a political party to select delegates to the national party convention. A caucus is a substitute for a primary election.

Delegate: A person authorized to represent others as an elected representative to a political party conference.

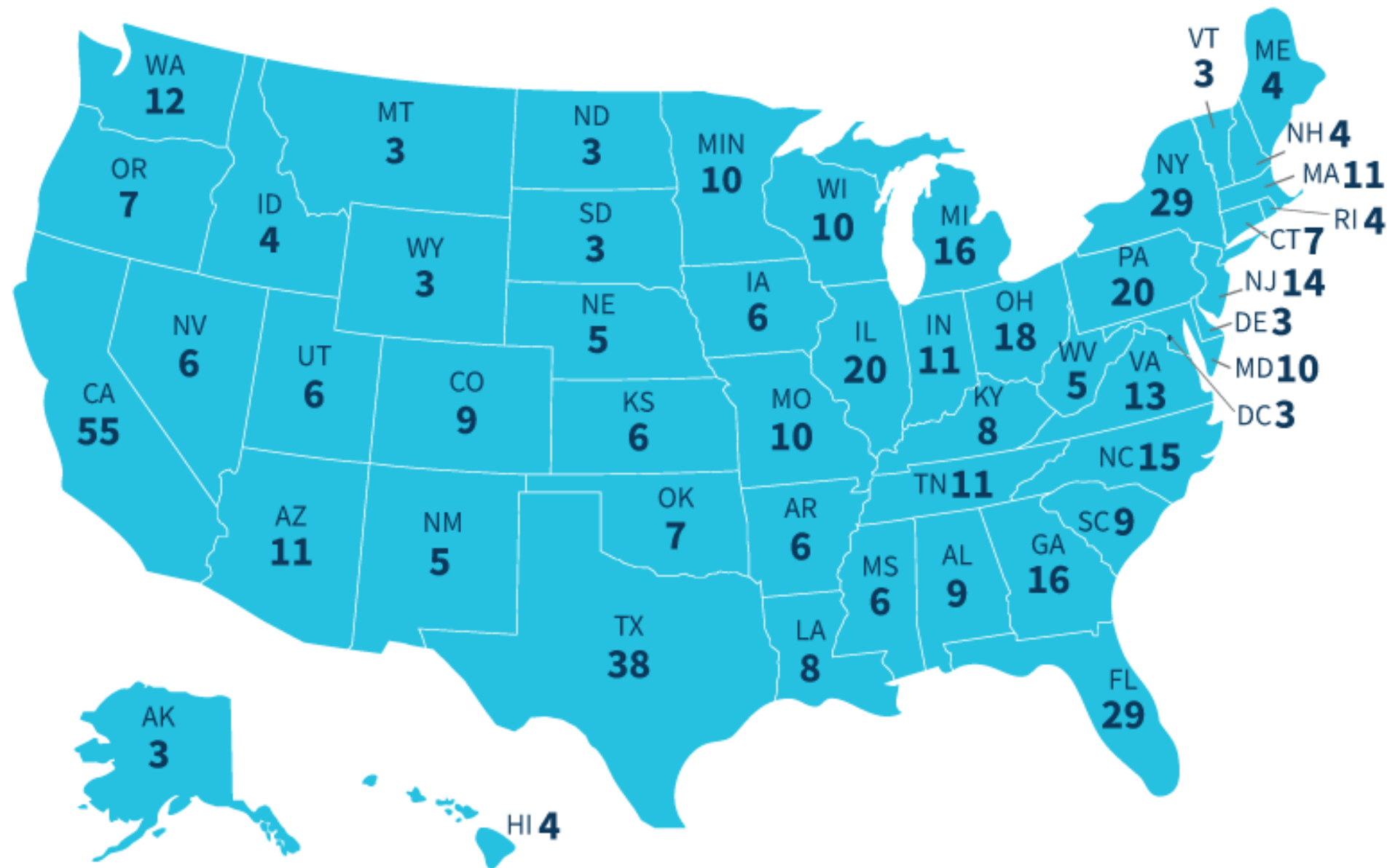
Electors: A member of the electoral college.

Electoral College: The voters of each state, and the District of Columbia, vote for electors to be the authorized constitutional members in a presidential election.

Natural Born Citizen: Someone born with U.S. citizenship includes any child born "in" the United States, the children of United States citizens born abroad, and those born abroad of one citizen parent.

Primary: An election where voters select candidates for an upcoming general election. Winning candidates will have delegates sent to the national party convention as their party's U.S. presidential nominee.

EUA (2) [FONTE: US Government]



As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (3) [FONTE: US Government]

In other U.S. elections, candidates are elected directly by popular vote. But the president and vice president are not elected directly by citizens. Instead, they're chosen by "electors" through [a process called the Electoral College](#).

The process of using electors [comes from the Constitution](#). It was a compromise between a popular vote by citizens and a vote in Congress.

Each state gets as many electors as it has members of Congress (House and Senate). Including Washington, D.C.'s three electors, there are currently 538 electors in all. [See the distribution of electors by state](#).

Each state's political parties choose their own slate of potential electors. [Who is chosen to be an elector, how, and when varies by state](#).

After you cast your ballot for president, your vote goes to a statewide tally. In 48 states and Washington, D.C., the winner gets all the electoral votes for that state. Maine and Nebraska assign their electors using a [proportional system](#).

A candidate needs the vote of at least 270 electors—more than half of all electors—to win the presidential election.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (4) [FONTE: US Government]

for the [2012](#), [2016](#), and [2020](#) presidential elections.

Total Electoral Votes: 538; Majority Needed to Elect: 270

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Alabama - 9 votes | Kentucky - 8 votes | North Dakota - 3 votes |
| Alaska - 3 votes | Louisiana - 8 votes | Ohio - 18 votes |
| Arizona - 11 votes | Maine - 4 votes | Oklahoma - 7 votes |
| Arkansas - 6 votes | Maryland - 10 votes | Oregon - 7 votes |
| California - 55 votes | Massachusetts - 11 votes | Pennsylvania - 20 votes |
| Colorado - 9 votes | Michigan - 16 votes | Rhode Island - 4 votes |
| Connecticut - 7 votes | Minnesota - 10 votes | South Carolina - 9 votes |
| Delaware - 3 votes | Mississippi - 6 votes | South Dakota - 3 votes |
| District of Columbia - 3 votes | Missouri - 10 votes | Tennessee - 11 votes |
| Florida - 29 votes | Montana - 3 votes | Texas - 38 votes |
| Georgia - 16 votes | Nebraska - 5 votes | Utah - 6 votes |
| Hawaii - 4 votes | Nevada - 6 votes | Vermont - 3 votes |
| Idaho - 4 votes | New Hampshire - 4 votes | Virginia - 13 votes |
| Illinois - 20 votes | New Jersey - 14 votes | Washington - 12 votes |
| Indiana - 11 votes | New Mexico - 5 votes | West Virginia - 5 votes |
| Iowa - 6 votes | New York - 29 votes | Wisconsin - 10 votes |
| Kansas - 6 votes | North Carolina - 15 votes | Wyoming - 3 votes |

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (5) [FONTE: US Government]

In most cases, a projected winner is announced on election night in November after you vote. But the actual Electoral College vote takes place in mid-December when the electors meet in their states. See the [Electoral College timeline of events](#) for the 2020 election.

While the [Constitution doesn't require](#) electors to follow their state's popular vote, many states' laws do. Though it's rare, electors have challenged those laws and voted for someone else. But in July 2020 the [Supreme Court ruled](#) (PDF, [Download Adobe Reader](#)) that those state laws are constitutional. Electors must follow their state's popular vote, if the state has passed such a law.

Before the general election, most candidates for president go through a series of [state primaries and caucuses](#). Though primaries and caucuses are run differently, they both serve the same purpose. They let the states choose the major political parties' nominees for the general election.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (6) [FONTE: US Government]

Electoral College Timeline of Events

November 3, 2020—Election Day

(first Tuesday after the first Monday in November)

During the general election your vote helps determine your State's electors. When you vote for a Presidential candidate, you aren't actually voting for President. You are telling your State which candidate you want your State to vote for at the meeting of the electors. The States use these general election results (also known as the popular vote) to appoint their electors. The winning candidate's State political party selects the individuals who will be the electors.

Mid-November through December 14, 2020

After the presidential election, the Governor of your State prepares seven Certificates of Ascertainment. "As soon as practicable," after the election results in your State are certified, the Governor sends one of those original Certificates of Ascertainment to the Archivist.

By December 8, 2020—States resolve controversies

(at least six days before the meeting of the electors)

States must make final decisions in any controversies over the appointment of their electors at least six days before the meeting of the electors. This is so their electoral votes will be presumed valid when presented to Congress. Decisions by States' courts are conclusive, if decided under laws enacted before Election Day.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (7) [FONTE: US Government]

December 14, 2020—electors vote in their States

The electors meet in their respective States and vote for President and Vice President on separate ballots. The electors record their votes on six Certificates of Vote, which are paired with the six remaining Certificates of Ascertainment. The electors sign, seal, and certify six sets of electoral votes. A set of electoral votes consists of one Certificate of Ascertainment and one Certificate of Vote.

December 23, 2020—electoral votes arrive

Electoral votes (the Certificates of Vote) must be received by the President of the Senate and the Archivist no later than nine days after the meeting of the electors. If votes are lost or delayed, the Archivist may take extraordinary measures to retrieve duplicate originals.

On or before January 3, 2021—Archivist transfers Certificates to Congress

As the new Congress assembles, the Archivist transmits sets of Certificates to Congress, as requested. This generally happens when the Senate does not receive its set of Certificates on time. The transfer occurs in late December or early January when OFR's Legal staff meets with representatives of the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (8) [FONTE: US Government]

January 6, 2021—Congress counts the electoral votes

Congress meets in joint session to count the electoral votes. The Vice President, as President of the Senate, presides over the count and announces the results of the Electoral College vote. The President of the Senate then declares which persons, if any, have been elected President and Vice President of the United States.

If any objections to the electoral votes are made, they must be submitted in writing and be signed by at least one member of the House and one Senator. If objections are presented, the House and Senate withdraw to their respective chambers to consider the merits of the objection(s) under procedures set out in Federal law.

If no Presidential candidate wins at least 270 electoral votes (a majority of the 538 available votes), under the 12th Amendment to the Constitution the House of Representatives decides the Presidential election. If necessary, the House would elect the President by majority vote, choosing from among the three candidates who received the greatest number of electoral votes. The vote would be taken by State, with each State having one vote. (The District of Columbia does not vote because it doesn't have voting members in the House of Representatives.)

If no Vice Presidential candidate wins at least 270 electoral votes (a majority or the 538 available votes), under the 12th Amendment the Senate elects the Vice President. If necessary, the Senate would elect the Vice President by majority vote, choosing between the two candidates who received the greatest number of electoral votes. Each Senator would have one vote.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (9)

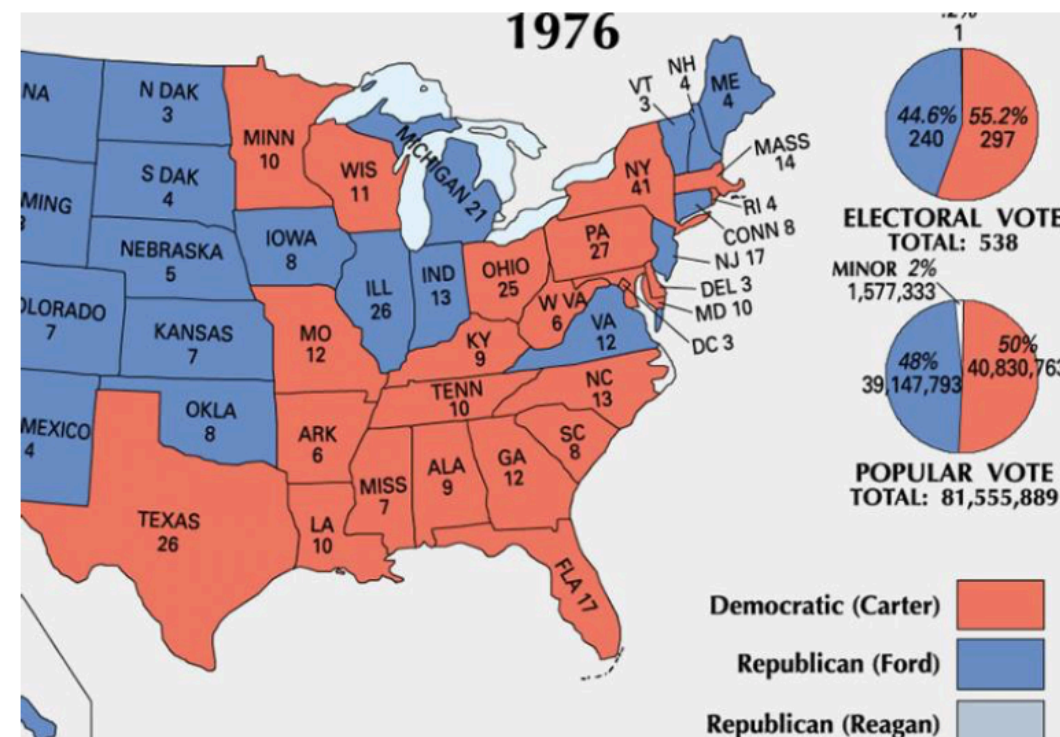
[FONTE: Michael C. Maibach A Defense of the Electoral College, 14/11/2016 in National Endowment for the Humanities]

A Defense of the Electoral College

Closer Readings Commentary

November 14, 2016

By Michael C. Maibach



"America's Constitutional system aims not merely for majority rule, but rule by certain kinds of majorities... All 537 of those elected to national offices — the President, Vice President, 100 Senators, and 435 Representatives — are chosen by majorities that reflect the Nation's federal nature."

— George F. Will, 2004

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (10)

[FONTE: Michael C. Maibach A Defense of the Electoral College, 14/11/2016 in National Endowment for the Humanities]

"To the people belongs the right of electing their Chief Magistrate; it was never designed that their choice should in any case be defeated, either by the intervention of Electoral College or by... the House of Representatives."

— President Andrew Jackson, December 8, 1829, first Annual Message to Congress

Americans elect a president through the state-by-state mechanism of the Electoral College rather than direct nationwide popular vote. Today, all but two states award all of their electoral votes to the statewide winner. Ever since Andrew Jackson was denied the presidency by the House of Representatives in 1824, some have called for its abolition. It is timely to consider the value of this vital and controversial institution devised by our founders in 1787 in the world's oldest constitution.

Three criticisms of the College are made:

- It is "undemocratic;"
- It permits the election of a candidate who does not win the most votes; and
- Its winner-takes-all approach cancels the votes of the losing candidates in each state.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (11)

[FONTE: Michael C. Maibach A Defense of the Electoral College, 14/11/2016 in National Endowment for the Humanities]

Those who call the Electoral College “undemocratic” often claim it represents the Founders’ fear of an imprudent electorate whose choice for president is best confirmed by wise and dispassionate electors. This view ignores the great debate of the Constitutional Convention between the small and large state delegates. The Congress itself reflects this struggle. Each state has two senators regardless of size, while House seats are apportioned by population.

The Electoral College evolved from a similar compromise. Fearing dominance from the populous states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia (which included West Virginia in 1787), small states proposed election of the president by the 13 state legislatures — each holding a single vote. Some wanted the Congress to elect our president. Large-state delegates such as Madison of Virginia naturally favored direct popular election. The Electoral College was an ingenious compromise, allowing the popular election of the president, but on a state-by-state basis. Citizens vote for president, with the winner in each state taking all the state’s electoral votes based on the number of seats that state has in the Senate and House combined. In this sense, the Electoral College is no more “undemocratic” than is the Senate or the Supreme Court. Without this large vs. small state compromise, the Convention of 1787 may not have succeeded. Without this system, states such as Wyoming, Vermont, Alaska, the Dakotas, and Delaware might never see a presidential candidate.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (12)

[FONTE: Michael C. Maibach A Defense of the Electoral College, 14/11/2016 in National Endowment for the Humanities]

Majority Rule

The second criticism of the Electoral College is the most challenging. One must defend the Electoral College not as perfect, but as a better solution than the alternative, i.e., direct popular election of the president. In very close elections, victory can be denied the candidate receiving the most popular votes nationwide. This has occurred four times in 57 presidential elections: Adams (1824); Hayes (1876); Harrison (1888); and Bush (2000) — and only once since 1888. The Electoral College requires the election of a president by majorities, but state-by-state. Two political wills are thus engaged — that of the citizenry of each state, and that of the fifty states acting together. As a “nation of states”, this is part of American federalism. In 53 of 57 elections, this state-by-state system has meant that the winner build support across the nation, not in just a handful of large urban areas.

Those who would abolish the Electoral College advocate using a simple majority vote rule, i.e., the candidate receiving fifty percent plus of the popular vote is the victor. However, often no one receives fifty percent of the national vote because of third-party candidates such as Roosevelt and Debs (1912); Wallace (1968); Perot (1992); and Nader (2000). In the 57 presidential elections since 1789, no candidate received fifty percent of the vote on 18 occasions, including Lincoln (39.7% — 1860); Wilson (41.8% — 1912); Truman (49.6% — 1948); Kennedy (49.7% — 1960); and Clinton (43% — 1992, and 49% — 1996) to name the most famous “minority presidents.” In contrast, all won a majority of the states’ Electoral College votes!

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (13)

[FONTE: Michael C. Maibach A Defense of the Electoral College, 14/11/2016 in National Endowment for the Humanities]

National majorities—The Electoral College creates a national majority for new presidents regardless of the popular vote margin. Reflecting the will of majorities in the fifty states, the College legitimizes the result. A sharply divided America gave Lincoln only 39.7% of the vote in 1860. However, Lincoln won 180 electoral votes — more than double the second place finisher, Breckinridge. This gave his election legitimacy at a critical moment in American history. Moreover, if America used direct elections, many more “third party” candidates would arise to render U.S. election vote margins even more inconclusive than in the past. Most third party candidates receive no Electoral College votes. In 1992, Ross Perot received 19% of the vote but no electoral votes.

Conclusion

The founders’ Electoral College is a unique republican mechanism. It creates presidential majorities, engenders national presidential campaigns, and maintains a robust federalism, which operates most effectively within a strong two-party system. When someone says, “Let’s abolish the Electoral College,” it is fair to ask, “With what would you replace it, and how would the new system affect American federalism, our two-party system, and the unity of the United States? Removing one gear from a watch affects the entire mechanism.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (14)

[FONTE: Michael C. Maibach A Defense of the Electoral College, 14/11/2016 in National Endowment for the Humanities]

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As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (14) [FONTE: Edward Luce / FT, 4/11/2020]

A bitter US election that resolves little

Whatever the result, America's divisions will make governing very hard



Either Donald Trump, left, or Joe Biden will inherit a country in which roughly half the electorate rejects his legitimacy © AFP/Getty

Elections are meant to resolve differences. But whichever of Donald Trump or Joe Biden prevails in the presidential race — at this point too close to call — will inherit a country in which roughly half the electorate rejects his legitimacy.

It could get worse than that. As in 2016, a US presidential count looks like it will boil down to Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. The one wild card is that Georgia may also be in play for the first time since 1992.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (15) [FONTE: Edward Luce / FT, 4/11/2020]

The other big difference between now and four years ago is that it could take days to tally all the votes.

In the meantime, Republicans have already filed at least [two election day lawsuits](#) in Pennsylvania to contest the legitimacy of postal votes. Since a majority of mail-in ballots were sent in by Democrats, the fate of the Republican legal complaints could play a part in deciding who becomes the next president.

Indeed, Mr Trump promised in an early morning speech on Wednesday to challenge the continuing vote tallies in court. "Frankly we did win this election," he said. "So we'll be going to the US Supreme Court. We want all voting to stop."

Moreover, the US postal service is still looking for 300,000 mail-in ballots that were processed but not scanned for delivery, including some in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. The situation has the ingredients to turn into a protracted battle, like the month-long fight over Florida in 2000 that was ultimately resolved when the US Supreme Court halted a recount. No wonder Mr Trump is already claiming that "[they are trying to steal the election](#)" in a post that Twitter has marked as "disputed or misleading".

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (16) [FONTE: Edward Luce / FT, 4/11/2020]

How did it end up like this? Polls before the vote suggested that Mr Biden would win by a clear margin. There is a reasonable chance he will still win the electoral college once all the votes are counted in those three so-called blue wall states. Moreover, it looks like he is heading to a victory in the popular vote — probably larger than Hillary Clinton's 2.9m margin.

But the race is far closer than any of the models predicted, including the Trump campaign's internal numbers. The most cited forecaster, Nate Silver, gave Mr Biden an 89 per cent chance of winning (against 70 per cent for Mrs Clinton last time). Moreover, this was after pollsters made considerable adjustments to correct the undercounting of blue-collar white voters in the Midwest and elsewhere and take into account the way education affects voting patterns.

It looks like that was not enough. Mr Trump's clear win in Florida was partly fuelled by a boost in his support from Hispanic and especially Cuban voters. Polls ahead of the election had given Mr Biden an average lead of more than two percentage points in the state.

It is possible the pollsters and forecasters have also overestimated the high Democratic share of the mail-in ballots that are still being counted in the three blue wall states. Mr Biden could afford to lose one, including Pennsylvania, and still win the election, but not more unless he makes gains elsewhere.

As eleições de Novembro de 2020 nos EUA (17) [FONTE: Edward Luce / FT, 4/11/2020]

Either way, America faces two dangers, one immediate, the other structural. The first is that the judiciary may well get involved in deciding the outcome. Constitutional scholars have been warning about this for months. This is because of the order in which ballots are counted in the three key swing states.

The second danger is to the legitimacy of the entire system. If Mr Trump wins the electoral college, it will be the second time he has done so with a minority of the vote and the third time a Republican has done so this century.

In other systems where the president is elected, Mr Biden would already have been declared the winner. America's electoral college, which gives outsized influence to small, rural states, is like a dodgy appendix that haemorrhages a little more bile with each election.

If Mr Biden eventually prevails, he will inherit a profoundly divided country that will be hard to govern, especially if the Senate remains in Republican hands.

If Mr Trump loses, he will still have outperformed all expectations. The Republican party is Trumpian for the foreseeable future. "We are a working class party now. That's the future," [tweeted Josh Hawley](#), the Missouri senator who has 2024 presidential aspirations. The American people have spoken. And it is a cacophonous noise.

Sugestões de leitura

