



POLITICAL PARTIES FINANCING

Prepared by: Proyecto Base

info@proyectobase.org

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The absence of effective control mechanisms

Piñeira (2015) points out that there is a conflict in Latin America and in the whole world generated by the relationship between politics and money, caused by the violation of the laws that should control it. Ferrerías and Bautista (2017) state that this usually happens due to the lack of efficient mechanisms used to monitor political financing, which often result in the use of illicit sources such as drug trafficking and acts of corruption for political funding.

The importance of controlling political financing lies in the promotion of transparency in these processes, by improving the relationship between representatives and voters, who increasingly demand access to this type of information, the citizenry is motivated to participate more actively in politics, knowing that the political parties follow the rules established for their financing.



PROYECTO BASE

In the world, especially in Latin America, liberal democracy is undergoing a process of rapid deterioration. The increase in poverty and inequality have weakened democratic practices, and the strengthening of democracy has been presented with obstacles.

It is now necessary to rethink the foundations of the liberal democratic system in order to overcome poverty and reduce inequality, to recover and strengthen democratic institutions, to redesign institutional frameworks based on technological advances, allowing for the political and economic inclusion of everybody.

Proyecto Base is a center for thought and action, focused on the defense and strengthening of democracy in Latin America and the world.

Our mission is to defend and strengthen democracy, through research, education and citizenship building; thus influencing decision-makers and society, in order to overcome poverty, inequality, and strengthen democratic institutions.

TYPES OF FUNDING

Each country has established in its electoral statutes different ways of financing the electoral activities of political parties, in order to establish a playing field as equitable as possible, thus trying to ensure that each one of the options have similar opportunities to obtain votes. Among the most common types of financing in Latin America there are:

- **Donations and fundraisers:** these consist of money transfers by legal or natural persons made in order to support the political party of their choice and their campaign activities.
- **State contributions:** support provided by the State to each eligible party as a contribution to democracy, reducing the economic gaps between each of the options. They can also be seen as concessions given to the political parties for the use of certain state resources (access to State media, lower tariffs, etc.) during campaign time to promote themselves.
- **Own income:** is the use of the members own resources to cover campaign and operativity expenses of the party to which they belong.
- **Party membership subscriptions:** some members give a periodic financial contribution to their party, in return for the resources employed to ascend to power.



ARGENTINA



Total contributions: State contributions in Argentina consist of allowing the use of State media for exposure, there is also a budget devoted to party support and leadership training. Taking as reference the presidential election of 2019, the total State contribution was \$447,271,002.02 (1), the proportional contribution was \$170,000,000 (2) of which, the party that received the most was "Juntos Por El Cambio" with \$56,154,818 (2) And the one who got the least was "Unite por la Libertad Y La Dignidad" with \$14,166,666.67 (2). The egalitarian contribution added up to \$277,271,002.02 (2) and was divided into \$46,211,833.67 (2) per political party.



Likewise, in 2019, donations to political parties totaled \$137,124,159.55 (3), establishing a maximum contribution for legal and natural persons of \$4,535,618 (1).

Foreing donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: Private donations are limited to 2% of the total amount of electoral financing, calculated by multiplying the value allocated per voter by the number of registered voters as at December 31 of the previous year.



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Allowed.

State financing takes place before the beginning of the electoral campaign and covers not only campaign expenses, but also leadership training. 20% is distributed equally among all recognized parties and 80% is distributed proportionately according to the votes obtained by each party; only those with the support of 1% of the electoral pattern are eligible. (4)

In addition, expenditure limits are determined each year by the General Budget of the National Administration Act. (Ley de Presupuesto General de la Administración Nacional) (5)

Lastly, there are periodic subscriptions of party members, a type of financing also found in the United Kingdom's funding system.

Party financing in Argentina is seriously flawed in terms of transparency, and cash donations were banned in 2019 to prevent them from being issued without the possibility of tracing the donor. (6)



BOLIVIA

Total contributions: State contributions are used only for leadership training; the use of State media for exposure purposes is permitted during the campaign. In 2020, these contributions stood at \$5,071,447.50 (1).



The Plenary Chamber of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (Tribunal Supremo Electoral) approved a budget of \$29,124,598.50 for the electoral process on May 3rd, 2020; the amount is 18% lower than that of the 2019 administration, where it reached \$31,442,974.50. (3)

Regarding campaign expenses, opposition candidate Carlos Mesa presented to the authorities a budget equivalent to just over \$7.5 million (2), no official reports of the total donations received at the election are available.



Foreign donations: They are permitted as long as they are supervised and distributed by the Plurinational Electoral Body (Órgano Electoral Plurinacional).



Donations from legal and natural individuals: No donation may exceed 10% of the annual budget (4).



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

Bolivia is one of the few countries in Latin America that does not provide State financing for party activities through State resources, in its Law on Political Organizations (Ley de Organizaciones Políticas) (2018), Chapter III only establishes a budget for Political Strengthening that is intended for media exposure of the parties and in non-electoral years for the formation of new political leaders.

State support has suffered a series of cuts during the 21st century, reduced only to contributions intended for media exposure and leadership training. Since the reform of the Political Parties Law (Ley de Partidos Políticos) in 2005, direct funding to political parties has been cut. (4)

As for donations, these can come from individuals or companies under the condition that they do not exceed 10% of the annual budget of the political organization or of the campaign budget within the framework of an electoral process. Similarly, foreign donations are permitted, but they cannot be directed at a specific political party, these are distributed equally among all parties by the Plurinational Electoral Body (Órgano Electoral Plurinacional). (5)



BRAZIL

Total contributions: According to the law, the State allocates 5% of the budget equally to all parties and 95% in proportion of the votes obtained in the last general election of the Chamber of Deputies. In addition, the use of State media for party promotion is permitted. (1)



In the 2018 elections, the total State contribution for all parties was \$139,803,075.96 (2) while the private contribution was \$250 million (3). Regarding the main parties: the Partido de los Trabajadores (PT) received from the State \$18,571,664.85 and in donations earned a total of \$362,959.22 (4); the Partido Social Liberal (PSL) received from the State \$1,302,963.41 and in donations \$1,648,752. (5)



Foreign donations: Forbidden.

Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden.



Donations from natural individuals: According to the 2016 election limit, updated to inflation considering the National Index of Consumers Prices (Índice Nacional de Preços ao Consumidor Amplo) (HICP). (1)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

In Brazil, the limit on campaign expenses is established according to the inflation calculated by the National Index of Consumers Prices (HICP) (1). Considering that, in Brazil, the majority of the State's contribution is obtained according to the number of votes attained in the previous elections to the Chamber of Deputies and that voting is compulsory (ensuring a roll of more than 130 million electors), there is a fierce competition in the electoral field. Due to this, it is necessary to carry out striking and massive campaigns.

Candidates receive funding for the first and second round of voting. In the 2018 elections, the first round had a cost of \$750 million, while the second cost \$14 million. (3). The difference between the two candidates for the second round was great: Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) had at his disposal \$ 510 thousand, and Fernando Haddad (PT), \$ 13.32 million. (3)

Santano (2018) points out that, thanks to the recent laws enacted regarding party financing, the system has become stricter in relation to both private and public contributions and that this favors parliamentary or majority parties, which could make it difficult for a political renewal to take place. The same author also mentions that no major changes have been made to accountability systems, which remain inefficient, extremely bureaucratic and fail to sanction misconduct. (6)



CANADA



Total contributions: Regarding State contributions, the Canada Elections Act (2019) states that a percentage of electoral expenses is reimbursed on the basis of the votes obtained by each party. In addition, generous tax credits are provided for donations to political parties and candidates (1).

In 2019, the State contributed a total of \$76.3 million (2) to reimburse the parties' electoral expenses. Private donations totaled about \$60 million (3).



Foreign donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden.



Donations from natural individuals: They have a limit of \$1,500 per candidate or party.



Own income: They have a \$5,000 limit.



Party membership subscriptions: Up to \$25 per year.

Political parties and candidates are reimbursed for some of their electoral expenses. Political parties that receive 2% of the national vote or 5% of the vote in the districts where they put forward candidates receive 50% of the money they spend as reimbursement. Candidates who receive at least 10% of the votes receive 15% of the electoral expenses limit in their district as reimbursement. In addition, if the candidate spends at least 30% of the limit during the election, the reimbursement increases to 60% of what the candidate spent during the election.

Canada also provides generous tax credits for donations to political parties and candidates. The first \$400 in donations receive a 75% tax credit; if the amount is between \$400 and \$750 receives a 50% credit. Amounts that surpass \$750 receive a 33% credit. A person's total tax credit in one year may not exceed \$650.

Contributions by legal persons are prohibited and only Canadian citizens can make contributions to political parties, with a limit defined to \$1,500 per taxpayer.



CHILE



Total contributions: Regarding public contributions, the State, through the Electoral Service, will provide political parties with quarterly contributions; 20% of the annual total is distributed to each party in proportion to the number of regions in which it is constituted. The remaining 80% of the annual total is distributed to each party in proportion to the votes obtained in the last election of deputies. As an example, the Partido Renovación Nacional accumulated in 2017 a total of \$934,695,707, receiving around \$235,000 every 3 months (1). In 2019, this contribution totaled \$6,447,158,173 and the parties that collected the most money were Renovación Nacional with \$235,314,552 and the Partido Demócrata Cristiano with \$261,762,241 (2)

The private contributions for natural individuals, in the presidential election may not exceed 500 UF (\$13,159,955). For the candidates to the Parliament this amount cannot be higher than 315 UF and for the regional councillors 250 UF, this being \$8,290,771 and \$6,579,977, respectively. The limit of electoral spending for presidential elections is determined at \$5.654.877,538. (3).



Foreign contributions: Forbidden.

Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden.



Donations from natural individuals: The maximum contribution that each natural individual may make to political parties, not being affiliated to them, may not exceed 300 UF (\$10,655.48) per year, and if affiliated to them, it may not exceed 500 UF (\$13,159.955) per year. (4)



Own income: May not exceed 25% of the total permitted electoral expenditure.



Party membership subscriptions: Allowed.

In Chile, the amount of funding allowed varies according to the election to be held, with the presidential elections having the highest limit set. In addition, different limits are established depending on the source of the donation, where all private contributions that do not exceed 20 UF may be "anonymous" and may not exceed 20% of the limit on electoral expenditure defined in this law. All contributions ranging from 20% to 30% of the authorized expenditure shall be "reserved" and, finally, contributions that exceed 100 UF per contributor shall be made "public".

Chile is one of the countries that has made the most progress in terms of transparency in political financing. It has gone from having no regulation at all to implementing one of the most reliable systems in recent years. It has established its own Transparency Index, which publicly catalogues the most and least transparent parties and has made all information regarding funding and contributions available on the Internet for consultation. (5)



COLOMBIA



Total contributions: Any party with legal status is financially supported and allowed to use the State media for its campaign. In 2018, the payment in advance from the State totaled \$3,896,174.30 (1). In 2018, the spending cap was set at \$6,046,674.02. (2)

As for private contributions, in 2018 these amounted to \$18,271,854.55 (1).



Foreign donations: Forbidden.

Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden in presidential elections.



Donations from natural individuals: Contributions or donations made by natural individuals may not exceed 2% of the amount set as the spending cap for the campaign.



Own income: The contributions from candidates or their families may not exceed 4% of the amount set as the spending limit by the National Electoral Council. (Consejo Nacional Electoral - CNE)



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

The State's contribution is set at 150 pesos (\$6.60) for each citizen registered on the electoral roll, and the CNE distributes this among the political parties, according to a criteria of uniformity and representation. The Electoral Guarantees Statute (Ley de Garantías Electorales) introduced, as part of the exceptional regime of financing for presidential campaigns, the possibility of accessing an advance on the estimated value that will be obtained by replenishment of votes. It also establishes the possibility of funding for political parties after the elections, according to the number of votes obtained by each party (3).

As for the campaign expenses, in 2018, Gustavo Petro's campaign had an income in the first round of \$3,612,994.95 (4) and of \$1,436,295.55 (4) in the second round, this candidate decided not to receive a State advance. While Iván Duque's campaign totaled in the first round \$4,124,442.16 (4) and \$1,547,330.90 (4) in the second round and received a total of State contributions of \$1,646,816.42 (4).

However, financial controls are weak, and there have been cases where certain political activities have been financed by drug trafficking and irregular groups have had a place in politics as candidates. For example, Pablo Escobar was elected as an alternate to the House of Representatives in 1982 and all political parties, with the sole exception of the Polo Democrático Alternativo and the Movimiento Independiente de Renovación Absoluta (MIRA) have members of Congress or former members of the Congress prosecuted or convicted for having links with irregular groups (5).



COSTA RICA



Total contributions: Regarding the State's support, a contribution is made towards campaign and leadership training and is divided into pre-election advances and post-election allowances. In 2018 this totaled \$44,196,357.98 (1). The Partido Acción Ciudadana, one of the most important, received an advance of \$372,133.66 (1) for the 2018 election.

According to the votes obtained, state financing was distributed among the majority parties as follows: The Partido Restauración Nacional, which in 2018 totaled 926.590 votes, received a state contribution of \$10,489,302.14 (1); while the Partido Acción Ciudadana received \$9,212,844.66 (1) having obtained 813.832 votes.

In Costa Rica, only donations from natural individual are allowed, in 2018 these totaled: \$5,759,931.43 (1).



Foreign donations: Forbidden.

Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden.

Donations from natural individuals: Unlimited.

Own income: Allowed.

Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

In the case of Costa Rica, any kind of contribution given by companies within the country is prohibited. This prohibition is balanced by setting no limits on donations by natural persons and by providing support from the State, both during election years and in the development of training and leadership and recruitment activities.

State financing occurs both before the electoral campaign, to ensure that the participating political parties have similar opportunities; and after the elections, to reimburse some of the expenses incurred in the campaign, showing constant support from the State to the Costa Rican political parties. (2)

However, the Costa Rican system has some shortcomings in its implementation, with Costa Rican parties failing to report their expenses transparently to the Supreme Electoral Court (Tribunal Supremo Electoral) and thus being discredited by public opinion. Moreover, the fact that State financing is given in advance is an opportunity for potential money waste from political leaders, which happens when proper controls are not applied to their spending. (3)



CUBA



Contributions from the State: Do not exist.

Foreign donations: Forbidden.

Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden.

Donations from natural individuals: Forbidden.

Own income: Forbidden.

Party membership subscriptions: Forbidden.

The publicity of the candidates is carried out entirely by the State, according to article 151 of the Electoral Law (1992), for a term of not less than fifteen (15) days and until the date fixed for the holding of elections, the photographs and biographies of the candidates for the Municipal Assembly of People's Power (Asamblea Municipal del Poder Popular) are displayed in public places. (1)

The Cuban regime defines itself as a representative democracy without political parties. The basic political organ is represented in the constituencies and the neighborhood assemblies organized, mostly, by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (Comités de Defensa de la Revolución - CDR), which are in charge of monitoring them. In the constituencies, all citizens over the age of 16 have the right and obligation to participate. Local, provincial and national representatives are elected in the constituencies, although the highest decision-making body is the National Assembly of People's Power, and its elected representatives elect the president, so it is not the Cubans who choose their highest political figure. (2)



ECUADOR



Total contributions: State contributions are made only during the electoral campaign period. During the 2017 elections, the permanent party fund amounted to \$5,177,539.91 (1) with a contribution to the Institute for Electoral Political Research, Training and Promotion (Instituto de Investigación, Capacitación y Promoción Político Electoral) of \$913,683.51 (1). The parties that received the most were Alianza País with \$1,356,306 (2) and Movimiento CREO with \$750,269 (2).

As for private donations, the Alianza País party received private contributions totaling \$1,014,849.81 (3) and the Movimiento CREO received donations amounting to \$507,520.00 (4).



Foreing donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal individuals: Forbidden.



Donations from natural individuals: Donations cannot surpass 5% of the authorized electoral expenditure.



Own income: The candidate's contributions may not exceed 10% of the maximum amount set for electoral expenses.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

Ecuador only has funding for political parties during the campaign period, although this helps to even out the playing field between the various organizations, it does not achieve the equality desired by the State Fund for Electoral Campaigns. (5)

Regarding public financing, limits are set according to the election to be held, namely: a) for each presidential binomial, the amount is \$1,000,000, plus 20% for the second round; b) for deputies of the Republic, the amount is set at \$800,000; c) for Andean parliamentarians the amount is \$ 50,000; d) for prefects it is \$ 265,000; e) for councillors, \$ 135,000; f) for mayors \$ 265,000; g) for councillors, \$ 150,000; and and h) for parish boards, the limit is \$25,000. (6)



EL SALVADOR



Total contributions: State contributions are recognized under the name of "Political Debt" (Deuda Política). In 2019, the State distributed a total of \$7,697,889.50 (1) among 5 major parties. The political parties Gran Alianza Por La Unidad Nacional (GANAN) and the Partido Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA) received, respectively: \$7,167,994.00 (1) and \$182,920.61 (1).

As for donations, it should be noted that there have been no reports of private financing since 2017, when ARENA received a total of \$3,880,970.26 (2) and GANAN received \$247,692 (2).



Foreign donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: Limited up to 2% of the previous year's budget, approved by the Legislative Assembly.



Own income: Forbidden.



Party membership subscriptions: Allowed.

The political debt in El Salvador is established as the form of financing by the State to the political parties. This consists of monetary contributions obtained according to the number of votes received in the previous election. In the case of new political parties, the contribution is \$50,000. This contribution may be requested in advance by the political parties, granting a value corresponding to 70% of the votes obtained in the previous election; in the event that the results of the votes are less than the political debt advanced, the difference between what was borrowed and what was obtained in votes must be returned by the party. (3)

According to FUSADES (2017), before 2013 there were no rules regarding the control of party financing. In that year, a law was enacted that proved to be insufficient and did not call for accountability for private financing. Due to this, a lawsuit was filed, thanks to which the Assembly had to modify it to contribute to the transparency of political financing. However, the current legislation has important gaps, as it does not make clear the mechanisms for requesting financial information from parties. In addition, there is a lack of willingness from political parties and institutions to audit and supervise the finances of political parties. (4)



UNITED STATES



Total contributions: Presidential candidates receive funding from the Federal Government for their campaigns. State contributions in 2016 for the Democrats totaled \$640,675,929 (1) and for the Republicans \$510,353,807 (1) which together amounted \$1,164,133,933. (1)

As for private contributions, Hillary Clinton (Democratic candidate) received donations worth \$1,191M (2) and Donald Trump (Republican candidate) accumulated a total of \$646.8M (2).



Foreign donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: Limited according to each States' law.



Own income: Forbidden.



Party membership subscriptions: Allowed.

In order for a candidate to access State contributions, he or she must raise more than \$5,000 in at least 20 states and once a candidate's support has been approved, the FEC certifies the amount of funds to be granted to the candidate. Tax dollars are used for this financing, so the 1040 federal income tax form that asks taxpayers if they would like to nominate \$3 of their tax payment for the electoral campaign.

Donations are collected through political action committees and may or may not be directed to candidates. Contributions from companies and trade union organizations are prohibited, except for their own political committee; this fund is called SFF or PAC. National banks and companies with federal statutes are prohibited from making contributions in connection with the elections. (3)



GUATEMALA



Total contributions: The State shall contribute to the financing of political parties on the basis of the equivalent in quetzals of two United States dollars per vote legally cast in its favor. The State will pay between 2020 and 2024 a total of \$10,277,218.00 (1) divided between the 19 political organizations that participated in the elections on June 16, 2019.

The contribution is calculated based on the number of votes received, for the Vamos party with 613,641 votes, the contribution is \$1,227,282.00 (1); the UNE party with 1,122,616 votes, is receiving \$2,245,232.00 (1).

As for donations, the last financial statements of the two major political parties are from 2018. UNE received donations amounting \$140,623.74 (2) and the VAMOS party received \$119,774.93 (3).



Foreign donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: Cannot surpass 10% of the total campaign expenses. (4)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

Although Guatemalan law sets limits on the amount of expenditure during an electoral campaign, the penalties for non-compliance with this limit are insufficient to ensure that political parties respect it, showing also a weak institutionalality. (5)

Also, the State's contribution is insufficient to cover a significant amount of the campaign expenditure, leaving some forces more advantaged than others solely because of their accessibility to financial resources.



HONDURAS



Total contributions: According to the Electoral and political organizations Law (Ley Electoral y de Organizaciones políticas), the political debt (deuda política) is the contribution granted by the State to the political parties for the financing of the electoral process. Each party that has participated in the general elections will get \$4,80 for each valid vote that they have obtained. (1) The State will also contribute to specific activities of the parties that obtained 2% or more of the valid votes and according to the quantity of votes obtained in the past electoral process. (2)

On 2017, the State paid almost \$8 million in public debt. The Partido Nacional, winner of the elections, got almost \$2.4 million while a less voted party like El Frente Amplio, got \$5.723 (3). On the other hand, the private contributions have certain limits and the must be registered. (2).



Foreign donations: Forbidden. (2)



Donations form legal and natural individuals: the legal individuals can only contribute with the equivalent of a thousand (1000) minimum wages, while the natural individuals can only make monetary contributions equivalent to two hundred (200) minimum wages. (2)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

The Centro de Estudio para la Democracia (Cespad) (2020) explains that, in the last five years, different political leaders have been reported for using money made from corruption and drug traffic. Due to this, in 2017, the Law of Financing, Transparency and Inspection of Political Parties and Candidates (Ley de Financiamiento, Transparencia y Fiscalización a Partidos Políticos) was created, known as the Clean Law (Ley Limpia). The experts say that although the new law has helped with auditing and it has established limits for incomes, it still does not ensure the needed penalties. (5).

Because of the inefficiency in accountability, in 2018 the Unity of Financing, Transparency and Inspection to the Political Parties and Candidates (Unidad de Financiamiento, Transparencia y Fiscalización a Partidos Políticos y Candidatos) was still in the process of checking the financing reports of the parties from the 2017 elections and the Cespad estimated that the established electoral expense limits of 19.9 million hadn't been respected given that the real expenses amounted to more than 42.7 million (4). In the Honduran society a distrust has been generated in relation to the financing of political parties because of the corruption, the lack of leadership and necessary penalties.



MEXICO



Total contributions: In accordance with the General Law on Political Parties (Ley General de Partidos Políticos), the State distributes annual contributions aimed to finance the ordinary party activities. The annual contribution is distributed based on the multiplication of the total number of voters registered on the electoral roll by the actual minimum daily wage in the Federal District (the calculation is different depending on the reach of the party). For the electoral budget, 30% is distributed equally and the remaining 70% according to the percentage of votes obtained in the previous immediate election. (1)

In relation to the 70% of the electoral budget for the 2018 elections, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional received \$547,448,337, this being a party with great popular support. While a party with less support, such as Encuentro Social, was granted \$107,747,732. In 2018, the total amount of the State contribution was \$4,296,333,246 to the parties for the elections. (3) Private contributions are extremely limited (1). For the 2018 elections, it was reported that the parties received a total of \$766,784,660.00, of which they did not report \$288,671.87. For this, they were sanctioned (5). In 2020, the annual limit on party supporters' contributions was set at \$42,963,332.50. (2).



Foreign donations: Forbidden. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: They may not exceed 10% of the expenditure ceiling for the election. (1)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

According to Zepeda (2017), the public financing of the parties began in 1977, while in 1996 the prevalence of public contributions over private ones was established, limiting the latter to a large extent (4). These laws have been reinforced due to various scandals; the most recent being that of "Fox's friends" where former president Vicente Fox was guilty of receiving exceptional amounts for his campaign in 2000, these coming from illegal sources. The amount was superior to US\$ 9 million, channelled to the campaign through a series of parallel associations, most of which came from sources prohibited by law. A fine of approximately \$45 million was demanded.

Zepeda (2017) points out that electoral campaigns in Mexico are among the most expensive in the world and that the public budget for parties has increased over the years. Many Mexicans today are wary of the parties because they don't see where the funds are invested and scandals of bad use and corruption arise in relation to resources (4).



NICARAGUA



Total donations: According to the Electoral Law, the State shall allocate a specific budgetary allocation of 1% of the regular revenue of the General Budget of the Republic for campaign expenses to parties which have obtained at least 4% of the votes and according to their percentage. This is delivered after the elections. (1)

Regarding the reimbursement of the 2016 election campaign, it is estimated that the State allocated almost \$19 million in total. (2). The Frente Sandinista National Liberation Party received \$13,609,246, taking the majority of the votes, while the less-voted Saturnino Cerrato party won \$807,169. (3).

Private contributions are permitted, however, due to the lack of procedures to regulate them, the amounts obtained by parties from private entities are unknown.



Foreign donations: Are allowed. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: They may not exceed the state funding received by the political organization in the last election. (1)



Own Income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

Courtney (n.d) points out that Nicaragua is one of the weaker countries in the region regarding rules and their application in terms of financing, this is because of what these point out and what it is left out. "The most common way for private money to enter the electoral competition, donations to candidates, are not minimally regulated" (p. 24). Regulations to attract funds from private or foreign sources are weak and do not promote transparency. He also mentions that the ruling party is most likely to use state funds illegally (5) and scandals have arisen about the fraudulent procedures of El Consejo Supremo Electoral for benefitting of Daniel Ortega's government. (4)

The OAS (2017) prepared a report on the electoral process of the 2017 municipal elections and made some considerations regarding financing in the country. It points out that no fixed deadlines or dates for payment are set for electoral reimbursement and that procedures for recording campaign revenues and expenditures, including funds from private sources, need to be regulated. The designated competent authorities and deadlines for accountability should be specified and clear limits should be set on campaign expenditure ceilings. (4)



PANAMA



Total donations: The law states that parties are granted pre-electoral and post-electoral funding, each receiving 50% of the electoral budget. 25% of the budget for pre-electoral financing is distributed equally among the parties, while 75% is distributed among the parties based on the average votes obtained by each one of them in the four elections (President, deputies, mayors and representatives of the district council) in the last general election. Regarding the post-electoral financing, 25% is divided equally between the parties while the rest of the budget is given in proportion to the votes obtained by each party. (1)

The electoral subsidy for the five-year period 2019-2024 will be \$91.6 million and half of it was allocated to the 2019 elections (5) The Partido Revolucionario Democrático, (with the most votes) won \$12.38 million before the elections and \$14.583 million after the elections. A party with fewer votes, such as Frente Amplio por la Democracia y Alianza, was granted \$1.57 million before the elections and \$2.69 million after the elections. (2) (3)

Private contributions are permitted, however, due to the lack of procedures to regulate them, the amounts obtained by parties from private entities are unknown.



Foreign donations: Are prohibited. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: a ceiling on private financing of \$5 per voter is established, according to the Preliminary Electoral Roll of the corresponding electoral district. (1)



Rentas propias: Are prohibited.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

According to Brown (2020), the reforms between 2015 and 2017 set limits on election campaign spending, and a request for a report on expenditures, donations and revenues is issued 15 days after the elections. In addition, a single bank account is assigned to each candidate who is supervised by the Electoral Court and posted on the internet. One case that was relevant to carrying out reforms was the Murcia case in 2010, in which a Colombian citizen, arrested for money laundering, claimed to have financially supported the candidates of a party in order to take charge of the country's social policy. (4). Among Panama's current major challenges is the inadequacy of accountability mechanisms, which are said to be more difficult when it comes to free-standing candidates.



PARAGUAY



Total Donations: According to Law No 4.743, which regulates political financing, an annual contribution for the parties and an electoral subsidy are established. The annual contribution for the parties shall not be less than 5% or more than 15% of the minimum wage for each vote obtained by the party in the last elections to Congress. While the electoral subsidy will be the equivalent of 15% of a minimum wage for each vote obtained for Congress in the last elections and the same percentage for each vote obtained for the departmental or municipal councils. In order for a party to be eligible for State contributions, it must have obtained not less than 2% of the electoral roll in the last congressional elections. (1)

In relation to public financing for 2018, the State disbursed a total amount of \$7,607,013.91 (4). The party that obtained the majority of the votes, the Asociación Nacional Republicana (A.N.R.), obtained a total of \$3,156,602.94 (4), while, from private financing, it received \$3,054,701.04 (3). The Concertación Nacional Por Vos-Capital party obtained in private donations the amount of \$1,687.69 (4) and did not obtain funding from the State because it did not meet the 2% electoral roll requirement.



Foreign Donations: Forbidden (2)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: They may not exceed the equivalent of 10,000 daily wages per year. (2)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

Bareiro and Echaury (2011) pointed out that with the State's contribution, equality of opportunity has been sought in the electoral field. Although, there are limits to private contributions, controls were not efficient and the obligation to declare the origins of private contributions had even been removed (6). Ibarra (s.f) points out that Law 4743/12 presented an advance: "it regulates financial activity, redefines the state contribution and electoral subsidies, as well as private donations. The law sets limits for electoral expenditure according to the size of the constituency." (p.27). The same author also pointed out that the High Court of Electoral Justice did not have the capacity for effective control. (7).

In 2020, Law 6.501 was passed, which will help with greater control of election expenses through forms of income and expenses that require a greater specificity. (5).



PERU



Total Donations: According to law N° 28094 of political organizations, the parties with representation in Congress obtain an equivalent of 0.1% of the Tax Unit for each vote in Congressional elections. The party subsidy budget is distributed as follows: 40% is distributed equally among all parties while the remaining 60% is divided in proportion to the votes obtained in the last parliamentary elections (1)

For the five-year period (2017-2021), the State has calculated that the amount of \$21,543,773.13 will be paid to the political parties. Fuerza Popular, being the most voted party should get \$6,570,468.23 (2); it reported receiving \$5,656,126.25 in private contributions for the 2016 elections (5). Acción Popular, with less votes, should receive \$2,453,267.63 (2) and reported receiving \$245,235.12 from private contributions (6).

However, due to the dissolution of the Congress by President Vizcarra in September 2019, extraordinary elections were held in January 2020, so new calculations have been made on party contributions based on the results. (4)



Foreign donations: They are permitted but may not come from foreign non-profit-making natural or legal persons, except when the contributions are exclusively intended for training and research. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: It should not exceed sixty (60) Tax Units (ITU) per donor. (1)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership sucriptions: Not mentioned.

According to Soldevilla (2011), "the Peruvian case is unique because it is the only country that does not direct public funding to the electoral campaign, but rather to the functioning of the party. The LPP (Political Party Law) states that the funds allocated to the parties should be used exclusively for training and research activities, as well as for regular operating expenses" (p.453).

The same author points out that there has always been private party financing in Peru and that it has been more important than the public; moreover, private contributions are not efficiently regulated. This is why the promulgation of the Political Parties Law has represented a step forward in the matter since it is detailed in many articles and has encouraged a greater concern for the transparency of their finances. (3). Regarding the recalculations of party contributions based on the 2019 elections, funding for the elected parties now amounts to \$11,259,430.40 (4).



DOMINICAN REPUBLIC



Total Contributions: According to Law No 33-18 of political parties, groups and movements, contributions are distributed as follows: 80% are distributed equally among parties that have obtained more than 5% of the valid votes in the last election. 12% is distributed among all parties that have obtained more than 1% and less than 5% of the valid votes in the last election. 8% is distributed among parties that have reached between 0.01% and 1% of the valid votes in the last election (1). In electoral years, the party fund is equivalent to a percentage of the national income, while in the non-electoral years, the fund is equivalent to ¼% of the country's income. (2)

In the last electoral year, that is, in 2016, the total sum of contributions to parties was \$ 28,470,378.65. While in a non-electoral year like 2019, the parties were allocated a total sum of \$26,631,298. (3). Private financing of parties is allowed but it has not been possible to obtain information about it.



Foreign donations: Only academic inputs for training of duly documented and approved leaders are allowed. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: They may not exceed 1% of the maximum amount for the party receiving the largest allocation of public funds. (1)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

According to Ferreiras and Bautista (2017), public financing emerges with the reforms to the Electoral Law in 1997, which means that the State subsidy system is relatively recent and before only private financing was allowed. The same authors point out that although La Junta Central Electoral has within its powers the supervision of the sources of the electoral revenues and expenses, through the request of the accounting records thereof, the JCE does not have enough tools to carry out these controls effectively. New and more specific regulations were introduced with the N Act. 33-18, but these measures appear to be insufficient to control financing. (4)

It should be noted that, in past years, the parties did not comply with the deadlines for submitting their expenditure reports. For example, in 2018 the parties of Liberación Dominicana (PLD), El Revolucionario Moderno (PRM) and El Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD) had not submitted a report of their income and expenses within the established time frame. (5)



URUGUAY



Total Contributions: The State makes an annual contribution to parties with parliamentary representation equivalent to the value of 4 IU (four indexed units) for each vote obtained in the last national election. The contribution of the State for the expenses of the national election will be the equivalent in Uruguayan pesos to the value of 87 IU (eighty-seven indexed units) for each valid vote in favor of the presidential candidate and, in the case of the second election to 10 IU (10 units indexed). Similarly, the state contributes the equivalent of 13 UI (thirteen indexed units) for each valid vote in the departmental elections and contributes the same amount in the internal elections. (1) According to the National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística), the indexed unit "is a unit of value that is adjusted according to the inflation measured by the Consumer Price Index. This unit varies daily so that at the end of the month it accumulates a variation from the value of the previous month's IU." (4)

In relation to the 2019 elections, El Partido Nacional registered \$7,697,985.28 in private donations (2) while it obtained \$6,870,530 from the State for the number of votes obtained (3). A less voted party, the Partido Independiente, reported private revenues of \$5,211,867.87 (2) and obtained \$261,635 from the State (3). In total the State will have to pay \$23 million to the parties for the 2019 elections. (3)



Foreign Donations: Forbidden. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: For each donation and for each donor, it may not exceed 300,000 IU (300,000 indexed units). (1)



Own income: Allowed.



Subscripciones de los miembros del partido: Not mentioned.

It should be noted that according to Piñeiro (2015), starting in 2009, the parties are asked for an initial budget 30 days before the campaign and a 90 days accountability after the electoral campaign in order to make the process more transparent. In addition, the public subsidy of political parties in Uruguay is considerably old (it began in 1924) and generous in comparison with other countries (in 2009, public contributions accounted for 73.6% of party income). The same author points out that the Law N° 18.485 established important reforms for the control of financing, such as limiting the amounts, origins and formats of private donations, which must be made public and in the case of anonymity may not exceed 15% of the party's income. (4). Compared to other Latin American countries, the accountability process in Uruguay is more transparent and documented.



VENEZUELA



Total Contributions: According to the Organic Law on Electoral Processes (Ley Orgánica de Procesos Electorales), the State may contribute with the financing of electoral propaganda. (1). The Constitution states that funding from State resources is not allowed. (2)



Foreign Donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: There are no clear limits. (2)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

It is important to note that recent data on the electoral costs expended by the different candidates in recent years are not accessible to the public. Venezuela has a serious problem of opacity, which makes it difficult to demonstrate how the system actually works. The Constitution states that private contributions will be regulated, but it does not indicate the mechanisms through which the control should be carried out.

Venezuela is the only country in Latin America in which there is no State support for political parties due to a change promoted by the 1999 constitutional reform, which weakened the importance of parties in Venezuelan politics. Prior to this, the parties had been financed by the State since 1973. In addition, although in theory only private party financing is allowed, Virtuoso (2011) points out that this only applies in practice to opposition parties since the ruling party is financed by public resources, which means a violation of the law. (3)

FINANCING MODELS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES



GERMANY



Total Contributions: For each vote in the parliamentary elections held at European, federal or federated state, the parties receive €0.70. In addition, parties receive €0.38 for each euro they have received as a fee or donation. These funds are available to parties which in parliamentary elections have obtained at least 0.5% of the votes (at European or federal level) or 1% of the votes (at federated state level). (1)

As for private contributions, in 2019 the parties obtained approximately \$2,744,037.10; the CDU received 335,000 euros in 2019, while the CSU received only 95,000 euros (4). While the State's contributions were \$16,011,076.54 and membership fees totaled \$11,628,723.05. (2)



Foreign donations: They are permitted to a limit of 1000 euros.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: Unlimited.



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: all parties receive from their members such payment, the value of the fee depends on the income of the members.

Germany has one of the most stable political party financing systems in the world, when this happens the limits can be relaxed as the confidence in the parties increases and there is some assurance that the parties respect the established laws. Therefore, there are no limits to the contributions of natural or legal persons, although if there is a total limit to what political parties can receive in total, which is \$150.8 million, donations that surpass \$50,000 must be reported to and published by the Parliament. State contributions also play an important role in the financing of parties, which are distributed according to the number of votes a party obtains in the national elections, regional, local and European Union level, and parties that have won at least 0.5% of the votes (at European or federal level) or 1% of the votes (at Federal level) are eligible for these funds.

Subscriptions of members play an important role in the economic maintenance of the parties; an elected candidate for Parliament gives a percentage of his salary to the party, (between 500 and 1500 €) per month, with a proportion ranging from approximately 7% to 20% of party funding. (3)



UNITED KINGDOM



Total contributions: The Electoral Commission distributes £2 million annually to political parties. The first million pounds is allocated equally among the eligible parties, while the second is allocated according to a percentage representation basis. For a party to be eligible and eligible for state funding, it must have at least two members of parliament sworn in by the House of Commons. (1). In addition to the £2 million that translates into \$2,468,698.00, parties can apply to receive funds called "Short Money", which makes up most of the income of many parties. To receive these funds, the party must belong to the opposition and must have won at least two seats in the House of Commons in the previous elections or have a seat in the House and more than 150,000 votes out of all the seats for which they have been candidates. (3)

During the last quarter of 2019, the Conservative and Unionist Party received \$46,128,365.92 for private donations (2), while in the 2018-2019 period it did not receive Short Money because it is the ruling party. (3). The Scottish Green Party received \$59,875.71 in private donations (2) and received \$160,465.37 in Short Money for the 2018-2019 period. Short Money's estimated total for political parties in the 2019-2020 period is \$12,343,490.00. (3)



Foreign donations: Forbidden. (1)



Donations from legal and natural individuals: £2,700 per parliamentary candidate. (1)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

It is important to note that the financing system in this country is highly regulated and anyone can access the information through the Electoral Commission page.



JAPAN



Total contributions: There is a subsidy for parties that have members in the Parliament, it is granted according to the number of members and it is delivered in the course of the year. The total amount of grants is determined in the annual budget, based on 250 (\$2.32) yen multiplied by the electoral population.

Regarding the financing of the parties in 2017, the year in which the last elections were held, a total amount of \$734,259.18 was reported among all the parties and expenditures of \$695,173.14. Among the most important party expenses are: The Liberal Party, \$232,655.00; The Communist Party of Japan, \$200,083.30; Kōmeitō, \$129,356.18; Former Democratic Party, \$116,327.50. Approximately 40% of the registered party revenues come from public funding, with the exception of the Communist Party of Japan which does not accept State contributions. (1)



Foreign donations: Forbidden.



Donations from legal and natural individuals: The annual limit on donations from corporations and other organizations (except those classified as "other political organizations") is 7.5 million yen (approximately US\$66,000) to 10 million yen (approximately US\$90,000), depending on the size of the organization. The annual limits on donations of natural persons are: 1.5 million yen (about US\$13,000) per candidate per year, 10 million yen (about US\$90,000) to "other political organizations" and candidates per year, 20 million yen (about US\$180,000) to political parties per year. (2)



Own income: Allowed.



Party membership subscriptions: Not mentioned.

Parties eligible for government subsidies must meet the following requirements: 1) Be a political organization which has at least 5 members of the Diet 2) a political organization which has at least 1 member of the Diet and obtained at least 2% of the votes nationwide in six of the previous elections. (3)

INSTITUTIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR VERIFYING THE FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

COUNTRY	INSTITUTION
Germany	Deutscher Bundestag
Argentina	Cámara Nacional Electoral
Bolivia	Órgano Electoral Plurinacional
Brasil	Justiça Eleitoral
Canada	Chief Electoral Officer
Chile	Consejo para la Transparencia
Colombia	Consejo Nacional Electoral
Costa Rica	Tribunal Supremo Electoral
Cuba	N/A
Ecuador	Consejo Nacional Electoral
El Salvador	Tribunal Supremo Electoral
Estados Unidos	Federal Election Commision
Guatemala	Órgano de Fiscalización Financiera
Honduras	Unidad de Financiamiento, Transparencia y Fiscalización
Japan	Comité de Administración Central de Elecciones
México	Instituto Nacional Electoral
Nicaragua	Contraloría General de la República
Panamá	Tribunal Electoral
Paraguay	Tribunal Superior de Justicia Electoral
Perú	Gerencia de Supervisión de Fondos Partidarios
United Kingdom	Electoral Commision
Dominican Republic	Junta Central Electoral
Uruguay	Corte Electoral
Venezuela	Consejo Nacional Electoral

CONCLUSIONS

- The type of support provided by the State affects inter-party competition. If this support is given before the elections, it manages to balance the playing field between groups of different sizes; whereas, if the input is given after the elections on the basis of the votes obtained, this leaves minority options at a disadvantage.
- Many countries in Latin America limit donations and impose sanctions on parties that break the law, but there is a gap between what is established in the law and what is happening in practice. There is corruption and receipt of illicit funds, as it happens in Mexico and Colombia.
- There are some countries that do not allow donations from companies to political parties, this in order to limit the influence that these could have on the decisions of the rulers.
- The subscriptions of party members are used in the most democratic systems such as those of the United Kingdom or Germany.
- Many countries do not limit the use of the party's members own income to finance campaigns, so a candidate could finance his or her entire electoral campaign, putting at a disadvantage the other political options that do not have the same resources.
- In Many countries the State gives an annual contribution to the functioning of the party and a contribution to the elections.
- Latin America has recently amended its party financing laws to prevent corruption and achieve greater transparency.
- In most of the countries studied there is an electoral commission or council that supervises the expenses of the parties, which has the objective of ensuring the transparency of the elections held.
- The existence of reports from electoral institutions that present not only the amounts public and private financing is a good indicator of the transparency of the government and the electoral process. It is notable that in several countries of the region, comprehensive reports in this regard are not yet being prepared.
- Limiting private contributions may help with more effective regulation, but it does not always cause a more transparent picture. This can be seen in the case of Mexico.
- Most Latin American countries have weaknesses in their party financing controls, however, they continue to try to make the process as regulated and transparent as possible.

REFERENCES

ARGENTINA

- (1) Cámara Nacional Electoral. (2019). Límites de gastos de campaña y montos máximos de aportes privados por persona física o jurídica para los partidos políticos, alianzas y confederaciones. Retrieved from: <https://www.electoral.gob.ar/nuevo/paginas/pdf/Anexol.pdf>
- (2) Cámara Nacional Electoral. (2019). Aportes públicos Generales Presidente 2019. Retrieved from: https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/planilla_seguimiento_pagos_campana_generales_2019-5-12-2019.pdf
- (3) Cámara Nacional Electoral (2019). Aportes y contribuciones privadas para la campaña. Retrieved from: <https://www.electoral.gob.ar/financiamiento/aportes-privados.php>
- (4) Ley de Financiamiento de los Partidos Políticos. Ley 27.504. (2019). <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/normativa/nacional/ley-27504-323729/texto>
- (5) Gobierno de Argentina. (s/f). Financiamiento partidario <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/interior/dine/agrupaciones-politicas/financiamiento>
- (6) Centenera, M. (28 de junio de 2017). La financiación electoral, un agujero negro en Argentina. El País. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/internacional/2017/06/27/argentina/1498594031_477519.html

BOLIVIA

- (1) Noticias Fides. (2020). TSE aprueba Bs 201 millones para elecciones del 3 de mayo, 18% menos que el 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.noticiasfides.com/nacional/politica/tse-aprueba-bs-201-millones-para-elecciones-generales-del-3-de-mayo-18-menos-que-el-2019-403227>
- (2) Sputnik News. (2019). Candidato opositor boliviano presenta millonario presupuesto de campaña electoral. Retrieved from: <https://mundo.sputniknews.com/america-latina/201907041087894624-candidato-opositor-boliviano-presenta-millonario-presupuesto-de-campana-electoral/>
- (3) Fuente Directa. (2020). Comunicado: presupuesto para las Elecciones Generales 2020. Retrieved from: <https://fuentedirecta.oep.org.bo/noticia/comunicado-presupuesto-para-las-elecciones-generales-2020/>
- (4) Gutiérrez, P. & Zovatto, D. (2011). Financiamiento De Los Partidos Políticos En América Latina. Retrieved from: https://www.oas.org/es/sap/docs/deco/Financiamiento_partidos_s.pdf
- (5) Ley De Organizaciones Políticas. (2018). <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-N1096.html>

BRASIL

(1) Resolução n° 23.607. (2019).

<http://www.tse.jus.br/legislacao/compilada/res/2019/resolucao-no-23-607-de-17-de-dezembro-de-2019>

(2) TSE. (2019). Distribuição do Fundo Partidário 2018 - DOTAÇÃO ORÇAMENTÁRIA. Retrieved from: http://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/arquivos/duodecimo-de-dezembro-fundo-partidario-no-site-do-tse/rybena_pdf?file=http://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/arquivos/duodecimo-de-dezembro-fundo-partidario-no-site-do-tse/at_download/file

http://www.justicaeleitoral.jus.br/arquivos/duodecimo-de-dezembro-fundo-partidario-no-site-do-tse/at_download/file

(3) Bragon, R. & Mattoso, C. (15 october 2018). La primera vuelta de las elecciones brasileñas costó US\$ 750 millones, el 73% era dinero público. *Folha de S. Paulo*. Retrieved from: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/es/brasil/2018/10/la-primera-vuelta-de-las-elecciones-brasilenas-costo-us-750-millones-el-73-era-dinero-publico.shtml>

(4) TSE. (2018). DEMONSTRATIVO DE RECEITAS E GASTOS EXERCÍCIO 2018 - PT. Retrieved from: http://www.tse.jus.br/partidos/contas-partidarias/prestacao-de-contas/contas-anuais/arquivos/2018/pt-2018/tse-demonst-receitas-e-gastos-pt-2018/rybena_pdf?file=http://www.tse.jus.br/partidos/contas-partidarias/prestacao-de-contas/contas-anuais/arquivos/2018/pt-2018/tse-demonst-receitas-e-gastos-pt-2018/at_download/file

(5) TSE. DEMONSTRATIVO DE RECEITAS E GASTOS - PSE. Retrieved from: http://www.tse.jus.br/internet/prestacao_contas/partidos/2018/PSL/TSE_demonst_receitas_gastos_PSL_2018.pdf

CANADA

(1) Canada Elections Act (2019). <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/E-2.01.pdf>

(2) Elections Canada. (2019). Estimated Cost of the 43rd General Election. Retrieved from: https://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rep/off/cou&document=index_43&lang=e

(3) Rocha, R. (18 october 2019). More donors, smaller donations: How political fundraising has changed in Canada. *CBC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/elections-canada-data-donors-increase-1.5322682>

CHILE

(1) Serval (2018). Estadísticas de aporte público trimestral recibido por cada Partido Político por año. Retrieved from: <https://www.serval.cl/aporte-publico-trimestral-recibido-por-cada-partido-politico-por-ano/>

(2) Serval (2018). Aporte fiscal 2018 a partidos políticos llega casi a 6.500 millones de pesos. Retrieved from: <https://www.serval.cl/aporte-fiscal-2018-a-partidos-politicos-llega-casi-a-6-500-millones-de-pesos/>

(3) Servel. (2017). Servel determina máximo de aportes permitidos en Elecciones 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.servel.cl/servel-determina-maximo-de-aportes-permitidos-en-elecciones-2017/>

(4) Ley Orgánica Constitucional De Los Partidos Políticos. (2018). <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regiones/americas/CL/cl-ley-18603-organica-pp-pp-2018/view>

(5) Observatorio Político Dominicano. (2017). El financiamiento de partidos políticos y campañas electorales en República Dominicana: problemática y posible solución. Retrieved from: http://www.opd.org.do/images/PDF_ARTICULOS/Partidos_politicos/financiamiento-partidos-politicos-b.pdf

COLOMBIA

(1) Transparencia por Colombia. (2018). Financiación de Campañas Políticas 2018. Retrieved from: <https://transparenciacolombia.org.co/2019/03/05/financiacion-de-campanas-politicas-2018/>

(2) Moe. (2018). Topes de gastos de elecciones. Retrieved from: <https://moe.org.co/wpcontent/uploads/2018/01/TOPE DE GASTOS ELECCIONES P RESIDENCIA Y C>

(3) Vargas, A. (2010). La influencia de los poderes ilegales en la política colombiana. Retrieved from: <https://nuso.org/articulo/la-influencia-de-los-poderes-ilegales-en-la-politica-colombiana/>

(4). Registraduría Colombia (2020). Cuentas claras en elecciones. Retrieved from: <https://www5.registraduria.gov.co/CuentasClarasPublicoPre2018/Consultas/Candidatos/>

(5) Misión de Observación Electoral. (2010). Financiamiento Electoral en Colombia. Retrieved from: https://moe.org.co/wpcontent/uploads/2017/07/Cartilla_Financiamiento_Electoral_en_Colombia_2010.pdf

COSTA RICA

(1) TSE. (2018). *Determinación del monto máximo de la contribución del Estado a los partidos políticos con derecho a ello, según los resultados de las elecciones presidenciales y legislativas celebradas el domingo 4 de febrero de 2018*. Retrieved from: <https://www.tse.go.cr/juris/relevantes/1500-E10-2018.html>

(2) Código Electoral. (2017). *Ley n° 8765*. Retrieved from: https://www.tse.go.cr/pdf/publicaciones/codigoelectoral_indicealfabetico.pdf

(3) Romero, J. (2013). *El financiamiento de los partidos políticos. El caso de Costa Rica*. Retrieved from: <https://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/juridicas/article/view/12543/21809>

CUBA

(1) Ley Electoral. (1992). *Ley No. 72*. Retrieved from: <http://www.parlamentocubano.cu/wp-content/uploads/LEY-ELECTORAL.pdf>

(2) Notimerica. (14 september 2017). *¿Cómo funciona la política en Cuba?* Retrieved from: <https://www.notimerica.com/politica/noticia-funciona-politica-cuba-20141225145933.html>

ECUADOR

(1) CNE. (2018). CNE presentó Informe de Rendición de Cuentas 2017. Retrieved from: <http://cne.gob.ec/es/institucion/sala-de-prensa/noticias/4365-cne-presento-informe-de-rendicion-de-cuentas-2017>

(2) Puente, D. (2017). CNE entregará USD 5,1 millones a siete organizaciones políticas. *El Comercio*. Retrieved from: <https://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/cne-dinero-partidos-politica-votos.html>

(3) Alianza País. (2017). *Informe Económico y Financiero del Uso del Fondo Partidario Permanente*. Retrieved from: http://cne.gob.ec/images/d/2018/Organizaciones_politicas_/informes/Lista_35_PAIS_IEF_2017.pdf

(4) CREO. (2017). Formulario Financiero para Transparentar Cuentas de las Organizaciones Políticas. Retrieved from: http://cne.gob.ec/images/d/2018/Organizaciones_politicas_/informes/Lista_21_CREO_1_EF_2017.pdf

(5) Ley Orgánica Electoral, Código De La Democracia. (2020). *Ley 2*. Retrieved from: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwixwOC72dnoAhVFJt8KHSynA14QFjAlegQICRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.registroficial.gob.ec%2Findex.php%2Fregistro-oficial-web%2Fpublicaciones%2Fsuplementos%2Fitem%2Fdownload%2F11759_72015349cf8ce063febad4966c2caae&usg=AOvVaw1oFEdqEPLyRQthP0JWixO6

(6) Araujo, G. (2005). *Origen, límite y destino del Gasto Electoral*. Retrieved from: <https://www.derechoecuador.com/origen-liacutemite-y-destino-del-gasto-electoral>

EL SALVADOR

(1) Ministerio de Hacienda. (2019). *Montos Pagados Por Concepto De Deuda Política*. Retrieved from: <https://www.mh.gob.sv/downloads/pdf/700-UAIP-IF-2020-11761.pdf>

(2) Gobierno de El Salvador. (2018). *Informe Sobre Aportes Privados A Partidos Políticos*. Retrieved from: https://www.transparenciaactiva.gob.sv/ckeditor_assets/attachments/704/Informe_don_antes_pp_diciembre_2018-1.pdf

(3) Ley De Partidos Políticos. (2017). Retrieved from: https://www.tse.gob.sv/laip_tse/index.php/marconormativo/ley-de-partidos-politicos

(4) FUSADES (2017). Aplicación de la regulación sobre el financiamiento de los partidos políticos en El Salvador. Retrieved from: <http://fusades.org/sites/default/files/Analisis%20Politico%20enero%202017.pdf>

ESTADOS UNIDOS

- (1) FEC. (2016). *Presidential Pre-Nomination Campaign Disbursements September 30, 2016*. Retrieved from: https://transition.fec.gov/press/summaries/2016/tables/presidential/presdisbursements_2016_m10.pdf
- (2) Allison, B., Rojanasakul, M., Harris, B., Sam, C. (9 December 2016). Tracking the 2016 Presidential Money Race. *Bloomberg*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/politics/graphics/2016-presidential-campaign-fundraising/>
- (3) Federal Elections Commission (s/f). *Who can and can't contribute to a party committee*. Retrieved from: <https://www.fec.gov/help-candidates-and-committees/taking-receipts-political-party/who-can-and-cant-contribute-party-committee/>

GUATEMALA

- (1) Hernández, M. & Oliva, W. (24 June 2019). TSE desembolsaría Q79.1 millones a partidos por deuda política. *Prensa Libre*. Retrieved from: <https://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/politica/partidos-podrian-recibir-q79-1-millones-por-deuda-politica/>
- (2) Vamos. (2018). *Informe del Auditor Independiente*. Retrieved from: http://www.tse.org.gt/images/UECFFPP/ifop/ESTAFINA18/VAMOS/estados_financieros_2018.pdf
- (3) UNE. (2018). *Balance General*. Retrieved from: http://www.tse.org.gt/images/UECFFPP/ifop/ESTAFINA18/UNE/estados_financieros_2018.pdf
- (4) Ley Electoral y de Partidos Políticos. (2019). Retrieved from: <https://www.tse.org.gt/images/LEPP.pdf>
- (5) Gutiérrez, P. & Zovatto, D. (2011). *Financiamiento De Los Partidos Políticos En América Latina*. Retrieved from: https://www.oas.org/es/sap/docs/deco/Financiamiento_partidos_s.pdf

HONDURAS

- (1) Ley Electoral y de las organizaciones políticas. (2009). Retrieved from: http://www.tse.hn/WEB/documentos/Compendio_Ley_Electoral_Reglamentos_Electorales_09.PDF
- (2) Ley De Financiamiento, Transparencia Y Fiscalización de Partidos. (2017). <https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/americas/HN/leyes-electorales/honduras-ley-de-financiamiento-transparencia-y/view>
- (3) El Heraldo. (2018). Tribunal Supremo Electoral entrega 197 millones de lempiras en deuda política a partidos. Retrieved from: <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1178798-466/tribunal-supremo-electoral-entrega-197-millones-de-lempiras-en-deuda-pol%C3%ADtica-a>

(4) Proceso digital. (2020) Unos \$43 millones se gastaron en campaña política de 2017, señala Cespada. Retrieved from: <https://proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/unos-43-millones-se-gastaron-en-campana-politica-de-2017-senala-cespad.html>

(5) Cespada (2020). La Ley de Política Limpia y el dinero prohibido que bulle en las campañas políticas en Honduras. Retrieved from: <https://cespad.org.hn/2020/01/07/la-ley-de-politica-limpia-y-el-dinero-prohibido-que-bulle-en-las-campanas-politicas-en-honduras/>

MÉXICO

(1) Ley General De Partidos Políticos. (2014). Retrieved from: http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LGPP_130815.pdf

(2) Diario oficial de la Federación. (2020). Retrieved from: https://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5586328&fecha=13/02/2020

(3) Instituto Nacional Electoral. (2018). Reporte de financiamiento anual ordinario. Retrieved from: [https://militantes-pp.ine.mx/sifp/app/reportesPublicos/financiamiento/reporteFinanciamientoOrdinario?execution=e1s1](https://militantes.pp.ine.mx/sifp/app/reportesPublicos/financiamiento/reporteFinanciamientoOrdinario?execution=e1s1)

(4) Zepeda, A. (2017). El financiamiento de los partidos políticos y la confianza ciudadana en México. Retrieved from: <http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/ins/n15/2007-4964-ins-15-309.pdf>

(5) Excelsior. (2019). Multan a partidos por \$586 millones; INE destaca rendición de cuentas Retrieved from: <https://www.excelsior.com.mx/nacional/multan-a-partidos-por-586-millones-ine-destaca-rendicion-de-cuentas/1346366>

NICARAGUA

(1) Ley Electoral. Ley No. 331. (2016). Retrieved from: https://aceproject.org/eroen/regions/americas/NI/nicaragua-ley-no.-331-ley-electoral-2017-vigente/view?set_language=es

(2) La prensa. (2017) ¿Cuánto recibieron los partidos por reembolso de gasto de campaña? Retrieved from: <https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2017/05/29/politica/2237126-cuanto-recibieron-los-partidos-por-reembolso-de-gasto-de-campana>

(3) Despacho 505. (2019). La fortuna del FSLN amasada de fraude en fraude. Retrieved from: <https://www.despacho505.com/la-fortuna-del-fslnf-fraude/>

(4) OEA. (2017). Organización de los Estados Americanos Misión de acompañamiento electoral elecciones municipales. Retrieved from: <http://scm.oas.org/Pdfs/2017/CP38536S.pdf>

(5) Courtney, R. (s.f). Financiamiento Político y Regulación de Campañas Electorales en América Latina. Retrieved from: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/americas/Electoral_Code_Booklet-VDG_A2_final2.pdf

PANAMÁ

- (1) Código Electoral. (2017). Retrieved from: <https://www.tribunal-electoral.gob.pa/publicaciones/codigo-electoral/>
- (2) La Prensa (2019). El PRD y CD se quedan con el grueso del subsidio. Retrieved from: https://www.prensa.com/impresapanorama/PRD-CD-quedan-grueso-subsidio_0_5334216595.html
- (3) La Prensa. (2019). \$230 millones de dinero público para los partidos. Retrieved from: https://www.prensa.com/impresapanorama/millones-dinero-publico_partidos_0_5265223457.html
- (4) Brown, H. (2020). Financiamiento político en Panamá: situación actual, tendencias de reforma y desafíos específicos. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338962000_Financiamiento_politico_en_Panama_situacion_actual_tendencias_de_reforma_y_desafios_especificos
- (5) La Estrella de Panamá. (2018). Partidos se distribuirán \$45.8 millones en 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.laestrella.com.pa/nacional/180326/8-45-partidos-millones-distribuiran>

PARAGUAY

- (1) Ley N°4.743/12 que regula el financiamiento político. (2012) Retrieved from: <http://bacn.gov.py/archivos/1198/20141002102600.pdf>
- (2) Ley N°6.167 de los Partidos Políticos. (2018). Retrieved from: <http://bacn.gov.py/archivos/8683/Ley%206167.pdf>
- (3) Asociación Nacional Republicana A.N.R. (2018). Resumen de ingresos y gastos irrogados por la campaña. Retrieved from: http://sinafip.tsje.gov.py/files/publicaciones/RESUMEN%20DE%20INGRESOS%20Y%20EGRESOS%20-%20ANR_1wt7cyug.pdf
- (4) Contraloría General de la República. (2018). Informe de rendición de cuentas. Retrieved from: http://sinafip.tsje.gov.py/files/publicaciones/Informe%20CGR%20de%20rendici%C3%B3n%20de%20cuentas%20Partidos%20y%20Movimientos%20Pol%C3%ADticos,%20Concertaciones%20y%20Alianzas%20Electtorales%20-%20Elecciones%20Generales%202018_qk5wnhtn.pdf
- (5) Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. (2020). Poder Ejecutivo promulga ley que regula el financiamiento político. Retrieved from: <https://www.mre.gov.py/index.php/noticias-de-embajadas-y-consulados/poder-ejecutivo-promulga-ley-que-regula-el-financiamiento-politico>
- (6) Bareiro, L.; Echaui, C. (2011). Financiamiento de la política en Paraguay. Instituto Internacional para la Democracia y la Asistencia Electoral. (O.E.A). Retrieved from: https://www.oas.org/es/sap/docs/deco/Financiamiento_partidos_s.pdf
- (7) Ibarra, G. (s.f). Financiamiento Político y regulación de Campañas Electorales en América Latina. Retrieved from:

PERU

- (1) Ley N°28094 de organizaciones políticas. (2003). Retrieved from: [http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/sicr/cendocbib/con4_uibd.nsf/A74981DA85BACD0A05257C08006F0286/\\$FILE/Ley_28094.pdf](http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/sicr/cendocbib/con4_uibd.nsf/A74981DA85BACD0A05257C08006F0286/$FILE/Ley_28094.pdf)
- (2) Transparencia. (2018). Diez partidos reciben financiamiento directo del Estado ¿Cuáles son los requisitos? ¿Cuáles los montos? ¿En qué lo usan?. Retrieved from: <https://www.transparencia.org.pe/blog/diez-partidos-reciben-financiamiento-directo-del-estado-cuales-son-los-requisitos-cuales-los>
- (3) Soldevilla, T. (2011). El financiamiento de los partidos políticos en Perú. Retrieved from: www.oas.org/es/sap/docs/deco/Financiamiento_partidos_s.pdf
- (4) RPP Noticias. (2020). Más de S/ 38 millones por financiamiento público serán entregados a nueve partidos políticos. Retrieved from: <https://rpp.pe/politica/elecciones/elecciones-2020-mas-de-s-38-millones-por-financiamiento-publico-seran-entregados-a-nueve-partidos-politicos-noticia-1242788>
- (5) Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales. (2016). Informe de Verificación sobre la Información Financiera de Campaña Electoral. Elecciones Generales-EE.GG.2016. Partido político: Fuerza Popular. Retrieved from: https://www.onpe.gob.pe/modFondosPartidarios/downloads/EG2016/informes-GSFP/IT_011_FUERZA_POPULAR_EG-2016.pdf
- (6) Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales. (2016). Informe de Verificación sobre la Información Financiera de Campaña Electoral. Elecciones Generales-EE.GG.2016. Partido político: Acción Popular. Retrieved from: https://www.onpe.gob.pe/modFondosPartidarios/downloads/EG2016/informes-GSFP/IT_018_ACCION_POPULAR_EG-2016.pdf

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

- (1) Ley N° 33-18 de partidos, agrupaciones y movimientos políticos (2018). Retrieved from: https://www.poderjudicial.gob.do/documentos/PDF/leyes/LEY_ley_num._33_18_1_7.pdf
- (2) Ley Electoral N°275-97. Retrieved from: <https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2012/8892.pdf>
- (3) Diario Libre (2018). Los partidos recibirán en 2019 casi el doble de los que obtuvieron en el 2015. Retrieved from: <https://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/politica/los-partidos-recibiran-en-2019-casi-el-doble-de-lo-que-obtuvieron-en-2015-GO10960512>
- (4) Ferreiras, G. y Bautista, G. (2017). El financiamiento de los partidos políticos y campañas electorales en república dominicana. Retrieved from: http://www.opd.org.do/images/PDF_ARTICULOS/Partidos_politicos/financiamiento-partidos-politicos-b.pdf

(5) Listin Diario (2019). JCE no sabe cómo partidos gastaron RD\$756 millones. Retrieved from: <https://listindiario.com/la-republica/2019/03/12/557046/jce-no-sabe-como-partidos-gastaron-rd-756-millones>

URUGUAY

(1) Ley N°18.485 de partidos políticos. (2009) Retrieved from: <https://legislativo.parlamento.gub.uy/temporales/leytemp4629513.htm>

(2) Corte Electoral. (2020). Rendiciones de Cuentas-Campaña 2019-2020. Retrieved from: https://www.corteelectoral.gub.uy/estadisticas/rendiciones_2019_2020

(3) El observador. (2019) Mirá cuánto le pagará el Estado a cada partido que se presentó en las elecciones. Retrieved from: <https://www.elobservador.com.uy/nota/estado-pagara-us-23-millones-a-todos-los-partidos-que-se-presentaron-en-las-elecciones-20191029194337>

(4) Piñeiro, R. (2015). Financiamiento de partidos y campañas en Uruguay. Retrieved from: https://www.icso.cl/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Financiamiento-de-partidos-y-de-campa%C3%B1as-en-Uruguay_Rafael-Pi%C3%B1eiro.pdf

VENEZUELA

(1) Ley Orgánica de procesos electorales. Retrieved from: http://www4.cne.gob.ve/onpc/web/documentos/Leyes/Ley_Organica_de_los_Procesos_Electorales.pdf

(2) Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela. (1999). Retrieved from: https://www.oas.org/dil/esp/constitucion_venezuela.pdf

(3) Virtuoso, F. (2011). Financiamiento de los partidos políticos y campañas electorales en Venezuela. Retrieved from: <https://archivos.juridicas.unam.mx/www/bjv/libros/7/3014/23.pdf>

GERMANY

(1) Berasaluce, J. (2017). ¿Qué podemos aprender de los partidos alemanes?. Retrieved from: <https://www.animalpolitico.com/blog-invitado/podemos-aprender-del-financiamiento-los-partidos-alemanes/>

(2) Bunderstag. (2019). Bekanntmachung von Rechenschaftsberichten politischer Parteien für das Kalenderjahr 2018 (1. Teil - Bundestagsparteien, Band I). Retrieved from: <https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/154/1915450.pdf>

(3) Knight, B. (15 September de 2017). Alemania: ¿cómo influyen las donaciones en las elecciones?. Deutsche Welle. Retrieved from: <https://www.dw.com/es/alemania-cómo-influyen-las-donaciones-en-las-elecciones/a-40533155>

(4) Knight, B. (30 December 2019). Corporate donations to mainstream German political parties fall. *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dw.com/en/corporate-donations-to-mainstream-german-political-parties-fall/a-51836967>

UNITED KINGDOM

- (1) Electoral Commission (2020). Retrieved from: <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/who-we-are-and-what-we-do/financial-reporting/donations-and-loans/public-funding-political-parties>
- (2) Electoral Commission (2019). Donations accepted by political parties. Retrieved from: <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/who-we-are-and-what-we-do/financialreporting/donations-and-loans/view-donations-and-loans/donations-accepted>
- (3) Institute for Government. (2020). Public Funding for political parties. Retrieved from: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/public-funding-political-parties>

JAPAN

- (1) Nippon. (2019). *La financiación de los partidos políticos en Japón*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nippon.com/es/features/h00373/>
- (2) Library of Congress. (s/f). Regulation of Foreign Involvement in Elections: Japan. Retrieved from: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/elections/foreign-involvement/japan.php>
- (3) Library of Congress. (s/f). Regulation of Campaign Finance and Free Advertising: Japan. Retrieved from: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/campaign-finance-regulation/japan.php#Donation>
- (4) Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (2020). Unidad Indexada. Retrieved from: <http://www.ine.gub.uy/ui-unidad-indexada>