

MEXICO, POLITICS AND POLICY

Volume 1: 2006 election campaign
February - July 2006

Main Topics

- *AMLO criticizes structural reforms*
- *Calderon promotes energy reform and positions himself as an independent*
- *Madrazo tangled in scandal over jailing of journalists Lydia Cacho*

Upcoming Events

03/30/06 Council of the Americas: Mexico Election Series, The Federal Congressional Races: Challenges for the new legislature.
(New York City
8:45am—10:30am)

Campaign Briefs

Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, PRD

AMLO said on February 13 that if elected President he would not promote structural economic reforms of the type President Fox tried to push through Congress. "We must leave behind what we know as structural reforms, since they are neither reforms nor structural. The only thing they seek is to appropriate the national patrimony." He also said that Mexico must have a new agenda which is not imposed by foreign interests. (Reforma, 2/14/06)

AMLO warned congressmen against supporting President Fox's renewed initiative to amend the constitution to give autonomy to the financial regulatory authorities including the Mexican SEC, tax authority, and pension fund regulator. AMLO said that private interest groups were behind the measure and that it would move the country "backwards." (Reforma, 2/14/06)

He also declared that, if he were to win the presidency on July 2nd, he would submit to a public referendum after three years in office. (Reforma, 2/17/06)

Felipe Calderon, PAN

Calderon emphasized the need for energy reform in various speeches throughout the week. In a reference to Cuba, he said even "most Communists" countries allowed private investment in the energy sector. (Reuters, 2/17/06)

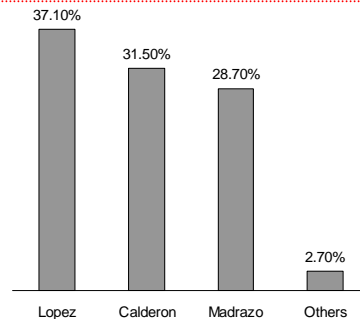
Calderon stressed the fact that he is not the President's candidate. He said that while he agrees with Fox's economic goals and commitment to democracy, he disapproves of the administration's ineffectiveness. "I'm in the best of two worlds; I can run this race with two horses," he said. "On the one hand, I'm the candidate of the governing party. At the same time I don't need to take on the burden of being the government's candidate. People know that my candidacy developed not only outside the government, but in spite of the government." (Houston Chronicle, 2/14/06)

Roberto Madrazo, PRI

Madrazo initially publicly cast doubt on the involvement of his close ally, Puebla Governor Mario Marin, in the Lydia Cacho scandal. Last week the paper *La Jornada* published liked tapes with the voices of Marin and businessman Kamil Nacif celebrating the arrest by Puebla police of Ms. Cacho, after she published a book exposing a pederasty ring involving a Nacif associate. As the scandal deepened, Madrazo backtracked and began suggesting that the whole controversy was a plot against the PRI for its support of an investigation into alleged corruption by President Fox's stepsons, the Bribiesca brothers. Cacho was arrested in December, but has since been released. (Reuters, 02/13/06)

Latest Polls

- The most recent (2/20) *Reforma* poll shows Lopez Obrador slipping slightly to 38% from 39% in January, Calderon and Madrazo are up 1 point to 31% and 29% respectively.
- El Universal's poll (2/20) had AMLO at 30%, down from 43%; Calderon steady at 27%; and Madrazo down 1 point to 25%.
- UBS Investment Research's 'poll of polls,' which averages the results of all the major polls over the prior two months for registered voters, and distributes 'don't knows/no preferences' is shown at right.



Source: UBS Investment Research, 2/21/06

Main Topics

- *One TV debate agreed*
- *Historian Enrique Krauze skewers the candidates*
- *Former Spanish PM Aznar endorses Calderon and generates outcry against “foreign intervention”*
- *Bernardo de la Garza, former Green Party presidential candidate, pulls out of alliance with Madrazo*
- *Lopez Obrador and Carlos Slim debate ministerial salaries and corruption*

Upcoming Events

03/30/06 Council of the Americas: Mexico Election Series, The Federal Congressional Races: Challenges for the new legislature.
(New York City
8:45am—10:30am)

Campaign Briefs

Debating the Debate

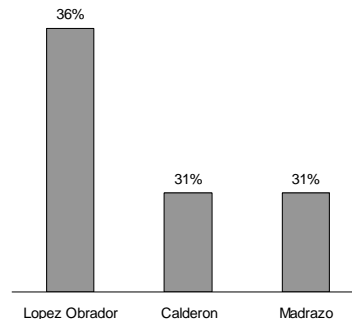
After considerable negotiation among the parties and candidates, the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) confirmed that the three major and two minor Mexican presidential contenders will take part in at least one debate before the July 2 vote. A specific date has not yet been set. Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (PRD), the current front runner, has been trying to avoid any participation, while the other candidates want more than one. The IFE’s compromised on one debate. The candidates in 2000 held two debates, which were viewed as a major factor in Fox’s victory.

Recent Developments

- Influential Mexican historian Enrique Krauze said he was worried that Lopez Obrador could return the country to the type of political system under which the PRI ruled for decades, but without the check and balances of the PRI. If AMLO were to win, “all power would be concentrated in the person of the president, and not in the institution of the presidency, and the person has showed marked authoritarian an messianic tendencies.” Krauze also called on Felipe Calderon (PAN) to make a clear distinction between church and state, and completely discounted the chances of Roberto Madrazo (PRI). (EI Universal 2/22)
- Former Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar endorsed fellow conservative Calderon during a visit to Mexico. “I’m here to say that I hope and wish that Felipe Calderon will be the new president of Mexico, for the wellbeing of all Mexicans.” The comment drew a wave of protests from other parties condemning “foreign intervention,” and a protest from Mexico’s interior ministry to the Spanish Embassy. “I respect Prime Minister Aznar’s comment and I appreciate it,” Calderon said. “Prime minister Aznar was, in my view, simply expressing a personal opinion and nothing more.” (AP 2/23)
- Bernardo de la Garza, the leading figure in the Green Party (PVEM), pull out of an electoral alliance with Roberto Madrazo. “I am convinced that my decision to continue participating in a presidential candidacy other than mine was not a wise decision because it was not consistent with the electorate that was supporting me.” The Green Party itself is expected to stay in the alliance. (Reforma 2/22)
- Lopez Obrador said he disagreed with influential billionaire Carlos Slim over how much public officials should earn. The leftist candidate has proposed cutting the salaries of government ministries and eliminating the pension given to former presidents. Slim said good salaries help prevent corruption, but Lopez Obrador replied that corrupt officials will break the law regardless of their salaries, (Reuters 2/23)

Latest Polls

The Milenio (Maria de las Heras) poll (2/20) has Lopez Obrador (PRD) with a 5-point lead, at 36 percent, one point less than last month and still ahead of Felipe Calderon (PAN) and Roberto Madrazo (PRI), who are tied at 31 percent. Last month, the Milenio poll gave Calderon at 31% and Roberto Madrazo 30%.



Main Topics

- *Lopez Obrador to participate in only one of four debates*
- *Shaken: Madrazo's spokesman quits, denouncing his candidate*
- *Stirred: Calderon re-vamps campaign team, names single coordinator*
- *Higher peso volatility foreseen*

Upcoming Events

03/09/06 Institute of the Americas: Poverty, Financing and the Outlook for the Next Administration—Dr. Santiago Levy. (La Jolla, California 6:30 - 7:45 p.m.)

03/30/06 Council of the Americas: Mexico Election Series, The Federal Congressional Races: Challenges for the new legislature. (New York City 8:45am - 10:30am)

Campaign Briefs**The Debates**

Frontrunner Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (PRD) said he will take part in only one of the presidential debates, after the other parties and the Federal Electoral Institute agreed to hold four. "I prefer to take my proposals directly to the people rather waste my time debating with other politicians," he said. "Whoever says no to the debates fears to take on the world of proposals and ideas," countered the PAN's Vazquez Mota, and "above all says no to the respect of the citizens and no to democracy" ([EsMas 2/27](#)).

The first debate will take place on March 28, with the others following on April 25, May 30, and June 27. Each debate is expected to focus on one theme—the economy, social policy, security and law and order, and governance, although the PRD has also criticized this formula ([El Universal 3/2](#)).

Recent Developments

The PRI spokesman, Eduardo Andrade, quit abruptly and noisily. His resignation letter denounced candidate Roberto Madrazo's heavy-handed manipulation of party posts. "Candidates belong to parties, not the other way round," Andrade said. (Reuters 2/28). Madrazo warned his fellow party members, saying, "If we do not win the big house, we can forget about the future of this great organization [the PRI]" ([EsMas 3/1](#)). In a sign of the party's divisions, only 5 of the 17 PRI governors joined Madrazo in the celebration of the party's 77th anniversary ([Milenio 3/5](#)). At least four federal and local deputies in Puebla resigned from the PRI, protesting the involvement of Governor Mario Marin in the arrest of journalist Lydia Cacho. Rafael Moreno Valle, the head of the Legislative Commission of the Puebla Congress said that the party had been kidnapped by a "cabal" ([Universal 3/5](#) [Reforma 3/5](#)).

Felipe Calderon (PAN), running second in the polls, named Josefina Vazquez Mota as his sole campaign coordinator to strengthen his electoral strategy and regain momentum. Arturo Sarukhan, the diplomat and former Consul General in New York, also joined the campaign as head of international affairs.

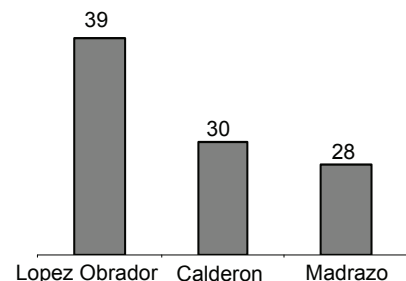
Calderon also sacked his head of political marketing, Francisco Ortiz. Calderon noted, "During the PAN's primary campaign I had a small team that worked mainly from the heart; now, in this big campaign, with more people, I have been pushed to say and do things that don't reflect who I really am" ([Reforma 3/5](#)).

The economy amidst the elections

Bank of America strategists warned of increased Mexican peso volatility ahead of the July elections. "Although the left has evolved into a major political force, it has remained isolated from other important national players, such as the corporate and financial sector. Because Mexico's democracy is still new and its institutions are not yet well developed, any transition from the right—the status quo—to the untested left may cause increased uncertainty," the strategists said. (Market News International 2/28)

Latest Polls

The latest [Mitofsky poll](#) (2/22) gave Lopez Obrador (PRD) 39 percent support, the same level as in January. Calderon (PAN) slipped to 30 percent from 31 percent last month, while support for Madrazo (PRI) dropped 1 point to 28 percent. Mitofsky noted that only three in ten Mexican voters have firmly decided on their choice, and that the percentage of voters who do not identify with any of the main parties has reached an all time high of 41 percent.



Main Topics

- *PRI holds its #1 position in Mexico State's election*
- *AMLO attacks ex-President Salinas de Gortari*
- *AMLO says PEMEX would not team up with private sector*
- *Calderon promises to be a "jobs president"*
- *Madrazo accuses AMLO of working with corrupt politicians*

Upcoming Events

03/30/06 Council of the Americas: Mexico Election Series, The Federal Congressional Races: Challenges for the new legislature.
(New York City
8:45am — 10:30am)

Campaign Briefs

In the only electoral test prior to the July 2 national elections, voters in the State of Mexico elected a new State Congress and 125 mayors. All the presidential candidates have campaigned heavily in the state over the past several weeks. The PRI appears to have held on to its traditional #1 position in the state, while the PRD made significant gains. More details are below.

Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (PRD) attacked ex-President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, after Salinas declared in an MIT conference that Latin America's democracies are at risk from the attacks made by some demagogues on institutions. AMLO responded, "If I were to win the presidency, the country won't be at risk; the only risk will be aimed at your particular benefits since you will lose your ex-president's pension and many other privileges." (Cronica 3/13)

AMLO's Economic Advisor, Rogelio Ramirez de la O, said that AMLO envisions a new focus for the state-run oil industry, PEMEX, that does not include teaming up with the private sector to get at deep-water oil reserves. During a conference on competitiveness, Ramirez de la O stated that a Lopez Obrador government, would switch from the current strategy that favors the high margins of extracting and exporting crude oil, to one of bolstering value-chains in areas such as refining and petrochemicals, in order to create more jobs even at the cost of lower investment returns and lower tax revenues. (Dow Jones 3/9)

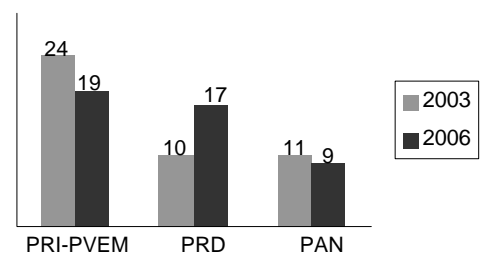
Felipe Calderon (PAN) pledged that he would be a "jobs president," saying that other candidates represent a return to the country's troubled past. "For me, it's a clear decision between the future that we need and the past". He said the PRI, which governed Mexico for 71 years until the election of President Vicente Fox in 2000, represents the past of "corruption and complicity." Calderon also accused Lopez Obrador of "shooing away" investment, which he warned would lead to more unemployment. "I am someone who respects the source that invests in Mexico," he added. "I want a Mexico that grows and creates employees." Later in the week he declared, "This is a war. We either push forward with change or we return to scenarios from the past." (Reforma 3/12)

Roberto Madrazo, candidate for the Institutional Revolutionary Party, launched a television advertising offensive against rival Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, accusing the leftist front-runner of once working with corrupt politicians and failing to meet a pre-campaign promise to take part in several election debates with his opponents. He also invited members of the PRD to join his party. (Reforma 3/13)

Mexico State's Election Results

Elections for the local Congress and municipalities in the State of Mexico were held on March 12. Preliminary results (with 96.57% of the votes counted) show that the PRI-PVEM alliance is the likely winner in 19 of the 45 congressional districts. The PRD is likely to become the second political force in the state, increasing its congressional representation to 17 from 10 in 2003 to 17. The PAN will probably win 9 districts, a lower number than what it won in 2003. Only 40% of eligible voters participated in the election. ([Results](#))

In the mayoral races, the PRI captured an estimated 53 towns, the PAN won 25 and 3 more in alliances with other parties. The PRD won 24 plus another 12 in alliances. Statewide, the PRI won approximately 34% of the vote, the PRD 30%, and the PAN 26%.



Main Topics

- *Oil: Declarations flow*
- *PRI meltdown continues*
- *Calderon shifts campaign*

Upcoming Events

03/31/06 Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: Institutions and Political Actors in Mexico's 2006 Elections. (Washington, DC 9:00am—4:00pm)

04/06/06 Council of the Americas: Mexico Election Series, The Federal Congressional Races: Challenges for the new legislature. (New York City 8:45am—10:30am
04/07/07 Miami 8:00am—10:am)

Campaign Briefs

The anniversary of the nationalization of the oil industry (3/18) generated a burst of speechmaking in the heart of the oil country.

Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (PRD) reaffirmed his intent to make “energy the pillar for industrialization and development,” and “to unite all the people to overthrow the cabal that has brought the country to ruin.” He said past policy sought a pretext to privatize the energy sector: “the only important thing was to sell ever more crude oil overseas, while neglecting exploration, the discovery of new reserves, and—above all—refining and petrochemicals.” AMLO said his 10 point program would boost exploration, keep reserve and production levels constant, build three new refineries, change PEMEX’s tax regime, end the ‘deceptive’ program for financing investment, end corruption, and reduce fuel and electricity prices. He also reaffirmed that all of this could be done without changes in the law.

Felipe Calderon (PAN) said that AMLO “will soon kill the hen with the golden eggs,” and “grab everything, with everyone diving in to split up the surplus.” Calderon unveiled a 7 point program, including no privatization, more exploration aimed at 100% reserve replacement, new technology, four refineries to end product imports, greater financial transparency, and increased development of marginal fields.

Roberto Madrazo (PRI) was silent over the weekend.

18 federal deputies joined the growing exodus of PRI-istas. They announced their departure from the PRI congressional bloc to form the *Independent Reform Parliamentary Group*. In their announcement, the 18 deputies said, “There is a group of PRI deputies who are not interested in the transformation of Mexico.... This group within the PRI manipulated initiatives, blocked reforms and impeded broad-scale agreements. ... The PRI congressional delegation was taken hostage by Roberto Madrazo. ... Not only has the Chamber of Deputies been taken hostage, but also the country and all Mexicans.” ([Universal 3/18](#))

Felipe Calderon continued to adjust his campaign tactics and changed his slogan to “So you can live better” from “Passion and Values.” He’s also started making much more aggressive responses to Lopez Obrador. After AMLO told President Vicente Fox to “shut up,” Calderon responded that “AMLO has shown what he really looks like: an authentic authoritarian, an impulsive and whimsical candidate with a short temper.” ([Reforma 3/17](#))

Latest Polls

The latest *Reforma* poll shows AMLO with 41% of voter preferences, up 3 points since February. Calderon maintained at 31% while Madrazo fell 4 points to 25%. The poll was conducted March 10-13. This poll also indicates the clear regional divisions in terms of voter preferences: Lopez Obrador leads in central Mexico and enjoys a plurality in the south, while Calderon is on top in both the north and the center-west.

	Preferences by Region				
	North	Center West	Center	South	Total
Calderon	37	42	25	25	31
AMLO	33	27	55	38	41
Madrazo	28	28	16	35	25

Main Topics

- *Hugo Chavez gets pulled into the campaign*
- *AMLO talks about foreign policy*
- *Madrazo's image takes another hit*
- *AMLO's advisers warn against attempts to head off the 'inevitable triumph'*

Upcoming Events

03/28/06, Calderón is scheduled to give his major foreign policy speech at the Mexican Foreign Affairs Council (Comexi)

03/30/06, deadline for parties to register candidates for directly elected Senate seats.

03/30-31/06 Cancun Summit: President Bush, President Fox, and Prime Minister Harper to meet.

Campaign Briefs

Venezuela's Hugo Chavez and the issue of foreign interference dominated the week. A PAN television ad showed clips of both Andres Manuel López Obrador (PRD) and Chavez insulting President Fox on separate occasions. In response, Chavez declared that the Mexican right was trying to close off the left's path to victory. Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) head Luis Carlos Ugalde said, "It's undesirable and imprudent for a man of Hugo Chavez's rank to inject himself into our political campaigns." Deputies from the PRI and PAN passed a resolution asking the IFE to investigate rumors that Chavez was providing funds to AMLO's campaign. AMLO told his opponents, "You are making yourselves ridiculous. I understand you are getting desperate, but don't take this issue to an institutional level." (Reforma 3/22 3/23, El Universal 3/23)

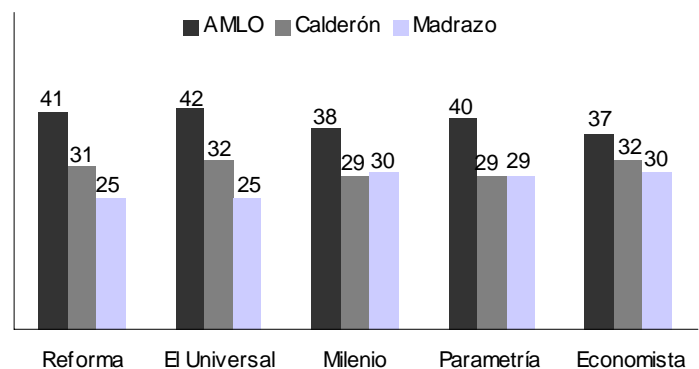
The PAN agreed on Sunday to withdraw the ad, after a request from IFE. Leonel Cota, the national director of the PRD accused both the IFE and Luis Carlos Ugalde of partiality toward the PAN and the PRI in the Chavez affair, and questioned whether the electoral institute's vote counts on July 2 could be trusted. (Reforma 3/26, El Universal 3/26).

In his major foreign policy address, López Obrador said that he will concentrate on tackling Mexico's poverty while putting the rest of the world on the back burner: "I am convinced that if there is development and political stability with justice and democracy, then we can be respected around the world. Foreign policy will be an extension of domestic policy." AMLO said he would seldom travel abroad, and he named only one country—the United States—and only in the context of a bi-national accord to help legalize migrants. "Today, more than ever, cooperation is necessary between both governments in order to find solutions for this problem, which is proof of Mexico's foreign policy failure." (Reforma 3/22)

The image of Roberto Madrazo (PRI) received a new setback when he appeared in support of a local Oaxaca candidate who two years ago was photographed killing a dissident professor with a bat. (Reforma 3/23)

Latest Polls

Polls released throughout March show AMLO running 5 to 11 points ahead of Calderón. AMLO's political advisors sought to capitalize on the polls by declaring the race all but over. Manuel Camacho writes that, confronted with the "inevitable triumph" of the Left, he hears "concerned voices" who are worried that "the activism of some Mexicans will try to show us that AMLO is not going to win" and generate "a state of instability." Porfirio Muñoz Ledo writes, "The increasing weakness of the Mexican State and the impossibility of the triumph of the governing party's candidate should induce the President to act with the impartiality that corresponds to his high position. He should start to establish the bridges and prepare the terrain for a timely, ordered, and constructive transition of his political responsibility." (El Universal 3/20 and 3/22)



Main Topics

- *Candidates react to US immigration reform*
- *Felipe Calderón's foreign policy*
- *New TV law puts candidates on the spot*
- *AMLO "shuts-up" Fox again*
- *PRI resignations surge*
- *AMLO stumbles in polls*

Upcoming Events

04/06/06, Council of the Americas: Mexico Election Series, the Federal Congressional Race. (8:45-10:30am, NYC - 04/07/06 8:15-10:00am, Miami)

04/11/06, Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University: Mexico's Presidential Election of 2006: Voting for Change, Candidates or Issues? (6:00-8:00pm, NYC)

Campaign Briefs

Reacting to the US Senate Judiciary Committee's immigration bill, Felipe Calderón (PAN) said, "This is a first step in favor of the ideas that our country has been promoting throughout this six-year presidential term." (Reforma 3/31). He also promised a program to allow pension and health insurance benefits earned by Mexican workers in the US be transferable back to Mexico, both to protect them from being lost and to encourage the return of workers. (Universal 3/31). Roberto Madrazo (PRI) said there was no reason to think the Fox administration could accomplish in the next 90 days what it had failed to do for six years. He also accused Calderón and Fox of being subservient to the US agenda. (Campaign Website 3/30)

In his foreign policy address, Calderón said that Mexico "must participate in the design of rules for a new international order, in the design of new trade rules, in the design of environmental laws....We must be strategic and we must participate in the creation of the international agenda, particularly in matters that affect Mexico." (COMEXI 3/28)

The candidates were drawn into the debate on the new radio and television law, which the Senate approved Thursday. Critics claimed that the so-called "Televisa law" reduces competition and entrenches incumbents and accused congressmen of selling their votes for favorable TV coverage. Calderón noted that the law clarified the legal status of broadcast concessions and reduced government leverage over broadcasters, but said the next step was for the Executive to review the law to decide whether to approve or veto it. (Calderón Website). Madrazo said, "This is not a theme that corresponds to my campaign." (Jornada 3/31). Despite earlier strong support from PRD legislators, AMLO demanded postponement of the vote and said calculations of "political profit" by PRI and PAN senators were behind the approval. (Universal 3/30, 3/31)

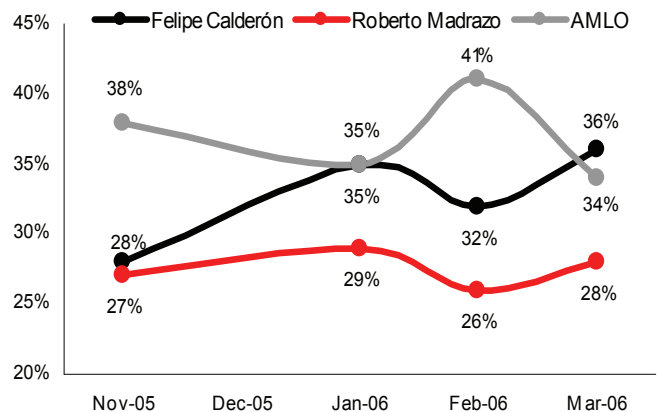
AMLO renewed his attacks on President Fox. The PRD candidate said, "If he looks like a chachalaca and squawks like a chachalaca, the President ought to shut up. He squawks like a chachalaca, and he is completely out of control trying to support his candidate." The PAN continued to air their ad comparing AMLO's attacks on Fox to a similar attack by Venezuela's Hugo Chavez. The IFE declined the PRD request to take the spots off the air. (Reforma 3/29, EsMas 3/29)

Over the past two months 3,000 PRI party members have resigned, as a result of opposition to Madrazo or the selection of congressional candidates. The total includes 65 persons with leadership positions and 23 federal Deputies. Mariano Palacios Alcocer, the national head of the PRI, acknowledged that "what is happening is unprecedented." (Reforma 4/2)

Latest Polls

The GEA March poll (3/18-21) puts Calderón in first place for the first time with 36%, up 4 points from February; AMLO fell 7 points to 34%. Madrazo had 28%, up 1%. Commented Calderón: "We know how [AMLO] will react: when the polls favor him, magnificent; and when they don't, he says that they are crazy and lying." (Universal 3/31, Proceso 4/1)

Mitofsky (3/17-23) shows AMLO falling 2 points from February to 37.5%; Calderón up 1 to 31%, and Madrazo up 1 to 29%. Mitofsky director Roy Campos said the "chachalaca" controversy could explain the shift in momentum and decline in PRD support: "During campaigns, every move counts; mistakes count and there is still room for maneuver". (EsMas 3/27)



Main Topics

- **AMLO offers unilateral “truce”; PRD to make campaign adjustments**
- **Felipe Calderón hammers on poll results, debt; promises a multi-party cabinet**
- **PRI: more problems due to Senate lists**

Upcoming Events

04/10/06, Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University: *Mexico after the Election: Prospective Economic Policies.* (5:30-7:30pm, NYC)

04/11/06, Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University: *Mexico’s Presidential Election of 2006: Voting for Change, Candidates or Issues?* (6:00-8:00pm, NYC)

Campaign Briefs

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) declared that he would no longer call President Fox a *chachalaca*. “I will not touch the President again; I hope he does the same for the benefit of the country.” (Universal 4/4). Implicitly acknowledging the hits that AMLO has taken, campaign head Jesús Ortega announced that there would be new campaign ads and messages, including a virtual campaign on the Internet, after Holy Week. (EsMas 4/7)

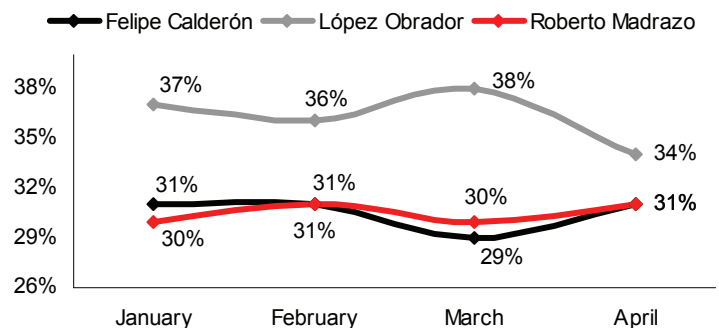
Felipe Calderón (PAN) and the PAN hammered all week long on the recent turn-around in the polls. “We are not merely tied, we are winning, and I say here: the horse that runs hardest wins,” Calderón said in Yucatan. The candidate and the party also harshly attacked AMLO on the issue of debt, with TV ads and on the campaign trail. In a speech in Yucatan, Calderón said that AMLO “carries in his vest pocket the same recipe” as Carlos Salinas de Gortari to indebt the country. “We’ve seen this recipe, and it only impoverishes us,” he said. He noted that the government of Vicente Fox, despite its errors, “is the only one, in 60 years, that had not indebted the country even one cent” (Proceso 4/7). Calderón also announced that, if he wins July’s elections, he will form a coalition cabinet: “I will not resort to head-hunters, as Fox did; I will form a plural government to help negotiate the passage of stalled reforms in Congress.” (Excelsior 4/7)

The National Political Council of the PRI decided to postpone until April 20 the final approval of the list of Senate candidates for proportional representation seats, after facing protests from within the party. The proposed list, headed by Rosario Green, the Secretary General of the party, includes 4 Green Party members among the top 13 candidates, as well as controversial Pemex union leader Carlos Romero Deschamps. Council member Benjamin Russek noted: “It’s not possible to include on the list someone like Romero Deschamps who is facing criminal charges, cost the party more than Ps. 1,200 million, and is accused of financial mismanagement.” (Reforma 4/8, Universal 4/8). Earlier in the week, Emilio Chuayfett, the PRI leader in the Chamber of Deputies, said he planned to resign his post within the Madrazo (PRI) campaign after not being included on the Senate list. “If this is the way things work in the party, I have no doubt that what awaits us is losing by a landslide.” (Reforma 4/6). Roberto Madrazo called on members of his party to put selfishness, vanity, and group interests aside and to focus on the future of the country. (Milenio 4/6)

Latest Polls

María de las Heras characterizes the result of her new poll for Milenio as a technical 3-way tie: AMLO at 34%, down 4 points, Felipe Calderón up 1% to 31%, and Roberto Madrazo flat at 31%. She attributes the underlying cause in AMLO’s decline to his decision to award a number of Senate candidacies to former priistas. She notes the declines in persons who identify with the PRD and persons who say that AMLO best represents the interests of persons like themselves and their families. (Milenio 4/6)

AMLO rejected the polls: “I’m still looking for the dumb people who believe these polls... The unnamable *chachalaca* [ex-President Carlos Salinas] would jump for joy if Calderón really were getting closer to me.” (Universal 4/7)



Main Topics

- *Debates, sí; Truce, no!*
- *PRI and PRD Congress selections undermine promises for change*

Upcoming Events

- 04/20/06, The World Policy Institute at The New School:** *Mexico's Contentious Presidential Election.* (6:00-7:30pm, NYC)
- 04/25/06, First Presidential Candidate's Debate:** *Economy and Development* (8:00pm, Mexico City)
- 05/09/06, Council of the Americas and the Woodrow Wilson Center:** *The State of the Mexican Election: A Journalistic Perspective* (8:30-10:00am, NYC)

Campaign Briefs

The political parties and the IFE hashed out the rules for the debates. Each debate will last two hours. The first debate, scheduled for April 25th, will focus on the economy and development—housing, energy, labor, poverty alleviation, social development, and sustainable development. The second, for June 6, will focus on politics and government—public safety and corruption, governability, foreign relations and immigration, federalism, strengthening municipal and regional, and reform of the State. (Proceso 4/11)

The IFE requested and all parties had agreed on a media “truce” for the hours immediately prior and after the debates—so it seemed. Then PRD campaign head Jesus Ortega declared that AMLO, who has said he will not participate in the first debate, “will follow his normal campaign activities” (Milenio 4/11). The other parties cried foul and threatened to back out. In the end, the PRI and the PAN reaffirmed their participation in both debates. (Reforma 4/12)

The PRI National Political Council “fast-tracked” its approval of the Chamber of Deputies proportional representation list in a 38-minute session that avoided the dissension caused by the previous week’s Senate slate. The list includes a number of figures implicated in scandals: Pemex workers union treasurer Ricardo Aldana, former governor of Oaxaca José Murat, and Cuauhtemoc Rodriguez, head of the DF garbage pickers union. (Universal 4/14)

The PRD lists were also notable for the ex-priistas who have jumped ship. Among the most notable: Ricardo Monreal, former governor of Zacatecas; Esteban Moctezuma, former government secretary under Zedillo; and Alfonso Durazo, former private secretary to both Fox and Luis Donald Colosio. Among the most controversial: Victor Anchondo, accused of torture and obstructing the investigation of the serial murders of women in Juarez, and Ricardo Vega, former head of the Social Security workers union. (El Universal 4/16)

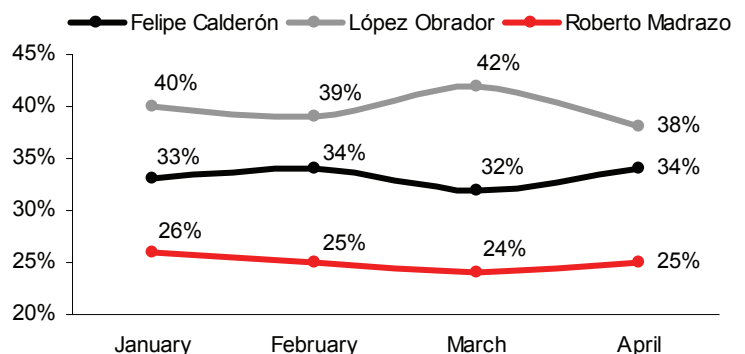
Mexican political analyst Denise Dresser posed a series of questions to the PRD and PRI candidates that voiced the concerns of many: “To AMLO: How can you speak of an ‘Alternative Project for the Nation’ when you don’t present an alternative list of people. How can you promise a different government when the list of politicians that will make up the government is the same? Or in some cases, even more open to criticism? To Madrazo: How does it feel to ‘put Mexico on the move again’ with candidates who are facing legal proceedings? How does it feel to surround oneself with so many discredited politicians?” (Reforma 4/10)

The PAN congressional nominations have avoided controversy.

Latest Polls

The most recent El Universal poll (04/17) shows López Obrador down 4 points to 38% from 42% in March. Calderón is up 2 points to 34% and Madrazo is up 1 point to 25%.

Forty-four percent of the people interviewed considered themselves to be independent; 20% said they identified with the PRI; 18% with the PAN; and 16% with the PRD. López Obrador is picking up 29% of the independent vote, Calderón gets 25%, and Madrazo has 10%.



Main Topics

- *Debate on...with an empty chair*
- *AMLO opts for peace and love*
- *PRI technocrats: will they or won't they jump ship?*
- *IFE on campaign spots*

Upcoming Events

04/25/06, First Presidential Candidate's Debate: Economy and Development (8:30pm, Mexico City)

04/27/06, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University: Mexico the day after the elections: The challenges of governance and policy reform (2:00-6:00pm, Boston)

05/09/06, Council of the Americas and the Woodrow Wilson Center : The State of the Mexican Election: A Journalistic Perspective (8:30-10:00am, NYC)

Campaign Briefs

After working out the details, four of the five presidential candidates will participate in the first debate on April 25, at 8:30 pm Mexico City time. In the US, Azteca America will broadcast part of the event from 10:30pm to 11:00pm. Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) has confirmed his refusal to participate, and the other parties agreed to leave an empty chair to signal his absence. Roberto Madrazo (PRI) has said he will focus his efforts against Felipe Calderón (PAN). PRD campaign head Jesus Ortega said, "This first debate will be the fight for the silver medal." (Reforma 4/21)

López Obrador declared that he will no longer take part in the dirty wars that have marked the fight for the presidency. "My new strategy is the refusal to respond to anything that will provoke conflict." He said this is the reason for not presenting the promised proof of his accusation that Banamex-Citigroup is financing Calderon's campaign. "I will not fall into provocations; happiness is around the corner; peace and love is what I want. We will not take part any longer in these dirty wars." Banamex, for its part, made a statement denying that it gave funds to any of the candidates or parties. (Excelsior 4/21)

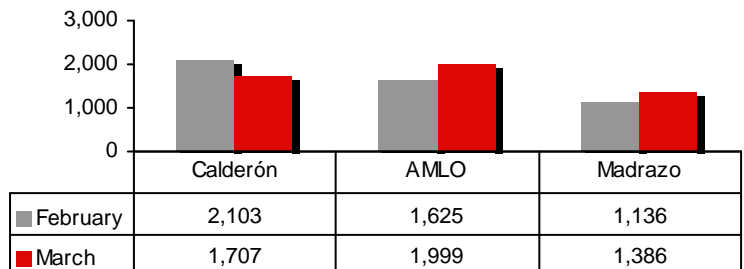
Diodoro Carrasco, who was President Zedillo's Minister of Government and former Governor of Oaxaca, resigned from the PRI. His letter, which was made public, said that in the face of the democratic transformation of the country, the PRI "has been seen to be incapable of following society in the new form of making politics, as a result of which it has resorted to the systematic exclusion of principles, ideas, and persons who do not agree with its methods, practices and objectives." There were also rumors that a number of other PRI technocrats were planning on leaving the party and joining Felipe Calderón, which Roberto Madrazo denied. (Milenio 4/17, 4/22)

The war of the TV spots has put the Federal Electoral Institute on the spot. The IFE committee ruled that PAN's TV ads were insulting and defamatory, and should be withdrawn. The full IFE board met on April 21 and overturned the committee's decision, on free speech grounds. The ads compared López Obrador to Hugo Chavez and carried the slogan, "AMLO, a danger for Mexico." The candidate responded: "We are prepared for whatever follows; we've been ahead in the polls for the last three years and now there are only 72 days until the election." The PAN, for its part, celebrated IFE's decision but voluntarily withdrew the ads, while simultaneously launching two new spots that attack López Obrador indirectly. (Universal 4/21)

Latest Polls

The IFE also reported on campaign radio and TV ad spending for March. During the month, AMLO's campaign spent the most on TV ads, buying 1,999 ads, an increase of 23% from February. (Universal 4/19)

AMLO denied the accuracy of the report. "The IFE said that we have too many spots and they created a scandal," On his TV show, López Obrador declared that the campaign has no money to spend on media. "Now the IFE report makes me look like a liar, and this is not true," the candidate said. (Universal 4/20)



Main Topics

- **Post-debate analysis**
 - **The candidates**
 - **The columnists**
- **Recent polls**

Upcoming Events

05/02-03/06, Council of the Americas: 36th Washington Conference on the Americas (Washington, DC)

05/03/06, The Economist Conference: Mexico Forum 2006: Prospects for a New Administration (Mexico City)

05/09/06, Council of the Americas and the Woodrow Wilson Center: The State of the Mexican Election: A Journalistic Perspective (8:30-10:00am, NYC)

Campaign Briefs

The candidates had much to say after the debate:

Felipe Calderón (PAN): "I would have preferred that [AMLO] participated.... But in any case we will be able to exchange ideas at the June debate... We can have a clean debate, respected by all Mexicans. It won't be without tensions, because we are very, very strong adversaries. But at the end, on July 3, we will have to sit down and discuss what is best for Mexico, whoever wins. I know that I will win, but in any case what interests me is that we build a much more prosperous future, starting with the election, and I am confident that we can do it." (Radio Formula 4/26)

Roberto Madrazo (PRI) demanded an investigation of Roberto Campa's disclosure during the debate of documents regarding Madrazo's failure to file tax returns, calling the use of "confidential information" a "grave crime." (Proceso 4/28)

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD): "I saw the debate and I could tell that our proposals are being plagiarized.... I heard them say they are going to reduce electricity and gas prices... One of them went as far as saying that every child will be born with insurance.... They promised everything they could... things for which I have been accused of populism." (Reforma 4/27)

As did the columnists:

Sergio Sarmiento: "Calderón was the big winner, because the debate turned him into the true contender against López Obrador... Madrazo lost because he couldn't beat Calderón... López Obrador passed up the chance that could probably have allowed him to reverse his decline in the polls in recent weeks." (Reforma 4/28)

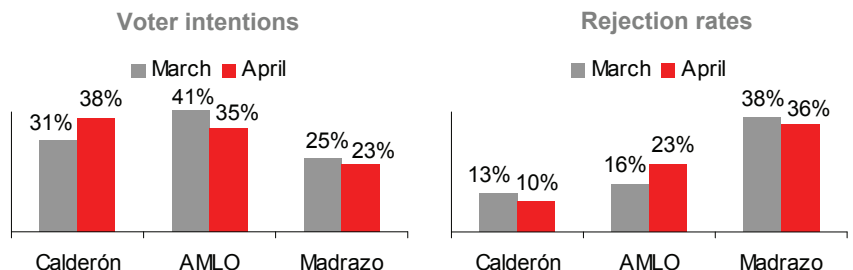
Jorge Chabat: "The big loser in the debate? By every account, the PRI candidate. He appeared nervous and insecure.... He is in third place and falling. ... [AMLO] is now fighting against the current. It's true that the June debate is still ahead, but, by that date, voters' preferences will be mostly defined. From now on, we are left with only two in the fight (AMLO and Calderón). Only two." (Universal 4/28)

Leo Zuckermann: "Calderón appeared confident, well prepared, and—at times—almost presidential. ... Madrazo wasn't able to communicate a decisive message... and worst of all, he avoided answering [Campa's] strong attack that he hadn't paid taxes." (Excelsior 4/27)

Templo Mayor: "The refusal of López Obrador to participate in the debate looks to be very costly... We will have to see if López Obrador decides to stick to his hermit strategy, refusing to dialogue with businessmen, to meet with students, to answer questions about the general culture, to debate his proposals." (Reforma 4/26)

Latest Polls

The latest Reforma poll (4/25), completed before the debate, shows Calderón up 7 points to 38% as compared to the prior month; AMLO is down 6 points to 35%, and Madrazo is down 2 points to 23%. The same poll also shows the impact of the PAN's attack ads. Voters who say they will never vote for AMLO rose 7 points to 23% in April, while Calderón's rejection rate fell 3 points to 10%. Madrazo continues to lead in voter rejection with 36%, an improvement of 2 points.



Main Topics

- **Felipe Calderón:**
Jobs, jobs, jobs
- **Roberto Madrazo:**
Mexico is upside down
- **The small parties:**
we exist!
- **AMLO: Missing, but not missed**

Candidate's Quotes

Felipe Calderón (PAN):
"I will be the President for jobs, for economic stability, for transparency, for unity among Mexicans."

Roberto Madrazo (PRI):
"Mexico is upside down. All things that should be up—jobs, salaries, competitiveness—are down. And all that should be down—crime, taxes, gas prices— have gone up."

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD):
"I will not talk about the debate. This, as well as the polls that have me 2 points behind, are all marketing tricks."

Debate Briefs

Four of the five presidential candidates discussed economic policy themes—taxes, energy policy, labor, poverty reduction, and sustainable development—during the first debate held last night in Mexico City and televised nationally.

Felipe Calderón presented himself as the "jobs president," the candidate with the proposals and the solutions. "My policies have only one objective: to create well paid jobs so you and your family live better."

Roberto Madrazo focused on attacking Calderón and Vicente Fox's government for having turned the country "upside down." He said that what Mexico needs is an experience and he positioned himself as the candidate of the center: "The intolerant right and the conflictive left want to bring us uncertainty and stagnation. Ours is a proposal of the center. A center for development, a center for governability."

The two minor candidates gained a platform they have thus far lacked. Roberto Campa, of the New Alliance Party, focused mainly on attacking Madrazo. He offered evidence of tax evasion by the PRI candidate. "I hope Madrazo can explain how he wants to be Mexico's President if he doesn't even pay his taxes." Patricia Mercado, the Social Democratic candidate, talked about subjects no one else mentioned: gays, the disabled, abortion, and alternative energy.

Andrés Manuel López Obrador did not participate.

The proposals of the two major candidates present:

Fiscal Policy

Calderón promised "to lower taxes on those who produce to promote more investment and more jobs" and vowed to "guarantee economic stability to protect your patrimony." His themes included reducing tax rates to internationally competitive levels, simplifying the tax system, insisting on total transparency in government spending, and increasing spending on medical insurance and education.

Madrazo attacked the Fox government's policy as one that "gives big results for a few, and few results for the many." He emphasized reform of tax collections, reducing tax evasion, and improving the effectiveness of government services.

Energy Policy

Calderón summed up his policies as "quality energy products and competitive prices." He wants to strengthen the state owned enterprises without privatization, provide greater transparency and zero tolerance for corruption, allow for competitive markets in electricity supply, provide gas and electricity subsidies to the poor and to the agriculture sector, increase investment in refineries, and reinvest Pemex profits in new exploration. He also blamed the PRI for blocking the energy sector reform legislation of the Fox administration.

Madrazo called for a "modern nationalism, maintaining the guiding role of the State" in the energy sector and "keeping the companies with the workers." This would entail modernizing the oil and electricity companies, reducing their tax burden, allowing strategic alliances for deep water exploration, promoting investment in exploration, encouraging private investment in petrochemicals and in refining, and increasing research.

Labor policy

Calderón said his policy “can be summarized in one word: jobs.” He emphasized programs to stimulate private sector hiring, including excusing employers from the first year of social security payments for new hires, creating a national jobs data bank, establishing small business incubators at all universities, providing better protection of women in the workforce, and working for an immigration agreement with the United States that protects the rights of migrant workers.

Madrazo promised to protect the rights of unionized workers, and attacked the government’s police actions to break the strike at Sicartsa. He would promote a national employment accord and provide tax credits for small and medium enterprises for hiring first time workers, and introduce again the pension reform legislation that was not passed under Fox.

Poverty reduction

Calderón emphasized increased public investment in education, health care, potable water, and rural development. He said he will continue the Seguro Popular and Oportunidades programs of President Fox. He also emphasized the urgency of providing universal medical insurance, starting with children.

Madrazo called for reorienting poverty programs to the most vulnerable areas and for finding ways of working with the private sector on inequality and poverty reduction programs, including a school and medical clinic building program.

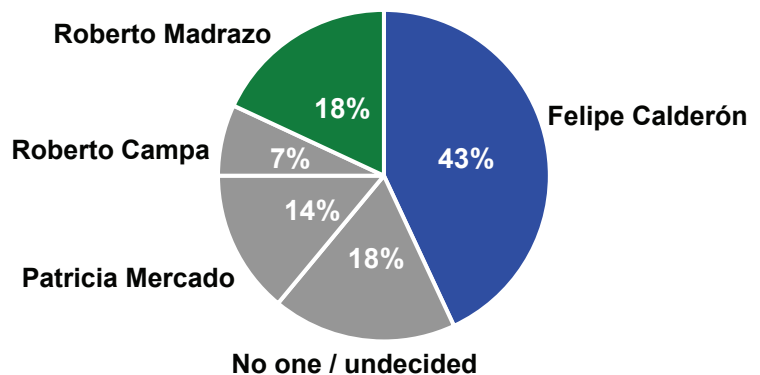
Sustainable development

Calderón emphasized regional economic development to reduce poverty in the most environmentally sensitive regions, creation of a national water program for drinking and waste water and for protecting rivers and aquifers, improved urban waste management, production of cleaner gasoline, and continued efforts to reverse deforestation.

Madrazo, emphasizing the PRI’s alliance with the Green Party, argued for the need to bring environmental laws and enforcement to international standards, to encourage clean industry initiatives, and to reverse deforestation and soil degradation.

Post-debate Poll

Post-debate telephone polls by Reforma reports that 43% of debate viewers saw Calderón as the winner, with 18 percent for Madrazo, 14% for Mercado and 7% Campa. Excelsior’s poll yielded similar results: 39% for Calderón, followed by Roberto Madrazo with 17%. The same Reforma survey reported that 55% thought Andres Manuel López Obrador would lose votes from not participating.



Main Topics

- *Calderón talks about jobs*
- *AMLO on foreign policy*
- *Madrazo warns of “violence on July 2nd”*
- *Candidates and migration*
- *Recent polls*

Upcoming Events

05/08/06, Center for Hemispheric Policy, University of Miami: 2006 Mexico Elections (6:30-9:00pm, Miami)

05/09/06, Council of the Americas and the Woodrow Wilson Center: The State of the Mexican Election: A Journalistic Perspective (8:30-10:00am, NYC)

Campaign Briefs

Felipe Calderón (PAN) gave a major Mexico City speech reinforcing his theme of being “the jobs president.” He elaborated his thesis that investment drives job creation and that stimulating investment requires: economic stability, rule of law, competitiveness, regional development, and social investment. The campaign published a booklet that describes his specific proposals in each of the five areas. (Excelsior 5/3)

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) made a major foreign policy speech on the same day: “foreign policy should be an extension of domestic policy... it should be moderate, without assuming leadership roles and instead should promote respect for the principle of non-intervention.” AMLO, using many of the PRI-era foreign policy formulas, said he would seek a respectful and collaborative relationship with the US, focused mainly on migration. He would also seek to diversify relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. (Reforma 5/2)

After weeks of being on the defensive, AMLO’s campaign announced their own attack ads. The spots, to air this week, accuse First Lady Marta Sahagun’s sons of corruption and PAN Senator Diego Fernández de Cevallos of influence peddling. The PRD is borrowing US\$2.3 million to finance the ad campaign, which also seeks to counter the PAN comparison of AMLO to Hugo Chavez. (Universal 5/4)

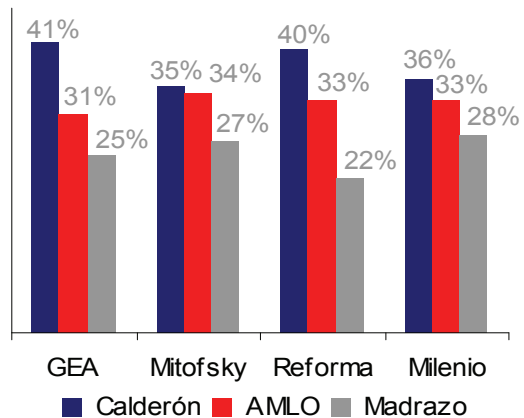
Violent demonstrations in the town of San Salvador Atenco near Mexico City prompted Roberto Madrazo (PRI) to warn that Mexico’s “governability is held together with safety pins” and predicted violence on election day due to the government’s weakness and inability to control Mexico’s problems. Madrazo has sought to position himself as the only candidate capable of improving public safety and tackling crime. (Proceso 5/5)

The May Day immigrant rallies across the US drew support from all three candidates. AMLO signaled migration flows as an example of the failures of neoliberal reform—“Mexico is the main exporter of workers in the world. This is an embarrassment”—and said the country needs US support to develop its economy. The PRI denounced “an inept government that cannot create opportunities for the three million undocumented Mexicans who have had to leave during this sexenio.” (Reforma 5/1) Calderón said, “the only way we can overcome the challenge of migration is by creating job opportunities in all regions of the country,” and predicted his government would create one million jobs a year. (Universal 5/3)

Latest Polls

All four polls taken in the days after the first debate place Calderón in the lead, and show significant gains for Calderón (averaging 4% compared to the prior month), declines for AMLO (2-1/2% on average), and declines for Madrazo (2% on average). María de las Heras, the Milenio pollster, noted that this “is a very close election in which there still is no clear winner and no clear loser, either,” with many probable voters still capable of switching. GEA also notes that most of the swing is taking place among self-identified independent voters whose support of Calderón rose 10% while AMLO’s fell 20% over the past month. (Milenio 5/2-3), Reforma (5/3), Mitofsky (5/3), and GEA (5/4)

Presidential preferences



Main Topics

- *Marcos re-enters from stage left*
- *The IFE asks Fox to stay neutral*
- *Candidates unite in anti-crime commitment*
- *AMLO asks for civility and respect*
- *Madrazo relaunches campaign strategy*
- *PAN vigilance on Election Day*

Upcoming Events

05/19/06, Council of the Americas: Luis Carlos Ugalde, President of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) of Mexico (8:00-10:00am, New York)

05/26/06, Woodrow Wilson Center: The 2006 Mexican Presidential Elections and the Future U.S.—Mexico Relations (9:00-12:30am, Washington, DC)

Campaign Briefs

Zapatista leader Marcos re-appeared on the national political scene to denounce police brutality in putting down riots in San Salvador Atenco, a small town in the State of Mexico. Marcos has been touring the country since January, giving speeches to drum up support for what he calls “the other campaign,” but with little attention until now. Marcos also predicted in a televised interview, his first in years, that Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) will win the July election (Reforma 5/10). Jesus Ortega, AMLO’s campaign coordinator, blamed the PAN for Marcos’ activism. “The ultra-left and the ultra-right are teaming up to destroy AMLO.... They don’t believe in elections, but rather they reject them.” (Universal 5/12)

The Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) formally asked President Fox and all the state governors to be neutral in the presidential campaign, after weeks of complaints from the PRD and PRI about Fox’s alleged partiality. All candidates endorsed the IFE position, while Roberto Madrazo (PRI) publicly doubted that Fox would comply. (Universal 5/8)

Four of the five presidential candidates appeared at an event organized by the civil society organization México Unido Contra la Delincuencia and signed a 10-point agreement to fight crime, improve the criminal justice system, and strengthen the rule of law. AMLO claimed a scheduling conflict and signed the document after the fact (Excelsior 5/9). Mexico Unido organized a mass march against crime in Mexico City in June 2004, while AMLO was mayor.

After a scuffle between PRD militants and the security staff of Felipe Calderón (PAN) at a campaign event in Tabasco, López Obrador’s home state, AMLO asked his sympathizers to be “civilized and respectful to avoid confrontation that may end in violence, putting the presidential election in risk.” (Excelsior 5/13). He also denied that his election would mean retribution against Mexico’s wealthy: “What will end will be their privileges,” he said. (Universal 5/14)

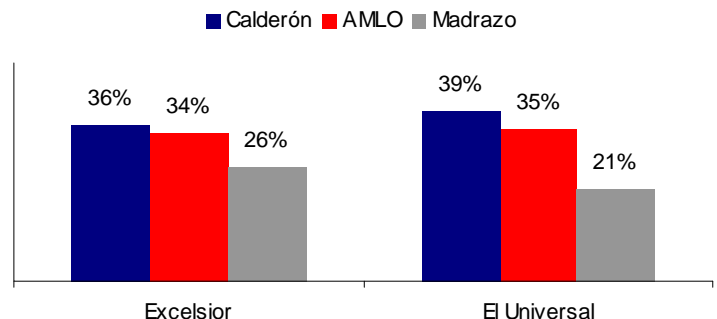
Roberto Madrazo’s campaign announced new proposals for public safety, employment, energy prices, and governability (including reelection of congressmen). Carlos Alazraki, previously a publicist for Madrazo, will manage the new campaign strategy. (Universal 5/14)

The PAN’s Political Council approved spending almost US\$30 million, a third of the total the campaign is authorized to spend, to provide accredited poll monitors in all 134,000 polling places on election day. In prior elections, the PAN has not had universal coverage. (Reforma 5/14)

Latest Polls

The new Excelsior-Parametría poll (5/11) shows Calderón at 36%, up three points from April. López Obrador is down one point to 34%, and Roberto Madrazo is down 2 points to 26%.

The latest El Universal poll (5/15) gives Calderón 39% (up 5 points), AMLO 35% (down 3), and Madrazo 21% (down 4).



Main Topics

- *Border wars*
- *Zedillistas join Calderón*
- *Presidential neutrality at issue*
- *Recent polls*

Upcoming Events

05/25/06, Council of the Americas: *Mexico Election Series: A Debate on the Presidential Platforms* (9:15-10:45am, New York)

05/26/06, Woodrow Wilson Center: *The 2006 Mexican Presidential Elections and the Future U.S.—Mexico Relations* (9:00-12:30am, Washington, DC)

Campaign Briefs

The candidates reacted to President George Bush's May 15 speech on immigration reform and his call to dispatch 6,000 National Guard troops to the border:

Felipe Calderón (PAN) said that, "beyond the regrettable decision of increasing the presence of National Guard on our common border, the approval of a comprehensive immigration reform in the U.S. Congress should not be delayed any longer." He added that "these [security] measures have been demonstrated to be a complete failure that only benefit the criminal groups who make profits from the hope and suffering of those who seek a new opportunity for themselves and their families." (Reforma 5/15)

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) accused Fox of not having "the slightest intention of making an energetic protest....He is acting like a puppet, a plaything of foreign governments." (Reforma 5/18-19) Manuel Camacho, one of AMLO's closest aides, said that this turn of events "will take a toll on Fox and on the PAN candidate, who had been saying all along that they would get a migration deal with Washington. All we're seeing now is troops along the border, which is an image of aggression, rather than one of cooperation." (Reforma 5/19)

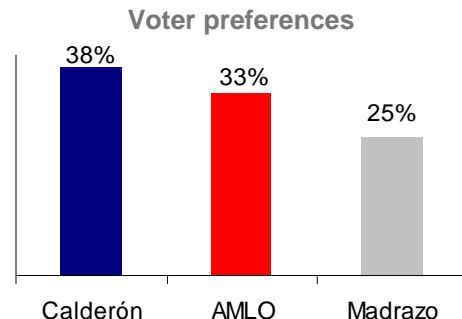
Roberto Madrazo (PRI) said: "I think the approach of [the Fox] government on border issues continues to be very wrong, because rather than defending Mexicans, what they are doing is inhibiting investment." (Reforma 5/18)

A group of prominent members from President Ernesto Zedillo's (PRI) government endorsed Calderón: Luis Tellez (Energy Minister), Genaro Borrego, (former President of the PRI), Jesús Reyes-Heróles (Ambassador to US and Energy), and Carlos Ruíz Sacristan (Communications and Transport). Andrés Rozental, a senior member of the diplomatic corps, joined the endorsement. Tellez said, "the government program of Felipe Calderón is the best option for the future of our country." (Universal 5/18)

Madrazo launched a new offensive, claiming that the Fox government was overtly aiding Calderón. Madrazo said "we are not competing against the PAN, but against the federal government" and said the contest was becoming a "State election." The PRI threatened to take the matter to court. Madrazo also proposed a PRI-PRD alliance. Manuel Camacho of the PRD acknowledged efforts "to exchange information," but said such an alliance was "impossible." The PRD also said it was considering legal action. Cesar Nava, a PAN spokesman said, "it's not strange that the PRIistas and ex-PRIistas [i.e., the PRD] would have a dialogue because they have much in common." The head of the IFE, Luis Carlos Ugalde, again called on President Fox and the state governors to maintain neutrality in the campaign. (Excelsior 5/19, Reforma 5/19-21, Milenio 5/20)

Latest Polls

The first foreign election poll, by Zogby International and the University of Miami School of Communication, shows Calderon ahead with 38% of voter's preferences, compared to 33% for AMLO, and 25% for Madrazo, excluding undecided voters. Pollster John Zogby noted that Calderón was perceived as the candidate best suited to handle most issues facing the nation, outpolling his opponents on nine of the 11 issues surveyed. (www.zogby.com 5/19)



Main Topics

- **“State Election” charges continue**
- **Government neutrality accord**
- **IFE bans negative ads**
- **PRI Senator Bartlett backs AMLO**
- **Recent polls**

Campaign Briefs

The PRD and PRI filed legal complaints charging that President Vicente Fox used government resources to support Felipe Calderón. The PRD’s letter to the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) said, “The electoral climate is tense and polarized....We suspect ... a fraudulent election ...We are forced to denounce and prevent this State election.” AMLO advisor Manuel Camacho told the Financial Times “there are going to be demonstrations on a scale rarely seen in Mexico and that will make it very hard to govern, no matter who wins” as a result of the PAN’s actions to “polarize society.” (Proceso 5/25, Reforma 5/24-29 & FT 5/24)

The IFE reinforced its 40-day ban on federal and state government publicity for public works and social programs, and called on Fox to maintain a “completely neutral attitude” toward all parties and candidates. (IFE 5/22). In a national address, Fox guaranteed “the impartiality, equity, and transparency” of the vote, and said the government was transferring its unused advertising time to the IFE for get out the vote efforts. Presidencia later announced suspension of Fox’s weekly radio show until after July 2 (Universal 5/26, Milenio 5/22)

The IFE ordered the PAN to withdraw its “AMLO, a danger for Mexico” ads, and warned the PAN to abstain from future ads that “denigrated” other parties. “Free speech has its limits,” said IFE counselor Marco Antonio Gómez. “One of the minimum standards is to ensure that criticisms are true.” The PRD also said it was withdrawing its ad attacking Calderón for allegedly supporting the Fobaproa banking bailout of the ‘90s. (IFE 5/22, Excelsior 5/23-25)

Senator Manuel Bartlett, one of the most powerful of the PRI old guard, announced that he will vote for AMLO: “The PRI must vote ... for the candidate with the best chance of beating the Right... and this is the candidate of the PRD.” He called the PAN the “historic adversary of the PRI” and said the Madrazo candidacy was “shipwrecked.” Bartlett linked his decision to last week’s announcement by former Zedillo cabinet ministers to support Calderón.

Madrazo denounced the PRIistas jumping ship: “To seek votes for the PRD ... is to make a leap into the past and to opt for a conflictive and violent Left....Some who have always wanted neoliberalism have gone and are once again with the neoliberals represented by the Right and by the PAN.” The PRI central committee began the process for expelling Senators Bartlett and Borrego (who is backing Calderón), as well as several others. (Reforma 5/28-9)

Upcoming Events

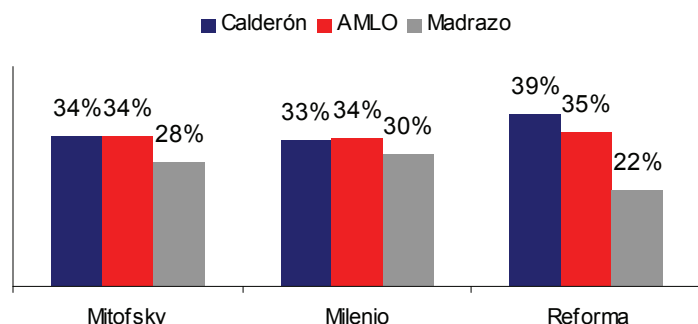
06/06/06, Second Presidential Candidates Debate

06/19/06, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Mexico-U.S. relations, immigration and other key issues (5:30-7:30pm, Chicago)

Latest Polls

Three new polls show a tightening race: Mitofsky (5/29) has a 2-way tie with Calderón at 34% (down 1% from last month), AMLO steady at 34%, and Madrazo at 28% (up 1%). Milenio’s second May poll (5/29) shows a near three-way tie: AMLO 33.6% (+0.5% from early May), Calderón 33.1% (-3%), and Madrazo 30% (+2.5%). The Reforma poll (5/24) gives the PAN candidate a 4 point lead, down from 7% last month: Calderón is at 39% (-1%); AMLO 35% (+2%); and Madrazo steady at 22%.

Voter preferences



Main Topics

- **AMLO Promises to Increase Incomes by 20%—Opponents React**
- **New videotapes to be released**
- **IFE Fines PAN for Aznar endorsement**
- **Second Debate Tuesday Night**
- **Recent polls**

Upcoming Events

06/06/06, Second Presidential Candidates Debate (8:30pm, Mexico City—webcast available at www.ife.org.mx)

06/19/06, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Mexico-U.S. relations, immigration and other key issues (5:30-7:30pm, Chicago)

Campaign Briefs

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) purchased air time to broadcast a one-minute national address targeted at the 18 million Mexican households with monthly incomes less than Ps. 9,000 (US\$ 800). He claimed that his economic program would increase their household incomes by an average of 20%, “If your family’s income grows, Mexico grows,” he said. AMLO economic adviser Rogelio Ramírez said the income boost would come from a combination of old age pensions, scholarships, and lower prices for fuel and electricity, with a total cost of Ps. 80 billion, to be paid for by unspecified cuts in government spending. (Reforma 5/31)

Roberto Madrazo (PRI) accused AMLO of stealing his ideas and said that he is committed to raising the income threshold for payment of income tax to Ps. 10,000 per month from the current Ps. 6,000. (Reforma, 6/1)

Felipe Calderón (PAN) said AMLO’s proposal would drag Mexico into another economic crisis, and said his own economic proposals are “viable for the poor.” He promised to enlarge social programs created by the Fox administration like Oportunidades and Seguro Popular. “Support for poor people will not only continue; we will increase it.” (Reforma 5/31, Excelsior, 6/2)

In other comments on economic policy, AMLO said that he would seek to use Mexico’s international reserves to strengthen the internal market and restructure the Fobaproa bank bailout debt. He also said, “We will honor Mexico’s commitments, but not in an orthodox way. The technocrats who have managed our economy until now have gone further than necessary. They have prostrated themselves on the carpet, like fundamentalists.” (Excelsior 6/2, Reforma 6/2)

The wife of imprisoned businessman Carlos Ahumada is planning to release new videotapes on Tuesday reportedly showing her husband discussing bribes with members of the López Obrador administration when he was mayor of Mexico City. Anticipating the release, AMLO said: “On with the videos, let them all come out; transparency is the rule of democracy.” (Reforma 6/5)

The Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) fined the PAN Ps. 146,000 for comments made at a PAN event in February by former Spanish President José Maria Aznar (“I hope Felipe Calderón becomes the next President of Mexico, for the benefit of all Mexicans”). The PAN said they would appeal. (Reforma 6/1)

All five candidates will take part in the second debate on June 6. The agreed topics are public safety, corruption, foreign and immigration policy, federalism, strengthening local government and regional development, and government reform.

Latest Polls

A new GEA-ISA poll shows Calderón with 40% (down 1% from May), AMLO steady at 31%, and Madrazo up 2% to 27%. (Reuters 6/2)

The second installment of the MIT/Reforma panel survey tracks changes in voter attitudes from the beginning of the campaign through mid-May. According to the survey, the “chacalaca effect” cost AMLO 4 points; the “Gober precioso” scandal cost Madrazo 3 points, and the first debate gained Calderón 3 points. Additional details are shown in the table. (Reforma 6/4)

	Calderón		López Obrador		Madrazo	
	Oct-05	May-06	Oct-05	May-06	Oct-05	May-06
Capable of managing the economy	41%	57%	52%	43%	35%	41%
Capable of reducing crime	34%	49%	47%	41%	32%	38%
Capable of reducing poverty	32%	45%	47%	47%	29%	36%
Honest	34%	49%	48%	40%	26%	29%
<u>Overall opinion</u> (excludes “neutral”)						
Favorable	28%	50%	49%	43%	25%	31%
Unfavorable	18%	15%	15%	21%	32%	31%
Don't know	31%	10%	15%	9%	15%	9%

Main Topics

- *“Debate light”
... “no knockout”*
- *Two opposing pro-
jects for Mexico*

Key Quotes

Felipe Calderón (PAN): *“I will be a President who obeys and enforces the law, above any interest, because only by enforcing the law with a firm hand will we rescue the safety of the streets for our children, only by enforcing the law will we eradicate corruption, only by enforcing the law will we have investment and, as a result, the jobs that we need so much.”*

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD): *“There are two opposing projects for our nation. One consists of basically more of the same. We sustain that current economic policies must be changed because they haven’t worked. Government spending must be reoriented to meet the needs of the majority of the people. We must give a hand to all those who have been left behind.”*

Roberto Madrazo (PRI): *“The people fear what will happen with the election scenario; neither the radical and conflictive left nor the intolerant and repressive right are capable of giving us a solution.”*

Debate Briefs

The second, and last, presidential debate focused on five themes: security and corruption, foreign affairs and migration, federalism, and reform of the State. The candidates stuck to their campaign messages, avoided any gaffes, and by and large avoided responding to the direct criticisms of their opponents. Reforma characterized it as ‘debate light.’ Rosanna Fuentes in El Universal said, ‘No knockout.’

The main proposals of the three leading candidates were:

Security and Corruption

Calderón: Citizens have been hijacked by criminals. We need a firm hand to fix the reality that our disorganized police forces are fighting against organized crime. We must unify police forces, share criminal information among forces, install oral courts, give life sentences to kidnappers, and build crime prevention policies.

López Obrador: The problem doesn’t lie in the criminals or in the police. The solution lies in fighting poverty, reducing unemployment, protecting families, and providing education opportunities. That is, we need a social focus. We must avoid corruption—avoid the collusion between authorities and criminals. I will meet every morning at 6:00AM with my security cabinet in order to understand the situation and make immediate decisions.

Madrazo: Mexico is living in complete disorder. We must create a judicial institute, unify police forces, provide investigative capacities for preventive police, strengthen the abilities of our military to fight drugs, create a culture of denunciation, and install oral courts.

Governability

Calderón: I make five specific commitments: To comply with the law and make sure the law is respected, to be sensitive to social needs, to guarantee a growing economy that creates jobs, to create a coalition government, and to have a grand alliance of all Mexicans.

López Obrador: My slogan, “First, the Poor” will be the key principle of my administration. It is impossible to govern in a sea of inequality. We must change economic policy. We must reorient the federal budget in order to help those that need it most, and we will never use the military force against the people. We need a social pact among all sectors of society: the church, businessmen, peasants, etc. in order to guarantee a just government.

Madrazo: Since 2000, Mexico wasted many opportunities by choosing confrontation rather than agreement. The current government lacks this capacity. We need a President who can work with the other branches of government.

Foreign Affairs

Madrazo: We must go back to respecting the principles of Mexican foreign policy and to rescue our past prestige. We must create a new immigration agreement with the United States, one that also generates jobs in our country.

Calderón: We must recognize that the world has changed, and I want to build a winning Mexico. Foreign policy must not be only an extension of domestic policy. It must help Mexico compete and win. We must resume our leadership position in Latin America and strengthen our relations with the United States.

López Obrador: We must respect our Constitutional principle of non-intervention. We must have good relations with all countries and assume a measured foreign policy, not taking a leadership role. We will not be the puppet of any foreign government.

Federalism

Calderón: We must eradicate inequality. I propose specific regional projects (highways connecting the north and south and east and west, water projects, solve urban water problems, and increase tourism) which will trigger investment in key areas.

López Obrador: We must develop the country from below. There are many Mexicos. We must create programs for integrated development, to fight poverty, to provide public services, to rescue agriculture, to protect producers, to fuel the construction industry, to promote tourism, to protect our national patrimony, and to modernize the energy sector by building 3 new refineries and to make it the motor for the rest of the country.

Madrazo: We must work to achieve fiscal federalism, fight poverty, create a special fund for the South to fight inequality, and a fund for the North for border cities.

Reform of the State

López Obrador: I agree with the Reform of the State but disagree with so-called structural reforms. I propose to amend the Constitution to secure the rights for old age pensions, to combat corruption, to punish white collar crime, to end influence peddling, to have an austere government, to add the mechanisms of the plebiscite, referendum, and removal from office.

Calderón: Mexico needs a democracy that works. We also need transparency and accountability. All information about the government must be made public. We need to reduce campaign spending, the number of electoral dates, the number of senators and deputies elected by proportional representation; we need a coalition government.

Madrazo: I propose a reform to modify the size of our Senate and to have a more uniform electoral calendar, an energy reform to allow for private investment, a judicial reform, a tax reform, and a fiscal reform.

POST DEBATE REACTION

A Reforma post-debate telephone poll showed that 44% of respondents said Calderón won the debate, 30% AMLO, and 11% Madrazo. Other telephone polls by Arcop and GAUSSC produced similar results.

Opinion comment from El Universal and Reforma:

Denise Dresser: Calderón was “the candidate with the best structured proposals, but it’s not clear that he is the candidate of the majority.” AMLO “makes the best diagnosis of the inequalities in the country, but doesn’t make clear how to solve them.” Madrazo “tried to position himself as the option between a threatening left and an intolerant right, but didn’t succeed.”

Lorenzo Meyer: “The debate clearly broadcast the hardness of the political division in Mexico...the hardness of the collision between the alternatives of López Obrador and Felipe Calderón.”

Luis Rubio: On Calderón: “The candidate with the vision of the future.” AMLO “concentrated on strengthening his base, instead of reaching out to new voters.” Madrazo was “more articulate than in the first debate, but focused on criticizing the immediate past rather than explaining his proposals.”

Guadalupe Loaeza: Calderón “came across as a bureaucrat, very arrogant; his attitude corresponded to his small stature.” On AMLO: “The most serene, the most presidential, the most handsome.” On Madrazo: “A politician with very sharp teeth.”

Sergio Aguayo: Calderon “did well. He stayed on message and threw a few hard strikes at his main opponent; he probably convinced a few undecideds.” AMLO “also did well. He reiterated his main ideas, spoke fluidly and responded—or rather ignored—appropriately to Calderón’s criticisms. He will not lose any votes, and might see some gains.” Madrazo “did badly. He tried to position himself as the centrist and to secure third place—a position that seems irreversible. His loss will reinforce the PRlista diaspora and might break the current tie.”

Main Topics

- *Dirty hands, lies, and ...(non) videotapes*
- *Parties agree to sign a civility pact; PRD conditions agreement*

Campaign Briefs

Andrés Manuel López Obrador's debate accusation that Felipe Calderón gave unjustified contracts to companies partially owned by his brother in law, Diego Zavala, while serving as Minister of Energy overtook other campaign issues. The AMLO campaign published documents detailing the allegations, including tax evasion by Hildebrando, the principal Zavala company. The PRD broadcast a nationwide spot that enumerated the contracts awarded to Zavala companies during the Fox administration and concluded, "What good luck for the Zavalas, what bad luck for businessmen who are not related to Calderón." A second spot accused Calderón of having "dirty hands." (Reforma 6/9)

Calderón categorically denied the charges, and responded with his own national spot. "[AMLO] lied when he said that I signed Fobaproa. He lied when he says that I am proposing taxes on medicines and food. And he is lying again now. López Obrador's strength depends on lies." (Reforma 6/9)

The Finance Ministry announced it was opening an investigation into leaks by the Mexico City government of tax information regarding Zavala. Diego Zavala, Hildebrando, Pemex and CFE all issued statements denying contract awards to Hildebrando during Calderón's tenure as Minister of Energy. Zavala also sued AMLO for slander. (Reforma 6/10)

The wife of imprisoned businessman Carlos Ahumada cancelled the release of five videotapes the day of the debate after the car in which she and her three children were traveling was cut off and hit by 10 gunshots; no one was injured. The tapes allegedly show Ahumada discussing bribes with Mexico City officials during AMLO's administration. The PRD claimed that the attack was staged.

Representatives of all five parties approved the text of a "Democratic Agreement for Equity, Legality, and Governability," which was proposed during the debate. The agreement reportedly includes:

- A pledge to respect the election rules and the certified results of the July 2 elections;
- Affirmation that the IFE and the Electoral Tribunal are the only bodies empowered to resolve election controversies;
- A call for strict electoral neutrality by federal, state, and municipal governments;
- A call for the President not to declare a winner prior to the IFE;
- A request for the IFE to make a new audit of the electoral list and the programs for tabulating preliminary results and the quick count; and
- A pledge to maintain a political dialogue after the election, regardless of the outcome.

The PRD conditioned its acceptance on reserving the right to mobilize after July 2nd. The pact is scheduled to be signed at the IFE on June 13. (EsMas 6/8, Reforma, 6/8-9)

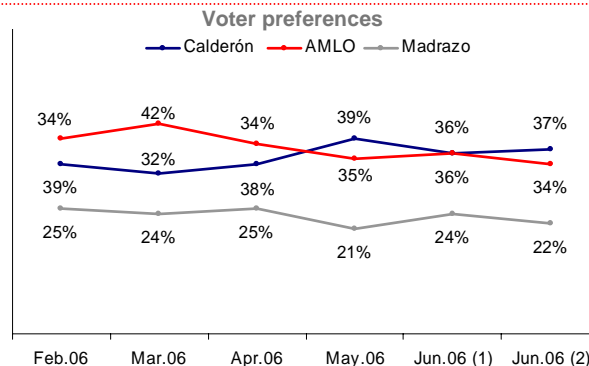
Upcoming Events

06/15/06, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Mexican Democracy in the International Perspective (9:00am-1:00pm, Mexico City)

06/16/06, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, The 2006 Mexican Elections: Perspectives from Washington and Los Angeles (9:30am, Tijuana, Mexico)

Latest Polls

A new Universal poll completed in the days after the debate (6/7-10) shows Felipe Calderón at 37%, up 1 point compared to their poll at the beginning of the month. AMLO is down 2 to 34%, and Madrazo is down 2 to 22%.



Main Topics

- *PRD says, PAN says....*
- *Parties sign civility pact, while the wars go on*
- *UN backs IFE's electoral protections*
- *AMLO renews call for changes in NAFTA, and reaches out to businessmen*

Upcoming Events

06/19/06, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Mexico-U.S. Relations, Immigration and other Key Issues (5:30am-7:30pm, Chicago)

06/20/06, Trans-Border Institute, University of San Diego, Mexico's 2006 Elections (9:00am-1:10pm, Guadalajara, Mexico)

Campaign Briefs

The PRD and PAN traded corruption charges in the wake of López Obrador's accusations against Calderón's brother in law. AMLO continued to insist that he has the proof of sweetheart contracts awarded when Calderón was in the government as well as tax avoidance, and demanded a full Finance Ministry investigation. "I completely undressed them," said AMLO. "I removed the mask [the PANistas] always wear. They say they are honest and pure, but they practice a double morality, and I proved it." (Reforma 6/13)

El Economista published documents that link members of AMLO's Mexico City government with extortion rackets to generate funds for his campaign. The PAN presented the documents to judicial authorities and also demanded an investigation. "Those accusing López Obrador of money laundering to finance the campaign are desperate. They don't know how to solve the problem of the brother in law," said Alejandro Encinas, Mexico City's current Mayor. (El Economista 6/11, Milenio 6/14)

The PRD proposed a truce on attack ads. Calderón responded: "A very interesting proposal, but it requires that the PRD retract what they've said and apologize for the series of lies and calumnies they've been making without presenting any proof." (EsMas 6/16)

All the major political parties signed the civility pact. IFE head Luis Carlos Ugalde said, "This agreement is a positive sign and a commitment by the parties to the public." Columnist Sergio Sarmiento noted, "Fundamentally, the parties committed to obey the law and recognize the results of the election...Most unsettling is the clause that seeks an audit of the 71.3 million names on the voting list in three weeks. The agreement seems like an attempt to prepare excuses to question the election result on July 3." Separately, United Nations electoral experts praised the IFE's mechanisms for verifying the voting lists, carrying out the quick count, and making the preliminary tabulation of votes. (Excelsior 6/14, Reforma 6/14-16)

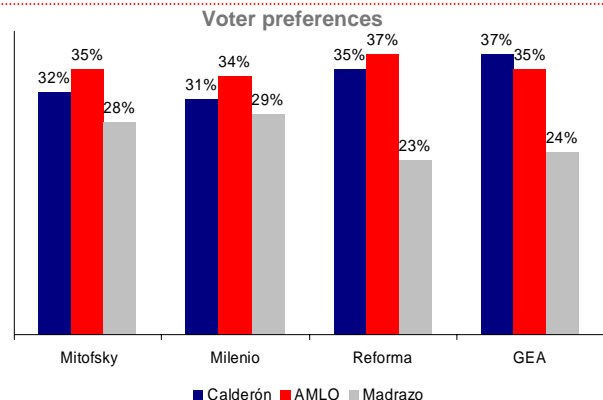
López Obrador repeated his commitment to renegotiate the agricultural chapter of NAFTA, particularly the provision for duty free imports of corn and beans starting in 2008. "We are not going to accept this clause," he said. His pledges to provide farmers with guaranteed prices, subsidies, and loans on favorable terms may also be questionable under NAFTA rules. (AP 6/18)

The PRD candidate met with Coparmex—his first meeting with any of the business associations. AMLO told them that, if elected President, he would work with them, and sustain fiscal discipline and macroeconomic stability. "I invite businessmen to work together in harmony to move our country forward. That is the first objective....I am not the enemy of those who create jobs in Mexico." (Reforma 6/15)

Latest Polls

Four public polls released during the week show the hit Calderón took from AMLO's accusations. Three of the polls have AMLO back in a narrow lead. Calderón acknowledged that he and AMLO are now in a "technical tie."

According to a new Reforma poll, 11% of voters would be willing to switch their vote if they believed their preferred candidate had no chance of winning. Of Madrazo voters willing to switch, 28% would vote for Calderon, 22% for AMLO, and 14% for Patricia Mercado.



Main Topics

- *Final countdown:*
AMLO: untied
Calderón: spiritually ready
Madrado: me or the abyss
- *Oaxaca teachers and miners strikes*

Campaign Briefs

The candidates began their closing rallies. Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD) bragged that he had reached the end of the campaign without compromising himself. "I have not made commitments to anyone. I will not arrive [to the presidency] with my hands and feet tied; I will arrive in complete liberty." AMLO will close his campaign on June 28 in the central plaza (Zocalo) in Mexico City. (Universal 6/25)

AMLO's recent speeches included a proposal for an austerity law cutting public sector salaries, in order to ensure the resources for his social programs, and a renewed pledge not to increase debt or run deficits. At the same time, he indirectly attacked the Business Coordinating Council (CCE) which has been running get-out-the-vote ads that also urge continuity in economic policy. AMLO said that businessmen who opposed him were not true businessmen, but influence peddlers. "Only the speculators and the corrupt ones don't want a change in economic policy," he said. (El Universal 6/22, Reforma 6/24)

Felipe Calderón (PAN) predicted "a decisive victory" to more than 100,000 supporters at his final Mexico City rally at Azteca Stadium on Sunday. "I am prepared both professionally and spiritually to govern the country. I will call together a government of national unity," he said. Calderón compared AMLO to José López Portillo, who lowered prices by decree to support social programs, only to see Mexico collapse in the crisis of 1982. (Universal 6/25)

Last week, Calderón also announced 100 actions for his first 100 days in office, if elected. He pledged fiscal reform (simpler and more competitive taxes), energy reform (private-sector joint ventures with PEMEX for deep water exploration), and government reform (reduction of number of legislators, more concentrated electoral calendars, and campaign finance). He also proposed measures to improve public safety and the justice system.

Roberto Madrazo (PRI) warned that the confrontation between the PAN and the PRD was leading Mexico to a rupture. He called on voters to reject the other two candidates, who he said would keep the country on the path of "adventures and mishaps." "We are falling into an abyss; Mexico doesn't deserve another adventure."

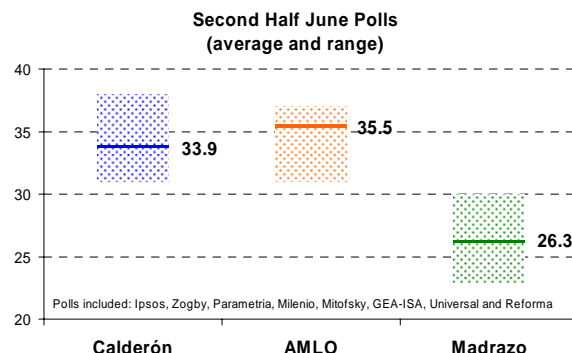
Social conflicts continue to threaten the periphery of the campaigns. The five week old teachers' strike in Oaxaca has grown more violent. Protestors demanding the resignation of the PRI governor may prevent voters from reaching polling places—a fifth of the polling places in the state are located in schools. Thus far, they have refused calls for an election day truce. The governor claims that the PRD is behind the strike. AMLO denied the charge, but cancelled his final swing to the state. In addition, various unions have joined calls for a national strike on the 28th, in support of the miners union which has been on a prolonged strike to protest the government's removal of their leader. (Reforma 6/23-26)

Key Dates

- End of campaigns—June 28*
- Election Day—July 2*
- Polls close at 6:00pm (Mexico time)*
- Exit poll results may be released at 8:00pm*
- IFE to release preliminary results at 11:00pm*
- IFE may declare winner based on Quick Count at 2:00am—July 3*

Latest Polls

The pollsters published their final surveys. Of the eight public polls released in the 2nd half of June, six give AMLO the advantage, and two show Calderón in the lead. AMLO has an average of 35.5% in the eight polls, Calderón 33.9%, and Madrazo 26.3%. The maximum lead shown by any of the polls is 4%, and half show a margin of less than the statistical margin of error, which is about 3%.



Election Results

President

- With over 95.8% of voting places counted using the preliminary electronic tabulation, Felipe Calderón holds a 400,000 vote lead over Andrés Manuel López Obrador out of more than 36 million votes counted.
- IFE announced that it was unable to indicate a winner based on their “quick count” of a sample of 7,281 polling places. IFE president Luis Ugalde said declaration of a winner would have to wait for the full, official vote count on Wednesday.
- The official count, which is different than the preliminary vote count, starts with the scrutiny and aggregation of the results of the more than 130,000 voting places, first at each of the 300 electoral districts, then at the 32 states, and finally at the federal level Wednesday evening.
- Only the Federal Electoral Tribunal (TEPFJ) has the power to declare a winner; the TEPFJ will also decide on legal challenges to the vote counts. The TEPFJ must make a final determination by September 6th.
- López Obrador told his supporters that exit polls made him the winner by at least 500,000 votes. “I said during the campaign that we would respect the results. I ask that the electoral authorities respect our results,” AMLO said.
- Calderón also declared himself the winner: “We have not the slightest doubt that we’ve won the presidential election, and this is backed by the data.”

President	Party	Vote %	2000 Vote
Felipe Calderón	PAN	36.5%	43.5%(Fox)
López Obrador	PRD	35.4%	17.0% (Cardenas)
Roberto Madrazo	PRI	21.4%	36.9% (Labastida)
Others / Invalid		6.7%	2.6%

- Both the PRD and the PAN cited exit polls that showed each of them as the winner.
- Votes for Roberto Madrazo and the minor party candidates fell well below pre-election poll levels, as voters appeared to switch to the leading candidates.

Congress

- The PAN increased its vote share and looks to have the largest congressional delegation in both the Senate and the Chamber.
- The PRD increased its share of the vote for Deputies by about 11 points, while the PRI vote fell 11% compared to the 2003 mid-term election.
- A divided Congress looks to continue.

Senate	Vote%	2000 Vote	Current Seats
PAN	34.0%	40.7%	52
PRD	29.8%	20.1%	16
PRI	27.3%	39.2%	60
Others	8.9	0.0%	0

Chamber	Vote%	2003 Vote	Current Seats
PAN	33.8%	32.8%	151
PRD	29.0%	18.8%	97
PRI	27.5%	39.2%	224
Others	9.7%	9.2%	28

Governor-Mexico City	Party	Vote %	2000 Vote
Marcelo Ebrard	PRD	47.1%	37.3%
Demetrio Sodi	PAN	27.6%	32.6%
Beatriz Paredes	PRI	21.9%	22.3%

Governor-Guanajuato	Party	Vote %	2000 Vote
Juan Manuel Oliva	PAN	59.0%	56.5%
Ricardo Garcia	PRD	13.0%	6.7%
Miguel Angel Chico	PRI	27.0%	34.0%

Governor-Jalisco	Party	Vote %	2000 Vote
Emilio Gonzalez	PAN	45.1%	46.2%
Enrique Ibarra	PRD	7.8%	5.3%
Arturo Zamora	PRI	41.4%	44.0%

Governor-Morelos	Party	Vote %	2000 Vote
Marco A. Adame	PAN	36.0%	55.9%
Fernando Martinez	PRD	32.1%	13.0%
Maricela Sanchez	PRI	27.8%	27.8%

Governors

- The incumbent parties retained control in each of the four gubernatorial races.
- The PAN appears to have won three states, and the PRD kept control of the Federal District. With less than 50% of the vote, Marcelo Ebrard of the PRD did less well than expected prior to the vote.
- The PRI continues to control 17 governorships, the PAN 10, and the PRD 5.

Note: 2006 preliminary results include all votes. Prior results include only valid votes.