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**The August 21, 1994  
Mexican National Elections  
Fourth Report**

**Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government**

**The Carter Center  
Atlanta, Georgia  
January 1995**

**Working Paper Series**

**held August 21, 1994  
Mexican National Elections  
Fourth Report**

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**The Carter Center  
Atlanta, Georgia  
January 1995**

**Latin American and Caribbean Program**



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# O EWO

by Jimmy Carter

The Carter Center is pleased to announce the publication of the fourth report of the Carter Center's Mission to Mexico, which I have headed since 1996.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Report on the Delegation of the  
Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government  
to the  
Mexican National Elections

August 17-24, 1994

prepared by the  
Latin American and Caribbean Program  
The Carter Center

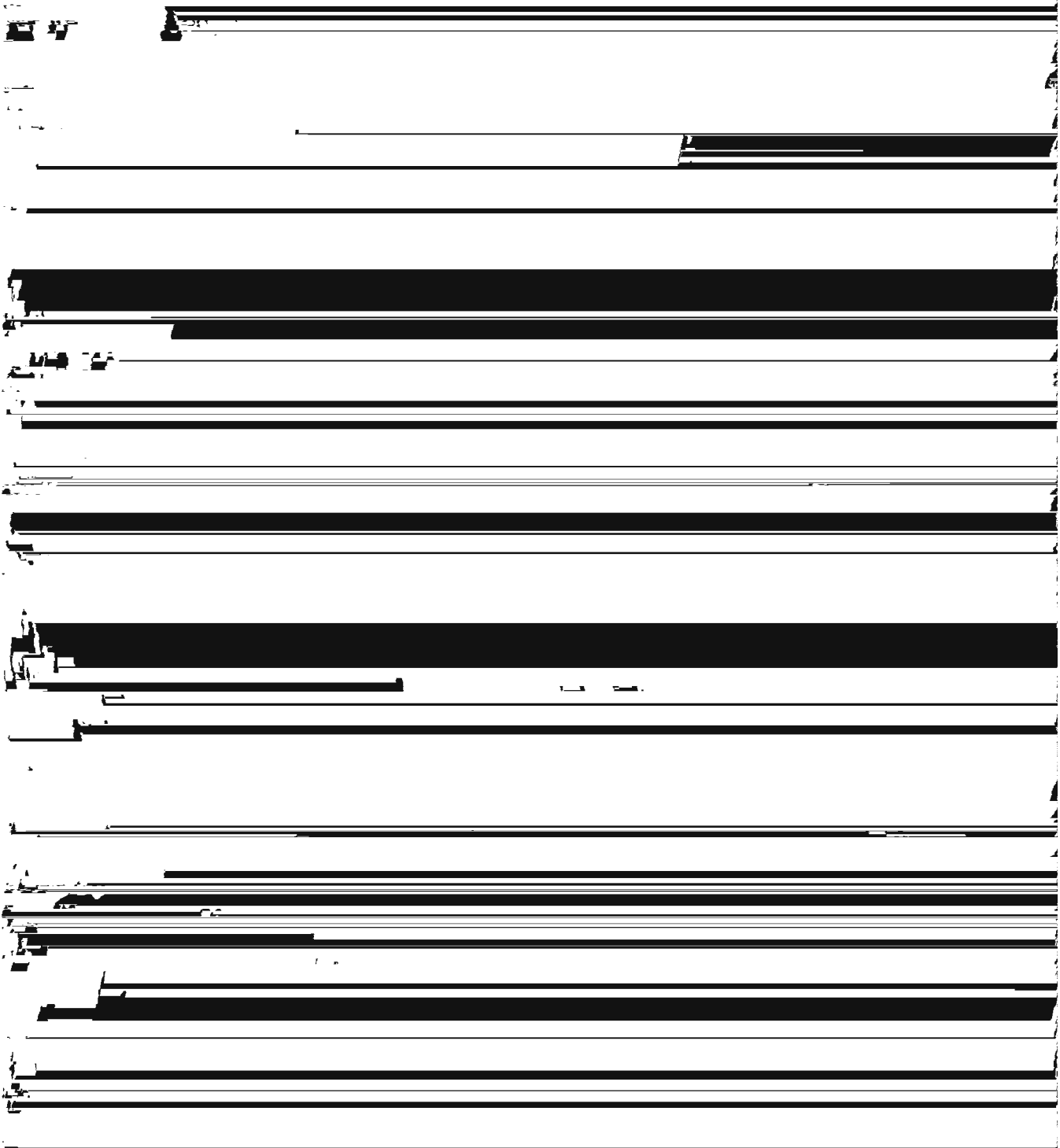
January 1995

**Introduction**

On August 21, 1994, Mexicans re-elected the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), continuing its 65-year reign for another six years. Turning out in record-breaking numbers, voters defied all pre-election predictions that a high turnout would favor the opposition and instead chose the PRI.

by  
Ca  
Cerezo, and former Canadian prime minister  
Joe Clark. Mr. Clark also served as co-leader of  
the NDI/IRI delegation. Jim Wright former

**The Council/NDI/IRI delegation  
election day proceed to be generally  
peaceful and orderly. A high voter turn-out**



[The main body of the page is obscured by a large black redaction box.]



ber of Deputies, the PAN 119, the PRD 71,  
a the Partido de los Trabajadores 10 seats.  
As a result, PRI holds substantial majorities in

*With the lack of confidence in the com-  
mitment of the government and ruling*

[REDACTED]

thousands of accredited observers extra-

[REDACTED]

ties, the official results "are the expression of

*The opposing parties held sharply differing*

[REDACTED]

1994).

Our own delegation received no evidence that irregularities were sufficiently serious or widespread to have affected the outcome of the presidential race. Nevertheless, the delegation concluded that further reforms were needed to

*evaluations of the electoral process and its outcome. The PRD . . . concluded that . . . "these results are illegal, and we do not know who won or who lost." . . . the PAN . . . accepted the results, arguing that de- stitute the prevalence of inequities. the official*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

special casillas. The Alliance's initial finding that in 70% of the voting stations, some voters with valid identification cards were turned away because their names did not appear on the

*The political parties submitted over 1,800 electoral complaints to the Electoral Tribunal.*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

tional democracy is whether all parties accept the process as fair and the results as legitimate. Mexico has not yet passed that test.

*The most promising electoral reforms were*

[REDACTED]

day  
o limit

Finally, concerted effort needs to be made to ensure that all of the major parties trust the process

[REDACTED]

and accept the results of future elections. In other cases we have observed, the chasm of mistrust  
between government and opposition has been overcome through impartial and professional behavior of

[REDACTED]

electoral authorities, agreements on changes in the rules negotiated among all of the major parties, and  
mediation by trusted outsiders. The reform efforts of the last four years in Mexico have begun to  
address the issue of confidence. We list below a number of specific suggestions that could help our









APPENDIX I. SUMMARY OF RESULTS<sup>1</sup> OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

POLITICAL PARTIES	VOTES	PERCENTAGE OF VOTES CAST (Including null votes)	PERCENTAGE OF VALID VOTES (Not including null votes)
PRI	17,336,325	48.77	50.18
PAN	9,222,899	25.94	26.69
PRD	5,901,557	16.60	17.08
PT	975,356	02.74	02.82
PVEM	330,381	00.93	00.96
PARM	195,086	00.55	00.56
PPS	168,603	00.47	00.49
PDM	99,216	00.28	00.29
OTHERS	18,554	00.05	00.05

OTHER ELECTORAL INFORMATION

Null votes	1,00,782	02.82%
Number of votes cast	35,550,283	
Number of votes cast	35,550,283	77.74%
Registered voters not voting	10,178,770	22.26%

1. Based on the results of the 1988 Presidential Election.

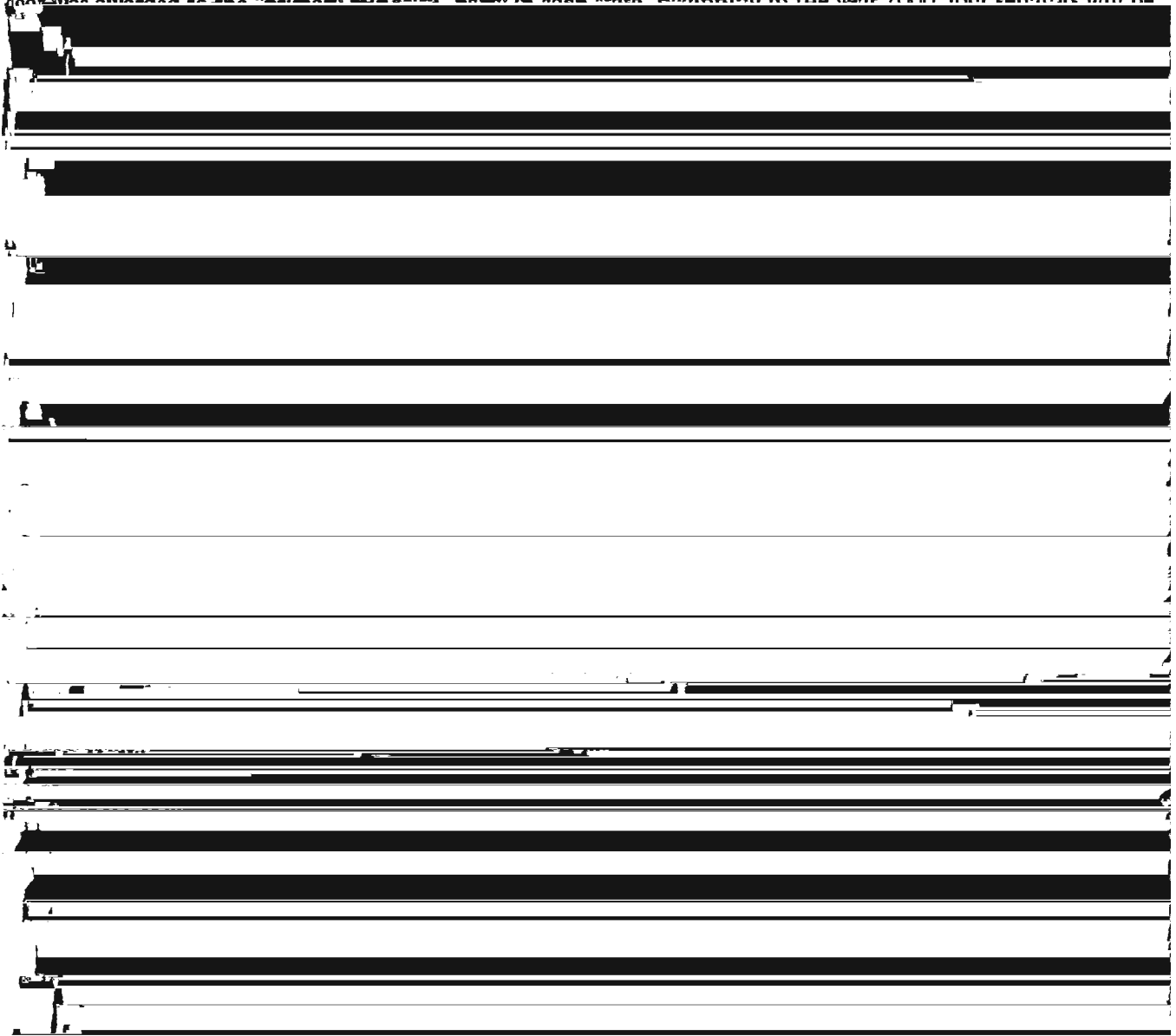
OFFICIAL LEGISLATIVE RESULTS

SENATE

PRI	95
PAN	25
PRD	8
	---
TOTAL SEATS	128

As a result of the 1993 electoral reforms, the Senate was doubled to 128 seats, representing 31 states and the federal district; 96 of these seats were elected on August 21, 1994 and 32 carried over from the last election period. (PRI 31, PAN 1)

In this election, the party winning the "relative majority" in each senatorial district gained two seats, while one seat was awarded to the "primary minority" party in each state. Beginning in the year 2000, four senators will be



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

DEPUTIES

Aguascalientes

2

PRI 2

[REDACTED]



# Latin American and Caribbean Program

Appendix II

## THE COUNCIL OF FREELY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government is an informal group of 25 current and former heads of government from throughout the Americas. The Council was established in November 1986 at a meeting chaired

[REDACTED]

Appendix III

NDI/IRI Delegation to August 21 1994 Mexican Elections

Participants representing the  
Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government  
at the Carter Center of Emory University

es

Rodrigo Carazo, Former Costa Rican President (1978-1982)

Vinicio Cerezo, former President of Guatemala (1986-1990).

Nancy Dickerson Whitehead, author and lecturer. Former  
correspondent for CBS and NBC. President, Television  
Corporation of America.

Staff

Eric Bord, Attorney and consultant to The Carter Center.  
Participated in Council delegations to Nicaragua and Guyana.

[REDACTED]

ND  
ON

TO CTIONS  
T 21, 1994

LEADERS

ANDRES ALLAMAND  
Deputy, Chamber of  
Renovation Party  
Chile

LUIS HUMBERTO GUZMAN  
President  
Assembly



EVERETT BRIGGS  
President, Americas Society and the  
Council of the Americas

MARY COUGHLIN  
Director of Field Operations  
International Republican Institute

Former Ambassador to Panama,  
[REDACTED]

United States

Chairman, Interworld Consultants  
United States

SANTIAGO A. CANTON  
Senior Program Officer  
National Democratic Institute

JOAQUIN DALY  
Electoral Consultant  
International Management Consultants  
Peru

RODRIGO CARAZO  
Former president of Costa Rica  
Co-leader of Carter Center Delegation  
Costa Rica

MARIA DeCESARE  
Assistant Program Officer  
International Republican Institute

CARROLL  
[REDACTED]

0-1-1980-11-17

[REDACTED]

LUIS FLEY  
Secretary General  
Nicaraguan Resistance Party

KAREN HARBERT

MICHAEL KOSTIW

Senior Federal Government Affairs

Representative, Texas, Inc.

GEORGINE de MIRANDA

Managing Director

Moynihan '86

Vice Chair, IRI Board of Directors  
United States

MARTIN KRAUSE

President

Fundación America

Argentina

WALTER LOHMAN

Legislative Assistant

Office of Senator John McCain

United States

HARRIETTE MARTIN

Program Administrative Assistant

Carter Center

CINDY McCAIN

Vice-Chairman

Hensley and Company

United States

R. BRUCE McCOLM

President

International Republican Institute

JENNIFER McCOY

Senior Research Associate, Latin American

and Caribbean Program

Suriname

ZITA MONTES de OCA

President

Foundation for Women in Equality

Argentina

SEAN MULVANEY

Legislative Assistant

Office of Representative Jim Kolbe

United States

KEVIN OPSTRUP

Research Assistant

International Republican Institute

SUSAN PALMER

Assistant Director of Programs

Conflict Resolution Program

Carter Center

JANINE PERFIT

Regional Program Director

International Republican Institute

IRENE PERURENA

Executive Director

Peace and Justice Commission

Program

CECILE RICHARDS

DAN WEISS

[REDACTED]

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT  
BY THE IRI/NDI INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION  
TO THE AUGUST 21 MEXICAN ELECTIONS

August 23, 1994

The international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) is pleased to offer this

our delegation, comprised of 80 members from 17 countries,

District. The delegation includes former heads of state and government, former diplomats, elected officials, political party

We note that the tabulation of results and the resolution of any electoral complaints have yet to be completed. NDI and IRI will continue to monitor post-election developments and will

[REDACTED]

ized Register of Voters (Padron)  
n cards to create a modern  
ility. The delegation was  
he political parties were  
f Voters prior to the election  
and the Register was

independently audited;

- modifying the membership of IFE's General Council as well as IFE's 32 Local and District Councils so that Citizen Councilors hold the majority of votes, thus increasing IFE's

~~public confidence in its decisions~~

[REDACTED]

employing a double lottery to select polling site (casilla) officials to help ensure their impartiality;

- permitting national election observers and inviting international visitors in order to increase the transparency of the elections and public confidence in the process;

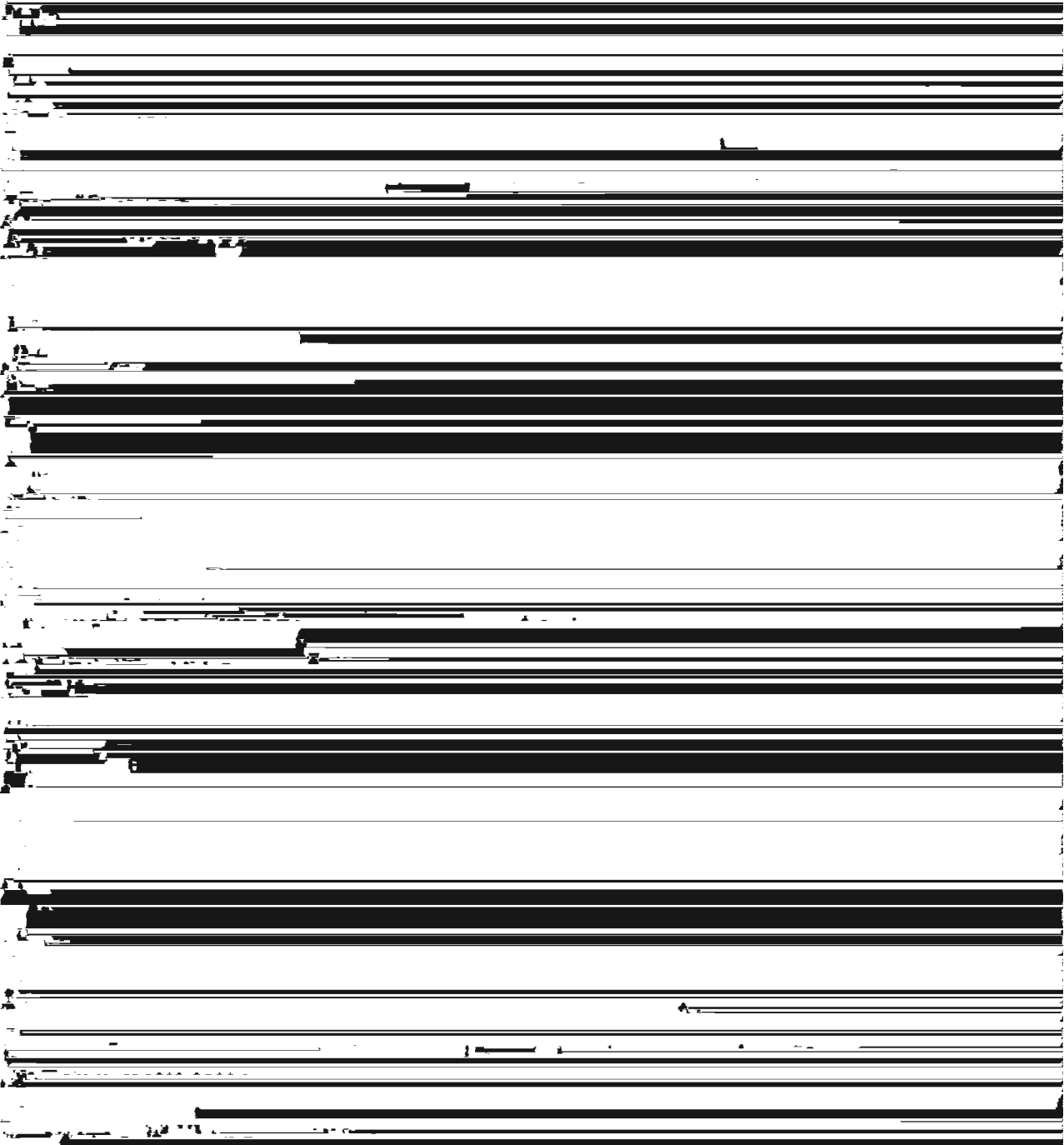
recognizing the legal basis for political parties, news media and civic groups to carry out independent parallel vote tabulations (PVTs or rapid counts), which added credibility to IFE's preliminary results;

- modifying the criminal code to define specific electoral

[REDACTED]

candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio. In addition, more than  
hundred political party activists have been killed since  
since the last federal elections. Most of these deaths have  
yet to be attributed. The delegates expressed concern over  
the loss of life resulting from such incidents and hopes that  
efforts will be made to end political violence.

9. Credible sources reported that there is widespread use





allegations of partisan behavior by some local election officials.

8) The delegation commends the creation of the Special Prosecutor's Office for Electoral Crimes and the appointment of a highly respected individual to head that office (the Special Electoral Prosecutor). The office appears to be independent and to have the necessary resources to pursue its mandate. At the same

[REDACTED]

2) The government and the political parties should take steps to follow up on elements of the Agreement for Peace, Justice and Democracy. These would include:

undertaking a review of political party financing, in order to establish more equitable electoral competition;

taking effective measures to prevent the misuse of state

candidate;

establishing clear and enforceable guidelines on equal

8) Efforts should be made to further ensure IFE's autonomy. IFE should also continue to review complaints concerning partisan behavior of local and district electoral officials and take appropriate action against those found to have acted improperly.

The delegation would like to stress that it recognizes and commends the improvements made as a result of recent reforms to the Mexican electoral system. The recommendations set forth here were made with modesty and in a spirit of cooperation. The

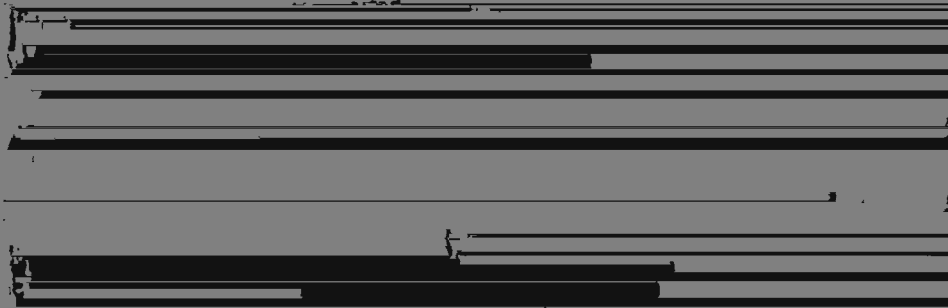
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Mexico's streets are blanketed with posters as the presidential campaign draws to a close.

### Carter Center to Send Election Observers

Annals of the Carter Center  
President Jimmy Carter will send 10 observers to Mexico to monitor the presidential elections, the Carter Center said Aug. 8.

The delegation, representing the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, will be led by an American Prime Minister Joe Clark in Mexico from Aug 17-24. Reuters news



# S e t e

*A president will be chosen Sunday. Some estimates...*

[REDACTED]

By Andrew Maykuth

The government...

[REDACTED]

1994

ei ners given day's landmark vote. many say feel if sold delegates don't have the offi- made.

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Domingo 21 de Agosto de 1994 '99-A

1994

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# Irrregularities wouldn't have changed outcome, they say

By Christine MacDonald  
Special Contributor to The Dallas Morning News

"We have serious

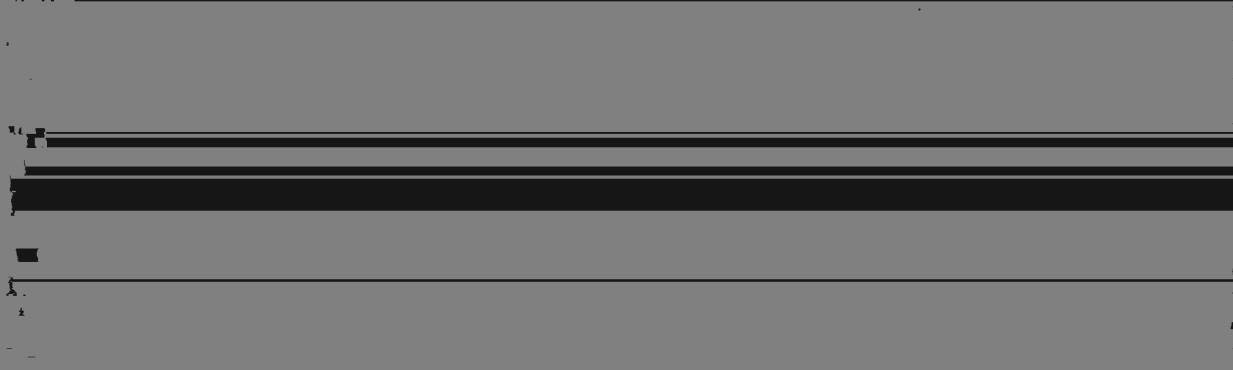
The foreign politicians, academics and civic activists also described

[REDACTED]

# Effect of Fraud In Mexican Vote Hotly Debated

Even if Outcome Is Deemed

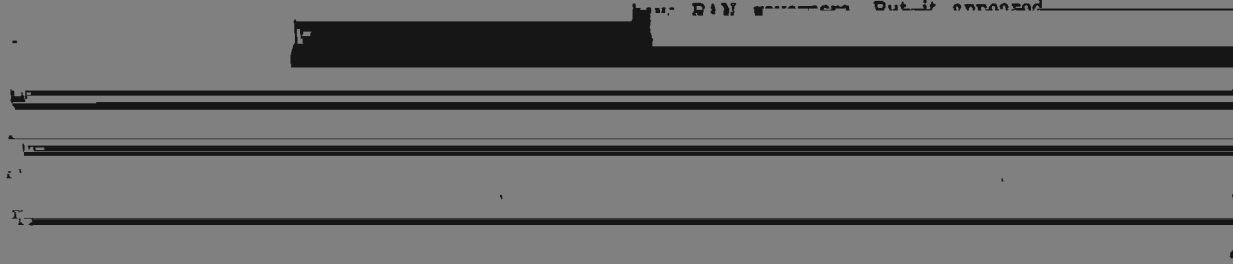
With 75% of the votes counted as of late  
ye  
vo  
de  
wi  
leftist PRD, was third with 17%.  
PRI Majority in Lower House



## Fair, the PRI Is Likely To Face Calls for Reform

By DIANNE SOLIS  
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
MEXICO CITY — Mexican and foreign

will retain its historic control of the Senate,  
but use of complex one-  
four the seats will auto go to



state of Nuevo Leon, home of President  
Carlos Salinas  
In the south state of Chiapas,  
scene of an armed uprising in January, it

to form a common platform to govern  
ico.

natorial candidate, a newspaper editor,  
was injured in a hi c last month.  
The family blam ent on the  
ruling party.

places.  
Extent of Irregularities  
"There is a debate within

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August 24, 1994

# es Didn't Affect Election Result

By SHASTA DARLINGTON  
The News Staff Reporter

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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M resents a process." the the between 1988 and 1994. National-Democratic Institute (NDI) the electoral cause of

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]