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Mexican and international reactions after the 2012 elections in Mexico

The political conditions of Mexico in the 21st century, the antecedents of the 2012 elections, the candidates, the political forces behind them, the electoral campaign and the final results have already been studied in depth in my book *A 2012-es mexikói választások* (Mexican elections in 2012),¹ and in a shorter writing *Mexikó 2012-ben: választási ábécé* (Mexico in 2012: electoral ABC) published in the quarterly, *Kül-Világ*. Therefore, this essay does not aim to analyse the elections themselves. Instead, it provides an overview of the half-year period that has passed since then, and tries to answer the following questions: what were the local and international reactions to the electoral results, and, what tendencies have surfaced in Mexican political life since July, 2012? The investigation is based primarily on data obtained from Mexican and Spanish press.

The political palette and the 2012 elections – an introduction

There are three major political parties in Mexico: the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the National Action Party (PAN) and the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). These political forces² and their candidates competed against each other at the 2012 elections that were held for positions in Congress, the Senate, and also for the highest political spot, President of the country.

The PRI was created in 1929. According to Héctor Aguilar Camín, Mexican writer and historian „it was not founded to gain power, but to keep it,”³. And the PRI was indeed successful in maintaining itself in the lead of the country. For more than seventy years, all Mexican presidents were members of the PRI. Naturally, the elections were not void of manipulations and there was no free competition within the party, either. The so-called *dedazo* was a much favoured political manouvre which meant that the president in office could appoint his successor. The PRI finally lost the

¹ Edited by Gondolat, series: Universitas Pannonica.

² Electoral coalitions are not uncommon in Mexico but they always gravitate around one of the three above mentioned parties. With respect to 2012, the PRI and the Green Party made an alliance; the PAN participated alone, and the PRD had the support of the Labor Party (PT) and the Citizens' Movement (MC).

³ AGUILAR CAMÍN: 1 March 2009.

presidential seat in the year 2000, but it remained a significant political force in Mexican political life, becoming the most important opposition party. It was the year 2006 that brought with it a real nightmare for the party: it came in third at the elections, after the PAN and *after* the PRD. It lost further ground. Had this tendency continued, the party could have disappeared. There were even jokes changing the name of PRI into RIP, the abbreviation for rest in peace. The party needed a strong candidate for 2012 and picked a young, ambitious politician from Atlacomulco, State of Mexico, Enrique Peña Nieto (EPN).⁴ He had been governor of his native state (2005-2011), the federal entity with the largest population in Mexico. This is very important because Mexican politicians tend to raise more support in the states where they come from and where they held office.

Vicente Fox, candidate of the National Action Party, won the 2000 presidential elections. Expectations ran very high, so there followed a kind of „*natural*” disappointment, which manifested itself in a lessening support for the party. PAN continued to govern after 2006, but one third of the Mexicans think that this was possible due to an election fraud.⁵ The presidency of Felipe Calderón proved to be rather unpopular, the most important reasons were the lack of economic successes, the increasing poverty and most importantly, the rise in violence and insecurity. In order to stay in power, the PAN had to find a candidate for the 2012 elections, who would be able to maintain the party in power, that is, secure a continuity, but at the same time keep a distance from Calderón and from his unpopularity. All these contributed to choosing a female politician: Josefina Vázquez Mota (JVM).⁶ She was not the first female presidential candidate in the history of Mexico, but the first to have a real chance to win.

The Mexican left postulated Andrés Manuel López Obrador, an activist and politician from Tabasco, South-Eastern Mexico. He had been head of PRD between 1996 and 1999, and governor of Mexico City between 2000 and 2005. By 2012 he was the most experienced candidate not only because of his age, but also because he had already run for presidency in 2006, which he lost by a margin of 0.58%, according to the often questioned official results.⁷

⁴ Politicians are often referred to by their initials in Mexico. I will make use of this practice in the essay, in order to avoid repeating long, complete names.

⁵ MEYER (2006).

⁶ Economist (Ibero-American University). Secretary of Social Development (2000-2006), and of Public Education (2006-2012). Her nomination as a presidential candidate was kind of a surprise, because despite her positions in the governments of Vicente Fox and Felipe Calderón, she was not a well-known public figure.

⁷ There was a fourth presidential candidate in 2012: Gabriel Quadri, engineer and economist; director of the National Ecological Institute in the 1990s. He had no real chance as the political force behind him, the New Alliance Party, PANAL, founded in 2005, is very much associated with Elba Esther Gordillo, ex-Secretary General of the PRI, head of the National

Opinions polls drawn before the 2012 elections showed one clear favourite, who had a huge advantage. This could have meant a boring election campaign but statistics proved to be rather tricky: whereas „official” sources indicated EPN on first place, alternative surveys coincided in putting AMLO in the lead. This duality was not very well-known abroad, and contributed – together with the global economic crisis – to the lack of international attention towards the Mexican elections.

The preliminary results were the following: Enrique Peña Nieto 38.15; AMLO 31.64; JVM 25.40 and Gabriel Quadri 2,3%.⁸

Immediate reactions

Felipe Calderón congratulated Enrique Peña Nieto who hastened to declare that Mexico had won. The *Proceso* magazine had a different opinion; its cover page on the 2nd of July showed the logo of Televisa – the biggest communication company of the Spanish-speaking world, and one of the Mexican TV giants⁹ – with the Mexican presidential sash. That is, it was Televisa that won. Or, to put it in another way, Televisa won over Mexico. Andrés Manuel López Obrador publicly announced that he would lodge a legal protest against the results. He complained that the candidates did not have equal chances, as the media one-sidedly supported EPN, and to make things worse, the PRI bought votes on a massive scale.

A series of misuses – and relating documents – were made public, often uploaded to the World Wide Web. For example, destruction of ballots, stealing of ballot boxes and vote buying.¹⁰ Some analysts, like Julio Hernández, journalist of *La Jornada*, the newspaper of the UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico), and Eduardo Huchim, retired electoral official, talked about the biggest vote buying operation in the history of Mexico.¹¹ The subject of where the PRI got the money from, was open to conjecture.

The Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) was also heavily criticised. There were complaints that the local results did not necessarily coincide with the data in the central system. People launched initiatives on the internet to check the IFE. Voters were asked to upload the local data on web pages that were opened with the aim of offering the possibility to compare central and

Educational Workers’ Union since the presidency of Carlos Salinas and one of the most infamous Mexican politicians. Quadri was not expected to get more than 2-3% of all votes.

⁸ Instituto Federal Electoral: PREP (*programa de resultados electorales preliminares*) results.

⁹ Seven out of ten Mexicans watch the programmes shown in the several channels owned by Televisa. Source: HERNÁNDEZ NAVARRO: 12 June 2012.

¹⁰ The latter was quiet notorious in case of gift cards. These belonged to the same supermarket chain, and Mexicans rushed to the Soriana stores in unprecedented numbers, simply to spend the money that they had received on the card.

¹¹ Enrique Peña Nieto compró victoria, 6 July 2012; ¡Sí Hubo Fraude 2012!, 7 July 2012.

local results (yosoyantifraude.org, www.2012.openprep.org, www.prepciadadano.mx, www.fotoxcasilla.mx, www.conteorapido1.urnaabierta). Of course, with more than 50,000,000 ballots cast, it was an impossible task to supervise the whole presidential election, yet it is interesting and important that instead of resorting to apathy and sitting idle, people turned to action, based on the spread of new communication tools like cellular phones and the Internet. In the meantime, rumours started to circulate about a possible tampering of the electoral software, in favour of the PRI candidate. The mistrust grew towards the Instituto Federal Electoral to such a degree,¹² that the very existence of the institute was questioned, earning it the nickname of Instituto del Fraude Electoral (Institute of Electoral Fraud).

There were public protests against electoral fraud, and in particular against EPN on a weekly basis (7th, 14th and 22nd of July) in Mexico City and in the major cities of the country. Smaller demonstrations took place abroad, for example in Canada, France and Spain, organized by Mexican students and residents. The Movement YoSoy132¹³ announced a 1-day symbolic blockade around the Televisa building in Chapultepec, Mexico City. The building was surrounded by a human cordon on the 26-27th of July.

„We are convoked by the imminent disgrace. Here we are today at the doors of this ignominious media company that undertook the task of disinforming and manipulating the peoples of Mexico [...There stands] a wall of misinformation where a minority controls the public opinion and the truth is reduced to another consumer good, concentrated in surveys and publicity spots, in empty heroes and heroines of telenovelas, in a sad and cynical caricature of reality. It is on this wall where our possibility of election is built, as if in fact there were a real choice, and not all would have been decided beforehand by the best investor.”¹⁴

The protesters did not only demand the democratization of the communication media and the availability of information, but also substantial changes in education, in the national security and justice systems, political transformation, increased participation of civil

¹² The IFE had a rather poor reputation even before the elections. (According to Consulta Mitovsky 2012.03.27, 8) 25% of the Mexicans trusted very little or did not trust at all the Federal Electoral Institute.

¹³ This movement surged from the intensive protests concerning the visit candidate Enrique Peña Nieto made to the Ibero-American University on the 11th of May, 2012. The happenings were reported by Televisa as a „successful appearance” of EPN, which a small number of AMLO supporters – not students! – tried to disturb, but to no avail. Students were enraged by such manipulation and took action. They shot a film in which 131 students took part. They assume their anti-EPN views, tell their names and their student card numbers, and actually show their cards to the viewers. The production was uploaded to various sites of the internet and soon students of other Mexican universities started to sympathize with the protesters. This is how the YoSoy132 (I am the 132nd) Movement was born. YoSoy132 defines itself as a student movement with a social and political character; an autonomous, pacific and anti-neoliberal force that is independent from all political parties.

¹⁴ Discurso Frente a Televisa de #YoSoy132, 27 July 2012.

movements in the life of Mexico, and a turning away from the neoliberal economic model.

Paralell to protests against electoral fraud and demonstrations for a change, there were campaigns to collect evidence on electoral irregularities. These happenings were able to activate a lot of citizens who until that time had been politically passive. Yet, the intensive activities were accompanied by a kind of suspense. The summer passed by in a limbo. The country was waiting for the decision of the Federal Electoral Court.

Possibly it was due to the lack of precedents, that the United States precipitated to name EPN as president elect. It could be read on the official page of the White House on the 2nd of July, that Barack Obama congratulated Enrique Peña Nieto, the president elect of Mexico. Not a few were indignant in Mexico, among them Jorge Eduardo Navarrete.¹⁵ He addressed his protest to Earl Anthony Wayne, the ambassador of the United States in Mexico, and also sent it to the Mexican press. The following are extracts from the article published in the political weekly magazine, *Proceso*: „As your Excellency well knows, the condition of president elect is not given in Mexico by the preliminary results of the elections, but by the Federal Electoral Tribunal, by declaring the elections valid and making out the certificate for the winner. [...] The fact that one of the candidates figures as president elect in an official document of the White House, goes much further than a simple protocol gesture. It may be interpreted as a US interference into questions that only Mexicans and Mexican institutions should answer, in their proper time and form.”¹⁶ Jorge Eduardo Navarrete has strong ties with the Mexican political left. His opinion, was not only shared by sympathizers of the PRD or the Labour Party. The phenomenon that the United States intervenes in Mexican internal affairs is an old trauma and affects Mexican sensibilities and national self-esteem. It is not by chance that one of the most important foreign policy principles of Mexico is that of no-intervention, contained in the *Doctrina Estrada*.¹⁷ That is, Mexico does not intervene in the internal affairs of other states, and at the same time – naturally – expects that those states should behave in a similar manner.

The Federal Electoral Court had two months to investigate the remonstrance of the Mexican political left. The tribunal made use of the given time with the exception of a few days and made public its decision at the end of August. The seven-member court unanimously declared the

¹⁵ (Mexico City, 1940 –). Economist, diplomat, worked as an ambassador in Venezuela, Austria, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, China, Brazil and Germany. Investigator of the UNAM, within the program of Global Perspectives. He was postulated as Foreign Secretary in the cabinet of Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

¹⁶ CAMPA: 4 July 2012.

¹⁷ Named after Genaro Estrada (1887-1937), Mexican writer and diplomat, Foreign Secretary in 1930-1932.

elections valid and Enrique Peña Nieto became president elect.

The Movement YoSoy132 organised a funeral march whereas AMLO called his supporters to the Zócalo, the main square in Mexico City. Six years before he had sworn there to be the moral president of the country. Now he promised not to render and to keep fighting for a real democratic change. He forecasted his separation from the PRD, which is a logical and very probable step. AMLO can decide not to accept the results of the elections and stay away from official political life for six years, but this would be too high a price for the party, as it would lose those positions that it obtained in the elections for Congress and Senate.

Proceso reacted to the decision of the Federal Electoral Court with a caricature, captioned „*The blind*”, on the 1st of September. There is a patient (embodying the court) on the cover page, who is sitting in an ophthalmological consulting room. He has already tried on various sets of glasses and is wearing some at the moment but he is still unable to read the text the doctor is showing on the board: FRAUD - written in every line, with letters growing in size.

EPN as president elect - foreign visits

After officially winning the elections, Enrique Peña Nieto set out on foreign tours. The first one led to Latin America. He visited Guatemala, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Argentina and Peru.

Possibly, his stay in Colombia was the most successful. One reason is that the Colombian government headed by Juan Manuel Santos, is situated on the right side of the political palette, and professes similar ideas that the groupings supporting EPN. Besides, ties might be strengthened by the presence of similar problems: drug trafficking and the activities of drug cartels. EPN had already announced during his election campaign that he would name General Óscar Adolfo Naranjo Trujillo, the ex-leader of the Colombian police, as his national security adviser. Peña Nieto affirmed during his visit to Colombia that Mexico would be willing to play a part in the pacification of Colombia, that is, it would mediate in the negotiations between the Colombian government and the guerrilla forces. This kind of active role on the international scene was not characteristic of the PAN governments (2000-2012), but rather of the PRI that had led Mexico for more than seven decades. It seems that the PRI, after regaining the presidency, also tries to revive the role of the country as a regional leader, and together with it, naturally reinforce Mexican self-respect and the image of the country. „*Move Mexico*,” is not by chance one of the slogans of the government program. This international activity, nonetheless, can only be successful if the internal situation of Mexico is stable and things go well.

The following month, Enrique Peña Nieto flew to Europe. He visited France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. Europe has always been important in Mexico „to balance” the US, whereas the European Union considers it a key country with an excellent geostrategic position, a „cultural, political and physical bridge between North America and Latin America.”¹⁸ It is not by chance that Mexico and the EU are strategic partners.

At the end of November, EPN finally embarked on a North-American tour. He went to the United States and Canada. The fact that the president elect of Mexico visits the US president, can be regarded as a kind of tradition. Thus, there is nothing surprising in the visit, with the exception of its timing. It preceded the presidential inauguration in Mexico only by a few days. It is very much possible, that due to the lack of time since the end of August and due to the presidential elections in the US, the visit could not be timed differently. Yet the interview with Barack Obama can also be viewed as an intent to get extra support in case of a tempestuous ceremony on the 1st of December.

The bilateral talks had no concrete, visible effect. At the same time, it should be mentioned that the economic policy represented by the actual PRI, based on neoliberal principles and wishing to open Mexico more towards the World, is obviously sympathetic in the US. The PRI plans to privatize the Mexican crude oil industry that had been nationalized on the 18th of March, 1938, by President Lázaro Cárdenas. By now, Petróleos Mexicanos (PEMEX) forms part of the Mexican identity and national pride. The 18th of March is celebrated each year, and it is considered not only as the day of the nationalization of the crude oil industry, but in general, that of the economic independence of the country. Vicente Fox had already tried to privatize PEMEX at the beginning of the 21st century but his ideas fell through due to passionate protests. The Mexican left still keeps rigidly aloof from opening the company to private investment, whereas the PAN and the PRI would support such a solution. Yet the Mexican political right is also divided in this question. There are voices that believe that Mexico should look for Latin American ties, while others point towards the United States. US business circles would be interested in PEMEX, partly in the hope of profit and partly due to reasons of security and strategic value: the long-cherished plan of the North American energy independence could become real.

Presidential inauguration

As expected, protests took place in various parts of Mexico on the 1st of December. The media concentrated on the happenings in the capital, giving emphasis to violent acts, devastation and hooliganism, with outbreaks of public rioting. There were injuries, and even some mortal victims.

¹⁸ *Towards an EU-Mexico strategic Partnership*, COM(2008)0447final 2008, 3.

There are several ideas on what exactly happened in Mexico City on the 1st of December, 2012. These might be grouped into three major trends.

1.) One third of the Mexicans are convinced that there was an election fraud in 2006, and not a few would think that the results of 2012 were not obtained in a legal way. Therefore people tend to get frustrated and come to the opinion that changes in Mexico cannot be achieved using peaceful and political means, but only by recurring to violent and armed solutions. This is from where the aggressiveness of the opposition stems. This interpretation considers the opposition inherently violent and thus renders it an undemocratic political force that is outside the rules of the game and thus should not be taken into account.

2.) This version differs from the first one in the aspect that it does not find the anti-democratic and violent methods characteristic of the whole Mexican opposition. It interprets the demonstration on the 1st of December as basically peaceful, during which only a few smaller groups got radicalized, brawled and finally caused street rioting.

3.) This version could also be tagged as the „conspiracy theory“. According to this, there was a peaceful demonstration going on in Mexico City on the 1st of December. The protests had two major foci, one organized by the Movement YoSoy132 and the other by MORENA.¹⁹ A bunch of people, not very numerous, mingled with the crowd. They performed violent acts: threw objects at the police, smashed and crushed things at the historic city centre. The members of the group did not belong to the demonstrators, what is more, they were probably hired by some political force, whose interest was to discredit the protesters and the opposition in general. It should not be forgotten that the governing PRI routed student protests in 1968 and 1971 via employing paramilitary forces disguised as demonstrators, who committed provocative acts, triggering the „just“ reaction of the state security. According to the conspiracy version, history does repeat itself in Mexico, though in a „soft“ version. The magazine *Proceso* seems to agree. Its cover page on the 9th of December said: „*The trap: the sinister 1st of December.*“

Reactions from the political left

After 12 years of absence, the PRI got back to the steering wheel of the country. This made the Mexican left more active.

On the 21st of December, 13 Baktún terminated and with it a more than 5000-year-long Maya cycle came to an end. Yet indigenous people did not fear the end of the world – like many Westerners –. They started to prepare

¹⁹ **Movimiento Regeneración Nacional**, in English, National Regeneration Movement. It was founded by Andrés Manuel López Obrador after the 2006 elections.

for the new era. Demonstrations were organized by Zapatistas in the major settlements of Chiapas. The biggest took place in San Cristóbal de Las Casas. Reports talk about a total of 20,000-40,000 Zapatista demonstrators in the state of Chiapas, who marched with their faces covered – usually by black ski masks –, in silence.²⁰ Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos launched a communiqué:

To Whom It May Concern:

Did you listen? It is the sound of your world crumbling. It is the sound of our world resurging. The day that was day, was night. And night shall be the day that will be day.

Democracy!

Liberty!

Justice!

From the Mountains of South-eastern Mexico. For the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee – General Command of the EZLN

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, Mexico, 21st of December 2012.²¹

The 30th of December another document followed. Extracts:

In the early morning hours of December 21, 2012, tens of thousands of indigenous Zapatistas mobilized and took, peacefully and silently, five municipal seats in the South-eastern Mexican state of Chiapas.

In the cities of Palenque, Altamirano, Las Margaritas, Ocosingo, and San Cristóbal de Las Casas, we looked at you and at ourselves in silence.

Ours is not a message of resignation.

It is not one of war, death, or destruction.

Our message is one of struggle and resistance. [...]

Those who wagered that we only existed in the communications media and that, with the siege of lies and silence they created we would disappear, were mistaken.

When there were no cameras, microphones, pens, ears, or gazes, we continued to exist.

When they slandered us, we continued to exist.

When they silenced us, we continued to exist.

And here we are, existing.

Our path, as has been demonstrated, does not depend on media impact, but rather on comprehending the world and all of its parts, on indigenous wisdom that

²⁰ MARTÍN: 21 December 2012; HERNÁNDEZ NAVARRO: 22 December 2012.

²¹ *Communique of the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee – General Command of the EZLN*, 2 January 2013. Translation of the text from Spanish to English: EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional).

guides our steps, on the unswerving decision that is the dignity of below and to the left. [...]

We are those, the same, of 500 years ago, of 44 years ago, of 30 years ago, of 20 years ago, of just a few days ago.

We are the Zapatistas, the very smallest, those that live, struggle, and die in the last corner of the country, those that do not give up, do not sell out, those that do not surrender. [...]

DEMOCRACY!

LIBERTY!

JUSTICE!²²

Upon hearing news of this protest march, the 1994 uprising inevitably comes into mind. Then the Zapatistas rose in arms on 1st of January, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect, the day, when, according to president Carlos Salinas, Mexico would become part of the first world. Having an Indian revolt in a „first-world country“ was rather embarrassing. However, neither force nor negotiations bore fruit. Years passed and no real solution has been reached yet. Now the PRI is back. Carlos Salinas is back – as one the main advisors of Enrique Peña Nieto –. The EZLN has also made its comeback onto the Mexican political scene.

At the same time MORENA announced that it would transform itself into a political party (National Regeneration Party, in Spanish: Regeneración Nacional, abbreviated as RN). One reason could be the lack of success of AMLO at the elections and the following disillusionment. It is vital for MORENA to provide perspectives for its members and, in this way, keep its supporters. Another reason could have been the financing of the entity. As a political party, MORENA might get easier financial support. Yet this change is risky if we take into account the fact that Mexicans find political parties every time less reliable. According to the survey made by *Global Corruption Barometer*, in which Mexicans had to place different entities like Church, university, army, police, political parties, in a scale from 1 to 5, political parties got the worst average: 4.4.²³ The growing vacuum left behind by the parties in fact provided ONGs a chance to play a more active role. The question is that in such a situation, is it worth to change a civil movement into a political party? The other risk is that MORENA as a party, might divide left-wing voters. Until now, PRD has been the only big party on the Mexican left. This position gave PRD the

²² EZLN announces the following steps, 30 December 2012. Translation of the text from Spanish to English: EZLN.

²³ Transparency International: *Global Corruption Barometer* 2010.

opportunity to take part in the 2006 and 2012 elections as a strong candidate, and get more than 30% of the votes. If the left side of the political palette is cut into small bits, then the parties located there will not have a real chance at the elections. If PRD and MORENA are ready to form a coalition in order to avoid that, then the question inevitably arises: is there any need to have two different parties?

After the 1st of December

The document *Pact for Mexico* was signed by representatives of the three major political parties of Mexico, the PRI, the PAN and the PRD, and the president, Enrique Peña Nieto. The Pact has three axes: strengthening of the Mexican state; democratization of the economic and political life of the country, and increasing civil participation. It is very promising but there are also certain clouds of worry that make prospects less bright. The president is surrounded by people who had worked with him when he was governor of the state of Mexico, a period often characterized by nepotism, corruption and the growth of violence. Would EPN be able and willing to govern Mexico in a different way?

Whereas there is scepticism in Mexico, the image of Enrique Peña Nieto seems to be much better in Spain. *El País* has mentioned EPN among the 100 most important Ibero-American personalities of 2012. What is more, the newspaper picked out and covered 13 people in a photo report. EPN figures among them.²⁴ What the Spanish press writes, what Spaniards and the Spanish government think of the Mexican events, is very important, not only due to significant Spanish-Mexican ties but also because Spain plays a crucial part in the Latin American policies of the European Union.

Instead of a conclusion

It seems that the questions addressed by the politologist Denis Dresser to Enrique Peña Nieto on the pages of *Proceso* in 2011 are still (or even more?) valid. Extracts:

- 1.) Why do you and why does the PRI want to get back to Los Pinos?
- 2.) What sort of PRI do you represent, head and want to lead?
- 3.) How do you explain your permissiveness of the impunity in the Arturo Montiel²⁵ case?
- 6.) Your logic is to resurrect the presidentialist system of which the PRI

²⁴ Los Cien del Año, *El País Semanal* (13 January 2013) <http://www.elpais.com/especial/protagonistas/>, downloaded: 15 January 2013; Es Peña Nieto uno de los líderes del año, según „*El País*”, 23 December 2012.

²⁵ Ex-governor of the State of Mexico, uncle of Enrique Peña Nieto.

took advantage until the 1990s. But it was this presidentialism without counterweights that caused devastating economic crises in the past, wasn't it?

10.) How would you answer the question of Manlio Fabio Beltrones: How much is it possible to govern in a new reality with the instruments of the old regime?

11.) You say you want a more efficient State and a more functional Congress. For the population or for the PRI?

23.) You say that you will make the economy grow by 3 %. How will you do it?

24.) You argue that the country should break the inertia. Yet, your own party, the PRI, has been one of those responsible for this inertia, because it opposed reform after reform in Congress.

26.) You sustain that we should lose our fears. Fears of what?

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