

# A Guide to the 2004 Mexican State Elections

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# A Guide to the 2004 Mexican State Elections

*George W. Grayson*

## **Introduction**

The late Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill gained immortality by coining the phrase: “All politics is local.” The epigram of the former Speaker of the House does not apply to Mexico this year. National factors impinge on many of the 14 state and local elections that take place in 2004. The most important of these considerations is the presidential showdown that will take place in two years. When the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) ruled the roost, public campaigns for the presidency rarely began until the last year of the incumbent’s term. In consultation with the so-called revolutionary family, the chief executive selected his successor. While maneuvering behind closed doors, presidential hopefuls risked seeing their careers “burned” if they openly proclaimed their ambitions.

The PRI’s loss of the Los Pinos presidential residence four years ago eliminated such king making. Moreover, the successful candidate—Vicente Fox Quesada, a member of the National Action Party (PAN)—spent nearly three years barnstorming the country for his party’s nomination and for popular support in the general election. As a result, presidential candidacies are proliferating like mushrooms in a dank cave, and Fox—unlike his PRI predecessors—had been “missing in action” in the process until May 31, when he scolded Felipe Calderón Hinojosa for announcing his candidacy at a gathering hosted by the governor of Jalisco. Fox’s weakness became apparent when Calderón resigned as energy secretary and broad segments of the PAN—including those backing other aspirants—came to his defense. Although his wife, Marta Sahagún, continues to travel throughout the country with a view to running for an as yet unidentified office in 2006, Fox appears increasingly disillusioned over his inability to move initiatives through an opposition-dominated Congress.

Current PRI president, Roberto Madrazo Pintado, views this year's contests as crucial to advancing his single-minded effort to become the nation's *número uno*. He also hopes to change his party's image as a corrupt, authoritarian, and self-serving organization. To achieve these goals, he has actively recruited gubernatorial and mayoral candidates in some states—with an eye to choosing loyalists who will support him for the party's presidential nomination. Madrazo's heavy-handedness has sparked clashes with other power brokers. In strengthening his control over the party's bureaucracy and legislators, he has alienated the PRI secretary-general, Elba Esther Gordillo, the Machiavellian boss of the 1.2-million-member Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE) teachers' union. Gordillo has assumed an ABM—Anybody but Madrazo—policy with respect to the presidency. In addition, Madrazo has infuriated the majority of incumbent PRI governors who believe they have a God-given right to select their successors. In some cases, they want to ensure the continuation of programs begun on their watches; in other instances, they seek *chamba* or work after leaving office; and, in states like Mexico State, Oaxaca, and Tamaulipas, they seek “insurance policies” against prosecution should the next state chief ferret out financial irregularities or other wrongdoing during their tenures.

It is serendipitous for Madrazo that most of the jurisdictions where elections occur this year and next are traditional PRI bastions. Of the ten governorships up for grabs in 2004, he optimistically talks of capturing eight or nine. To do so would give impetus to his prospects for becoming the PRI standard-bearer. Yet the electoral year did not begin well for the PRI and its president. In mid-May, voters in Mérida, Yucatán, decisively elected a *panista* as mayor. These results ended the political career of Víctor Cervera Pacheco, an ex-governor and redoubtable “dinosaur” whom Madrazo had persuaded to run and vowed would win. This was a fool's errand inasmuch as the appeal of “Don Víctor” lies outside the capital. The outcome socked the PRI with a double whammy: the citizens turned thumbs down on its candidate; and the party reinforced its reputation as Jurassic Park.

Meanwhile, the PRI has practiced politics as usual in Tamaulipas, a string-bean shaped state that curls down the Gulf of Mexico south of east Texas. The outgoing governor, Tomás Yarrington Ruvalcaba, is said to have more skeletons in his closet than an anatomy professor. In return for Yarrington's staying out of the presidential race, Madrazo reportedly allowed him to handpick his dauphin. The choice by Yarrington of his fair-haired boy, the Ciudad Victoria mayor, Eugenio Javier Hernández, has convulsed the state PRI, which in the past thrived on accommodation and consensus. One PRI heavyweight has accepted the nomination of an opposition coalition; another appears ready to bolt, having accused the governor of fomenting a coup d'état. Such grouching aside, the PRI nominee should sail to victory in the state.

As Madrazo seeks to get the PRI back on course, he has kept the party on the sidelines of a legal imbroglio that has ramifications for Andrés Manuel López Obrador, Mexico City's mayor and an active member of the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), the citizens' top choice for president in 2006.

In a mid-May poll conducted by the newspaper, *Reforma*, López Obrador (32 percent) led Government Secretary Santiago Creel Miranda (20 percent), Madrazo

(17 percent), and independent candidate Jorge Castañeda Gutman (7 percent). Of those 1,515 people interviewed, 14 percent said they were “undecided,” and 10 percent favored none of the candidates or claimed they would not vote.<sup>1</sup>

The mayor dropped six points in three months as a result of the so-called video scandal (*videoescándalo*), which found key city officials videotaped when receiving wads of cash from Argentine-born contractor Carlos Ahumada Kurtz. Indeed, the immensely wealthy Ahumada, who is now behind bars, wields a reverse Midas touch. His association with officeholders and candidates invariably is seized upon by opponents as an indication of their corruption.

Madrado is no altruist with respect to the Mexico City imbroglio. With a PRI senator also in danger of losing his immunity, the PRI big shot has said: “We don’t want to sweat other people’s fevers.” Although he would like to see López Obrador further weakened, eliminating him from the presidential sweepstakes would excite widespread protests and more than likely shift anti-PRI votes from the PRD to the PAN. During its early years in office, the Fox administration vacillated on whether to propitiate the PRI or try to cut the political throat of its nemesis. It wound up doing neither. Whether Fox’s internally divided team has the operators and resolve to launch a successful all-out attack on López Obrador is doubtful, and the mayor adroitly uses his daily crack-of-dawn press conferences—known as *mañaneros*<sup>2</sup>—to assail detractors and proclaim his innocence.

The legal dispute swirls around a parcel of land known as *El Encino*. On November 9, 2000, more than three weeks before López Obrador became mayor, the city government expropriated 13,000 square meters in the rapidly developing Santa Fe area in the west of the city. In early December, the property owners filed successfully for injunctive relief. After the city failed to comply with the order, the Procuraduría General de la República (PGR, the office of the attorney general) determined that López Obrador had disobeyed the court ruling and requested that the Chamber of Deputies strip him of his immunity as an elected official. The PGR subsequently filed several additional actions against López Obrador for crimes against the administration of justice.

The PRD has vociferously condemned this “political conspiracy” as an effort to thwart the presidential candidacy of a man opposed to Fox’s pro-U.S. neoliberal economic policies. For his part, the populist López Obrador has played the role of victim like Olivier portrayed Hamlet. In public opinion surveys, the overwhelming majority of respondents regard the action against the mayor as being “politically motivated.”<sup>3</sup> Rather than worry about judicial judgments, he believes the “people

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1. When the pollsters replaced Creel with Sahagún as the PAN nominee, the responses were: López Obrador (31 percent), Sahagún (24 percent), Madrazo (17 percent), and Castañeda (6 percent)—with the remainder undecided, not planning to vote, or in favor of none of the candidates; the margin of error was +/- 2.5 percent, with a confidence level of 95 percent. López Obrador had fallen by 6 points since *Reforma* conducted a similar survey in February; Creel has risen 2 points; and Madrazo and Castañeda had each gained one point. See Alejandro Moreno, “Cae AMLO, pero lidera las preferencias,” *Reforma*, May 24, 2004, Internet. ed.

2. The term derives from early-morning lovemaking by peasants, who were too tuckered out for intimacy the night before.

should decide” his fate. Consequently, he will hold a referendum on whether federal district (D.F.) residents want him to run for president.

In contrast, the PAN insists that the messianic, demagogic López Obrador must obey all laws, not just those that please him. The dispute has thrust PAN and PRD leaders at each others’ throats. Not only has this confrontation paralyzed Congress, it has also exacerbated PAN-PRD tensions in states like Chiapas, Chihuahua, and Oaxaca, where the parties have entered electoral coalitions.

Intramural jockeying for the PAN nomination is well under way. In late March, the party’s National Council sought to improve the odds of selecting as a presidential standard-bearer a true-blue *panista* like ex-energy secretary Felipe Calderón Hinojosa or Senator Carlos Medina Plascencia instead of Juanitos-come-lately like Creel, Fox, or First Lady Marta Sahagún Fox. In pursuit of this objective, the gray-beards voted to limit the nominating procedure to just over 1 million party “militants” and “adherents,” rather than opening the balloting to all voters. The only flies in this blue and white ointment are the weakness of Calderón, who left the cabinet after clashing with Fox in late May, and Medina Plascencia; neither has risen above single digits in national surveys. While not winning trial heats, Creel and Sahagún run ahead of Madrazo and might have gained more ground on López Obrador if the action to strip his political immunity had not eclipsed the *videoescándalo* as front-page news. In addition, the ubiquitous Sahagún will keep her eyes glued to the nominating battle in Tlaxcala. There, supporters of Senator María del Carmen Ramírez García, the incumbent’s wife, have challenged in the electoral courts a PRD ban on spouses and close family members succeeding their husbands in office. At the same time, the spouse of the PAN governor in Nayarit has made clear her intention to seek the post that her husband will vacate next year.

It remains to be seen whether Madrazo was sincere when, on May 27, he promised to meet with his PRD counterpart, Leonel Godoy, to exchange ideas “with maturity and responsibility, and propose viable solutions rather than generate false expectation.” The PRI chief also agreed to resume talks with the president on pressing problems.<sup>4</sup> Such puffs from the peace pipe notwithstanding, Madrazo has worked assiduously to block all of the president’s major reforms.

When he was a professor at Harvard, Dr. Henry Kissinger reportedly said: “Academic politics is so vicious because the stakes are so low.” Viciousness also suffuses the Mexican political system; however, the stakes are extremely high. In light of events during the first six months of 2004, it appears doubtful that civility and statesmanship will eclipse back-alley fighting in most of the upcoming contests.

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3. In the D.F. (federal district), 70 percent of respondents believed the action to be “politically motivated,” while 22 percent deemed it in compliance with the law. The national figures were 65 percent and 19 percent, respectively. See Grupo Reforma, “Ven maniobra política acción apegada a la ley,” *Reforma*, May 20, 2004, Internet ed.

4. Jorge Octavio Ochoa, “Madrazo, Fox Agree to Resume Talks,” *The Herald (El Universal)*, May 28, 2004, Internet ed.

**Mexican Electoral Calendar, 2004**

State	Office	Nomination deadline	Election date	Inauguration
<b>Aguascalientes</b>	1 governor	May 30	Aug. 1	Dec. 1
	18 deputies (direct election)	May 30	Aug. 1	Nov. 15
	9 deputies (proportional election)	May 30	Aug. 1	Nov. 15
	11 municipal governments	May 30	Aug. 1	Dec. 31
<b>Baja California</b>	16 deputies (direct election)	May 15	Aug. 1	Oct. 1
	9 deputies (proportional election)	May 15	Aug. 1	Oct. 1
	5 municipal governments	May 15	Aug. 1	Dec. 1
<b>Chiapas</b>	24 deputies (direct election)	July 31	Oct. 3	Nov. 16
	16 deputies (proportional election)	Aug. 15	Oct. 3	Nov. 16
	118 municipal governments	July 31	Oct. 3	Jan. 1, 2005
<b>Chihuahua</b>	1 governor	May 15	July 4	Oct. 4
	22 deputies (direct election)	May 15	July 4	Oct. 1
	11 deputies (proportional election)	May 15	July 4	Oct. 1
	67 municipal governments	May 15	July 4	Oct. 10
<b>Durango</b>	1 governor	April 15	July 4	Sept. 15
	15 deputies (direct election)	April 15	July 4	Sept. 1
	10 deputies (proportional election)	April 15	July 4	Sept. 1
	39 municipal governments	April 15	July 4	Sept. 1
<b>Michoacán</b>	24 deputies (direct election)	Sept. 9	Nov. 14	Jan. 15, 2005
	16 deputies (proportional election)	Sept. 24	Nov. 14	Jan. 15, 2005
	113 municipal governments	Sept. 24	Nov. 14	Jan. 1, 2005

<b>State</b>	<b>Office</b>	<b>Nomination deadline</b>	<b>Election date</b>	<b>Inauguration</b>
<b>Oaxaca</b>	1 governor	April 15	Aug. 1	Dec. 1
	25 deputies (direct election)	April 30	Aug. 1	Nov. 13
	17 deputies (proportional election)	May 15	Aug. 1	Nov. 13
	570 municipal governments	Aug. 31	Oct. 3	Jan. 1, 2005
<b>Puebla</b>	1 governor	Aug. 29	Nov. 14	Feb. 1, 2005
	26 deputies (direct election)	Aug. 29	Nov. 14	Jan. 15, 2005
	13 deputies (proportional election)	Sept. 12	Nov. 14	Jan. 15, 2005
	217 municipal governments	Aug. 29	Nov. 14	Feb. 15, 2005
<b>Sinaloa</b>	1 governor	July 31	Nov. 14	Jan. 1, 2005
	24 deputies (direct election)	Aug. 15	Nov. 14	Dec. 1
	16 deputies (proportional election)	Aug. 31	Nov. 14	Dec. 1
	18 municipal governments	Aug. 31	Nov. 14	Jan. 1, 2005
<b>Tamaulipas</b>	1 governor	Sept. 15	Nov. 14	Jan. 1, 2005
	19 deputies (direct election)	Sept. 30	Nov. 14	Dec. 31
	13 deputies (proportional election)	Sept. 30	Nov. 14	Dec. 31
	43 municipal governments	Sept. 30	Nov. 14	Jan. 1, 2005
<b>Tlaxcala</b>	1 governor	Aug. 30	Nov. 14	Jan. 15, 2005
	19 deputies (direct election)	Aug. 30	Nov. 14	Jan. 14, 2005
	13 deputies (proportional election)	Aug. 30	Nov. 14	Jan. 14, 2005
	60 municipal governments	Sept. 15	Nov. 14	Jan. 15, 2005

<b>State</b>	<b>Office</b>	<b>Nomination deadline</b>	<b>Election date</b>	<b>Inauguration</b>
<b>Veracruz</b>	1 governor	June 16	Sept. 5	Dec. 1
	30 deputies (direct election)	June 30	Sept. 5	Dec. 1
	15 deputies (proportional election)	July 10	Sept. 5	Dec. 1
	210 municipal governments	July 18	Sept. 5	Jan. 1, 2005
<b>Yucatán</b>	15 deputies (direct election)	March 15	May 16	July 1
	10 deputies (proportional election)	March 15	May 16	July 1
	106 municipal governments	March 15	May 16	July 1
<b>Zacatecas</b>	1 governor	March 15	July 4	Sept. 12
	18 deputies (direct election)	April 15	July 4	Sept. 7
	12 deputies (proportional election)	April 30	July 4	Sept. 7
	57 municipal governments	April 15	July 4	Sept. 15



# State Elections in 2004



## Aguascalientes

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

27 state legislators

18 by direct election

9 by proportional representation

11 municipal governments

Current governor: Felipe González González; (PAN); born August 1, 1947, Los Altos de Jalisco, Aguascalientes

### Election date: August 1

Nomination deadline: May 30

Inauguration: December 1 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Aguascalientes
Main cities	Aguascalientes, Calvillo, Rincón de Romos
Land area	5,471 sq. km (2,112 sq. miles)
Population	1,015,106
Labor force	53.6 percent
Share of GNP	1.1
In-bond plants	89
In-bond plants (labor force)	26,156
Industrial parks	7
Highways	2,179 km (1,207 miles)
Railroads	223 km (139 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Vehicles, auto parts, electronic integrated circuits, apparel, clothing accessories, processed food

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	25.0
Trade	18.3
Transportation	16.4

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 625,511**

98.22 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*

0.97 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Aguascalientes (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	38.82 <sup>a</sup>	42.47	6.80	2.90	— <sup>a</sup>	5.56	3.45	41.80
2000 President	33.89	53.93 <sup>b</sup>	7.00 <sup>c</sup>	*	—	3.50	1.68	66.71
2000 Senate	37.61	49.23 <sup>b</sup>	7.13 <sup>c</sup>	*	—	4.29	1.74	65.94
2000 Chamber of Deputies	34.11	51.55 <sup>b</sup>	8.24 <sup>c</sup>	*	—	4.38	1.73	65.87
1998 Governor	37.50	52.40	6.80	1.90 <sup>d</sup>	—	1.40	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	42.42	36.30	12.97	1.72	—	6.56	—	59.18
1995 Municipal Offices	38.20	49.66	6.85	2.76	—	2.53	—	57.92
1994 President	47.51	37.49	8.81	—	—	6.19 <sup>e</sup>	—	78.87
1992 Governor	74.18	19.61	2.00	—	—	4.21 <sup>e</sup>	—	—
1991 Chamber of Deputies	65.89	20.71	2.78	—	—	10.61	—	66.11
1988 President	50.33	28.32	—	—	—	21.25	—	50.43

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. The PRI formed a coalition with the Green Party (PVEM) in most contests in this state. Totals for the PVEM are included in the PRI column.

b. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

c. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

d. Combined results for PT/PVEM coalition.

e. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

Party	State legislative seats	Municipal governments
PRI	12	8
PAN	10	1
PRD	1	0
PT	2	1
PVEM	2	1
Other	0	0
Total	27	11

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	Aguascalientes Mayor Luis Armando Reynoso Femat (PAN); born Aug. 15, 1957, Aguascalientes, Aguas; degree in civil engineering (ITESM); founded Grupo Reynoso Femat that constructs and sells housing; vice president of the Cámara Nacional de la Industria de la Construcción (1985–86); joined PAN in 1994; party fundraiser (1996–97); coordinated the First Electoral District for a winning federal deputy candidate (1997); mayor of Aguascalientes (1999–2001); and received both bouquets and brickbats for spearheading the construction of a new stadium and bringing the major league soccer team, Atlante, to the state.
Selection procedure	Reynoso Femat (2,689 votes, 59 percent) defeated Alfredo Martín Reyes Velásquez (1,476 votes, 32.4 percent) and Benjamín Gallegos Soto (389 votes, 8.5 percent) in a closed primary held on April 18.
Major party candidate	Ex-senator Oscar López Velarde Vega (PRI-PT-PVEM— <i>Alianza Contigo</i> ); born Dec. 4, 1952, Aguascalientes, Aguas.; law degree (UIA); professor (Universidad La Salle and Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes); notary public; joined PRI in 1970 and has served on National Political Council and president of Fundación Colosio; state secretary of planning and development; director general of Legal Affairs for Sedesol; senator (1994–2000).
Selection procedure	Chosen by the PRI's National Executive Committee (CEN) after the state party could not agree on a candidate following the abrupt resignation of the party's original nominee, Oscar González Rodríguez. The CEN's secretary of organization consulted various sectors of the local party before recommending López Velarde.
Minor party candidate	Manuel de Jesús Bañuelos Hernández (PRD and Convergencia); born 1940, Chihuahua; school teacher; state legislator for Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (1983); director of Partido Popular Socialista (1987–97); joined PRD in 2001; served as secretary of political development in the Aguascalientes PRD committee.
Selection procedure	Chosen by leadership of PRD and Convergencia.

## Analysis

After doing well in the 2003 elections in Aguascalientes, the PRI attempted to wrest back the governorship from the PAN with an ally of the party president, Roberto Madrazo Pintado. The PRI had a strong contender in Oscar González Rodríguez, a businessman and ex-deputy who became a “unity” candidate after five other contenders stepped aside. Contributing to this apparent harmony was the selection of Carlos Lozano de la Torre as the mayoral candidate for Aguascalientes, the state capital. The only dissident voice was that of ex-senator and current state legislator, Fernando Palomino Topete, who—in the final analysis—decided not to challenge the nomination of Oscar González Rodríguez. González Rodríguez forged *En Alianza Contigo* (In alliance with you), which embraced the PRI, the PVEM, and the PT.

In a move to reinvigorate its leadership, the PRI selected a pro-Madrazo team to run the campaign. The new PRI state president is Armando Guel Serna, with Lorena Martínez serving as secretary general. On February 15, the PRI state committee announced that five other aspirants had stepped aside for González Rodríguez, making him the unity candidate. Enhancing his chances was the lackluster job done by outgoing Governor Felipe González.

Just when the PRI appeared to have its act together, González Rodríguez abruptly resigned as the PRI’s nominee in early May. He alleged that there were tape-recorded conversations in which PRI Secretary-General Elba Esther Gordillo had entered into a bargain with Governor González. According to González Rodríguez, Gordillo promised that her 1.2-million-member SNTE teachers’ union would back Reynoso Femat and other PAN candidates in exchange for control over the Aguascalientes teachers via the State Educational Institute. Even though the PRI’s National Executive Committee (CEN) refused to accept González Rodríguez’s resignation, the erstwhile candidate said that his decision was “irrevocable” unless Gordillo was removed from her party post.

Some 3,000 supporters of the *Alianza Contigo* marched in the capital with signs announcing “*No a la renuncia de González; sí a la destitución de Gordillo*” (“No to Gonzalez’s resignation; yes to Gordillo’s removal”).<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, Guel Serna announced that he was gathering evidence to present to the CEN’s Justice Committee to accomplish Gordillo’s removal. For his part, Madrazo—who has clashed bitterly with Gordillo—took aim at the governor. “In Aguascalientes,” he said, “there is an electoral crisis because there is no means to guarantee the fairness and transparency of the results and the state’s governor has provoked this crisis.”<sup>6</sup>

González Rodríguez’s inability to substantiate his charges against Gordillo lent credence to the theory that he sought a flamboyant exit from a race that he could not win. On May 20, the PRI selected as its substitute candidate former senator Oscar López Velarde Vega, who was the strongest of the eight contenders to fill the vacuum left by González Rodríguez’s bizarre behavior. The state leader of the PVEM gave his approval to the substitute candidate “under protest,” because the

5. Ernesto Nuñez, “Tiró la toalla el PRI-PAN,” *Reforma*, May 9, 2004, Internet ed.

6. Quoted in Selene Balenegro, “Culpa Madrazo a gobernador panista,” *Reforma*, May 9, 2004, Internet ed.

PRI had not invited the Greens to the announcement of López Velarde's candidacy. Meanwhile, Miguel Bess-Oberto, head of the state PT, called López Velarde the candidate of the PRI, not of the *Alianza Contigo*. The substitute candidate claimed that he would be neither a "sacrificial lamb" nor a "*niño héroe*."<sup>7</sup> Still, his party's recent Keystone Kops routine puts the PRI at a severe disadvantage in the August 1 gubernatorial showdown.

The PAN selected its candidate on April 18, when the former mayor of Aguascalientes, Luis Armando Reynoso Femat, easily defeated Alfredo Reyes Velásquez and Benjamín Gallegos for the nomination. Although Reyes Velásquez was the choice of the governor, Reynoso Femat is in a much better position to unify the party. He also enjoys access to more resources as well as robust support in the capital in particular and in the center part of the state in general.

The state leader of Convergencia, Luis Enrique Estrada, approached the PAN about the possibility of a PAN-Convergencia-PRD coalition. However, the video scandal has cooled PAN interest in working in harness with the PRD.

Apart from the PRI's missteps, several factors fortify the PAN's prospects. To begin with, almost two-thirds of the state is urban, it boasts a large middle class, and average income rose 6.1 percent in 2004. In addition, tens of thousands of erstwhile D.F. residents have migrated to Aguascalientes where they have found employment opportunities; cleanliness; and relative lack of congestion, crime, and poverty. These newcomers resonate to the PAN and its competent, effective government.

Other figures insisted that Madrazo's foes had hatched the scheme against González Rodríguez, because a PRI victory in Aguascalientes—the only state with a PAN governor that elects a new governor this year—would have given momentum to Madrazo's pursuit of his party's presidential nomination in 2006. The pro-Madrazo secretary general of the state PRI suggested that an ex-governor of Aguascalientes may have been helping the Mexico State governor, Arturo Montiel Rojas, undercut Madrazo.<sup>8</sup>

Governor González dismissed as nonsense the charges of a conspiracy. He said that if any tape recording existed of a conversation between him and Gordillo, it had been doctored, adding that: "I am going to put in jail anyone who is spying on me."<sup>9</sup> For his part, the PAN's Reynoso Femat insisted, "I am the candidate to defeat . . . my principal enemy will be only abstentionism."<sup>10</sup> Even a PRI poll, released in mid-June, showed Reynoso Femat ahead of López Velarde by 13 points.<sup>11</sup>

7. A reference to the story that, in the face of a U.S. invasion of Mexico City on September 13, 1847, six Mexican cadets—*los Niños Héroes*—wrapped themselves in the nation's flag and jumped to their deaths from the wall of Chapultepec Castle, which served as the military college.

8. Former deputy Lorena Martínez Rodríguez cited Otto Granados Roldán as Montiel's operator in the state; see Ciro Pérez Silva and Claudio Bañuelos, "Gobernadores actúan contra Oscar González: PRI de Aguascalientes," *La Jornada*, May 9, 2004, Internet ed.

9. Quoted in Claudio Bañuelos, "Felipe González amenaza con meter a la cárcel 'a quien me espíe,' en Aguascalientes," *La Jornada*, May 10, 2004, Internet ed.

10. Quoted in Luigi Rivera Ramírez, "El abstencionismo, mi principal rival: Reynoso," *El Universal*, May 22, 2004, Internet ed.

11. Claudio Bañuelos, "Admite PRI aguascalentense desventaja de su candidato frente al de PAN," *La Jornada*, June 12, 2004, Internet ed.

## Chihuahua

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

33 state legislators

22 by direct election

11 by proportional representation

67 municipal governments

Current governor: Patricio Martínez García; PRI; born March 17, 1948, Chihuahua, Chih.

### Election date: July 4

Nomination deadline: May 15

Inauguration: October 4 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Chihuahua
Main cities	Cd. Juárez Cd. Camargo, Hidalgo del Parral, Jiménez, Delicias
Land area	244,938 sq. km (94,595 sq. miles)
Population	3,208,426
Labor force	55.3 percent
Share of GNP	4.4 percent
In-bond plants	446
In-bond plants (labor force)	318,957
Industrial parks	26
Roads	12,630 km (7,850 miles)
Railroads	2,654 km (1,649 miles)
International airports	2
Main export products	Wire, cable and other insulated electric conductors; electrical device and television set parts; vehicles and tractors; automatic data processing machines and units; lamps and lighting fixtures
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	93.90 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	23.4
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	28.0
Services	16.6

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 2,167,562**

97.51 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*  
 3.37 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Chihuahua (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	47.35	37.54	6.23	2.33	#	2.60	3.95	34.93
2000 President	40.86	48.68 <sup>a</sup>	6.81 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.76	1.89	58.20
2000 Senate	40.49	48.23 <sup>a</sup>	6.93 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.24	2.12	57.84
2000 Chamber of Deputies	41.23	47.07 <sup>a</sup>	7.43 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.17	2.10	57.77
1998 Governor	49.30	41.40	5.40	1.00	—	2.90	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	42.12	41.21	10.31	2.37	—	6.34	—	54.37
1994 President	50.87	29.83	11.92	1.41	—	5.97	—	66.66
1992 Governor	44.34	51.17	1.38	—	—	3.12 <sup>c</sup>	—	62.22
1991 Senate	58.45	32.57	1.96	—	—	7.01 <sup>c</sup>	—	64.43
1991 Chamber of Deputies	58.33	32.36	2.18	3.62	—	3.49	—	—
1988 President	54.58	38.19	6.77 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	0.47	—	40.31

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

# The PRI formed a coalition with the Green Party (PVEM) in most contests in this state. Totals for the PVEM are included in the PRI column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	18	47
PAN	11	15
PRD	2	2
PT	2	0
PVEM	0	0
Other	0	3
Total	33	67

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate Federal Deputy José Reyes Baeza Terrazas. (PRI, PVEM, PT—*Alianza con la Gente*); born September 20, 1961, Delicias, Chih.; law degree (Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua); served UAC as councilor, director of extension program, and professor; coordinated program for disaster victims of 1990 tornado; mayor of Chihuahua (1998–2000); federal deputy (2000–2003).

Selection procedure Reyes Baeza (72 percent) handily defeated state PRI leader and state legislator Víctor Emilio Anchondo Paredes (28 percent) in a primary held on November 9, 2003.<sup>1</sup>

Major party candidate Sen. Javier Corral Jurado (PAN, PRD, Convergencia, *“Todos Somos Chihuahua”*); born Aug. 2, 1966, Ciudad Juárez, Chih.; journalist; founder of the magazine *Semanario*; news editor, editorial coordinator, and deputy director of newspaper *Norte* (Cd. Juárez); radio and TV commentator; president of state party (1996–95); party national councilor (1994–present); state legislator (1992–95); federal deputy (1997–2000); elected to the Senate in 2000.

Selection procedure Corral Jurado (34,375 votes, 73.1 percent) defeated ex-mayor of Ciudad Juárez Jesús Alfredo Delgado Muñoz (12,640 votes, 26.9 percent) in an open primary held on January 18, 2004.<sup>2</sup>

1. Preliminary results; see “Mexico: Primary Elections in Chihuahua Marred,” *Latinnews Daily*, November 10, 2003, Internet ed.

2. Preliminary results; see Miroslava Breach et al., “Elige el PAN a Corral Jurado como su candidato a Chihuahua,” *La Jornada*, March 19, 2004, Internet ed.

**Analysis**

The epidemic of murders of young women in Ciudad Juárez has elevated public safety to the top of the campaign agenda. Both Reyes Baeza and Corral Jurado are hammering away at this issue. Reyes Baeza, the nephew of former governor Fernando Baeza Meléndez (1986–1992), has consistently led in public-opinion polls. Several factors account for his standing: he was an effective mayor of Chihuahua, he began campaigning at least two years ago, he gets higher points as a law-and-order candidate, and all major PRI factions have thrown their support to him. Such harmony was not present during the primary, when Reyes Baeza and

Anchondo Paredes accused each other of overspending and engaging in fraud. The PRI has entered into an alliance with the PVEM and the PT to bolster its candidate's prospects.

The problems of Corral Jurado, who belongs to the so-called *Familia Feliz* headed by PAN Chamber of Deputies leader and ex-governor of Chihuahua Francisco Barrio Terrazas and Public Function/Secodam Secretary General Eduardo Romero Ramos, lie as much within his own party as with the PRI. "Orthodox" *panistas* resent Corral Jurado's having met in late 2003 and early 2004 with opposition leaders to discuss an electoral alliance. Corral Jurado's supporters called these sessions a sign of the senator's strength; detractors claimed that he violated party principles by holding these conversations before he captured his own party's nomination. Even more upsetting to PAN hard-liners was their candidate's decision to enter an alliance with the PRD, whose ideology and tactics they despise. To rub salt in their wounds, Corral Jurado agreed to credit the PRD with 7 percent of the vote he garners, while the PRD typically wins only 5.5 percent of the ballots cast in the state. Disputes over 1.5 percent may seem Jesuitical. Nonetheless, the higher number ensures that more public funds will flow to the PRD.

The decision to ally with the PRD seems all the more questionable in light of the *videoescándalo* that involves a rich businessman forking over wads of money to PRD politicians in Mexico City. An investigation by the office of the state attorney general of land disputes in Ciudad Juárez involving Barrio, Corral Jurado's political mentor, has not helped the PAN-PRD standard-bearer. While Corral Jurado is a valiant contender, a mid-spring poll showed him being crushed by Reyes Baeza 54 percent to 29 percent. The remainder of the respondents said they would vote for neither candidate, they did not know, or they refused to answer. Another bad sign for the PAN candidate was that 42 percent of participants in the survey said they would never vote for him; only 23 percent expressed a similar sentiment about his PRI opponent.<sup>12</sup>

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12. Between April 30 and May 2, the *Reforma* pollsters interviewed 1,000 adults in a stratified sample that included urban, mixed, and rural communities; the margin of error was not provided. See Grupo Reforma, "Aventa tricolor in Chihuahua," *Reforma*, May 14, 2004, Internet ed.

## Durango

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

25 state legislators

15 by direct election

10 by proportional representation

39 municipal governments

Current governor: Angel Sergio Guerra Mier; PRI; born August 18, 1935, Durango, Dur.

### Election date: July 4

Nomination deadline: April 15

Inauguration: September 15 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Durango
Main cities	El Salto, Vincent Guerrero, Gómez Palacio
Land area	123,181 sq. km (47,573 sq. miles)
Population	1,487,685
Labor force	54.7 percent
Share of GNP	1.3 percent
In-bond plants	99
In-bond plants (labor force)	24,442
Industrial parks	3
Roads	12,319 km (7,656 miles)
Railroads	1,153 km (717 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Fruits, dairy products, textiles, beans, cotton, wood products copper and copper products
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	93.60 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	21.3
Trade	15.6
Services	22.0

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 949,194**

97.27 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*  
 1.48 percent of voters in the nation

**Table 5.1: Election results, Durango (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	53.13	27.59	3.98	7.31	3.25	1.59	3.15	38.44
2000 President	44.21	41.92 <sup>a</sup>	10.03 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.99	1.84	58.03
2000 Senate	47.54	38.22 <sup>a</sup>	10.43 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.98	1.84	57.48
2000 Chamber of Deputies	45.00	38.22 <sup>a</sup>	12.54 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.31	1.93	57.40
1998 Governor	39.00	29.70	8.30	20.80	—	2.20	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	38.20	24.31	10.76	23.60	—	3.03	—	51.78
1995 Municipal Offices	36.03	31.67	9.82	22.48	—	—	—	52.42
1994 President	52.15	27.72	9.73	—	—	10.40 <sup>c</sup>	—	71.84
1992 Governor	52.80	34.14	3.04	10.01	—	—	—	—
1991 Chamber of Deputies	62.15	16.49	5.79	11.00	—	4.55	—	—
1988 President	59.95	19.08	—	—	—	20.96	—	46.82

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	12	26
PAN	9	8
PRD	1	1
PT	2	3
PVEM	0	0
Other	1 (Independent)	1
Total	25	39

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	Sen. Ismael Hernández Deras (PRI); born Feb. 20, 1964, Cd. De Mezquital, Dur.; degree in accounting (Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango; professor (Universidad Juárez); state PRI president (1992–94); secretary-general of state; official in National Confederation of Popular Organizations (CNOP) (1995–98); state legislator (1992–95); federal deputy (1994–97); elected to the Senate in 2000.
Selection procedure	Hernández Deras (732 votes) defeated Federal Deputy Carlos Herrera Aruace (700 votes), Durango mayor José Aipuro Torres (35 votes), and Senator Adrián Alanis Quiñones (8 votes) to win the nomination at the convention held on Dec. 14, 2003.
Major party candidate	Ex-federal deputy Andrés Galván Rivas (PAN); born Aug. 29, 1960, Canatlan, Dgo.; law degree (Universidad Abierta de San Luis Potosí); advanced study in public administration and comparative federalism in the United States; owner and manager of the firm Refrigerados Lobatos; joined PAN in 1984 and has served in various posts, including president of party in Canatlan (1985), campaign coordinator of gubernatorial candidate (1998), and adjunct secretary-general of state party (1994–97), and member of the National Council (1999–2003); secretary of the Canatlan city council (1992–95); and federal deputy (1994–97); and state party president (1999–2003).
Selection procedure	Galván Rivas (2,801 votes, 58.5 percent) defeated external candidate José Jorge Campos Murillo Fields (1,985 votes, 41.5 percent) in closed primary that took place on Jan. 25, 2004.
Major party candidate	José Jorge Campos Murillo Fields (PT, PRD, Convergencia— <i>Todo por Durango</i> ); born 1952, Durango, Dgo; law degree (U. Juárez del Estado de Durango); doctorate in law (UNAM); agent of the Ministerio Público Federal; federal subdelegate for anti-narcotics in five states; attorney general in Durango early in Guerrero Mier's administration; and assistant attorney general for penal procedures in PGR (2002–03).
Selection procedure	National leaders of PRD, PT, and Convergencia backed his candidacy on April 5, 2004.

## Analysis

Durango is a PRI fiefdom, and the opposition must hope for a minor miracle to defeat the revolutionary party's nominee. Hernández Deras, who enjoys good relations with both the party president, Roberto Madrazo, and the party secretary-general, Elba Esther Gordillo, captured his party's nomination in mid-December 2003. As the first PRI candidate nominated for a governorship this year, the candidate's acceptance address attracted a who's who of party big wigs from across the nation, including Madrazo and Gordillo.

The PAN had a sharply uphill battle going into the year. As a result, the party's major players in the state—Federal Deputy Juan de Dios Castro Lozano (*los castristas*), Tourism Secretary Rodolfo Elizondo Torres, Senator Rómulo Campuzano González (an ally of Elizondo), and ex-state legislator Efraín de los Ríos (*los efrainistas*)—threw their weight behind nominee Rivas Galván, who is identified with the *castristas*. He also picked up the backing of the so-called *Los Gallos*, headed by Bonifacio Herrera Rivera and composed of former members of the Partido Demócrata Mexicana (PDM).<sup>13</sup>

Such signs of solidarity aside, the PAN suffered an extremely damaging blow. External candidate Campos Murillo, who had been the attorney general's representative in the state, claimed that the Rivas Galván nomination came in a tainted January primary. Campos Murillo alleged that the PAN leadership, which was supposed to remain neutral, had lined up behind his foe. As a result, the attractive Campos Murillo accepted the nomination of the PRD, PT, and Convergencia.

Although Hernández Deras is the odds-on favorite, he has his own headaches. Governor Guerrero Mier, whose preferred successor was wealthy businessman and Federal Deputy Carlos Herrera Araluce, boycotted the PRI's campaign kickoff. Persistent rumors of financial irregularities in the current administration made Guerrero Mier especially eager to have a confidant follow him in the governor's palace. However, he did warn his opponents that they should "brake" their criticism of him because he had compromising videos of their activities.<sup>14</sup> His detractors immediately plastered him with the sobriquet "big brother."

In addition, ex-senator Samuel Aguilar Solís claimed that the selection process had violated party statutes. Charges of a "dirty war" filled the air when the PRI selected Hernández Deras's fair-haired boy as its mayoral nominee for the state capital, Durango. Political cognoscenti insist that Herrera Araluce is pouring money into the campaigns of both Rivas Galván and the PAN candidate for mayor of Durango, Rodolfo Dorador. In addition, on April 14, the state chief of the PRI's National Campesino Confederation (CNC) took ads in local newspapers attacking Hernández Deras. Meanwhile, the PAN national president, Bravo Mena, has accused the governors of Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, and Mexico State of providing Deras with airplanes and other campaign resources.<sup>15</sup> If true, the state executives may simply be aiding a fellow *priísta*. At the same time, they may be compiling

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13. Armando Villarreal, "Alistan en Durango candidato panista," *Reforma*, December 8, 2003, Internet ed.

14. Quoted in Mónica Perla Hernández, "Durango: juega gobernador al 'big brother,' dice oposición," *El Universal*, May 8, 2004, Internet ed.

IOUs should they seek their party's presidential nomination. When the smoke clears, however, the failure of the opposition to coalesce behind a single gubernatorial candidate should ensure a victory for the PRI.

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15. Armando Villarreal, "Lanza Bravo Mena denuncia en Durango," *Reforma*, May 27, 2004, Internet ed.

## Oaxaca

### Offices to be filled:

Governor  
 42 state legislators  
     25 by direct election  
     17 by proportional representation

### Election date: August 1

Nomination deadline: April 15  
 Inauguration: December 1 (governor)

570 municipal governments

Outgoing governor: José Nelson Murat Casab; PRI; born October 18, 1949, Ixtepec, Oax.

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Oaxaca
Main cities	Puerto Escondido, Huatulco, Salina Cruz, Ixtepec
Land area	123,181 sq. km (47,573 sq. miles)
Population	3,557,716
Labor force	54.4 percent
Share of GNP	1.5 percent
Industrial parks	5
Roads	15,947 km (9,911 miles)
Railroads	634 km (394 miles)
International airports	2
Main export products	Beverages, spirits, coffee
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	87.3 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	15.5
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	15.9
Financial services, insurance, and real estate	17.6
Services	23.4

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 2,096,684**

97.81 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*

3.26 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Oaxaca (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	44.49	18.43	17.63	3.01	4.54	7.63	4.27	38.99
2000 President	42.73	26.46 <sup>a</sup>	24.82 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.51	3.48	58.73
2000 Senate	43.53	24.67 <sup>a</sup>	24.90 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	3.14	3.77	57.81
2000 Chamber of Deputies	43.50	24.60 <sup>a</sup>	24.66 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	3.42	3.83	57.82
1998 Governor	48.80	10.40	37.40	1.20	—	2.20	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	50.03	12.72	30.88	1.78	—	4.38	—	50.18
1995 Municipal Offices	45.05	16.70	27.42	—	—	10.83 <sup>c</sup>	—	—
1994 President	50.80	11.95	25.89	1.73	—	9.63	—	60.52
1992 Governor	77.64	5.36	9.79	—	—	7.21 <sup>c</sup>	—	—
1991 Chamber of Deputies	73.58	5.36	9.47	0.62	—	10.70	—	—
1988 President	63.81	4.63	30.25 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	1.30 <sup>c</sup>	—	46.03
1986 Governor	90.53	3.55	—	—	—	7.66 <sup>c</sup>	—	60.24

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. Included in this total is 2.23 percent for the PPS.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

Party	State legislative seats	Municipal governments
PRI	25	84
PAN	7	20
PRD	8	38
PT	1	0
PVEM	0	2
Other	1 (Convergencia)	8
Traditional practices*	0	418
Total	42	570

\* 418 municipalities, which embrace 1,360,223 of the state's 3,438,765 inhabitants in 2000, follow traditional Indian practices known as *"usos y costumbres."* See Federico Berrueto, "2000: reparto del poder," *Voz y Voto*, No. 131 (January 1, 2004): 42. *Usos y costumbres* emphasize decisionmaking by older, male members of the community.

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	Sen. Ulises Ernesto Ruiz Ortiz (PRI, PVEM, PT— <i>Nueva Fuerza Oaxaqueña</i> ); born April 9, 1958, Chalcatongo, Oax.; law degree (UNAM); joined PRI in 1981; under secretary of the CEN (1989–92); state party president (1998–2000); elected to the Senate in 2000.
Selection procedure	As the "unity candidate," Ruiz Ortiz accepted the nomination of the PRI, the PT, and the PVEM before 20,000 invitees on April 16, 2004.
Major party candidate	Oaxaca City mayor Gabino Cué Monteagudo (Convergencia, PAN, PRD— <i>Todos Somos Oaxaca</i> ); born Feb. 23, 1966, Oaxaca, Oax.; degree in economics (ITESM); M.A. in economic/financial management (Universidad Complutense in Madrid); active in the PRI until 1999, serving as technical secretary to the governor of Oaxaca (1995–96); under secretary of government (1999–2000); and elected mayor of Oaxaca in 2002.
Selection procedure	On February 26, Gabino Cué was nominated by Convergencia, the PAN, and the PRD: 20 Convergencia leaders met in the morning; 200 PRD delegates convened in the afternoon; and the PAN endorsed Cué in an evening assembly of its state committee. The action was taken following dissemination of public-opinion polls conducted by two firms—Parametría and Arcop—in which Cué received 55 percent of the preferences over other precandidates—Federal Deputy Huberto Aldaz Hernández and Víctor Manuel González Manríquez of the PAN; and Sen. Daniel López Nelio, state legislator Eloí Vazquez López, state legislator Salomón Jara Cruz, and Pochutla mayor Raymundo Carmona Laredo of the PRD.

Minor party candidate	Ex-senator Héctor Sánchez López (Partido Unión Popular); born Aug. 27, 1950, Juchitán de Zaragoza, Oax.; degree in electrical engineering (IPN); participated in M.A. program in mathematics (Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero); teacher at high school and university level; consultant to Construcciones, S.A.; director and founder of the leftist political organization COCEI; mayor of Juchitán (1989–92); senator (1994–2000); PRD candidate for governor (1998); and federal deputy (1982–85 and 2000–03).
Selection procedure	After resigning from the PRD in late February 2004, Sánchez López became the “unity candidate” of the small local Partido Unión Popular.

## Analysis

Incumbent Governor Murat has captured the spotlight in the race to succeed him. He has been showering resources on mayors of the state’s 570 municipalities, the majority of which operate under *usos y costumbres*—that is, the traditional practices of Indian communities. In most cases, these practices involve leadership by older males who dominate community meetings where decisions are made. Murat has assiduously cultivated the ubiquitous caciques or strongmen who wield so much influence in smaller villages. Hundreds of Indians dressed in red shirts attended Ulises Ruiz’s mid-April campaign kickoff.

On March 19, 2004, news flashed across the country that trained assassins had attempted to assassinate Murat. Although the governor survived the attack on his car, a police officer was killed. As more evidence came to light, it appeared that the assault might have been staged, possibly to drum up sympathy for the governor and Senator Ulises Ruiz, Murat’s hand-picked successor. The federal attorney general’s office has also gathered evidence that points to an *autoatentado*. Whatever the facts may be, 46 percent of Oaxacans believe that the governor planned the attack; 17 percent consider him a victim; and 37 percent said that did not know.<sup>16</sup> Unperturbed by accusations that the assault constituted deadly political theater, the heavy-drinking Murat has been touring the state and holding mass rallies of the kind favored by Venezuela’s demagogic president Hugo Chávez.

Ruiz’s opponent Gabino Cué is a former member of the PRI who ran successfully for mayor of the capital as a Convergencia-endorsed independent in 2000. While Ruiz will run strongly in the hundreds of small villages that suffuse the Sierra Norte and Sierra Sur, Cué has an advantage in Oaxaca City, Tuxtepec, and the Central Valleys. The PRD can help him in Juchitán in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, while Convergencia and the PRD have enclaves of support in Cañada, and Convergencia and the PAN do reasonably well in Mixteca. Murat organized and financed the local Partido Unión Popular (PUP), which has nominated *ex-perredista* Sánchez López. Although no proof exists, cynics believe that Murat has backed the PUP’s standard-bearer to peel votes away from Cué. In any case, Sánchez López has condemned the PRI’s Ulises Ruiz as a pawn of the Atlacomulco Group and Roberto Madrazo; at the same time, he has excoriated Cué as the handmaiden of powerful

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16. “Perfilan contienda cerrada en Oaxaca,” *Reforma*, June 2, 2004, Internet ed.

bankers Alfredo Harp Helú and Roberto Hernández and of the former governor, Diódoro Carrasco.

Carrasco, who despises Murat, has close ties to Cué, who worked for him in the Ministry of Government. However, Carrasco has given members of his team “freedom of action” to support whomever they desire. In fact, three of Carrasco’s former confidants—former federal deputy Antonio Hernández Fraguas (campaign manager), Luz Divina Zárate Apack, and Javier Villacaña—hold high posts in the Ruiz campaign.

Two months before the voting, most observers deemed the outcome a toss-up. A late-May *Reforma* survey confirmed this conclusion. The pollsters found Gabino Cué (48 percent) in a virtual dead heat with Ruiz (47 percent)—with Héctor Sánchez (5 percent) running a distant third.<sup>17</sup> Although Murat should never be underestimated, the loss by dinosaur Cervera Pacheco in Yucatán constituted a bad omen for the governor, whom detractors call “Taliban.” Even members of his own party have begun to treat Murat like a leper with halitosis.

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17. “Perfilan contienda cerrada en Oaxaca.”

## Puebla

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

39 state legislators

26 by direct election

13 by proportional representation

217 municipal governments

Current governor: Melquiades Morales Flores; PRI; born June 24, 1942, Santa Catarina Los Reyes, Pue.

**Election date: November 14**

Nomination deadline: August 29

Inauguration: February 1, 2005 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Puebla
Main cities	Huachinango, Tehuacán
Land area	95,364 sq. km (36,830 sq. miles)
Population	5,325,858
Labor force	54.6 percent
Share of GNP	3.9 percent
In-bond plants	114
In-bond plants (labor force)	39,008
Industrial parks	13
Roads	15,947 km (9,911 miles)
Railroads	634 km (394 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Motor vehicles, engine components, apparel, clothing accessories, rustic furniture, processed food
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	94.8 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	28.7
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	20.4
Finance and insurance	12.5

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 3,055,021**

97.79 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*  
 4.75 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Puebla (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	44.26	33.18	7.60	1.36	5.93	3.79	3.88	37.84
2000 President	40.59	42.53 <sup>a</sup>	12.12 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.20	2.57	62.55
2000 Senate	41.33	40.45 <sup>a</sup>	12.65 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	3.01	2.74	62.10
2000 Chamber of Deputies	41.88	39.70 <sup>a</sup>	12.75 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.93	2.73	61.99
1998 Governor	54.10	28.90	10.90	2.00	—	4.10	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	48.76	25.64	18.22	1.73	—	5.62	—	52.27
1994 President	52.70	27.01	14.54	—	—	5.75 <sup>c</sup>	—	74.61
1994 Chamber of Deputies	50.11	25.74	13.41	2.05	—	8.70	—	—
1992 Governor	70.02	18.08	6.20	—	—	5.70 <sup>c</sup>	—	45.03
1991 Chamber of Deputies	69.75	14.88	4.57	—	—	10.81 <sup>c</sup>	—	62.56
1988 President	72.64	9.47	—	—	—	17.90 <sup>d</sup>	—	67.09
1986 Governor	79.74	12.07	—	—	—	8.19 <sup>e</sup>	—	50.17

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The FDN is included in the total for minor parties.

e. The PSUM is included in the total for minor parties.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	26	135
PAN	7	51
PRD	4	22
PT	1	2
PVEM	1	4
Other	0	3
Total	39	217

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	Former Puebla mayor, Mario Marín Torres (PRI); born June 28, 1955, Nativitas Cuautempan, Pue.; law degree (Benemérito Universidad Autónoma de Puebla); professor and judge; secretary of government under Gov. Manuel Bartlett Díaz (1992–98); mayor of Puebla (1999–2002).
Selection procedure	On March 15, 2004, Marín Torres registered as the party's unity candidate. Some 20,000 party loyalists, brought to Puebla by 100 buses, were on hand to cheer their candidate.
Major party candidate	Sen. Antonio Francisco Fraile García (PAN); born Sept. 19, 1948, Huajuapán de León, Oax.; degree in business administration; director of the firm, Comercializadora Fraile-Marín; author of several books, including <i>Puebla, noviembre 92: sufragio efectivo?</i> , <i>Cristo, el señor de los corazones</i> , <i>Hacia una participación democrática</i> , <i>Y los obreros</i> ; active in the PAN since 1974, serving as state secretary of electoral action (1986–87), president of state committee (1987–2000); city council member in Puebla (1996–98); state legislator (1998–2000); and elected to the Senate in 2000.
Selection procedure	Running unopposed, Fraile won 3,965 votes (60.5 percent) cast in a March 21 closed primary; there were 2,586 votes (39.5) in opposition to his nomination.

**Analysis**

In the so-called Battle for Puebla, the PRI has a clear advantage. First, the outgoing governor, Melquiades Morales, is an old-style politician who knows how to deliver the vote. Although Marín Torres, the popular former mayor of Puebla, was not Morales's choice, the outgoing state executive has other fish to fry. His desire to land a prominent party or political post should the PRI capture the presidency in 2006 provides a powerful incentive to move and shake on behalf of Marín Torres. Grumbling continues among the nine losing aspirants for the nomination, especially on the part of Senator Germán Sierra Sánchez, who was the last to step aside for Marín Torres. Yet, there have been no outright defections.

In contrast, disunity hangs like a black cloud over the PAN's quest for the Casa Aguayo gubernatorial palace. Senator Fraile obtained the nomination because party officials disqualified the chief contender, Puebla mayor Luis Paredes Moctezuma. The PAN state committee—to whom Fraile boasts close ties—determined that Paredes was using public resources to garner the nomination. The alleged violation stemmed from his distribution of a questionnaire before the primary in which he asked party activists to set forth their area(s) of expertise and the kinds of jobs they might be able to fill in the next state administration. PAN leaders judged such inquiries as vote buying. Although the PAN held a *consulta* on March 21, only 6,788 (of a possible 9,627 party members) participated and, lacking an option, more than 50 percent voted “no” to Fraile.

As the PAN candidate, Fraile will do well in the state's largest cities: Puebla, Teziutlan, Atlixco, and Tehuacán. He has also indicated his desire to forge ties with PRI labor organizations, including Elba Esther Gordillo's SNTE teachers union, the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), and the Revolutionary Confederation of Workers and Campesinos (CROC). There is no evidence that the union organizations have responded to his overtures. Meanwhile, Marín can count on a healthy share of urban votes while he sweeps the rural areas where he has campaigned extensively and effectively.

Ana Teresa Aranda—head of the national system of Integral Family Development (DIF) and a strong leader who has dispensed tens of millions of dollars in social assistance in the state and who was the party's gubernatorial nominee in 1998—would have been a stronger candidate than either Fraile or Paredes. Nonetheless, she refused to enter the primary because she believed that party big shots would manipulate the selection process to her disadvantage.

## Sinaloa

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

40 state legislators

24 by direct election

16 by proportional representation

18 municipal governments

Current governor: Juan S. Millán Lizárraga; PRI; born June 14, 1943, El Rosario, Sin.

### Election date: November 14

Nomination deadline: July 31 (governor)

Inauguration: January 1, 2005 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Culiacán
Main cities	Los Mochis, Mazatlán
Land area	58,328 sq. km (22,526 sq. miles)
Population	2,576,624
Labor force	54.5 percent
Share of GNP	1.9 percent
In-bond plants	10
In-bond plants (labor force)	506
Industrial parks	11
Roads	16,404 km (10,195 miles)
Railroads	1,195 km (743 miles)
International airports	3
Main export products	Fruit, fish and crustaceans, textiles, packing and bottling materials
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	96.7 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Agriculture and livestock	14.8
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	18.3
Finance and insurance	14.4
Services	25.2

*continued*

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 1,602,367**

98.09 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*  
 2.49 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Sinaloa (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	50.86	25.10	12.49	1.85	4.56	2.92	2.27	40.59
2000 President	64.00	23.77 <sup>a</sup>	9.32 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.27	1.64	64.32
2000 Senate	58.44	26.48 <sup>a</sup>	11.35 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.91	1.83	63.69
2000 Chamber of Deputies	54.95	25.06 <sup>a</sup>	16.19 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.91	1.89	63.55
1998 Governor	46.30	31.90	17.70	1.10	—	3.00	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	42.68	30.05	22.67	1.53	—	2.98	—	57.88
1995 Municipal Offices	42.89	40.95	11.75	—	—	4.41 <sup>c</sup>	—	—
1994 President	50.55	31.63	13.68	1.28	—	3.86	—	68.54
1994 Chamber of Deputies	53.31	28.25	12.89	0.91	—	4.65	—	—
1992 Governor	56.04	34.17	3.94	—	—	5.85 <sup>c</sup>	—	—
1991 Chamber of Deputies	65.73	22.79	4.95	—	—	4.15 <sup>c</sup>	2.38	—
1988 President	50.81	32.07	16.75 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	0.36	—	—
1986 Governor	66.42	27.88	—	—	—	2.74 <sup>e</sup>	2.96	—

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

e. The PSUM is included in the total for minor parties.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	21	14
PAN	12	3
PRD	3	0
PT	3	1
PVEM	0	0
Other	1 (PBS)	0
Total	40	18

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	State legislative leader Jesús Alberto Aguilar Padilla (PRI); born Feb. 24, 1952, Cosalá, Sin.; law degree (Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa); advanced course in constitutional and administrative law (UNAM); subdirector of agrarian complaints and conciliation, Ministry of Agrarian Reform; delegate of both Conasupo and Infonavit in Sinaloa; secretary of labor and social welfare and secretary of planning and development, Sinaloa; and served as president of the Gran Comisión of the state legislature to which he was elected in 2001.
Selection procedure	On March 16, 2004, Aguilar Padilla became the unity candidate when all other contenders stepped aside for him.
Major party candidate	Possible PAN candidates:  Heriberto Félix Guerra; born March 2, 1962, Culiacán; studied English as a second language in Arizona; degree in economics with honorable mention (ITESM); financial adviser for corporations at Casa de Bolsa Inverlat; director-general and president of administrative council of technology stores of Felher Inmobiliaria; president of Canacindra in Culiacán and spokesman for the organization in central Pacific area of Mexico; spearheaded the formation of Codesin to involve businesspeople and government officials in economic development policy; currently Codesin's executive spokesman; member of Businessmen's Council of Sinaloa; owner of Sushi Factory restaurants in Culiacán, La Paz, and Mazatlán; son-in-law of the late Manuel J. Clouthier, who was the hard-charging PAN candidate for president in 1988; secretary of economic development for Sinaloa (1999–2004); three times elected secretary of economic development of the year by his colleagues; active in Catholic social organizations such as Patronato Amigos de la Niñez, Movimiento Familiar Cristiano, and Equipo de Encuentro de Novios de Culiacán.

	Former Culiacán mayor Sadol Osorio Salcido; born March 17, 1940, Los Remedios, Dgo.; law degree (Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa); advanced studies in public accounting and electoral law; representative and salesman for the firm Elías Pando, becoming Pacific zone manager (1996); founded and operated company Mercados los Altos (1972–2001); farmer and rancher; businessman, merchant, and rancher; successful PAN candidate for alternate senator (1994); and mayor of Culiacán (1996–98).
Selection procedure	On July 18, 2004, the candidate will be chosen in a closed primary.
Major party candidate	Ex-rector of the UAS Audómar Ahumada Quintero (PRD); born Aug. 15, 1950, Casa Blanca, Gusave, Sin.; degree in economics (UAS); professor, researcher, and rector of UAS; member of PCM and PSUM; twice elected to the state legislature; unsuccessful candidate for federal deputy and mayor of Culiacán; and vice president of COCyP.
Selection procedure	Selected by PRD activists
Minor party candidate	Possible candidates for Convergencia and PT:  Former education secretary José Angel Pescador Osuna; born 1945, Mazatlán, Sin.; degree in economics (ITAM); M.A. in economics and education (Stanford University); professor at several universities; rector of UPN (1989); joined PRI in 1963 and held various bureaucratic posts; federal deputy (1985–88); mayor of Mazatlán (1987–89); consul general in Los Angeles (1990–92); and secretary of education (1994); under secretary of government (1999–2000).

## Analysis

The popularity of outgoing governor Millán should allow his heir apparent, state legislative leader Aguilar Padilla, to keep Sinaloa in the PRI column. Although a product of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), Millán knew that attracting investors was crucial to diversifying the agriculture- and seafood-based economy of Sinaloa, where personal income (\$5,800) falls far below the national average (\$9,100). Still, honest businesspeople looked askance at the sun-baked state that lies next to the Chihuahua-Sonora-Durango “Golden Triangle” for drug operations and was birthplace to Carrillo Fuentes, Arellano Félix, and other infamous drug kingpins and their families.

Despite greater state-federal collaboration, violent deaths remain a nightmare—with upwards of 150 murders committed during the first five months of 2004. As appalling as they found this bloodletting, Millán and entrepreneurs understood that most of the killings involved drug cartels competing for turf or settling old scores.

More alarming to business leaders was the kidnapping of corporate executives and their family members by desperadoes who had no qualms about slashing off a child’s ear to show that they were serious.

This realization prompted Millán to form the Specialized Anti-Kidnapping Unit (UEA), which is headed by a 35-year-old tough-as-nails crime fighter whose

nom de guerre is Comandante Diego. While the elite squad includes marksmen, most of its members are skilled in computers, voice profiling, polygraphs, and other technical skills.

Since the UEA's deployment, the number of kidnappings has plummeted from 37 in 1999 to 13 in 2003—with only 3 cases reported so far in 2004. Even more important, Comandante Diego's team has rescued every one of the victims and recovered most of the ransom paid.

PAN officials dismiss the UEA's activities as a gimmick and blast the extroverted Millán as a “dinosaur.” However, the governor, who visits a different school every “Civic Monday” to meet with local citizens, enjoys a 76 percent approval.

Heriberto Félix Guerra, the governor's economic development secretary and vice president of the public-private Sinaloa Economic Development Council (Codesin), deserves enormous credit for Millán's success. A businessman and former chamber of commerce leader, the 42-year-old Félix knew the frustrations of corrupt, “come back tomorrow” functionaries. That's why his mantra—and Codesin's slogan—is “*Todo en un Solo Lugar.*” While the nation was attempting to pull itself out of a recession, Millán and Félix attracted some 305 businesses totaling \$1.4 billion in new investment.

In mid-May, Félix Guerra resigned from Millán's cabinet to pursue the PAN's gubernatorial nomination at the head of a “Citizens for Sinaloa” movement. This organization, which is composed primarily of businesspeople, includes José Luis Sevilla Suárez, ex-president of Canacintra in the state. Even more important to Félix Guerra is the backing of his brother-in-law, Manuel J. Clouthier Carrillo. He owns the newspaper *El Noroeste* and is the son and namesake of Manuel “*El Maquío*” Clouthier del Rincón, whom the PAN venerates for his hard-hitting presidential campaign against Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in 1988. Many *panistas* had hoped that Clouthier would agree to become the nominee, believing that he would unify and mobilize anti-PRI forces not only in Sinaloa but throughout the country.

Félix Guerra is extremely intelligent, affable, hardworking, and socially committed. In fact, his peers thrice elected him president of the Mexican Association of Economic Development Secretaries. In addition to counseling young Catholics about marriage, Félix Guerra and his wife, Lorena, own a string of Sushi Factory restaurants. He is running as an external candidate who has said, “my only political party is Sinaloa.”<sup>18</sup>

The PAN had hoped to challenge Aguilar Padilla with a bloc of opposition parties. However, in early April the PAN's state president, Luis Roberto Loaiza Garzón, announced that talks with the PRD had broken down. At least two factors may explain this rupture: first, PAN conservative leadership in the state was wary of joining with the PRD in light of the *videoescándalo* involving PRD politicians in Mexico City, and, second, Millán has co-opted an important segment of Sinaloa's PRD.

Aguilar Padilla is the only CTM candidate seeking a governorship this year. To broaden the candidate's base, Millán selected a leader of the party's Popular Sector,

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18. Heriberto Félix Guerra, interview by author, October 12, 2003, Culiacán.

the former PRI state president, Samuel Escobosa Barraza, to serve as the party's "delegate" or representative to the gubernatorial campaign.

In mid-May, national PRD president Leonel Godoy was holding out the possibility of a "center-left" coalition with the PT and Convergencia in the state. Among the possible candidates of this putative coalition are Audómar Ahumada, Aarón Flores Estrada, Gregorio Urías, and José Antonio Ríos Rojos.<sup>19</sup>

Not to be outdone, the PRI state president, Joaquín Vega Acuña, was exploring a coalition with leaders of the PVEM and the Barzón Sinaloa, a pro-debtor party. The more ways the political pie is split, the greater the chances of a victory for Aguilar Padilla, even more so if the PRI attracts allies.

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19. Marcela Hernández, "Peleará' PRD a Heriberto Félix," *Noroeste*, May 17, 2004, Internet ed.

## Tamaulipas

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

32 state legislators

19 by direct election

13 by proportional representation

43 municipal governments

Outgoing governor: Tomás Jesús Yarrington Ruvalcaba; PRI; born March 7, 1957, Matamoros, Tam.

### Election date: November 14

Nomination deadline: September 15

Inauguration: January 1, 2005 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Ciudad Victoria
Main cities	Laredo, Matamoros, Reynosa, Altamira, Tampico
Land area	79,384 sq. km (30,658 sq. miles)
Population	2,877,283
Labor force	58.0 percent
Share of GNP	3.1 percent
In-bond plants	375
In-bond plants (labor force)	181,150
Industrial parks	21
Roads	12,411 km (7,713 miles)
Railroads	932 km (579 miles)
International airports	4
Main export products	Electrical and electronic products, accessories, motor vehicles, petrochemicals
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	94.6 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	21.3
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	22.0
Transport and communications	14.6
Services	17.6

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 1,978,311**

97.64 percent of citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*

3.08 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Tamaulipas (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	48.61	30.78	7.63	4.40	3.39	2.22	2.97	40.23
2000 President	40.56	47.45 <sup>a</sup>	8.32 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.88	1.79	62.86
2000 Senate	43.09	41.42 <sup>a</sup>	11.63 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.98	2.05	61.32
2000 Chamber of Deputies	45.74	40.98 <sup>a</sup>	8.95 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.30	2.02	61.71
1998 Governor	53.80	26.10	15.70	1.20	—	3.20	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	47.95	18.54	26.89	—	—	6.57 <sup>c</sup>	—	53.19
1995 Municipal Offices	47.89	37.91	6.01	—	—	8.92 <sup>c</sup>	—	61.05
1994 President	44.94	22.75	18.00	2.23	—	6.28	2.80	78.27
1994 Chamber of Deputies	49.34	22.72	14.84	2.46	—	10.65	—	—
1992 Governor	66.40	25.80	—	—	—	7.80	—	57.67
1991 Chamber of Deputies	61.22	14.20	3.60	0.30	—	17.44	3.24	—
1988 President	59.39	9.89	—	—	—	30.72 <sup>d</sup>	—	41.87
1986 Governor	79.77	6.53	—	—	—	13.70 <sup>e</sup>	—	40.83

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

e. The PSUM is included in the total for minor parties.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

### Distribution of major offices

Party	State legislative seats	Municipal governments
PRI	19	36
PAN	7	5
PRD	3	1
PT	3	1
PVEM	0	0
Other	0	0
Total	32	43

### Gubernatorial candidates

Major party candidate	Cd. Victoria mayor, Eugenio Javier Hernández Flores (PRI); born Oct. 17, 1959, Cd. Victoria, Tam.; degree in civil engineering (ITESM); construction supervisor for Pemex (1982); active in construction industry since 1986; named "businessman of the year" in Cd. Victoria (1999 and 2000); state finance chairman for Yarrington's 1998 gubernatorial campaign; coordinator of PRI candidate Francisco Labastida Ochoa's presidential campaign in the state; federal deputy (2000–01); and elected mayor of Cd. Victoria in 2001.
Selection procedure	Hernández Flores (342 votes) defeated Sen. Oscar Luebbert (97 votes) in a convention held on June 27.
Major party candidate	Senator Gustavo Adolfo Cárdenas Gutiérrez (PAN); born Jan. 25, 1958, Matamoros, Tam.; degree in business administration (Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas); joined PAN in 1993; state party president (1999–2002); adviser to businesses, Banca Confía, and the Red Cross; mayor of Cd. Victoria (1993–95); state legislator (1996–98); elected to the Senate in 2000.
Selection procedure	Cárdenas Gutiérrez (2,399 votes, 56.5 percent) defeated Diego Alonso Hinojosa Aguerrevere (1,849, 43.5 percent) to obtain the nomination in a closed primary held on April 25.
Minor party candidate	Ex-federal deputy Alvaro Garza Cantú (PRD, PT, Convergencia); born March 21, 1944, Reynosa, Tam.; degree in civil engineering (Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas); director-general of various businesses, including Bolitam, Posada Casablanca, Hotel Posada de Tampico, and Fumigaciones Ecológicas de Tampico; joined PRI in 1964, general adviser on public works for Tampico (1987–89); federal deputy (1988–91); mayor of Tampico (1990–92); ISSSTE delegate in Tamaulipas (1993–94); member PRI State Political Council (1998–2004); director-general of construction of public works in state (1999); and state party president (2000).
Selection procedure	Consensus among the three parties after Garza Cantú lost the April 25 PAN primary.

## Analysis

Tamaulipas has three key areas: (1) Ciudad Victoria, the capital, (2) the northern area of Matamoros, Reynosa, and Nuevo Laredo, which is contiguous with the United States, and (3) the economically important South that embraces Tampico, Altamira, and Ciudad Madero. Leaders in Matamoros, the state's largest city, believe they have proprietary rights to the governorship. After all, the incumbent Yarrington and his predecessor, Manuel Cavazos Lerma (1992–98), are *matamorenses*. Nevertheless, Yarrington, whom *Proceso* magazine and other publications have linked to drug traffickers, wanted to pick an “insurance policy,” namely, a loyalist who, if elected, would not seek to prosecute him. This person is Ciudad Victoria mayor Eugenio Javier Hernández Flores. Rumors abound that PRI president Madrazo flashed the green light for Yarrington to select his successor. The quid pro quo may have been an agreement by the governor not to challenge Madrazo for the PRI's presidential nomination.

Tamaulipas is the only northern state in which the PAN is weak. Several reasons explain this deviance, according to highly respected political scientist Oscar Aguilar Asencio.<sup>20</sup> First, there is no large city where *panistas* can expand their influence as they have done in Monterrey, Chihuahua, and Hermosillo. Second, the state is politically segmented: key politicians and power brokers tend to come from the North where narcotrafficking and maquiladoras abound; Ciudad Victoria provides employment to bureaucrats, most of whom resonate to the PRI; and, thanks to the extremely powerful Oil Workers Union, the PRD has a notable presence in the South although the PAN holds a number of mayorships in the region. Third, the PRI in Tamaulipas managed to absorb the sharp devaluation and deep recession that afflicted Mexico in the mid-1990s without incurring the high political costs that it suffered in much of the country. A reason for this was the ability of Governors Cavazos Lerma and Yarrington to maintain the loyalty of their constituents through expenditures on public works, education, and other social programs.

In view of the formidable obstacles facing the PAN, its nominee, Senator Gustavo Gutiérrez, sought to forge an alliance with the PRI's opponents. This effort failed. Once it became clear to the PRI's Garza Cantú that he was not Yarrington's choice, he accepted the nomination of the PRD, the PT, and Convergencia. So strong and well-financed is the PRI that its nominee is heavily favored to win. However, he would have a more difficult race should the opposition coalesce around a single candidate who could pull out a big vote in Reynosa and Tampico-Altamira-Ciudad Madero. The PRI is losing market share in these areas, which embrace 40 percent of the state's voters. In addition, gubernatorial aspirant Senator Oscar Luebbert, who has openly decried Yarrington's manipulation of the process, could throw his support to an opposition candidate.<sup>21</sup> In late May, he accused the governor of offering him the right to select 15 mayoral nominees and eight state legislative candidates if Luebbert would drop out of the race. Meanwhile, the governor indirectly ran the campaign of the uninspiring Eugenio Hernández, who

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20. Oscar Aguilar Asencio, electronic mail to author, May 5, 2004.

21. Roberto Aguilar Grimaldo, “Tamaulipas: crítica IP dispendio de aspirantes PRI,” *El Universal*, May 14, 2004, Internet ed.

vanquished Luebbert to become the PRI nominee. In addition, pollsters find that in the general election Hernández (63 percent) would trounce Gustavo Cárdenas (14 percent) and Alvaro Garza (5 percent).<sup>22</sup>

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22. "Aventaja PRI en Tamaulipas," *Reforma*, June 3, 2004, Internet ed.

## Tlaxcala

### Offices to be filled:

Governor

32 state legislators

19 by direct election

13 by proportional representation

60 municipal governments

Current governor: Alfonso Sánchez Anaya; PRD; born Jan. 23, 1941, Apizaco, Tlax.

### Election date: November 14

Nomination deadline: August 30

Inauguration: January 15, 2005 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Tlaxcala
Main cities	Apizaco, Huamantla, Zacatelco
Land area	4,016 sq. km (1,551 sq. miles)
Population	1,109,165
Labor force	54.8 percent
Share of GNP	0.52 percent
Industrial parks	21
Roads	2,499 km (1,553 miles)
Railroads	352 km (219 miles)
International airports	None
Main export products	Electrical and electronic products, accessories, motor vehicles, petrochemicals
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	97.2 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	29.8
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	12.3
Finance and insurance	14.5
Services	14.5

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 627,180**

97.83 percent of citizens who have sought to register and are on the *padrón electoral*

0.97 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Tlaxcala (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	35.07	12.19	32.32	3.66	5.88	7.34	3.54	33.56
2000 President	36.44	35.50 <sup>a</sup>	23.52 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.65	1.90	62.02
2000 Senate	37.12	24.82 <sup>a</sup>	32.06 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	3.65	2.35	60.84
2000 Chamber of Deputies	39.63	26.42 <sup>a</sup>	26.86 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	4.55	2.55	61.53
1998 Governor	43.00	8.40	33.00	9.10	—	6.50	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	43.39	19.56	23.86	5.50	—	7.68	—	50.19
1994 President	54.21	24.63	15.74	—	—	5.42	—	81.56
1994 Chamber of Deputies	48.32	19.79	12.79	1.99	—	17.11	—	—
1992 Governor	85.65	3.43	6.85	—	—	4.07 <sup>c</sup>	—	38.90
1991 Chamber of Deputies	74.16	8.46	6.20	0.61	—	10.43	—	—
1988 President	60.09	5.86	—	—	—	34.05 <sup>d</sup>	—	55.24
1986 Governor	92.90	1.89	—	—	—	5.20 <sup>e</sup>	—	57.54

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

e. The PSUM is included in the total for minor parties.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	17	33
PAN	3	5
PRD	8	14
PT	3	6
PVEM	1	0
Other	0	2
Total	32	60

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	<p>Possible PRI candidates:</p> <p>Senator Mariano González Zarur (PRI); born April 3, 1949, Apizaco, Tlax.; degree in public accounting (UNAM); PRI state president (1987–88, 1999–2000); member of the party’s National Political Council (1997–present); secretary-general of CEN (1999); various posts in Tlaxcala, including state treasurer, finance secretary, and coordinator of Copladet (1981–87); mayor of Apizaco (1989–92); and elected to the Senate in 2000.</p> <p>Ex-Tlaxcala mayor Héctor Israel Ortiz Ortiz; born July 28, 1950, Tejupan, Oax. or San Pedro Apetatidián, Tlax. (archives show both birthplaces); law degree (UNAM); professor and director of law school (1980–83) and rector (1983–87) of the Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala; founder of the Facultad Libre de Derecho de Tlaxcala (1998); state PRI president; state attorney general (1989–90); state secretary of education (1990–91); state legislator (1991–94); and federal deputy (1991–94, 2000–03).</p>
Selection procedure	<p>Delegates will select the nominee in a convention on Aug. 25.</p>
Major party candidate	<p>Possible PRD candidates:</p> <p>Senator María del Carmen Ramírez García; born March 8, 1956, Mexico State; and elected to the Senate in 2000 on the PRD ticket.</p> <p>Federal deputy Gelasio Montiel Fuentes; born Nov. 11, 1961, Tetla, Tlax.; studied public administration (BUAP, Tlaxacala); city council member (1983–85), attorney (1986–88), and mayor (1992–94) of Tetla; regional delegate of Copladet (1992–94); state government secretary (2002–03); and elected to Congress in 2003.</p>

	Ex-state attorney general Eduardo Medel Quiroz, born Jan. 25, 1958, Xochitécatl, Nativitas, Tlax.
Selection procedure	Polling will narrow the field to three contenders, who will compete in an open primary on July 18, 2004.
Minor party candidate	Ex-state attorney general Eduardo Medel Quiroz (may compete for Convergencia nomination).

## Analysis

Just when the PRI appeared poised to recapture its longtime bastion, an intramural struggle erupted in the party's ranks. Faced with the probable candidacy of Senator Mariano González Zarur, supporters of another gubernatorial aspirant, ex-Tlaxcala mayor and ex-federal deputy Héctor Israel Ortiz Ortiz, revolted. Led by former Apizaco mayor Ramón Hernández Márquez and former PRI state president Ignacio López Sánchez (Ortiz's top political operator), the newly formed "Current for Tlaxcala's Democracy" vowed to do everything possible to loft Ortiz's political star. The PT conditioned its alliance with the PRI on the latter's selecting its candidate in a democratic procedure. In early June, the PAN's National Executive Committee authorized state party leaders to explore formation of an alliance with other parties, particularly the PT, but also with Convergencia, Justicia Social, and Centro Democrático de Tlaxcala. Such a coalition would stand ready to back Ortiz should he leave the PRI.<sup>23</sup> Reportedly, Ortiz also has good ties with former state executive Beatriz Paredes Rangel, who now heads the PRI's Fundación Colosio in Mexico City but has no love-loss for Madrazo.

Even as the PRI is engaged in a donnybrook, the PRD is badly split. After Senator María del Carmen Ramírez García, the wife of incumbent governor Sánchez Anaya, announced her intention to seek the governorship, the PRD's General Council amended the party's statutes to prevent wives and other close relatives of incumbents from succeeding them. Electoral officials annulled this provision so Ramírez García, called the "Tlaxcala Hillary," will compete with a half dozen other contenders in an open primary scheduled for July 18. Public-opinion polls will be used to reduce the list to the three strongest contenders.<sup>24</sup> This move aside, another aspirant—Federal Deputy Gelacio Montiel Fuentes—charged that the governor was quietly lining up support for his wife.

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23. Juan Ramón Nava, "Autorizan a PAN-Tlaxcala formar alianza," *Reforma*, June 2, 2004, Internet ed.

24. Consulta Mitofsky will conduct the polls; see La Jornada de Oriente y Renato Davalos, "La candidatura del PRD en Tlaxcala, a consulta ciudadana," *La Jornada*, May 14, 2004, Internet ed.

## Veracruz

### Offices to be filled:

Governor  
 45 state legislators  
     30 by direct election  
     15 by proportional representation

210 municipal governments

Current governor: Miguel Alemán Velasco; born March 18, 1932, Veracruz, Ver.

### Election date: September 5

Nomination deadline: June 16 (governor)

Inauguration: December 1 (governor)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Jalapa
Main cities	Veracruz, Córdoba, Minatitlán, Orizaba
Land area	71,699 sq. km (27,690 sq. miles)
Population	6,978,905
Labor force	33.6 percent
Share of GNP	4.30 percent
In-bond plants	92
Industrial parks	21
Roads	16,245 km (10,090 miles)
Railroads	1,808 km (1,123 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Coffee, lime, sugar, tobacco, mango, garments, manufactured goods, chemicals, plastics, machinery, iron and steel products
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	89.40 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	15.9
Finance and insurance	15.7
Services	19.9

1. Source: Bancomext

**Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 4,460,573**

97.93 percent of eligible citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*  
6.93 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Veracruz (1988–2003)**

Election	PRI %	PAN %	PRD %	PT %	PVEM %	Minor parties %	Null %	Turnout %
2003 Chamber of Deputies	36.74	34.22	12.03	1.79	3.43	9.19	2.60	42.74
2000 President	37.72	39.88 <sup>a</sup>	18.39 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.82	2.19	—
2000 Senate	38.76	31.74 <sup>a</sup>	25.10 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.95	2.45	—
2000 Chamber of Deputies	39.49	33.83 <sup>a</sup>	22.10 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.11	2.47	—
1998 Governor	47.80	26.50	17.50	5.80 <sup>c</sup>	—	2.40	—	—
1997 Chamber of Deputies	43.71	21.48	26.68	2.70	—	4.80	—	54.64
1994 President	51.70	23.97	23.19	1.89	—	7.51	—	67.60
1994 Chamber of Deputies	52.22	14.58	22.38	1.76	—	9.05	—	—
1992 Governor	67.28	3.03	14.41	—	—	15.28 <sup>d</sup>	—	—
1991 Chamber of Deputies	75.26	5.06	5.99 <sup>e</sup>	0.71	—	12.94 <sup>f</sup>	—	—
1988 President	62.59	5.21	31.05 <sup>g</sup>	—	—	1.16	—	49.78
1986 Governor	84.51	3.70	—	—	—	8.20 <sup>h</sup>	—	59.20

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. Combined results for PT/PVEM coalition.

d. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

e. The PRD was in a coalition with the PPS.

f. This total includes 6 percent for the PRCRN.

g. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

h. This total includes 3.92 percent for the PST and 1.23 percent for the PSUM.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

Party	State legislative seats	Municipal governments
PRI	27	114
PAN	12	43
PRD	3	30
PT	1	7
PVEM	1	6
Other	1 (Convergencia)	10
Total	45	210

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate Senator Fidel Herrera Beltrán (PRI, PVEM—*Fidelidad para Veracruz*); born March 7, 1949, Nopaltepec, Ver.; law degree (Universidad Veracruzana and UNAM); taught at UNAM and London School of Economics; secretary-general of PRI National Youth Movement and president of the party in the D.F. (1977–79); PRI secretary of organization and delegate to the CEN; held various posts in Veracruz, including assistant secretary to Governor Rafael Murillo Vidal (1968–74); federal deputy (1973–76, 1979–82, 1991–94, 1997–2000); elected to the Senate in 2000.

Selection procedure In late February 2004, 2,640 delegates to a convention in Boca del Río named Herrera the party's candidate. He was unchallenged after Gustavo Carvajal Moreno, the last of 10 other competitors for the nomination, withdrew from the race under pressure from party leaders.

Major party candidate Senator Gerardo Buganza Salmerón (PAN); born May 24, 1956, Córdoba, Ver.; degree in industrial engineering (UIA); business executive; joined PAN in 1994; member of Córdoba city council; federal deputy (1997–2000); elected to the Senate in 2000.

Selection procedure Running unopposed, Buganza won 5,816 votes (95.7 percent) in a closed primary held on February 29, 2004. There were 263 votes (4.3 percent) against his nomination.

Minor party candidate Dante Delgado Rannauro (Convergencia, PRD, PT—*Unidos por Veracruz*); born Dec. 23, 1950, Ciudad de Alvarado, Ver.; law degree (Universidad Veracruzana); coordinator of the PRI's National Youth Movement in Veracruz (1967); assistant secretary to President Luis Echeverría; various positions in the Department of Fisheries (1977–78) and in the Ministry of Public Education (1979–83); under secretary (1983–85) and secretary of government (1986–88); interim governor (1988–93) of Veracruz; ambassador to Italy (1993); imprisoned for fraud (mid-1990s); and left the PRI to found Convergencia Democrática (1997).

Selection procedure On April 5, 2004, in Xalapa, Delgado accepted the candidacy of *Unidos por Veracruz*.

Minor party candidate Rafael Hernández Villapando (Alianza Unida para Veracruz); born 1947, Xalapa, Ver.; law degree (Universidad Veracruzana); studied constitutional law (U. Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy); M.A. in law (UNAM); undersecretary of government (1988–91); academic secretary (1988) and rector (1991–92) of the Universidad Veracruzana; won mayorship of Xalapa with backing of PRD and Convergencia in 1997; and the state legislature moved to oust him for bigamy in 2000.

Selection procedure Chosen by leaders of this small local party.

## Analysis

The indefatigable Herrera Beltrán had to overcome the opposition of Governor Alemán to win the PRI nomination. He has been running for governor for years, is a tireless campaigner, and knows the state like the palm of his hand. He also had the political acuity to land jobs for two of his competitors who stepped aside: Gustavo Carvajal accepted a post with the PRI's National Executive Committee, and ex-mayor of Xalapa, Guillermo Zúñiga, became Herrera's campaign coordinator. Meanwhile, Miguel Angel Yunes and Tomás Ruiz—both members of Elba Esther Gordillo's "Reformist Current"—lost out completely for their failure to rally around Herrera.<sup>25</sup>

The PAN has an attractive nominee in Senator Buganza. Nonetheless, has run into a firestorm of criticism from other *panistas*, including state party president Víctor Alejandro Vázquez, "moral leader" César Leal Angulo, Juan Brito, and Federal Deputy Francisco Avila Camberos. Their attacks may be designed to try to convince the party to switch its support from Buganza to Convergencia standard-bearer Dante Delgado.

Buganza has also been hurt by the defection to Convergencia of two popular PAN activists: Veracruz ex-mayor Roberto Bueno, the well-known leader of Las Flamas musical group who lost the PAN nomination for mayor of Boca del Río; and Federal Deputy Sergio Vaca Betancourt Bretón, who failed to attain the PAN nomination for mayor of Veracruz. The quirky nature of politics in the port city reconfirms entertainer Jorge Saldaña's observation that "Veracruz is the only madhouse with a view of the sea."

Although Delgado, who was a popular interim governor, has a strong following in the state, he lacks funds, and all independent polls show Herrera with a commanding lead. Delgado's campaign slogan—"Siempre Fiel a Veracruz" (Always Faithful to Veracruz) is a variant on a theme that Juan Pablo II expounded during his visits to Mexico. Should Herrera and his "red wave" sweep to victory as expected, the *priísta* will serve Tío Fide, a soft drink that he created at his victory party.

Nonetheless, Convergencia's leaders hope to make a robust enough showing to give credibility to any presidential aspirant whom they nominate. Delgado is one possible nominee; former foreign secretary Jorge Castañeda Gutman is another.

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25. Guadalupe López and Andrés T. Morales, "Fractura de partidos y derroche de recursos marcan el proceso electoral en Veracruz," *La Jornada*, June 2, 2004, Internet ed.

While having no chance to capture Los Pinos, Convergencia would like to garner 6 to 8 percent of the presidential vote in order to have two dozen or more deputies. This might permit its delegation to play a broker's role in the next Congress in which no party is likely to have a majority.

## Zacatecas

### Offices to be filled:

Governor  
 30 state legislators  
     18 by direct election  
     12 by proportional representation  
 57 municipal governments

### Election date: July 4

Nomination deadline: March 30  
 Inauguration: September 12 (governor)

Current governor: Ricardo Monreal Avila; born September 19, 1956, Fresnillo, Zac.

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Zacatecas
Main cities	Fresnillo, Sombrerete
Land area	73,252 sq. km (28,290 sq. miles)
Population	1,299,602
Labor force	49.9 percent
Share of GNP	0.73 percent
Industrial parks	3
Roads	10,253 km (6,372 miles)
Railroads	671 km (417 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Minerals, apparel, clothing accessories

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Forestry and fishing	17.0
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	13.6
Services	24.2

1. Source: Bancomext

### Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 903,722

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98.41 percent of citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*

1.40 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Zacatecas (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	28.40	12.45	45.55	5.34	3.22	2.37	2.67	42.75
2000 President	38.89	33.39 <sup>a</sup>	23.08 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.28	2.45	60.86
2000 Senate	43.17	23.09 <sup>a</sup>	29.01 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.20	2.55	58.18
2000 Chamber of Deputies	38.32	23.70 <sup>a</sup>	32.81 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.57	2.61	57.79
1998 Governor	38.07	12.86	35.67	4.20	—	—	—	64.00
1997 Chamber of Deputies	49.14	25.13	13.65	—	—	12.08 <sup>c</sup>	—	58.28
1995 Municipal Offices	45.93	29.43	10.39	—	—	14.25 <sup>c</sup>	—	—
1994 President	61.75	23.17	9.04	—	—	6.04 <sup>c</sup>	—	73.13
1994 Chamber of Deputies	59.64	21.24	9.34	4.65	—	6.10	—	—
1992 Governor	70.15	12.83	13.01	—	—	4.01	—	54.92
1991 Senate	75.97	9.09	6.86	—	—	8.08	—	80.8
1991 Chamber of Deputies	75.65	9.03	7.06	3.48	—	4.75	—	—
1988 President	66.17	10.77	22.31 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	0.76 <sup>c</sup>	—	48.72
1986 Governor	93.72	3.22	—	—	—	2.39 <sup>e</sup>	—	64.98

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

e. This figure represents the PSUM total.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	11	26
PAN	4	12
PRD	12	16
PT	2	2
PVEM	0	0
Other	1 (Convergencia)	1
Total	30	57

**Gubernatorial candidates**

Major party candidate	Senator José Eulogio Bonilla Robles (PRI); born Jan. 1, 1946, Fresnillo, Zac.); served on the PRI state and national councils; president of National Confederation of Rural Landowners (1995–2001); city council member and mayor of Fresnillo, federal delegate of Tourism Ministry in Zacatecas; director of tourism for state government; federal deputy on two occasions; and elected to the Senate in 2000.
Selection procedure	Unity candidate agreed to by national and state party power brokers.
Major party candidate	Amalia García Medina (PRD); born Oct. 6, 1951, Zacatecas, Zac.); studied history (UAP) and sociology (UNAM); participated in the university reform movement in the University of Zacatecas; active in the Mexican Community Party (1973–81) before participating in the formation of the PSUM (1981), the PMS (1987), and the PRD (1989); PRD national president (1999–2002); federal deputy (1988–91, 2003–present); senator (1997–2000); member of the Grupo San Angel in the early 1990s.
Selection procedure	On Dec. 1, 2003, the PRD unveiled García Medina as its “unity candidate” in accord with a late-November arrangement among party president Leonel Godoy, the state party leaders, and Governor Monreal.
Major party candidate	Villa de Cos mayor Francisco “Pancho” Javier López García (PAN); born Oct. 3, 1956, El Bordo Guadalupe, Zac.; degree in law and agronomy (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas); taught in agronomy school at UAZ (1979–81); employed by the Comisión Federal de Electricidad; headed topographical brigade for the firm Lobatos; farmer on Chaparrosa ejido (Villa de Cos); exporter of agricultural products to the United States; owner of food and transport businesses in Zacatecas; and mayor of Villa de Cos (2001–04).
Selection procedure	Running unopposed, López García won 2,133 votes (100 percent) to capture his party’s nomination.

## Analysis

Although Governor Monreal backed his protégé, ex-deputy Tomás Torres Mercado, Amalia García garnered the nomination after the PRD president, Leonel Godoy, convinced Torres and ex-deputy Magdalena del Socorro Núñez Monreal to step aside. In a late April poll, García (52 percent) enjoyed a near two-to-one lead over Bonilla Robles (32 percent)—with the PAN's López García running a distant third (14 percent).<sup>26</sup> Although Bonilla Robles is picking up support, García Medina, whose recently deceased father, Francisco E. García Estrada, served as governor (1956–62), appears primed to retain Zacatecas for the PRD. While the PRI-led “Alliance for Zacatecas” has charged that the state government has used public resources on behalf of García Medina’s campaign, the only thing that conceivably could sidetrack her pursuit of the statehouse would be her appearance in videos with Carlos Ahumada when she served as the PRD’s national president. There is no evidence that such videos exist.

Her differences with Monreal over the nomination aside, García Medina selected Torres Mercado as her campaign manager. In addition, she launched her campaign in Monreal’s home town, Fresnillo, where the governor’s brother, Rodolfo Monreal Avila, is running for mayor.<sup>27</sup> At her kickoff, Secretary-General Carlos Navarrete of the PRD called Zacatecas the “pride of *perredismo*,” which some observers considered a slap at Mexico City mayor López Obrador. Still, Navarrete went on to say that García Medina’s triumph on July 4 would signal that their party “will not be brought to its knees by conspiracies” as it marches to the presidency in 2006. Although the retiring state executive has announced his presidential candidacy, he has implied that he would step aside if López Obrador mustered greater support. A gracious withdrawal could land *ex-priista* Monreal a choice cabinet post if the PRD snatches the brass ring in 2006.

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26. The Grupo Reforma interviewed a stratified sample of 1,000 likely voters from urban, rural, and mixed areas of the state; no margin of error was reported; see “Lidera Amalia preferencias en Zacatecas,” *Reforma*, May 1, 2004, Internet ed.

27. The governor has a sister-in-law seeking a state legislative seat from the Guadalupe area; see Emmanuel Salazar, “Postulan en Zacatecas familia de Monreal,” *Reforma*, May 20, 2004, Internet ed.



# **Local Elections in 2004**



## Baja California

### Offices to be filled:

25 state legislators

16 by direct election

9 by proportional representation

5 municipal governments

Governor: Eugenio Elorduy Walter; PAN; born Nov. 21, 1940, Calexico, BC

### Election date: August 1

Nomination deadline: May 15

Inauguration: October 1 (state legislators)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Mexicali
Main cities	Tijuana, Ensenada, Tecate
Land area	69,921 sq. km (27,003 sq. miles)
Population	2,680,190
Labor force	58.6 percent
Share of GNP	3.1 percent
In-bond plants	1,218
In-bond plants (labor force)	274,581
Industrial parks	60
Highways	2,179 km (1,207 miles)
Railroads	223 km (139 miles)
International airports	2
Main export products	Electric storage batteries, microphones, electrical devices and materials, machines and units, vegetables and legumes

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	22.1
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	29.3
Services	17.9

1. Source: Bancomext

### Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 1,763,474

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98.03 percent of citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*

2.74 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Baja California (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	32.12	41.96	6.33	2.50	10.03	2.87	4.19	31.12
2000 President	37.04	49.76 <sup>a</sup>	8.97 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.51	1.73	57.55
2000 Senate	37.35	49.02 <sup>a</sup>	8.90 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.86	1.87	56.63
2000 Chamber of Deputies	37.42	48.70 <sup>a</sup>	9.06 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	2.98	1.85	56.36
1997 Chamber of Deputies	35.79	43.32	13.49	1.76	—	5.53	—	49.49
1995 Governor	42.60	50.66	3.31	—	—	3.43	—	54.45
1994 President	50.15	37.09	8.56	—	—	4.20 <sup>c</sup>	—	76.48
1991 Chamber of Deputies	45.85	44.68	2.80	1.18	—	5.48	—	—
1991 Senate	44.81	46.40	2.65	—	—	6.14	—	75.28
1989 Governor	41.77	52.33	2.10	—	—	3.79	—	47.83
1989 State Deputy	43.97	48.18	2.61	—	—	5.24	—	46.96
1988 President	36.66	24.39	37.19 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	1.76	—	51.80

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

d. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure represents FDN results.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	10	1 (Tecate)
PAN	13	4
PRD	2	0
PT	0	0
PVEM	0	0
Other	0	0
Total	25	5

## Comment

The PAN should continue its domination of Baja California, but the mayorship of Tijuana is up for grabs. The focal point in this mayoral election is PRI candidate Jorge Hank Rhon, 50, whom Madrazo recruited to run. The youngest son of the legendary late Carlos Hank González, Jorge owns the Agua Caliente race track in Tijuana and reportedly is worth \$500 million. His funds may help loft the prospects for the PRI candidates for mayor of Tecate (Joaquín Sandoval), Rosarito (Javier Cital), Mexicali (Samuel Ramos), and Ensenada (Rogelio Appel). Hank Rhon and his fellow priístas have joined with the PVEM and PT in the *Alianza para Vivir Seguros*. The coalition's name bespeaks the law-and-order campaign that the PRI has mounted, especially in crime- and narcotics-infested Tijuana. In early April, six weeks before the official beginning of the campaign, Hank Rhon took advantage of a loophole in the local electoral law to launch an avalanche of TV commercials. In these spots, he emphasized his commitment to improving public safety.

The PAN, which is also pouring resources into the state, has chosen as its standard-bearer 36-year-old Jorge Ramos Hernández. Even though Tijuana suffers from widespread violence, prostitution, and drug-trafficking, Ramos argues that the PAN has run Tijuana well for 15 years and that it would be imprudent to change the city's leadership. Still, the inexperienced PAN nominee has little to commend him, which has led the weekly newspaper *Zeta* to refer to him as the "the bad Jorge" compared with Hank Rhon whom it has labeled "the worst Jorge." Nonetheless, an early June poll found Ramos (38 percent) leading Hank Rhon (32 percent)—with the PRD's Marta Patricia Lucero (4 percent) and the Convergencia's Doris Carmona Bibis (1 percent) far behind.<sup>28</sup> The PAN and PRD have asked authorities to investigate Hank Rhon for the June 22, 2004, murder of *Zeta* editor Francisco Ortiz Franco.

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28. Published in *Zeta*, June 10, 2004.

## Chiapas

### Offices to be filled:

40 state legislators

24 by direct election

16 by proportional representation

118 municipal governments

### Election date: October 3

Nomination deadline:

July 31 (directly elected state legislators and municipal officials)

August 15 (proportionally elected state legislators)

Inauguration: November 16 (state legislators)

Governor: Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía; Alliance for Chiapas; born Aug. 9, 1954, Solayo, Chiapas)

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Tuxtla Gutiérrez
Main cities	Tapachula, San Cristóbal de las Casas
Land area	74,211 sq. km (28,660 sq. miles)
Population	4,112,122
Labor force	60.8 percent
Share of GNP	1.7
In-bond plants	7
In-bond plants (labor force)	2,435
Industrial parks	1
Roads	20,388 km (12,671 miles)
Railroads	557 km (346 miles)
International airports	2
Main export products	Coffee, bananas

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Farm, fishing, and forestry	11.7
Financial services	19.3
Services	27.5

1. Source: Bancomext

### Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 2,296,253

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98.22 percent of citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*

3.57 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Chiapas (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	39.06	18.26	20.14	4.35	8.13	6.06	4.00	31.86
2000 President	43.09	26.45 <sup>a</sup>	24.98 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.39	4.09	52.19
2000 Senate	43.79	23.81 <sup>a</sup>	26.27 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.66	4.46	51.71
2000 Chamber of Deputies	43.84	24.06 <sup>a</sup>	25.88 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.73	4.49	51.20
1997 Chamber of Deputies	50.58	13.16	29.90	3.30	—	2.79	—	33.84
1995 Municipal Offices	47.95	15.49	29.86	—	—	6.70 <sup>c</sup>	—	41.59
1994 President	42.71	10.93	30.14	1.68	—	8.94	5.60	62.32
1991 Chamber of Deputies	72.57	5.85	5.65	0.52	—	10.51	4.90	—
1989 State Legislature	76.38	6.16	5.95	—	—	11.51	—	62.32
1988 President	90.98	3.54	—	—	—	5.48	—	53.68

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	24	72
PAN	5	12
PRD	7	20
PT	2	2
PVEM	1	4
Other	1 (PAS)	8
Total	40	118

**Comment**

The PRI will pick up ground because of tensions in the multiparty coalition that gave rise to Salazar Mendiguchía’s narrow gubernatorial victory. The major partners in this alliance—the PAN and the PRD—have agreed tentatively to join

together in the October 3 balloting. This alliance will evaporate if, at the national level, the two parties go to war over a move in Congress to remove López Obrador's legislative immunity. In that case, PRD state leader Joel Hidalgo González has hinted that his party would run joint candidates with the PT in 24 of the 118 municipalities.<sup>29</sup>

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29. Notimex, "Mantendría PRD alianza con PAN en Chiapas," *El Universal*, May 23, 2004, Internet ed.

## Michoacán

<b>Offices to be filled:</b>	<b>Election date: November 14</b>
40 state legislators	Nomination deadline:
24 by direct election	September 9 (directly elected state legislators)
16 by proportional representation	September 24 (proportionally elected state legislators and municipal officials)
113 municipal governments	Inauguration: January 15, 2005 (state legislators)
Governor: Lázaro Cárdenas Batel; PRD; born April 2, 1964, Jiquilpan de Juárez, Mich.	

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Morelia
Main cities	Zamora, Uruapan, Lázaro Cárdenas
Land area	59,929 sq. km (23,145 sq. miles)
Population	4,146,819
Labor force	55.3 percent
Share of GNP	2.5 percent
Industrial parks	3
Roads	13,236 km (8,226 miles)
Railroads	1,242 km (772 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Semi-finished iron products, steel, fertilizers, and fruit

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Agriculture, livestock, and fishing	18.3
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	16.6
Financial services	15.7

1. Source: Bancomext

### Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 2,656,615

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98.17 percent of citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*  
 4.13 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Michoacán (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	28.65	19.25	35.18	1.64	7.76	3.51	4.01	31.22
2001 Governor	37.80	19.00	43.10 <sup>a</sup>	—	—	—	—	53.70
2000 President	30.18	28.63 <sup>b</sup>	37.14 <sup>c</sup>	*	—	1.98	2.08	60.79
2000 Senate	30.60	24.95 <sup>b</sup>	39.61 <sup>c</sup>	*	—	2.63	2.21	60.31
2000 Chamber of Deputies	31.33	25.68 <sup>b</sup>	38.00 <sup>c</sup>	*	—	2.80	2.19	60.01
1997 Chamber of Deputies	35.77	18.07	40.22	1.31	—	4.55	—	—
1995 Governor	38.90	25.50	32.40	—	—	3.20 <sup>d</sup>	—	—
1994 President	47.24	16.44	37.91	—	—	4.10	2.5	72.12
1994 Chamber of Deputies	43.62	14.81	33.35	1.07	—	6.18	—	—
1992 Governor	52.80	7.10	36.59	—	—	3.52 <sup>d</sup>	—	50.73
1991 Chamber of Deputies	53.91	8.71	31.20	—	—	6.19 <sup>d</sup>	—	64.56
1988 President	23.69	10.78	—	—	—	65.54 <sup>e</sup>	—	39.01
1986 Governor	84.95	9.10	—	—	—	5.95	—	41.70

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. In 2001 the PRD headed the "United for Michoacán" coalition, which included the PT, the PVEM, Convergencia, the PAS, and the PSN.

b. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

c. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

d. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

e. The Democratic Front for National Reconstruction (FDN) was a five-party amalgam to support Cardenas in 1988. This figure includes FDN results.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats</b>	<b>Municipal governments</b>
PRI	17	37
PAN	5	9
PRD	17	0
PT	1	0
PVEM	0	0
Other	0	67 (elected by coalition)
Total	40	113

**Comment**

The outcome will hinge on three factors: (1) how actively Governor Cárdenas campaigns for his party's nominees, (2) whether the governor gets swept up in the Ahumada case, and (3) the quality of the nominees for mayor of Morelia, the state capital. In any case, the PRI and the PRD will go after each other hammer and tongs, which may enable the PAN to make modest gains in the state.

## Yucatán

### Offices to be filled:

25 state legislators

15 by direct election

10 by proportional representation

106 municipal governments

Governor: Patricio José Patrón Laviada; PAN; born Dec. 17, 1957, Mérida, Yuc.

### Election date: May 16

Nomination deadline: March 15

Inauguration: July 1

### Demographic highlights

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Capital	Mérida
Main cities	Progreso, Tizimin, Tekax
Land area	38,402 sq. km (14,831 sq. miles)
Population	1,733,954
Labor force	57.5 percent
Share of GNP	1.35 percent
Industrial parks	4
Roads	12,254 km (7,616 miles)
Railroads	609 km (378 miles)
International airports	1
Main export products	Processed fish, beer, textiles, apparel
Electric power <sup>1</sup>	95.4 percent

1. Percentage of inhabited houses with electric power

### Gross state product<sup>1</sup>

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Economic sector	Percentage
Manufacturing	15.1
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	19.9
Finance and insurance	15.4
Services	23.2

1. Source: Bancomext

### Voter registration (September 13, 2003): 1,056,904

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98.51 percent of citizens who have sought to register are on the *padrón electoral*

1.64 percent of registered voters in the nation

**Election results, Yucatán (1988–2003)**

<b>Election</b>	<b>PRI %</b>	<b>PAN %</b>	<b>PRD %</b>	<b>PT %</b>	<b>PVEM %</b>	<b>Minor parties %</b>	<b>Null %</b>	<b>Turnout %</b>
2003 Chamber of Deputies	46.56	43.00	5.28	0.66	@	1.84	2.66	49.62
2001 Governor	44.52	53.30	#	#	—	0.98	2.20	69.71
2000 President	46.08	47.10 <sup>a</sup>	3.90 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.03	1.88	71.96
2000 Senate	46.82	46.25 <sup>a</sup>	3.70 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.17	2.05	71.10
2000 Chamber of Deputies	47.62	44.83 <sup>a</sup>	4.08 <sup>b</sup>	*	—	1.30	2.17	71.31
1997 Chamber of Deputies	51.17	38.29	7.43	0.88	—	2.21	—	58.28
1995 Governor	50.34	45.46	3.27	—	—	0.93 <sup>c</sup>	—	71.32
1994 President	53.56	41.34	3.25	—	—	1.86 <sup>c</sup>	—	68.76
1994 Chamber of Deputies	53.04	39.94	2.60	0.65	—	3.77	—	—
1991 Chamber of Deputies	61.82	36.01	0.23	—	—	1.94 <sup>c</sup>	—	51.22
1988 President	67.16	31.12	—	—	—	1.72	—	51.22

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

a. This total reflects the PAN and the Green Party (PVEM), forming the Alliance for Change.

b. This total reflects the Labor Party (PT), the PRD, the Democratic Convergence (CD), the Social Alliance Party (PAS), and the Nationalist Society Party (PSN), forming the Alliance for Mexico.

c. PT totals are included in the minor-party total.

# PAN/PRD/PT/PVEM coalition.

\* Because the PT was part of the Alliance for Change for the 2000 election, its numbers are included in the PRD column.

@ The PRI formed a coalition with the Green Party (PVEM) in most contests in this state. Totals for the PVEM are included in the PRI column.

**Distribution of major offices**

<b>Party</b>	<b>State legislative seats*</b>	<b>Municipal governments*</b>
PRI	10	51 (2 allied with PVEM)
PAN	13	50
PRD	2	5
PT	0	0
PVEM	0	0
Other	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>106</b>

\* These are preliminary figures from the May 16 election; disputes over several state legislative seats could change the partisan composition of that body, which convenes on July 1.

## Comment

On May 16, PAN candidate Manuel Fuentes Alcocer (133,798 votes) decisively defeated PRI nominee Víctor Cervera Pacheco (119,094 votes) to win the mayorship of Mérida. In terms of resources and media attention, this contest assumed the importance of a gubernatorial face-off. The campaign revolved around the 68-year-old Cervera, who had previously held the mayorship (1971–72) before serving as a federal deputy, senator, and secretary of Agrarian Reform. More impressive was Don Víctor's reputation as a gift-bestowing, job-giving dinosaur, who held the governorship for a record 10 years (substitute: 1984–88; elected: 1995–2001). Although Cervera Pacheco screamed "fraud" over the results, party president Madrazo accepted the defeat, which terminates the career of Mexico's most notable political museum piece. Even though the PAN has held Mérida for a dozen years, the PRI made a terrible strategic decision in trumpeting its nominee's chances. Once the dust had settled, César Augusto Santiago, the PRI's national secretary of elections, resigned as a result of the flawed strategy and defeat. "We committed the sin of exaggerated optimism," he said upon stepping down.<sup>30</sup> Fuentes Alcocer's victory has emboldened the opposition to believe it can oust the PRI from neighboring Quintana Roo in next year's gubernatorial contest.

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30. Quoted in Claudia Guerrero, "Abandona César Augusto acción electoral del PRI," *Reforma*, May 20, 2004, Internet ed.

**Mexican Electoral Calendar, 2005**

<b>State</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Registration of candidates</b>	<b>Date of election</b>	<b>Inauguration</b>
<b>Baja California Sur</b>	Governor	Nov. 1–10, 2004	Feb. 6, 2005	April 5, 2005
	15 state legislators	Nov. 1–10, 2004	Feb. 6, 2005	March 15, 2005
	5 municipal governments	Nov. 21–30, 2004	Feb. 6, 2005	Not yet determined
<b>Coahuila</b>	Governor	July 28 to Aug. 3, 2005	Sept. 25, 2005	Dec. 1, 2005
	20 state legislators	Aug. 8–12, 2005	Sept. 25, 2005	Jan. 1, 2006
	38 municipal governments	Aug. 8–12, 2005	Sept. 25, 2005	Jan. 1, 2006
<b>Guerrero</b>	Governor	Oct. 15–30, 2004	Feb. 6, 2005	April 1, 2005
	48 state legislators	Aug. 1–30, 2005	Oct. 2, 2005	Nov. 15, 2005
	76 municipal governments	Aug. 1–15, 2005	Oct. 2, 2005	Dec. 2, 2005
<b>Hidalgo</b>	Governor	Dec. 10–15, 2004	Feb. 20, 2005	April 1, 2005
	29 state legislators	Dec. 10–15, 2004	Feb. 20, 2005	April 1, 2005
	84 municipal governments	Oct. 10–15, 2005	Nov. 13, 2005	Jan. 16, 2006
<b>Mexico</b>	Governor	Last week of Jan. to the second week of Feb.	July 3, 2005	Sept. 15, 2005
<b>Nayarit</b>	Governor	March 16–30, 2005	July 3, 2005	Sept. 19, 2005
	29 state legislators	April 16–May 5, 2005	July 3, 2005	Aug. 18, 2005
	20 municipal governments	April 1–15, 2005	July 3, 2005	Not yet determined
<b>Quintana Roo</b>	Governor	Dec. 1, 2004	Feb. 20, 2005	April 5, 2005
	25 state legislators	Dec. 13–19, 2004 <sup>a</sup>	Feb. 20, 2005	March 25, 2005
	9 municipal governments	Dec. 7, 2004	Feb. 20, 2005	April 10, 2005

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral.

Note: Dates are subject to change based on official decisions of local electoral authorities.

a. Dec. 13, 2004, for directly elected deputies; Dec. 19, 2004, for proportional representation.

**Possible gubernatorial candidates in 2005**

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Baja California Sur</b>	Nov. 1–10, 2004	Feb. 6, 2005	April 5, 2005
Incumbent	Leonel Cota Montaño; PRD; born April 14, 1956, Santiago, BCS		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	Senator José Carlos Cota Osuna (born March 16, 1946, La Paz, BCS) Ex-senator General José Antonio Valdivia (born May 16, 1938, ejido Plutarco Elías Calles, BCS) Ex-senator Antonio Benjamín Manríquez Guluarte (born Feb. 15, 1952, San Antonio, BCS) Ex-federal deputy Mario Vargas Aguiar (born 1948, La Paz, BCS) President of PRI's National Women's Institute Esthela de Jesús Ponce Beltrán (born August 27, 1964, La Paz, BCS)		
PAN	Will probably either select an external candidate or enter a coalition		
PRD	Senator Ricardo Gerardo Higuera (born May 1, 1958, Santo Domingo, Conondú, BCS) Senator Rodimiro Amaya Téllez (born Oct. 7, Etchojoa, Sonora.)		
Comment	The dissemination of a video showing the PVEM leader accepting money from businessman Carlos Ahumada will probably lead the PAN's National Council to withdraw its letter of intent enter a coalition with the PVEM and the PT. Apart from the PVEM situation, the PT is the nation's most anti-PAN party. The high educational level in Baja California Sur should make it possible for the PAN to run a competitive race, especially in light of the allegations of corruption, misallocation of federal funds, nepotism, and lies to the state legislature that have hung like a black cloud over the administration of Governor Leonel Cota Montaño. His shortcomings aside, Cota Montaño remains popular with investors, the business community, and the public.		

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Coahuila</b>	July 28 to August 3	September 25	December 1
Incumbent	Enrique Martínez y Martínez; PRI; born Nov. 10, 1948, Saltillo, Coah.		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	Saltillo Mayor Humberto Moreira Valdés (born July 28, 1966, Saltillo, Coah.) Federal Deputy Jesús María Ramón Valdez (born March 15, 1938, Cd. Acuña) Senator Alejandro Gutiérrez Gutiérrez (born Nov. 16, 1956, Saltillo, Coah.) State Finance Secretary Javier Guerrero García (born Oct. 20, 1958, San Pedro de las Colonias, Coah.)		
PAN	Senator Jorge Zermeño Infante (born Jan. 23, 1949, D.F.)		

Torreón mayor José Guillermo Anaya Llamas (born July 2, 1968, Torreón, Coah.)

Ex-mayor of Ramos Arizpe Ernesto Saro Boardman (born July 24, 1950, D.F.)

Under secretary of Economics Juan Antonio García Villa (born 1945, Torreón, Coah.)

PRD None

Other None

Comment Saltillo Mayor Moreira Valdés, who is leading in early polls, has excellent relations with Gov. Martínez. Senator Alejandro Gutiérrez, who has worked closely with billionaire businessman Carlos Slim on communications issues, will have access to ample campaign funds should the PRI hold an open primary. The notorious Carlos Ahumada invested in the Santos Laguna first-division soccer team that plays in the state, and his Mexican passport names Coahuila as the Argentine-born entrepreneur's birthplace. Journalists report that Ahumada has good ties to Gov. Martínez; it remains to be seen whether the *videoscándalo* reaches Coahuila.

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Guerrero</b>	October 15–30, 2004	February 6	April 1
Incumbent	René Juárez Cisneros (born June 8, 1956, Acapulco, Gro.)		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	Senator Héctor A. Astudillo Flores (born July 3, 1958, Chilpancingo, Gro.)		
PAN	Ex-state legislator Carlos Sánchez Barrios (born Aug. 17, 1957, Zumpango del Río, Gro.)		
	Agrarian Reform Secretary Florencio Salazar Adame (born April 5, 1950, D.F.)		
PRD	Ex-mayor of Acapulco Carlos Zeferino Torreblanca Galindo (born March 14, 1954, Acapulco, Gro.)		
	Senator Armando Chavarría Barrera (born Aug. 28, 1956, Iguala, Gro.)		
	Carlos Sánchez Barrios (born Aug. 17, 1957, Zumpango del Río, Gro.)		
	Ex-senator/actor José Félix Salgado Macedonio (born Jan. 14, 1957, Cd. Altamirano, Gro.)		
Other	None		

Comment Guerrero remains a political museum piece or, as one local leader said, "We're not the 'third world,' we're the 'fifth world.'" PRI power brokers in the state—Rubén Figueroa, Gov. Juárez Cisneros, and ex-governor Angel Aguirre Rivera—have lined up behind Senator Astudillo, thus ensuring him the party's nomination. Astudillo is well liked because his father is a physician, beloved by the poor to whose health needs he attended. Ex-state legislator Carlos Sánchez Barrios, a close ally of Gov. Cisneros, appeared to have the inside track for the PRI candidacy. However, a motorcycle accident followed by a long hospitalization in 2003 thrust him to the wings of the political stage. He may bolt the PRI if he can become another party's standard-bearer. The one chance the opposition has in this PRI stronghold is to unite behind Zeferino Torreblanca Galinda, who won the mayorship of Acapulco in 2000 as a PRD external candidate. Both Fox and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas campaigned on his behalf.

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Hidalgo</b>	December 10–15, 2004	February 20	April 1
Incumbent	Manuel Ángel Núñez Soto (born Jan. 30, 1951, Actopan, Hgo.)		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	Federal Deputy Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong (born Aug. 5, 1964, Pachuca, Hgo.)		
	Ex-federal deputy David Penchyna Grub (born March 10, 1965, Pachuca, Hgo.)		
	Senator José Ernesto Gil Elorduy (born Sept. 18, 1943, D.F.)		
	Ex-federal deputy Alma Carolina Viggiano Austria (born July 6, 1968, Tepehuacán de Guerrero, Hgo.)		
	Senator Esteban Miguel Ángeles Cerón (born Feb. 8, 1946, San Agustín Tlaxcala, Hgo.)		
	Ex-federal deputy Gerardo Sosa Castellán (born July 26, 1955, Acaxochitlán, Hgo.)		
	Ex-federal deputy Omar Fayad Meneses (born Aug. 26, 1962, Tellez, Hgo.)		
PAN	Senator José Antonio Hagenbeck Cámara (born June 7, 1955, Tehuacán, Pue.)		
	Ex-mayor of Pachuca José Antonio Telleria Beltrán (born Nov. 27, 1963, Pachuca, Hgo.)		
	Attorney General Rafael Macedo de la Concha (born May 6, 1950, D.F.)		
	Indian Affairs Commissioner Xóchitl Gálvez (born Feb. 22, 1963, Denganzá Tepatepec, Hgo.) <sup>1</sup>		
PRD	Indian Affairs Commissioner Xóchitl Gálvez (born Feb. 22, 1963, Denganzá Tepatepec, Hgo.)		
Other	None		

Comment Deputy Osorio Chong's close ties to Gov. Nuñez Soto make him the odds-on favorite to capture the PRI nomination and the governorship. Ex-federal deputy David PENCHYNA, who serves as the technical secretary of the PRI's National Political Council, enjoys excellent ties with Madrazo, Elba Esther Gordillo, Beatriz Paredes, ex-governor Jesús Murillo Karam (1993–98), and many other leading lights in the party. PENCHYNA, who also boasts a good—if not close—relationship with Nuñez Soto, may decide to postpone his gubernatorial bid until 2011. On May 19, 2004, eight of the so-called Twelve Apostles—the dozen aspirants for the PRI nomination—met without reaching an agreement on a unity candidate. Indian Affairs Commissioner Xóchitl Gálvez has expressed interest in the PAN nomination, and the PRD has indicated an interest in her candidacy; if she doesn't opt out for personal reasons, she could wind up as the nominee of a PAN-PRD alliance. Some PAN leaders would like to nominate Attorney General Macedo de la Concha, who has assumed a high profile in the move to strip López Obrador of his political immunity. On May 24, the attorney general asked state party president Guillermo Galland Guerrero to "refrain" from promoting his candidacy while legal disputes with Mexico City's mayor were hanging fire.<sup>2</sup> His candidacy could also constitute a setback for both the separation of powers in Mexico and the apolitical image of the PGR. Needless to say, the PRD would turn heaven and earth to defeat de la Concha.

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Mexico State</b>	Last week of Jan. to second week of Feb.	July 3, 2005	September 15
Incumbent	Arturo Montiel Rojas; PRI; born Oct. 15, 1943, Atlacomulco, Méx.		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	State Attorney General Jesús Alfonso Navarrete Prida (born Oct. 13, 1963, D.F.)		
	State Government Secretary Manuel Cadena Morales (born Sept. 21, 1949, Texcoco, Edomex)		
	Senator César Camacho Quiroz (born Feb. 14, 1956, Metepec, Edomex)		
	State PRI President Isidro Pastor Medrano (born April 4, 1957, Atlacomulco, Edomex)		
	Ex-state secretary of finance and planning Héctor Luna de la Vega (born August 26, 1941, D.F.)		
	Businessman Carlos Hank Rhon (born Dec. 10, 1947, D.F.) <sup>3</sup>		
PAN	Ex-Tlalnepantla mayor Rubén Mendoza Ayala (born Feb. 2, 1962, Tlalnepantla, Edomex)		
	Ex-under secretary of Gobernación José Luis Durán Reveles (born Feb. 21, 1961, Naucalpan, Edomex)		
	Senator Carlos Madrazo Limón (born Feb. 2, 1952, D.F.)		
PRD	Ex-senator Higinio Martínez Miranda (born June 18, 1956, Texcoco, Edomex)		

D.F. Government Secretary Alejandro Encinas Rodríguez (born May 13, 1948, D.F.)

Ex-Canacintra president Yeidckol Polevnski Gurwitz (born January 25, 1964, Mexicali, B.C.)

Other None

Comment PRI state president Isidro Pastor Medrano, who would like to succeed Gov. Arturo Montiel, has strengthened the party's finances, cadres, and structure. These feats will not ensure Pastor's obtaining the gubernatorial nomination. The bald-headed Pastor is known as the "Mexican Mussolini" because of his militaristic, mystical, authoritarian approach to campaigns. Last year, for example, he doled out tennis shoes and Biometrix vitamins to the PRI's 36 legislative candidates as the theme from *Rocky* blared in the background. The party's über chief has run afoul of Montiel in recent weeks. Montiel, who appears to favor either Attorney General Navarrete or Government Secretary Cadena, has sought to boost his own popularity by requiring bus companies to carry senior citizens free of charge. Other PRI aspirants include Senator Camacho Quiroz (a former interim governor supported by PRI legislative leader Emilio Chuayffet Chemor), Luna de la Vega (who is Pastor's nemesis), and multimillionaire Hank Rhon (backed by Madrazo). To meet the PRI challenge in the country's number-one state in terms of voters, the three PAN wannabes—Durán Reveles, Mendoza Ayala, and Madrazo Limón—have agreed to participate in four open regional primaries. On April 4, *ex-priista* and former Tlalnepantla mayor Mendoza Ayala, captured the southern zone with 37,270 votes to 24,803 for Durán Reveles, and 2,953 for Madrazo Limón. Supporters of Durán Reveles, who is close to Government Secretary Santiago Creel, have urged a change in procedures to allow only citizens affiliated with the PAN to participate in the primaries for the center (July), east (September), and north (December) scheduled for later in 2004. They fear that the wily Mendoza Ayala will engage in gift giving and vote buying to sway participants in contests remain open to non-*panistas*. It remains to be seen whether the four primaries will impel unity of divisions.

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Nayarit</b>	March 16–30	July 3	September 19
Incumbent	Antonio Echevarría Domínguez (born March 11, 1944, Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.)		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	Tepic mayor Ney Manuel González Sánchez (born Jan. 25, 1963, Guadalajara, Jal.)		
	Federal Deputy Salvador Sánchez Vázquez (born Oct. 21, 1940, Tepic, Nay.)		
PAN	State's First Lady Martha Elena García de Echevarría (born May 3, 1945, Oaxaca)		
	Ex-state government secretary Fernando González Díaz		
PRD	None		

Other Convergencia: Martha Elena García de Echevarría (born May 3, 1945, Oaxaca)

Comment In light of the extensive criticism of Echevarría's administration, the PRI has an excellent chance to recapture this state. Its logical candidate is Nayarit mayor and former federal deputy Ney González Sánchez, who is the son of Emilio González Parra, the late governor (1981–87) and longtime CTM leader. Martha Elena García Echevarría has made no secret of her desire to follow in the footsteps of her husband, whose government has sparked widespread allegations of inefficiency, corruption, and nepotism. In March 2004, she enrolled in a PAN candidate training course. For his part, the governor has said that his wife should enter the race only if she can enjoy the backing of the coalition that swept him to office five years ago. Participants in that alliance were the PAN, the PRD, the PT, and the PRS. In 1998 Echevarría also received the endorsement of the Democratic Center Party and Convergencia.

State	Registration	Election day	Inauguration day
<b>Quintana Roo</b>	December 1, 2004	February 20	April 5
Incumbent	Joaquín Hendricks Díaz; PRI; born Nov. 7, 1951, Chetumal, QR		
Party	Possible candidates		
PRI	Federal Deputy Felix Arturo González Canto (born Aug. 23, 1968, Cozumel, QR)		
	Federal Deputy Félix Arturo González Canto (born Aug. 23, 1968, Cozumel, QR)		
	President of State Legislature Javier Félix Zetina González (born Dec. 24, 1963, Cozumel QR)		
	Senator Addy Cecilia Joaquín Coldwell (born Aug. 24, 1939, Cozumel, QR)		
	Senator Eduardo Ovando Martínez (born Oct. 13, 1955, Chetumal, QR)		
PAN	None		
PRD	None		
Other	PVEM: Cancún Mayor Juan Ignacio "Chacho" García Zalvidea (born Feb. 15, 1957, D.F.)		

Comment: Despite the PVEM's association with corruption at the national level, García Zavidea remains a popular figure in Quintana Roo and enjoys many strong contacts with the PAN to which he once belonged. After its May 2004 triumph in Mérida, in neighboring Yucatán, the PAN would like to sweep to victory in Quintana Roo. However, in announcing his interest in the governorship, "Chacho" advocated running as the candidate of the Frente Amplio Opositor, composed of the PRD and Convergencia, with support from the PVEM. In a May 2004 public opinion poll, the Mitofsky firm found that, in terms of party support, the PRI (31 percent) had a lead over its nearest rival (21 percent)—with one-quarter of the respondents undecided. This survey also revealed that, among the likely gubernatorial contenders, Senator Joaquín Coldwell attracted fewer negative comments; however, since serving as mayor Chetumal, she has largely made her career in Mexico City. The 65-year-old Joaquín Coldwell, who says she will no longer step aside for male candidates, and her Senate colleague, Eduardo Ovando Martínez, were the better known PRI aspirants.<sup>4</sup> In the poll, García Zalvidea received more kudos. Thus far the PRI has failed to convince a court that the mayor should be removed because of financial irregularities, and "Chacho" has filed a countersuit against the governor and the PRI-dominated state legislature. For his part, Ovando denied that he had begun campaigning prematurely when, in late May 2004, he attended a meeting of 1,500 people from eight southern municipalities who constituted themselves as the "Civil Association of Friends of Ovando." Joaquín Coldwell and Ovando have opposed the state party's decision to forgo a primary in favor of selecting the gubernatorial candidate in a convention on June 26, 2004. They claim that the governor will be able to manipulate this 1,514-delegate conclave on behalf of one of his fair-haired boys, deputies Alcerreca Sánchez and González Canto. They are probably correct. Zetina González, who presides over the state legislature, is also on good terms with Hendricks. In yet another example of spousal political involvement, María Rubio Eulogio de Hendricks—the governor's wife—has announced her interest in succeeding "Chacho" as mayor of Cancún.

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1. She is drawing attention from both the PAN and the PRD.

2. "Pide Macedo a pan dejar de lado su candidatura en Hidalgo," *Infosel Financiero (Terra)*, May 24, 2004, Internet ed.

3. Although extremely close to Madrazo, Hank Rhon has never held a public or party office, which makes him ineligible to run, according to Article 166, Paragraph X, of the party's by-laws.

4. "El PRI, a la cabeza en un encuesta," *Diario de Yucatán*, May 20, 2004, Internet ed.

## Conclusions

This year's elections are extremely important for a number of reasons. First, they will test whether PRI president Roberto Madrazo Pintado's efforts to recruit attractive candidates, strengthen the party's organization, and allocate campaign resources have paid dividends. It just so happens that most of the 10 states holding gubernatorial elections in 2004 have a long history of supporting the PRI. Most analysts expect the PRI to carry Chihuahua, Durango, Puebla, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, and Veracruz. Aguascalientes leans towards the PAN, and the PRD currently governs both Tlaxcala and Zacatecas. Should the PRI wind up with eight triumphs, it would stick a bright feather in Madrazo's cap as he pursues the party's presidential nomination. At the same time, Madrazo would suffer a stinging setback if Aguascalientes, Tlaxcala, and Zacatecas were to remain under current political management and if the PRI were to lose Oaxaca. A defeat in Oaxaca would give the PRI leader a black eye, which would match the one he received for recruiting tyrannosaur Cervera Pacheco to run for mayor of Mérida.

Second, although the PRI has nominated only two dyed-in-the-wool *madracista* (Ruiz in Oaxaca and Deras in Durango), the party president is hoping to gain favor with the new state executives by throwing resources and personnel into their campaigns. Thanks to this support, he trusts they will help him gain the party's presidential nomination. The problem for Madrazo and the PRI is that, unlike the long-ruling East European Communist parties that have staged comebacks, the PRI has failed to renew its cadres, change its name, modify its program, and otherwise reinvent itself as a responsible party capable of providing Mexico with clean, innovative leadership.

Third, the donnybrook in Aguascalientes illustrates sloppy recruiting on the part of the PRI. It appeared that the party's original candidate—ex-deputy Oscar González Rodríguez, a *madracista*—would give the PAN a run for its money. Not only did the hapless González Rodríguez fold like an accordion, he blamed his exodus from the race on PRI Secretary-General Gordillo. He accused her of cutting a deal with the PAN governor: supposedly she would back PAN candidates and he would turn over control of the teachers to the SNTE president. Her critics have yet to prove that the wily Gordillo undercut her party in Aguascalientes, but the episode should warn Madrazo and his team that they continue to marginalize her at their peril.

Fourth, like other statehouse races since 1998, this year's contests are attracting men and women who have pursued careers at the local and state levels rather than "parachuting in" from Mexico City a few months before the balloting. Also noteworthy is the especially large number of senators (19) vying for governorships. Once a legislative retirement home for *priistas*, the upper house has become a much more important body in recent years. In contrast with past behavior, incumbent senators now visit their home states more frequently, because, to quote an observer: "They know that to be out of touch is to be out of luck when gubernatorial elections take place." That she is more identified with Mexico City than Quintana Roo is one reason that Senator Addy Joaquín Coldwell will have an uphill

battle for the PRI nomination next year. The same may be true for Esthela Ponce Beltrán in Baja California Sur.

Fifth, the relevance of corruption in this year's contests could affect the fortunes of various presidential aspirants. Should the issue loom large, the big losers will be Madrazo and Mexico City mayor López Obrador. In public-opinion surveys, respondents associate the PRI in general and Madrazo in particular with venal practices. In addition, the *videoscándalo* has slightly damaged López Obrador's carefully cultivated image as a clean politician (he has not appeared in any of the videos, however). The PRI has options other than Madrazo, but the party's 17 governors—from whom another nominee would most likely emerge—cannot agree on an alternative. If the corruption issue hurts PRI candidates this year, party notables might get serious about turning thumbs down on Madrazo. Among others, Mexico State's Arturo Montiel, Hidalgo's Manuel Angel Nuñez Soto, Sinaloa's Juan Millán, and Coahuila's Enrique Martínez have expressed interest in succeeding Fox, as has Senate leader Enrique Jackson. After the 2004 and early 2005 gubernatorial successions are accomplished, there may be a move to coalesce around a challenger to Madrazo. At least one of the aspirants believes an endorsement from Governor Alemán after the September 5 election in Veracruz would loft his political star.

In contrast, López Obrador appears destined to become the PRD's standard-bearer in 2006. Yet if the issue of wrongdoing catches fire, it will make it extremely difficult for him to obtain votes outside of traditional PRD bailiwicks—Mexico City, a crescent of Mexico State, Michoacán, Tlaxcala, Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Zacatecas. Leading PAN contenders Government Secretary Santiago Creel Miranda and ex-energy secretary Felipe Calderón Hinojosa may not be the most effective members of the cabinet, but they boast good images. The electorate's attention to corruption would loft their prospects of succeeding President Vicente Fox Quesada in 2006. Nonetheless, a spring 2004 poll in *Reforma* found that a cross section of city residents preferred a leader who achieved results even if he was "a little corrupt" to an "honest" leader who failed to deliver<sup>31</sup>—a finding that augurs well for López Obrador.

Sixth, the elections will provide an insight into attitudes toward the political system. The 2003 Chamber of Deputies contests exhibited extremely low turnout (41.8 percent) combined with an unusually high level of ballot spoilage (nearly 1 million citizens or 3.36 percent). Low participation this year would reveal a continuing disenchantment with political elites, who practice obstruction and posturing at the expense of promoting the well-being of the majority. It may be that voters simply focus their animus on perceived do-nothing federal legislators. Anti-system redounds to the benefit of the populist, demagogic López Obrador, who offers himself as a "man above politics" who presents simple solutions to complex questions.

Seventh, the elections will be a test for primaries. In several states, the PAN and the PRD have followed the PRI's example to select gubernatorial candidates in pri-

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31. *Reforma* interviews talked to 615 people on April 3; the findings have a +/- 4 percent margin of error at a 95 percent confidence level. See "Muestra tolerancia a corrupción," *Reforma*, April 15, 2004, Internet ed.

maries. In other states, they chose candidates via relatively closed procedures. It will be instructive to find out whether open or closed methods affect the success of standard-bearers.

Eighth, the gubernatorial contests will cast light on which alliances may crystallize in the 2005 statehouse races (Baja California Sur, Coahuila, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Mexico State, Nayarit, Quintana Roo) as well as in 2006. The pragmatic PRI has co-opted the Partido Verde Ecológico Mexicano (PVEM) and the Partido de Trabajadores (PT) as virtual satellites. The more ideological PAN has been swept up in an intramural battle over its alliance with the PRD in Chihuahua and Tlaxcala and its participation in a coalition with the PRD and Convergencia in Oaxaca. In general terms, the party president, Luis Felipe Bravo Mena, and the secretary-general, Manuel Espino Barrientos, favor tactical alliances on the grounds that the PAN, which can reassess its position in the future, must hold the line against the PRI in the 14 elections this year. Also adhering to this view are Government Secretary Creel, Government Under Secretary Humberto Aguilar Coronado, and Senator Juan José Rodríguez Prats. On the other side of the debate are *panistas* who favor the presidential candidacy of Calderón: his sister Senator María Luisa Calderón and Chamber of Deputies vice-leader Germán Martínez Cázares. The outcome of the March 2005 election to replace Bravo Mena as PAN president will furnish an insight into the party's strategy for 2006. Three men are expected to toss their blue-and-white hats in the ring for this post: Aguilar Coronado (pro-Creel), Martínez Cázares (pro-Calderón), and Rodríguez Prats (uncommitted).

Ninth, in 2004 states that possess more than 40 percent of the nation's registered voters will go to the polls. These include three of the Big Six battleground states that play a crucial role in national contests, namely, Veracruz, Puebla, and Michoacán. Building organizations and honing messages in these states will be especially important to the outcome of the 2006 presidential face-off.

Tenth, the attention devoted by parties to the election of 17 governors in 2004 and 2005 will contribute to continued congressional gridlock on tax, labor, energy, electoral, and judicial reforms. Also exacerbating legislative paralysis is the plethora of early presidential candidates—in part, because Fox won his party's nomination by campaigning early and, in part, because there is no PRI chief executive to dictate the party's nominating schedule. The PRI, which is determined to recapture Los Pinos, doesn't want the PAN to achieve any more legislative and electoral victories than the bare minimum. Similarly, the PRD has blood in its eye toward Fox and the PAN arising from the *videoescándalo*, the move to strip López Obrador of his political immunity, and the PRD's ideological disdain for liberalizing the economic system.

Twelfth, despite efforts by Jorge Castañeda Gutman and Patricia Mercado to create new parties, the 2004 elections demonstrate that Mexico remains a three-party state.<sup>32</sup> A medley of elements—inertia, existing loyalties, campaign funding laws, and the difficulty of satisfying registration requirements—militate against the creation of new parties.

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32. Castañeda's has named his party *México Ciudadano*, while Mercado, who headed the now defunct *México Posible*, has christened hers the *Alianza Socialdemócrata Campesina y Popular*.

Thirteenth, the president's wife, Marta Sahagún, will observe carefully the nominating process in Tlaxcala, where the governor's wife, a senator, wants to vie for the state's top office. The Electoral Tribunal of Judicial Power (TRIFE), the nation's highest electoral court, is now considering the legality of a PRD measure to prevent a spouse or child of an incumbent from succeeding that incumbent. Although the peripatetic Marta is more likely to run for a Senate seat or a governorship in 2006, she should never be underestimated. Indeed, among *panistas*, she is tied with Government Secretary Creel as the favorite for the presidential nomination.<sup>33</sup>

Fourteenth, the activism of First Lady Sahagún and Tlaxcala Senator Ramírez García aside, few women have a chance to capture statehouses. Should García Medina triumph in Zacatecas, she will be only the third female in Mexican history to win a statehouse.<sup>34</sup> As governorships evolve into more independent posts, male politicians—many of whom give lip service to greater opportunities for women—are increasingly reluctant to award these political plums to their distaff colleagues. For instance, the DIF director, Ana Teresa Aranda, could have made a stronger PAN standard-bearer in Puebla than the party's male nominee.

Fifteenth, the 2004 electoral contests reveal the weakness of executives: the president and incumbent governors. Fox was a mere spectator as the PAN nominated its candidates and began to launch campaigns. Some governors have filled the political space vacated by the chief executive—with Coahuila's Martínez, Sinaloa's Millán, Mexico State's Montiel, Oaxaca's Murat, Hidalgo's Soto Nuñez, and Tamaulipas's Yarrington being examples. Nonetheless, a majority of governors have neither been able to deliver their deputies in major votes in the Chamber of Deputies nor been able to manipulate the process of selecting their successors.

Finally, despite Mexico's conspicuous liberalization, many elements of the old system remain. These include (1) the persistence of "dinosaurs"—with outgoing Oaxaca governor "Pepé" Murat, Mérida mayoral candidate Cervera Pacheco, and Tijuana mayoral aspirant Hank Rhon providing prime examples; (2) the struggle of incumbent governors to select their successors—in part, to continue their projects; in part, to minimize their chance of prosecution by the next administration; and, (3) most discouraging, the strong tendency to satanize political adversaries whether they are within one's party or in a competing party.

Such intolerance militates against forging coalitions in Congress and retards the nation's moving beyond clean elections to achieve democracy. The current scandal-of-the-month atmosphere amid slow growth and grinding poverty undermines the legitimacy of the presidency, legislative bodies, political parties, and the judiciary. Regrettably, Fox, who received a salary from the shadowy Amigos de Fox during his 2000 campaign, doesn't occupy the moral high ground that would enable him to pursue consensus building, even if he had an interest in doing so. As *Reforma* jour-

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33. She and Creel both have 36 percent; in a matchup with other candidates, Sahagún (24 percent) runs ahead of Madrazo (17 percent) but behind López Obrador (31 percent); see Moreno, "Cae AMLO, pero lidera las preferencias."

34. The others are Griselda Alvarez Ponce de León in Colima (1980–85) and Beatriz Paredes Rangel in Tlaxcala (1987–92); Dulce María Sauri Riancho served as interim governor of Yucatán (1991–94) and Rosario Robles Berlanga held the post of interim Jefe de Gobierno of Mexico City (1999–2000).

nalist René Delgado observed ironically: “It’s incredible that during this *sexenio*, the country has hosted five world summits and is incapable of organizing a national summit to ward off the specter of chaos and [political] breakdown.”<sup>35</sup>

In a similar vein, Guillermo Ortiz Martínez, governor of the Bank of Mexico, wisely observed: “Regrettably, we are debating political scandals and not discussing issues important to the nation, which are fiscal reform that is crucial to increasing expenditures on infrastructure, educational and technological reform to place [the nation] on a more competitive footing, and energy and labor reform.”<sup>36</sup>

With few exceptions, the political elite has turned a blind eye to the danger of instability presented by the widening chasm between the people and their political leaders that manifests itself in mounting verbal and physical confrontations. If the mandarins keep their collective head in the sand, perhaps other organizations—chambers of commerce, the church, professional groups, civic associations, think tanks, charities, and foundations—should come forward to devise a strategy for Mexico’s future. It is important to remember how civil society burst forth when the government responded inadequately to the September 1985 El Grande earthquakes. Might Mexico’s future be too important to leave to the current lineup of political actors? The answer to this question may lie with how the Fox administration, Mexico City mayor López Obrador, political parties, and other power brokers respond to the symbolic *cri de coeur* for security expressed by hundreds of thousands of silent, white-clothed people who poured through the capital’s streets in the unprecedented “Citizens March Against Crime” on June 27, 2004.

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35. Quoted in René Delgado, “Hablar, no declarar,” *Reforma*, June 12, 2004, Internet ed.

36. Quoted in Félix Fuentes, “Entre la línea,” *El Universal*, May 23, 2004, Internet ed.

## About the Author

George W. Grayson, the Class of 1938 Professor of Government at the College of William & Mary, has made more than 100 research trips to Mexico since 1976. He is a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, an associate scholar at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, a member of the board of advisers of the Latin American Advisor (Inter-American Dialogue), and senior adviser on Mexican affairs for the Washington D.C.-based Capital Insights Group. Grayson lectures regularly at the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State, at the National Defense University, and at universities throughout the United States and Mexico. In addition to preparing studies for CSIS, he has written a dozen books on international affairs, including *Mexico: The Changing of the Guard* (Foreign Policy Association, 2001), *Strange Bedfellows: NATO Marches East* (University Press of America, 1999), and *Mexico: From Corporatism to Pluralism?* (Harcourt Brace, 1998). He is currently writing a book comparing the government of Mexican president Vicente Fox with the administration of Mexico City mayor Andrés Manuel López Obrador. Grayson earned his Ph.D. at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University and his J.D. at the College of William & Mary. He served as a member of the Virginia state legislature for 27 years and belongs to Phi Beta Kappa. His e-mail address is gwgray@wm.edu.