

About CSIS

For four decades, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) has been dedicated to providing world leaders with strategic insights on—and policy solutions to—current and emerging global issues.

CSIS is led by John J. Hamre, former U.S. deputy secretary of defense. It is guided by a board of trustees chaired by former U.S. senator Sam Nunn and consisting of prominent individuals from both the public and private sectors.

The CSIS staff of 190 researchers and support staff focus primarily on three subject areas. First, CSIS addresses the full spectrum of new challenges to national and international security. Second, it maintains resident experts on all of the world's major geographical regions. Third, it is committed to helping to develop new methods of governance for the global age; to this end, CSIS has programs on technology and public policy, international trade and finance, and energy.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., CSIS is private, bipartisan, and tax-exempt. CSIS does not take specific policy positions; accordingly, all views expressed herein should be understood to be solely those of the author(s).

CSIS Americas Program Leadership

Sidney Weintraub, director, Americas Program, and William E. Simon Chair in Political Economy

Phillip McLean, senior associate and deputy director, Americas Program

Luis Pinto, coordinator, Americas Program

M. Delal Baer, senior fellow, Americas Program

Armand Peschard-Sverdrup, director, Mexico Project

Sara Rioff, research assistant, Mexico Project

Miguel Diaz, director, South America Project

Viviane Vanni, research assistant, South America Project

© 2003 by the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

All rights reserved.

This report was prepared under the aegis of the CSIS Policy Papers on the Americas series.

Comments are welcome and should be directed to:

CSIS Americas Program

1800 K Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20006

Phone: (202) 775-3150

Fax: (202) 466-4739

E-mail: lpinto@csis.org

Web site: <http://www.csis.org/>

Contents

Introduction.....	1
Campeche	4
Colima.....	8
Nuevo León	11
Querétaro	15
San Luis Potosí	18
Sonora	21
Conclusions.....	25
About the Author	28

The July 6, 2003, Mexican Mid-term Elections

A Guide to the Six Gubernatorial Contests

George W. Grayson

Introduction

On July 6, 2003, voters in six states will choose governors. These contests coincide with elections to fill all 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, all 66 seats in the Legislative Assembly of the Federal District, and delegates or mini-mayors in the capital's 16 boroughs known as *delegaciones*. Several factors have sparked interest in the gubernatorial races.

First, there are few sure winners. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which lost the presidency in 2000, has regained its competitiveness in the North, where its nominees are running strongly against National Action Party (PAN) candidates in Sonora and Nuevo León. Meanwhile, the PAN is waging uphill, but robust campaigns in the former *priísta* strongholds of Campeche and Colima. Only in the North-Central part of the country (Querétaro and San Luis Potosí) does the PAN appear to have an advantage because of socio-demographic changes and effective rule in conservative Querétaro (by popular PAN governor Ignacio Loyola Vera) and the lackluster administration in San Luis Potosí (by unpopular PRI governor Fernando Silva Nieto).

Second, a medley of factors—President Vicente Fox's uncertain ability to unfurl coattails for PAN standard-bearers, the PRI's loss of *Los Pinos* presidential residence, and the divisions besetting all parties—has prevented political bigwigs in Mexico City from anointing gubernatorial candidates as once was the custom. In contrast to the 1970s and 1980s, many more of the gubernatorial aspirants have served as mayors, as state legislators, or in state bureaucracies. Now that governorships are no longer sinecures, knowledge of and success with local issues assumes more salience. The “all politics is local” cliché increasingly applies to statehouse contests.

Third, in the absence of strong national leaders, governors have seen their influence mushroom, particularly since Fox defeated the PRI three years ago. The attractiveness of governorships—now real political dynamos—sparked knockdown, drag-out fights for nominations in most of the states. The higher stakes have prompted several well-heeled candidates to recruit top-flight political consultants from abroad.

Fourth, the elections will provide a benchmark of the progress of Mexico's transition to democracy. One of the many lingering vestiges of the PRI's single-party hegemony (1929–2000) is the incumbent's desire to select his successor—in a few situations to continue his policies; in some instances to reward allies; and in other cases to immunize himself against corruption charges by the next state leader. PRI governors in Campeche, Colima, and San Luis Potosí have most egregiously attempted to project this *continuismo*. If incumbents succeed in employing the *dedazo* this year, it will embolden outgoing governors to follow suit in 2004 when ten state governments are up for grabs.¹ If voters opt for “alternation in power,” not only will they penalize old-time intrusiveness, but signal a further advance in the nation's democratization.²

Fifth, the rewarding of successful governors by backing their party's nominees or, in contrast, the punishing of poorly performing state leaders by penalizing their party's nominees will strongly affect the electoral strategy that parties pursue in 2006.³

Sixth, as in the legislative contests, voters' behavior on July 6 will send messages to the capital. Even as local issues appear more prominent, these elections will provide citizens a chance to express their views on Fox's presidency. In an era of mounting ticket-splitting, voters may key on the national picture in casting their votes for federal deputies, while basing their gubernatorial choice on incumbent performance.

Seventh, the outcome, including the level of turnout, will strengthen or weaken presidential hopefuls within the PRI (particularly party president Roberto Madrazo Pintado), the PAN (campaign organizer Senator Carlos Medina Plascencia), and the PRD (Mexico City Mayor Andrés Manuel López Obrador and party president Rosario Robles Berlanga). A low output may also reflect ever-greater disenchantment with the priorities of Mexico's political elite, who in late spring devoted a disproportionate amount of attention to a gossipy potboiler written about the chief executive's popular and ubiquitous wife, Marta Sahagún.⁴

Finally, the mid-year results may sound the death knell for small parties. Among those that may not attain the required 622,000 votes in congressional

¹ These are Aguascalientes, Chihuahua, Durango, Oaxaca, Puebla, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, Veracruz, and Zacatecas.

² For this point (and many others), I am indebted to Professor Oscar Aguilar Asencio, one of Mexico's finest political scientists, who kindly commented on an earlier draft of this analysis.

³ Aguilar Asencio, electronic mail to author, May 24, 2003.

⁴ The book is Argentine author Olga Wornat's *La jefa: vida pública y privada de Marta Sahagún* (Mexico City: Random House Español, 2003).

contests are the Partido Fuerza Ciudadano (PFC), Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), Partido de la Sociedad Nacionalista (PSN), México Posible (MP), the Convergencia Partido Político Nacional (CPPN), and Partido Alianza Social (PAS).⁵

Recent Election Results in the Six States Electing Governors on July 6, 2003

2000 Presidential								
State	PAN/ PVEM	%	PRI	%	PRD-PT	%	Other parties	%
Campeche	104,393	40.04	106,347	40.79	35,035	13.44	5,693	2.18
Colima	106,214	48.35	81,001	36.88	23,312	10.61	4,758	2.17
Nuevo León	759,405	50.00	615,575	40.21	96,754	6.32	32,189	2.10
Querétaro	290,977	51.91	192,601	34.36	39,619	7.07	23,225	4.14
S. Luis Potosí	394,141	47.46	324,018	39.01	72,579	8.74	17,115	2.06
Sonora	447,541	50.78	296,270	33.61	114,601	13.00	9,732	1.04
1997 Gubernatorial								
State	PAN	%	PRI	%	PRD	%	Other parties	%
Campeche	7,049	3.13	108,249	48.01	92,898	41.20	17,268	7.66
Colima	74,250	39.37	82,682	43.84	31,659	16.79	0	0
Nuevo León	656,993	47.59	567,462	41.10	42,691	3.09	113,510	8.22
Querétaro	210,693	43.99	186,451	38.93	34,015	7.10	47,883	9.99
S. Luis Potosí	268,592	39.35	320,886	47.01	58,473	8.57	34,694	5.08
Sonora	238,566	32.36	304,657	41.33	171,312	23.24	22,640	3.07
1994 Presidential								
State	PAN	%	PRI	%	PRD	%	Other parties	%
Campeche	41,916	18.28	123,393	53.82	47,732	20.82	9,911	4.32
Colima	60,338	29.69	102,903	50.63	24,157	11.89	10,492	5.16
Nuevo León	597,668	39.69	724,612	48.12	44,460	2.95	107,909	7.17
Querétaro	149,749	30.42	277,992	56.48	27,172	5.52	22,680	4.61
S. Luis Potosí	196,351	25.34	440,601	56.86	73,523	9.49	37,657	4.86
Sonora	330,698	38.16	362,118	41.78	112,023	12.93	44,052	5.08

Source: National Action Party Web site www.pan.org.mx/ver2002/electoral/resultados.asp.

⁵ For the formula used to determine whether a party maintains its registration, see Jorge Herrera, "Requieren partidos 622 mil votos para mantener registro," *El Universal*, June 8, 2003, Internet ed.

Campeche

<i>Population</i> (INEGI) ⁶	713,400 (2003 est.)
<i>Size</i>	21,953 sq. miles (slightly smaller than Wisconsin)
<i>Gross state income</i> (INEGI)	62,416,314,000 pesos/\$6,816,984,900 (2001). National Ranking: 27 th
<i>Current governor</i>	José Antonio González Curi (PRI). Born May 4, 1952, Campeche, Campeche; degree in public administration; M.A. in public administration (Florida International University); official in Finance Ministry (1980–1985); party activist; alternate federal deputy (1985–1988); president of state party (1990–1991); federal deputy (1991–1994); and mayor of Campeche (1995–1997).
<i>Most important municipalities</i>	Campeche (198,200), Ciudad del Carmen (132,400), Escárcega (26,800), Champotón (23,800)
<i>Eligible voters</i> (IFE) ⁷	435,908/50.17 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Registered voters</i> (IFE)	430,828/50.11 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Major party candidate</i>	Jorge Carlos Hurtado Valdez (PRI and PVEM). Born March 22, 1949, Campeche, Campeche; degree in public accounting (U. de Sudeste and Universidad LaSalle); postgraduate studies in political science and public administration (Universidad Autónoma de Campeche/UAC); accountant and professor at UAC; served in various federal and state agencies, including the Mexican Social Security Institute, the Finance Ministry, and the Housing Commission of Campeche; and also held several municipal posts before winning election as mayor of Campeche in 2000.
<i>Selection procedure</i>	Hurtado (1,555 votes) defeated deputy and former PRI state leader Edilberto Buenfil Montalvo (199), Tirso René Rodríguez de la Gala Guerrero (68), and Eraclio Soberanis

⁶ National Institute for Statistics, Geography and Information <www.inegi.gob.mx>.

⁷ Federal Electoral Institute <www.ife.org.mx>.

Sosa (47) in a convention held on November 24, 2002.

Web site

www.jorgecarlos.org

Major party candidate

Juan Carlos del Río González (PAN).

Born May 18, 1963, Merida, Yucatán; degree in industrial engineering with specialty in electricity (Regional Technological Institute, Veracruz); construction manager, Constructora del Río Montero (1986–1989); general manager of La Empresa Ingenieros, Electrónicos, Civiles y Eléctricos (1989–2001); president of Ciudad del Carmen section of the National Chamber of Construction (1995–1997); PAN national counselor; coordinator of PRI mayoral campaign in Ciudad Carmen; chief councilman, Ciudad del Carmen (2000–2001); and coordinator of directors of the Ciudad del Carmen city government.

Web site

www.pan.org.mx

Selection procedure

Del Río González (513 votes/83.3 percent) defeated Deputy Miguel Ángel Montejo González (95 votes/15.42 percent) in a convention held on October 27, 2002.

Major party candidate

Alvaro Arceo Corcuera (Alianza de Esperanza—PRD/México Posible). Born July 16, 1940, Campeche, Campeche; law degree; subdirector of PRI Youth; technical adviser to the PRI's popular sector; judge (1966–1967); private secretary to Governor Carlos Sansores Pérez (1967–1970); secretary general of state government (1970–1973); mayor of Campeche (1974–1976); magistrate (1980–1984); chief justice of the Superior Court of Justice (1985–1989); state legislator (1989–1992); federal deputy (1997–2000); member of President Fox's transition team (2000); assistant prosecutor in D.F. (2001–2003).

Selection procedure

Named by the PRD's State Committee

Web site

www.prd-cen.org.mx

Major party candidate

Layda Elena Sansores San Román (Convergencia Partido Político Nacional/PPN). Born August 7, 1945; Campeche, Campeche; degree in psychology (1967/UNAM); daughter of ex-PRI national party president; worked in government of D.F.; served as PRI federal deputy (1991–1994) and senator (1994–2000); left PRI when denied gubernatorial nomination from her home state in 1997; and supported Vicente Fox in 2000.

Selection procedure

Named by the PPN's National Committee.

Web site

www.layda.com

Analysis

Campeche remains a corruption-ridden PRI fiefdom, a smaller version of neighboring Yucatán under former governor Víctor Cervera Pacheco, who governed for 10 years. Unlike Yucatán, however, the PRI in Campeche is beset by rivalries—one of the most virulent finds the supporters of ex-governor Jorge Solomón Azar at odds with incumbent state executive José Antonio González Curi, sometimes referred to as the “Sultan of Campeche.”

Sultan or not, González Curi managed to handpick the party's standard-bearer, much to the chagrin of other aspirants. So blatant was González Curi's intrusion that one of the best positioned politicians in the state, Senator Aracely Escalante Jasso, age 59—a popular, attractive, and well-financed native of Ciudad del Carmen with a strong following in Campeche—did not even seek the nomination. Escalante, a radio-station owner who enjoyed the backing of Solomón Azar, had been campaigning for the governorship for four years. She inveighed against participating in “supposed democratic elections that would be a masquerade and a sham.” At one point, she even considered seeking the PAN nomination.

The PRI candidate, Jorge Carlos Hurtado Valdez, served as secretary of public works and communications in González Curi's cabinet. According to the Mexico City newspaper *Reforma*,⁸ Hurtado used his position to funnel millions of pesos to a farrago of firms owned by high-profile figures, including his brother, Jorge Luis Hurtado, and the governor's brother, Jorge Luis González Curi. Among those companies cited were Inmobiliaria y Constructora Campeche, Rodicam, and Construcciones y Pavimentaciones. The PAN leader of the state legislature charged that 800 million pesos (\$76 million) in public funds were diverted to build privately owned maquiladora plants. Other money allegedly flowed to political cronies for the rental of machinery and alleged construction projects in 1996 and 1997, before the change of state administrations.

⁸ Luis Armando Mendoza, “Ligan a red de corrupción a candidato de campeche,” *Reforma*, January 6, 2003, p. 18A.

Juan Carlos del Rio González, the PAN's highly regarded candidate, has hammered away at the corruption issue. He has alleged that, in the wake of last September's Hurricane Isidor, the González Curi/Hurtado administration dispensed food, clothing, and building materials in a blatantly partisan manner. Joining in the castigation of Hurtado is the PRD's Alvaro Arceo Corcuera, a highly regarded prosecutor from Mexico City, who enjoys the strong backing of the capital's mayor, Andrés Manuel López Obrador. The mayor, who has shunned campaign trips, has not only stumped for his ally, but Arceo is running as the candidate of the "Alliance of Hope." This theme is reminiscent of López Obrador christening the capital "the City of Hope." Of the six gubernatorial candidates that the PRD has fielded for July 6, Arceo boasts the most impressive credentials.

Hurtado faces another strident detractor in Layda Elena Sansores San Román—the daughter of a former governor (1967–1973) and PRI national president (1976–1979)—who abandoned the revolutionary party when it refused her its gubernatorial nomination in 1997. In that contest, she garnered 41 percent of the vote as the PRD's nominee. Although she claims that her internal polls showed her with 35 percent support in May, this is a pipe dream inasmuch as she is running under the banner of the small Convergencia Party.

The revolutionary party, once considered invincible in Campeche, will have to mobilize all of its resources to prevent the state's slipping from its hands. Such a herculean effort is especially important because of discontent with González Curi's meddling not only in the governor's race, but also in the selection of local candidates in Champotón, Hopelchén, and Calkini.

As Alonso Ortiz, a 25-year party stalwart in Calkini, stated: "Clearly, Campeche is traditionally *priista* and [the party] still has a notable presence and structure, but it is losing ground; we are not disposed to be humiliated by the irregular designation, using all the old vices, of our mayoral candidate." He then indicated that he would support the PAN, which captured the city hall of Ciudad del Carmen in 2000. A PAN gubernatorial victory would continue the trend of the PRI's losing political space in the South, where the opposition already holds the erstwhile *priista* bailiwicks of Chiapas and Yucatán. Indeed, PAN militants are counting on the *efecto Yucatán*—namely, defeating the candidate of a notoriously corrupt governor with a young, relatively apolitical businessman.

In late May, PAN spokesman Juan Molinar Horcasitas claimed that there was a "technical tie" in the governor's race. PRI candidate Hurtado Valdez shot back that his party's polls showed him ahead by 15 points. When pressed, though, he could not recall the firm that took the survey.⁹ Such gamesmanship aside, it is extremely difficult to upset the revolutionary party in this political system that displays all the modernity of a Pancho Villa mustache.

⁹ "Campeche—Insiste el PRI en que va adelante en las encuestas," *Diario de Yucatán*, May 28, 2003, Internet ed.

Colima

<i>Population</i> (INEGI)	571,400 (2003 est.)
<i>Size</i>	2,106 sq. miles (slightly smaller than Delaware)
<i>Gross state income</i> (INEGI)	28,365,982,000 pesos/\$3, 098,075,700 (2001). National ranking: 32 nd
<i>Current governor</i>	Fernando Moreno Peña (PRI). Born June 30, 1953, Colima, Colima; degrees in law and political science; federal deputy (1976–1979); member of the PRI state political council; university professor and rector of University of Colima (1989–1997).
<i>Most important municipalities</i>	Colima (125,400), Manzanillo (102,900), Villa de Alvarez (83,700), Tecomán, (77,600)
<i>Eligible voters</i> (IFE)	366,070/48.98 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Registered voters</i> (IFE)	369,272/48.98 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Major party candidate</i>	Gustavo Vázquez Montes (PRI). Born in 1962, Tecomán, Colima; city council member in Tecomán (1986–1988); director of education and culture in Tecomán (1989–1991), director of Tecomán municipal government (1992); president Tecomán PRI (1994); state legislator (1994–1997); mayor of Tecomán (1998–2000); and PRI state president (2000–2003).
<i>Selection procedure</i>	Vázquez Montes (33,826/44.17 percent) defeated Deputy Jesús Orozco Alfaro (17.85 percent), government secretary Humberto Silva Ochoa (15.64 percent), Manzanillo mayor Rogelio Ruedo Sánchez (14.03 percent), and ex-senator Socorro Díaz Palacios (8.31 percent) in a primary held on December 1, 2002.
<i>Web site</i>	www.pri.org.mx
<i>Major party candidate</i>	Enrique Michel Ruiz (PAN). Born July 15, 1951, Colima, Colima; degree in engineering (University of Guadalajara; president of Regional Agricultural Union of Vegetable Producers (1994); member of the State Agrobusiness Council (1955); joined

	the PAN in 1995; and candidate for governor in 1997.
<i>Selection procedure</i>	Ruiz received 879 votes (52.17 percent) to defeat former Manzanillo mayor Martha Leticia Sosa Govea (511/30.33 percent) and Senator Víctor Torres Herrera (295/17.51 percent) in a closed primary held on December 10, 2002.
<i>Web site</i>	www.pan.org.mx
<i>Major party candidate</i>	Jesús Orozco Alfaro (PRD). Born August 12, 1956, Colima, Colima; degree in economics; Ph.D. in economics (University of Paris); official in administration of Governor Elías Zamora Verduzco (1986–1991), including planning director (1986), coordinator of governor’s advisers (1987), and customs administrator for Manzanillo (1989–1990); mayor of Colima (1992–1993); senator (1993–2000); and federal deputy (2000–2003).
<i>Selection procedure</i>	Named by PRD’s State Council
<i>Web site</i>	www.prd.org.mx
<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Carlos Vázquez Oldenbourg (Asociación por la Democracia Colimense). Born May 15, 1943, Colima, Colima; degree in civil engineering; contractor and real estate developer; founder of the Colegio de Ingenieros; founder and member of Chamber of Contractors; founder and member of Coparmex, Colima; founder and member of Colima Golf Club; director of public works and urban planning in Colima (1978–1979); mayor of Colima (1983–1985; 1998–2000); president of state PRI (1988–1989); secretary of housing and urban development (1989–1991); contender for PRI gubernatorial nomination in 1997; elected as “independent” mayor of Colima (1988); and left the PRI to join the PRD before becoming president of the Asociación por la Democracia Colimense.
<i>Selection procedure</i>	Named by the ADC National Committee
<i>Web site</i>	www.adc.org.mx

<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Gustavo Ceballos Llerenas (PT)
<i>Web site</i>	www.ptcolima.org.mx
<i>Minor party candidate</i>	María Delia Campos Vargas (PSN)
<i>Web site</i>	www.psn.org.mx
<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Evangelina Bañuelos Rodríguez (México Posible)
<i>Web site</i>	www.mexicoposible.com.mx
<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Leonel Ramírez Farías (Fuerza Ciudadana)
<i>Web site</i>	www.fuerzaciudadana.org.mx

Recent Polls: Gubernatorial Race in Colima, July 6, 2003

Candidate	Percentage
Gustavo Vázquez Montes (PRI)	45
Enrique Michel Ruiz (PAN)	35
Jesús Orozco Alfaro (PRD)	13
Carlos Vázquez Oldenbourg (ADC)	4
Gustavo Ceballos Llerenas (PT)	2
Other candidates	1

Source: Door-to-door survey of 1,006 adults conducted May 9–11, 2003, with a margin of error of ± 3.1 percent; “Aventaja el PRI en Colima,” *Reforma*, May 19, 2003, Internet ed.

Analysis

Governor Moreno Peña’s decision to weigh in on behalf of Gustavo Vázquez Montes as the PRI gubernatorial nominee rather than remain impartial in the primary sparked the exodus of several prominent *priistas*, including longtime activist and former senator, Socorro Díaz Palacios, as well as Senator Jesús Orozco Alfaro. After the intramural election, Orozco thundered that he “would never accept the victory of the machine’s candidate [Vázquez Montes].”¹⁰ He demanded a new election; however, the PRI National Commission for Internal Procedures would not hold a second primary unless challengers could prove irregularities in 30 percent or 40 percent of the 397 voting stations.¹¹

Another gubernatorial “wannabe,” Manzanillo mayor Rogelio Rueda Sánchez, has condemned the selection process while electing to stay in the revolutionary party. Together, Orozco, Rueda, and Díaz captured 43,000 votes (43 percent) of the 97,745 cast in the December 2002 primary.

Although Rueda Sánchez has remained aboard the tricolored ship, such is not the case with Orozco, who has become the PRD’s candidate for governor. For her

¹⁰ Quoted in “El PRI anulará la elección interna en Colima,” *El Economista*, December 2, 2002, Internet ed.

¹¹ Verónica González Cárdenas, “Precandidatos del PRI a la gubernatura piden anular elección interna en Colima,” *La Jornada*, December 3, 2002, Internet ed.

part, Socorro Díaz, who was denied the PRI gubernatorial nomination in 1991, agreed to run on the PRD's proportional representation slate for the Chamber of Deputies. In 1997, the persistent Socorro Díaz competed against Moreno Peña for the nomination, as did Orozco Alfaro and four other contenders. So vicious was the infighting in that face-off that the PRI dispatched its national secretary general, Juan S. Millán Lizárraga (now the highly successful governor of Sinaloa), to halt the bloodletting. Although Governor Moreno Peña remains quite popular, his high-handedness has hurt more than it has helped the chances of Vázquez Montes. As chairman of the Senate Communication and Transportation Committee, Orozco developed close ties with billionaire and Telemex tycoon Carlos Slim, from whom he can anticipate robust financial support. It remains to be seen whether Orozco can take away enough votes from the PRI nominee to catapult Michel Ruiz into the statehouse. After all, Moreno Peña only defeated Ruiz by 8,464 votes out of more than 189,000 ballots cast in 1997. If successful in the state, the PAN would achieve its goal of establishing a Guanajuato-Jalisco-Colima political corridor.

As late as early June, however, PRD party president Rosario Robles Berlanga was urging *panistas* to cast ballots for Orozco rather than “waste” their votes on their party's nominee. She added that Gustavo Vázquez represented no more than “a mask for the reelection of the present governor.”¹² Such a plea suggests that the PRI aspirant remained the man to beat in what promises to be an extremely close contest.

Nuevo León

<i>Population</i> (INEGI)	3,989,500 (2003 est.)
<i>Size</i>	24,925 sq. miles (size of Wisconsin)
<i>Gross state income</i> (INEGI)	368,994,149,000 pesos/\$40,300,801,000 (2001). National ranking: 3 rd
<i>Current governor</i>	Fernando Elizondo Barragán (PAN/interim). Born Jan. 6, 1949, Monterrey, Nuevo León; degree in law and social science (U. de Nuevo León); advanced study in comparative law (New York University); practiced law (1972–1979); held various positions with the ALFA Industrial Group (1979–1989); coordinated organizations like Canaco, Caintra, and Coparmex in Nuevo León (1988–1992); after returning to private practice, served as president of Grupo Salinas y Rocha (1995–1997); state secretary of finances and treasurer (1997–2003); precandidate for PAN gubernatorial

¹² Quoted in “Instan al PAN a votar por PRD,” *Reforma*, June 2, 2003, Internet ed.

nomination (2002); and assumed governorship on January 12, 2003, when Fox brought PAN governor Fernando Canales Clariond into his cabinet as secretary of economy.

<i>Eligible voters</i> (IFE)	2,693,757/49.42 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Registered voters</i> (IFE)	2,677,341/49.41 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Major party candidate</i>	José Natividad González Paras (Alianza Ciudadana—PRI, PVEM, and Fuerza Cívica). Born March 30, 1949, Monterrey, Nuevo León; degree in law and social sciences (Autonomous University of Nuevo León); M.A. in public administration (International Institute of Public Administration, France/1996); served in the federal government, including Office of the President and Ministry of Gobernación; federal deputy (1994–1997); and senator (2000–present).
<i>Selection procedure</i>	González Parás (47.7 percent), who enjoyed the support of both party president Madrazo and the powerful teachers union, defeated state party chief Abel Guerra Garza (29.24 percent), Senator Ricardo Canavati Tafich (15.66 percent), Deputy Eloy Cantú Segovia (6.7 percent), and Romeo Flores Caballero (0.43 percent) in a primary election held on November 20, 2002.
<i>Web site</i>	www.nati.org.mx
<i>Major party candidate</i>	Mauricio Fernández Garza (PAN). Born April 12, 1950, Monterrey, Nuevo León; degree in industrial management (Purdue), M.A. in administration (ITESM); long and successful career in business, including: director general of Casolar (Grupo Alfa), founder and president of Comercializadora de Puros (1992), founding member of Uniser in Havana, Cuba (1993), founding member and president of Consejo de Especialidades Cerverceras (1997), owner and founder of Artesanarte (1997), and owner founder of Museo “El Ojo” in García, Nuevo León; political activities include candidate for federal deputy (1985), mayor

of San Pedro Garza García (1989–1991), state coordinator of PAN presidential campaign (1994), senator (1994–2000), candidate for PAN nomination for governor (1996), and adviser to Mexico City government (1997).

Selection procedure

Fernández Garza (6,222 votes/56.5 percent) defeated ex-state treasurer Fernando Elizondo Barragán (20.8 percent), Senator Adalberto Madero (16.3 percent), and former government secretary general José Luis Coindreau (6.4 percent) in a party primary held on November 10, 2002.

Web site

mauricio.org.mx

Major party candidate

Roberto Benavides González (PRD).¹³ Born March 25, 1944, Monterrey, Nuevo León; degree in law (U. de Nuevo León.); M.A. in both labor law and philosophy (U. de Nuevo León); professor of political science at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León; member of PMS; founder of PRD (1989); PRD national councilman; city councilman in Monterrey (1997–2000); and belongs to the ROSCA wing of the PRD, which is led by party president Robles, former presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solorzano, and Michoacán governor Lázaro Cárdenas Batel.

Selection procedure

Benavides (3,100 votes) defeated Roberto Elizondo (2,800) and other competitors in an intra-party contest held on January 12, 2003.

Web site

www.cen-prd.org.mx

Minor party candidate

Santiago González Soto (Labor Party/PT). Born July 1961, Ciudad de Mexquitic de Carmona, San Luis Potosí; degree in journalism (Autonomous University of Nuevo León); and state legislator (2000–2003).

Web site

www.pt.org.mx

¹³ When all other methods failed to obtain this candidate's biographical information, I called Professor Benavides at his home. Despite a busy campaign schedule, he was the epitome of helpfulness in answering my questions.

<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Rolando Guzmán Flores (México Posible)
<i>Web site</i>	www.mexicoposible.org.mx
<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Banjamín Castro Guzmán (Partido Alianza Social/PAS)
<i>Web site</i>	www.pas.org.mx
<i>Minor party candidate</i>	Juana María Bonilla Rodríguez (Partido de la Sociedad Nacionalist/PSN)
<i>Web site</i>	www.psn.org.mx

Recent Polls: Gubernatorial Contest in Nuevo León, July 6, 2003

Candidate	Nov (%)	Jan (%)	Feb (%)	Mar (%)	Apr (%)	May (%)
José Natividad González Parás (Alianza Ciudadana)	50.5	49.3	47.2	47.6	50.6	47.7
Mauricio Fernández Garza (PAN)	25.5	31.6	33.1	35.0	29.4	29.8
Don't know/No response/ No preference	24.0	17.8	16.3	14.9	16.7	19.2
Other candidates	0	1.3	2.7	2.7	3.4	3.3

Source: Survey of 1,200 adults conducted May 1–5, 2003; margin of error of ± 2.8 percent; “Reduce Navidad ventaja en NL,” *Reforma*, May 11, 2003, Internet ed.

Analysis

After losing the PRI's gubernatorial nomination six years ago, José Natividad González Parás committed himself to capturing both the nomination and statehouse in 2003. He is an astute campaigner, who benefits from high name recognition and the low approval rating of outgoing Governor Fernando Canales Clariond. Before taking a leave of absence in February, Canales Clariond presided over a controversial administration marred by inefficiency, scandals, and an increase in narco-related executions in the state. In addition, the PRI nominee has reinforced his support in the powerful business community, which cares more about a politician's competence than his party banner. González Parás has stressed his pro-business goals when campaigning with affluent entrepreneur and the PRI's mayoral candidate in Monterrey, Senator Ricardo Canavati Tafich. The enormously wealthy Canavati was one of the four unsuccessful aspirants for the gubernatorial bid who closed ranks after González Parás was nominated. Also contributing to party unity is the candidacy of another PRI primary loser, Deputy Eloy Cantú, for the mayorship of San Pedro Garza García, an extremely prosperous municipality within greater Monterrey.

Much to the delight of Fernández Garza's supporters, Canales Clariond departed the state to become Fox's secretary of the economy. In the aftermath of Canales Clariond's departure, PAN candidate Mauricio Fernández Garza

narrowed the gap in the polls with González Parás, who is heading a “Citizens Alliance Coalition” composed of the PRI, PVEM, and Fuerza Cívica. In mid-May, more than a dozen nationally known PAN leaders descended on the state to give Fernández Garza’s campaign a shot in the arm. González Parás also claims that the PAN has recruited political consultant Alex Castellanos, a former adviser to President George W. Bush, to wage a “dirty war” against the PRI nominee.

Although stressing his affinity for the people, the elitist, affluent *panista* candidate, who has family ties with the powerful Monterrey Group of entrepreneurs, seems out of touch with average citizens. Moreover, he takes pride in his friendship with Fidel Castro and has campaigned on drug legalization and other controversial issues. Of course, the newspaper *Milenio* cast doubt on González Parás’s own credentials as a down-to-earth guy when it revealed that the PRI nominee lived in an extravagant mansion fit for a prince rather than a moderately paid public official.

Nonetheless, the González Parás–Canavati Tafich ticket held a comfortable lead three weeks before the election.

Querétaro

<i>Population</i> (INEGI)	1,518,800 (2003 est.)
<i>Size</i>	4,544 sq. miles (4/5ths the size of Connecticut)
<i>Gross state income</i> (INEGI)	23,658,155 pesos/\$2,583,896,300 (2001). National Ranking: 16 th
<i>Current governor</i>	Ignacio Loyola Vera (PAN). Born September 10, 1954, Querétaro, Querétaro; degree in agricultural engineering (ITESM); general manager of Comercial Agropecuaria de Querétaro, which sells agricultural machinery and supplies; active in Conaco and president of Coparmex (1994); vice president of the Sociedad de Ingenieros Agrónomos Parasitólogos (1993–1995).
<i>Most important municipalities</i>	Querétaro (580,000), San Juan del Río (198,800), El Pueblo (42,700), Tequisquiapan (28,000)
<i>Eligible voters</i> (IFE)	916,902/47.97 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Registered voters</i> (IFE)	909,830/47.92 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Major party candidate</i>	Francisco Garrido Patrón (PAN). Born 1995 in Mexico City; law degree (Escuela Libre de Derecho); studies in philosophy (Universidad Panamericana); M.A. in management (IPADE); successful

businessman; vice president of USEM Querétaro; founder of newspaper *El Observador*; painter; joined PAN in 1994; elected president of PAN in Querétaro (1996); and mayor of Querétaro (1997–2000).

Selection procedure

Garrido Patrón (79 percent) defeated Deputy Gustavo Buenrostro Díaz (23 percent) and Eduardo Magaña Lusthoff (8 percent) to win a primary held on November 10, 2002.

Web site

www.pan.org.mx

Major party candidate

Fernando Ortiz Arana (PRI). Born October 26, 1944, Querétaro, Querétaro; law degree (Autonomous University of Querétaro); secretary general of state government (1976–1979); served four times as federal deputy (1979–1982, 1985–1988, 1991–1994, 2000–present); representative in the Assembly of the Federal District (1988–1991); president of the PRI in the D.F. (1988–1991); national president of the PRI (1993–1994); senate (1991–1997); and sought party's presidential nomination after the March 1994 assassination of PRI standard-bearer Luis Donaldo Colosio.

Selection procedure

Ortiz Arana (39.95 percent) defeated Senator Silvia Hernández Enríquez (27.75 percent), ex-senator Sonia Alcántara Magos (16.47 percent), Ezequiel Montes Mayor Adolfo Vega Montoto (8.45 percent), Querétaro city councilman Pablo Meré Alcocer (3.87 percent), and former government secretary Gil Mendoza Pichardo (2.17 percent) to win a primary held on October 27, 2002.

Web site

www.foa.com.mx

Major party candidate

Celia Maya García (PRD–México Posible). Former chief judge of the state's Superior Court of Justice.

Selection Procedure

An agreement between the PRD and México Posible on January 25, 2003

Web site

<www.prd-cen.org.mx>

Analysis

Outgoing PAN governor Ignacio Loyola Vera, who zooms around the capital on a high-powered motorcycle, raised eyebrows early in his term by boosting his salary to just over \$14,000 a month—believed to be more than that legally paid to any other elected official in the country. Many observers thought that this pay hike combined with the state executive’s zany behavior would enable the PRI to recapture the governorship this year. As it turns out, the politically incorrect state executive’s popularity rating exceeds 70 percent—partly because Querétaro is a relatively safe and prosperous state that has attracted investors and former residents of Mexico City and partly because Loyola has proven a highly competent administrator.

Although disagreeing with his “managerial” vision of governing, even PRI candidate Ortiz Arana praised Loyola as “an honest and responsible official.”¹⁴ As for his salary, many *queretareños* aver that “it’s better for him to take the money in the open rather than under the table the way the PRI always did.”

PAN candidate Garrido Patrón is by no means the governor’s puppet. As mayor of Querétaro, Garrido Patrón often crossed swords with Loyola over policy issues. As a result, the governor backed one of Garrido Patrón’s foes, Eduardo Lusthoff Magaña, in the primary. Once the nominating process was over, Loyola, along with the primary losers and the national party leadership, enthusiastically backed Garrido Patrón. Even Senator Diego Fernández de Cevallos, who hoped that his cousin—also a senator—might emerge as the candidate has emphatically embraced Garrido Patrón. This endorsement is important. The affluent, outspoken Fernández de Cevallos, PAN’s most popular figure, has widespread business and property holdings in the state. In addition, Garrido Patrón also enjoys the strong support of the president, having served as head of “Amigos de Fox” in Querétaro in 2003. Citizens correctly credit Garrido Patrón with achieving the “impossible” as mayor of the capital—namely, he removed street vendors from the city’s downtown area.¹⁵ This action underlines the growing importance of local issues in gubernatorial elections.

PRI standard-bearer Ortiz Arana, who barely lost the governorship six years ago, yearns to make a comeback. He would have triumphed in 1997 if not for the thinly disguised opposition from President Ernesto Zedillo and government secretary Emilio Chuayffet Chemor, who recruited Ortiz Arana’s brother to oppose him. This year, however, his is an uphill battle in view of citizen approval of the PAN government amid a high quality of life. Senator Silvia Hernández Enríquez, whom the veteran Ortiz Arana beat in a primary, would have provided the PRI with a “new face” in the contest, but she has not lifted a finger to back her party’s nominee. Ortiz Arana is having a hard time convincing her supporters that he and former governor Enrique Burgos (an erstwhile Ortiz Arana rival) did not persuade Sonia Alcántara (a Burgos protégée whom he helped land a senate seat) to enter the primary solely to siphon votes from Hernández Enríquez.

¹⁴ “Centra PRI campaña en gestión de Loyola,” *Reforma*, May 5, 2003, Internet ed.

¹⁵ Aguilar Asencio, electronic mail to author.

The newspaper *Reforma* did nothing to help Ortiz Arana when it reported that he had two birth certificates—one showing that he was born in Mexico City, the other indicating that the birth took place in Querétaro. Unlike in some states, Querétaro’s constitution does not require that a candidate be born in the state. Although Ortiz Arana denied this attempt to create a “scandal,” he did serve in the Legislative Assembly of the D.F. More important, the incident raises questions about the honesty of PRI politicians and whether their party has turned over a new leaf.¹⁶

To overcome these concerns, Ortiz Arana has barnstormed the state, thus gaining momentum in the final sprint to the finish line.

Local archbishop Mario de Gasperín, who gets along well with the governor, had exhorted Querétaro’s Catholics to oppose any candidate who supports abortion, homosexual marriages, human cloning, and euthanasia. The PRD views these remarks as a slap in the face to its candidate, former judge Celia Maya García, who is also the standard-bearer of the pro-feminist México Posible Party. Maya García seems to be running mainly for her health in this bastion of conservatism.

San Luis Potosí

<i>Population</i> (INEGI)	2,353,000 (2003 est.)
<i>Size</i>	24,266 sq. miles (size of West Virginia)
<i>Gross state income</i> (INEGI)	23,675,674,000 pesos/\$2,585,809,700 (2001). National Ranking: 17 th
<i>Current governor</i>	Fernando Silva Nieto (PRI). Born November 24, 1950, San Luis Potosí, SLP; degree in law and M.A. in political science (El Colegio de México); served in the Ministry of Ecology and Urban Development (1989) and the National Solidarity Program (1993); senator (1988–1994); various positions in SLP governmental agencies, including secretaries of finance and planning (1994), public education (1995), and government (1996); and senator (1988–1994).
<i>Most important municipalities</i>	San Luis Potosí (625,466), Soledad de Graciano Sánchez (156,498), Ciudad Valles (143, 277), Matehuala (75,802), Ebano (38,989)
<i>Eligible voters</i> (IFE)	1,441,129/48.27 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Registered voters</i> (IFE)	1,432,427/48.22 percent men (May 2, 2003)

¹⁶ Fernando Paniagua, “Niego Ortiz Arana dos acta de nacimiento,” *Reforma*, May 5, 2003, Internet ed.

Major party candidate

Luis García Julián (PRI/PVEM/PSN). Born September 6, 1938, D.F.; president of the State Electoral Council of SLP; mayor of San Luis Potosí (1995–1998).

Selection process

García Julián (38.76 percent) defeated ex-deputy Juan Ramiro Robledo Ruiz (24.91 percent), Deputy Elías Dip Ramé (18.44 percent), and Deputy Manuel Medellín Milán (13.94 percent) in a party primary held on December 15, 2002.

Web site

www.pri.org.mx

Major party candidate

Marcelo de los Santos Fraga (PAN). Born December 15, 1940, San Luis Potosí, SLP; degree in public accounting (Autonomous University of SLP); business consultant; adviser to the National Chamber of Commerce, the National Chamber of the Construction Industry, and the state tourist agency; owner of a prosperous accounting firm; president and vice president of the Mexican Institute of Public Accountants; candidate for governor in 1997; mayor of San Luis Potosí (2000–2003).

Selection Procedure

De los Santos Fraga (53.54 percent) defeated Deputy Alejandro Zapata Perogordo (44.18 percent), and Gregorio Maldonado Vázquez (2.28 percent) in a convention held on November 17, 2002.

Web site

www.pan.org.mx

Major party candidate

Elías Dip Ramé (PRD/PT/PAS/CD). Born April 20, 1946, San Luis Potosí; successful businessman in construction, commerce, and transportation: president of Central de Remolques Potosinos, Carrocerías Potosinas, Ensambladora y Comercializadora del Centro, Constructora San Leonel, Auto Express Dip; vice president of the National Chamber of Truckers (1994–1995); founder and president of the Confederación Nacional de Transportistas Mexicanos (1995–2002); Mexico's representative on transportation to international NAFTA meetings (2002–2003); state secretary of communications

under PRI Governor Florencio Salazar; and PRI member of the Chamber of Deputies (2000–2003).

Web site

www.prd-cen.mx.org

Minor party candidate

Gonzalo Andrade Reyes (Conciencia Popular). Born in 1947; law degree (Autonomous University of SLP/UASLP); professor at UASLP; SLP city council member and founder of his party; former member of the PRI.

Web site

None

Recent Polls: Gubernatorial Race in San Luis Potosí

Candidate	Percentage
Marcelo de los Santos Fraga (PAN)	40
Luis García Julián (PRI-PVEM-PSN—Alianza para Todos)	30
Elías Dip Ramé (PRD-PT-Convergencia-PAS—Alianza San Luis Adelante)	6
Other candidates, don't know, undecided	24

Source: “Lleva delantera el PAN en SLP,” *Reforma*, June 5, 2003, Internet ed.

Analysis

PAN leaders are licking their chops at the prospect of winning the San Luis Potosí statehouse for the first time in history. Although Deputy Alejandro Zapata Perogordo, the vice-coordinator of the PAN’s legislative faction, alleged that “immoral tactics” accounted for the nomination of Marcelo de los Santos, their party represents a paragon of unity compared with the PRI. Its incumbent governor, Fernando Silva Nieto, a Machiavellian leader and one-time private secretary of former Mexico City mayor Manuel Camacho Solís—intervened egregiously in his party’s selection process. Just 15 days before the PRI primary, Silva Nieto joined ex-governor Horacio Sánchez Unzueta (1993–1997) and multimillionaire entrepreneur Miguel Valladares García in throwing their weight behind Luis García Julián.

Such heavy-handedness sparked anti-Silva Nieto demonstrations, which found PRI senator Yolanda Eugenia González and peasant leader Felipe Aurelio Torres chaining themselves to the entrance of the party headquarters. Amid this folderol, Deputy Elías Dip Ramé, an extremely prosperous businessman, bolted the PRI to become the standard-bearer of the PRD, the PT, the PAS, and the Convergencia.

Meanwhile, the PAN launched a vigorous campaign under the banner “United We Are One” (*Unidos Somos Uno*), which found its militants scrambling to win votes even in the rain-forested La Huasteca, a traditional PRI stronghold where many Indians reside.

Also enhancing the chances of de los Santos, an extremely popular mayor of San Luis Potosí who almost won the governorship six years ago, is the state's growing industrialization, urbanization, and relative prosperity. Such conditions have nurtured the *panización* of North-Central Mexico—a phenomenon also observed in Aguascalientes and Querétaro.

Sonora

<i>Population</i> (INEGI)	2,251,700 (2003 est.)
<i>Size</i>	71,403 sq. miles (size of North Dakota)
<i>Gross state income</i> (INEGI)	38,918,375,000 pesos/\$4,250,587,000 (2001). National Ranking: 12 th
<i>Current governor</i>	Armando López Nogales (PRI). Born September 1, 1950, Cananea, Sonora; law degrees (U. de Sonora and UNAM); active in PRI's peasant sector; secretary of Mixed Agrarian Commission (1975–1976); private secretary to Governor Alejandro Carrillo Marcar (1976–1977); state deputy secretary of government (1977–1979); official in Ministry of Agrarian Reform (1991–1994), federal deputy (1988–1991); senator (1994–1997); and state party president (1995–1997).
<i>Most important municipalities</i>	Hermosillo (609,829), Cajeme (356,290), Nogales (159,789), Colorado (145,006), Navojoa (140,650), Guayamas (130,329).
<i>Eligible voters</i> (IFE)	1,526,804/49.74 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Registered voters</i> (IFE)	1,510,575/49.68 percent men (May 2, 2003)
<i>Major party candidate</i>	José Eduardo Robinson Bours Castelo (PRI/PVEM). Born December 17, 1956, Ciudad Obregón, Sonora; studied industrial and systems engineering (ITESM) and at other universities in Latin America); president of Consejo Nacional Agropecuario (1992–1994); private sector negotiator for provisions of NAFTA that affected agro-industry (1992–1993); president of Compañía Fresh del Monte Produce NV (1994–1996); board member of a dozen major enterprises; Francisco Labastida's coordinator with private sector in 2000 presidential campaign; and senator (2000–present).

Selection procedure

Bours (99,175 votes/49.12 percent) defeated ex-deputy Alfonso Molina Riubal (65,410/32.40 percent), Deputy Guillermo Hopkins Gámez (26,828/13.29), and Héctor Cárdenas Vázquez (2,488/1.23 percent) in a primary held on September 29, 2002.

Web site

eduardobours.org

Major party candidate

Ramon Corral Avila (PAN). Born December 8, 1946, Hermosillo, Sonora; studied industrial engineering (Foot Hill College, Los Altos, California) and civil engineering (U. de Sonora); numerous entrepreneurial activities, including president of Nuevas Industrias del Pacífico, president of Restaurantes Jardines Miyaco, president of Productos Congelados del Noroeste, president of Corral Confort en Clima; active in Coparmex and Canacintra; joined PAN (1988), campaign coordinator in Sonora for PAN presidential nominee Manuel J. Clouthier (1988), state party president (1988–1992), federal deputy (1997–2000), finance coordinator for presidential campaign of Vicente Fox; and senator (2000–present).

Selection procedure

Corral (3,741 votes/57.18 percent) defeated Manzanillo Mayor Francisco Barques Valenzuela (2,721 votes/42.82 percent) in a primary held on October 13, 2002.

Web site

www.ramoncorral.org.mx

Major party candidate

J. Jesús Zambrano Grijalva (Alianza Democrática por Sonora—PRD PAS, and México Posible). Born October 1, 1953, Empalme, Sonora; studied economics; participated in guerrilla campaign of the September 23 Communist League (1972); founding member of the Socialist Current, later the Patriotic Revolutionary Party; founder of the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS); active in PMS and PRD (1988–1997); delegate in Gustavo A. Madero, D.F.; delegate in Azcapotzalco, D.F.; federal deputy (1994–1997); and senator (1997–present).

Selection procedure

Zambrano (14,412 votes/50.21 percent defeated PAS contender Adalberto Rosas López (14,290 votes/49.70 percent) in a primary held on February 9, 2003.

Web site

www.prd-cen.org.mx

Minor party candidate

Roberto Ross Gámez (PT/PSN). Born January 28, 1937, Estació Rosales, Sinoloa; law degree (U. de Sonora) and M.A. in administration (Northwestern University); public accountant and professor at U. de Sonora; former member of the State Electoral Council, serving as chairman of the body's oversight and investigative committee.

Web site

www.pt.org.mx

Minor party candidate

José Ignacio Romo Ochoa (Fuerza Ciudadana). Born July 31, 1946, Santa Ana, Sonora; degree in accounting; accountant; general manager of Hotel Playa de Cortés; various positions in state treasury, including general treasurer; regional delegate for SECOFI; and vice president for tourism of the Guaymas Chamber of Commerce.

Web site

www.fuerzaciudana.org.mx

Recent Polls: Gubernatorial Contest in Sonora, July 6, 2003

Candidate	May (%)	Apr (%)	Mar (%)	Jan (%)*
Eduardo Bours Castelo (PRI-PVEM)	41.5	46.9	49.9	48.5
Ramón Corral Avila (PAN)	46.0	40.1	30.9	20.6
Jesús Zambrano Grijalva (Alianza Democrática por Sonora—PRD, PAS, and México Posible)	3.2	3.5	6.2	5.6
Roberto Ross Gámez (PT)	0.6	1.1	1.5	0.4
Ignacio Romo Ochoa (PFC)	0	0	NA	NA
Don't know/No response/No preference	8.7	8.4	11.5	19.0

Source: *El Imparcial* (Hermosillo); based on approximately 1,160 interviews with likely voters; +/-3 percent margin of error.

* The January column does not total 100 percent because longtime gubernatorial aspirant, Adalberto "El Pelón" Rosas López, received 5.9 percent as the precandidate for PAS, who lost the nomination of the Alianza Democrática por Sonora to Zambian.

Analysis

Early in the year, Eduardo Bours was sailing along with a four-to-one lead over his *panista* opponent Ramón Corral Avila. Most observers believed that the PRI

standard-bearer, a senator who had coordinated the finances for his party's 2000 presidential candidate, could count on three elements to catapult him into the governorship: his immense wealth, a boyishly handsome face, and support from the incumbent governor.

Meanwhile, Corral had to overcome a no-holds-barred nomination battle waged by Hermosillo mayor Francisco Barques Valenzuela. In addition, the PAN's tough ultra-conservative secretary general, Manuel Espino Barrientos, made no secret of his strong preference for Barques over Corral. Although not throwing his hat into the ring, Alfonso Durazo Montaña¹⁷—a former *priista* insider and President Fox's private secretary—coveted the governorship and disdained Corral's candidacy. Much to the relief of the state PAN, Barques and Durazo have lined up behind the primary winner. In fact, Durazo has campaigned actively for Corral. And, despite his acute animus toward Corral, Espino Barrientos gradually accepted Corral's status as the party's nominee.

By early May, a survey taken by the Hermosillo daily, *El Imparcial*, showed and Corral had overtaken Bours. This report sparked a war of polls—with the PRI releasing a poll conducted by Beltrán y Asociados, headed by *priista* Ulises Beltrán, showing Bours (48 percent) well ahead of Corral (39 percent) and Zambrano (7 percent).

The one sure thing is that Zambrano will finish a poor third, prompting PAN activists to urge him to step aside in favor of Corral.

Adding to Bours's headaches was the defection to Corral of PRI ex-presidents in the cities of Navojoa and Etchojoa. Also deserting was the former head of the Vanguardia Juvenil Agrarista, who said the PRI gubernatorial candidate was "responsible" for splits in the party.¹⁸

More serious was a public spitting match that erupted between Bours and ex-governor Manlio Fabio Beltrones Rivera, who heads the PRI's middle-class, white-collar "Popular" sector. In late May, the PRI nominee accused Beltrones and his team of working for Corral. The wily Beltrones—sometimes referred to as the state's "favorite villain"—dismissed the accusation as "nonsense," adding that "I wish him [Bours], as well as my party, enormous success." Beltrones also emphasized that his "party loyalty" is above reproach.¹⁹

The public feud may have its roots in the hostility between Madrazo and Francisco Labastida Ochoa, Bour's ally and the PRI's losing 2000 presidential candidate. Beltrones, a Madrazo loyalist, may be dispatching an ominous message to Bours: "Pledge your full support to Madrazo for the presidential nomination in

¹⁷ Durazo was the private secretary of PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, who was assassinated in March 1994. During the 2000 presidential contest, the opportunistic Durazo bolted his party and threw his support to Fox, who subsequently named him to the extremely important post of private secretary.

¹⁸ Ramón García, "Abandonan a Bours," *El Imparcial*, May 24, 2003, Internet ed.

¹⁹ Mauricio Rodríguez, "Evidencian distanciamiento en PRI," *El Imparcial*, May 26, 2003, Internet ed.

2006 or I will work to defeat you in this year.”²⁰ After a Bours-Madrado telephone conversation, the latter promised to make a campaign tour on behalf of PRI candidates in Sonora.

After the dust had appeared to settle, PRI secretary general Elba Esther Gordillo—leader of the SNTE teachers union and one of the nation’s most powerful politicians—flew to Sonora to campaign for her party’s nominees. Bours took this occasion to endorse Gordillo for leader of the PRI faction in the next Congress—a position that Beltrones also covets. This action prompted Beltrones to remind Bours that he was “running for governor not for deputy.”²¹

Such intramural donnybrooks notwithstanding, the PRI’s gubernatorial nominee is swamping his opponents in paid and nonpaid media coverage, especially in the southern part of the state. During the last two weeks in April, Bours purchased 91.13 percent of the political advertisements carried in the state’s six largest newspaper and received 46.30 percent of the overall print-news coverage compared with 17.70 percent for Corral, 11.77 percent for Zambrano, and 11.73 percent for Romo Ochoa. Bours also holds commanding advantages in radio and television broadcasts.²² He may need to spend even more to defeat the surging Corral.

Conclusions

By holding primaries to select its gubernatorial candidates, the PRI selected nominees linked closely to their states. This was in contrast to the so-called *paracaidistas*, who had spent most of their political career in Mexico City before “dropping” into the state to grasp a gubernatorial nomination. Even though several PRI governors blatantly intervened in this nominating process, the revolutionary party’s example put pressure on the PAN and the PRD to open up their nominating procedures.

Although there are unlikely to be dramatic changes in the outcome, the PRI may wind up with a net loss of one or two statehouses. Such setbacks will find the opposition moving inexorably toward a 50–50 balance in governorships with the revolutionary party—all of which were in PRI hands until the PAN captured Baja California in mid-1989. At present, the PRI holds 17 statehouses, the PAN nine, the PRD five (counting the mayorship of Mexico City), while the governor of Chiapas calls himself an independent.

Despite President Fox’s problems, the PAN continues to register growth in North-Central Mexico, where economic conditions, public safety, urbanization,

²⁰ For this insight, I am indebted to Lic. Marycarmen Soria Narváez, a careful student of the PRD where, as a young leader, she focuses on the party’s international contacts.

²¹ Quoted in Enrique Mendez, “Pide Beltrones a Bours ocuparse de ganar Sonora,” *La Jornada*, June 8, 2003, Internet ed.

²² Mauricio Rodríguez, “‘Bombardea’ con anuncios,” *El Imparcial*, May 30, 2003, Internet ed.; the Web site of the State Electoral Council, which commissioned the media study, carries the complete results www.ceesonora.org.mx. The Web sites of other state councils can be obtained via www.ife.org.mx.

and the quality of life are relatively positive compared with many areas of the country. States like Aguascalientes and Querétaro, for example, have middle class families that once resided in the Mexico City area. This *panización* may show up in the PAN's holding on to Querétaro, while winning San Luis Potosí.

The PRD remains “a scavenger party,” which eagerly nominates discontented PRI notables instead of its own militants for gubernatorial contests. Indeed, Michoacán's Lázaro Cárdenas Batel is the only genuine *perredista* to occupy a statehouse. Intra-party conflicts and the failure to offer responsible policy choices mean that none of the PRD candidates for governor have a chance of winning this year. The loss of Jesús Zambrano in Sonora will deliver a dramatic setback to the party's moderate “New Left” wing, which could dissolve after the election with its leaders lining up behind Mexico City's enormously popular mayor, López Obrador.

Many small parties will not obtain sufficient votes to preserve their registrations after July 6. One endangered specie is México Posible. This pro-human rights, intellectual-led party is not going down without a fight. It had boldly challenged the Roman Catholic hierarchy's opposition to abortion, artificial birth control, and homosexual rights. Not only do México Posible's leaders believe in their positions, but they may trigger an *El Crimen del Padre Amaro* reaction²³—namely, a backlash by voters who dislike the ever-more-outspoken bishops telling them how to cast their ballots.

López Obrador's influence is manifesting itself in themes and slogans articulated by parties across the spectrum. His programs include providing direct assistance to the elderly, the disabled, and single women who head households, while lavishing scholarships on poor children.

A low turnout, which could be attributed to apathy, will nurture the belief held by the Mexico City mayor's advisers that Mexicans are fed up with the PRI and the PAN and will resonate to a presidential bid by López Obrador, who, even though a PRD big shot, skillfully articulates populist appeals to garner mass support.

The mushrooming costs of campaigns complemented by the large fine imposed on the PRI has encouraged parties to seek out affluent businessmen as candidates. For the PRI, this is especially evident in Sonora (Bours) and Monterrey, Nuevo León (Tafich). The PAN has reached into the private sector for its nominees in Campeche (Del Río González), Nuevo León (Fernández Garza), and San Luis Potosí (de los Santos). Even the PRD has opted for a man with access to money in Colima (Orozco Alfaro), when the PRI rejected his bid to become its standard-bearer.

Contenders to succeed Fox are surfacing unusually early in this sexenio. If they win their elections, Natividad González Parás (Nuevo León) and Eduardo Bours (Sonora) could find themselves on the lengthening list of precandidates for

²³ This is a film that depicts moral failures by several clergymen. The bishops' condemnation of the movie served only to increase attendance.

the PRI's presidential nomination in 2006. Bours's association with the 2000 campaign of the PRI, which was fined for diverting funds from the state petroleum company via the Oil Workers' Union, to the party nominee, would hurt the Sonoran's chances for national office. However, González Parás, who is close to party president Madrazo (himself a presidential wannabe), will attract particular attention if he captures the PAN stronghold of Nuevo León for his party.

In addition to burnishing González Parás's image, his victory would constitute a blow to the PAN's hopes for retaining *Los Pinos* in 2006. If the PRI can triumph in a prosperous, middle-class dominated state with a dynamic private sector, its leaders will conclude that their party can retake the presidency.

The Nuevo León campaign also emphasizes the greater importance that the business elite assigns to administrative competence over political partisanship. Not only has this factor benefited *priísta* González Parás in 2003, it could help the PRD's López Obrador's presidential aspirations. The capital's mayor enjoys an unprecedented 83 percent approval rating in part because local citizens perceive that he is an effective, honest leader who has delivered on campaign promises.

The outcome of the mid-2003 elections will cast light on Fox's prospect for avoiding lame-duck status during the remainder of *sexenio*. If the PAN does reasonably well, the "doctrinaire" traditional wing of his party (associated with Diego Fernández) will be more likely to cohere around the PAN's likely new legislative leader, former comptroller general Francisco Barrio Terrazas. Barrio is linked to Fox and other so-called Northern Barbarians—hard-charging activists in the business community who favor sweeping rather than gradual change. Moreover, a strong PAN showing would put pressure on the PRI to back some of Fox's reforms lest the "revolutionary party" appear as nothing more than a gang of obstructionists.

About the Author

George W. Grayson, the Class of 1938 Professor of Government at the College of William & Mary, has made more than 1,000 research trips to Mexico since 1976. He is a senior fellow 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 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 governance of Mexican president Vicente Fox with that 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.