

A Guide to the
Leadership Elections of the
Institutional Revolutionary Party,
the National Action Party, and
the Democratic Revolutionary Party

George W. Grayson
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Ing. Guillermo Flores Velasco, Social Democratic leader Lic. Fred Alvarez Palafox, and former Democratic Revolutionary Party subsecretary and current adviser to Mexico City's mayor Marycarmen Soria Narváez, an extremely knowledgeable advisor to the PRD's National Executive Committee, astonished me with their vast understanding, keen insights, and trenchant analyses of Mexico's rapidly evolving political landscape.

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William Perry, and elections scholar Marisol Reyes Soto also proved exceptionally perceptive.

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Introduction

The selection of leaders of Mexico's three major political organizations—the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the National Action Party (PAN), and the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)—takes place in early 2002. The unusual attention devoted to these contests springs, in part, from the dearth of other contests. Following elections in 14 states last year, including gubernatorial races in Yucatán, Baja California, Tabasco, and Michoacán, citizens in only seven states will cast ballots this year for municipal governments and state legislatures. No governorships are up for grabs.

In addition, more than a year and a half after Vicente Fox Quesada defeated the PRI presidential standard-bearer on July 2, 2000, the parties are belatedly reorganizing themselves—in a manner likely to reflect the new constellations of forces within each body.

The intramural elections will also bear heavily on the relationship of each party with the chief executive and his program, as well as each party's platform and strategy for contesting the mid-2003 federal elections. These contests will involve the 500-member Chamber of Deputies, whereas the Senate will be up for reelection in 2006. Voters in Querétaro, Nuevo León, Sonora, San Luis Potosí, Campeche, and Colima will choose governors next year, as well.

And although Fox will not leave office until 2006, presidential wannabes in the PRI, PAN, and PRD are already jockeying for position within their parties and vis-à-vis potential adversaries from other parties. These aspirants regard the upcoming party selections as important in advancing or retarding their prospects for becoming chief executive. Other politicians are considering bids for statehouses in next year's elections.

Several factors make this year's selection of party bigshots particularly interesting.

First, the three face-offs will take place within three weeks of each other.

Second, despite efforts to forge unity slates, each of the three parties has well-known politicians squaring off against each other.

Third, for the first time in history, the PRI is bereft of a chief executive, who—via the infamous *dedazo*—handpicked the party's leaders. Instead of this authoritarian practice, the PRI will hold an

election open to all registered voters who declare themselves “militants” or “sympathizers” of the revolutionary party.

Fourth, a medley of factors—three presidential losses, his strident criticism of PRD leaders, and the ambitions of former protégés like Mexico City Mayor Andrés Manuel López Obrador—no longer permit Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solorzano to apply his own version of the *dedazo* within the Democratic Revolutionary Party. Although esteemed as the party’s “moral leader,” he no longer wields the clout that he once did.

Fifth, females are playing an especially important role in the PRI and PRD elections. Well-known, powerful women are vying for the posts of president (Beatriz Paredes Rangel) and secretary general (Elba Esther Gordillo) in the PRI and for the presidency of the PRD (Rosario Robles Berlanga). Indeed, the PRI’s new rules, adopted last November, require that slates for the top two party officials include one man and one woman.

Sixth, the contests will take place amid a highly publicized official probe of allegations that \$100 million was diverted from *Petróleos Mexicanos*, the state oil monopoly, via the Oil Workers’ Union, to the PRI’s 2000 presidential standard-bearer, Francisco Labastida Ochoa. Labastida is aligned with Paredes and it remains to be seen whether the festering scandal will hurt her chances or furnish a cause around which *priistas* will rally.

Finally, Mexicans will have an opportunity to vote with their feet. Low participation in the PRI and PRD primaries (the PAN will hold a National Assembly) may reflect hostility toward the political elite, who passed a crazy-quilt “fiscal reform” during the final hours of the 2001 legislative session. Not only did deputies and senators break their arms patting themselves on the back for this deeply flawed tax bill, but some 132 deputies from all parties promptly flew off to Cuba to bask in the sunshine of Veradero Beach. In light of the criticism heaped on lawmakers, the Chamber of Deputies hired the Grupo Zeta public-relations firm to improve and “dignify” the image of the legislative branch.

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Schedule of Internal Elections for Mexico's Major Political Parties

	National Action Party (PAN)	Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)
Nature of Selection	Two-thirds vote of the party's 279-member National Council.	National election in which 3, 879, 423 PRD members are eligible to cast ballots at 60,000 voting places.	Election open to all registered voters who state that they are militants in or sympathizers of the PRI.
Qualification of Candidates	Party member with the written endorsement of 10 members of the National Council.	Party member for at least three years, who (1) respects the PRD's principles and procedures; (2) is current in dues payments; and (3) agrees to disclose assets annually.	Party member for 10 years; current in dues payments; supported by (1) 20 percent of the delegational, district, or municipal committees of 24 entities of the republic; (2) one of the party's sectors or organizations, and 5 percent of CPN members. Candidates must run as a ticket for president and secretary general: one aspirant must be a man, the other a women.
Body Supervising the Contest	No special body.	Three-member National Electoral Service composed of Irene Aragón Santiago, Arnaldo Vizcaino Rodríguez, and Alejandro García Ruedo.	Special eight-member National Commission for the Conduct of the Internal Electoral Process (CNDPIE), headed by Humberto Roque Villanueva.
Limitation on Expenditures	None.	Approximately \$1 million (9 million pesos) per presidential-secretary general state—with 60 percent provided by the CEN and 40 percent by state party committees. Candidates must provide a detailed accounting of contributions and expenditures within 10 days after the election. Failure to comply could lead to annulment of the contest.	\$1.63 million (15 million pesos); no more than \$1.09 million (10 million pesos) to be spent on media. No candidate can use public resources to finance his or her campaign. Roque has admitted that his commission has no way of policing candidate expenditures.
Registration Period	January 23–February 22, 2002.	January 23–30, 2002	January 6–12, 2002.
Date of Selection	March 9, 2002.		February 24, 2002.
Installation of New Leader(s)	March 9, 2002. ¹	March 17, 2002. ²	March 4, 2002.

1. On April 5, 2002, the party's new National Executive Committee, elected on March 10, will meet to consider the president's proposals for secretary general, as well as other key posts (secretaries of elections, training and development, internal structures, governmental action, and the political advancement of women).

2. Participants in the PRD contest will cast a total of eight ballots. In addition to president and secretary general, they will elect other national, state, and local leaders.

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Biographical Sketches of Candidates for Leadership of the PAN

Candidate	Date and Place of Birth	Education and Professional Activities	Party Posts	Political Posts
Luis Felipe Bravo Mena President	Sept. 28, 1952; León, Guanajuato	Law degree (Universidad de Guanajuato); advanced studies in social and political philosophy (Universidad Panamericana); political analyst at Centro de Estudios Sociales, Consejo Coordinador Empresarial (1978–1982); director of political studies, Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana (1983–1987); and business consultant (1988–present).	Active in PAN since 1969, when he joined the Youth Committee in León; worked in presidential campaign of Efraín González Morfín in 1970; advisor to Manuel J. Clouthier, PAN presidential candidate in 1988; held numerous party positions, rising to president (1999–2002).	Ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Naucalpan, Mexico state (1990) and for governor of Mexico state (1993); federal deputy (1991–1994); senator (1994–2000).
Carlos Medina Plascencia President	Aug. 14, 1955; León, Guanajuato.	Degree in chemical engineering administration (ITESM); M.A. in business administration (ITESM) and the graduate school of Mexico City; professor at ITESM, León campus (1980–1981); director general of Grupo Suela Medina Torres (1978–1991); vice president, entrepreneurial center of León (1983–1985); adviser, COPARMEX (1983–1985); and adviser, Banco internacional and Banpaís (1980–1984).	Joined PAN in 1985; finance manager for PAN campaigns for Federal deputies (1988); and national adviser to party (1991).	City council of León (1986–1988); mayor of León (1989–1991); interim governor of Guanajuato (1991–1995); federal deputy (1996–1999); and senator (2000–present).

Supporters of the PAN Candidates¹

The following information was gathered through print media as well as field interviews and therefore not all have been confirmed.

Luis Felipe Bravo Mena

Governors

- *Eugenio Elorduy Walter (Baja California)
- Sergio Estrada Cajigal Barrera (Morelos)
- Felipe Gonzalez González (Aguascalientes)
- *Francisco Ramírez Acuña (Jalisco)

Senators

- *Diego Fernández de Cevallos (DF)
- *Luisa María Calderón Hinojosa (Michoacán)
- *Cecilia Romero Castillo (DF)
- *Jorge Zermeño Infante (Coahuila)
- Iauzi Hamdan Amad (DF)
- *Juan José Rodríguez Pratts (Tamaulipas)
- *Lydia Madero García (Tamaulipas)
- *Fernando Margain Berlanga (Nuevo León)
- *Héctor Larios Córdoba (Sonora)
- *Gerardo Buganza Salmerón (Veracruz)
- *Francisco Antonio Fraile García (Puebla)

Diputados

- *Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (DF)
- José Alejandro Zapata Perogordo (San Luis Potosí)
- *Armando Salinas Torre (DF)
- *Margarita Zavala Gómez del Campo (ALDF)

Distinguished *Panistas*

Santiago Creel Miranda, Secretary of *Gobernación*

¹ Asterisks denote membership on the 279-member National Political Council, which must select the next party president by a two-thirds vote.

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- *Luis H. Alvarez Alvarez, Chiapas peace commissioner
- *Antonio Lozano Gracia, former attorney general
- *Jorge Ocejo Moreno, PAN secretary general
- César Nava Vazquez, attorney and former head of PAN Youth Sector
- *Francisco Gárate Chapa, PAN president in Mexico state
- * Jorge Manzanera Quintana
- *José Espina von Roerich, head of Bevito Juárez delegation (DF)
- *Francisco Garrido Patrón, PAN president in Querétaro
- *Simón Guerrero Contreras, coordinator of state legislators, Querétaro
- Felipe Urbiola Ledezmo, legal director, National Immigration Institute
- *Alvaro Fernández de Cevallos
- *José Luis Durán Reveles, under secretary of *Gobernación*
- *Manuel Gómez Morín
- *Luis Ernesto Ayala Torres, mayor of León
- *Leticia Carrillo de Clouthier
- *Adrián Fernández Cabrera, PAN adjunct secretary general

Carlos Medina Plascencia

Campaign Coordinator: Juan Diego Jaso

Governors

- *Patricio Patrón Laviada (Yucatán)
- Juan Carlos Romero Hicks (Guanajuato)

Senators

26 senators, including:

- Micaela Aguilar González (Mexico state)
- *Javier Corral Jurado (Chihuahua)
- *Ramón Corral Avila (Sonora)
- Jeffrey Max Jones Jones (Chihuahua)
- *Héctor Guillermo Osuna Jaime (Baja California)
- Jorge Lozano Armengol (San Luis Potosí)
- *Carlos Madrazo Limón (Mexico state)

Rafael Gilberto Morgan Alvarez (Baja California)

*Sergio César Alejandro Jáuregui Robles (Chihuahua)

*Alfredo Reyes Velázquez (Aguascalientes)

*Benjamín Gallegos Soto (Aguascalientes)

*Luis Alberto Rico Samaniego (Coahuila)

Jesús Galván Muñoz(DF)

Ricardo Alaniz Posadas (Guanajuato)

Marco Antonio Adame Castillo (Morelos)

*Héctor Federico Ling Altamirano (Durango)

Marco Antonio Xicoténcatl Reynoso (Morelos)

Deputies

41 deputies, including:

*Julián Hernández Santillán (Nuevo León)

*Jorge Alberto Lara Rivera (DF)

Francisco Salvador Lopez Brito (Sinaloa)

*Ernesto Saro Boardman (Coahuila)

*Ricardo Torres Origel (Guanajuato)

Emilio Rafael José Goicoechea Luna (Sinaloa)

Fernando Pérez Noriega (DF)

Francisco de Jesús de Silva Ruiz (Querétaro)

*Salvador López Brito (Sinaloa)

*María del Rocío García Gaytán (Jalisco)

Fernando Ugalde Cardona (Guanajuato)

Clemente Padillo Silva (Guanajuato)

*María Elena Alvarez Bernal (DF/President of the Chamber of Deputies)

María Isabel Velasco Ramos (Sonora)

Distinguished *Panistas*

*Francisco Barrio Terrazas, Comptroller general

*Juan Antonio García Villa, Undersecretary of Economics

*Ernesto Ruffo Appel, Commissioner for Northern Border

*Rodolfo Elizondo Torres, Director of Social Communication

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Ramón Martín Huerta, Undersecretary of *Gobernación*

*Alberto Cárdenas Jiménez, Forestry Commissioner and former governor of Jalisco

*Patricia Espinosa Torres, President, National Institute of Women

Fortunato Alvarez, comptroller of IPAB

*Hortesia Olivas Aguirre de Barrio (wife of Francisco Barrio Terrazas)

Gabriel Palomar Silva, a PAN founder and businessman

*Juan Bueno Torio, Undersecretary of Economy

Carlos Domínguez Ahedo, PAN President in Mexico State

Key Positions of Candidates for the PAN Presidency

Candidate	Party Issues	Relations with President Fox
<p>Luis Felipe Bravo Mena (PAN) President</p>	<p>Seeks to improve the efficiency of the party, but has not proposed major reforms of programs and structures; emphasizes that, under his leadership, the PAN won the presidency, as well as the governorships of Morelos, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Baja California, and Yucatán (and Nayarit and Chiapas— with coalition candidates); and points with pride to having spearheaded a major revision of the party’s statutes.</p>	<p>Correct—but not close— relationship with Los Pinos; appointed members to a 20-person committee designed to bridge the gap between the party and the presidency, but tensions persist, Bravo Mena enjoys the backing of Sen. Fernández de Cevallos, who has often criticized Fox’s policies.</p>
<p>Carlos Medina Plascencia (PAN) President</p>	<p>Wants to open the small, upper-middle-class party to more elements of society; criticizes the National Executive committee for taking too many decisions without consulting members of the 279-person National Council.</p>	<p>Believes that the party should privately seek to modify unpalatable decisions of the chief executive, while doing much more publicly to advance his agenda. That he enjoys the open support of several cabinet members -- Comptroller-General Francisco Barrio Terrazas, Agriculture Secretary Javier Usabiaga Arroyo, and Communications and Transport Secretary Pedro Cerisola y Weber -- lends credence to the belief that he is favored by Fox. Nevertheless, Bravo Mena has insisted – and Medina Plascencia agreed – that the chief executive does not have a <i>gallo</i> in the race.</p>

Analysis

Personal agendas and relations with the Fox administration animate the PAN's intramural leadership struggle. Fox, a PAN member since 1988, won the presidency carrying the banner of the Alliance for Change, a coalition of the PAN and the much smaller Mexican Green Ecological Party (PVEM). As chief executive, though, Fox has continually irritated his party's stalwarts by (1) not consulting them on cabinet appointments, (2) inviting relatively few party activists into his governing entourage, (3) squandering the first four months in office trying to propitiate the Zapatista guerrillas, (4) failing both to set goals clearly and to lobby effectively for his proposed fiscal reform and the 2002 budget, (5) ingratiating himself with Fidel Castro during an early February visit to Cuba (although he did meet with dissidents as the PAN wanted); and handling clumsily the reduction of subsidies on electricity charges.

Although trying to be diplomatic in public, Sen. Diego "Jefe Diego" Fernández de Cevallos—the *panistas'* favorite politician—has privately excoriated Fox's inept leadership, fearing that the president's missteps will hurt the PAN's electoral chances.

Current party president Luis Felipe Bravo Mena has had limited success in building bridges between the PAN and Los Pinos. Nevertheless, he headed the party when it captured the presidency for the first time, as well as when it won the statehouses in Morelos, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Baja California, and Yucatán (and, as part of coalitions, Nayarit and Chiapas). Furthermore, he impelled the revision and modernization of the party's statutes.

Senator Carlos Medina Plascencia, who preceded Fox as governor of Guanajuato (1991–1995), has mounted a challenge to Bravo Mena, who belatedly decided to seek another three-year term. Medina Plascencia berates Bravo Mena for lackluster leadership and for not achieving a stronger presence for the PAN in the Fox administration. The Guanajuato senator also believes that, although the PAN might disagree with certain presidential initiatives in private, the party should do much more to promote Fox's priorities in public. In addition, Medina Plascencia advocates broadening the base of the traditionally parochial, upper middle class PAN, which has only 185,000 active members and 650,000 "adherent" members nationwide.

An extremely wealthy businessman, Medina Plascencia enjoys the support of Francisco Barrio Terrazas, former governor of Chihuahua and current comptroller general and anticorruption czar. Perhaps most importantly, he also is supported by Rodolfo Elizondo, President Fox's recently appointed press secretary and one of his closest advisers. If successful in imprisoning some big-time wrongdoers, the highly regarded Barrio will become a serious contender for his party's presidential nomination. Ernesto Ruffo Appel, former Baja California governor and

current border czar, has also cast his lot with Medina Plascencia, as have two governors, 41 federal deputies, and 26 senators.

Two other presidential aspirants—Government Secretary Santiago Creel Miranda and PAN leader in the Chamber of Deputies Felipe Calderón Hinojosa—have aligned with Bravo Mena. Although feigning neutrality, Jefe Diego clearly favors the incumbent party chief.

Two hundred and seventy-nine councillors will choose the PAN president, a fact that seemed to obviate the need for the competitors to spend large amounts of money garnering support. In early February, however, his campaign coordinator announced that Medina Plascencia would spend more than \$100,000 (1 million pesos) on his campaign. Medina Plascencia is barnstorming the country, talking individually (or in small groups) with most of the councillors. Meanwhile, Bravo Mena is following a “Rose Garden strategy”—that is, except for phone calls and weekend forays to the states, he is attending to affairs at the party’s headquarters in the DF. After all, local elections take place in Hidalgo, Quintana Roo, and Baja California Sur in February. He has enlisted Luis H. Alvarez, the party’s venerable elder statesman, and Antonio Lozano Gracia, a former attorney general and ally of Jefe Diego, to act as his surrogates in lobbying councillors. A January 19 annual state of the party address gave Bravo Mena an opportunity to address all 279 councillors, many of whom were selected in March 2001 in a process in which Bravo Mena and his team played a key role.

As a result, Bravo Mena began the campaign as the man to beat. Yet, Medina Plascencia has gained momentum as he travels around the country. Fernando Canales Clariond, Nuevo León’s hard-charging governor and another politician with his eye on the Mexican presidency, may turn out to be a pivotal figure. Not only would a Canales endorsement generate political support, it would reflect the backing of the powerful Monterrey Group of entrepreneurs for the candidate of his choice.

Although analysts expect Bravo Mena to obtain more votes than Medina Plascencia on the first ballot, no candidate is likely to win the two-thirds majority required for election. If Bravo Mena conserves his probable edge in subsequent ballots, pressure will mount for Medina Plascencia to bow out gracefully, possibly for a high party post.

Biographical Sketches of Candidates for Leadership of the PRD

Candidate	Date and Place of Birth	Education and Professional Activities	Party Posts	Political Posts
Jesús Ortega Martínez President	Nov. 5, 1952; Aguascalientes, Aguas.	Degree in bacterial chemistry (IPN); chemist, National Railroads of Mexico (1974–1976).	President of PST in Mexico state (1977), Jalisco (1983), and Aguascalientes (1986); secretary general of PST (1987); central committee of PMS (1987–1988); joined the PRD in 1989, serving twice as party secretary general (1996–1999) and as president of the party in Mexico state (1997).	Federal deputy (1979–1982, 1988–1991); senator (1977–present).
Raymundo Cárdenas Hernández Secretary general	Feb. 3, 1950; Villanueva, Zacatecas.	Degree in chemical engineering (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas); professor at UAZ (1972–1991); active in UAZ's union of academic personnel.	Leader in various leftist parties (PCM, PSUM, and PMS); joined PRD in 1989; member of PRD national executive committee (1990).	State legislator (1983–1986); Federal deputy (1991–1994); secretary of government in Zacatecas (1998–2000); senator.
Rosario Robles Berlanga President	Feb.17, 1956, DF.	Degree in economics (UNAM); M.A. in rural development (UAM-Xochimilco); professor and researcher; served as member of the executive committee of the UNAM Workers' Union (STUNAM) from 1988 to 1993.	Active in PRD since its founding in 1989, holding various posts: secretary of social movements (1993–1994), secretary of organization (1996–1997), with responsibility for the Brigadas del Sol in the mid-1997 elections.	Federal deputy (1994–1997); secretary of gobernación in DF (1997–1999); acting mayor of DF (1999–2000).
Higinio Martínez Miranda Secretary general	June 18, 1956, Texcoco, Mexico state.	M.D. degree (UNAM)	Member of the Mexican Labor Party (PMT); founder of the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS) in 1986 and of the PRD in 1989; member of the PRD National Executive Committee since 1993; president of the Mexico state Executive Committee (1995–1997); and head of the Political Action Group, the dominant force in the state PRD.	State legislator (1990–1993); mayor of Texcoco; senator (1997–1999); unsuccessful PRD nominee for governor of Mexico state (1999); and general coordinator for metropolitan programs in DF (2000–2002).

Biographical Sketches of Candidates for Leadership of the PRD (*continued*)

Candidate	Date and Place of Birth	Education and Professional Activities	Party Posts	Political Posts
José Camilo Valenzuela Fierno President	N.A.	N.A.	Northeast director for the 23 rd of September Communist League, a guerrilla group in the 1970s; imprisoned for four years. Active in various leftist parties before joining the PRD; secretary for labor affairs in PRD (1999); and coordinator of advisers to PRD president (2001-2002).	Federal deputy (1994-1997).
Uuc-Kib Espadas Ancona Secretary General	November 27, 1963.	Degree in social anthropology; researcher at Centro INAH in Yucatán.	PRD Subdelegate in Campeche (1997); adviser to PRD executive committee in Quintana Roo (1998); and PRD adjunct secretary for elections (1999).	Leader in various leftist parties (PCM, PSUM, and PMS); joined PRD in 1989; member of PRD national executive committee (1990).

Supporters of the PRD Candidates

The following information was gathered through print media as well as field interviews and therefore not all have been confirmed.

Jesús Ortega Martínez

Governors

Alfonso Sanchez Añaya (Tlaxcala)

Leonel Cota Montaña (Baja California Sur)

Ricardo Monreal Avila (Zacatecas/claims “neutrality,” but his political lieutenants are backing Ortega)

Senators

Rodimiro Amaya Téllez (Baja California Sur)

Raymundo Cardenas Hernández (Zacatecas)

Marcos Carlos Cruz Martínez (Coahuila)

Rutilio Cruz Escandón Cadenas (Chiapas)

Ricardo Gerardo Hiquera (Baja California Sur)

Elías Miguel Moreno Brizuela (Veracruz)

María del Carmen Ramírez (Tlaxcala)

Demetrio Sodi de la Tijera (DF)

Antonio Soto Sánchez (Michoacán)

Deputies

Approximately 15, including:

Carmen Pacheco (ALDF)

María del Rosario Tapia Medina (DF)

Héctor Sanchez López (Oaxaca)

Currents

1. Foro Nuevo Sol (Los Amalios)

1. Advocates of changing the party’s image from supporting violence and obstructionism to advancing a moderate, responsible social-

democratic agenda, designed to broaden the PRD's base of support.

2. Centered in DF and Zacatecas, with good ties to the state's governor, Ricardo Monreal Avila, who—having already announced his 2006 presidential candidacy—has vowed neutrality in the internal party contest.

3. Key Members

- 1) PRD president Amalia García Medina
- 2) Sen. Raymundo Cárdenas Hernández
- 3) Sen. Demetri Sodi de la Tijera (DF)
- 4) Miguel Moreno Brizuela
- 5) Eloi Vázquez López
- 6) Claudia Corichi
- 7) Irene Aragón Santiago

2. Nuevo Izquierda (Los Chuchos)

1. Shares the Foro Nuevo Sol's views on revamping the party's image and platform.
2. Boasts the best structure of any current, with support concentrated in the north and south of the country
3. Key Members
 - 1) Jesús Ortega Martínez
 - 2) Jesús Zambrano Grijalva, current secretary general and aspirant for the governorship of Sonora
 - 3) Carlos Sotelo (Puebla)
 - 4) Carlos Navarrete Ruiz, spokesman for the PRD
 - 5) María del Rosario Tapia Medina
 - 6) Arnaldo Vizcáino Rodríguez, former party leader in Colima

Rosario Robles Berlanga

Governors

Lázaro Cárdenas Batel (Michoacán)

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (DF Mayor)

Senators

Leticia Burgos Ochoa (Sonora)

Armando Chavarría Barrera (Guerrero)

Daniel López-Nelio Santiago (Oaxaca)

Rafael Melgoza Badillo (Michoacán)

Deputies

35 of the PRD's 52 deputies accompanied Robles when she registered her candidacy. Among these lawmakers were:

Martí Batres Guadarrama (DF), PRD leader in the Chamber of Deputies

María Alejandra Barrales Magdalena, head of the Flight Attendants' Union

María Miroslava García Suárez (DF)

Alfredo Hernandez Raigosa (DF)

Aubén Aguirre Ponce (Guerrero)

Auldárico Hernández Gerónimo (Tabasco)

Currents within PRD Supporting Robles

1. Regeneration Movement (also known as "ROSCA," a combination of the names of Rosario and Cárdenas).
 - A. Devoted followers of Cárdenas
 - B. Ideologically varied
 - C. Key members
 - 1) Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano
 - 2) Lázaro Cárdenas Batel
 - 3) Leonel Godoy Rangel, Secretary of Public Safety in DF
 - 4) Pedro Etienne Llano
 - 5) Porfirio Barbosa Ramirez

- 6) César Buenrostro Hernández
- 7) Saúl Escobar Toledo
- 8) Carlos Heredia Zubieta
- 9) Roberto Peniche Aguilar
- 10) Agustín Granados
- 11) Imanol Ordorika Sacristán

2. Movimiento de la Izquierdista Libertaria (MIL)

- A. Formerly the ACIR or Los Cívicos
- B. Greatest strength in Oaxaca and Guerrero
- C. Key members
 - 1) Humberto Zazueta Aguilar
 - 2) Mario Saucedo Pérez
 - 3) Dip. Emilo Ulloa Pérez
 - 4) Sen. Leticia Burgos Ochea
 - 5) Rosalbina Garavito Elías
 - 6) Gilberto López y Rivas, former federal deputy
 - 7) Eliseo Mayao

3. Movimiento de Izquierda Social (MISOL)

- A. Formerly the Corriente de Izquierda Democrática (CID)
- B. Hard-left orientation; associated with Mexico City mayor López Obrador; greatest presence in DF, Guerrero, and Oaxaca
- C. Key Members:
 - 1) René Juvenal Bejarano Martínez, personal secretary to López Obrador
 - 2) Martí Batres Guadarrama
 - 3) Carlos Imaz Gispert
 - 4) Saúl Vicente Vázquez(Oaxaca), PRD's secretary of human rights
 - 5) Héctor Sánchez López (Oaxaca/backing Ortega)
 - 6) Félix Salgado Macedonia (Guerrero)
 - 7) Dolores Padierna Luna, head of Cuauhtémoc delegation in DF and married to Bejarano

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- 7) Armando Quintero Martínez (ALDF)¹
 - 8) Agustín Guerrero Castillo, secretary general of PRD in DF
 - 9) Alejandro Sánchez Camacho, head of PRD faction in ALDF
 - 10) Leticia Robles (ALDF)
 - 11) Emilio Serrano Colín (ALDF)
 - 12) Susana Manzanares (ALDF)
 - 13) Marcos Morales (ALDF)
 - 14) Adolfo López Villanueva (ALDF)
4. Movimiento de Bases Insurgentes (MOBI)
- A. Small, relatively unimportant; recommended postponing the intramural election until after the 2003 congressional contests to avoid a schism
 - B. Hard left.
 - C. Key members:
 - 1) Raúl Alvarez Garín
 - 2) Gerardo Fernández Noroña, Barzón movement of small debtors
 - 3) Carlota Botey y Estape, former director of property and regularization in DF

José Camilo Valenzuela Fierro

Currents within the PRD supporting Valenzuela

1. Red Izquierda Revolucionaria (Redir)

- a. Small, hard-left faction
- b. Criticizes the PRD's leadership for being "authoritarian, vertical and elitist"
- c. Key Members
 - (1) José Antonio Rueda
 - (2) Amador Jara, party leader in Oaxaca
 - (3) Francisco Patiño Cardona

¹ Quintero Martínez was ousted as head of the PRD's faction in the ALDF for his early endorsement of Robles' candidacy for party president; he has long feuded with René Bejarano.

Key Positions of Candidates for the PRD Presidency

Candidate	Party Issues	Relations with President Fox
Jesús Ortega Martínez (PRD)	Seeks to remake the PRD into a moderate, responsible social-democratic party that will, when appropriate, enter into alliances to promote constructive policies. In the process, he hopes to broaden the base of a party, which would forge a large nationalist leftist front. Although not including the PAN and the PRI, such a coalition would go beyond the mere inclusion of the Greens (PVEM) and the Workers Party (PT). He also proposes to devote greater attention and resources to organizing a grassroots structure throughout the nation, while rejecting the idea that Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas should attempt to play the role of party kingmaker.	Willing to work with Fox on issues of mutual interest without compromising the party's principles. For example, Sen. Ortega voted for a constitutional amendment that modestly broadened and codified the rights of indigenous peoples. Martí Batres, and other PRD firebrands in the Chamber of Deputies, excoriated this legislation as meaningless and cosmetic.
Rosario Robles Berlunga (PRD) <rosariorobles.com.mx>	Although she employs much of the same rhetoric used by Ortega, she (and her political mentors) have practiced top-down, authoritarian control within the PRD. She would rather that the party offer a "choice not an echo," to quote Barry Goldwater. She appeals to the PRD's hardliners.	Will oppose Fox's initiatives to reform the tax system, modernize the energy sector, and overhaul the nation's rigid labor code.
José Camilo Valenzuela Fierro (PRD)	Seeks to provide an alternative to the "sellout left" headed by Ortega and the "elite left" associated with Robles. He promises to represent the masses.	Intractable opposition to Fox's "pro-capitalist" and "pro-U.S." policies

PRD Analysis

The following information was gathered through print media as well as field interviews and therefore not all have been confirmed.

Rosario Robles Berlanga and Higinio Martínez Miranda, her running mate for secretary general, hold a commanding lead over the more moderate, less well-known ticket of Jesús Ortega-Raymundo Cárdenas Robles first came to national attention as interim mayor of Mexico City when Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas stepped down to make his third try for the presidency. The sparkling, smiling Robles “connected” with D.F. residents, and enormous expenditures on publicity helped project her name and image throughout the country. As an ally of Cárdenas, she campaigned actively for his son Lázaro, a senator who on November 11, 2001, became the fourth member of his family to win the Michoacán statehouse. The *cardenistas* then turned their attention to catapulting Robles into the PRD’s top post—with an eye to either father, son, or Robles grabbing the party’s presidential nomination in 2006. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas was, however, no longer the PRD’s kingmaker. Thus, Robles actively pursued other supporters. She succeeded in obtaining the backing of the PRD’s *Los Cívicos* current, which is concentrated in Guerrero and Oaxaca. Still, she needed to recruit allies in three other PRD strongholds—the DF, Mexico state, and Tabasco. To add to her worries, Ortega, her principal opponent, was spreading word that he boasted the endorsement of the extremely popular López Obrador, who makes no secret of wanting to succeed Fox in *Los Pinos* presidential palace.

Although López Obrador argued that he was “neutral,” Robles struck a deal in mid-December with René Bejarano Martínez, the mayor’s private secretary, right-hand man, and leader of the far-left Democratic Leftist Current (CID), López Obrador and Bejarano had previously waged a vicious public attack on Robles, accusing her of having diverted huge amounts of city funds to loft her political star, charges from which she was ultimately exonerated. Pragmatism and ideological considerations explain Bejarano’s accord with Robles: she seemed to have a good chance of winning, especially in the wake of the Cárdenas gubernatorial triumph; and her strong anti-Fox position coincided with that of Bejarano and López Obrador. In return for casting their lot with Robles, she agreed to allow them to name Martínez Miranda as her ticket mate for secretary general and Agustín Guerrero as the PRD’s head in Mexico City. This deal constituted a trifecta for Robles: Bejarano and López Obrador will greatly boost her in the DF; López Obrador can also assist her in Tabasco, his native state; and Martínez Miranda exerts an iron grip on the party machinery in Mexico state through his Political Action Group. Although Robles holds an advantage in the DF, Mexico state, Tabasco, and Michoacán, Ortega’s supporters (*Los Chuchos*), control the PRD’s structure in the North and South of the country. Ortega should also do well in

Zacatecas, the home state of current party president Amalia García Medina. García and her allies (*Los Amalios*) share Ortega's vision of making the PRD—long identified with violence, demonstrations, student strikes, and Zapatistas—into a responsible, center-left, social-democratic party. In addition, Ortega has a crack at winning a fair share of votes in Veracruz, Oaxaca, and Guerrero. Camilo Valenzuela and several other minor candidates will attract a handful of disgruntled *perridistas*.

Although an early January public-opinion survey found Robles (72 percent) far outdistancing Ortega (28 percent) among members of the PRD, she is unlikely to accumulate the two-to-one victory necessary under party statutes to gain the election of Martínez Miranda. Consequently, Ortega would be in line to become secretary general.

Even if Robles snatches the brass ring as predicted, she is unlikely to command a majority on either her party's National Council or on its executive committee. As a result, the PRD will continue to resemble a Mideast bazaar rather than a coherent political organization.

Biographical Sketches of Candidates for Leadership of the PRI

Candidate and Position	Date and Place of Birth	Education and Professional Activities	Party Posts	Political Posts
Roberto Madrazo Pintado President	July 30, 1952; DF.	Law degree (UNAM 1974); advanced studies in urban affairs (UCLA/1980-81).	Secretary general of party's youth sector (1977-78); adjunct secretary of CEN (1987-88); Tabasco party president (1988); PRI delegate in more than a score of states; unsuccessful candidate for party's presidential nomination (1999).	Federal deputy (1976-1979, 1991-94); senator (1988-1991); and governor of Tabasco (1994-2000).
Elba Esther Gordillo Morales Secretary general	Feb. 6, 1945; Comitán, Chiapas.	Teaching certificate (Federal Institute of Teacher Education); studies history (National Normal School); primary school teacher in Chiapas and DF; secondary school teacher in DF; professor of history, Institute of Political Education (PRI); active in SNTE, rising to post of secretary general (1989-1994).	Joined PRI in 1960; presidential campaign coordinator for CEN (1975); coordinated PRI senate campaign in San Luis (1975); active in popular sector (CNOP), rising to secretary general (1999-2002).	
Beatriz Elena Paredes Rangel President < www.beatrizparedes.org.mx >	Aug. 18, 1953; Tizatlán, Tlaxcala.	Sociology degree (UNAM); professor, Institute of Political Education (PRI); subsecretary in the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (1982-1985); Subsecretary of Government (1993); ambassador to Cuba (1993-1995).	Secretary of Indigenous Action of the PRI's National Revolutionary Youth Movement; secretary general of the CEN (1992); active in the CNC, rising to secretary general.	Local deputy in Tlaxcala (1974-1977); federal deputy (1979-1982, 1985-1986, 2000-2002); president of Chamber of Deputies (1986, 2001-2002); governor of Tlaxcala (1986-1992); president of the Latin Parliament (2001-2002).
Javier Guerrero García Secretary general	Oct. 20, 1958; San Pedro de las Colonias, Coahuila.	Degree in political science and public administration (Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila); director of rural scholarsips, Ministry of Agrarian Reform (1979-1982); finance secretary for Coahuila (1999-2002).	Active in the Territorial Movement; worked in a successful campaign of Enrique Martínez y Martínez for governor of Coahuila (1998).	Mayor of San Pedro de las colonias (1988-1991); federal deputy (1991-1994; 1997-2000); twice ran unsuccessfully for the senate.

Supporters of the PRI Candidates¹

The following information was gathered through print media as well as field interviews and therefore not all have been confirmed.

Roberto Madrazo Pintado

Key Operatives

Miguel Angel Yunes Linares, Héctor Hugo Olivares Ventura, Octavio West Silva, and Carlos Jiménez Macías (representatives to the PRI's National Commission for the Conduct of the Internal Process or CNDPIE)

José Encarnación Alfara (Electoral Training)

Fausto Zapata Loredó (Political Operations)

Jorge Arana Arana (Coordinator for Western Region)

Sen. Fernando Ortiz Arana, Sen. Ricardo Canavati, Carlos Tello Macías, and Oscar Joffre Velázquez (National Executive Committee)

ALDF Rep. Margarita González Gamio and Dip. Jorge Chávez Presa (Technical Secretariat of Advisory Council)

Dip. Javier Sánchez Campuzano, Ramón García González, and Ady García López (Media Coordinators)

Alberto Banuet Abhari (coordinator Fundación Carlos A. Madrazo)

Major Groups

Elba Esther Gordillo and the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE)

Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE)

Confederación Nacional de Organizaciones Populares (CNOP) (Roberto Campa Ciprián)

Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos (CROC) (Alberto Juárez Blanco)

Union General de Obreros y Campesinos de México (UGOCM)

Colosistas

Grupo Atlamulco (Alfredo del Mazo and Mario Ramón Beteta)

¹ This section on supporters benefits greatly from Fernando del Collado, "La batalla decisiva," *Enfoque (Reforma)*, January 13, 2002, pp.10–15.

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Financial Support

Personal Wealth

SNTE

STPRM

Family of Hank González

Carlos Slim Helú

Ignacio Cobos

Roberto Gonzalez

Fundación Carlos A. Madrazo

Governors

José Antonio González Curi (Campeche)

René Juárez Cisneros (Guerrero)

José Mural Casab (Oaxaca)

Joaquín Hendricks Díaz (Quintana Roo)

Juan S. Millán Lizárraga (Sinaloa)

Armando López Nogales (Sonora)

Manuel Andrade Díaz (Tabasco)

Víctor Tinoco Rubí (Michoacán/left office 2-15-02)

Regional Party Secretaries

Efraín Arista Ruiz (center)

Fernando Elías Calles (northeast)

State Party Presidents

Miguel Vega Pérez (Baja California Sur)

Guadalupe Fons Sáenz (Campeche)

Aquiles Espinosa García (Chiapas)

Wintilo Vega Murillo (Guanajuato)

Juan José Castro Justo (Guerrero)

Ulises Ernesto Ruiz Ortiz (Oaxaca)

Miguel Calzada Mercado (Querétaro)

Joel Sauri Galúe (Quintana Roo)

Pedro de Jesús Olivera Vázquez (San Luis Potosí)

Eduardo Alfonso Garrido Achov (Sinaloa)

Manuel Robles Linares Negrete (Sonora)

Senators

Héctor Antonio Astudillo Flores (Guerrero)

Manuel Barlett Díaz (Puebla)

Genaro Borrego Estrada (Zacatecas)

Ricardo Canavati Tafich (Nuevo León)

Óscar Cantón Zetina (Tabasco)

Aracely Escalante Jasso (Campeche)

Emilio Gamboa Patrón (Yucatán)

Antonio García Torres (Michoacán)

Laura Alicia Garza Galindo (Tamaulipas)

Fernando Gómez Esparza (Aguascalientes)

Omar Raymundo Gómez Flores (Jalisco)

Yolanda Eugenia González Hernández (San Luis Potosí)

Alejandro Gutiérrez Gutiérrez (Coahuila)

Ismael Alfredo Hernández Deras (Durango)

Fidel Herrera Beltrán (Veracruz)

David Jiménez González (Morelos)

Óscar Luebbert Gutiérrez (Tamaulipas)

Víctor Manuel Méndez Lanz (Campeche)

Héctor Michel Camarena (Colima)

Miguel Ángel Navarro Quintero (Nayarit)

Orlando Paredes Lara (Yucatán)

Roberto Pérez de Alva Blanco (Baja California)

Carlos Rojas Gutiérrez (Mexico state)

Ulises Ernesto Ruiz Ortiz (Oaxaca)

Miguel Sadot Sánchez Carreño (Oaxaca)

Georgina Trujillo Zentella (Tabasco)

Tomás Vázquez Vigil (Proportional Representation/PR)

Héctor Vicario Castrejón (Guerrero)

Jorge Doroteo Zapata García (Chihuahua)

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Federal Deputies

Samuel Aguilar Solís

Jesús Alí de la Torre

Nicolás Lorenzo Álvarez Martínez

Narciso Alberto Amador Leal

Eduardo Andrade Sánchez

Benjamín Ayala Velázquez

José Jaime Barrón Fonseca

Claudio Mario Bres Garza

Edilberto Jesús Buenfil Montalvo

Feliciano Calzada Padrón

Eloy Cantú Segovia

Andrés Carballo Bustamante

Gustavo Carvajal Moreno

Salvador Castañeda Salcedo

Miguel Castro Sánchez

Raúl Cervantes Andrade

Jorge Alejandro Chávez Presa

Marco Antonio Dávila Montesinos

Enrique Octavio de la Madrid Cordero

Jesús de la Rosa Godoy

Óscar Alfonso del Real Muñoz

Guillermo Díaz Gea

César Horacio Duarte Jáquez

Olga Haydée Flores Velásquez

Roberto Javier Fuentes Domínguez

Rubén García Farías

José Antonio García Leyva

Marcelo García Morales

Jorge Luis García Vera

Manuel Garza González

José Luis González Aguilera

Raúl Homero González Villalva
Roque Joaquín Gracia Sánchez
José María Guillén Torres
Josefina Hinojosa Herrera
Guillermo Hopkins Gámez
Heriberto Huicochea Vázquez
Víctor Roberto Infante González
Jaime Arturo Larrazábal Bretón
Efrén Nicolás Leyva Acevedo
Francisco Javier López González
Rafael López Hernández
Paulino López Mora Marcos
Sergio Maldonado Aguilar
Angel Aremio Meixueiro González
María Lilia Arcelia Mendoza Cruz
Maricruz Montelongo Gordillo
Miguel Ángel Donaciano Moreno Tello
Ricardo Augusto Ocampo Fernández
Gustavo Nabor Ojeda Delgado
J. Jesús Orozco Alfaro
Fernando Ortiz Arana
Miguel Ortiz Jonguitud
Juan Paredes Gloria
David Penchyna Grub
Héctor Pineda Velázquez
Irma Piñeyro Arias
José Jesús Reyna García
Francisco Ríos Alarcón
Bulmaro Rito Salinas
Salvador Rocha Díaz
Maricruz Montelongo Gordillo
Ernesto Higinio Rodríguez Escalona

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Jaime Rodríguez López

José del Carmen Soberanis González

Felipe Solís Acero

Gerardo Sosa Castelán

José Soto Martínez

Jesús Adelfo Taracena Martínez

Abel Trejo González

Miguel Vega Pérez

José Socorro Velázquez Hernández

Julio César Vidal Pérez

Simón Iván Villar Martínez

Roberto Zavala Echavarría

Nahúm Ildefonso Zorrilla Cuevas

Distinguished *Priístas* Supporting Madrazo

Angel Aceves Saucedo

Roberto Albores Guillén (ex-governor of Chiapas)

Rubén Figueroa Alcocer (ex-governor of Guerrero)

José Encarnación Alfaro

Jorge Arana Arana (ex-candidate for Jalisco)

Hugo Andrés Araujo (former leader of CNC)

Rebecca Arenas

Pedro Aspe Armello (ex-secretary of finance)

Manlio Fabio Beltrones Rivera (ex-governor of Sonora)

Marcos Bucio Mújica

Ramón García González

Ady García López

Margarita González Gamio

Othón González Ruiz (Veracruz)

Manuel Gurría Ordoñez (ex-governor of Tabasco and bridge to the Hank Gonzalez family)

Amador Hernández

Mario Hernández Posadas (CNC)

Oscar Javier Joffe Velázquez
Fernando Lerdo de Tejada
Carlos Jiménez Macías (former leader of CNOP)
Florice Medina Péreznieto
Esteban Moctezuma Barragan (ex-secretary of *Gobernación*)
Edna Martínez Nambo
Héctor Hugo Olivares Ventura (former leader of CNC)
Mario Moya Palencia (ex-secretary of *Gobernación*)
Celestino Salcedo Monteón (CNC)
Javier Sánchez Campuzano
María Esther Scherman (ex-senator)
Maximiliano Silerio Esparza (former leader of CNC and ex-governor of Durango)
Jesús Silva Herzog (ex-secretary of finance)
Carlos Tello Macías (ex-secretary of programs and budget)
Octavio West Silva
Miguel Ángel Yuñez (ex-party leader in Veracruz)
Fausto Zapata Loredo (ex-governor of San Luis Potosí)

Beatriz Paredes Rangel

Key Operatives²

Rodolfo Echeverría Ruiz, Campaign Coordinator
Dip. Cesar Augusto Santiago (Chiapas)
Dip. Víctor Manuel Gandarilla (Northeast Region)
Dip. Manuel Añorve Baños (Morelos, Oaxaca, and Guerrero)
Dip. Juan Manuel Carrera López (El Bajío and Durango)
Dip. Jorge Carlos Ramírez Marín (Yucatán and Campeche)
Dip. Jorge Esteban Sandoval Ochoa (Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas)
Enrique Ibarra Pedroza (Jalisco, Michoacán, Nayarit, Colima, and part of El Bajío)
Dip. Florentino Castro López (DF)

² This list of operatives appeared in Jorge Herrera et al., “Buscan que Paredes disputa la dirigencia del tricolor,” *El Universal*, December 13, 2001, p. 13.

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Dip. Jaime Vázquez Castillo (Mexico state)

Major Groups

Confederación Nacional Campesina/CNC (Heladio Ramírez López)

Federación de Sindicatos de Traajadores en Servicio al Estado/FSTSE
(Sen. Joel Ayala Almedia)

La Organización de Trabajadores Mexicanos (Leonardo Rodriguez
Alcaine)

Movimiento Territorial

Financial Support

Credit Unions

Peasant Organizations

Chamber of Deputies

Governors

Enrique Martínez y Martínez (Coahuila)

Fernando Moreno Peña (Colima)

Patricio Martínez García (Chihuahua)

Angel Sergio Guerrero Mier (Durango)

Arturo Montiel Rojas (Mexico state)

Manuel Ángel Núñez Soto (Hidalgo)

Fernando Silva Nieto (San Luis Potosí)

Tomás Yarrington Ruvalcaba (Tamaulipas)

Miguel Alemán Velasco (Veracruz)

Regional Party Secretaries

Humberto Lepe Lepe (Northwest)

State Party Presidents

Fausto Gutiérrez Barrera (Baja California)

Jorge Galo Medina Torres (Coahuila)

Gustavo Vázquez Monte (Colima)

Mario Trevizo Salazar (Chihuahua)

Gustavo Lugo Espinoza (Durango)

Francisco Maldonado Ruiz (Mexico state)

J. Antonio Rojo García de Alba (Hidalgo)
Maricela Sánchez Cortés (Morelos)
José Alacón Hernández (Puebla)
Homero Díaz Rodríguez (Tamaulipas)
Mariano González Zarur (Tlaxcala)
Roberto Pinzón (Yucatán)
José Bonilla Robles (Zacatecas)
Carlos Brito Gómez (Veracruz)

Senators

José Antonio Aguilar Bodegas (Chiapas)
Adrián Alanís Quiñones (Durango)
Luis Ricardo Aldana Prieto (Proportional Representation (PR))
Esteban Miguel Ángeles Cerón (Hidalgo)
Joel Ayala Almeida (PR)
José Eulogio Bonilla Robles (Zacatecas)
Eduardo Bours Castelo (Sonora)
César Camacho Quiroz (Mexico state)
Luis Colosio Fernández (PR)
José Carlos Cota Osuna (Baja California)
Carlos Chaurand Arzate (
Nezahualcóyotl de la Vega García (PR)
Lauro Díaz Castro (Sinaloa)
José Ernesto Gil Elorduy (Hidalgo)
José Natividad González Parás (PR)
Mariano González Zarur (Tlaxcala)
Silvia Hernández Enríquez (Querétaro)
Enrique Jackson Ramírez (PR)
Addy Cecilia Joaquín Coldwell (Quintana Roo)
Eduardo Ovando Martínez (Quintana Roo)
Eric Luis Rubio Barthell (Yucatán)
Martha Sofía Tamayo Morales (Sinaloa)

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Federal Deputies

Carlos Humberto Aceves del Olmo
Enrique Alonso Aguilar Borrego
Patricia Aguilar García
Jaime Alcántara Silva
Óscar Alvarado Cook
Hilda Anderson Nevárez
Manuel Añorve Baños
Flor Añorve Ocampo
Miguel Arizpe Jiménez
María Teodora Elba Arrieta Pérez
Rosa Elena Baduy Issac
Celestino Bailón Guerrero
Norma Enriqueta Bacilio Sotelo
Jorge Carlos Berlín Montero
Jesús Burgos Pinto
Juan Nicolás Callejas Arroyo
Cutberto Cantorán Espinosa
Francisco Cárdenas Elizondo
Juan Manuel Carreras López
Francisco Castro López
Adela Cerezo Bautista
Beatriz Cervantes Mandujano
María Elena Chapa Hernández
Vitálico Cándido Coheto Martínez
José Manuel Correa Ceseña
Salvador Cosío Gaona
Eréndira Olimpia Cova Brindis
Jesús Alejandro Cruz Gutiérrez
Maricruz Cruz Morales
Arturo Bonifacio de la Garza Tijerina
José Gerardo de la Riva Pinal

Fernando Díaz de la Vega
Víctor Emanuel Díaz Palacios
Elías Dip Rame
Roberto Domínguez Castellanos
Nemesio Domínguez Domínguez
María Luisa Araceli Domínguez Ramírez
Gustavo Alonso Donis García
Rodolfo Antonio Echeverría Ruiz
Hortencia Enríquez Ortega
Ismael Estrada Colín
Héctor Nemesio Esquiliano Solís
Omar Fayad Meneses
Rubén Benjamín Félix Hays
Edgar Consejo Flores Galván
Manuel Galán Jiménez
Víctor Manuel Gandarilla Carrasco
María de las Nieves García Fernández
Javier García González
Augusto Gómez Villanueva
Gustavo Adolfo González Balderas
Rodolfo Gerardo González Guzmán
Concepción González Molina
Ney González Sánchez
Federico Granja Ricalde
Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal
Abel Guerra Garza
Santiago Guerrero Gutiérrez
Eugenio Javier Hernández Flores
José Antonio Hernández Fraguas
Justino Hernández Hilaria
Policarpo Infante Fierro
Aaron Irizar López

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José Jaimes García
Eduardo Abraham
Leines Barrera
Arturo León Lerma
Óscar Guillermo Levín Coppel
Juan Leyva Mendivil
Esther López Cruz
Santiago López Hernández
Silverio López Magallenes
Gustavo Lugo Espinoza
Julián Luzanilla Contreras
Celia Martínez Bárcenas
Jaime Mantecón Rojo
Pedro Manterola Sainz
Ranulfo Márquez Hernández
Juan Manuel Martínez Nava
Enrique Martínez Orta Flores
J. Timoteo Martínez Pérez
Lorena Martínez Rodríguez
Jaime Martínez Veloz
José Manuel Medellín Milán
Enrique Meléndez Pérez
José Ignacio Mendicuti Pavón
Albino Mendieta Cuapio
Martha Ofelia Meza Escalante
Hermilio Monroy Pérez
José Feliciano Moo y Can
José Melitón Morales Sánchez
José Jacobo Nazar Morales
Alfredo Ochoa Toledo
María del Rosario Oroz Ibarra
Laura Hermelinda Pavón Jaramillo

Manuel Payán Novoa
Roberto Preciado Cuevas
Luis Priego Ortiz
José Manuel Quintanilla Rentería
José Ramírez Gemero
Jorge Carlos Ramírez Marín
Enrique Ramos Rodríguez
Rafael Rodríguez Barrera
José Elías Romero Apis
Carlos Antonio Romero Deschamps
Silvia Romero Suárez
Luis Gerardo Rubio Valdez
Roberto Ruiz Ángeles
Francisco Javier Sánchez Campuzano
Maricela Sánchez Cortés
Martha Silvia Sánchez González
Jorge Esteban Sandoval Ochoa
César Augusto Santiago Ramírez
Jorge Schettino Pérez
Juan Manuel Sepúlveda Fayad
Raúl Efrén Sicilia Salgado
Reyes Antonio Silva Beltrán
Carlos Rodolfo Soto Monzón
Librado Treviño Gutiérrez
Agustín Trujillo Íñiguez
José Luis Ugalde Montes
Olga Margarita Uriarte Rico
José Álvaro Vallarta Ceceña
Eddie James Varón Levy
Jaime Vázquez Castillo
Alma Carolina Viggiano Austria
Benito Vital Ramírez

A Guide to the Leadership Elections of the PRI, PAN, and PRD

José Francisco Yunes Zorrilla

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Positions of Major Party Candidates

Candidate	Party Issues	Relations with President Fox
Roberto Madrazo Pintado (PRI)	Although a longtime insider, he is running as the champion of rank-and-file priístas against the party's ossified elite. Among other things, he would require potential candidates in next year's congressional election to demonstrate their vote-winning ability. Even retiring governors would have to run for direct-election seats, rather than gain a high place on the proportional-representation list. He has chastised Paredes for engaging in "old-style," machine politics by using 172 buses to bring supporters to her January 12 registration rally at the PRI headquarters in Mexico City.	He is close to Foreign Secretary Jorge Castañeda but has crossed swords with government secretary Santiago Creel. Although a tough negotiator, he could probably deliver on any promises made on behalf of the PRI to the Fox administration. As the 2003 congressional elections draw nearer, however, the chief executive will have a difficult time finding interlocutors in any party. Elba Esther Gordillo boasts productive ties to Fox and Castañeda, dating to their joint participation in the San Angel discussion group in the 1990s.
Beatriz Paredes Rangel (PRI)	She would work better with the PRI's big-state governors, who form an important bloc within the party. She is, however, every bit as authoritarian and hard-driving as Madrazo, although boasting a much more positive public image. She claims that Madrazo wants the party post, as a springboard to Los Pinos. She has pushed for a debate with Madrazo, but he has insisted that any debate include the candidates for secretary general as well.	As president of the Chamber of Deputies, she demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with Los Pinos on issues of mutual interest. Yet she was unable to deliver votes for a more rigorous tax bill than the one passed at the eleventh hour. Of course, she had the most difficulty with pro-Madrazo PRI deputies from the South.

PRI Analysis

The inauguration of Fox on December 1, 2000, converted the PRI into a rudderless boat, making eccentric circles on Mexico's political waters. Since 1929, the revolutionary party had depended on the nation's chief executive—who often transmitted his wishes through the secretary of government (*Gobernación*)—for its leadership, ideology, legislative agenda, dispute resolution, and general orientation.

After losing Los Pinos, many party bigshots are searching for scapegoats. Some heaped scorn on their defeated standard-bearer, Francisco Labastida Ochoa, and on his ally, party president Dulce María Sauri Riancho. Others berated former president Ernesto Zedillo (1994–2000) for championing neoliberal policies deemed responsible for the erosion of the PRI's grassroots' support.

Several factors—Fox's uncertain leadership, the U.S. economic slump, and weak oil prices—enabled the PRI to stage a modest comeback. In the 14 state and local elections held after July 2, 2000 the PRI captured 42.5 percent of the ballots cast, almost six points higher than the 36.7 percent garnered by Labastida. Meanwhile, the PAN witnessed its portion of the vote decline from the 42.5 percent that Fox won to 34.3 percent, while the PRD endured repeated setbacks before Cárdenas's victory in Michoacán.

On the eve of the PRI's 18th National Assembly last November, conventional wisdom held that Roberto Madrazo Pintado would become the party's next president, with—at best—token opposition. After all, he had been criss-crossing the nation since his bid for the PRI presidential nomination in 1999; his candidate had won the Tabasco governorship after the first election was annulled; and he had campaigned actively for the PRI gubernatorial contenders. Furthermore, no one seemed willing to take on the indefatigable, well-financed Madrazo.

Yet, the *madracistas* overplayed their hand at the national conclave. They obtained passage of a statute—aimed at Chamber of Deputies president Beatriz Paredes Rangel, other popular legislators, and governors—that prevents elected officials from holding the PRI's number-one position. Madrazo's loyalists also staged “spontaneous,” rancorous demonstrations that offended many party militants, who sought unity and tolerance rather than disruptiveness and arrogance.

At the urging of big-state PRI governors and other party influentials, Paredes announced on January 12, 2002, that she would challenge Madrazo for the party's presidency. After several prominent officials refused to run with her for secretary general, Paredes made virtue out of vice. She selected as her running mate the little known Javier Guerrero García, the finance secretary of Coahuila, who had served two terms in the Chamber of Deputies. In naming the 43-year-old, Paredes trumpeted her commitment to opening the party to younger *priistas*.

Paredes' allies cite several reasons why she can win; specifically, she:

- is a shrewd, popular, articulate politician, who has won all seven of the elections in which she has competed. In contrast, they claim that Madrazo has surrounded himself with “losers”—that is, individuals who have either been discredited or lost bids for high office in recent years.
- distinguished herself a president of the Chamber of Deputies, a post she had to relinquish to pursue the party post;
- enjoys the backing of the party's corporatist, peasant, and labor sectors, as well as the leaders of the PRI's feminine organization and its Territorial Movement;
- benefits from the support of the governors of Mexico state, Veracruz, and other big states, which could prove pivotal in a low-turnout contest. Ambitious governors regard Madrazo as a threat to their own presidential ambitions. They also resent his engineering of a four-year term for the party's president, which could complicate some governors' ability to select their successors;
- boasts a better reputation than Madrazo, who allegedly spent some \$71 million to capture the Tabasco statehouse in 1994 and who waged a strident, no-holds-barred campaign against Labastida for the PRI presidential nomination.
- can count on vigorous backing from Mexico City's PRD mayor López Obrador, who loathes his fellow Tabascan.

Although Madrazo's supporters are not measuring for new curtains in the office of the PRI president, are equally convinced that their candidate will finish first; namely, because he:

- is a fighter, who earned the admiration of rank-and-file party members by refusing to vacate the Tabasco governorship in the face of robust pressure from President Zedillo and his neoliberal government secretary in 1995. At the same time that the PRI suffered severe setbacks in the 1997 federal elections, Madrazo managed to sweep Tabasco for his party;
- recruited Elba Esther Gordillo to run with him for secretary general. As de facto head of the 1 million-member-plus National Educational Workers' Union (SNTE), Gordillo is the most powerful woman in Mexico. Her union can (1) provide funds to the Madrazo-Gordillo ticket, (2) turn out voters and poll workers on election day, (3) pressure governors either to back her slate or not to work hard for the Paredes-Guerrero ticket and, (4) complement Madrazo's strength in the South, where the SNTE faces opposition, with support in other parts of the country;
- can count on powerful financial support thanks to his personal fortune, the SNTE, and close ties to former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, billionaires Carlos Slim Helú and Ignacio Cobos, and the immensely wealthy family of the late Carlos Hank González.
- benefits from a network of young supporters, who have been organized in each state under the auspices of the Carlos A. Madrazo Foundation, named for Roberto's father, a PRI reformer who died in a mysterious plane crash in 1969.
- can project the image of a "modern" politician who understands the global economy, in contrast to Paredes, whose image is that of a left-leaning, parochial statist. Madrazo has already decried Paredes' penchant for "old-style" tactics, because she bused in thousands of backers to her registration ceremony. The presence of former finance secretary Pedro Aspe Armello as a key Madrazo adviser lends credibility to the Tabascan's pro-business credentials. Of course, Paredes has her own brain trust, headed by Jesús Reyes Heróles, a distinguished economist who has served as energy secretary and ambassador to the United States.

Might the victory of either Paredes or Madrazo prove pyrric inasmuch as the loser might bolt the party? For her part, the extremely institutional Paredes, who lacks a strong, independent power base, has never mentioned the possibility of defection. Madrazo has intimated that he might bail out if the party fails to conduct a fair election. Yet, were Madrazo to lose again, his stock would fall so low that he would have a difficulty convincing even PRI office holders in the South to bolt. In

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addition, Mexico's campaign finance laws, which severely penalize new and small parties, militate against fissures.

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		All Respondents			Party Sympathizers		
Party	Candidates	% Support	% Supports Neither	% Don't Know	% Support	% Supports Neither	% Don't Know
PRI	Roberto Madrazo	30	15	15	54	2	5
	Beatriz Paredes	40	15	15	39	2	5
PRD	Rosario Robles	38	12	18	70	4	5
	Jesús Ortega	32	12	18	21	4	5
PAN ¹	Bravo Mena	24	17	32	35	11	22
	Medina Plascencia	27	17	32	32	11	22

Source: "Aventajan Bravo, Madrazo y Robles," *Reforma*, February 11, 2002, Internet ed. The Grupo Reforma interviewed 1,210 adults in urban areas by phone on February 2-3, 2002.

¹This survey provides no indication of who will be the next PAN president, because 279 members of the party's National Council will fill this position. In contrast, the PRI and PRD will hold nationwide elections.

Possible Consequences of the Internal Party Contests¹

Several consequences could flow from the upcoming party elections:

The new party presidents will emerge as individuals with whom Fox could attempt to negotiate, with a reasonable expectation that they would have a better chance than their predecessors to convince their allies to respect any deal that might be created. Should Madrazo snag the PRI's brass ring, this is especially true. Several elements, however, militate against the chief executive's finding willing interlocutors. First, his popularity continues to sag in public-opinion polls. Second, infighting plagues his administration as evidenced by the head of the central bank's claim that he was kept in the dark about the finance secretary's late-January decision to reduce electricity subsidies. Third, both the PRI and the PRD seek to make advances at the expense of the PAN in next year's congressional contests. Finally, as long as the Fox administration continues to pursue corrupt "big fish" from past governments, it will be difficult for the PRI president to work constructively with Los Pinos. In view of his lackluster first 14 months in office, Fox is likely to continue – possibly accelerate—his anti-corruption drive. This effort may identify bad actors and signify that the president seeks change, but it could conceivably result in PRI opposition to fiscal, energy, labor, and major political reforms.

Depending on the outcome, several ambitious politicians would enhance their chances to contend strongly for their parties' presidential nominations in 2006. Madrazo, Robles, and Medina Plascencia certainly have their eyes on Los Pinos, but Paredes and Gordillo are also interested in continued public service. Neither Madrazo nor Robles are likely to work with Fox. Both are undisguised pre-candidates for president. Thus, as party leaders, they would stake out a position independent of the chief executive, while aggressively defending their political projects and constituencies. Needless to say, other major politicians would like to don the presidential sash; for example, within the PRI, Sen. Enrique Jackson and governors such as Martínez y Martínez (Coahuila), Millán (Sinaloa), Montiel (Mexico state), Silva Nieto (San Luis Potosí), Nuñez Soto (Hidalgo), and Yarrington (Tamaulipas); within the PAN, governors such as Canales Clariond (Nuevo León), Loyola (Querétaro), Government Secretary Creel, and Comptroller-General Barrios; and within the PRD, Mexico City Mayor López Obrador, and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and governors such as Cárdenas (Michoacán) and Monreal (Zacatecas).

¹ For astute additions to this section, I am indebted to Professor Oscar Aguilar Ascensio.

The results will also affect the prospect of would-be candidates for governorships and seats in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies—particularly the leadership of party factions. Oscar Aguilar Ascencio astutely points out the “decentralization” affecting Mexican politics with the result that incumbent governors and other state-level power brokers will play a greater role in candidate selection.

Should Paredes capture the PRI’s top post, her parties’ big-state governors will become an even more important power bloc, while Madrazo would magnify the clout of the PRI’s top bureaucracy and southern governors. If the outcome is close, the winner will have to share some of his or her power with the loser to preserve a semblance of party unity.

Each party election is administered internally, through its own internal processes. The commitment of the parties to democracy—particularly the PRI and PRD—will be severely tested. This will be the first time in its 73-year history that the PRI has held an open election for its national leaders. The PRD attempted such a contest in 1999, but ubiquitous irregularities and outright fraud contaminated the results. Unless the PRD has fine tuned its controls, disputes may well spring from the PRD’s internal processes this year. Once Mexican politicians learn to tolerate different positions within their own parties, they will be more likely to demonstrate tolerance for their political opponents. This kind of tolerance, which is crucial to democracy, is sadly lacking in Mexico. As of mid-February, the aspirants for the PAN and PRD leadership posts had shown remarkable civility. This was not the case in the PRI, however, as Paredes and Madrazo fiercely attacked each other. Madrazo has attempted to link Paredes with “Pemexgate,” the alleged flow of Pemex monies to the 2000 Labastida campaign. One of the most virulent attacks, though, took place in early February, when Gordillo emphasized that in her vision of the PRI a woman would not have to become “masculine” to play an active role in politics—a not so subtle questioning of Paredes’ femininity.² With no sitting chief executive to articulate an ideology or impose discipline, intramural battles within the caudillo oriented PRI will continue long after the party president is selected.

Although unlikely, losing candidates could desert their parties, arguing that fraudulent elections victimized them. Divisions would further weaken an already fragile party system in which the PRD increasingly appears like an assembly of tribes rather than a coherent political force. Nonetheless, under party statutes, Robles must defeat her opponent by a two-to-one margin for Higinio Martínez her running mate, to win the secretary generalship. If, as is probable, she wins but fails to

² Roberto Madrazo/Elba Esther Gordillo, Campaña por La Dirigencia Nacional del Partido Revolucionario Institucional, “En el pri no habra arreglos en lo oscuroito: Roberto Madrazo,” Comunicado No. 29, February 3, 2002, Mexico City. The top of this news release carried the sentence, “En el PRI, la mujer no tendrá que masculinarse para hacer política: Elba Esther Gordillo.”

achieve such a landslide, Ortega could agree to serve as secretary-general, a post he held in the 1990s when López Obrador headed the party. In general, Mexico's public-funding statutes discourage schisms. Nevertheless, post-election rancor over the fairness of the internal elections will diminish the legitimacy of parties in the eyes of members, as well as in the eyes of the public.

Turnout could provide insights into whether politically active citizens regard parties as legitimate structures for advancing their interests, especially in light of the uninspiring performance of legislators, the deadlock and drift of the Fox administration in 2001, and the scant publicity given the party elections. In the PRI contest, an especially low level of participation should benefit Madrazo, who runs far ahead of Paredes among party "sympathizers," according to an early February poll conducted by *Reforma*. A medium to high turnout should help Paredes, who enjoys an advantage among the public at large. All indicators point to a light turnout.

Aguilar Ascencio points out how ironic it is that the PAN, which prides itself on promoting democracy, selects its top officials in a process largely closed to public involvement, while the often-criticized PRI and PRD have opted for elections. The PRI and PRD have also made a greater effort to place women in leadership positions than the PAN, which counts only about 60 females on its 279-member National Council.

Regardless of the outcome of the internal party contests, the winners will require several months to put their teams in place. This process, which will coincide with the spring session of Congress, will make it even more difficult for Fox to advance his legislative agenda.

Regrettably, from the chief executive's perspective, the September-December term is also likely to prove contentious and unproductive because the parties and their presidents will be concentrating on the 2003 congressional elections.