

The PRI Determines Its Leadership and Direction

George W. Grayson

- On February 18, 2007, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) will elect its president and secretary general to a four-year term. Although there are five slates, the race has boiled down to a contest between (1) former Tlaxcala governor Beatriz Paredes Rangel, whose running mate is erstwhile Hidalgo governor Jesús Murillo Karam, and (2) ex-Senate leader Enrique Jackson Ramírez, who is competing in tandem with Quintana Roo deputy Sara Latife Ruiz Chávez. Polls taken in late-January (Mitofsky) and early February (Parametría) showed Paredes to be the front-runner.
- Although Paredes boasts a close relationship with President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, the majority of her backers hail from the conservative “dinosauric” wing of the party. In contrast, Jackson enjoys the support of progressives who are interested in the party’s presidential nomination in 2012. These include Governors Eduardo Bours (Sonora), Natividad González Paras (Nuevo León), and Enrique Peña Nieto (State of México).
- Participating in the election are 17,252 members of the 32 state political councils plus the more than 300 members of the party’s National Political Council (CPN).
- The winners will take office during a March 4 National Assembly, whose participants will seek to set the political line of this traditionally pragmatic party. Calderón is following these actions closely because he needs votes from PRI deputies and senators to advance his ambitious reforms.
- Although Paredes quickly emphasized that the PRI presidency should not be a “trampoline” to the *Los Pinos* presidential residence, Jackson—a contender for his party’s nomination in 2005—only belatedly made a similar disclaimer.

Introduction

Two veteran PRI activists are vying for the party’s presidency: Former Tlaxcala governor Beatriz Paredes Rangel and ex-Senate leader Enrique Jackson Ramírez. As seen in the table 1, there are three other candidates—all of whom are linked to former presidential nominee Roberto Madrazo Pintado. However, either Paredes or Jackson, both of whom are much stronger than their lesser-known rivals, will take the reins of the party from Mariano Palacios Alcocer, who was installed by Madrazo before the PRI candidate lost every state and the Federal District (D.F.) in the July 2, 2006, presidential showdown.

What are the rules for selecting the party’s leadership? Who are the major politicians and groups supporting Paredes and Jackson? Will either individual, as president, be able to unify the PRI, which dominated the political scene from its

formation in 1929 until Vicente Fox Quesada, standard-bearer of the center-right National Action Party (PAN), captured the presidency in 2000? What are the consequences of the intra-party election for the Calderón government?

Rules of the Game

Registration for candidates for president and secretary general closed on January 18, 2007. All told, some seven aspirants came forward to lead the PRI. The party’s National Committee on Internal Processes (CNPI), which is chaired by pro-Paredes dinosaur Rafael Rodríguez Barrera, disqualified slates whose members did not meet the criteria of

- enjoying the backing of 20 percent of the territorial structure of the party, 20 percent of the party’s sectors, or 20 percent of the national counselors;

Table 1. Candidates for the PRI Leadership in the February 18, 2006, Election

Candidate	Date and Place of Birth & Education	Major Political Activities	Major Party Activities	Running Mate
Beatriz Elena Paredes Rangel	Aug 18, 1953, San Esteban Tizatlán, Tlaxcala; degree in sociology (UNAM)	State legislator (1974-1977); federal deputy (1977-1980); under secretary of agrarian reform (1982-1986); governor of Tlaxcala (1987-1992); under secretary of the interior (1993); ambassador to Cuba (1993-1994); senator (1994-2000); leader of the National Campesino Confederation (1995-1998); federal deputy and party leader in Chamber of Deputies (2000-2003); and losing candidate for mayor of D.F. (2006)	Secretary of indigenous action of the CEN of the PRI's National Revolutionary Youth Movement (1973); secretary of organization of the Tlaxcala state committee (1975-1977); secretary of planning and family orientation of state CNC (1977-1980); secretary of education of state CNC (1980-1983); secretary general (1992-1993; 1995-1998); and losing candidate for party president (2002)	Jesús Murillo Karam: born March 2, 1948, Real de Monte, Hidalgo; governor of Hidalgo (1993-1999)
Enrique Jackson Ramírez	Dec 24, 1945, Los Mochis, Sinaloa; degree in public administration (UNAM)	Director of the Comité Nacional Mixto de Protección al Salario in the Labor Ministry (1976-1982); director general of Liconsa (1983-1985); delegate in Cuauhtémoc, D.F. (1985-1988); D.F. cabinet posts, including secretary of security, transport, and government (1989-1997); federal deputy (1997-2000); senator and president of the Senate (2000-2006); and unsuccessful candidate for presidential nomination (2005)	Director of the Institute for Social, Political, and Economic Studies (1981), secretary of ideological information (1982), party president in the D.F. (1992-1993), president of the Fundación Colosio (1995), and secretary of electoral action (1995-1996)	Sara Latife Ruiz Chávez: born October 21, 1976, Cozumel, Q.R.; federal deputy (2006-present)
Javier Oliva Posadas	Born in 1960, D.F.; B.A. in political science and M.A. in Latin American Studies (UNAM)	Unsuccessful candidate for federal deputy (2003); and policy director in the Ministry of Labor	Secretary General of the PRI's Institute for Training and Political Development; delegate to the party's 18th and 19th National Assemblies; private secretary to Madrazo (2005-2006); and current member of the PRI's National Political Council	Ana Lucía Montes Vásquez: born in 1977 in Aguascalientes; attorney
Alejandro Gárate Uruchurtu	Born in 1953 in D.F.		Joined the party in 1971 and, as a member of the National Executive Committee, has served as (1) undersecretary of political operation, (2) adjunct secretary to the party president, (3) delegate in various states, nation, (4) national political counselor, and (5) member of the CPN's committees on issues and energy	María Amelia Olguín Vargas: born in 1949, Actopan, Hidalgo; former state legislator and alternative senator
Sergio Martínez-Chavarría Galindo	Born in 1961 in the D.F.; degree in political science and public administration (Iberoamericana)	Deputy in the Asamblea Legislativa del D.F. (1994-1997)	Adjunct party secretary under Luis Donaldo Colosio (1988-1991); private secretary to Genaro Borrego (1992-1993); secretary general of the Fundación Colosio; and spokesman for the Madrazo presidential campaign (2005-2006)	Artemisa Lara Orozco: born in 1953; former federal deputy

- ten years of dedicated, loyal party militancy;
- three years of residency in the country;
- never having been an activist in other parties; and
- current in dues' payment.

The five tickets cited above survived this winnowing process. The guidelines for the competition also required that the tickets be gender balanced and recommended that one candidate on each slate represent younger voters to help forge the party's much-needed generational change. Spending by a tandem of candidates cannot exceed 2 percent of the amount allowed in last year's presidential campaign or 13,028,568 pesos (roughly \$1.2 million).

As is evident in table 2, there is little relationship between the size of a state's electorate and its number of counselors. For instance, México State—the nation's largest—has 593 counselors (one for every 15,494 voters) and small Zacatecas has 639 (one for every 1,554 voters). Similarly, there is no correlation between the electoral strength of Madrazo and the number of counselors in a state. Mexico State has one counselor for every 1,742 ballots garnered by the PRI standard-bearer; Zacatecas has one for every 147.

Supporters of Paredes

Paredes boosts the party's more conservative elements to whom she appealed by naming Jesús Murillo Karam, an old guard former state executive from Hidalgo. Although there was a lot of grousing within the PRI over this selection, Paredes named him at the insistence of Enrique Peña Nieto, governor of Mexico State—where Murillo has served as PRI delegate during the past three years. Murillo, a key adviser to Peña Nieto, is also close to former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–1994) and Madrazo, many of whose loyalists are enthusiastically in Paredes's corner. This includes the leader of the party's 33 senators, Manlio Fabio Beltrones, who is one of the country's shrewdest politicians. Paredes also enjoys an edge among her party's 106 deputies.

From all indications, she has the backing of PRI governors from Campeche (Jorge Carlos Hurtado Valdéz), Chihuahua (José Reyes Baeza Terrazas), Durango (Ismael Hernández Deras), Hidalgo (Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong), Nayarit (Ney González Sánchez), Puebla (Mario Marín Torres), and Tabasco (Andrés Granier Melo). Although Jackson's team believes that Nuevo León's Natividad González Parás is leaning toward their man, González's top operative, Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal, is drumming up votes for Paredes.

Mexico State's Peña Nieto has played his cards close to his vest, but a clue to his preference appeared in the greater turnout of his state's counselors for a speech by Paredes (496 out of 593) compared with those on hand for Jackson (200). In addition, ex-governor Pichardo, the current undersecretary general of government, Peña Nieto's adjunct private

secretary and scheduler, and the state leaders of the PRI's labor, peasant, and popular sectors showed up for Paredes.¹ No doubt, the Mexico State governor regards Jackson as a possible competitor for the PRI's presidential nominations in 2012.

Included in her ranks are the corporatist National Peasant Confederation (CNC), the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), and the Federation of State Workers (FSTSE). Among the PRI structures in states governed by the PAN or the leftist-statist Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), she evinced strength in Yucatán, Tlaxcala, Quintana Roo (Pedro Joaquín Coldwell), and the D.F., where her confidant, Senator María de los Ángeles Moreno, heads the party.

Among the distinguished *priístas* who have endorsed her are former governors Ignacio Pichardo Pagaza (Mexico State), Arturo Romo Gutiérrez (Zacatecas), Rubén Figueroa Alcocer (Guerrero), Manuel Angel Núñez Soto (Hidalgo), and Arnoldo Ochoa González (Colima). Moreover, she can count on such Madrazo stalwarts as Carlos Rojas Gutiérrez, José Ramón Martel, María Esther Sherman, Alfonso Izquierdo, José Alberto Aguilar Iñárritu, Manuel Buendía Tirado, Manuel Añorve Baños, Mauricio López V., and Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada.

Paredes evinces excellent relations with Calderón with whom she worked in the Chamber of Deputies during the first three years of the administration of Vicente Fox Quesada (2000–2006). In fact, he offered her a cabinet post, but they failed to reach agreement on the appropriate portfolio. One columnist for the respected *El Universal* newspaper has claimed that the chief executive—through the secretary of the interior—is promoting Paredes' candidacy in a “discrete but consistent” manner, especially in the 10 states with PAN governors. Reportedly, Tlaxcala governor Héctor Ortiz Ortiz was asked by *Los Pinos* to sign a “letter of support” for Paredes.² The appearance at the Paredes rally in Toluca of the delegate for Fonacot, a federal agency that helps workers purchase consumer goods, provided additional evidence that the PAN government favors the Tlaxcalan.³

A poll taken by Consulta Mitofsky in late January showed Paredes (30.9 percent) leading Jackson (12.9 percent) and the minor competitors (1 percent), while the remainder of the counselors interviewed remained undecided. Two weeks later, Parametría also found Paredes (47 percent) well ahead

¹ Enrique I. Gómez, “Arropan priístas a Beatriz,” *Reforma*, February 6, 2007, Internet ed.

² Salvador García Soto, “El gancho de Beatriz,” *El Universal*, February 1, 2007, Internet ed.

³ Enrique I. Gómez, “Appopan priístas a Beatriz,” *Reforma*, February 6, 2007, Internet ed.

Table 2. Number of Counselors and Ratio of Counselors to Registered Voters

Entities & Party of the Governor	Number of Registered Votes (Jan 2007)	Number of Counselors	Ratio of Counselors to Registered Voters	Number of Votes Won by Madrazo (July 2, 2006)	Ratio of Counselors to Madrazo's Votes	Candidate Believed to Be Preferred by Governor (PRI States)
Aguascalientes (PAN)	704,128	395	One to 1,783	97,513	One to 247	N.A.
Baja California (PAN)	2,057,626	455	One to 4,522	203,233	One to 447	N.A.
Baja California Sur (PRD)	332,075	207	One to 1,604	29,874	One to 144	N.A.
Campeche (PRI)	482,120	508	One to 949	87,412	One to 172	Paredes (Jorge Carlos Hurtado Valdéz)
Chiapas (PRD)	2,591,836	626	One to 4,140	427,351	One to 683	N.A.
Chihuahua (PRI)	2,382,476	541	One to 4,404	341,916	One to 632	Paredes (José Reyes Baeza Terrazas)
Coahuila (PRI)	1,715,253	289	One to 5,935	245,960	One to 851	? Jackson (Humberto Moreira Valdés)
Colima (PRI)	411,413	541	One to 761	76,586	One to 142	? Jackson (Silverio Cavazos Ceballos)
Federal District (PRD)	7,091,630	627	One to 11,310	413,644	One to 660	N.A.
Durango (PRI)	1,054,248	341	One to 3,092	153,990	One to 452	Paredes (Hernández Deras)
Guanajuato (PAN)	3,443,512	591	One to 5,827	368,789	One to 624	N.A.
Guerrero (PRD)	2,142,003	635	One to 3,373	263,055	One to 414	N.A.
Hidalgo (PRI)	1,623,531	538	One to 3,018	235,926	One to 439	Paredes (Osorio Chong)
Jalisco (PAN)	4,724,226	632	One to 7,475	705,925	One to 1,117	N.A.
Mexico State (PRI)	9,187,932	593	One to 15,494	1,033,110	One to 1,742	? (Peña Nieto)
Michoacán (PRD)	2,961,017	645	One to 4,591	283,157	One to 439	N.A.
Morelos (PAN)	1,180,972	502	One to 2,353	111,118	One to 221	N.A.
Nayarit (PRI)	672,143	609	One to 1,104	123,284	One to 202	Paredes (González Sánchez)
Nuevo León (PRI)	2,960,463	635	One to 4,662	488,402	One to 769	? Jackson (González Parás)
Oaxaca (PRI)	2,318,959	650	One to 3,568	428,026	One to 659	Paredes (Ulises Ruiz Ortiz)
Puebla (PRI)	3,445,498	650	One to 5,301	460,183	One to 708	Paredes (Morín)
Querétaro (PAN)	1,038,410	343	One to 3,027	133,188	One to 388	N.A.
Quintana Roo (PRI)	687,108	473	One to 1,453	105,086	One to 222	? Jackson (Félix González Canto)
San Luis Potosí (PAN)	1,595,337	502	One to 3,178	207,602	One to 414	N.A.

Sinaloa (PRI)	1,729,609	331	One to 5,225	263,553	One to 796	Jackson (Aguilar Padilla)
Sonora (PRI)	1,679,224	650	One to 2,583	175,365	One to 270	Jackson (Bours Castelo)
Tabasco (PRI)	1,338,970	600	One to 2,232	344,526	One to 574	Paredes (Granier)
Tamaulipas (PRI)	2,238,782	645	One to 3,471	317,849	One to 493	? (Eugenio Hernández Flores)
Tlaxcala (PAN)	703,459	406	One to 1,733	59,672	One to 147	N.A.
Veracruz (PRI)	4,860,448	649	One to 7,376	727,638	One to 1,121	? Jackson (Herrera)
Yucatán (PAN)	1,173,762	651	One to 1,803	260,116	One to 400	N.A.
Zacatecas (PRD)	993,036	639	One to 1,554	128,392	One to 201	N.A.
TOTAL	71,521,206	17,252	4,145.7	9,301,441	One to 539	

Note: The author is indebted to Joseph H. Jenkins, a senior at the College of William & Mary, for helping to prepare this table. Question marks denote uncertainty about a governor's position.

of Jackson (18 percent).⁴ Aficionados of Jackson dismissed the survey results on the grounds that only a few hundred individuals were queried. However, most observers not only give Paredes the inside track but believe that she is gaining speed.

Supporters of Jackson

While Paredes picked a war horse as her running mate, Jackson selected 30-year-old Sara Latife Ruiz Chávez, an attractive young female, an intimate of Quintana Roo governor Félix González Canto, who won a deputy's seat in Quintana Roo in a direct election (rather than by proportional representation). Latife, who appeared to be a "plus" for Jackson, became the focus of controversy when it was revealed that her family owns the Black and White table-dance bar—she calls it a "piano lounge"—in her native Cozumel.

Before the Mitofsky and Parametría polls revealed Paredes's strength, Jackson's entourage counted on support from the state executives of Sonora (Eduardo Bours Castelo), Nuevo León (González Paras), Sinaloa (Jesús Aguilar Padilla), Quintana Roo (Félix González Canto), and Veracruz (Fidel Herrera Beltrán). Former governors in his camp include César Camacho Quiroz (Mexico State) and Francisco Labastida Ochoa (Sinaloa). Other PRI notables who have stated their enthusiasm for him include former senator Humberto Roque Villanueva and Deputy Mariano González Zarur. Emilio Gamboa Patrón, the PRI's leader in the Chamber of Deputies, has proclaimed himself "neutral," but he and Jackson have long worked together.

Jackson appears to have strength among the state organizations in Chiapas, Guerrero (peasant activist Nabor Ojeda Delgado), San Luis Potosí (Deputy Jesús Ramírez Strabos), Jalisco (Enrique Barra Pedosa), the D.F. (garbage workers' leader Cuauhtémoc Gutiérrez de la Torre), and the PAN-governed states of Aguascalientes, Baja California, Morelos, and Querétaro.

Even more important than these figures is the backing he enjoys from the chief of the SNTE Teachers' Union, Elba Esther Gordillo, whose support was crucial to Calderón's victory last year. A bitter rival of Beltrones and Paredes, Gordillo can not only influence the vote of teachers who serve as counselors but she also has productive ties with governors. To defeat Paredes, she will have to call in a mountain of chips.

Money is no problem for Jackson who is the strong favorite of many affluent businessmen. They reckon that the Sinaloan, as party president, would do more than Paredes to promote Calderón's pro-market policies. If past is prologue to the future, the private sector is hedging its bets in this important race.

Prospects for Unity and Cooperation with Calderón

An outside adviser would urge *priistas* to unite behind their next leader and to work with Calderón on issues of mutual interest. Only in this way will the once-hegemonic party become an attractive alternative for Mexico's electorate in upcoming elections, including the 2012 presidential race in

⁴ "Favorecen encuestas a Paredes," *Hoy Tamaulipas*, January 31, 2007, Internet ed.; Jorge Teherán, "Paredes tiene ventaja de 29 puntos, según Parametría," *El Universal*, February 12, 2007, Internet ed.

Table 3. PRI Presidents, 1993 to Present

Name	Term	Secretary General	Major Events
Mariano Palacios Alcocer	Aug 31, 2005, to present	Sen. Rosario Green Macías	Handpicked by Madrazo, who suffered an overwhelming defeat in the 2006 presidential contest, finishing third and losing all 31 states plus the D.F.
Roberto Madrazo Pintado	Feb 5, 2002, to Aug 31, 2005	Elba Esther Gordillo Morales	For the first time, the PRI president was chosen by party militants and supporters; during Madrazo's tenure, the party lost 4 million votes in the 2003 election of the Chamber of Deputies compared with 2000, while winning 16 of 23 gubernatorial contests; Madrazo broke with Gordillo who was subsequently expelled from the party
Dulce María Sauri Riancho	Nov 30, 1999, to Feb 5, 2002	Esteban Moctezuma Barraquán	PRI nominee Labastida lost the presidency to the PAN's Vicente Fox
José Antonio González Fernández	Mar 30, 1999, to Nov 30, 1999	Dulce María Sauri Riancho	For the first time, the PRI selected its leadership through a secret vote of the members of its National Political Council; it was also the first time that the PRI selected its presidential nominee in a primary in which Francisco Labastida defeated Roberto Madrazo, Roque Villanueva, and Manuel Bartlett Díaz (November 1999)
Mariano Palacios Alcocer	Sep 11, 1997, to Mar 30, 1999	Socorro Díaz Palacios Carlos Rojas Gutiérrez	Lost four governorships while winning eight; Palacios sought to consolidate the reforms of Oñate to prevent Zedillo from imposing a technocratic successor
Humberto Roque Villanueva	Dec 15, 1996, to Sep 11, 1997	Juan S. Millán Lizárraga	PRI lost (1) majority in Chamber of Deputies, (2) mayorship of the D.F., and (3) and the governorships of Nuevo León y Querétaro
Santiago Oñate Laborde	Aug 19, 1995, to Dec 15, 1996	Juan S. Millán Lizárraga	Oñate was secretary of labor when Paredes backed him for party chief; Oñate proposed reforms at the party's XVII National Assembly, including the imposition of "padlocks" or "candados" on candidates for the presidency and governorships; specifically, they would have had to hold an elective position or a leadership post in the party in order to run, the purpose being to bar the candidacies of technocrats like José Ángel Gurría, Juan Ramón de la Fuente, Carlos Ruiz Sacristán or Herminio Blanco Mendoza
María de los Ángeles Moreno	Dec 3, 1994, to Aug 19, 1995	Pedro Joaquín Coldwell	Amid severe economic crisis, President Ernesto Zedillo could not force the resignation of Tabasco governor Roberto Madrazo
Ignacio Pichado Pagaza	May 13, 1994, to Dec 3, 1994	José Francisco Ruiz Massieu María de los Ángeles Moreno	Ernesto Zedillo became president; Ruiz Massieu was assassinated; his brother Mario Ruiz Massieu accused Pichardo and Moreno of being involved in the murder; Pichardo became energy secretary and Moreno assumed the party's presidency
Fernando Ortiz Arana	Mar 30, 1993, to May 13, 1994	José Luis Lamadrid Sauza Pichardo Pagaza	Uprising in Chiapas; assassination of Colosio; and Ortiz Arana unsuccessfully sought to replace Colosio as party's presidential nominee—a candidacy that went to Zedillo

Source: Alberto Aguirre y Daniel Pensamiento, "Pelean voto a voto Paredes y Jackson; Polarizan contienda por presidencia del PRI. Suma ex Gobernadora respaldo en el sur; acumula el ex Senador más fuerza en el norte," *El Norte*, January 30, 2007, Internet ed.

which Jackson, Bours, González Paras, and Peña Nieto are possible contenders. With 106 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 33 in the Senate, the PRI can provide the critical mass of votes for the agenda of Calderón whose PAN has 206 deputies and 52 senators. As it did with respect to the soft-drink tax in December, the PRI will shy away from unpopular issues—unless, of course, it receives a generous quid pro quo from *Los Pinos*.

Although it is in the PRI's best interests to collaborate with Calderón, several obstacles impede this strategy. First, the intolerance that pervades the nation's political system impedes cooperation between the dinosaurs and their foes. Though both are PRI veterans, Jackson has accused Paredes of promising to exchange legislative candidacies for votes in their intramural showdown. On February 11, Deputy Quiroz—coordinator of Jackson's campaign—excoriated the location of a ballot box in the headquarters of FSTSE, an

organization that has endorsed Paredes. With one week to go in the competition, Paredes accused her chief foe of initiating a “dirty war” against her.⁵ Although the PRI lacks ideology, its old guard gags at the prospect of deepening the nation’s version of perestroika and inviting more private capital into the energy sector. The old guard continues to resent the failure of many governors, especially those in the north, to mobilize their bases on behalf of the PRI’s losing presidential candidate. They are convinced that Sonora’s Bours, for example, openly threw his weight to Calderón. These conservatives also look askance at Jackson’s friendly relations with Gordillo, who broke with Madrazo, fielded ex-PRI leader Roberto Campa Cifrián as the nominee of the SNTE-dominated New Alliance Party (PANAL), and generated enough votes to vouchsafe Calderón’s paper-thin victory—0.57 percent out of 41.5 million ballots cast. While Jackson vehemently denies it, Gordillo vigorously backs his candidacy.

Second, the PRI deeply resents the National Action Party to which it lost the presidency seven years ago. Party honchos continually remind their counterparts in the government that PAN deputies, during the regime of Ernesto Zedillo (1994–2000), thwarted the kind of energy reform now favored by Calderón.

Finally, *priistas* invariably have their eye on the next election, not the medium or long term. With only three gubernatorial contests on tap for this year—all in states controlled by their opponents (Baja California, Michoacán, Yucatán)—they see little to be gained by rushing into an alliance with the chief executive.

Neither Paredes nor Jackson will have an easy time uniting the PRI. Paredes, who forged a close working relationship with the president-to-be in the Chamber of Deputies during the first half of the Fox administration, has denied that she is “soft on Calderón.” In fact, she has charged that Jackson would dance to the tune piped from *Los Pinos*.

Such factors aside, some Mexican observers believe that Calderón’s interests would be better served with Paredes at the PRI’s helm. She has a decided leftist orientation (in contrast with the pragmatic Jackson). Just as avowed anti-Communist Richard Nixon could open U.S. relations with China and not be accused of selling out to the Reds, Paredes has a better chance of collaborating with *Los Pinos* without being labeled a pawn of neoliberalism. There are other Mexico watchers, however, who feel that it does not really matter who captures the party presidency, for either Paredes or Jackson will be subject to similar political constraints.

Ultimately, if the PRI fails to burnish its image, it will retain a dozen or so governorships and a respectable contingent in

Congress but will have little hope of recapturing the presidency.

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⁵ Salvador García Soto, “Jackson ¿Ingenuo o desesperado? *El Universal*, February 6, 2007, Internet ed.