

PARTIES

I. Functions

Interest Rep.

Interest Mob.

Conflict resol. - intra.

Educ. - propaganda

II. Organization of Pri

→ National Assembly - supreme party organization - at least once every 6 years - parallel to U.S. national conventions - composed of National Executive Committee (CEN), reps of 3 sectors, pres. and sect.-grals. of State Comms. and unaffiliated delegates. Elects pres and sect.-gral. of CEN. Approves Basic Plan of Govt. (party platform). In reality only a rubber stamp.

→ National Council - annually, usually in Sept. - surrogate for National Assembly composed of CEN pres. and sect. gral., reps of 3 sectors and pres. of State Comms.

→ CEN - real source of power - makes policy and implements it - commands the party bureaucracy. 21 members: pres., sect.-gral., chief adm., and 18 sects. Inner circle is pres. and sect.-gral. (elected by N.A.), 3 sects. (heads) of 3 sectors (elected by sectors) and 2 pol. and leg. sects (elected by Deputies and Senators). But President of Mexico essentially determines these individuals, especially pres. and sect.-gral.

→ IEPES - Institute for Politics, Economics, and Social Studies -
new creation - in-house think tank or planning agency.

Pri claims some 12 million members - almost 20% of total
population and almost 35% of adult population - membership
→ is voluntary in theory, but in practice members of
sector~~ed~~ organizations have no choice.

Provides services: jobs - its own in the party, public
sector jobs it controls, and private sector jobs
controlled by its unions. Access to land and ag.
services. Pol. recruitment. Social services - vocational
→ classes, supplemental medical ins., free distribution of
food. Secure govt. provisions. Demonstrations, pol.
functions.

Party candidates chosen by party leaders - no open
→ convention or primary selection.

III. PAN - National Action Party

→ Sept. 1939 - by Catholic university students, also entreps. and
other professions. Roots in reactions to anti-clericalism
of 20's and perceived radicalism of C. in 30's. Some even
claim roots to Francisco Madero (trad. liberalism and
demo. pluralism). Also in 1929 Vasconcelos oppositions
campaign (Ortiz Rubio won) - founder of PAN was
Vasconcelos' campaign manager and rector of UNAM.
Pol. ties to cons. and politicized lay groups of church;
cristeros; semi-secretive, corporatist group called the
Base; and pseudo-fascist group spun off from the Base in

1939 called National Sinarquista Union (UNS). The Base was the more moderate group committed to combating anti-clericalism and communism.

Early PAN esp. pro-clerical (pre-revolt. *sts. of Ch.*) and opposed to radical reforms of Card.

PAN of today not so close to right-wing Catholic socialist thought or auth. pol. movements.

Committed to demo. within the party and in the system. Open selection of candidates.

Since 1960s has stressed a sense of social consciousness - priv. property contributes to the society at large.

→ First presidential candidate in 1946 (though he refused to run) - thus had functioning pres. candidates since 1952, except 1976. Pres. % of vote gone up steadily from 8% to 17%.

First candidates to Ch. of D. elected in 1946.

Has recently controlled mayoralty in state capitals of Chih., Durango, and Hermosillo - also Cd. Juarez (4th largest city) and 8 other important cities.

Frequent protests against alleged fraud. After opposition victories in 1983, Pri dominated races in 1984, 85, and 86. Some Panistas reacted violently. Municipal offices in Pedras Negras burned and international bridge closed. Sometimes govt repressed Panista demonstrators. Several Panistas hurt in police repression in Monterrey.

Strength in North, urban, *V-C* and *M-C*, protest vote?

← Issue of should it participate or not? Legitimize Pri?
Or lose voice?

Growing ties with church, GOP in U.S., and Mexican business interests.

Funds - lotteries, quotas from salaries of elected officials.

Courts U.S. opinion - journalists, scholars, etc.

Neo-Panistas predominate since 1982 - closer business ties, Monterrey Grp., Pablo Emilio Madero ^{candi} and in 1982.

IV. PSUM - Unified Socialist Party of Mexico

Essentially successor to PCM, founded 1919. Thus, oldest party.

Participated in many peasant leagues in 1920's - in forming CTM, 1930's. Popular front of strategy of 1930's brought new members.

Conservative trend in 1940's brought steady decline - PCM purged from most labor organizations. Some parties split from PCM (Lambardo Toledano and PP). Actually declared illegal, 1946. ^{Lo} ^{PPS}

Legalized with conditional reg., 1978 - gained legal reg. after 1979 elections with 5.4% of vote and 18 deputies.

1981 - dissolved itself into the PSUM - a union with 3 smaller parties.

Taken many moderate stands - indep. of Moscow - critical of many Soviet moves - essentially a "Eurocommunist" party.

1982 presidential election - first national election for PSUM - disappointed with 3.5% of vote.

Lack of political base - peasants and unions dominated by Pri.

Most significant strength from students and intellectuals.

No regional base.

Has controlled some smaller cities. Noted ex. was Juchitán - town of 70,000 in southern Oaxaca. Populated by Zapatecs. PSUM affiliated won city election in 1981 but faced blockade of govt. funds, federal govt. jamming local radio, violent clashes with Pristas, and eventually forceful removal from city hall by police.

V. PPS - Popular Socialist Party

Created 1948 by Vicente Lombardo Toledano (most powerful labor leader - created CTM - Avila Camacho replaced him with Fidel Velásquez) - party dependent on him.

First claimed gub. victory in Sonora in 1949 but quickly caved in to Pri.

1952 - ran its first and only presidential candidate (Lombardo Toledano) who received under 2% of vote - used by Pri to take votes away from other, more popular leftist candidates. Has supported every Pri presidential (and most gub.) candidates since then.

Its support for Pri has gained it something:

1964 elections - failed to poll minimum vote but still was given reps. in Ch. of D.

1970 elections - vote fell to 1.35% but still retained 10 seats.

Its vote size did not even qualify it for legal reg., but it remained the second largest opposition voting bloc in Ch. of D.

Death of Lombardo Toledano and party split began decline in 1970's.

1975 - PPS claimed gub. victory in Nayarit. However, PPS sect.-gral. convinced party to respect Pri victory - PPS gub. candidate left the party and took majority of members with him. PPS sect.-gral. was awarded by Pri first ever non-Pri Senate seat.

VI. PST - Socialist Party of the Workers

Founded 1974 by some former leaders of '68 movement who split with Herberto Castillo. Carlos Fuentes was involved in founding of PST.

Often
~~After~~ compared to populism of Cardenas and Ech - some say has received direct support of Ech.

1.5% of 1982 presidential vote.

VII. PMT- Mexican Worker's Party

Founded 1974 by Herberto Castillo (well known engineering prof., dissident, leftist, leader in '68) and Demetrio Vallejo (leader of '59 railroad strike).

Castillo was most respected critic of Ech and L.P., especially oil policies.

Refused to participate in 1979 or 1982 - had been negotiating in 1982 with P.C. ^{P.C.M. over} ~~Mover~~, likely Castillo presidential candidate of united left - but pulled out of negotiations and failed to participate.

Did receive cand. reg. in 1985 and won 1.5% of vote.

PRT-
VIII. Revolutionary Party of the Workers

Founded 1976 - first Trotskyite party in Mexico.

More indep. rev. position - often critical of Moscow.

Received cand. reg. in 1981 and ran Rosario Ibarra de Piedra as presidential candidate in 1982 - first women candidate, well known leader of human rights group - not a party member. 1.7% of '82 presidential vote.

IX. PARM - Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution

1954 - by group of retired grals. alienated from Pri.

An appendage of Pri's right wing.

Has supported every Pri presidential candidate.

Has always been awarded more deputies than its vote warranted. 1% of '82 presidential vote.

X. PDM - Mexican Demo. Party

Finally recognized as a party in 1972.

The fascist UNS had been attempting to gain legal recognition for a party since 1946. Finally achieved it with the PDM in 1972.

Ran own presidential candidate in 1982.

Controlled city of Guanajuato.

1.8% of '82 presidential vote.

XI. Co-optation and Control of Opposition Parties

A. Co-optation

1. 2 classic cases are PPS and PARM:

Both support Pri presidential candidates.

Received deputies and registration when

unwarranted.

Leader of ^{PPS} PS given Senate seat.

Creation of PARM encouraged by Ruiz Cortines to placate aging generals.

2. Right to participate co-opts other parties.

B. Control

1. Federal Election Commission (CFE) - chaired by M. of Gov. ^{Gob.} - despite majority of opposition reps on CFE, Pri has continued to control it - major tactics are denial of registration or annulment of elections.
2. Divide and rule strategy especially on the left. Though not the direct, causal factor, the Pri certainly benefits.
3. Arrests, harassments, and intimidation of opposition leaders. PCM best example.
4. Withhold funds and services from municipalities controlled by opposition.
5. Corruption and fraud.