

El País

Morena and the electoral war machine

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A mass match, a painting party, a movement party. Political scientists still do not agree on how to define Morena, a formation that has not yet reached adolescence - she is barely 12 years old - and that was created in the image and likeness of its founder, Andrés Manuel López Obrador. The former president, trained in PRI culture and a great connoisseur of the country, built first of all an electoral war machine. The philosopher Gilles Deleuze called a "war machine" a type of resistance, very dynamic and creative, that does not allow itself to be captured by the State. The electoral war machine would be rather the opposite, a greased tank to conquer all possible spaces of power, inside and outside the institutions.

The machine of the young cherry party has yielded results. In just over a decade it has already served to win the presidency of the Republic twice, conquer the majority in the two Chambers of Congress, govern in 24 of the 32 states of the country and control key positions in the Judiciary. Also to be the formation with the most militants in history, with more than 12 million members, doubling the numbers of the PRI in their years of splendor and surpassing the vote of all other parties together. The analogy with the PRI of the iron years is relevant, because what is at stake now for Morena is its consolidation as a new hegemonic party, this time within the democratic framework, and without the glue of the totemic figure of its founder and indisputable leader.

My colleagues from the politics section have thoroughly explained the moment that this creature of a thousand heads is going through, a tribe of tribes not always well avenues. Through more than a dozen sources, my colleagues x-ray the internal crisis, which has precipitated the president's intervention. Claudia Sheinbaum, with increasing influence in all areas of power, has forced a replacement in the dome. A movement that, although it was a long-term rumor, has taken the party's governing bodies by surprise. The president of the formation, Luisa María Alcalde, elected less than two years ago, will be succeeded by Ariadna Montiel, current Secretary of Welfare. In parallel, Sheinbaum announced days before the entry on stage of Citlalli Hernández, who leaves the Women's Secretariat to lead next year's electoral operation, where Morena plays above all to retain her majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

The underlying reasons for the changes also have to do with the past results at the polls. The president holds the Mayor responsible for the electoral fiascos in Durango and Veracruz. Like Andrés Manuel López Beltrán, secretary of Organization of the party and son of former President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, and whose position seems to be maintained although he is also on the end. Montiel's arrival at the presidency of the party is relevant, not only because of his closeness to Sheinbaum. At the command of the powerful Ministry of Welfare, it has at its service about 20,000 Servants of the Nation.

The nature of this kind of non-regular army, halfway between the militancy of the party and the government officials, is reminiscent of Deleuze's theses, inspired in turn by the wanderings of Lawrence of Arabia and his hybrid guerrilla who moves between different borders and appears where he is not expected. These Servers, in addition to visiting citizens door-to-door to register them in the register of beneficiaries of social assistance, also work promoting the vote for Morena during election periods.

The president has decided to cut short so that the hemorrhage does not reach the decisive elections next year. But the conflict comes from afar. Almost since his appointment, the mayor-López Beltrán tandem gave signs not to fuel. For this March, the situation was unsustainable. In the Morenista National Council where the internal rules that will govern the 2027 elections are approved, the top leaders of the party have the certainty that the leading couple does not work and must leave the leadership before the electoral process begins. "The resignation was the only thing that was discussed in the corridors," a counselor told my colleagues. This is just a stamp of the drift that the party is going through and that has forced the intervention of Sheinbaum and the departure of the Mayor. After the retirement of López Obrador, a year and a half ago, the party bet on a process of institutionalization to self-manage beyond the powerful figure of the leader. The changes have not been completely consolidated, but the top priority is to set up the electoral war machine.