

**MEXICO ALERT**  
**Vicente Fox's National Security**  
**& Justice Cabinet Selections and their Implications**  
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**Overview**

<b>Cabinet</b>	<b>Secretary</b>
Government/Interior (SEGOB)	Santiago Creel Miranda
Comptroller (SECODAM)	Francisco Barrio Terrazas
Attorney General of the Republic (PGR)	Brigadier General Rafael Macedo de la Concha
Public Safety (SSP)	Alejandro Gertz Manero
Defense (SEDENA)	General Gerardo Clemente Ricardo Vega Garcia
Navy (SECMAR)	Vice Admiral Marco Antonio Peyrot
Petroleos Mexicanos (PEMEX)	Raúl Muñoz Leos
Federal Electricity Commission (CFE)	Alfredo Elías Ayub
Compañía de Luz y Fuerza del Centro (LFC)	Alfonso Caso
Social Security (IMSS)	Santiago Levy
State Workers Institute for Safety and Social Services (ISSSTE)	Benjamín González Roaro
Agrarian Reform (SAR)	Maria Teresa Herrera Tello
CNCA	Sari Bermúdez
<b>Special Advisers to the President</b>	
Chief of Staff: Governmental Innovation	Ramón Muñoz Gutierrez

National Security	Adolfo Aguilar Zinser
Private Secretary	Alfonzo Durazo Montaño
Image Director	Francisco Javier Ortiz Ortiz
Legal Counsel	Juan de Dios Castro Lozano
Estado Mayor Presidencial (EMP)	General José Armando Tamayo Casillas

### ***Cabinet Secretaries***

#### *GOVERNMENT/INTERIOR (SEGOB):*

**Santiago Creel Miranda:** Born Dec. 11, 1954, D.F.; law degree (UNAM), diploma in North American Law (Georgetown University); M.A. in law (University of Michigan); taught law and political science at ITAM (1980-97), where he directed legal studies and served as department chair; private law practice legal counsel to finance ministry (SHCP) and Grupo ICA; coordinated legal issues and observers for the March 21, 1993 referendum on political reform in D.F.; political councillor for Federal Electoral Institute (1994-96); joined PAN on May 26, 1999; federal deputy (1997-99); made an impressive showing as unsuccessful PAN-PVEM candidate for Mexico City mayor (2000).

**Observation:** Creel, whose grandfather was Porfirio Díaz's finance secretary, is an intelligent, hard-working bridge-builder. His conciliatory style will prove extremely useful in the highly charged political climate that Fox will encounter. He is also familiar with Mexico's political actors and should be an effective interlocutor between the administration and the political interest groups. In fact, Creel served as Fox's personal representative in the extremely sensitive negotiations that took place in late 1999 with the PRD's Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, as the PAN and PRD explored an electoral alliance. Although the negotiations failed, Creel proved so impressive that Fox subsequently asked him to run for mayor of Mexico City. Creel ran a strong race, which catapulted him into the national limelight.

#### *COMPTROLLER (SECODAM):*

**Francisco Barrio Terrazas:** Born Nov. 25, 1950, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua; B.A. in Accounting and M.B.A. (Autonomous University of Chihuahua); regional administrator for the Chihuahua state government, and for the National Endowment Institute for Workers' Housing (1972-76); financial officer, National Endowment for Workers' Housing (1976-77); director, computer systems department for Chihuahua's state government (1977-80); vice president (1980-81) and president (1981-83) of the Centro Patronal de Ciudad Juarez; president, Centro Empresarial (1981-83); Ciudad Juarez mayor (1983-86); gubernatorial candidate for governor of Chihuahua in fraud-ridden 1986 election; secretary for citizen action, PAN's state-level executive committee (1986-88); general director, Administracion Profesional de Negocios (1987-92); PAN governor of Chihuahua (1992-98).

**Observation:** A highly regarded bridge-builder. Shortly after July 2, Mr. Fox appointed him chief architect for a promised war on official corruption. Barrio is a moderate panista, who enjoys the respect of politicians from left to right.

#### *ATTORNEY GENERAL (PGR):*

**Gen. Rafael Macedo de la Concha:** Born May 6, 1950, Mexico City; joined Mexican Army and

Air Force as a cadet in the Heroic Military School (Jan. 23, 1965); promoted to 2nd Lieutenant for administration by the Secretary of Division (Nov. 1, 1967); director of the Bank of the Army and Air Force in the late 1970s; director, law school (Latin American University); Brigadier General for Military Justice and attorney; currently Macedo is the Attorney General for the Armed Forces (PGJM); decorated with the Service Award of Fourth, Third, Second, and First Class.

**Observation:** Macedo has served for 33 years as a member of the Mexican Armed Forces and is highly decorated. As the army's attorney general, Gen. Macedo has spearheaded the crackdown and purge of allegedly corrupt officers. Macedo played a visible role in September 2000 when Gen. Mario Arturo Acosta Chaparro and Gen. Francisco Quirós Hermsillo were arrested for alleged ties to narco-trafficking. He also has been successful in keeping in check the dissident voices within the Armed Forces. The fact that he has been at the forefront of extremely sensitive cases reveals that he has the confidence of outgoing Secretary of Defense Cervantes. The appointment of a military officer as an Attorney General, the first since the office was established 100 years ago, reinforces the belief that Fox will be restructuring the office. Macedo's selection, however, also raises concerns over the ability of the PGR to investigate future cases involving military improprieties. Macedo's nomination must still be confirmed by the Mexican Senate.

#### *PUBLIC SAFETY:*

**Alejandro Gertz Manero:** Born Oct. 31, 1939, Mexico City; law degree (Escuela Libre de Derecho); Ph.D. in Law (UNAM); deputy director of the Law School at Anahuac University; professor at the National School for Restoration and Museums of the Secretary of Education (1971-75); member of the Advisory Committee for Labor Issues of the National Banking and Insurance Commission (1977-82); federal prosecutor for the Office of the Attorney General for the Defense of Workers (1977-82); Coordinator of the Advisory Council for the Administration of Justice and Public Safety for the Mexico City government (April 17-August 28, 1998); rector of the University of the Americas (1995-to date); Secretary of Public Safety for Mexico City (August 29, 1998-to date).

**Observation:** Gertz graduates from serving as Secretary of Public Safety for Mexico City-under that city's left-of-center PRD government-to becoming Secretary of Public Safety for all of Mexico. He is extremely charismatic, and has good relations with civil society groups. He is an advocate of the "taking back the streets" philosophy, by way of holding cultural events in the streets, and rehabilitation of vacant lots. He opposes the "zero-tolerance" approach-à la New York, arguing that it only leads to the "cucaracha effect" of scaring criminals to the suburbs or other parts of town. His mastery of public relations has helped him to maintain an open dialogue with the citizenry.

#### *DEFENSE (SEDENA):*

**General Gerardo Clemente Ricardo Vega Garcia:** Born March 28, 1940, Puebla City; director for Military Education; rector of the Army and Air Force University; deputy chief of military doctrine in the Estado Mayor of SEDENA; military attaché at the Mexican embassies in Moscow, Poland, and Germany; secretary of defense; deputy director and director of the National Defense College; general director for Military Education; coursework in national security in the U.S. and Panama; upon reaching his 44 year anniversary with the Armed Forces, in January 20, 2000, Gen. Vega was promoted to division general and given command of Military Zone One.

**Observation:** After the July 2, 2000 presidential election, observers wondered whether Fox would break with the traditional internal process and timing that the Armed Forces had always exercised when selecting a Secretary of Defense. The appointment of Gen. Vega demonstrates that Fox will follow tradition and name the general preferred by the military establishment and Secretary of Defense Cervantes. It was no coincidence that Gen. Vega was promoted to Division

General before the presidential contest, or that he was assigned the plum of military zones. (Military Zone One, which encompasses Mexico City.) Gen. Vega's leading the Army during the Cry of Independence (Grito de la Independencia) celebrations in September 2000, just as Gen. Cervantes had done in September 1994, also showed that his star was rising. Vega believes that population growth, health, education, and poverty are crucial to national security and that civil society has a vital role to play in enhancing national security, a keen student of Israeli and U.S. armed forces. The fact that Gen. Vega is an intellectual who "thinks outside the box" also appealed to President-elect Fox.

*NAVY (SECMAR):*

**Vice Admiral Marco Antonio Peyrot González:** Born June 10, 1940, D.F.; entered the Heroic Naval Military School in 1957, M.A. in Military Administration in National Security and Defense (National Defense College); as a student he was decorated with the Mérito Facultativo Naval, and has held positions of Commander-in-Charge and Second Commander as well as commanding several ships in the Mexican Navy until being promoted to the chief position of the Naval Pacific Forces. Vice Admiral Peyrot has also shown superior leadership in his posts of Naval Sectors, Regions, and Zones, and in addition as the Naval Liaison at Mexican embassies in Italy and France.

*PETROLEOS MEXICANOS (PEMEX):*

**Raul Muñoz Leos:** Born October 14, 1939, Mexico City; B.A. in chemical engineering (National Autonomous University of Mexico, UNAM); was with Du Pont for twelve years, working his way up from various positions including production, sales, and marketing to president and director general of Du Pont Mexico; before joining Fox's cabinet he was National Vice President of COPARMEX; on the industrial editorial board of *El Economista*.

*FEDERAL ELECTRICITY COMMISSION (CFE):*

**Alfredo Elías Ayub:** Born Jan. 13, 1950, Mexico City; degree in civil engineering (Anahuac University); M.A. in business administration (Harvard); private secretary to the governor of Mexico state, Alfredo del Mazo; numerous positions in the Energy Ministry, rising to the post of Undersecretary (1986-95); director general Aeropuertos y Servicios Auxiliares (ASA) from 1996-99, where he oversaw the privatization of airports and related facilities; director general of CFE (1999-2000).

**Observation:** Elías Ayub is the current director general of the CFE. He was appointed by outgoing Energy Secretary Luis Tellez to improve the efficiency of the electricity sector and to open it to private capital; he has excellent relations with the business community. Elías Ayub will stay on in that capacity in the incoming Fox Administration.

*COMPANIA DE LUZ Y FUERZA DEL CENTRO (LFC):*

**Alfonso Caso Aguilar:** Caso, the current director general of LFC, will continue in that capacity in the Fox Administration.

*SOCIAL SECURITY (IMMS):*

**Santiago Levy:** Born January 16, 1956; B.A., M.A., Ph.D. in Economics, University of Boston; Dr. Levy is a well-rounded candidate, currently serving as secretary of the treasury and public credit since 1994. He has held government positions including president of the Federal Competence Commission (1993-1994) and coordinator for the Economic Deregulation Program under the

Department of Commerce (1992-1993). In addition, Dr. Levy has worked on economic development projects with the Inter-American Development Bank and governments around the world. He has published extensively and his work has been recognized with numerous awards. He has taught in both U.S. and Mexican universities. Dr. Levy has concentrated a large part of his life to studying poverty, unemployment, and income distribution-all problems that Fox has declared he will put at the forefront of his agenda.

*STATE WORKERS INSITUTE FOR SAFETY AND SOCIAL SERVICES (ISSSTE):*

**Benjamín González Roaro:** Born December 28, 1954, Mexico City; B.A. in Economics (National Autonomous University of Mexico, UNAM), and M.A. in Administration specializing in finance (Colegio Superior de Ciencias Jurídicas, S.C.); subsecretary of Educational Services for D.F.; served as a federal congressman in the 55th legislature; first secretary of the National Committee of Political Action and the National Syndicate of Education Workers (SNTE); internal controller of the Gustavo A. Madero delegation; also served as manager of distribution and logistics for Fertimex.

*AGRARIAN REFORM:*

**María Teresa Herrera Tello:** Born October 15, 1956, Villa de Santiago, Nuevo León; law degree (Autonomous University of Nuevo León, UANL); was the first woman elected as presidential magistrate of the Supreme Court of Nuevo León, a position to which she was unanimously elected on four consecutive occasions. While in office, Tello worked to better the court facilities and to make the judicial system more accessible to the average citizen, building two courts in key places within the state of Nuevo León and bringing Internet access to the courtroom, including the web-casting of court proceedings.

*NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CULTURE AND THE ARTS (CNCA):*

**Sari Bermúdez:** Born July 15, 1950, Matamoros, Tamaulipas; studied languages (Sorbonne and the Institute for Translation and Interpretation of Mexico City; interpreter (Spanish, French, and English); produced and hosted program "Hoy en Cultura" (Channel 11); public relations advisor to the president of TELEVISA; recipient of the Mexican government's National Journalism Prize; honored by TV and radio women in Los Angeles; cultural coordinator for the Fox campaign.

**Observation:** The appointment of Sari Bermudez brings the number of women in Fox's cabinet to six. (Leticia Navarro, Martha Sahagun Jimenez, Josefina Eugenia Vasquez Mota, Xochitl Galvez Ruiz and Maria Teresa Herrera Tello).

***Special Advisers to the President***

*CHIEF OF STAFF: GOVERNMENTAL INNOVATION:*

**Ramon Muñoz Gutierrez:** B.A. in Psychology at the University of Guanajuato; Mr. Gutierrez has served in several private sector positions including director for business development for Bimbo bread company, rector at the Instituto Irapuato and Instituto de Estudios Superiores del Centro; board member of many companies and founding member of Guanajuato's Institute for Quality; advisor to many local and state governments throughout Mexico, particularly for administration and restructuring. He had worked for Fox's campaign since 1997.

**Observation:** Muñoz has strong experience in government administration and in managerial positions. He believes that quality control is an important part of successful managing.

#### *NATIONAL SECURITY:*

**Adolfo Aguilar Zinser:** Born Dec. 2, 1949; degree in international relations (El Colegio de Mexico); M.A. in public administration and economic development in 1978 (Harvard-J.F.K. School). He occupied various academic posts in el Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales del Tercer Mundo (CEESTEM); served as advisor to Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in 1988 and 1992; taught and conducted research at Harvard (1979), UNAM (1980-1993), ITAM (1986), and CIDE (1990-1993); national senator (1994-2000) member of the following commissions: investigation of CONASUPO and its related businesses; exterior relations; (border issues); radio, television, and cinematography, and special commission for social communication.

**Observation:** Aguilar Zinser, who makes no secret of his anti-U.S. views, would like Mexico to diversify its foreign policy, including more contacts with Central America, South America, and Europe. He also applauds Fox's eagerness to take on issues such as labor and human rights affairs. Zinser's loyalty to Fox has been unwavering-even in the heat of the presidential campaign. This has earned him the respect of Fox's "Guanajuato" inner circle. He is a fierce competitor, the kind that everyone hates to play against, but loves having on his or her own team. Every successful political campaign has such an individual in its midst. Aguilar Zinser also brings with him a wealth of political experience, particularly legislatively from his years in the senate.

#### *PERSONAL SECRETARY:*

**Alfonso Durazo Montaña:** Studied civil engineering (UNAM); law degree (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana); he exhibited an early focus on juvenile issues, held positions in the Juvenile Organization of CREA; other posts included secretary to the secretary of social development (1992-1993), general secretary of social development (1994), and general director of social communication to the secretary of governance (1994-1995). Durazo was an active member of the PRI but renounced his membership in May of 2000. He was an investigator with the Institute of Juridical Investigations at UNAM (1995-1996) and has written editorials for a wide variety of publications including Reforma.

**Observation:** Durazo, who was personal secretary to the martyred PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, now serves in the same capacity for Fox. Due to restructuring of the Office of the President on the part of Fox, this position will not be as all-powerful as it once was. Fox will have a chief of staff and a number of special advisors, therefore curtailing the formidable powers that previous private secretaries had enjoyed. Nevertheless, Durazo will be a zealous gatekeeper.

#### *DIRECTOR: PUBLIC OPINION AND IMAGE:*

**Francisco Javier Ortiz Ortiz:** Born June 29, 1959, Mexico City; B.A. in Administration and Finance (Panamerican University); held position in marketing for Richardson Viks-Proctor & Gamble Mexico (October 81-July 82); general director for promotions for Televisa (August 92-March 93); vice-president of marketing for Televisa/Radio group (April 93-June 95); vice president of marketing for Televisa (June 95-November 96); director general for Televisa's TV Mart (November 96-April 98); director general for new business at Televisa (May 98-Jan. 99); vice-president of marketing for TV Promo (Feb.-October 99); general coordinator for marketing for Vicente Fox's presidential campaign (Oct. 99 to date) .

#### *LEGAL COUNSEL:*

**Juan de Dios Castro Lozano:** Born Mar. 25, 1942, Coahuila; law degree and M.A. in labor law (Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila); postgraduate studies in penal law; PAN membership since 1963; served as a federal congressman in the 51st and 55th legislatures and as a senator in the 56th and 57th legislatures; legally represented the PAN in the 1988 and 1994 presidential

elections; served as an advisor to Congress during the 2000 election; serving as judicial advisor to the PAN before the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE).

#### **ESTADO MAYOR PRESIDENCIAL. (EMP):**

**General José Armando Tamayo Casillas:** Born on July 8, 1947, Morelia, Michoacán; degree in Military Administration and M.A. in National Security and Planning (Heroico Colegio Militar), exiting as an Infantry 2nd Lieutenant; during his military career served as Assistant to the President; subchief of Section V; subchief of military zone 25 in Puebla; commander of the 56th battalion of the infantry in Acapulco; chief of the 8th military zone in Tancol, Tamaulipas; chief of Section III; commander of the 52nd infantry battalion in Guadalupe, Zacatecas; chief of the 21st military zone in Morelia, Michoacán; chief of the Presidential Guard Corps and Operative Subchief to the President.

#### **About the Authors**

Armand Peschard-Sverdrup is the Director of the Mexico Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), responsible for analysis of Mexico's domestic politics, trade, investment, and U.S.-Mexico bilateral relations. He frequently lectures at both the Mexican Advanced Area Studies Seminar at the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State and at the National Defense University. His primary research interests are Mexican domestic politics and U.S.-Mexican relations.

George W. Grayson, the Class of 1938 Professor of Government at the College of William & Mary, has made fifty research trips to Mexico since 1976, and lectures regularly at the National Defense University and the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State. He is an adjunct fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and an associate scholar of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is also Senior Adviser on Mexican Affairs for the Washington D.C.-based Capital Insight Group. Professor Grayson earned his Ph.D. at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University and his J.D. at the College of William & Mary. He has served as a member of the Virginia state legislature for twenty-five years.

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