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PAGE 001

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 FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7554
 INFO RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY BELIZE 0103
 RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 0203
 RUESGT/AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA 0607
 RUEHUB/USINT HAVANA 0287
 RUESLM/AMEMBASSY LIMA 0233
 RUESMG/AMEMBASSY MANAGUA 0401
 RUEHZP/AMEMBASSY PANAMA 0568
 RUESJU/AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE 0461
 RUESAL/AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR 0441
 RUESNA/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 0151

BT
 C O N F I D E N T I A L MEXICO 00671 COMBINED SECTION

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E.O. 12065: GDS 01/15/88 (GAVIN, JOHN) OR-M
 TAGS: UKEP, ELAB, PEPR, MX
 SUBJECT: CODELS BAKER AND SIMPSON MEETING WITH FOREIGN
 SECRETARY CASTANEDA

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. DRAFT NOT CLEARED WITH CODELS BAKER AND
 SIMPSON. CODELS BAKER AND SIMPSON ACCOMPANIED BY
 AMBASSADOR JOHN GAVIN MET WITH GDM FOREIGN SECRETARY

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STATE

82 7830394

SCR

PAGE 002

NC 7830394

TOR: 190159Z JAN 82

JORGE CASTANEDA AT SRE, JANUARY 13 AT 1230. CODEL BAKER SOUGHT TO ASCERTAIN THE ROLE THAT MEXICO WOULD PLAY IN THE CENTRAL AMERICA AREA. CASTANEDA STRESSED THE SIMILARITY OF U.S. AND MEXICO OBJECTIVES AND THE DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS AND TACTICS FOR SOLVING THEM. AFTER THE DISCUSSION OF CENTRAL AMERICA, SENATOR SIMPSON TOUCHED ON IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS AND ASKED CASTANEDA FOR HIS VIEWS. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY WAS NONCOMMITTAL. END SUMMARY.

3. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS. PARTICIPATING IN THE MEETING WITH CASTANEDA WERE SENATORS BAKER, LAXALT, ASENCIO AND SEVERAL STAFF AIDES. AS AN INTRODUCTION, SENATOR BAKER BRIEFLY DESCRIBED THE CODEL VISIT TO THE SOUTHERN CONE STATES, WHERE OFFICIALS HAD REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MEXICO IN CENTRAL AMERICAN AFFAIRS. HE ASKED CASTANEDA, "WHAT ROLE CAN OR SHOULD MEXICO PLAY?" AFTER INSISTING THAT HE COULD MERELY REITERATE THE VIEWS EXPRESSED EARLIER BY LOPEZ-PORTILLO, CASTANEDA REPLIED:

-----MEXICO AND THE U.S. HAVE THE SAME OBJECTIVES IN
-----CENTRAL AMERICA (I.E. THE ATTAINMENT OF PEACEFUL,
-----DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS);

-----THE REAL PROBLEMS IN CENTRAL AMERICA HAVE LITTLE
-----TO DO WITH CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR;

-----MEXICO IS KEENLY AWARE OF CENTRAL AMERICA'S
-----HISTORIC PROBLEMS OF MALDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH
-----AND POWER;

-----THE EXPERIENCES OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION
-----INFLUENCE MEXICO'S VIEWS AND APPRECIATION OF
-----THE ISSUES; AND

-----THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA NOW IS SIMILAR
-----TO THAT OF MEXICO IN 1910.

SENATOR BAKER OBSERVED THAT IN 1910 CUBA HAD NOT INTERVENED IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION. CASTANEDA RESPONDED THAT IT WAS TRUE THAT MEXICO HAD BEEN ABLE TO HAVE A NON-COMMUNIST REVOLUTION BECAUSE IT WAS PRE-COMMUNIST, BUT THAT THIS DID NOT CHANGE THE BASIC SIMILARITY OF INTOLERABLE SITUA-

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STATE

82 7830394

SCR

PAGE 003

NC 7830394

TOR: 190159Z JAN 82

TIONS IN WHICH A FEW FAMILIES AIDED BY AN OPPRESSIVE ARMY OPPOSED A POPULAR STRUGGLE.

4. CUBA. SENATOR BAKER EXPRESSED THE FEAR THAT THE USSR ASSISTED BY CUBA WOULD INSTALL MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS MORE REPRESSIVE THAN ANY PREVIOUSLY KNOWN IN CENTRAL AMERICA. DISAGREEING WITH THIS INTERPRETATION, CASTANEDA SAID THAT THE USSR COULD NOT AFFORD TO REPEAT ITS UNHAPPY EXPERIENCE WITH CUBA, AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION WANTED A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CUBA. HE ADDED THAT CASTRO HIMSELF WANTS THIS NORMALIZATION. BAKER ASKED WHETHER SUCH A RAPPROCHEMENT WOULD LEAD TO THE REMOVAL OF CUBAN TROOPS FROM ETHIOPIA OR ANGOLA. CASTANEDA REPLIED THAT IT MIGHT, BECAUSE CASTRO REALIZES THAT HE WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO PAY A HIGH PRICE FOR NORMALIZATION. WHEN ASKED IF THIS WOULD ALSO INCLUDE A REDUCTION OF CUBAN INFLUENCE IN EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA, CASTANEDA URGED THE U.S. TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE CUBANS BY OFFERING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THEM. ACCORDING TO CASTANEDA, CASTRO IN RETURN WANTS A LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, AN END TO SANCTIONS, AN OVERALL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, AND ULTIMATELY THE RETURN OF GUANTANAMO BAY.

5. NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR. SENATOR HOLLINGS ASKED IF CASTANEDA WERE NOT WORRIED BY CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR. CASTANEDA COUNTERED BY SAYING THAT WHILE THE CUBANS MIGHT BE ASSISTING THE REBELS, THE REAL ISSUE WAS NOT ONE OF MILITARY VICTORY BUT OF POLITI-

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CAL AGREEMENT. HE RHETORICALLY ASKED WHETHER THE COMING ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR WOULD HAVE ANY POLITICAL MEANING WITHOUT A PRIOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. IN THE CASE OF NICARAGUA HE SAID THAT WHILE FREE ELECTIONS WERE DEFINITELY NEEDED AFTER THE REVOLUTION, NICARAGUA WAS NOT A LOST CAUSE; HE ADDED THAT IF THE U.S. REPEATED ITS PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH CUBA, HOWEVER, ALL WOULD BE LOST. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE U.S. COULD SALVAGE NICARAGUA BUT THAT IT WOULD REQUIRE ASSISTANCE AND BARGAINING (E.G. THE U.S. SHOULD SUGGEST THAT NICARAGUA REDUCE THE NUMBER OF CUBAN

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STATE

82 7830394 SCR

PAGE 004
TOR: 190159Z JAN 82

NC 7830394

TEACHERS IN THE COUNTRY BY 1000). SENATOR HOLLINGS URGED MEXICO TO PLAY A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN NICARAGUA AND NOT TO SIT ON THE SIDELINES. CASTANEDA AGREED THAT MORE COULD BE DONE WITH BETTER COORDINATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND MEXICO. WHAT WAS REALLY NEEDED, HE SAID, WERE DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE MAIN PROTAGONISTS, NAMELY THE U.S. AND CUBA AND THE U.S. AND NICARAGUA - EACH OF WHOM HAS DISTINCT INTERESTS. CASTANEDA REGRETTED THAT THE RECENT TALKS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND NICARAGUA AT ST. LUCIA HAD GONE BADLY AND BLAMED THE NICARAGUANS FOR HANDLING MATTERS STUPIDLY AND NOT FOLLOWING MEXICAN ADVICE.

6. IMMIGRATION. AFTER NOTING THAT 50-60 OF ILLEGAL ALIENS IN THE U.S. WERE MEXICAN, SENATOR SIMPSON SAID THAT DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES MADE SOME FORM OF IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION INEVITABLE. HE ASKED CASTANEDA FOR SUGGESTIONS ON HOW THE U.S. COULD TIGHTEN ITS IMMIGRATION POLICIES WITHOUT BEING HARMFUL TO MEXICO. ASIDE FROM REFERRING TO MEXICAN PRESS DISTORTIONS OF THE SILVA PROGRAM TERMINATION, CASTANEDA GAVE NO RESPONSE. HE SAID THAT SENATOR SIMPSON WOULD HAVE AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THE MINISTER OF LABOR, GAVIN

END OF MESSAGE

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