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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA’S N. ASPIRATIONS

REF: MEXICO 6668

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EMBASSY REGrets LENGTH OF THIS MESSAGE BUT CONSIDERS CABLE PREFERABLE TO AIRGRAM BECAUSE OF (1) SIGNIFICANCE OF ISSUE, (2) ECHEVERRIA’S CURRENT EFFORTS TO WIN SUPPORT FOR UN SECGEN CANDIDACY, (3) NEED FOR PROMPT CONSIDERATION OF ISSUE AND ASSESSMENT OF POLICY OPTIONS AND TACTICS BY DEPARTMENT.

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ IS CLEARLY CAMPAIGNING FOR POST OF SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO SUCCEED SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM IN 1976. CONSIDERATIONS OF DECORUM AND SOME UNCERTAINTY AS TO HIS CHANCES OF SUCCESS INHIBIT ECHEVERRIA’S CURRENT EFFORTS TO SEEK SUPPORT FOR HIS CANDIDACY, BUT INDIRECT HINTS OR QUERIES TO U.S. OFFICIALS, AS WELL AS A REPORTED DIRECT APPROACH TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF LUXEMBOURG BY FOREIGN SECRETARY RABAS, LEAVE NO DOUBT AS TO THE TREND OF ECHEVERRIA’S INTENTIONS AND HOPES. HIS CANDIDACY IS ALL BUT AN ACCEPTED FACT IN MEXICO.

2. ECHEVERRIA THE MAN IS SUPREMEly SELF-CONFIDENT, NOT SECRET

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INCLINED TO MUCH RELIANCE ON INSTITUTIONAL ADVISORS. A
PRODUCT OF FREQUENTLY CORRUPT AND HYPOCRITICAL MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. HE IS SOMETHING OF A PURITAN, MAINTAINS KILLING PACE OF ACTIVITY (NOT ALWAYS PRODUCTIVE), LOVES THE LIMELIGHT. REACTION TO CRISIS NOT PREDICTABLE BUT HAS TENDENCY TO ACT NOW, REFLECT LATER. AS INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN, ECHEVERRIA IS RELATIVELY UNSOPHISTICATED, TENDS TO OVERSIMPLIFY. HE CLEARLY CONSIDERS UNSC AS OBSTACLE TO "DEMOCTATIC" UNGA. HE HAS LONG SOUGHT LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THIRD WORLD, CONSIDERS CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES (CERDS) VIRTUAL PANACEA TO WORLD'S ILLS, HAS STRONG BUT NAIVE VIEWS ON DISARMAMENT. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT ECHEVERRIA, IF ELECTED IN SECGEN, WOULD REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE EDUCATION IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, MIGHT SPRING SURPRISING INITIATIVES, WOULD BE HARD TO ADVISE. HE HAS SOME BIAS IN FAVOR OF WESTERN DEMOCRACIES OVER COMMUNIST STATES, CERTAINLY IS BIASED IN FAVOR OF THIRD WORLD AND WOULD CONTINUE TO CHAMPION THIRD WORLD, CERDS, NIEO. REACTION TO CRISSES UNPREDICATABLE. LIKE MOST MEXICANS, HE HAS INHERENT WARINESS IF NOT DISTRUST OF U.S. IF ECHEVERRIA ELECTED SECGEN, GOM WOULD CONTINUE MORE ACTIVIST THIRD WORLD POLICY THAN OTHERWISE MIGHT BE THE CASE.

3. IN VIEW OF THE SOMETIMES CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL POSITION AT TIMES OF INTERNATIONAL CRISSES, THE EMBASSY WISHES TO SHED SUCH LIGHT AS IT MAY ON ECHEVERRIA (IN ADDITION TO ANALYSES PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED OVER THE YEARS OF ECHEVERRIA'S PROMINENCE). THE DEPARTMENT IS UNDOUBTEDLY CONSIDERING THE PROS AND CONS OF ECHEVERRIA'S CANDIDACY AS WELL AS THE IMPORTANCE OF ADVANCE PLANNING TO DETERMINE A VIABLE USG POSITION. END SUMMARY.

4. ECHEVERRIA, THE MAN: CONSIDERABLE ANALYSIS ON ECHEVERRIA EXISTS IN PREVIOUS USG BIOGRAPHIC REPORTS. COMMENTS WHICH FOLLOW ARE INTENDED TO COMPLEMENT AND, IN SOME CASES, UPDATE THAT ANALYSIS ON THE BASIS OF FURTHER OBSERVATION. MORE THAN ONE CLOSE OBSERVER SINCE ECHEVERRIA'S ACCESSION TO THE PRESIDENCY HAS NOTED A "TOUCH OF MEGALOMANIA" IN ECHEVERRIA AND A POSSIBLY GROWING "MESSIANIC" ASPECT TO HIS CHARACTER. THAT OBSERVATION SECRET

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PROBABLY HAS MORE VALIDITY TODAY THAN EVER. ECHEVERRIA IS POSSESSED OF ENORMOUS SELF-CONFIDENCE. HIS CAREER MUST HAVE BEEN ALMOST A STRAIGHT-LINE PROJECTION OF THE MOST GLOWING ASPIRATIONS OF HIS YOUTH, AND THE PUBLIC RECORD REVEALS NO SERIOUS SETBACKS IN HIS CAREER. REACHING THE PRESIDENCY, FOCUS OF VIRTUALLY UNLIMITED POWER IN HIGHLY CENTRALIZED MEXICAN SYSTEM -- MEXICO HAS A LONG TRADITION OF STRONG MEN IN POWER, E.G. TWO EMPERORS SINCE
MONTEZUMA, LONG "REIGN" OF PROFIRIO DIAZ -- ECHEVERRIA
HAS ENHANCED AN ALREADY EXTRAORDINARY SENSE OF CONFIDENCE
IN HIS OWN POWERS, PRESCIENCE, AND RIGHTNESS.

5. ECHEVERRIA EVIDENTLY DISCOUNTS OR SOMETIMES IGNORES
ADVISE FROM THOSE INSTITUTIONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR COUN-
SELING HIM. NEITHER FOREIGN SECRETARY RABASA NOR FOREIGN
SECRETARIAT EXPERTS SEEM TO HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE WITH HIM.
MOREOVER, ECHEVERRIA DOES NOT HESITATE TO LUMP SENIOR CABIN-
NET OFFICERS WITH THE BUREAURCRACY IN GENERAL OF WHOM HE IS
FREQUENTLY CRITICAL. HE IS PROBABLY MOST RECEPTIVE TO
THE VIEW OF A HANDFUL OF CLOSE ASSOCIATES WHO ARE NOT, ON
A GIVEN FOREIGN POLICY OR ECONOMIC ISSUE, EXPERT OR EVEN
PARTICULARLY WELL-INFORMED; THESE FEW INCLUDE HIS WIFE.

6. ECHEVERRIA IS BY NO MEANS A SELF-MADE MAN ALTHOUGH
IN HIS COMMENTS ON SELECTION OF THE CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED
HIM AS PRESIDENT HE HAS EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR A MAN WHO
HAS "COME UP THROUGH THE RANKS". HE CAME FROM A RATHER
AFFLUENT MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND WHICH AFFORDED HIM
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, A YEAR OF STUDY IN CHILE. WHATEVER
HIS NATIVE TALENT, HE PROFITED ENORMOUSLY FROM THE TRADITION-
al MEXICAN SYSTEM OF PERSONAL PATRONAGE. ECHEVERRIA'S
FATHER (RODOLFO) WAS PAYMASTER TO THE COMMANDER OF THE
MEXICAN ARMED FORCES DURING REVOLUTIONARY YEARS, GENERAL
RODOLFO SANCHEZ TABOADA. ONE YEAR AFTER GRADUATION FROM
LAW SCHOOL, LUIS ECHEVERRIA JOINED THE STAFF OF GENERAL
SANCHEZ TABOADA, THEN PRESIDENT OF THE RULING INSTITUTIONAL
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (PRI). THIS WAS ECHEVERRIA'S BEGINNING
AS A PARTY STALWART, AND HE MOVED UP TO BE DIRECTOR OF
PRESS AND PROPAGANDA FOR THE PRI UNTIL 1952. IN THAT YEAR
HE FOLLOWED SANCHEZ TABOADA, WHOM HE SERVED AS PRIVATE
SECRETARY, TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NAVY. WELL LAUNCHED
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BY THEN ON HIS BUREAUCRATIC CAREER, ECHEVERRIA MOVED NEXT TO
THIRD-ECHelon JOB IN THE SECRETARIAT OF EDUCATION, AND IN
1958 TO THE SECRETARIAT OF GOVERNMENT (INTERIOR), TRADITION-
al STEPPING STONE TO THE PRESIDENCY.

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7. WE DO NOT QUESTION ECHEVERRIA'S SINCERITY IN SEEKING GREATER DEGREE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR ALL MEXICANS -- WITHIN THE MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM -- AND HE HAS ACHIEVED SOME SUCCESS (DEGREE IS DEBATABLE) IN IMPROVING THE LOT OF MEXICAN POOR. BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT ECHEVERRIA EVER REBELLED AGAINST THE INNATE HYPOCRISY AND CORRUPTION OF THE MEXICAN SYSTEM -- ONE WHICH PRESENTS A FACADE OF "REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY" TO THE WORLD AND ITS OWN CONSTITUENCY WHILE CONSTITUTING IN FACT A SYSTEM DESIGNED OR ADAPTED TO CONCENTRATE POLITICAL POWER AND A GRASP AT WEALTH WITHIN THE HANDS OF A SMALL ESTABLISHMENT. THE SYSTEM FITS HIM LIKE A GLOVE; ECHEVERRIA OBVIOUSLY FOUND HIS TALENTS AND ASPIRATIONS SUITED TO THE MEXICAN POLITICAL WAY OF LIFE.

8. HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THINGS-AS-THEY-ARE IN MEXICO CONTRASTS SOMewhat WITH A PURITANICAL STREAK IN HIS PERSONALITY. HE IS MUCH GIVEN TO PREACHING AND EXHORTATION. ABSTEMIOUS AND RATHER AUSTERE, HE IS CRITICAL OF THE PERMISSIVENESS AND RELAXATION IN TRADITIONAL SOCIAL PATTERNS IN RECENT TIMES IN MOST WESTERN SOCIETIES. HE WAS NO DOUBT PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE IN 1974 FOR BARRING FROM MEXICAN TELEVISION THIRTY-ODD TELEVISION PROGRAMS IMPORTED FROM ABROAD WHICH HE FELT WERE HARMFUL TO THE MORALS OF MEXICAN YOUTH. DOES THIS PURITANISM REFLECT SCRUPULOUS PERSONAL HONESTY AND REJECTION OF CORRUPTION? THOUGH HE HAS SUBSTANTIAL HOLDINGS (SOME OF WHICH HE IS DONATING TO WORTHY CAUSES SUCH AS A THIRD WORLD UNIVERSITY), ANY EVIDENCE THAT ECHEVERRIA MAY HAVE PROFITED MATERIALLY FROM HIS POSITION IS LACKING. BUT ACCUSATIONS OF CORRUPTION AGAINST HIS BLOOD RELATIVES AND EVEN MORE AGAINST HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES...
9. ECHEVERRIA'S UNFLAGGING ENERGY IS TRULY ASTOUNDING.
HE SEEMS REGULARLY TO WORK 16 HOURS OR MORE PER DAY, SEVEN
DAYS A WEEK. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR HIM TO MAKE FOUR OR
FIVE PUBLIC APPEAR-
ANCES IN ONE DAY AND THE STREAM OF VIP
VISITORS TO MEXICO DURING RECENT MONTHS AND THE STRAIN
THIS MUST HAVE IMPOSED UPON ECHEVERRIA HAS BEEN IMPRESSIVE.
HE IS AT PRESENT ON A 40-DAY, MANKILLING TOUR OF FOURTEEN
COUNTRIES RANGING FROM CUBA TO INDIA. BUT THE NET ACCOMP-
PLISHMENT OF ECHEVERRIA'S ALMOST FRENETIC ACTIVITY IS NOT
SO IMPRESSIVE. AN OBJECTIVE OBSERVER CAN HARDLY ESCAPE THE
EVENTUAL CONCLUSION THAT THE FLURRY OF ACTIVITY BECOMES AN
END IN ITSELF JUST AS ECHEVERRRIA HAS COME TO LOVE THE SHEER
EXCITEMENT, COLOR, AND CHEERING CROWDS OF STATE VISITS,
ALL QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE ASIDE. OBVIOUSLY, ECHEVERRIA
IS CAPABLE OF ENDURING MORE STRESS IN TERMS OF WORKLOAD THAN
MOST MEN, BUT THIS IS A SELF-IMPOSED BURDEN. NONE OF HIS
PREDECESSORS OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE DECADES HAS FOUND
IT NECESSARY TO EXPEND QUITE SO MUCH ENERGY, PUT IN SO
MANY HOURS ON THE JOB, MAKE SO MANY SPEECHES, OR ENGAGE IN
SUCH FREQUENT TRAVEL AT HOME AND ABROAD IN ORDER TO GOVERN
THIS LONG-STABLE COUNTRY.

10. HOW DOES ECHEVERRIA REACT TO SUDDEN STRESS WHICH IS
NOT SELF-IMPOSED? Owing to the very stability mentioned
above, which is based upon many factors (including a pro-
longed revolutionay period which exhausted Mexico in many
respects, a military establishment which is content to
stay our of politics, and a gradually improving economic
situation over the years), the President of Mexico
certainly encounters fewer sudden crises than his counter-
parts in many other countries. So crises are not a regu-
lar feature of Mexican life. But two incidents which
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INEVITABLY COME TO MIND ARE THOSE INVOLVING STUDENT DIS-
ORDERS IN 1968 (WHEN ECHEVERRIA WAS SECRETARY OF GOVERN-
MENT) AND IN 1971 WHEN HE WAS PRESIDENT. ON BOTH OCCASIONS
ECHEVERRIA WAS UNDOUBTEDLY A KEY DECISION-MAKER AND HIS
RESPONSE TO THE DISORDERS WAS DRASTIC AND VIOLENT. IN
THE 1968 INCIDENT, FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO AS "THE MASSACRE
OF TLALELOCO", SOME 50 PEOPLE WERE KILLED BY REPRESSIVE
FORCES OF THE GOVERNMENT. ONE OTHER ILLUSTRATIVE INCIDENT:
IN MARCH 1975, WHEN ECHEVERRIA VISITED THE CAMPUS OF THE
NATIONAL AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO FOR THE FIRST
TIME DURING HIS PRESIDENCY, HE WAS ATTACKED BY STUDENT GROUPS
-- WHO HURLED INSULTS AND STONES, ONE OF WHICH HIT HIM. OBVIOUSLY UNDER STRESS, HIS RESPONSE WAS TO CHARGE HIS ASAILANTS WITH BEING "MANIPULATED BY THE CIA". (SUBSEQUENTLY, ECHEVERRIA SENT EMISSARY PRIVATELY TO AMBASSADOR TO EXPLAIN THAT HE KNEW CIA ALLEGATION UNFOUNDED BUT THAT HE WAS DELIBERATELY ACCUSING STUDENTS OF AFFILIATION THEY WOULD ABHOR. HE ASSERTS THAT SUCH TACTICS "STEAL THE BANNERS FROM THE LEFT", I.E. THAT THIS IS HIS METHOD OF PRE-EMPTING ISSUES FROM THE DOMESTIC LEFT. WHATEVER ELSE MAY BE SAID, HE SHOWED CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL COURAGE IN FACING AN ANGRY CROWD.)

11. PERHAPS THE SALIENT CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE FOREGOING OBSERVATIONS ARE THE FOLLOWING. ECHEVERRIA THE MAN IS AN AUTHENTIC PRODUCT OF HIS CULTURE AND SYSTEM WITH A DISCERNIBLE BENT TOWARD AUTHORITARIANISM UNDER PRESSURE. SECOND, HE IS NOT A MAN TO BE GUIDED TO A VERY GREAT EXTENT BY HIS ADVISORS, RATHER, HE HAS THE GREATEST FAITH IN HIS OWN ABILITY AND WISDOM. THIRD, HE IS NOT AT HIS BEST IN CRISIS SITUATIONS. HIS FAULT IS NOT SO MUCH TO "FLAP" AS TO STRIKE OUT VIGOROUSLY WITHOUT MUCH APPARENT REFLECTION -- MUCH AS IN THE APOCRYPHAL MILITARY DICTUM: "WHEN IN DOUBT, DO ANYTHING", I.E., DO NOT REMAIN PASSIVE.

12. ECHEVERRIA, THE STATESMAN: DESPITE ECHEVERRIA'S EXTRAORDINARILY WFS RHK#SURE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD SINCE HIS ELECTION AS PRESIDENT, HE REMAINS IN MOST WAYS RATHER PROVINCIAL AND UNSOPHISTICATED IN HIS WORLD VIEWS. PERHAPS HE STRONGEST TENDENCIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ARE (1) TO OVERSIMPLIFY AND (2) TO PERSIST ONCE HE HAS EMBARKED UPON A COURSE. ECHEVERRIA TENDS TO SUPERIMPOSE THE "REVOLUTIONARY VIEWS" OF HIS MEXICAN EXPERIENCE UPON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. WITH SOME NAIVETE, AND SEEING THE WORLD THROUGH THE EYES OF A SECOND-GENERATION MEXICAN "REVOLUTIONARY", HE SEES THAT WHICH IS "REVOLUTIONARY" AS GOOD WITHOUT LOOKING BEHIND LABELS VERY MUCH. HIS INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK ALSO EMBODIES THE QUIXOTIC STRAIN IN MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY. MEXICO CONTINUES, FOR EXAMPLE, TO RECOGNIZE THE SPANISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT. ECHEVERRIA FAVORS "IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM", AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT HE IS AS RECEPTIVE TOWARD THE PRESENT CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AS TOWARD THE CASTRO REGIME IN CUBA.

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13. A PRODUCT OF HIS SYSTEM, ECHEVERRIA FREQUENTLY TAKES
ONE STAND IN PUBLIC AND ANOTHER IN PRIVATE. THIS HAS
BEEN CONSISTENTLY TRUE OF HIS DEALINGS WITH THE UNITED
STATES. FREQUENTLY SHARPLY CRITICAL OF THE U.S., HE
NEVERTHELESS SENDS PRIVATE SIGNALS OF FRIENDSHIP AND UNDER-
STANDING OF THE UNITED STATES.

14. ECHEVERRIA'S THESIS FOR HIS LICENCIATE IN LAW WAS
ENTITLED "THE SYSTEM OF EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER AND THE LEAGUE
OF NATIONS." THOUGH THIS WORK IS LAREGLY A REHASH CRIBBED
FROM AUTHORS ECHEVERRIA HAD CONSULTED, ONE OF HIS CONCLU-
SIONS IS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST: "...THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS FAILED IN CONSIDERABLE PART BECAUSE IT HAD BEEN
CONVERTED INTO THE POLITICAL INSTRUMENT OF THE GREAT POWER
VICTORS WHICH PURSUED AFTER 1919 THEIRSAME AMBITIONS FOR
WORLD PREDOMINANCE." NO DOUBT ECHEVERRIA RETAINS THE SAME
VIEW TODAY. HE HAS MADE IDENTICAL STATEMENTS CONCERNING
THE UN AND THE VICTORS OF WORLD WAR II. IN EFFECT, HE
DISAPPROVES OF THE PREROGATIVES AND TO SOME EXTENT THE
SPECIAL ROLE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. EARLY IN HIS
PRESIDENCY, HE SOUGHT SUPPORT FOR A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH
A PERMANENT SEAT ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THE THIRD
WORLD, I.E. WITH VETO POWER. HE CLEARLY CONSIDERS THE
SECURITY COUNCIL A DRAG AND AN OBSTACLE UPON THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY. HE SEEMS TO HAVE NO APPRECIATION FOR THE MEAN-
ING OF THE PHRASE "TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY". HIS NATIONAL EXPERIENCE HAS GIVEN HIM NO BASIS FOR DEVELOPING AN ATTITUDE OF FOREBEARANCE TOWARD THE MINORITY.

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15. ECHEVERRIA SEES THE CRITICAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME AS ECONOMIC IN NATURE AND HIS VIEWS ARE AT TIMES EXTREME. HIS WIFE UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECTED HIS VIEWS WHEN SHE RECENTLY REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THE PHRASE, "THE CHARTER (OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES) OR WAR." HE BELIEVES THAT THE MAJOR THREAT OF WAR LIES IN THE ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE INDUSTRIALIZED POWERS. HE PROBABLY SEES THE CHARTER AS THE CROWNING ACHIEVEMENT OF HIS LIFE WORK AND THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION BUT WHAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR WORLDWIDE ADHERENCE TO THE CHARTER AND ITS EVOLUTION INTO ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL LAW SO LONG AS HE MAY PLAY A ROLE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

16. ALTHOUGH ECHEVERRIA SUPPOSEDLY SEES THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF OUR TIMES AS ECONOMIC, HE DOES NOT HAVE A VERY GOOD GRASP OF THE SUBJECT. AS IN FOREIGN RELATIONS, HE APPEARS TO BE RELYING LESS AND LESS ON THE ECONOMISTS AT THE BANK OF MEXICO AND TREASURY THAT DEVELOPED AND IMPLEMENTED MEXICO'S SUCCESSFUL "GROWTH WITH STABILITY" POLICIES. ECONOMIC DECISIONS UNDER ECHEVERRIA SHOW MORE CONCERN FOR SHORT-RUN POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAN THE LONG-RUN ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE NATION. UNDER ECHEVERRIA, INFLATION HAS BECOME A SERIOUS PROBLEM, THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS HAS DETERIORATED AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT HAS STAGNATED. THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY ALIENATED UNDER THIS REGIME. WE SUSPECT SOME OF THE LEADING ECONOMISTS IN RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT POSITIONS ARE SECRETLY PRAYING THAT THE ECONOMY CAN BE HELD TOGETHER UNTIL THE END OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. CONTINUATION OF SOME OF ECHEVERRIA'S POLICIES SUCH AS PUBLIC SECTOR SPENDING IN EXCESS OF RESOURCES, HIGH WAGE INCREASES AND DENIGRATION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS COULD LEAD TO ECONOMIC STAGNATION A LA URUGUAY OR ARGENTINA. WHILE THERE ARE GROUNDS TO HOPE THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN, IT IS UNLIKELY IF NH#
THE ECHEVERRIA ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC POLICIES WILL, IN RETROSPECT, BE TO HIS CREDIT.

17. PERHAPS ECHEVERRIA, DESPITE THE IMPORTANCE HE
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ATTACHES TO ECONOMIC ISSUES, HAS OCCASIONAL DOUBTS AS TO
THE LIKELY CAUSE OF FUTURE CONFLICT. IF SO, HIS "SOLUTION"
IS SIMPLY A REPEATED CALL FOR TOTAL DISARMAMENT AND
FOR THE USE OF RESOURCES SPENT ON ARMS BY THE GREAT POWERS
IN MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. HIS VIEWS
ON THE DISARMAMENT OF NUCLEAR POWERS ARE, TO SAY THE
LEAST, NAIVE.

18. ON THE MEXICAN NATIONAL SCENE ECHEVERRIA, DESPITE
HIS VISITS TO SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND OCCASIONAL PRAISE
FOR THE "SECOND WORLD'S" SUPPORT FOR HIS VIEWS, NEVERTHE-
LESS MAINTAINS A PRIVATELY SUSPICIOUS OUTLOOK TOWARD
COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. DURING HIS PRESIDENCY HE HAS NOT
HESITATED TO EXPEL SOVIET DIPLOMATS AS A RESULT OF
EAJLSHR#INDIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN SUBVERSION WITHIN MEXICO. FOLLOW-
ING HIS TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PRC, HE EXPRESSED
PRIVATELY CONSIDERABLE DISTASTE FOR WHAT HE HAD SEEN OF
SOCIALIST SYSTEMS.

19. ECHEVERRIA AS SECGEN: THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE
HIGHLY SPECULATIVE. OBVIOUSLY, NO ONE CAN FORESEE JUST
HOW ECHEVERRIAMIGHT ACT AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN:
THE RESPONSIBILITY MIGHT TRANSFORM HIM SUBSTANTIALLY.
NONETHELESS, WE THINK IT WORTHWHILE TO DELINEATE CERTAIBEJLIGQI
UCRDKim BASED UPON ECHEVERRIA'S BEHAVIOR IN THE PAST.

A. ECHEVERRIA WOULD REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE GUIDANCE
(EDUATION) IN THE WAYS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.
DESPITE HIS PARTICIPATION IN MANY CONFERENCES (MAINLY
DURING HIS PRESIDENCY), HE HAS NEVER BEEN EXPOSED TO THE
MECHANICS OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY OTHER THAN AS AN
"HONORED GUEST SPEAKER" AND HE ALMOST CERTAINLY HAS NO
TRUE APPRECIATION OF THE PROCESS OF FINE-TUNING, TRADE-
OFFS, AND INTRICATE COMPROMISE BY WHICH DIFFERING POSITIONS
ARE RECONCILED TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. HE UNDERSTANDS A
LITTLE ENGLISH BUT HAS NO OTHER LANGUAGE THAN HIS NATIVE
SPANISH.

B. AS PRESIDENT, ECHEVERRIA HAS MORE THAN ONCE
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C. AS BETWEEN THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND THE
COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, ECHEVERRIA WOULD PROBABLY STRIVE TO
BE IMPARTIAL THOUGH PERSONALLY PREJUDICED IN FAVOR OF THE
FORMER. STILL, AS SELF-ANOINTED CHAMPION OF THE THIRD WORLD, ECHEVERRIA SEEMS TO FEEL SOME OBLIGATION TOWARD THE COMMUNIST STATES (FOR SUPPORT, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES - CERDS). AND HE MIGHT BE INCLINED TO FOLLOW HIS DOMESTIC TENDENCY OF PRE-EMPTING LEFTIST CAUSES ("STEALING THE BANNERS FROM THE LEFT").

D. AS BETWEEN THE THIRD WORLD AND ALL THE OTHER WORLDS, ECHEVERRIA WOULD FAVOR THE FORMER. TO ADOPT A RIGIDLY IMPARTIAL, NEUTRAL POSITION TOWARD THE THIRD WORLD (TO WHICH HE WOULD, IN FACT, OWE HIS SUPPORT FOR ELECTION) WOULD BE TO TURN HIS BACK ON THE ENTIRE SUM AND SUBSTANCE OF HIS SIX-YEAR CRUSADE ON BEHALF OF LDS'S. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT HE WOULD IN ANY REAL WAY DETACH HIMSELF FROM SUCH FAVORITE CAUSES AS CERDS, DISARMAMENT (AS PREACHED BY MEXICO), A RATHER VAGUE WORLD FOOD BANK PROPOSAL HE ADVANCED IN LATE 1974. IT IS SCARCELY LESS CREDIBLE THAT HE MIGHT SUDDENLY RISE ABOVE HIS ETERNAL POLEMICS AGAINST THE "RICH COUNTRIES" AS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE WORLD'S ILLS.

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E. ECHEVERRIA IN A CRISIS SITUATION (E.G., A FLARE-UP IN THE MIDEAST) IS NOT QUITE PREDICTABLE. THE NATURE
OF THE MAN WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO PLAY THE
ROLE OF THE CALM, DISINTERESTED AND IMPARTIAL MEDIATOR
WITHOUT INJECTING
HIS OWN RATHER EMOTIONAL VIEWS INTO ANY
GIVEN SITUATION. HIS "CRISIS QUOTIANT"VZANSKBLOF#
REACTION TO RELATIVELY MINOR MEXICAN EVENTS, IS NOT PARTI-
CULARLY REASSURING.

F. ECHEVERRIA'S WHOLE FORMATIVE BACKGROUND HAS
NOT LED HIM TO VIEW THE U.S. DISPASSIONATELY. LIKE MOST
MEXICANS, HE HAS CERTAIN DEFENSIVE REFLEXES TOWARD THE
U.S. IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT THESE REFLEXES WOULD
CEASE TO EXIST IN A NEW ROLE.

G. ON A MORE PROSAIC LEVEL, ECHEVERRIA MIGHT BE
EXPECTED TO TRAVEL WIDELY AS UN SECGEN. HE LOVES STATE
TRAVEL, AS PRESIDENT. WOULD HE REMEMBER THAT HE WAS
WEARING A NEW HAT, OR SIMPLY TAKE UP WHERE HE HAD LEFT
OFF?

H. FINALLY, IT IS TOO SOON TO EVALUATE ECHE-
VERRIA'S SUCCESSOR AS PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, BUT THERE IS
AT LEAST A CHANCE THAT THE SUCCESSOR MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT
LESS OF AN ACTIVIST ON BEHALF OF THE THIRD WORLD. HOW-
EVER, SHOULD ECHEVERRIA BECOME SECGEN OF THE UN, VIRTUALLY
ALL MEXICANS, INCLUDING THE NEW PRESIDENT, WOULD OUT OF
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NATIONAL PRIDE FEEL COMPELLED TO REFLECT THAT PRIDE BY
CONTINUING THE ECHEVERRIA ACTIVIST POLICIES IN INTERN-
TIONAL AFFAIRS. JOVA

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TO FOLLOW.
NOT PASSED USUN
MESSAGE DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

SECRET

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