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TO: ARA/ENDERS  
DCI/CASEY  
NSC/CLARK

FROM: NEGROPONTE *Jan*

SUBJECT: CONTADORA PROCESS: NEXT STEPS

~~SECRET~~ DECL: OADR

1. Wish to flag for you my cables TEGUCIGALPA 5165 and 5167 in regular channels and implications of Contadora process for special project.

2. As presently framed I believe instructions contained in STATE 141205 (SUBJECT: CONTADORA PROCESS: NEXT STEPS) may be incomplete. By focussing only on issue of Nicaraguan support for Salvadoran guerrillas we will likely evoke response from Contadora Group that they are prepared to look into this if GOH agrees to similar inspections. Such an approach could eventually lead to de facto acceptance of old French/Mexican proposal, i.e., control of borders and effectively shutting down our special project without dealing with broader sources of regional tension (e.g., Cuban advisors, offensive weapons, size of armies, etc.).

3. In TEGUCIGALPA 5165 we recommend a way of broadening instructions to encompass global and regional approach. Paragraph four contains some very specific recommendations in this regard.

4. Just spoke to Presidency Minister Carlos Flores again morning May twenty-one. He elaborated on OAS action envisaged by

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.  
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Honduras mentioned TEGUCIGALPA 5167. In effect, they also plan an OAS resolution in form of bill of particulars against Nicaragua. Purpose would be to demonstrate that Nicaragua is preparing an invasion of Honduras. Resolution would discuss Nicaragua's menacing deployments on Nicaragua's borders, etcetera; then it would proceed to incorporate Honduras' comprehensive regional peace plan.

5. Wish to reiterate concern that partial approach outlined STATE 141205 could over time backfire and detract from overall regional approach we favor. Are <sup>we</sup> falling prey to the Mexican/Nicaraguan salami slicer?

6. In connection with foregoing suggestions that we further broaden our approach, we recall NSPG decision to brief Contadora Group and others on Nicaraguan military buildup, foreign advisors, export of subversion, etcetera. We are not aware that this has taken place. Would not now be an excellent time to send top level briefing teams to make the rounds? In addition to Contadora Group, we would recommend briefing signers of San Jose Declaration and, now that they are in the act, selected members of the United Nations Security Council.

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Amb. Negroponte: kjl  
5-21-83

