

15
XR Pol



Department of State

TELEGRAM

34

8

CONFIDENTIAL 549

PAGE 01 MEXICO 05481 150316Z

22
ACTION GPM 04

INFO ARA 08, CU 04, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 100, 0
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, E 15, SIL 01, LAB 06, AGR 20,
HEW 07, AID 28, SR 01, /159 W

Mexico 5481
6/14/68

R 142309Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6679

C O N F I D E N T I A L MEXICO 5481 SECTION 1 OF 2

REF: STATE 170648 *reflect*

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

1. I HAVE MET WITH COUNTRY TEAM EXPANDED TO INCLUDE OTHER MEMBERS OF MY STAFF WHO MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO A DISCUSSION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THERE MAY BE PRESENT IN MEXICO TENDENCIES SIMILAR TO THOSE WHICH PROVOKED THE PRESENT CRISIS IN FRANCE. OUR CONCLUSIONS FOLLOW.

2. IN OUR JUDGMENT
(A) THERE ARE NOT NOW PRESENT IN MEXICO CONDITIONS SUCH AS APPEAR TO HAVE CAUSED THE FRENCH CRISIS, AND IT IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT SUCH CONDITIONS WILL RAPIDLY DEVELOP HERE TO CRITICAL PROPORTIONS, AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER 1970 WHEN PRESIDENT DIAZ ORDAZ' TERM ENDS, AND
(B) MEXICO FACES IN THE LONGER TERM A NUMBER OF EXTREMELY SERIOUS AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH IF UNRESOLVED WILL PROBABLY LEAD TO A CRITICAL SITUATION. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE NOW TO DETERMINE WHEN IN THE MEDIUM FUTURE SUCH SITUATION MIGHT COME TO A HEAD, BUT THE DEGREE OF EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION IN ITS MEASURES TO COPE WITH THESE PROBLEMS WILL BE A KEY FACTOR.

3. OUR CONCLUSION 2(A) ABOVE, RESTS ON THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS:
(A) THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OFFICIAL PARTY (PRI) MAINTAIN PERSUASIVE CONTACT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WITH THE PEOPLE WHICH

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY 65/A

2

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND969000
By CG NARA Date 10-1-03



Department of State

TELEGRAM

6

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MEXICO 05481 150316Z

SERVES NOT ONLY TO GIVE THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT A CONTINUING ASSESSMENT OF POPULAR FEELING BUT ALSO TO "SELL" TO THE PEOPLE GOVERNMENTAL DECISIONS AND POLICIES. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTY ARE REASONABLY SENSITIVE TO POPULAR DEMAND ON A WIDESPREAD OR NATIONAL SCALE. IN CONTRAST, THE OPPOSITION, PARTICULARLY THE OPPOSITION OF THE EXTREME LEFT, IS WEAK, BADLY DIVIDED AND WITHOUT ANYTHING APPROACHING THE GOVERNMENT'S RESOURCES FOR EITHER ASSESSING OR INFLUENCING POPULAR OPINION. FINALLY, WHILE THERE IS A TRADITION OF VIOLENCE IN MEXICO THAT MIGHT PERHAPS SOME DAY COME INTO PLAY ON A NATIONAL SCALE, THIS HAS BEEN MORE THAN BALANCED IN RECENT DECADES BY MEMORIES OF THE TERRIBLE COSTS OF THE EARLY REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD AND BY THE VISIBLE BENEFITS OF RELATIVE SOCIAL PEACE.

(B) STUDENT UNREST IS ENDEMIC AND UNPREDICTABLE IN MEXICO; IT MAY BREAK OUT ON A LARGE SCALE AT ANY TIME AND FOR ANY REASON. HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS DIVERSE MEANS OF GAUGING AND INFLUENCING STUDENT OPINION, AND IT HAS SHOWN ITSELF ABLE AND WILLING, WHEN UNREST EXCEEDS WHAT IT CONSIDERS ACCEPTABLE LIMITS, TO CRACK DOWN DECISIVELY, TO DATE WITH SALUTARY EFFECTS. FURTHERMORE, STUDENT DISORDERS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE WIDE PUBLICITY THEY RECEIVE, SIMPLY LACK THE MUSCLE TO CREATE A NATIONAL CRISIS UNLESS THE STUDENTS RECEIVE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FROM ONE OR MORE OF THE MASS SECTORS, I.E., ORGANIZED LABOR, THE URBAN POOR OR THE PEASANT SECTOR. TO DATE THE URBAN POOR HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY APATHETIC TO STUDENT AGITATION WHILE URBAN LABOR AND THE PEASANT SECTORS, MUCH OF WHICH ARE ORGANIZED IN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WITHIN THE PRI-GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE AND HENCE BELONG IN A SENSE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT, HAVE LIKEWISE BEEN EITHER APATHETIC OR HOSTILE TO STUDENT DISORDERS. THUS TO TAKE A MOST RECENT CASE, STUDENT DISORDERS IN VILLAHERMOSA DIRECTED AGAINST THE GOVERNOR OF TABASCO FAILED IN LARGE MEASURE BECAUSE OF ACTIVE PEASANT SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNOR.

(C) CONTROL OF THE MAJOR LABOR AND PEASANT ORGANIZATIONS AND, IN A LESS DISCIPLINED WAY, OF THE PROFESSIONAL - PUBLIC SERVANT - COMMERCIAL MIDDLE CLASS IS IN THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN ITS ENEMIES (AS WE JUDGE WAS THE CASE IN FRANCE), AND AT LEAST THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS CONSTITUTES PART OF THE ESTABLISHMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, THE MASS SECTORS WOULD BECOME A MAJOR THREAT TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRY ONLY IF THERE WERE LARGE-

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND969000

By CG NARA Date 10-1-03



Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MEXICO 05481 150316Z

SCALE DEFECTION OF THE LEADERSHIP FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WHICH IT FORMS A PART, OR WHOLESAL REVOLT OF THE RANK AND FILE AGAINST THE LEADERSHIP. OF THE FORMER, THERE IS PRESENTLY NO EVIDENCE; OF THE LATTER THERE APPEARS TO BE NOTHING MORE THAN A NORMAL AMOUNT OF GRUMBLING.

(D) THE OPPOSITION (PAN) PARTY HAS WON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN TWO AND POSSIBLY THREE STATE CAPITALS DURING THE PAST YEAR, BUT THESE VICTORIES SEEM TO REFLECT LOCAL POCKETS OF DISCONTENT ON THE PERIPHERY OF MEXICO RATHER THAN BROAD DISCONTENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON A NATIONAL SCALE. NOTWITHSTANDING SOME GRUMBLING AND SOME UNEASINESS REGARDING MEXICO'S LONGER TERM PROBLEMS, THE GENERAL MOOD AT PRESENT IS MORE OF PRIDE IN ACCOMPLISHMENT AND CONFIDENCE THAN OF FRUSTRATION.

(E) ALL EVIDENCE POINTS TO THE COMPLETE LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE SECURITY AGENCIES.

4. FOR THESE REASONS WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN MEXICO IS EXPLOSIVE AND WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION WILL DEVELOP WITHIN THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEAR TIME SPAN. HOWEVER, AS POINTED OUT IN 2(A) ABOVE, THERE ARE ALREADY VISIBLE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WHICH IS UNRESOLVED MIGHT WELL REACH CRITICAL PROPORTIONS WITHIN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. AMONG THESE PROBLEMS, THREE ARE CLOSELY RELATED TO MEXICO'S RAPID POPULATION EXPANSION:

(A) INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT,

(B) RAPIDLY EXPANDING URBAN POVERTY AREAS,

(C) THE LIMITS ON REASONABLY AVAILABLE, ARABLE LAND. OTHER PROBLEMS CAUSING THOUGHTFUL CONCERN RELATE TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LOT OF THE LANDLESS PEASANT AND POOR EJIDO SECTORS, FREEMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND969000

By CG NARA Date 10-1-03



XK Pal
Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 548

PAGE 01 MEXICO 05481 150255Z

19
ACTION GPM 04

INFO: ARA 08, NSA 02, CU 04, E 15, SIL 01, LAB 06, CIAE 00, DODE 00, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, HEW 07, AID 28,
AGR 20, SAH 02, RSR 01, /159 W

R 142309Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6687

C O N F I D E N T I A L MEXICO 5481 SECTION 2 OF 2

REF: STATE 170648

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

THE GRADUALLY WORSENING INCOME DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA, THE ADAPTABILITY OF THE PRI TO CHANGING POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS, ABILITY TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT HIGH RATE OF INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION AND TO COPE WITH THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY WITH REFERENCE TO SERVICING A RAPIDLY MOUNTING FOREIGN DEBT. FINALLY, THERS IS THE MUCH MORE INTANGIBLE PROBLEM WHICH EVEN THE MOST DEVELOPED SOCIETIES ARE STILL TRYING TO SOLVE, OF PROVIDING NEW MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES TO REPLACE THE TRADITIONAL VALUES WHICH SEEM TO BECOME CASUALTIES OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS ITSELF.

5. WHILE THE SHORT-TERM ASSESSMENT IS THUS OPTIMISTIC, THE EXISTENCE OF GATHERING CLOUDS IN THE DISTANCE ARGUES AGAINST COMPLACENCY. THE SITUATION MUST THUS BE KEPT UNDER CONTINUING STUDY AND ASSESSMENT. FREEMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND969000

By CG NARA Date 10-1-03