

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

2
82565

PAGE 01 USINT HAVANA 4409 DTG: 031200Z JUL 82 PSN: 051371
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MESSAGE:

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SECRET HAVANA 04409

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-2 & 3 7/2/92 (SMITH, WAYNE S.) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR CU US

SUBJECT: CUBAN INTEREST IN NEGOTIATIONS

REF: A) STATE 178652; B) HAVANA 4013; C) CFR OF MAY 26, 1982;

D) HAVANA 04408

1. S-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I HAVE NO WISH TO PROLONG TEDIOUS DEBATE, BUT I CANNOT BUT STATE THAT NOTHING IN REF A IN ANY WAY CAUSES ME TO ALTER THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN REF B. ON THE CONTRARY, I AM IMPRESSED ANEW BY THE INCONSISTENCY OF ANALYSIS ON WHICH THE DEPARTMENT'S ARGUMENT SEEMS TO BE BASED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CFR SUGGESTED CUBAN OFFERS TO NEGOTIATE WERE PROMPTED BY THE ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR AND REPRESENTED AN EFFORT TO REGAIN LOST MOMENTUM. REF A, HOWEVER, SAYS IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE SETBACK (?) IN THE ELECTIONS THAT THE CUBANS ARE DISCOURAGED RPT DISCOURAGED OVER THE PROSPECTS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

FOR THE KIND OF NEGOTIATIONS THEY WANTED. ONE PERCEPTION IS OF THE ELECTIONS AS A STIMULANT TO THE CUBAN NEGOTIATING TACTIC, THE OTHER AS A DISCOURAGEMENT. ONE IS LEFT TO WONDER WHICH VIEW THE DEPT REALLY HOLDS.

3. I CANNOT SPEAK TO THE ATTITUDES OF THE SANDINISTAS AND THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS. I CAN SAY THAT THE CUBANS HAVE INDEED COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SITUATION IS SHIFTING IN FAVOR OF THE GUERRILLAS. GRANTED, THEY UNDERSTOOD THE LARGE VOTER TURN-OUT TO HAVE BEEN A SIGNIFICANT SETBACK. SUBSEQUENTLY, HOWEVER, ACTIONS OF THE NEW RIGHT-WING GOVERNMENT HAVE SUGGESTED TO THE CUBANS THAT THE FORMER WILL INEXORABLY LOSE POPULAR SUPPORT, THUS CAUSING THE BALANCE TO SWING IN FAVOR OF THE GUERRILLAS. THEY HAVE BEEN FURTHER ENCOURAGED BY RECENT RESUMPTION OF SIGNIFICANT GUERRILLA

ACTIVITY AND BY DAMAGE TO US POSITION RESULTING FROM THE FALKLANDS CRISIS. THIS VIEW IS NOT RESTRICTED TO THE CUBANS. WHATEVER MAY BE THE VIEWS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS, SEVERAL WESTERN EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS HAVE EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT IN THE WAKE OF THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS, THE US IS IN A BLIND ALLEY WITH AN ALBATROSS FOR A PARTNER. THIS VIEW MAY (OR MAY NOT) PROVE TO BE SKEWED, BUT IF EVEN SOME OF OUR ALLIES ACCEPT IT, THERE IS NO REASON TO DOUBT THE CUBANS DO.

4. AND AS FOR KEEPING THE HEAT ON, WE HAVE KEPT IT ON FOR OVER 20 YEARS, TO NO AVAIL. THE CUBANS HAVE SEEN IT ALL BEFORE AND ARE NO MORE LIKELY TO RESPOND NOW THAN PREVIOUSLY. WE MAY WELL BE INVOLVED IN A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. HAVING SAID OFTEN ENOUGH THAT THE CUBANS ARE NOT WILLING TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY, WE MAY SOON REACH (OR ALREADY HAVE REACHED) THE POINT AT WHICH THEY INDEED WILL NOT BE WILLING TO DO SO.

5. WE OBVIOUSLY PROCEED FROM TOTALLY INCOMPATIBLE PERCEPTIONS OF CUBAN REALITY. YOU REMAIN CONVINCED THE ARGUMENT PRESENTED IN CFR IS VALID. I REMAIN CONVINCED IT IS TRAGICALLY MISTAKEN. REF A HAS DONE NOTHING SO MUCH AS TO RAISE NEW DOUBTS IN MY MIND CONCERNING THE SERIOUSNESS OF ANALYSIS ON WHICH OUR WHOLE CENTRAL AMERICAN APPROACH IS BASED. IN ANY EVENT, THERE IS CLEARLY NO POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION OF MY VIEWS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

AND THOSE PUT FORWARD BY THE DEPARTMENT. I HAVE THEREFORE ADVISED THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS THE SITUATION IN WHICH I BELIEVE THAT LEAVS US--OR, MORE CORRECTLY, LEAVES ME.
SMITH

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