

# NATIONAL ARCHIVES

## IRELAND



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Ms O' Sullivan.

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Pl cc'd Mr Ryan

Mr Bunnell

DATE 2/3/84 1810

URGENT

Mr Waffter

INITIALS.....

~~Mr [unclear]~~

Mr Sheehan (Anglo Irish)

Mr O'Sullivan to see pl.

C132

Mr McCabe

Mr Moran

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON  
FOR PSS FROM SHARKEY.

Mr Brumpton

Mr Redden

Ms Bell

M Dugdale p/m 8/8/84  
+ 8/4/84

MMHUYGT

CW 11/4/84

MEETING BETWEEN TAOISEACH, DR GARRET FITZGERALD AND U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ: 16TH MARCH 1984, WASHINGTON DC.

-S 13/4

PART 1.

\*MR. JAMES SHARKEY, COUNSELLOR, EMBASSY OF IRELAND, WASHINGTON

ATTENDING THE MEETING ON THE IRISH SIDE WERE AMBASSADOR O'SULLIVAN, MR DERMOT NALLY, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT; MR SEAN DONLON, SECRETARY OF DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE OFFICIAL LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WERE, IN ADDITION TO AMBASSADOR KANE, MR RICHARD BURT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS; MR MARTIN WEYNICK, DIRECTOR NORTHERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AND MR MIKE BARRY, IRISH DESK OFFICER.

IN WELCOMING THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMBASSADORS RESIDENCE THE TAOISEACH INDICATED THAT THEY MIGHT DISCUSS A NUMBER OF TOPICS AND THAT THEY MIGHT NOT DWELL FOR TOO LONG ON NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE, HE KNEW, WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. IN SO FAR AS NORTHERN IRELAND WAS CONCERNED.

THE TAOISEACH WAS HOPEFUL THAT THE FORUM WOULD REACH AGREEMENT WITHIN A MONTH AND THAT ON THE BASIS OF THAT AGREEMENT THEY WOULD RECEIVE A GOOD RESPONSE FROM THE BRITISH. THERE WAS CERTAINLY A DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH TO RESPOND CONSTRUCTIVALLY. THEY SHARED THE SAME OBJECTIVE OF PEACE AND STABILITY HELD BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, BUT THEY HAVE HAD A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE AND A DIFFERENT SENSE OF THE PRIORITIES. ON THE GROUND, THE BRITISH SOUGHT TO AVOID TAKING DECISIONS WHICH THEY FELT MIGHT RISK MAKING MATTERS WORSE.

SHULTZ INTERJECTED TO SAY THAT THIS WAS A GOOD PHYSICIANS RULE - AVOID ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT MAKE THE PATIENT WORSE.

THE TAOISEACH AGREED WITH THIS AS A GENERAL RULE BUT SUGGESTED THAT ONE HAD TO DEAL WITH THE MALAISE AS A WHOLE AND NOT JUST INDIVIDUAL SYMPTOMS. PREVIOUS POLICIES HAD IN FACT HELPED CREATE A NEW PROBLEM VIZ THE INCREASING ALIENATION OF A SUBSTANTIAL SECTION OF MINORITY OPINION EXPRESSED IN THEIR SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN. IF SINN FEIN WERE TO EMERGE AS THE MAJOR REPRESENTATIVE OF CATHOLIC CONCERNS, A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION WOULD BE CREATED AND NEITHER IN IRELAND OR IN BRITAIN IS THERE ANY CLEAR IDEA AS TO HOW ONE WOULD COPE WITH THAT PROBLEM.



A MAJOR OBJECTIVE HAS TO BE THAT OF BRINGING THE MINORITY BACK INTO ACCEPTANCE OF A SYSTEM OF AUTHORITY AND SECURITY. THE NEED, THEREFORE, WAS FOR THE BRITISH TO MOVE FAR ENOUGH FORWARD TO ENCOURAGE THAT WITHOUT PRECIPITATING A DETERIORATION ON THE MAJORITY SIDE. THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE TO JUDGE THAT BALANCE TOGETHER AND ON THE FINE DETAIL OF THEIR ASSESSMENT THERE MIGHT BE DIVERGENCES OF VIEW.

ASKED ABOUT HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS THATCHER, THE TAOISEACH INDICATED THAT THEY WERE A LOT BETTER THAN MOST PEOPLE COULD GUESS AND HE RECALLED THE HISTORY OF THESE CONTACTS BEGINNING WITH THEIR FIRST MEETING IN 1975.

IN THIS CONNECTION SHULTZ INTERVENED TO COMMENT ON THE FALKLANDS, ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND ASPECTS OF MRS THATCHER'S PERSONALITY. "SHE CAN GET MAD AT YOU, EVEN IF YOU'RE HELPING" HE SAID.

THE TAOISEACH MENTIONED THAT THE FALKLANDS CRISIS HAD RESURECTED PASSIONS IN BRITAIN WHICH HE HAD THOUGHT PREVIOUSLY HE WOULD NEVER SEE AGAIN. PART OF THE PROBLEM HAD BEEN IRRESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION WHICH HAD LIMITED HER ROOM FOR MANOUVRE.

SHULTZ SUGGESTED THAT THE FALKLANDS CRISIS CONFIRMED THAT IT NEVER PAYS TO PURSUE AN ACTIVE DIPLOMACY WHILE WEAKENING DEFENCE CAPABILITY. THAT WAS THE LESSON OF WORLD WAR II AND KOREA.

THE TAOISEACH MADE THE POINT THAT A MAJOR PART OF THE PROBLEM WAS INEPT DIPLOMACY. THE ARGENTINIANS HAD BEEN LED ALONG TO EXPECT CONCESSIONS BUT INSTEAD HAD SUFFERED A MAJOR REBUFF.

THE CRISIS HAD LED TO A WORSENING OF ANTI-IRISH FEELING. ITS IMPACT HAD BEEN LIKE A BOMB - BLAST (THOUGH AS IT TURNED OUT THE HARRODS BOMBING OF LAST DECEMBER FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS HAD HAD NO REAL COUNTER PRODUCTIVE CONSEQUENCE FOR IRELAND IN BRITISH "PUBLIC OPINION.")

THE FACT THAT AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION HE HAD TAKEN A PARTICULAR STAND ON THE FALKLANDS MADE IT EASIER FOR HIM AS TAOISEACH TO MOVE TO A POSITION OF "BUSINESS AS USUAL" WITH MRS THATCHER ON THE PROBLEMS THEY SHARED. THROUGH CONTACTS BOTH EN MERGE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND AT CHECKERS THE TAOISEACH AND MRS THATCHER HAD BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH A "GOOD DEAL OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE".

ON THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AGENDA, SHULTZ PROPOSED THAT THEY MIGHT DWELL ESSENTIALLY ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND ON THIS OCCASION LEAVE ASIDE THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH WAS, ADMITTEDLY, A CRUCIAL ISSUE AND ONE TO WHICH THE SECRETARY DEVOTED ONE-THIRD OF HIS TIME.

THE BASIS OF U.S. POLICY WITH THE SOVIET UNION REMAINED THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH OF JANUARY 1984. THE FIRST CONCERN WAS TO BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS AND TO ENSURE THAT EVERYONE ELSE WAS REALISTIC AS WELL. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO DESCRIBE THE RELATIONSHIP AS IT IS AND NOT TO ENGAGE IN WISHFUL THINKING.

IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT TO BE STRONG IN FACING THIS MAJOR ADVERSARY. THE U.S. MUST APPROACH ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH AND THE PRESIDENT HAD WORKED HARD IN RE-ESTABLISHING AMERICAN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND IN GENERATING "A SENSE OF PURPOSEFULNESS AND BELIEF IN OURSELVES" ON THE PART OF U.S. PUBLIC OPINION.



FINALLY, IT WAS IMPORTANT ALWAYS TO BE READY FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE AND IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THIS CONCERN BE MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS AT ALL TIMES. THE ACENDA WITH THE SOVIETS COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES: ARMS CONTROL, ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, REGIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS. ON THIS SCORE, THERE IS IN FACT A GOOD DEAL GOING ON THAT IS NOT PUBLICISED. THE PRESIDENT WORKS AT AND SUPPORTS THIS EFFORT AT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE.

IN SO FAR AS THE ISSUE OF 'STRENGTH' WAS CONCERNED, IT HAD TO BE REMEMBERED THAT THE STRENGTH OF ONE NATION VIZ A VIZ ANOTHER IS ALWAYS RELATIVE. THE U.S. HAS A CONSIDERABLE TECHNOLOGICAL LEAD OVER THE USSR. HOWEVER, IN A NUMBER OF FIELDS (EG TITANIUM PRODUCTION AND IN STRATEGIC MINERAL RESERVES) THE SOVIETS WERE VERY STRONG.

ON THE TECHNOLOGY SIDE, IT HAD TO BE REMEMBERED AS WELL THAT THERE WAS A LARGE PROBLEM OF TECHNOLOGICAL ESPIONAGE. THE SUCCESSSES THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD THROUGH ESPIONAGE HAVE BEEN TO THE BENEFIT OF THEIR MISSILE PROGRAMME. THE U.S. HAD TO PAY A LOT OF ATTENTION TO THIS PROBLEM.

SHULTZ INDICATED THAT HE CALLED THIS PROBLEM TO OUR ATTENTION BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE THE U.S. ATTACHED TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH IRELAND. HE ALSO MENTIONED IT BECAUSE U.S. ECONOMIC INVESTMENT IN THE IRISH HIGH TECHNOLOGY SECTOR WAS SOMETHING WHICH DR FITZGERALD HAD EMPHASISED DURING HIS VISIT. HE HOPED THEREFORE THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER HOW BEST TO ARRANGE MATTERS IN IRELAND SO THAT THIS TECHNOLOGY COULD NOT BE A SOURCE OF ESPIONAGE.

IN SUMING UP SHULTZ REAFFIRMED THAT THE U.S. WORKS HARD AT PRODUCING A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIETS BUT IT ALSO BELIEVES THAT IT MUST LOOK TO ITS OVERALLR BASIC STRENGTH. TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS WERE A PART OF THE OVERALL CALCULATION.



THE TAOISEACH ASSURED MR SHULTZ OF THE FULLEST IRISH COOPERATION IN THIS MATTER. IRELAND ALREADY STRICTLY ADHERED TO THE U.S. LIST OF STRATEGIC PRODUCTS WHICH WAS IN FACT THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF SUCH PRODUCTS EMBARGOED FOR TRANSFER TO EASTERN EUROPE. THE TAOISEACH RECALLED HIS OWN PERSONAL INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF THE U.S. AUTHORITIES ON AN OCCASION WHERE U.S.-BASED SUPPLIERS WERE ATTEMPTING TO CIRCUMVENT U.S. REGULATIONS BY SEEKING TRANSIT THROUGH SHANNON TO VIENNA. THE TAOISEACH ALSO POINTED OUT THAT IRELAND WAS THE SECONDLAST COUNTRY IN THE (OECD) WESTERN GROUP TO ESTABLISH FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND AS A CONSEQUENCE WE WERE ABLE TO LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS IN ESTABLISHING CRITERIA FOR THE SOVIET MISSION IN DUBLIN. THE TAOISEACH THEN OUTLINED THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND CONTROL WHICH APPLIED IN DUBLIN AND WHICH HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED DESPITE THE ANNOYANCE OF GROMYKO AND HAS BEEN MAINTAINED DESPITE PRESSURES SINCE THEN. THE TAOISEACH ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE NUMBERS OF THE AEROFLOT ESTABLISHMENT IN SHANNON WERE RELATIVELY SMALL. WE WERE AWARE OF THE POTENTIALITIES BUT IN THIS CASE ALSO CONTROLS WERE MANAGEABLE. THE TAOISEACH ALSO DREW ATTENTION TO THE RECENT EXPULSION FROM IRELAND OF THREE MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET MISSION IN DUBLIN.

SHULTZ INDICATED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THESE MEASURES IN RAISING THE POINTS HE HAD NOT INTENDED TO BE CRITICAL.

THE TAOISEACH UNDERSTOOD THIS AND AGAIN AFFIRMED THAT IF THERE WAS ANY PARTICULAR ISSUE THE AMERICANS HAD IN MIND, THEY SHOULD LET US KNOW. THE TAOISEACH ALSO EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR SCHULTZ'S COMMENTS ON U.S.-SOVIET POLICY AND IN PARTICULAR HIS REFERENCE TO THE THIRD ARM OF THAT POLICY VIZ THE OPENNESS TO A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE USSR.

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TO BE CONTINUED.....

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CONTINUATION OF C132

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON  
FOR PSS FROM SHARKEY

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PART 11.

AFTER SOME BRIEF CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, SECRETARY SHULTZ REFERRED TO THE PROBLEMS OF CENTRAL AMERICA. THIS WAS A REGION CLOSE GEOGRAPHICALLY TO THE U.S., CLOSE STRATEGICALLY TO CRUCIAL U.S. TRADE ROUTES, AND BORDERING ON MEXICO THE HEAVILY POPULATED U.S. NEIGHBOR TO THE SOUTH WHICH WAS THE SOURCE OF SUBSTANTIAL IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES. AMERICANS THEREFORE RECOGNISE CENTRAL AMERICA AS AN AREA OF VITAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE U.S.

IT IS AN AREA OF LIMITED ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC ACHIEVEMENT, FROM WHICH COSTA RICA STOOD OUT AS A SHINING JEWEL. OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION HAD SUFFERED LONG YEARS OF RULE "BY OLIGARCHIES WITH MILITARY ADJUNCTS" WITH A RECORD OF BRUTALITY, STIFLED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INADEQUATE DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL WEALTH. THIS HAD CREATED A PROPENSITY FOR REVOLT. THE U.S. TELLY PERCEIVED THE ROOTS OF THE EXISTING VIOLENCE.

THE US HAD PRESSED FOR CHANGE, FOR POLITICAL REFORM, FOR DEMOCRACY, THE RULE OF LAW AND FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EQUITABLY SHARED. HONDURAS HAD MADE A LOT OF HEADWAY IN DEVELOPING A DEMOCRACY WHICH IS TAKING HOLD ALTHOUGH THE COUNTRY IS VERY POOR. EL SALVADOR IS MOVING TOWARDS DEMOCRACY THEY ALREADY HAVE HAD ONE ELECTION -- AND THEY FACE ANOTHER. IN ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, EL SALVADOR WAS VERY POOR: THE CHANGES IN LAND HOLDING SHOWED THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEANINGFUL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH EXISTED.

AS FOR NICARAGUA, THE U.S. HAD BEEN PART OF THE OAS CALL ON SOMOZA TO QUIT THE COUNTRY. THE SANDINISTAS FOR THEIR PART HAD PLEDGED TO SPONSOR CHANGE AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN NICARAGUA. THEY INITIALLY RECEIVED U.S. SUPPORT AND AID BUT "THEY STOLE AWAY A REVOLUTION." THOSE CLOSE TO THE US AND THOSE WHO FAVOURED PLURALISM WERE PUSHED OUT OR DROPPED AWAY. THE GROUP WHO NOW HOLD CONTROL HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THEY WISH TO PROCEED ON A MARXIST-CUBAN MODEL. THEY HAVE BUILT-UP STOCKPILES OF WEAPONS AND ENVISION A REVOLUTION



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THROUGH THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE REBELLION IN EL SALVADOR, THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SANDINISTAS HAD BEEN TO HELP DAMAGE A MAJOR PART OF EL SALVADOR'S INFRASTRUCTURE. THE IRONIC TWIST WAS THAT MANY OF THE SALVADORAN BENEFICIARIES OF THE LAND GRANTS WERE UNABLE TO PLANT THEIR CROPS BECAUSE OF THE TURMOIL. THE US HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO HELP IN PROVIDING A SECURITY SHIELD FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN EL SALVADOR. THE US ALSO KEPT "POUNING AWAY" ON THE SALVADORANS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES SUCH AS THE DEATH SQUADS. WITHOUT PREJUDGING, THE US HAS BEEN PRESSING TO ENSURE THAT THOSE "WHO ARE KNOWN TO HAVE COMMITTED MURDER ARE BROUGHT TO TRIAL."

THE PRESIDENT HAD ALSO BEEN SEEKING A GENUINE BI-PARTISANSHIP ON CENTRAL AMERICA. THE KISSINGER COMMISSION HAD INCLUDED LANE KIRKLAND, BOB STRAUSS (FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE DNC) AND THE MAYOR OF SAN ANTONIO, ALL OF WHOM WERE STRONGLY PARTISAN DEMOCRATS. PRESIDENT REAGAN FELT CERTAIN THAT THE WAY AHEAD FOR THE UNITED STATES ON CENTRAL AMERICA WAS THROUGH BIPARTISAN ENDEAVOUR RATHER THAN DIVISION.

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE TAOISEACH ON THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR, SHULTZ INDICATED THAT OUT OF THE SIX PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, DUARTE AND D'AUBISSON WERE THE STRONGEST. NEITHER WILL HAVE THE REQUIRED CLEAR MAJORITY ALTHOUGH DUARTE WILL HAVE A PLURALITY, WITH D'AUBISSON COMING IN SECOND. THERE WOULD THEREFORE BE A TWO PERSON RUN-OFF BETWEEN DUARTE AND D'AUBISSON IN APRIL. THE GENERAL EXPECTATION IS THAT DUARTE WOULD BE THE WINNER. D'AUBISSON HAS ACCUSED THE AMERICANS OF ASSISTING THAT OUTCOME BY REFUSING HIM A VISA TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES. THE REVERSE SIDE OF COURSE IS THAT D'AUBISSON CAN GET SOME CREDIT AS A CANDIDATE. "WHO REFUSES TO BUCKLE IN UNDER THE YANKEES."  
VCFWP



THERE WILL BE 280 POLLING POINTS BUT IN ABOUT 1/4 OF ALL DISTRICTS POLLING WILL BE DIFFICULT OR IMPOSSIBLE. THE GUERRILLAS WILL TRY SOMETHING: THEY WISH TO DIMINISH THE IMPACT OF THE ELECTION RESULTS.

THE TAOISEACH REMARKED THAT GIVEN THE THREATS AND THE PRESSURES WHICH EXIST IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO HAVE FREE ELECTIONS. SHULTZ AGREED THAT THERE WERE PRESSURES BUT EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE IN THE AMERICAN VIEW OF MAINTAINING PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY.

THE TAOISEACH RECALLED THAT THERE WERE ALLEGATIONS OF MILITARY INTERFERENCE IN THE LAST ELECTIONS: HE REASONABLY FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT THAT THERE WAS NO INTERFERENCE GIVEN THE LARGE VOTE FOR D'AUBISSON BY A DEPRIVED PEASANTRY.

SHULTZ DID NOT DISSENT BUT SAID THAT THIS TIME INTERFERENCE WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT. THE MILITARY HAVE CLEARLY DISTANCED THEMSELVES FROM THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. SHULTZ ALSO POINTED OUT THAT NO MATTER WHAT WE MAY THINK OF HIM D'AUBISSON IS A CHARISMATIC FIGURE. TO SEE HIM AND TALK TO HIM YOU WOULD NOT PERCEIVE HIM AS A VILLAIN. "HE IS NO DOUBT A ROGUE BUT HE IS A ROGUE WHO HAS A WAY WITH HIM".

THE TAOISEACH ASKED ABOUT THE POSITION OF THE EL SALVADORAN MILITARY: THERE WERE REPORTS THAT THEY WERE IN DIFFICULTY. SHULTZ ACCEPTED THAT THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES - THERE WAS ALWAYS A PROBLEM IN KEEPING IT IN SHAPE. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE INEVITABLE FLUCTUATIONS, THE MILITARY BALANCE WAS CLEARLY IN FAVOUR OF THE ARMY. THE GUERRILLAS HAD BEEN UNABLE TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES ANYWHERE ON A PERMANENT BASIS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ARMY HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO DEFEAT THEM AND THE GUERRILLAS WERE ALWAYS CAPABLE OF SPECTACULARS. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTICULAR UNITS WAS INCREASING.



THE QUESTION OF EFFECTIVENESS OR THE LACK OF IT BEGINS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE MASSACRE OF THE FOUR MERY KNOLL NUNS CREATED A "TERRIBLE AMBIVALENCE" IN THE HEART OF THE CONGRESS. FUNDING FOR THE EL SALVADORAN ARMY WAS UNDER CONSTANT CHALLENGE CREATING AN UNCERTAINTY ON THE PART OF THE EL SALVADORAN MILITARY THEMSELVES. THEIR WORRY WAS THAT THEY MIGHT RUN OUT OF AMMUNITION AFTER A MONTH. SHOULD THEY THEREFORE OPERATE IN OR CLOSE TO BARRACKS AT THE MOST MINIMUM LEVEL OF ACTIVITY? OR SHOULD THEY GO OUT AND FACE THE GUERRILLAS CHALLENGE FULL ON, ALWAYS UNCERTAIN BECAUSE OF THE PREVARICATION OF CONGRESS ABOUT CONTINUITY OF SUPPLY?

THE PERCENTAGE OF THE WOUNDED WHO DIE IN EL SALVADOR IS VERY HIGH AND UNNECESSARILY SO. IF THEY HAD THE SUPPORT OF "MEDIVAC 'COPTERS'" AND FIELD HOSPITALS, THE RATE OF MORTALITY COULD BE CUT DRASTICALLY.

THE TAOISEACH RECALLED THAT HIS PARTY WAS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL GROUPING OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. HE (AND OTHER EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS) HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH DUARTE AND HAVE TRIED TO HELP HIM. HIS STANDING WITH PUBLIC OPINION WAS DAMAGED DUE TO THE FACT THAT HE STAYED WITH THE JUNTA WHEN EVERYONE ELSE FELT OBLIGED TO DISTANCE THEMSELVES FROM THE MILITARY.

PUBLIC OPINION IN IRELAND WAS TREMENDOUSLY EXERCISED ON THE ISSUE. THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO HAD BROUGHT ALMOST UNANIMOUS CONDEMNATION OF RIGHT WING EXCESSES AND THERE WAS LITTLE TOLERANCE FOR THE MILITARY. SHULTZ, REFERRING AGAIN TO THE FORTHCOMING SALVADOREAN ELECTIONS, INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT GERMANY AND THE UK WOULD BE SENDING OBSERVERS BUT THAT HE UNDERSTOOD FRANCE WOULDN'T. THE TAOISEACH ALSO UNDERSTOOD THIS TO BE THE FRENCH POSITION. AS FOR IRELAND, HE FELT WE WOULD NOT BE SENDING OBSERVERS ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE SMALLER EUROPEAN MEMBERS SUCH AS THE NETHERLANDS WOULD (?).

AT THIS STAGE, SHULTZ ASKED PERMISSION TO MOVE ON TO EURO-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND BEGAN BY EXPRESSING UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL INTEREST. HE ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT IT WAS AN AMERICAN INTEREST TO SEE AS COHESIVE A COMMUNITY AS POSSIBLE. THE US DID, HOWEVER, WORRY ABOUT EUROPEAN SOLUTIONS AT THE AMERICAN EXPENSE.

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THERE HAD BEEN TALK ON THE ISSUE OF CORN GLUTEN. THIS WAS A "FIGHTING ISSUE" FOR THE US IF THE COMMUNITY WERE TO MOVE AGAINST IT. THE PRESIDENT HAD WORKED VERY HARD TO PREVENT PROTECTIONISM. THE WINE EQUITY BILL WAS AN EXAMPLE. GIVEN THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS FROM CALIFORNIA, THE ISSUE OBVIOUSLY INVOLVED FOR HIM "A CLOSE CALL" - BUT HE HAD COME OUT AND OPPOSED THE BILL. FURTHERMORE, THE PRESIDENT REMAINS DETERMINED TO FIGHT THE PROTECTIONIST MOOD WHICH IS STRONG IN THE US. IF THE EUROPEANS MOVE ON CORN GLUTEN -- IT COULD BE AN "EXPLOSIVE" ISSUE.

THE TAOISEACH INDICATED THAT THERE WAS A LOT OF MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE CORN GLUTEN PROBLEM: WHAT WAS INVOLVED WAS SIMPLY THE INITIATION OF A GATT PROCEDURE AND THE BEGINNING OF A LONG-TERM PROCESS. SHULTZ MADE THE POINT AT THIS STAGE THAT "IT WAS A SIGNAL."

THE TAOISEACH REPEATED THAT WHAT WAS INVOLVED WAS ONLY THE INITIATION OF THE PROCEDURE: WE UNDERSTOOD THE PRESSURES THAT CAN GROW UP IN AN ELECTION YEAR. BUT IRELAND WOULD HAVE THE PRESIDENCY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR AND WE WOULD OF COURSE SEEK TO BE HELPFUL WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE POSITION WHICH THEN APPLIED. SHULTZ SAID THAT HIS WORRY WAS THAT ONCE YOU START AN ACTION, YOU TRIGGER ANOTHER REACTION.

THE TAOISEACH SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THAT WE IN IRELAND HAVE AN INTEREST WHICH IS THE OPPOSITE OF THE AMERICAN IN THIS MATTER. BUT OUR EEC PRESIDENCY WOULD ENABLE US TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOME OF THE IMMEDIATE PRESSURES WHICH AROSE HERE.

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AT THE CONCLUSION, THE SECRETARY OF STATE WISHED THE TAOISEACH EVERY SUCCESS WITH THE REMAINDER OF THE VISIT AND CONGRATULATED HIM ON THE SUCCESS OF THE VISIT TO-DATE.

SB.  
END OF MESSAGE