



10 DOWNING STREET

April 23, 1982.

Prime Minister. re PANONAMA.

- ① You may not have seen this Poll Summary on Falklands.
- ② Your Courage, Conviction and Principles are not in doubt! But Caution, Wisdom, warning of the difficulty ahead, rather than War-like and Jingoism. If you win an easy victory, with or without Military Engagement, you can't lose. But if things get tough, you must not be seen to have underestimated the problem.

DW.

MORI put to respondents a range of possible government reactions to the Falkland Islands situation. They found:-

Should Britain take/have taken the following measures over the Falkland Islands Situation

	<u>Percentage saying Yes</u>
Ban Argentinian imports into Britain	84
Send the naval task force to the Falklands	83
Freeze Argentinian assets in British banks	82
Sever diplomatic relations with Argentina	71
Land troops on the Falklands	67
Sink Argentinian ships in Falkland waters	52
Allow UN to take over administration of the Falklands	45
Bomb Argentinian military and naval bases	28
Land troops/invoke the Argentinian mainland	21

When the idea of 'the islands becoming Argentinian territory but leased back to the British Government for administration' was put to respondents only 26% were in favour and 63% against. However when the idea that 'retaining British sovereignty over the islands is important enough to justify the loss of British servicemen's lives', 49% said no and 44% yes. When asked whether retaining sovereignty justified the possible loss of Falkland Islanders' lives, say in a forced landing, 55% felt sovereignty was not that full.

58% claimed that the issue of our sovereignty over the Falklands is 'important enough to pay increased taxes to maintain military and naval forces to protect them', 36% that it is not that important.

MORI asked respondents what they thought the outcome of the crisis would be - only 6% expected defeat, 50% expected hostilities to be necessary for re-occupation and 20% expected the islands to be returned without a fight.

(c) Gallup (Sunday Telegraph 18th April 1982)

The Sunday Telegraph on 18th April included the results of a Gallup poll conducted from 10th to 13th April on attitudes to the Falkland Islands dispute. Gallup asked 'The Government have been criticised for being caught off-guard by the Argentinian invasion of the Falkland Islands. Do you think this criticism is justified or not?' 78% thought the criticism is justified (including 74% of Conservative supporters, 77% of Labour supporters, 82% of Liberal supporters and 86% of SDP supporters), 14% not justified and 8% did not have a view.

78% of respondents approved of the decision to send a British fleet to the Falklands, 16% disapproved and 6% did not have a view.

When asked about their attitudes in general to the Government's handling of the Falkland Islands crisis 67% approved of the Government's handling, 24% disapproved and 9% did not have a view.

Gallup put to respondents some options with regard to our actions over the Falkland Islands. They found 61% approving of 'attacking the Argentine ships and troops guarding the Falkland Islands' - 32% disapproved and 7% did not have a view. 68% disapproved of the idea of attacking mainland Argentina - 24% approved and 8% did not have a view. 86% approved of the idea of cutting off all trade with Argentina - 9% disapproved and 5% did not have a view.

4. Published Polls(a) Gallup (Daily Telegraph 15th April 1982)

The Daily Telegraph on 15th April 1982, in addition to the results of our 'tracking' study also included the results of a number of other questions.

Gallup included the results of the standard question on what electors regard as the most urgent problems facing the country. They found:-

	<u>Top Issue</u>	<u>Top Two Issues</u>
	%	%
Unemployment	47	74
International affairs - the Falklands	27	38
Cost of living	8	25
Defence	3	8

Not since November 1961, following the isolation of Berlin by the Wall has international affairs featured so high in terms of importance.

Gallup asked respondents whether they saw the various parties as being united or divided - they found:-

	<u>United</u>	<u>Divided</u>	<u>No Answer/Don't know</u>
Labour (%)	9	87	5
Conservative (%)	43	49	9
Liberals & Social Democrats (%)	47	31	23

When asked who they thought would be the best leader of the Social Democrats - 38% selected Roy Jenkins, 26% Shirley Williams, 19% David Owen and 2% William Rodgers.

When asked who they thought would make the best leader of the Alliance between the Social Democrats and the Liberals, 35% selected David Steel, 27% Roy Jenkins, 13% Shirley Williams, 8% David Owen and 1% William Rodgers.

(b) MORI (The Economist 17th April 1982)

The Economist on 17th April 1982 included the results of an MORI opinion poll conducted on April 14th on attitudes to the Falkland Islands crisis.

MORI asked 'Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the Labour Party is responding to the Government's handling of the situation in the Falkland Islands?' MORI found 40% claiming to be satisfied, 39% dissatisfied and 21% with no view.

They also asked 'Do you think Mrs Thatcher should resign as Prime Minister over the situation in the Falkland Islands or not?' - 62% thought she should not resign, 34% should resign and 4% did not know.

On the question of sovereignty, MORI asked respondents 'How much do you personally care whether Britain regains sovereignty over the Falkland Islands or not?' They found 51% claiming to 'care very much', 32% 'care a little', 14% 'don't care at all' and 3% did not have a view.