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 IE RUEHLA #6046 1091630
 ZNY SSSSS ZZH
 Z 191620Z APR 82 ZFF-6 CK
 FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BUENOS AIRES
 TO RUHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH
 RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6725
 RUEADWW/THE WHITE HOUSE FLASH
 ET

19 APR 82
 TOR 1743
 CN: 42215
 CHARGE STA

ACTION: DCM 5 - 2D. JG

S E C R E T USDEL SECRETARY IN BUENOS AIRES 6046

NODIS

F.O. 12065: RDS-3 4/19/12
 TAGS: OVIP (HAIG ALEXANDER M.)
 SUBJECT: LETTER TO PYM

1. SECRET-ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DEAR FRANCIS
3. HERE AS YOU SUGGEST IN YOUR LATEST MESSAGE IS THE CURRENT TEXT, ALONG WITH OUR GLOSS ON WHAT IT MEANS. COSTA MENDEZ HAS GIVEN ME A LETTER SAYING THAT ARGENTINA COULD ACCEPT IT IF THE U.S. PROPOSES IT, AND BRITAIN ACCEPTS.
4. 4. MY OWN DISAPPOINT WITH THIS TEXT PREVENTS ME FROM FROM ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE YOU IN ANY WAY. AS YOU WILL SEE, THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT STEPS BACK FROM THE TEXT YOU AND I DISCUSSED IN LONDON IN EACH OF THE AREAS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE: THE LONGTERM NEGOTIATIONS, THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION, AND WITHDRAWAL.
5. WHAT HAS BEEN SECURED IN EACH CASE IS BRITISH CONTROL. YOU WOULD UNDERTAKE TO NEGOTIATE AND CONCLUDE A LONG TERM AGREEMENT, BUT YOUR PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS ARGENTINE PRINCIPLES ARE ASSERTED, AND THERE IS NOTHING IN THE AGREEMENT (AS THE ARGENTINES KEEP REMINDING US) THAT FORCES YOU TO ACCEPT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT YOU DON'T WANT.
6. THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION IS LESS ADVANTAGEOUS THAN IT WAS. YET HERE AGAIN THE ESSENTIAL IS SAVED. THE LOCAL COUNCILS REMAIN SOVEREIGN. RECOMMENDATIONS TO YOU ON MORE INTERCOURSE WITH THE MAINLAND REQUIRES A QUICK RESPONSE. BUT CAN BE TURNED DOWN. IF THE TEMPORARY ADMINISTRATION LAST, IT WILL GIVE FULL PROTECTION TO THE ISLANDERS.
7. FINALLY, THE WITHDRAWAL DEAL LEAVES YOU PROTECTED. YOUR SUBMARINES WOULD BE OUTSIDE 150 NAUTICAL MILE MAXIMUM -- BUT THEY ARE YOUR GUARANTEE, AND 150 NM IS ONLY FIVE HOURS RUNNING TIME. THE FLEET MUST STAND OFF TO 1750 NM BY SEVEN DAYS AFTER AGREEMENT, BUT IT COULD STEAM AT 12 KNOTS SOME 2100 NM AFTER AGREEMENT, AND THUS IN MOST CASES (DEPENDING ON WHEN

AGREEMENT WERE TO TAKE PLACE) GO ON STEAMING TOWARDS THE FAIKLANDS AFTER AGREEMENT.

8. FRANCIS, I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER MORE CAN BE WRUNG OUT OF THE ARGENTINES. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHO IS IN CHARGE HERE, AS MANY AS 50 PEOPLE, INCLUDING CORPS COMMANDERS, MAY BE EXERCISING VETOS. CERTAINLY, I CAN DO NO BETTER AT THIS POINT.

9. I WOULD NOT PRESUME TO SPECULATE IN THE EQUITIES SEEN FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW. FROM MINE. THE AGREEMENT, IF ACCEPTED, WOULD INVOLVE THE ARGENTINES FAR MORE INTIMATELY IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE ISLANDS, YET LEAVE YOU IN CHARGE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE ULTIMATE DESTINY. ABOVE ALL, ARGENTINA, THE UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM WOULD BE BOUND TOGETHER IN THE SEARCH FOR AN EVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM, WITH OBVIOUS FUTURE COSTS TO EACH OF US IF IT CANNOT BE FOUND. ONLY YOU CAN JUDGE THAT OUTCOME AGAINST THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ARMED ACTION.

10. MY BEST IMMEDIATE JUDGEMENT IN THIS SITUATION IS THAT I SHOULD RETURN TO WASHINGTON AND REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. I AM AVAILABLE, OF COURSE, TO GO ON IMMEDIATELY FROM THERE TO LONDON, OR EVEN TO DIVERT FROM WASHINGTON TO LONDON, IF YOU WISH.

11. LEAVING HERE, I WILL REFUSE TO CHARACTERIZE THE TEXT, AND SAY ONLY THAT I HAVE FINISHED THIS PHASE OF MY EFFORT, AND AM RETURNING TO WASHINGTON TO REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. I WILL SAY THAT I HAVE GIVEN YOU A FULL REPORT OF THE RESULTS OF MY STAY IN BUENOS AIRES.

12. I WOULD BE DEEPLY GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH ME BEFORE TAKING ANY PUBLIC OR OTHER ACTION ON THIS RESULTS I AM TRANSMITTING.

13. TEXT BY SEPTEL.

WARM REGARDS, ALL.

END MESSAGE.

HAIG

ZCLD0938

ZZ RUEHLD

DE RUEHLA #6050/1 1091800

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

Z 191745Z APR 82 ZFF-4 OK

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BUENOS AIRES

TO RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC FLASE 6730

BT

S E C R E T SECTO 6050

19 APR 82

TOR 1853

CN: 42255

CHRG: STA

ACTION: DCM 6 + 2D, JG
S/S

NODIS

PASS WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 12065: RDS 3 (4/19/2012)

TAGS: OVIP (HAIG, ALEXANDER M., JR.)

SUBJECT: DRAFT TEXT WORKED OUT IN BUENOS AIRES

1. SECRET-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THERE FOLLOWS DRAFT OF AGREEMENT ON SOUTH
ATLANTIC CRISIS WORKED OUT IN BUENOS AIRES APRIL 19, 1982

3. BEGIN TEXT:

ON THE BASIS OF UNITED NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 502, AND THE WILL OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC AND OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO RESOLVE THE CONTROVERSY WHICH HAS ARISEN BETWEEN THEM RENOUNCING THE USE OF FORCE, BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE ON THE FOLLOWING STEPS, WHICH FORM AN INTEGRATED WHOLE:

1. EFFECTIVE ON THE SIGNATURE OF THIS AGREEMENT BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS, THERE SHALL BE AN IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

2. BEGINNING AT 0000 HOURS OF THE DAY AFTER THE DAY ON WHICH THIS AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, THE REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM SHALL NOT INTRODUCE NOR DEPLOY FORCES INTO THE ZONES (HEREINAFTER, "ZONES") DEFINED BY CIRCLES OF 150 NAUTICAL MILES RADIUS FROM THE FOLLOWING COORDINATE POINTS (HEREINAFTER, "COORDINATE POINTS"):

A) LAT. 51 DEG 40' S
LONG. 59 DEG 30' W

B) LAT. 54 DEG 20' S
LONG. 36 DEG 40' W

C) LAT. 57 DEG 40' S
LONG. 26 DEG 30' W

2.1. WITHIN 24 HOURS OF THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL RESIND ITS ZONE OF EXCLUSION AND ARGENTINA WILL NOT CONDUCT OPERATIONS IN THE ZONES.

2.2. WITHIN 24 HOURS OF THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT.

ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL COMMENCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR FORCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOLLOWING DETAILS.

2.2.1. WITHIN SEVEN DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT, ARGENTINA SHALL HAVE WITEDRAWN ONE HALF OF ITS MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES PRESENT IN THE ZONES ON THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT, INCLUDING RELATED EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENTS.

WITHIN THE SAME TIME PERIOD, THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL HAVE COMPLETED THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OF ITS FORCES FROM THE ZONES. THE UNITED KINGDOM NAVAL TASK FORCE WILL STAND OFF AT A DISTANCE OF AT LEAST 1750 NAUTICAL MILES FROM ANY OF THE COORDINATE POINTS.

2.2.2 WITHIN 15 DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT. ARGENTINA SHALL REMOVE ALL OF ITS REMAINING FORCES, EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENTS FROM THE ZONES. WITHIN THE SAME TIME PERIOD, UNITS OF THE UK NAVAL TASK FORCE AND SUEMARINES SHALL REDEPLOY TO THEIR USUAL OPERATING BASES OR AREAS.

3. AFTER FIFTEEN DAYS AFTER THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT AND PENDING A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT, NO MILITARY OR SECURITY FORCES SHALL BE INTRODUCED BY THE SIGNATORIES INTO ANY OF THE ZONES DEFINED BY CIRCLES OF 150 NAUTICAL MILES RADIUS FROM THE COORDINATE POINTS.

4. FROM THE DATE OF THIS AGREEMENT, STEPS SHALL BE TAKEN BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO TERMINATE SIMULTANIOUSLY, AND WITHOUT DELAY, THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL MEASURES ADOPTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY, INCLUDING RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND TRANSFERS OF FUNDS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE UNITED KINGDOM WITHOUT DELAY SHALL REQUEST THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THIRD COUNTRIES THAT HAVE ADOPTED SIMILAR MEASURES TO TERMINATE THEM.

5. THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ARGENTINA SHALL EACH APPOINT, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS INDICATED ITS AGREEMENT TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO CONSTITUTE A SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY WHICH SHALL PROVIDE OBSERVERS TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS IN THIS AGREEMENT

6. A) PENDING A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT, ALL DECISIONS, LAWS AND REGULATIONS HEREAFTER ADOPTED BY THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION ON THE ISLANDS SHALL BE SUBMITTED TO AND EXPEDITIOUSLY RATIFIED BY THE SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY, EXCEPT IN THE EVENT THAT THE SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY DEEMS SUCH DECISIONS, LAWS OR REGULATIONS TO BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES AND PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT OR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. THE TRADITIONAL LOCAL ADMINISTRATION SHALL CONTINUE THROUGH THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS WHICH SHALL BE ENLARGED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER: THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT SHALL APPOINT TWO REPRESENTATIVES, WHO SHALL SERVE IN EACH COUNCIL; THE ARGENTINE POPULATION WHOSE PERIOD OF RESIDENCE ON THE ISLANDS IS EQUAL TO THAT REQUIRED OF OTHERS ENTITLED TO REPRESENTATION SHALL ELECT REPRESENTATIVES TO EACH COUNCIL IN PROPORTION TO THEIR POPULATION, SUBJECT TO THERE BEING AT LEAST ONE SUCH REPRESENTATIVE IN EACH COUNCIL. THE LOCAL POLICE SHALL BE CONTINUED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNCILS, WITH A REPRESENTATION OF THE RESIDENT ARGENTINE POPULATION, AND SHALL BE SUBJECT TO THE SUPERVISION OF THE SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY. THE FLAGS OF EACH OF THE CONSTITUENT MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY SHALL BE FLOWN AT ITS HEADQUARTERS.

B) PENDING A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT, NEITHER GOVERNMENT SHALL TAKE ANY ACTION THAT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES AND PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT OR ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

7. A) PENDING A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT, TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION MOVEMENT OF PERSONS AND AS, MAY BE RELATED THERETO, RESIDENCE AND OWNERSHIP AND DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY, COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE MAINLAND AND THE ISLANDS SHALL, ON AN EQUAL BASIS, BE PROMOTED AND FACILITATED. THE SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY SHALL PROPOSE FOR ADOPTION APPROPRIATE MEASURES ON SUCH MATTERS, INCLUDING POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR COMPENSATION OF ISLANDERS WHO DO NOT WISH TO REMAIN. THE TWO SIGNATORIES UNDERTAKE TO RESPOND PROMPTLY TO SUCH PROPOSALS. THE SPECIAL INTERIM AUTHORITY SHALL MONITOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL SUCH PROPOSALS ADOPTED.

B) PENDING A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT, THE RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES WHICH HAVE HERETOFORE BEEN ENJOYED BY THE INHABITANTS ON THE ISLANDS WILL BE RESPECTED, ON AN EQUAL BASIS, IN PARTICULAR RIGHTS RELATING TO FREEDOM OF OPINION, RELIGION, EXPRESSION, TEACHING, MOVEMENT, PROPERTY, EMPLOYMENT, FAMILY, CUSTOMS, AND CULTURAL TIES WITH COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN.

8. A) DECEMBER 31, 1982, WILL CONCLUDE THE INTERIM PERIOD DURING WHICH THE SIGNATORIES SHALL CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS ON MODALITIES FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE ISLANDS FROM THE LIST OF NON-SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES UNDER CHAPTER XI OF THE UNITED NATIONAL CHARTER AND ON MUTUALLY AGREED CONDITIONS FOR THEIR DEFINITIVE STATUS, INCLUDING DUE REGARD FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS AND FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY APPLICABLE TO THIS DISPUTE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) AND 2065 (XX) AND IN THE LIGHT OF

RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS ON THE "QUESTION OF THE FALKLAND (MALVINAS) ISLANDS".
THE NEGOTIATIONS HEREBOVE REFERRED TO SHALL BEGIN WITHIN
FIFTEEN DAYS OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT.

B) THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED THAT, AT THE RE-
QUEST OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO ASSIST
THEM IN BRINGING THEIR NEGOTIATIONS TO A MUTUALLY SATISFAC-
TORY SETTLEMENT BY THE DATE STIPULATED IN SUBPARAGRAPH (A).

END OF TEXT. HAIG

2/2

S E C R E T/NODIS

SECTO 6050