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FALKLANDS SELECTIVE ADVANCES (37)

PS PS/MR HURD PS/MR ONSLOW PS/PUS PS/LORD BELSTEAD MR BULLARD SIR I SINCLAIR MR GIFFARD MR WRIGHT MR GILLMORE MR URE MR BARRETT HD/S AM D HD/DEF D HD/PLANNING STAFF HD/UND HD/NEWS D HD/ERD HD/PUSD MR REED, PUSD EMERGENCY ROOM

RESIDENT CLERK

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET (2 copies) PS/S OF S DEFENCE PS/HOME SECRETARY PS/HOME SECRETARY (c/o NO 10 DSt) PS/ATTORNEY GENERAL PS/CHANCELLOR DUCHY OF LANCASTER PS/SIR R ARMSTRONG PS/SIR M PALLISER PS/SIR A DUFF MR WADE-GERY CABINET MR FULLER OFFICE MR COLVIN MR O'NEILL HD ASSESS-MENTS STAFF DIO

MR J M STEWART AUSD STAFF

ADMIRAL SIR ROY HALLIDAY DGI MOD

DIRECTOR G.C.H.Q. (via Room 8)

SECRET FM WASHINGTON 251921Z MAY 82 TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 1889 OF 25 MAY INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK.

MIPT: FALKLANDS .

1. AFTER I HAD SEEN EAGLEBURGER, HAIG ASKED ME TO LOOK IN. HE SAID THAT HE HAD JUST BEEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR A BRIEFING WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS. HE HAD TOLD THEM THAT HE THOUGHT THAT WE WOULD HAVE SUCCEEDED MILITARILY WITHIN A WEEK. SOME OF THOSE PRESENT HAD THEN PROCEEDED TO TELL THE PRESS THAT THIS WAS HAIG'S FORECAST (EXCLAM).

2. I THANKED HAIG FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS HE HAD SENT MRS KIRKPATRICK, ADDING THAT WE WERE WORRIED ABOUT WHAT SHE MIGHT BE COOKING UP WITH THE FRENCH PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE (FOR WHOM HE HAS AN EQUALLY LOW REGARD). HAIG TOLD ME THAT CHEYSSON WAS COMPLETELY UNRELIABLE. HE HAD JUST TELEPHONED HIM (HAIG) TO SAY THAT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THE US AND FRANCE MIGHT FIND THEMSELVES IN ISOLATION WITH THE UK IN VOTING AGAINST THE IRISH DRAFT RESOLUTION. HE COULD NOT ALLOW THIS

VOTING AGAINST THE IRISH DRAFT RESOLUTION. HE COULD NOT ALLOW THIS.

TO HAPPEN. THE FRENCH WERE LIKELY TO ABSTAIN. HAIG HAD TRIED TO

PUT SOME MORE BACKBONE INTO HIM. HAIG AGREED THAT THE FRENCH MIG

HAVE GOT AN UNCERTAIN IMPRESSION OF AMERICAN INTENTIONS VIA

MRS KIRKPATRICK. HE HAD BEEN AT PAINS TO CORRECT THIS.

- 3. HAIG WAS ANXIOUS TO GET MY REACTIONS TO THE MESSAGE HE SENT ME LAST NIGHT. I HAD NOT THEN RECEIVED YOUR TELNO 1043 THE GIST OF WHICH I WILL PASS ON. BUT I SAID THAT HE WOULD REALISE THAT IT CONTAINED ELEMENTS THAT WERE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US AND DID NOT FIT THE PRESENT MOOD IN PARLIAMENT OR THE COUNTRY.
- 4. HAIG SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THIS AND THAT WE WOULD NOT NOW ACCEPT MUTUAL WITHDRAWAL. HIS NIGHTMARE, HOWEVER, WAS THAT FOLLOWING THE CAPITULATION OF THE ARGENTINE GARRISON, ARGENTINA WOULD REMAIN IN A STATE OF WAR WITH US OVER THE FALKLANDS WITH CONTINUING AIR FORCE AND SUBMARINE ACTIVITY. THEY WOULD GET HELP FROM OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND CERTAINLY ALSO FROM CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION, WHO WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO HELP TO RE-ARM THEM.
- 5. I INTERJECTED THAT WE WERE WELL AWARE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE LONGER TERM. THE PRESENT SITUATION HAD BEEN FORCED ON US BY THE JUNTA. THE FIRST STEP MUST BE TO GET THE ARGENTINES OFF THE ISLANDS. HAIG AGREED THAT WE HAD BEEN ABSOLUTELY JUSTIFIED IN THE MILITARY ACTION WE HAD TAKEN. HE APPLAUDED ITS SUCCESS. IN RESISTING AGGRESSION WE WERE DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE FREE WORLD. WE SHOULD BE IN NO DOUBT WHERE HIS LOYALTIES LAY, NAMELY WITH US. THE SAME WENT FOR THE PRESIDENT, WITH WHOM, AS HE HAD TOLD ME, HE HAD DISCUSSED THE SITUATION AT LENGTH YESTERDAY.
- 6. HAIG ALSO AGREED THAT NOTHING WAS LIKELY TO BE ACHIEVED UNTIL WE REACHED THE POINT OF HIGHEST MILITARY PRESSURE. HE ARGUED THAT WE WOULD THEN FACE A TEST OF STATESMANSHIP. THAT WOULD BE THE MOMENT FOR SOME MAGNANIMOUS PROPOSAL TO ARGENTINA TO OFFER SOME WAY OF BRINGING MILITARY ACTIVITY TO AN END, WHILE PROVIDING FOR THE SECURITY OF THE ISLANDS. THIS WAS WHY HE HAD PROPOSED THAT THE US SHOULD BE READY TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS FOR A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE. HE HAD ALSO PERSUADED THE BRAZILIANS THAT THEY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE (THOUGH THEY SEEMED TO THINK THAT BRAZILIAN PARTICIPATION WOULD BE OBJECTIONABLE TO ARGENTINA BECAUSE OF THEIR TRADITIONAL RIVALRY). HE HOPED THAT YOU WOULD BE PREPARED TO BE OPEN-MINDED ABOUT THE LONGER TERM.
- 7. IN THE SHORT TERM, THE AMERICANS FACED SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE OAS MEETING ON THURSDAY. THEY WERE UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO GET THE

7. IN THE SHORT TERM, THE AMERICANS FACED SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE OAS MEETING ON THURSDAY. THEY WERE UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO GET THE BLOCKING THIRD REQUIRED TO PREVENT A MAJORITY IN FAVOUR OF SOME KIND OF SANCTIONS, THOUGH THEY WOULD BE DOING THEIR BEST. HE AGREED THAT LATIN AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ARGENTINA VARIED MARKEDLY FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER. BUT MOST OF THEM WOULD SHOW SOME SUPPORT.

8. HAIG CONCLUDED BY MAKING IT PRETTY CLEAR THAT HE HOPES THAT WE WILL WIN MILITARILY AND SOON, BUT IN DOING SO WILL OFFER SOME PROPOSAL WHICH WILL HELP THE LONG-TERM AND INTERESTS IN THE HEMISPHERE, AND THOSE OF THE US.

HENDERSON

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