

E.R.

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NYFO 005/06

OG FCO (DESKBY 060630Z)

OG ACCRA (DESKBY 060800Z)

OG PARIS

OG MADRID

OG DUBLIN

OG MOSCOW

OG WARSAW

OG KINSHASA

OG KAMPALA

OG AMMAN

OG TOKYO

OG PANAMA CITY

OG GEORGETOWN

OG PEKING

GRS 1200

26 MAY 82

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CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 060630Z (FCO)

DESKBY 060800Z (ACCRA)

FM UKMIS NEW YORK 060220Z MAY 82  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 658 OF 5 MAY.

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON PARIS MADRID DUBLIN MOSCOW WARSAW ACCRA  
KINSHASA KAMPALA AMMAN TOKYO PANAMA CITY GEORGETOWN PEKING.

MY TEL NO 652; FALKLAND ISLANDS; SECURITY COUNCIL.

SUMMARY.

1. AFTER THREE HOURS OF INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS THIS EVENING (5 MAY),  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL AUTHORISED ITS PRESIDENT TO ISSUE THE STATE-  
MENT IN MIFT. WE WERE ALMOST ENTIRELY ISOLATED. NO-ONE EXPRESSED  
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RESISTING

SUMMARY.

1. AFTER THREE HOURS OF INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS THIS EVENING (5 MAY), THE SECURITY COUNCIL AUTHORISED ITS PRESIDENT TO ISSUE THE STATEMENT IN NIFT. WE WERE ALMOST ENTIRELY ISOLATED. NO-ONE EXPRESSED SUPPORT OR UNDERSTANDING FOR THE MILITARY ACTION WE ARE TAKING. APART FROM ME, ONLY GUYANA MENTIONED WITHDRAWAL. I WAS ALONE IN RESISTING PRESSURE TO INCLUDE IN THE STATEMENT A CALL FOR QUOTE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES UNQUOTE OR QUOTE RESTRAINT UNQUOTE. I RECEIVED NO SUPPORT FROM MRS KIRKPATRICK (US) AND DE NANTEUIL (FRANCE) WAS ACTIVELY UNHELPFUL. THE COUNCIL IS TO MEET AGAIN TOMORROW (6 MAY) IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS.

DETAIL.

2. THE PRESIDENT (LING QING, CHINA) OPENED THE MEETING WITH A SUMMARY OF HIS BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH DELEGATIONS, EMPHASISING MEMBERS' DEEP CONCERN AND DESIRE NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S INITIATIVE. THE SECRETARY GENERAL THEN SAID THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A LETTER FROM COSTA MENDEZ ACCEPTING HIS PROPOSAL TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT AND SAYING THAT HE WOULD GIVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL AN ANSWER IN PERSON ON HOW THIS COULD BE DONE, THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT BEING A CEASEFIRE AS ORDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID YOU WERE STILL CONSIDERING HIS IDEAS URGENTLY AND THAT HE EXPECTED YOUR RESPONSE TOMORROW.

3. DORR (IRELAND) THEN EXPLAINED HIS GOVERNMENT'S CALL FOR A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL. NONE OF THE THREE PARTS OF SCR 502 HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED. MEANWHILE THE CONFLICT HAD DEVELOPED. NOW THAT HAIG'S EFFORTS HAD BEEN DISCONTINUED (SIC), THE COUNCIL HAD TO ADDRESS THE CONFLICT AND PREPARE A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS. BECAUSE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S EFFORTS, IRELAND HAD NOT PRESSED FOR AN IMMEDIATE MEETING. HIS REPORT WAS IN SOME RESPECTS ENCOURAGING. BUT THE COUNCIL SHOULD STILL CONSIDER HOW BEST TO GET AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE FIGHTING WITHOUT GIVING EITHER SIDE AN ADVANTAGE.

4. THERE FOLLOWED A LONG DISCUSSION ON HOW THE COUNCIL SHOULD PROCEED. ALL WERE AGREED THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO CUT ACROSS PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S EFFORTS BUT THAT THE COUNCIL COULD NOT WAIT INDEFINITELY. ALL EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE UK WOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY TO PEREZ DE CUELLAR. MOST AGREED WITH MY ARGUMENT THAT A HARSH DEBATE IN THE COUNCIL NOW WOULD NOT HELP THE EFFORTS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OR OF OTHERS; ONLY TROYANOVSKY (USSR) SHOWED ANY DISPOSITION TO FAVOUR A FORMAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL. ALL EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE HOSTILITIES AND CALLED FOR THEIR

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5. ALTHOUGH IT WAS AGREED THAT A FORMAL MEETING WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE AT THIS STAGE, ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL EXCEPT ME (AND PRESUMABLY MRS KIRKPATRICK, THOUGH SHE DID NOT SAY SO) FELT THAT THE COUNCIL MUST DO SOMETHING TODAY; IT WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD IF IT MET FOR SEVERAL HOURS AT THIS CRITICAL TIME AND PRODUCED NO RESULT. JAPAN FLOATED THE IDEA OF A SIMPLE RESOLUTION, TO BE ADOPTED WITHOUT DEBATE, WHICH WOULD ASK THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO CONTINUE HIS GOOD OFFICES. THIS PROPOSAL DID NOT FIND FAVOUR (THOUGH IT GAVE RISE TO MUCH DEBATE ABOUT WHETHER THE SECRETARY GENERAL NEEDED A MANDATE FROM THE COUNCIL) AND A NEAR-CONSENSUS SOON EMERGED THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE AUTHORISED TO ISSUE A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS.

6. SPAIN, WITH SUPPORT FROM PANAMA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND POLAND, URGED THAT THE STATEMENT SHOULD CALL FOR HOSTILITIES TO BE QUOTE FROZEN UNQUOTE UNTIL THE PARTIES HAD REPLIED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL. OTHERS, INCLUDING FRANCE (SEVERAL TIMES) AND OF COURSE THE DO-GOODERS, WERE LESS AMBITIOUS AND PROPOSED THAT THE STATEMENT SHOULD APPEAL FOR QUOTE RESTRAINT UNQUOTE. I SAID REPEATEDLY AND VERY FIRMLY THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF MY ACCEPTING ANY SUCH REFERENCE, WHICH WOULD SIMPLY MEAN THAT THE ARGENTINES WERE ALLOWED TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR POSITION ON THE ISLANDS WHILE WE WERE PREVENTED FROM EXERCISING OUR RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE. NO-ONE SUPPORTED ME IN THIS BUT THE COUNCIL RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED MY POSITION IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A STATEMENT TONIGHT.

7. THE STATEMENT IN MIFT, BASED ON A PROPOSAL BY UGANDA, WAS EVENT-

PREVENTED FROM EXERCISING OUR RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE. NO-ONE SUPPORTED ME IN THIS BUT THE COUNCIL RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED MY POSITION IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A STATEMENT TONIGHT.

7. THE STATEMENT IN MIFT, BASED ON A PROPOSAL BY UGANDA, WAS EVENTUALLY AGREED. I TRIED TO INSERT A REFERENCE TO SCR 502 BUT WAS OPPOSED BY PANAMA, WHO FLATLY REFUSED TO ACCEPT SUCH A REFERENCE, AND BY THE USSR WHO WOULD ONLY ACCEPT IT IF I WOULD ACCEPT A REFERENCE TO QUOTE RESTRAINT UNQUOTE. AT IRISH INSISTENCE IT WAS AGREED THAT THE STATEMENT SHOULD RECORD THE COUNCIL'S INTENTION TO MEET AGAIN INFORMALLY TOMORROW (6 MAY).

COMMENT.

8. SO FAR, SO GOOD. WITH LUCK, AND ASSUMING THERE ARE NO MAJOR MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS OVERNIGHT, WE SHOULD AVOID A FORMAL COUNCIL MEETING UNTIL 7 MAY AT THE EARLIEST. BUT IT WAS A DISTURBING MEETING, WHICH REVEALED HOW COMPLETELY SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION HAS BEEN ERODED SINCE SCR 502 WAS ADOPTED. THE HOSTILITIES HAVE CAUSED MOST MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL TO LOSE THEIR NERVE AND THINK OF US AND THE ARGENTINES AS EQUALLY TO BLAME FOR THE LOSS OF LIFE. IN SPITE OF OUR SCRUPULOUS NOTIFICATION TO THE COUNCIL OF OUR MILITARY MEASURES, NO-ONE IS PREPARED TO SPEAK OUT IN SUPPORT OF OUR RIGHT TO TAKE ACTION UNDER ARTICLE 51. MRS KIRKPATRICK HARDLY SPOKE A WORD THROUGHOUT (PROBABLY AS WELL). THE FRENCHMAN HELPED A BIT ON SCR 502 BUT JOINED THE PACK IN CALLING FOR THE EXERCISE OF MILITARY RESTRAINT. NISIBORI (JAPAN) TRIED TO BE HELPFUL BUT KEPT ON SAYING THAT THE PRESSURE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN JAPAN WAS SUCH THAT THE COUNCIL HAD TO DO SOMETHING. DE PINIES (SPAIN) CONTINUES TO HUNT WITH THE PANAMANIANS, RUSSIANS AND POLES AND IS TOTALLY HOSTILE. AMONGST THE NON-ALIGNED, THE ONLY HELP I GOT WAS FROM GUYANA (WHO AT LEAST MENTIONED WITHDRAWAL) AND, IN A CONFUSED WAY, FROM JORDAN. THE STAGE IS THUS SET FOR SOME PRETTY DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN THE COUNCIL. I THINK THAT WE WERE LUCKY TO GET AWAY WITH TONIGHT'S HARMLESS MOUSE WITHOUT OUR ISOLATION HAVING THE EFFECT OF TURNING THE WHOLE COUNCIL AGAINST US.

9. PLEASE SEE MY SECOND IFT (NOT TO ALL) WHICH DISCUSSES THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS MEETING FOR YOUR REPLY TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S IDEAS.

PARSONS

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