

SAPU(82) 28

SOUTH ATLANTIC PRESENTATION UNIT (SAPU)

Attached for information are transcripts of the Prime Minister's interviews with BBC News and ITN this evening.

Cabinet Office

2 June 1982

Television interviews given by the Prime
Minister, the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP, to
Keith Graves (BBC) and Alastair Burnet (ITN) on
Wednesday, 2 June, 1982 in No 10 Downing Street.

BBC INTERVIEW

INTERVIEWER: RPRIME MINISTER, WE APPEAR TO BE POISED FOR THE DECISIVE BATTLE FOR PORT STANLEY, CAN YOU SEE ANY WAY OUT OF THAT, ANY WAY OF AVOIDING THAT BATTLE?

MRS.MARGARET THATCHER: NOT UNLESS ARGENTINA DECIDES TO WITHDRAW HER TROOPS, THAT WOULD BE MARVELLOUS IF SHE DID, AFTER ALL IT'S WHAT RESOLUTION 502 SAID, BUT SHE HASN'T DONE IT IN 7 WEEKS - I DON'T KNOW WHETHER SHE WOULD BE CONSIDERING IT NOW, I WOULD ONLY BE TOO DELIGHTED IF SHE DID, IT WOULD SAVE SO MANY YOUNG LIVES.

INTERVIEWER: WOULD YOU BE PREPARED, EVEN AT THIS 11TH HOUR, TO SORT OF LET THE ARGENTINES OFF THE HOOK, IF PRESIDENT GALTIERI SAID - RIGHT, WE DO WANT TO PULL OUT - OR DOES IT MEAN THAT THEY'VE GOT TO SURRENDER? WOULD YOU GIVE THEM AN HONOURABLE WAY OUT IN OTHER WORDS?

MRZ.THATCHER: I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHAT YOU'RE ASKING

INTERVIEWER: WELL, I WONDER WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAVE TO SURRENDER TO THE BRITISH FORCES OR WHETHER IF PRESIDENT GALTIERI SAID TO PERHAPS PEREZ DE CUELLAR 'WE DO WANT TO PULL OUR TROOPS OUT', WOULD YOU HOLD BACK YOUR FORCES AND ALLOW THE ARGENTINES TO PULL OUT HONOURABLY?

MRZ.THATCHER: IF THEY SAY 'LOOK, WE'RE GOING TO WITHDRAW AND WE ARE GOING TO WITHDRAW WITHIN THE NEXT TEN TO FOURTEEN DAYS THEN THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR A BATTLE.

INTERVIEWER: SO THERE IS STILL A POSSIBILITY, YOU THINK, THAT THAT BATTLE

MRS.THATCHER: IT'S A POSSIBILITY TOTALLY LINKED TO A TIMED WITHDRAWAL.

INTERVIEWER: I'M SURE YOU'VE NOT CONTEMPLATED ANYTHING BUT A VICTORY IF IT DOES COME TO AN ALL-OUT BATTLE FOR PORT STANLEY BUT WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THAT VICTORY, WHAT'S THE NEXT STEP?

MRS.THATCHER: IT ISN'T THAT WE TALK SO MUCH IN TERMS OF VICTORY OR DEFEAT, WE TALK IN TERMS OF REPOSSESSING THE FALKLANDS WHICH WERE INVADDED BY THE ARGENTINE AGGRESSOR, SO WHAT WE ARE REALLY TALKING ABOUT IS ALL THE ARGENTINE FORCES GOING BACK TO THE MAINLAND SO THAT WE REPOSSESS THE FALKLAND ISLANDS AND THEN WE HAVE TO START RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION AND THEN WE TALK ABOUT A FUTURE. THERE ARE IMMENSE PLSSIBILITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT, I HAVE ASKED LORD SHACKLETON TO UPDATE HIS 1976 REPORT, THINGS ARE A LITTLE BIT DIFFERENT BUT I WANT TO BE READ TO GO AHEAD AS SOON AS WE ARE ABLE TO. AND ALSO WE'LL HAVE TO TALK TO SOME OTHER NATIONS ABOUT HAVING SECURITY FOR THOSE ISLANDS. THIS MUSTN'T HAPPEN AGAIN, WE HAVE TO CONSIDER WHAT KIND OF FUTURE THE ISLANDERS WANT. IT WILL TAKE THEM SOME TIME TO DECIDE AND IN PART IT WILL DEPEND UPON WHAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DO BY WAY OF DEVELOPMENT, WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE PREPARED TO DO TO HELP US BY WAY OF SECURITY. BUT WE ARE A DEMOCRACY, THEY WERE BORN FREE AND THEY MUST HAVE A RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. SO IT WILL TAKE QUITE A TIME TO TALK IT THROUGH.

INTERVIEWER: DO YOU SEE A ROLE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE ON THE FALKLAND ISLANDS FOR THE ARGENTINES-?

MRS. THATCHER: I CANNOT, MYSELF, SEE A ROLE IN ANYTHING RELATING TO SOVEREIGNTY, FOR THE ARGENTINES ON THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. YOU SAW WHAT HAPPENED IN GOOSE GREEN AND DARWIN, HOW OUR PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TREATED, THEY'D NEVER WANTED TO GO TO ARGENTINA BEFORE. THEY'LL BE EVEN LESS LIKELY NOW. THEY WERE BORN ACCUSTOMED TO LIBERTY AND JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY. WE HAVE GONE TO DEFEND THOSE RIGHTS. I BELIEVE THEY'LL BE EVEN MORE DETERMINED NOW TO KEEP THEM, I MOST CERTAINLY SHOULD BE. THEY'VE BEEN LOYAL TO US, WE MUST BE LOYAL TO THEM AND, YOU KNOW, IT IS AFTER ALL A CARDINAL PART OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THAT COUNTRIES SHOULD COME TO SELF-GOVERNMENT AND INDEPENDENCE AND I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN DO THAT WITH THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

INTERVIEWER: MY COLLEAGUE, BRIAN HANRAHAN, WHO HAS SPOKEN TO A LARGE NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE FREED AT GOOSE GREEN BY THE PARATROOPERS, SAYS THAT NONE OF THE PEOPLE HE'S SPOKEN TO WANT TO BE ANYTHING BUT BRITISH CITIZENS, NONE OF THEM WANT TO LIVE UNDER ANY FORM OF ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT, SO IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BRITAIN'S PRESENCE IS GOING TO BE IN THE FALKLANDS FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS BUT HOW DO WE MAINTAIN THAT PRESENCE MILITARILY?

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK WE ARE GOING TO BE THERE FOR SOME TIME, IF NOT ALONE FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS, BECAUSE I HOPE WE CAN ARRANGE SOME OTHER PEOPLE TO HELP, TO HAVE A MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE WITH US. YOU KNOW, WHEN THE AMERICANS ASKED US TO JOIN THEM IN A MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE IN SINAI I SAID - YES, BECAUSE IT HELPED PEACE IN THE AREA, AND I'M SURE WE'D HAVE JUST EXACTLY THE SAME RESPONSE FROM THEM. I HAD A WONDERFUL MESSAGE FROM THE PEOPLE OF GOOSE GREEN AND DARWIN, IT CAME IN THIS MORNING THROUGH THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE - SAYING 'THANK YOU FOR LIBERATING US, THANK YOU FOR BEING SO STEADFAST AND GOD SAVE THE QUEEN'. IT WAS A VERY TOUCHING MESSAGE BUT IT SAID REALLY EVERYTHING THAT THE BRITISH PEOPLE FEEL, THEY'RE BRITISH TOO, THEY'VE BEEN LOYAL, THEY KNOW WHAT BRITAIN HAS DONE TO LIBERATE THOSE ISLANDS, THEY'RE INTENSELY GRATEFUL BUT THEY ALSO REALISE THAT IT'S SOMETHING WHICH SPEAKS FOR WHAT WE STAND FOR IN THE WORLD. THEY'VE NOT LET US DOWN AND WE MUSTN'T LET THEM DOWN.

INTERVIEWER: YOU TALK ABOUT A BRITISH PRESENCE IN THE SHORT TERM AND THEN PERHAPS SOME SORT OF INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE, ARE THE CABINET UNITED IN THAT, BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS, AS I'M SURE YOU'RE AWARE, IN THE LAST WEEK, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DIVISIONS IN THE CABINET AS TO WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN WHEN ONCE AGAIN WE ARE IN CONTROL OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS?

MRS. THATCHER: THE CABINET HAS NEVER BEEN MORE UNITED IN THE WHOLE OF MY GOVERNMENT, IT IS TOTALLY UNITED. I THINK PERHAPS YOU MISTAKE SOMETIMES A LITTLE DISCUSSION AND A LITTLE ARGUMENT BEFORE WE COME TO CONCLUSIONS, WITH THE UNITY WHICH WE HAVE WHEN WE'VE REACHED THAT CONCLUSION, YOU KNOW IN THE INNER CABINET FIVE OR SIX VOICES ARE BETTER THAN ONE. FIVE OR SIX MINDS ARE BETTER THAN ONE, SOMEONE MAY HAVE A FACET OF EXPERIENCE WHICH NONE OF THE REST OF US KNOW, IT MAY ALTER THE VIEW ONE TAKES OF A SUBJECT BUT ON PRINCIPLE AND ON PURPOSE WE DO NOT DIFFER ON HOW BEST TO ACHIEVE THAT OF COURSE WE ARGU AND DISCUSS AND ONCE WE'VE REACHED A CONCLUSION WE ARE TOTALLY AND UTTERLY UNITED AND STEADFAST AND WILL STICK IT OUT.

INTERVIEWER: SO YOURSELF AND MR. PYM HAVE REACHED A CONCLUSION AND YOU BOTH AGREE ON THAT CONCLUSION WHICH IS WHAT YOU'VE OUTLINED?

MRS. THATCHER: ABSOLUTELY, WE ARE AGREED TOTALLY ON OUR PURPOSE AND ON OUR OBJECTIVES. HE WAS THROWN IN AT THE DEEP END, HE NOT ONLY HAD THE FALKLANDS BUT EUROPE - I THINK HE'S DONE SPLENDIDLY. AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND NUMBER 10, WE HAVE BEEN ABSOLUTELY AS ONE OVER THE WHOLE OF THIS. WE TRIED OF COURSE WE TRIED, WE ALL OF US TRIED, TO SEE IF WE COULD GET WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT A FIGHT - WITHOUT A BATTLE. YOU HEARD ME IN I THINK IT WAS A BBC BROADCAST, SAY THAT IT WOULD BE ONE'S GREATEST DESIRE IF ALL OUR YOUNG PEOPLE COULD COME HOME, IF WE COULD HAVE GAINED REPOSSESSION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS WITHOUT FIGHTING. WE TRIED, WE DIDN'T SUCCEED. THEN WE DIDN'T FLINCH FROM OUR PURPOSES, NAMELY TO REPOSSESS THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, FOR THOSE BRITISH PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE AND TO RETURN TO LIVE UNDER BRITISH LAW AND IN A WAY OF LIFE WHICH THEY HAVE COME TO KNOW AND THINK IS FAR, FAR BETTER THAN WHAT THE FASCIST DICTATOR OFFERS.

INTERVIEWER: ? HAVE YOU BEEN UNDER ANY PRESSURE IN THE LAST WEEK OR TWO FROM THE AMERICANS, FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN PERSONALLY, NOT TO TAKE THAT FINAL STEP INTO BATTLE FOR PORT STANLEY? THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS FROM AMERICAN MEDIA TODAY THAT HE HAS SPOKEN TO YOU IN THE LAST FEW DAYS AND URGED YOU NOT TO TAKE THAT FINAL STEP INTO PORT STANLEY.

MRS. THATCHER: PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE GOVERNMENT AND I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AS STAUNCH IN DEFENCE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AS I AM. AFTER ALL THEY'RE ALL WRITTEN IN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THEM AND SELF-DETERMINATION IS AT THE HEART OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. THEY WOULDN'T SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD DENY OUR PEOPLE THINGS WHICH ARE TOTALLY FUNDAMENTAL TO THE AMERICANS, ABSOLUTELY AT ONE IN PRINCIPLE. YOU KNOW WHEN I FIRST HEARD THAT THERE WAS AN ARGENTINE FLEET IN A POSITION AND OF SUCH A COMPOSITION THAT IT COULD INVADE AND I KNEW THEN THAT THE INVASION WOULD COME WITHIN TWO DAYS, IT WAS GOING TO COME, WE HAD TO GET CERTAIN THINGS ON THE WAY, BUT THE OTHER IMMEDIATE THING THAT I DID WAS TO GET ON TO PRESIDENT REAGAN TO SAY - LOOK, DO YOU REALISE WHAT'S HAPPENING? AND IT CAME AS MUCH OF A SURPRISE TO THEM AS IT WAS TO US. PLEASE WILL YOU GET ON TO PRESIDENT GALTIERI TO PERSUADE HIM NOT TO DO IT. NOW YOU KNOW YOU'VE HEARD SO MANY TIMES THAT THE AMERICANS AND THE ARGENTINES HAVE TRIED TO SET UP A FRIENDSHIP, ALTHOUGH THEY'RE VERY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND I THOUGHT THAT HE WOULD BE BOUND TO HAVE SO MUCH INFLUENCE BUT GALTIERI SNUBBED PRESIDENT REAGAN THEN. I THINK EVEN SINCE THEN PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS ALWAYS HOPED THAT THE ARGENTINES WOULD SEE SENSE AND HAVE SOME THOUGHT FOR THEIR YOUNG PEOPLE ON THOSE FALKLANDS. I THINK HE STILL HOPES IT NOW BUT I HOPE IT TOO BUT I CONFESS THAT I WAS ALWAYS SCEPTICAL RIGHT FROM THE BEGINNING AFTER THE INVASION HAD OCCURRED. I COULD NOT MYSELF SEE THAT A DICTATOR OR A JUNTA WOULD WITHDRAW, THEY INVADED PARTLY TO TAKE AWAY ATTENTION FROM THE SITUATION AT HOME AND I COULD NEVER SEE THAT HE WOULD WITHDRAW. I'M AFRAID THAT VIEW TURNED OUT TO BE RIGHT. BUT AFTER WE GOT ON THE ISLANDS AND THEY'D EXPERIENCED SOME OF THE BATTLES, ONE HOPES THAT EVEN NOW THEY MIGHT - I'M NOT VERY OPTIMISTIC BUT ONE NEVER LOSES HOPE.

INTERVIEWER: OF COURSE PRESIDENT REAGAN COULD AND UNDOUBTEDLY DOES AGREE WITH YOUR PRINCIPLE BUT HE COULD BE ASKING YOU NOT TO HUMILIATE THE ARGENTINES ANY MORE THAN YOU HAVE TO, HE COULD BE ASKING YOU TO GIVE HIM ANOTHER CHANCE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE ARGENTINES? IS HE DOING THAT AT THE MOMENT?

MRS. THATCHER: I DON'T UNDERSTAND 'ANOTHER CHANCE', WE'VE BEEN TRYING TO PUT PRESSURE ON THEM THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS AND THROUGH PEACE TALKS FOR OVER SEVEN WEEKS, NEARLY EIGHT WEEKS, IT'S ONLY TOO EASY FOR THEM TO ASK FOR MORE TIME, THEY'VE HAD A LOT OF TIME, IF THEY'RE GOING TO WITHDRAW THEY WILL DECIDE TO WITHDRAW WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS - I WOULD BE SO PLEASED IF THEY DID. WHY DO PEOPLE TALK ABOUT HUMILIATION? I'M NOT SEEKING TO HUMILIATE ANYONE AT ALL, I AM JUST ASKING THAT THE INVADER RETURNS HIS TROOPS TO THE MAINLAND. THAT IS NOT HUMILIATION, THAT IS TO SAY HE SHOULD NEVER HAVE INVADED AND PLEASE WILL HE RESTORE THE POSITION BY RETURNING HIS TROOPS TO THE HOMELAND. THAT IS NOT HUMILIATION, IT IS THE RESTORATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

INTERVIEWER: AND HE STILL HAS A FEW DAYS TO DO THAT YOU'RE INDICATING?

MRS. THATCHER: HE COULD DO IT NOW.

INTERVIEWER: ON A MORE PERSONAL LEVEL, DO YOU EVER HAVE ANY DOUBTS WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE CASUALTY FIGURES ON BOTH SIDES ABOUT THE COURSE WHICH THE COUNTRY THE COURSE WHICH YOU'VE TAKEN THE COUNTRY ON TO RE-GAIN THE FALKLANDS?

MRS. THATCHER: ONE FEELS EVERY SINGLE LOSS OF COURSE. A LOT OF PEOPLE WILL HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES SO THAT WE CAN ENJOY LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, NOW THE CHALLENGE HAS COME TO US, JUST AS OUR FOREFATHERS DIDN'T FLINCH FROM IT WE MUST NOT FLINCH FROM IT. NEVERTHELESS ONE STILL FEELS EVERY LOSS BUT LIBERTY AND JUSTICE AND THEIR FUTURE IN THE WORLD ARE WORTH FIGHTING FOR BECAUSE THEY ARE THE ONLY THING THAT GIVES LIFE ITS DIGNITY AND MEANING. IT HAS FALLEN TO US ONCE MORE TO DEFEND THOSE PRINC

PLES. YOU WOULDN'T EXPECT BRITAIN TO FLINCH.

INTERVIEWER: COULD I DEAL PERHAPS WITH A COUPLE MORE POINTS; THERE'S A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CONTROVERSY OVER THE RETURN OF THE BODIES OF THE BRITISH DEAD TO THIS COUNTRY, ARE YOU CONSIDERING CHANGING THE NORMAL PRACTICES THAT APPLY THERE, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT A LOT OF FAMILIES HAVE SAID THEY WANT THEIR DEAD BROUGHT BACK? IS THAT GOING TO BE POSSIBLE DO YOU THINK?

MRS. THATCHER: I UNDERSTAND THE FEELING AND EVERYONE WILL UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE MIDST OF BATTLE YOU HAVE TO THINK FIRST HOW TO WIN THE BATTLE AND OF THE SAFETY OF YOUR TROOPS AND FORCES. AFTERWARDS YOU THINK OF HOW TO HONOUR THOSE WHO'VE FALLEN IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY. THE COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES HAVE WONDERFUL CEMETRIES, BEAUTIFULLY KEPT AND HONOURED IN PERPETUITY. WE CAN ONLY PUT IT TO PEOPLE THAT THERE IS A TRADITION THAT PEOPLE ARE BURIED THERE, WHERE THEY FALL. IF HOWEVER SOME PEOPLE STILL FEEL STRONGLY THAT THEY WISH TO HAVE THEM HOME THEN OF COURSE WE'LL CONSIDER THAT. I THINK THAT EVERYTHING SHOULD BE PUT TO THEM AND THEY WILL BE THE FIRST TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE MIDDLE OF A CONFLICT YOU HAVE TO CONSIDER HOW TO SEE THAT THROUGH FIRST. OF COURSE THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAVE LOST THEIR LOVED ONES WOULD WANT TO GO THERE AND SEE HOW WE HONOUR THEM AND OF COURSE WE WOULD ARRANGE THAT. IT WOULD BE OUR HONOUR AND PRIDE TO DO SO AND THEY'D HAVE A WONDERFUL WELCOME FROM THE FALKLANDERS TOO. AND I HOPE THAT THEY'D BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND EVEN MORE THAN NOW WHAT THEY WERE FIGHTING FOR.

INTERVIEWER: IT'S BEEN CONFIRMED REALLY TODAY THAT THE ARGENTINES WERE CONSIDERING, EVEN IF THEY DIDN'T USE, NAPALM, HOW DO YOU REACT TO THAT? IT'S CAUSED A LOT OF CONTROVERSY OBVIOUSLY.

MRS. THATCHER: CONTROVERSY - IT'S REPUGNANT - ONE RECOILS. ISN'T IT JUST ONE MORE THING THAT MAKES ONE REALISE WE HAVE TO FIGHT, THAT OUR WAY OF LIFE SHALL CONTINUE, FOR GOOD THINGS THAT WE UPHOLD?

END OF BBC INTERVIEW

ITN INTERVIEW

ALASTAIR BURNET: PRIME MINISTER, DO YOU EXPECT AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO THE FALKLANDS CRISIS?

MRS. THATCHER: ONE ALWAYS HOPES FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION, BUT ONE'S LEARNED THROUGHOUT THIS WHOLE FALKLANDS CAMPAIGN THAT THINGS TEND TO TAKE LONGER THAN YOU EXPECT.

A. BURNET: DO YOU THINK DIPLOMACY HAS GOT A PART TO PLAY NOW?

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK A DECISION TO WITHDRAW TROOPS ON THE PART OF THE ARGENTINES MAY HAVE A PART TO PLAY, THEY HAVEN'T WITHDRAWN THEM FOR THE LAST SEVEN WEEKS, I ALWAYS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR A DICTATOR TO WITHDRAW BUT IT IS ALWAYS JUST POSSIBLE THAT AT THE VERY LAST MINUTE HE MIGHT THINK THAT THEY HAVE THEIR BACKS TO THE SEA AND THAT HE WOULD QUITE LIKE TO AVOID WHAT COULD BE A PROLONGED AND DIFFICULT BATTLE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

A. BURNET: IS THERE ANYTHING YOU CAN DO TO ENCOURAGE HIM?

MRS. THATCHER: I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANYTHING MORE I CAN DO, AS YOU KNOW WE MADE UP OUR OWN TERMS AND PUBLISHED THEM - THEY WERE QUITE CLEAR - ABOUT HOW FAR WE WERE PREPARED TO GO TO AVOID A CONFLICT AND AVOID LOSS OF LIFE. EVERYTHING, BUT EVERYTHING HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN. THERE IS JUST A POSSIBILITY NOW BUT I DON'T RATE IT VERY HIGHLY.

A. BURNET: YOU'VE BEEN TOLD TO BE MAGNANIMOUS IN ANY VICTORY, WHAT DOES 'MAGNANIMOUS' MEAN TO YOU?

MRS. THATCHER: IT IS NOT A WORD I USE IN CONNECTION WITH THE FALKLANDS. IN CONNECTION WITH A BATTLE ON THE FALKLANDS. SOMETIMES I THINK PEOPLE ARE USING IT TO SAY - ALL RIGHT, HAND SOMETHING TO THE ARGENTINES. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES TO AN INVADER, AND AN AGGRESSOR, AND A MILITARY DICTATOR, THAT WOULD NOT BE MAGNANIMITY, IT WOULD BE TREACHERY OR BETRAYAL OF OUR OWN PEOPLE. WE COULDN'T BETRAY OUR OWN PEOPLE.

A. BURNET: THERE IS A VIEW THAT ONE SHOULD NOT HUMILIATE ONE'S OPPONENT, THAT MERELY MAKES LIFE DIFFICULT FOR EVERYONE.

MRS. THATCHER: I'M NOT TRYING TO HUMILIATE ANYWAAEED ANYONE, I'M JUST TRYING TO REPOSSESS ISLANDS WHICH ARE BRITISH SOVEREIGN TERRITORY FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE BRITISH, TO HAVE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, TO LIVE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE UNDER A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THAT'S NOT HUMILIATION, THAT IS LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY.

A. BURNET: YOU'VE SAID BEFORE THAT THE WISHES OF THE ISLANDERS SHOULD BE PARAMOUNT - IS PARAMOUNT STILL THE RIGHT WORD?

MRS. THATCHER: SELF-DETERMINATION IS THE RIGHT WORD. WE HAVE IT HERE, THE UNITED STATES HAVE IT, ALL DEMOCRACIES HAVE IT, WHERE YOU HAVE AN ISLAND THAT IS PEOPLED, HAS BEEN PEOPLED FOR A VERY LONG TIME AND AFTER ALL THE BRITISH PEOPLE DIDN'T DISPLACE ANY INDIGENOUS POPULATION, THEY WENT THERE, SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN THERE FOR SEVEN GENERATIONS. WHAT WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THERE IS THAT THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTINUE THE WAY OF LIFE WHICH THEY HAVE HAD.

A. BURNET: THE IDEA OF SOME SORT OF SHARED SOVEREIGNTY WITH ARGENTINE HAS BEEN TAKEN UP AND AT LEAST DISCUSSED BY GOVERNMENT. IS THAT IN THE BACK OF YOUR MIND NOW?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, I DON'T BELIEVE FOR ONE MOMENT THAT AFTER WHAT PEOPLE HAVE EXPERIENCED THEY WOULD SEE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AS PLAYING ANY PART IN THEIR FUTURE. THEY DIDN'T WANT IT BEFORE, THEY WOULD NOT EVEN CONSIDER A VERY LONG LEASE OF SAY 250 YEARS, THEY SAID 'NO, WE WANT TO STAY WITH OUR BRITISH WAY OF LIFE'. NOW THAT THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED WHAT IT'S LIKE TO LIVE WITH THE ARGENTINES ON THE ISLANDS I THINK THAT THEIR HOSTILITY TO THE ARGENTINES WOULD BE EVEN GREATER.

A. BURNET: - IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF THERE WERE NOT DIVISIONS OF OPINION AMONG YOUR OWN ADVISERS ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THE MILITARY ACTION IS OVER. HOW SERIOUS ARE THOSE DIVISIONS?

MRS. THATCHER: DIVISIONS OF OPINION, I KNOW WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO NOW ARE TWO THINGS, WELL, THREE THINGS REALLY. FIRST, WHEN THE ISLANDS HAVE BEEN REPOSSESSED, AND THERE IS STILL, AS YOU SAY, A VERY BIG COULD BE LENGTHY BATTLE AHEAD, IF THE ARGENTINES DON'T WITHDRAW. THAT HAS TO BE COMPLETED AND THE ISLANDS REPOSSESSED. WE ARE NOW THINKING OF THE REHABILITATION, REPAIR, RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT THAT MUST TAKE PLACE. THAT WILL TAKE QUITE A TIME. I HAVE ASKED LORD SHACKLETON WHO DID A WONDERFUL REPORT IN 1976, WHICH ALAS WE DID NOT FULLY FOLLOW UP, TO UPDATE HIS PROPOSALS IN THE LIGHT OF PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES SO THAT WE WILL HAVE SOMETHING TO GO ON TO DEVELOP THE RESOURCES OF THOSE ISLANDS.

THIRDLY WE'LL THEN HAVE TO CONSIDER THE WHOLE FUTURE WITH THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS, OF WHETHER WE CAN BRING THEM TO FULL DEPENDENCE OR SOME KIND OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, AND FOURTHLY, WOULD HAVE TO TRY TO GET SOME ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SECURITY OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. WE WILL HAVE TO STAY THERE FOR SOME TIME BUT WE WILL WANT SOME OTHER HELP FROM OTHER NATIONS - AFTER ALL WHEN THE UNITED STATES ASKED US TO GO AND JOIN THEM WITH A MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE IN SINAI, WE DID IT. THAT'S THE KIND OF THING THAT I AM THINKING OF.

WE SAID 'YES' TO THEM AND I THINK THAT THEY ARE NATURALLY INTERESTED AND I THINK PERHAPS THEY AND SOME OTHER NATIONS WOULD HELP. IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE GET SECURITY FOR THE FALKLAND ISLANDS AND FOR THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS IF WE'RE TO GET THE CAPITAL TO GO THERE TO DEVELOP THE ISLANDS TO GIVE GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PEOPLE. SO WE HAVE THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, THE REPOSSESSION, AND ALL OF THE OTHER THINGS THAT WE ARE THINKING OF. OH, THERE ARE VARIATIONS IN VIEW, THERE ARE MANY THINGS THAT YOU CAN DO BUT NOT FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN ANY WAY, ONLY HOW CAN WE BEST DO IT.

A. BURNET: WOULD YOU CONSIDER A PART FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, SAY, IN THE FUTURE SUPERVISION OF THE SECURITY OF THE ISLANDS?

MRS. THATCHER: THAT WOULD BE POSSIBLE BUT I THINK ONCE WE HAVE REPOSSESSED THE ISLANDS, I THINK IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO DO IT BY A MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE OF THE KIND WHICH I HAVE INDICATED.

A. BURNET: IT IS SUGGESTED THAT ARGENTINA MIGHT NOT ACCEPT A MILITARY DEFEAT, WOULD SIMPLY GO ON TRYING TO BOMB THE ISLANDS AND THEREBY WAIT AND PREPARE UNTIL BRITAIN WAS CAUGHT NAPPING AGAIN.

MRS. THATCHER: THAT IS EXACTLY WHY WE ARE SPENDING SOME CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME ON THINKING HOW BEST TO SECURE THE FUTURE OF THE ISLANDS. THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE SECURED AGAINST INVASION BY SEA, OR INVASION BY AIR AND I THINK THAT'S WHY IT'S IMPORTANT TO HAVE MORE THAN ONE NATION INVOLVED IN THEIR SECURITY.

A. BURNET: WOULD YOU THINK OF A MILITARY BASE THERE WHICH A NUMBER OF NATIONS MIGHT USE?

MRS. THATCHER: WELL, WE HAD A VERY VERY TINY LITTLE GARRISON, OBVIOUSLY THERE HAS TO BE FAR MORE THERE THAN THERE WAS IN THE PAST, YOU HAVE TO THINK OF THE TWO THINGS: PROTECTION AGAINST INVASION BY SEA AND OF COURSE I BELIEVE WE WOULD HAVE TO LENGTHEN THE AIR STRIP, AS A MATTER OF FACT IF WE HAD LENGTHENED THE AIR STRIP BEFORE AND IT HAD NOT BEEN DEFENDED THE INVASION WOULD HAVE BEEN EVEN EASIER. BUT LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY, WE'RE VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, IT MUSTN'T HAPPEN AGAIN, WE SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO GET THE CAPITAL TO DEVELOP THE MANY RESOURCES THAT WE COULD DEVELOP AND WE HAVE TO CONSIDER HOW TO DO IT, FIRST, WITH OTHER NATIONS, A POSSIBLE UNITED NATIONS FORCE BUT THE UNITED NATIONS IS ALREADY VERY HEAVILY INVOLVED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, SO IF WE COULD DO IT THROUGH A MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE I THINK THAT WOULD BE THE BEST THING.

A. BURNET: WHAT ODEEE DO YOU THINK OF THE UNITED STATES PART IN THIS CRISIS SO FAR? HAS AMERICA REALLY BEEN A GOOD ALLY?

MRS. THATCHER: THE UNITED STATES IS AS STAUNCH IN THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY AS THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IN HER HEARTS OF HEARSS SHE KNEW AND ALWAYS KNEW THAT THERE COULD NEVER BEN ANY NEUTRALITY BETWEEN THE MILITARY JUNTA AND DEMOCRACY. WHAT SHE HAD HOPED TO DO WAS TO TRY TO SECURE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT INCLUDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ARGENTINE FORCES WITHOUT A BATTLE. WE'RE VERY GRATEFUL TO HER FOR MAKING THAT EFFORT, IT WAS NOT HER FAULT THAT IT DID NOT SUCCEED, IT WAS THE FAULT OF THE ARGENTINES. SHE MADE THE EFFORT, WE TRIED TOO. THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS MADE THE EFFORT BUT HE COULD NOT SUCCEED IN GETTING THE ARGENTINES TO WITHDRAW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THAT REZOLUTION. THE FAULT LIES, NOT WITH THE UNITED STATES, NOR WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL, THEIR EFFORTS WERE SPLENDID, IT LIES WITH AN INVADER WHO'S DETERMINED O TO TRY TO KEEP THE FRUITS OF INVASION AS A CONDITION OF WITHDRAWAL. THAT WAS AND REMAINS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

A. BURNET: AND DO YOU THINK OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS HAVE BEHAVED AS TRUE ALLIES SHOULD?

MRS. THATCHER: THEY WERE ABSOLUTELY SPLENDID RIGHT AT THE BEGINNING WHEN THEY AGREED TO PUT ON A BAN AGAINST ARGENTINE IMPORTS, AGREED NOT TO EXPORT ANY MILITARY EQUIPMENT. THEY ACTED SWIFTLY, IT HELPED TREMENDOUSLY, ALONG WITH THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT WE WERE RIGHT AND THE ARGENTINE WAS WRONG. IT WAS AS CLEAR CUT AS THAT. WE ARE RIGHT, THEY ARE WRONG. WE ARE THE VICTIMS, THEY ARE THE AGGRESSORS AND I THINK THEY HAVE BEHAVED EXTREMELY WELL. OF COURSE WE WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT NEITHER ITALY, NOR IRELAND, CO-OPERATED TO THE FULL IN EXTENDING THOSE SANCTIONS BUT WE'RE VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE OTHERS FOR REMAINING STANCCH AND TRUE AND FRANCE AND GERMANY LED - AND HOLLAND - WERE LED ON THIS BUT THEY DIDN'T HAVE ANY DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THE OTHERS TO FOLLOW.

A. BURNET: HAVE YOU CHANGED YOUR MIND ABOUT THE MEDIA'S COVERAGE OF THE FALKLANDS?

MRS. THATCHER: I HAD ONE OR TWO RATHER ACID THINGS TO SAY ABOUT CERTAIN PROGRAMMES, I NOTICE THAT OTHER PEOPLE HAD ACID THINGS TO SAY ABOUT THOSE PARTICULAR PROGRAMMES, MAY I SAY THAT I THINK SINCE THEN IT IS VERY MUCH BETTER. I THINK IN THE EARLY DAYS THERE WAS A PROBLEM, I THINK SOME OF YOUR PEOPLE DIDN'T FULLY REALISE THAT IF YOU ARE FIGHTING A BATTLE IN SOUTH GEORGIA AND SO ON - WE HADN'T PERHAPS MADE PROVISION FOR GETTING PHOTOGRAPHS HOME, WE THOUGHT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS TO WIN THE BATTLES, TO REPOSSESS AND WE HADN'T PUT THE EQUIPMENT DOWN THERE TO GET PHOTOGRAPHS HOME. UNDOUBTEDLY IN THE EARLY DAYS THAT CAUSED A PROBLEM BECAUSE WE WERE GETTING THE ACTUAL NEWS BUT WE WEREN'T GETTING THE PHOTOGRAPHS AS YOU WERE GETTING THEM FROM THE ARGENTINE WHICH WAS MUCH CLOSER. I HOPE THE CO-OPERATION IS VERY MUCH BETTER NOW. IT WAS OUR DECISION, YOU KNOW, TO PUT CORRESPONDENTS ON BOARD THE SHIPS - I THINK SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN VERY VERY HELPFUL INDEED AND GIVEN VERY VERY VIVID ACCOUNTS AND HELPED US TO KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON, SO I HOPE ALL IS WLRKING WELL.... WE ALL STAND FOR THE SAME THINGS, WE ALL BELIEVE IN THE SAME THINGS AND YOU COULDN'T DO WITHOUT THAT LIBERTY WHICH IS PART OF OUR TRADITION.

A. BURNET: FINALLY, DO YOU THINK THAT THE BODIES OF THE BRITISH FORCES SHOULD BE BROUGHT HOME FOR BURIAL?

MRS. THATCHDR: I KNOW THAT THERE'S QUITE A LOT OF STRONG FEELING ABOUT THIS AND I THINK THE OTHER SIDE HAS BEEN PUT TODAY, THAT USUALLY THE SOLDIERS ARE BURIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE, THAT HOW THE BATTLE IS WON, I THINK EVERYONE UNDERSTANDS THAT THE IMPLRTANT THING IS TO TRHTO WIN IT AND THEN WHEREVER WE'VE BEEN WE'VE HAD THE MOST WONDERFUL COMMONWEALTH CEMETRIES WHICH ARE LOOKED AFTER BEAUTIFULLY. I HAVE VISITED SOME AND THEY'RE LOOKED AFTER FOR EVER AND HONOUR IS DONE TO EACH AND EVERY PERSON WHO'S FALLEN IN A SEPARATE GRAVE AND OF COURSE ONE ALWAYS TRIED TO ENABLE THE RELATIVES TO GO THERE. THE SAILORS ARE BURIED AT SEA AND THE AIRCRAFTMEN WERE WHERE THEY FALL. IF HOWEVER PEOPLE DO FEEL VERY STRONGLY THEN OF COURSE WE'D HAVE TO TAKE THEIR FEELINGS INTO ACCOUNT. IF MOST OF THM FEEL THAT THE TRADITION SHOULD OBTAIN IT WILL BE HONOURED WITH GREAT DIGNITY AND IF THEY WANT TO GO AND SEE, AS OF COURSE THEY WOULD SO WOULD I, WE'LL MANAGE WITH THE HELP OF THE TREASURY AND THE M.O.D. TO GET THEM THERE, TO REASSURE THEM. AND OF COURSE THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS WOULD GIVE THEM A WONDERFUL WELCOME BECAUSE THEY KNOW THE SACRIFICES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE FOR THEM AND I WOULD JUST LIKE THE RELATIVES TO KNOW WYEEE WHY THEIR LOVED ONES FELL - THEY FELL IN THE CAUSE OF LIERTY, JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY.

A. BURNET: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.