

SECRET

18A

PRIME MINISTER

FRANKS COMMITTEE

I am afraid that we are putting an awful lot of paper to you this weekend but you will not need to read it all.

In a separate box I have put all the OD(SA) papers together ✓ with the correspondence relating to the resignation of Lord Carrington, Humphrey Atkins and Richard Luce. I doubt if this is relevant to the Franks proceedings but you asked for it all at an early stage.

In this box you will find:-

(a) Lord Franks' letter ✓ inviting you to appear, together with a guidance note for those giving oral evidence and the terms of reference of the committee.

(b) The papers relating to the period up ✓ to the invasion which you saw and of which the Franks Committee have duplicates.

(c) A table listing most ✓ (i.e. omitting the least important) of those papers.

(d) Transcripts of the evidence given by:

(i) Lord Carrington

(ii) Mr Nott (his Private Secretary has sent me the transcripts; he does not think Mr Nott, who is in the Falklands, will mind).

(iii) Sir Robert Armstrong and other officials.

(e) Mr Callaghan's remark in the House of Commons on 29 April when he urged you not to override the Chiefs of Staff if they advocated caution.

(f) Your diary from January to March 1982.

We have allowed some time on Monday morning to go over any points which you want to discuss. Sir Robert Armstrong and I will be available.

/We shall

SECRET

SECRET

- 2 -

We shall also both be at Chequers tomorrow evening if it proves convenient to you to discuss any matters then.

The Secretary of the Franks Committee rang this evening to indicate the general areas about which the Committee may wish to question you.

They will start with some general matters such as your relationship with the Foreign Secretary and the extent to which you relied on him to keep you in touch with foreign policy issues. But they will not spend much time on this.

There will then be a series of questions about OD. How far were you personally involved in deciding the Committee's agenda? Why it did not meet from January 1981 to March 1982? How did you see broad policy towards the Falklands developing in the few months up to the invasion?

But their main interest will be in a fairly detailed examination of events since the beginning of the year. They would probably go through the papers which you saw in some detail. They will want to know your reactions to the talks with the Argentines at the end of February and to enquire the extent to which you were involved in the South Georgia affair. They may then want to discuss the sequence of events almost day by day, ^{from about 25 April} and to establish, in particular, when you really became concerned about the trend. When did you judge that an invasion was likely? (They have obviously been influenced by some of the press comment over the last weekend suggesting that you were given information earlier than No.10 have publicly claimed).

The whole proceeding may take about two hours.

A.J.C.

22 October, 1982

SECRET

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
20. 9.79	FCS to PM	21. 9.79	3 options. Fortress Falklands, Protracted Negotiations, Sovereignty with leaseback. Last recommended. PM rejects - H/C would reject.
24. 9.79	MOD to FCO	24. 9.79	Mr. Nott content for Foreign Secretary to indicate willingness to enter into negotiations soon.
24. 9.79	Chancellor Ex. to PM	25. 9.79	Political anxieties - diplomatic resources fully engaged on <u>Rhodesia</u> - Zimbabwe, <u>Gibraltar</u> . Avoid another sovereignty issue.
26. 9.79	PS letter to FCO	-	Early meeting of OD called.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
4.10.79	CC(79)16th	-	FCS reports to Cabinet on talks with Argentine Foreign Minister (Pastor) in New York. Emphasised wish to make progress provided local inhabitants wishes respected.
12.10.79	OD(79)31 - paper by FCS	12.10.79	Proposes exploratory talks with Argentina. PM asks that discussion be deferred until Rhodesia settled.
12.11.79	FCO letter to No. 10	13.11.79	Reports that Argentines propose informal talks with Ridley in New York and that FCO had declined. PM agrees to resume discussions in OD after Dublin.
28.11.79	JIC(79)(N)74	28.11.79	If negotiations break down or Argentina consider HMG not serious on sovereignty, military action possible but risk not high.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
24. 1.80	FCS to PM	24. 1.80	FCS warns of risks in delay in starting exploratory talks.
29. 1.80	OD Minutes	-	FCS to seek <u>Island Council agreement</u> to resume talks; FCS to propose new <u>terms of reference.</u>
2. 2.80	FCO telegram to Port Stanley	2. 2.80	Text of <u>Ridley message</u> to <u>Island Council</u> : proposes exploratory talks <u>without commitment but nothing excluded.</u> Happy for Islands representatives to participate.
13. 2.80	Port Stanley Tel. to FCO	13. <u>2.80</u>	Councillors confirm support for talks and agree to send representatives.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
22. 2.80	FCS to PM	22. 2.80	PM agrees that Ridley contact Argentina to arrange first meeting after Easter.
27. 6.80	OD memo. by FCS	27. 6.80	Outline options and proposes that we explore whether leaseback is a possible solution.
2. 7.80	OD Minutes	2. 7.80	Ridley authorised to hold confidential, exploratory talks including surrender of sovereignty and leaseback. OD then to decide <u>if</u> outcome sufficiently promising for Islanders' views <u>to</u> be sought.
11. 8.80	Buenos Aires Tel 186	12. 8.80	Parkinson (Trade) visit to Argentina - trade issues - <u>positive success.</u>

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
4.11.80	OD memo. by FCS	4.11.80	Talks showed reasonable prospect of settlement. Change of President in March 1981. Desirable to make them commit themselves on leaseback before this. Seeks agreement to moving towards formal negotiations if Islanders agree.
6.11.80	Cabinet Secretary to PM	6.11.80	Brief covering OD paper - Ridley proposes talks in Buenos Aires before visit to Falklands to ensure "whole" Junta will <u>negotiate</u> .
6.11.80	D. Wright to No. 10	6.11.80	Whole Junta will negotiate.
7.11.80	OD Minutes	7.11.80	Ridley to visit Falklands to assess support for proposals.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
26.11.80 27.11.80	Port Stanley Tel 180 Port Stanley Tels 182,183	26.11.80) 27.11.80)	Ridley's visit to Falklands, consults councillors and islanders. Response before Christmas from joint council.
2.12.80	Cabinet Secretary to PM	<u>2.12.80</u>	Alarmist Times Headline <u>26 Nov</u> , on <u>Ridley visit</u> , FCS statement in H/L.
2.12.81	PS to PM	2.12.81	Ridley's statement in House - <u>badly received</u> .
3.12.80	OD Minutes	3.12.80	Ridley report on visit to Falklands. 1. FCS to report further when Islanders' considered reactions to Ridley proposal known. 2. FCS to consider future course of contacts with Argentina. 3. Parliament to be reassured that HMG will support status quo if Islanders so choose. 4. Home Sec/FCS to consider position of non-patrial Islanders under Nationality Bill. 5. FCS/Chancellor Ex. to investigate interest on savings deposits and raising capital for development.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
12. 1.81	Home Sec. to PM	12. 1.81	Falkland Islands under Nationality Bill: no special provision can be made. But favourable consideration if emergency.
26. 1.81	OD memo. by FCS	26. 1.81	Councillors agree to further talks to discuss possible <u>freeze</u> to dispute. Propose talks in February/March with Islanders present.
28. 1.81	Cabinet Secretary to PM	28. 1.81	Brief covering OD(81)2 Argentina protest over stories about immigration to Falklands from St. Helena and UK.
29. 1.81	OD Minutes	29. 1.81	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. FCS to arrange early negotiations to include Island reps.2. Home Sec/FCS to consider distinctive citizenship.3. FCS/Chanc. Ex. to consider improving savings deposits.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
13.3.81	FCS to PM	13.3.81	Report on Ridley/Argentine talks in New York 23/24 Feb. Freeze rejected. Islanders realise <u>choice is between status quo and cession of sovereignty (leaseback)</u>
24.3.81	FCO to No.10	24.3.81	Message to new President (Viola) from PM.
9.7.81	<u>JIC(81)(N)34</u>	14.7.81	Believe Argentines still wish to achieve objectives by <u>peaceful</u> means. But if they consider <u>no</u> hope of <u>peaceful</u> transfer of sovereignty, possible resort to military action - against <u>shipping</u> or <u>invasion</u> of <u>Islands</u> .
14.9.81	FCS to PM	14.9.81	Island Council elections - probable opposition to sovereignty talks. Argentines impatient - could withdraw <u>air services</u> or <u>fuel</u> . Cannot discount military confrontation.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
24.9.81	Chief Secretary to PM	24.9.81	Proposes warning to Island Council - no money to bail out from economic consequences of confrontation.
24.9.81	Buenos Aires Tel 259	24.9.81	Carrington/Camilion talks New York 23.9.81 - press comment. Argentina wants talks <u>before end of year.</u>
8.10.81	FCO tel to Port Stanley	8.10.81	Request for Councillors views.
24.11.81	FCS to PM	24.11.81	Savings - possible formation of commercial bank. Development capital - no loans possible without HMG guarantee. ECGD and Crown Agents facilities being considered.
2.12.81	FCS to PM	2.12.81	New Legislative council agrees to talks to include their representatives but <u>opposed</u> to 'deal' over sovereignty. Need to provide <u>alternative services</u> if Islands cut off by Argentine action.

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
15.12.81	FCO tel to Buenos Aires	15.12.81	Argentines <u>postpone</u> talks.
15.12.81	Buenos Aires tel to FCO	15.12.81	Nothing sinister in <u>postponement</u> . Galtieri had been against but was persuaded.
18.12.81	FCO tel to Buneos Aires	18.12.81	Argentina presses for <u>new date</u> for talks in <u>second half</u> of January.
18.12.81	FCO to No.10	18.12.81	Suggested message of congratulation from PM to Galtieri. PM decides against.
7.1.82	FCO tel to Buenos Aires	7.1.82	UK offers talks on 22 and 23 Feb. in New York.
15.2.82	FCS to PM	16.2.82	Talks agreed for 26 and 27 Feb. in New York. <u>Tough Argentine document</u> - sole purpose of negotiations to <u>cede sovereignty to Argentines, denies Islanders' wishes</u> . Ambassador in Buenos Aires to be instructed to <u>make clear</u> that we can only continue negotiations on clear understanding that our position on sovereignty is <u>not prejudiced</u> . PM comments - & also "Islanders' wishes paramount".

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
28.2.82	Buenos Aires Tels to FCO	1.3.82	Report on talks - <u>cordial</u> but Argentines constrained by <u>rigid brief</u> . <u>Text</u> of joint communique sent to London.
1.3.82	Washington tel to <u>FCO</u>	1.3.82	Luce/Enders talks - negotiations hardening. Argentine press talk of military action. Enders asked to cool things down on <u>his visit</u> to Buenos Aires.
2.3.82	Buenos Aires Tel to FCO	2.3.82	Argentine statement on 26/27 talks - reference to using <u>other procedures</u> if <u>early solution</u> not reached.
3.3.82	Wash. Tel to FCO	3.3.82	Enders' talks with Argentines - <u>no</u> impression that drastic action imminent.
3.3.82	Buenos Aires Tel to FCO	3.3.82	Argentine press (<i>Pravica</i> La Stensa) comments - if no progress, services to Islands might be cut, relations with UK <u>severed</u> , speculation about <u>direct</u> seizure of Islands between middle and end of year. P M comments

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
			PM comments "We must make contingency plans."
5.3.82	Buenos Aires tel to FCO	5.3.82	Costa Mendez <u>denies wish to threaten.</u>
8.3.82	FCO tel to Port Stanley	8.3.82	FCS proposes message to Argentines/ ^{expressing} disappointment about press reports and seeking assurance that future negotiations will not be pursued against a background of threats.
8.3.82	No.10 to FCO	8.3.82	Paper which FCS intends to bring to OD might describe <u>contingency planning.</u>

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
12.3.82	MOD to No.10	15.3.82	Response to PM's question to Defence Secretary about <u>timescale for deployment of ships.</u> Contingency <u>planning in hand.</u>
17.3.82	Port Stanley tel to FCO	17.3.82	Councillors agree to FCS's proposed message to Argentina.
20.3.82	FCO tel to Port Stanley	20.3.82	Endurance to leave for S. Georgia at 0930 on <u>21 March</u> unless Argentine party has by then left <u>Leith.</u>
21.3.82	Buenos Aires tel to FCO	21.3.82	Agreed we would not exaggerate significance. Party would leave <u>South Georgia today.</u>

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
22.3.82	Port Stanley tel to FCO	22.3.82	Message from Lord Buxton - talks with Costa Mendez - gained impression that open attack was unlikely but casual landings probable. Buxton urges termination of <u>Davidoff contract</u> . Believes landing carefully planned.
22.3.82	Buenos Aires tel to FCO	22.3.82	Recommends we <u>regularise Davidoff</u> retrospectives.
23.3.82	FCO to Buenos Aires	23.3.82	FCS message to Costa Mendez. Scrap Dealer <u>must leave</u> or will be removed. Urges sensible handling of incident.
24.3.82	FCO to Defence Secretary	24.3.82	* ~~~~~ * Argentines <u>may withdraw their services to the Islands</u> . Suggests Endurance remains on station.

* ~~~~~ * Words deleted and retained under Section 3(4).

AWayland
10 May 2012

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
24.3.82	FCO to PM	<u>24.3.82</u>	Proposed FCS message to Mendez on minimum ^{terms} for continued negotiations. FCS advocate <u>early OD meeting</u> and <u>urgent contingency planning for a sea service.</u>
24.3.82	* ~~~~~ *	24.3.82	* ~~~~~ *
25.3.82	No.10 to FCO	-	PM agrees to FCS message and sea services.
25.3.82	Buenos Aires tel to FCO	25.3.82	Press reports in <u>Argentina</u> about Endurance having been sent to South Georgia. Costa Mendez speaks of <u>"gunboat diplomacy."</u>

~ Entries deleted and retained under Section 3(4).
 @Wayland, 10 May 2012

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
25.3.82	Buenos Aires Tel to FCO	25.3.82	Suggests possible alternatives for action against workmen on S. Georgia.
25.3.82	Port Stanley Tel to FCO	25.3.82	Endurance observes <u>landing craft offloading equipment at Leith Jetty</u>
25.3.82	FCO tel to Washington	25.3.82	Giffard (FCO) briefs US <u>Embassy</u> who undertakes to report our concern to Washington
25.3.82	FCO to No. 10	25.3.82	Details of <u>Davidoff's contract</u>

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
26.3.82	Tel from Endurance	26.3.82	Offloading stores from <u>Baha Paraiso</u> - party now established for long stay
26.3.82	MOD to No. 10	26.3.82	Defence implications of <u>Argentinian action against Falklands</u> , their military options, our <u>scope for military response</u> <i>Force required to deter full-scale military invasion in minutes or hours with an LPD or LST & destroyers. Further plus SSN - supply ships - hospital "would cope a significant portion of our own resources. However I. faced with alternative occupation on arrival</i>
26.3.82	MOD minute to FCS	26.3.82	Replacement of Endurance - early discussion at OD. <i>There could be no certainty that such a force could replace the Endurance. See also conclusion</i>
28.3.82	Buenos Aires Tel to FCO	28.3.82	Message from Costa Mendez to <u>FCS</u> . Claims over-reaction by UK over incident at Leith; Argentine workmen should continue their work there. Ambassador comments that <u>Argentines intend no move to resolve the dispute</u>
28.3.82	<i>Governor to F.O.</i>		<i>Appalled at basic circumstances of Costa Mendez message - White Land does not apply to Dependencies.</i>

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
28.3.82	Telecon <u>PM/FCS</u>	-	<u>Discussion on Costa Mendez message</u>
29.3.82	Defence Secretary to PM	29.3.82	<u>SSN Spartan sails covertly to Falklands. Consider possibility of further diversion of vessels from Gibraltar</u>
30.3.82	Hansard Extract	-	FCS statement to Lords about South Georgia
30.3.82	FCS + MOD to PM	<u>30.3.82</u>	<u>Defence Deployments</u> <i>"There is at present no sign of this" (i.e. Argentine deployment to the Falklands)</i>
30.3.82	FCO tel to Buenos Aires	30.3.82	<u>Response by FCS to Mendez message. Propose to send personal emissary.</u>

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
30.3.82	FCO to No. 10	30.3.82	Further information on <u>Davidoff contract</u>
31.3.82	PM to President Reagan	-	Request that Reagan talks <u>urgently to Galtieri</u> . Possible invasion within 48 hours
31.3.82	FCO to AJC	31.3.82	Advice on referring S. Georgia incident to <u>international arbitration</u>
31.3.82	Washington Tel to FCO	31.3.82	Haig briefed on <u>intelligence reports</u> of which he was unaware. Enders states Argentine For. Minister assured him <u>no confrontation</u> . Haig says <u>he will take action</u> .

SECRET

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
31.3.82	JIC(82)(IA)6	31.3.82	Believes Argentina does <u>not</u> wish to be first to adopt military measures
1.4.82	JIC(82)(IA)7	1.4.82	Military preparations under way but no intelligence that Junta has decided to invade. But amphibious task force could attack by midday on 2 April.
1.4.82	OD Minutes	1.4.82	OD agrees Endurance to stay. Contingency plans for replacing services to be finalised.
1.4.82	Reagan to PM	1.4.82	Reagan talks to Galtieri. Latter gave clear impression that he <u>will attack</u>

~~SECRET~~

D.R.

Date of Paper	Description of Paper	Date sent to PM	Subject Matter
1.4.82	Minute from Cabinet Secretary	1.4.82	Intelligence sources unable to produce information in time for UN Security Council
2.4.82	JIC(82)(IA)9	2.4.82	Invasion likely within 24 hours