

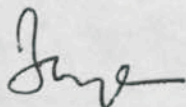
Argentina
WM
7/2

LORD PRESIDENT

CONSOLIDATED FUND BILL - Mr Tam Dalyell

I attach briefing against the possibility of Mr Dalyell's being called to raise the following issue on Monday, February 7:

The Prime Minister's relations with the news media in relation to the release of the Franks Report and her visit to the Falklands.



BERNARD INGHAM
3 February 1983

FRANKS REPORT

The Prime Minister took the decision that there should be no advance issue of the Franks Report, in the form of a Confidential Final Revise (CFR), entirely independently of the restricted embargo system currently operating. This was introduced after the wholesale breach of the Falklands Honours and Gallantry Awards embargo in October.

The Prime Minister decided that no-one should be put in possession of the Report before Parliament. Copies of the Report were made available to the press at the same time as they appeared in the Vote Office - 3.30pm on January 18 when the Prime Minister stood up to make her statement on the Report.

I repeatedly told the media that the decision not to provide CFRs was not connected with the embargo issue.

The Parliamentary Lobby journalists were seriously exercised about the lack of CFRs and pressed me to identify the numbers of the important paragraphs in the Franks Report so that they could find their way quickly through the Report.

My willingness to do this - in line with previous practice - reached the ears of Mr Dalyell who raised it on the floor of the House while the Lord President was there. The extract is at Annex I.

The issue was subsequently raised by Mr Dalyell and the Leader of the Opposition immediately on publication of the Report. The extracts are at Annex II.

The Prime Minister in these exchanges disclosed that she had specifically instructed me, in view of this publicity, not to help the Lobby with paragraph numbers in advance of publication - even though my objectivity, or lack of it, could subsequently be checked by a reading of the Report.

I did not of course do so. But immediately after the Prime Minister's statement journalists in the Press Gallery clamoured for help in identifying key paragraphs and I read out from the attached note.

Later that evening Roy Hattersley telephoned "as a journalist" and asked me which paragraphs I would have read out. I avoided answering precisely but outlined my approach to helping the media 'gut' a report rapidly; told him that after the Prime Minister's statement I did respond to journalists' requests for help; and spoke in severe terms that I did not propose to be judged in this matter by the debased standards which some people appeared to have about the work of a Press Secretary.

Mr Hattersley's two latest articles in 'Punch' on the issue are at Annex III.

Adam Raphael, Observer, accurately predicted the outcome of the Franks investigation on January 16. The Prime Minister has denied No 10 was the source of the leak.

EMBARGOES

The Prime Minister took the view when the Falklands Honours and Gallantry awards embargo was broken that the embargo system should end.

She was persuaded that the system can benefit Government as well as press and that a much restricted embargo system should operate. Since then Departments have ended the practice of issuing documents on an overnight - 24-hour - embargo. The general practice is now to make documents available only a few hours before publication.

Lobby correspondents would like to return to a more flexible system and the provincial press would particularly value 24-hour embargoes, especially with major documents, to enable them to get them to editors and leader writers in their publishing centres.

I have made it clear that I cannot recommend a return to a less restrictive regime without assurances from the various media bodies that the Government could have confidence in the operation of an embargo system.

The Newspaper Publishers' Association - representing Fleet Street - is the only body I have written to which has yet to give a definite reply. Three months after I wrote to them they replied suggesting that the matter could best be progressed through an informal lunch or meeting.

I wrote back saying:

"Willing though I normally am to meet people, I must say that I do not see such an occasion serving any useful purpose, except as a preliminary to a written assurance of the kind I sought on October 11."

At Annex IV and V are cuttings from the Times (February 2) and Financial Times (February 3) which are relevant.

VISIT TO THE FALKLANDS

The Prime Minister's approach to her visit to the Falklands is summarised in the following written answer of January 26:

"Mr Dubs asked the Prime Minister what representations she or her staff made to the British Broadcasting Corporation to have the corporation make available to Independent Television News all the film of the Prime Minister's recent Falklands visit."

"The Prime Minister: Because of the need for security over my travel arrangements, my chief press secretary arranged for a BBC TV team who were to have left Port Stanley in the week before my arrival to remain in the Falklands to cover the visit. He accordingly asked the BBC, in the interests of fair play, to make the film and sound available to ITN and IRN. The BBC eventually gave an undertaking to do so. Later an ITN reporter, also representing IRN, and a film crew arrived in the Falklands and also covered my visit."

In addition to an ITN reporter (David Walter) and a film crew of two, the Government invited Press Association (Chris Moncrieff) and the chairman of the Parliamentary Lobby journalists (John Warden, Daily Express) to make the trip. They travelled to and from the Falklands after the Prime Minister because of the security surrounding her departures.

The Channel 4 programme "The Friday Alternative" broadcast extracts from telephone calls from Port Stanley by the Chief Press Secretary to Alan Protheroe, BBC, and No 10.

A transcript of the Channel 4 broadcast is at Annex VI.

The legality of the broadcast is being investigated.

The magazine "Broadcast" has alleged the Chief Press Secretary raised no objection to the Channel 4 broadcast. Annex VII sets out the facts.

B. INGHAM

3 February 1983

Kerr, Russell
 Kilroy-Silk, Robert
 Lambie, David
 Lamond, James
 Leadbitter, Ted
 Leighton, Ronald
 Lewis, Arthur (*N'ham NW*)
 Lewis, Ron (*Carlisle*)
 Litherland, Robert
 Lofthouse, Geoffrey
 Lyon, Alexander (*York*)
 McCartney, Hugh
 McDonald, Dr Oonagh
 McElhone, Mrs Helen
 McGuire, Michael (*Ince*)
 McKay, Allen (*Penistone*)
 McKelvey, William
 MacKenzie, Rt Hon Gregor
 McMahan, Andrew
 McNamara, Kevin
 McWilliam, John
 Marks, Kenneth
 Marshall, D(*G'gow S'ton*)
 Marshall, Jim (*Leicester S*)
 Martin, M(*G'gow S'burn*)
 Mason, Rt Hon Roy
 Maxton, John
 Maynard, Miss Joan
 Meacher, Michael
 Mikardo, Ian
 Millan, Rt Hon Bruce
 Miller, Dr M. S. (*E Kilbride*)
 Mitchell, Austin (*Grimsby*)
 Morris, Rt Hon C. (*O'shaw*)
 Morris, Rt Hon J. (*Aberavon*)
 Morton, George
 Moyle, Rt Hon Roland
 Mulley, Rt Hon Frederick
 Newens, Stanley
 Oakes, Rt Hon Gordon
 O'Neill, Martin
 Palmer, Arthur
 Park, George
 Parker, John
 Parry, Robert
 Pendry, Tom
 Penhaligon, David
 Powell, Raymond (*Ogmore*)
 Prescott, John
 Price, C. (*Lewisham W*)
 Race, Reg
 Radice, Giles
 Rees, Rt Hon M (*Leeds S*)
 Richardson, Jo
 Roberts, Allan (*Bootle*)
 Roberts, Ernest (*Hackney N*)
 Roberts, Gwilym (*Cannock*)

Robertson, George
 Robinson, G. (*Coventry NW*)
 Ross, Ernest (*Dundee West*)
 Rowlands, Ted
 Ryman, John
 Sever, John
 Sheerman, Barry
 Shore, Rt Hon Peter
 Short, Mrs Renée
 Silkin, Rt Hon J. (*Deptford*)
 Silkin, Rt Hon S. C. (*Dulwich*)
 Silverman, Julius
 Skinner, Dennis
 Smith, Rt Hon J. (*N Lanark*)
 Snape, Peter
 Soley, Clive
 Spearing, Nigel
 Spellar, John Francis (*B'ham*)
 Spriggs, Leslie
 Stallard, A. W.
 Steel, Rt Hon David
 Stewart, Rt Hon D. (*W Isles*)
 Stoddart, David
 Stott, Roger
 Strang, Gavin
 Straw, Jack
 Summerskill, Hon Dr Shirley
 Taylor, Mrs Ann (*Bolton W*)
 Thomas, Dr R. (*Carmarthen*)
 Thorne, Stan (*Preston South*)
 Tilley, John
 Tinn, James
 Torney, Tom
 Varley, Rt Hon Eric G.
 Wainwright, E. (*Dearne V*)
 Walker, Rt Hon H. (*D'caster*)
 Wardell, Gareth
 Watkins, David
 Welsh, Michael
 White, Frank R.
 White, J. (*G'gow Pollok*)
 Whitehead, Phillip
 Whitlock, William
 Williams, Rt Hon A. (*S'sea W*)
 Wilson, Gordon (*Dundee E*)
 Wilson, Rt Hon Sir H. (*H'ton*)
 Wilson, William (*C'try SE*)
 Winnick, David
 Woodall, Alec
 Woolmer, Kenneth
 Wright, Sheila
 Young, David (*Bolton E*)

Tellers for the Noes:
 Mr. Walter Harrison and
 Mr. Norman Hogg.

Question accordingly agreed to.

Falkland Islands (Franks Report)

12.14 am

Mr. Tam Dalyell (West Lothian): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker. May I, in the presence of the Leader of the House, ask for the protection of the House on a House of Commons issue? In the last few minutes it has become fairly common knowledge that tomorrow at 11 am and again at 2.45 pm, on the Prime Minister's instructions, Mr. Bernard Ingham will brief the press on what Downing Street believes to be important in the Franks report.

I put it to you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, as one of many who gave evidence to the Franks committee, that hon. Members and many others who are concerned will not see the report until 3.30 pm, and that if anyone is to brief the press or the lobby on the Franks report it should be Lord Franks, not a representative of Downing Street. As I understand it, the report is not the property of Downing Street until it is delivered to the House.

I ask for your protection, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the sense that early tomorrow morning you raise the matter with Mr. Speaker. The motion that I have been able to table at the very last moment is

"That this House instructs the Prime Minister to ensure that no official will provide briefings for journalists on the Franks report before she has made her statement to the House."

I do this in no party political spirit, and least of all with any point of view on the Falklands campaign. It is a House of Commons matter and it deserves the attention of Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ernest Armstrong): I shall put the observations of the hon. Member for West Lothian (Mr. Dalyell) to Mr. Speaker. I am sure that the arrangements for tomorrow are not a matter for the Chair.

Mr. Michael Cocks (Bristol, South): Further to that point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I understand your reticence about moving into these waters, but, as the Leader of the House is present, and as my hon. Friend the Member for West Lothian (Mr. Dalyell) has made some relevant points, perhaps the Leader of the House would care to respond to what he said.

The Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons (Mr. John Biffen): I shall respond by accepting at once the concluding comments of the hon. Member for West Lothian (Mr. Dalyell)—that the matter be put to Mr. Speaker. I think that that is the appropriate course.

Falkland Islands (Franks Report)

3.31 pm

Mr. Speaker: Statement, The Prime Minister.

Mr. Tam Dalyell (West Lothian): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Just after midnight last night, I raised a point of order about Mr. Bernard Ingham and his proposed 11 am and 2.45 pm guidance to journalists. From the Opposition Front Bench last night, my right hon. Friend the Member for Bristol, South (Mr. Cocks), the Opposition Chief Whip, said that he thought that the issues were substantial and invited the Leader of the House to comment. Very fairly and properly, and acting in his capacity as Leader of the whole House, the right hon. Member for Oswestry (Mr. Biffen) said from the Dispatch Box that he agreed that the matter should be considered by you, Mr. Speaker, this morning. Indeed, Mr. Deputy Speaker announced then that he would report the matter to you, Mr. Speaker.

If the Franks committee had been set up by the House, there would have been a succession of breach of privilege cases, besides which the cases of the late Sir Gerald Nabarro on car tax, of the leak of the Civil List and of myself in relation to Porton Down would have paled into insignificance—[HON. MEMBERS: "He is reading."] Indeed, in 1967, for talking prematurely about the report of the Select Committee on Science and Technology to Laurence Marks of *The Observer*, I was arraigned before the whole House.

Mr. Speaker: Order. I hope that the hon. Gentleman will submit a point of order to me on which I can rule.

Mr. Dalyell: What I said was trivial and obscure compared with the reports in *The Observer* on Sunday by Mr. Adam Raphael and the long report in *The Scotsman* which I sent to you, Sir, by the responsible diplomatic correspondent Alexander MacLeod who reported in detail and authoritatively much of what Lord Franks said and his conclusions.

The point of order is this. Is there to be one law for Downing Street and another for Back Benchers? If Downing Street did not make the leak, who did? Lord Franks? A member of his committee? Was it Lord Carrington? Was it the Foreign Office? The House of Commons is entitled to a statement on prima facie breaches of the Official Secrets Act.

When the committee was set up, so great was the store that was set by the need for secrecy that it had to be Privy Councillors who were appointed to it. Rightly, Sir Patrick Nairn was appointed to the Privy Council precisely for that purpose.

In the absence of what some of us consider the civilised and sensible habit of an embargo for the Lobby so that they can study things in a relaxed and proper manner, what we have had is selective briefing and selected leaking by interested parties. Moreover—

Mr. Speaker: Order. The hon. Gentleman must now submit a point of order to me. [HON. MEMBERS: "He has done it."] If he has done it, I am quite willing to give my ruling. He must now come to the point. The House is waiting to hear a statement.

Mr. Dalyell: Is it right for the House of Commons to face a situation where a Prime Minister can put her own

gloss on something? If Downing Street was not responsible, let us have an inquiry to discover who made the leak. The first thing in the public mind is—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I can help the hon. Gentleman and the House in this matter. This is not a matter over which I have any authority to rule. It is not a report that has been commissioned by the House. It is a Government report. It is not for me to tell the Government how they may conduct their own affairs. Statement, the Prime Minister.

Mr. George Foulkes (South Ayrshire): On a point of order on another matter, Mr. Speaker, which is your responsibility. Some hon. Members are privileged enough to have had a copy of the report for a long time. Others are scurrying out of the Chamber to get one now. Would it not be better for the statement to be made when all hon. Members, especially Back Benchers, for whom I know you have a special concern, Mr. Speaker, are on an equal footing when the statement is made? Would it not be sensible for this sitting to be suspended—

Hon. Members: No.

Hon. Members: Hear, Hear!

Mr. Foulkes: —to allow hon. Members to read the report or for the Prime Minister's statement to be postponed until hon. Members have read it?

Mr. Speaker: Order.

3.37 pm

The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher): With permission, Mr. Speaker, I will make a statement about the report of the Falkland Islands review committee.

The House will remember that I announced the setting up of the review committee in July 1982, after consultation with the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition and with leading Privy Councillors in other parties. At that time I expressed the hope that the committee would be able to complete its work within six months.

The committee has justified that hope. I received its report on 31 December 1982, and I am presenting it to Parliament as a Command Paper this afternoon. Copies are now available in the Vote Office. [HON. MEMBERS: "Too late."]

I should like to express the Government's gratitude to the noble Lord, Lord Franks, and to his colleagues for the amount of time and effort which they have devoted to producing such a thorough and comprehensive report in so short a time.

The report makes it clear that the committee was provided with all the papers relevant to its terms of reference, including a comprehensive collection of reports from the intelligence agencies. The committee's report contains a number of references to intelligence matters which would not in other circumstances be divulged. These references are essential for a full understanding of the matters into which the committee was asked to enquire, and the Government have agreed that the public interest requires that on this occasion the normal rule against public reference to the intelligence organisation or to material derived from intelligence reports should be waived.

The Government have, however, agreed with Lord Franks amendments to certain of the references to

intelligence reports with a view to minimising potential damage to British intelligence interests. Lord Franks has authorised me to tell the House that he agrees that, first, all the references to intelligence reports included in the committee's report as submitted have been retained in the report as presented to Parliament, most of them without amendment; secondly, none of the amendments that have been made alters the sense, substance or emphasis of the reference to the intelligence report concerned, or removes anything of significance to the committee's account of the matters referred to it or to its findings and conclusions; thirdly, apart from those agreed amendments, no other deletions or amendments have been made to the committee's report as submitted.

The report is unanimous and is signed by all the members of the committee without qualification. It falls into four chapters. The first gives an account of the dispute from 1965—when the issue was first brought formally to international attention by a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations—to May 1979.

The second chapter covers the period from May 1979 to 19 March 1982. The third deals with the fortnight from 19 March to 2 April 1982, which included the South Georgia incident and which led up to the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands. The fourth and final chapter deals with the way in which the Government discharged their responsibilities in the period leading up to the invasion. There are six annexes, the first of which deals with 10 specific assertions that have been made by some who have commented on the matters in question.

In the fourth chapter of the report—that is, the one that deals with the way Government discharged their responsibilities—the committee notes a number of points where, in its judgment, different decisions might have been taken, fuller consideration of alternative courses of action might have been advantageous, and the machinery of government could have been better used. That chapter defines and addresses itself to two crucial questions: first, could the Government have foreseen the invasion of 2 April 1982; secondly, could the Government have prevented the invasion?

The committee emphasises that its report should be read as a whole. At this stage, therefore, I shall do no more than quote the committee's conclusions on those two crucial questions. On the first question, whether the Government could have foreseen the invasion of 2 April, the committee's conclusion is:

"In the light of this evidence, we are satisfied that the Government did not have warning of the decision to invade. The evidence of the timing of the decision taken by the Junta shows that the Government not only did not, but could not, have had earlier warning. The invasion of the Falkland Islands on 2 April could not have been foreseen."

I have quoted the whole of paragraph 266.

On the second question, whether the Government could have prevented the invasion, the committee's conclusion, contained in the final paragraph of the report, is:

"Against this background we have pointed out in this Chapter where different decisions might have been taken, where fuller consideration of alternative courses of action might, in our opinion, have been advantageous, and where the machinery of Government could have been better used. But, if the British Government had acted differently in the ways we have indicated, it is impossible to judge what the impact on the Argentine Government or the implications for the course of events might have been. There is no reasonable basis for any suggestion—which would be purely hypothetical—that the invasion would have been prevented if the Government had acted in the ways indicated in our report. Taking account of these

considerations, and of all the evidence we have received, we conclude that we would not be justified in attaching any criticism or blame to the present Government"

[Laughter.]

Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Prime Minister: May I finish the conclusion of the Franks Committee? It was its conclusion and has nothing to do with the Government. It said:

"we conclude that we would not be justified in attaching any criticism or blame to the present Government for the Argentine Junta's decision to commit its act of unprovoked aggression in the invasion of the Falkland Islands on 2 April 1982."

I have quoted in full the final paragraph of the Franks report.

Time will, of course, be found for an early debate, and that will be discussed through the usual channels. The Government will welcome an early opportunity of discussing the matters contained in the report more thoroughly than is possible this afternoon.

Mr. Michael Foot (Ebbw Vale): My hon. Friend the Member for West Lothian (Mr. Dalrymple) raised a question about leakages. Anyone who read some of the reports in the newspapers could have reached a *prima facie* opinion that there was some leakage. It is a serious question. Will the right hon. Lady investigate the matter and report to the House? That is the most satisfactory way to deal with the matter, and such a course has been taken on previous occasions.

I am sure that the right hon. Lady's proposal for a debate will be accepted. The Opposition naturally concur with her suggestion. I hope that the Government will agree that the debate—I trust it will take place next week—will be a two-day debate. We had lengthy debates on the subject last year and it would be unsatisfactory to have a debate that was principally occupied by Privy Councillors. Many of them have every right to speak, but there should be a full two-day debate. Will the right hon. Lady agree to that now?

Most of the right hon. Lady's statement concerned procedural questions, and I shall put one procedural question to her before moving on. When the committee was established in July, she properly gave an undertaking that if any Minister or civil servant felt that they had suffered unfair criticism in the report, they would have the chance to reappear before the committee to state their views and to have them taken further into account. Have any civil servants or Ministers availed themselves of that opportunity?

The right hon. Lady referred to the clear statement in paragraph 336 of the report about the Committee's conclusions. It is essential that the report is read as a whole. I am one of the few hon. Members who have had an opportunity to read it, and I am happy to confirm its judgment. There are references to the machinery of government and the failures that may have occurred.

Indeed, the right hon. Lady referred to that. I wish to quote a paragraph from the report that why it is necessary to examine the whole report before passing judgment on its conclusions. It is necessary to draw the right conclusions to ensure that the same tragic errors are not committed in future. In the words of the Foreign Secretary who resigned, those errors led to a national humiliation. [Interruption.] It was pretty tragic for the people who were killed. We need to know whether measures will be taken

[Mr. Michael Foot]

to ensure that such a tragic development does not occur again, perhaps in Belize, which is not such a different example.

For those reasons, I wish to put to the House another paragraph that illustrates the case most clearly. Paragraph 115 states:

"When they were informed of the decision"—
that is, the decision to withdraw HMS "Endurance"—
"the Falkland Islands Councils held a joint meeting on 26 June 1981, following which they sent a message to Lord Carrington in the following terms:

"The people of the Falkland Islands deplore in the strongest terms the decision to withdraw HMS *Endurance* from service. They express extreme concern that Britain appears to be abandoning its defence of British interests in the South Atlantic and Antarctic at a time when other powers are strengthening their position in these areas. They feel that such a withdrawal will further weaken British sovereignty in this area in the eyes not only of Islanders but of the world. They urge that all possible endeavours be made to secure a reversal of this decision."

On the following page the report describes fully for the first time what happened to those "all possible endeavours". One would have thought that in the face of such an appeal "all possible endeavours" should have included a reference of this matter to the Cabinet or to the Overseas and Defence Committee of the Cabinet. There was a difference of opinion between the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary of State for Defence—[HON. MEMBERS: "No."] I am talking now about what happened to the Falkland Islands. [HON. MEMBERS: "Question."] I am coming to my question to the right hon. Lady. There was a difference of opinion between the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary of State for Defence about the withdrawal of HMS "Endurance". The Foreign Secretary, who resigned, persisted in his attempt to raise the matter.

Does the right hon. Lady agree that the proper place for the question to have been decided—the difference of opinion between the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary of State for Defence—was either in the Overseas and Defence Committee over which she presides or the Cabinet over which she is supposed to preside? Does she agree, having read the entire report, that it illustrates a collapse of effective Cabinet government in this country—[*Interruption.*] We had Cabinet government in this country that could not even discuss this appeal from the Falkland Islands. Will the right hon. Lady tell us now what changes she is making in the effective control of the Government to ensure that such a tragic event does not arise again?

The Prime Minister: On the first question raised by the right hon. Gentleman, which was raised before I made my statement, about the alleged briefing of the press, the remarks that were made rightly cause deep offence to a very distinguished civil servant who has served both Governments. [HON. MEMBERS: "Leaking."] The leaking was not from No. 10. As a civil servant has been named, and it is my duty and pleasure to defend him, may I say that there was never an arrangement for my press secretary to brief the press on the contents of the Franks report before its publication. To help the press to digest the report in the short time available to them after publication, my press secretary was prepared to give them a list of numbers of key paragraphs—[HON. MEMBERS: "Ah!"]—knowing full well that those paragraphs could have been tested against the report when published and that it could have

been seen whether he had been fair or not—[*Interruption.*] Is the hon. Member for Bolsover (Mr. Skinner) suggesting that he would have been unfair? [HON. MEMBERS: "Yes."]

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Bolsover): What I am suggesting to the right hon. Lady is that she talks about guidance for certain paragraphs, but she just said in response to my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition that the report should be read in its entirety, not just selected paragraphs. [HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear."]

The Prime Minister: So the hon. Gentleman is not accusing my press secretary. Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker for enabling me to make that point.

However, in view of what occurred in the House last night, about which I heard, I specifically instructed him not to brief the press either on the paragraphs or in any way. Therefore, he did not brief them on the paragraphs and had no intention at any time of briefing them on the contents, nor did he brief them on the contents. The only people outside the Government who have had the report in advance of publication are the Leader of the Opposition—[HON. MEMBERS: "Ah!"]—former Prime Ministers—[HON. MEMBERS: "When?"] I shall come to the moment when. The report was also made available to the Ministers who resigned when the invasion took place. They were given the report at midday yesterday. The leaders of the other opposition parties, who were consulted on the establishment of the committee, and you, Mr. Speaker, received it this afternoon.

I agree with the Leader of the Opposition that the report should be read as a whole—

Mr. Skinner: The right hon. Lady quoted those two paragraphs.

The Prime Minister:—which is why I quoted only the conclusions, which one is entitled to quote because the Franks committee was set up to pronounce on precisely those matters. It would have been absurd to do otherwise.

The right hon. Gentleman pointed out the paragraphs about HMS *Endurance* and about the decision to withdraw it. If the report is to be read as a whole, he should also refer to paragraph 44, which states:

"One consequence of the 1974 Defence Review, which resulted in a phased rundown of overseas commitments outside NATO was a decision to take HMS *Endurance* out of service."

Hon. Members: Read on.

The Prime Minister: I will indeed read on. I shall read the next sentence and the one after that if need be. There was a decision to take HMS *Endurance* out of service. It was not implemented, nor was our decision to take HMS *Endurance* out of service implemented. [*Interruption.*] The fact is that the invasion occurred while HMS *Endurance* was on station.

The Leader of the Opposition should also direct attention to signals and developments in British policy that are discussed in paragraphs 278 to 281, which refer also to other signals given by governments of both parties—[*Interruption.*]

Mr. Ron Leighton (Newham, North-East): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Order. I will take the hon. Gentleman's point of order if he cannot wait until the end of the answer. But may I say to the House that it is very wrong on an issue of such magnitude that anyone must fight to be heard. It is very wrong indeed.

PRESS GANG

Roy Hattersley



Less Than Franks

All credit to the *Observer*. 48 hours before official publication, its banner headline was confident and categorical about the Falkland Isles report. "Franks finds Thatcher is not to blame," was splashed across its front page over an "exclusive" story. The author—Adam Raphael—insists that there was no leak. He neither saw the document on which he commented nor had its contents been tittle-tattled. He simply used his initiative and judgment, pursuing not the six wise men on the committee but the innumerable witnesses who provided their evidence. In short, Mr Raphael claims that he constructed a parallel report and drew the intelligent conclusion. Who are we to argue with him?

It is Mr Raphael's success in holding a Franks inquiry of his own and gaining from it an accurate assessment of the real report's conclusions that makes the behaviour of Bernard Ingham so difficult to understand. Mr Ingham is the Prime Minister's Press Secretary. So he saw the results of the Falklands investigation as soon as they were submitted to Mrs Thatcher. He knew that the final paragraph concluded that no one would "be justified in attaching any criticism to the present Government," and he must have therefore expected the press to do their patriotic duty—i.e. idolatrise the Prime Minister. Yet he behaved in a way which opened him to the charge of attempted manipulation.

I describe his behaviour in that neutral way for three reasons. One: In the circumstances, manipulation was unnecessary. With the recently knighted David English in command and the material which the report provided, no power on earth could have prevented the *Daily Mail* splashing, "Not Guilty. First to raise the alert was Maggie." Two: Mr Ingham assured me that all he tried to do was help journalists "find their way around" Franks. Three: He gave me that assurance in such bellicose language that failure to report his disclaimer would put my person at risk when next I meet the burly Mr Ingham.

Nevertheless his conduct on the day of the report's publication was at best naive and the explanations which followed were (to be charitable) disingenuous. The facts can be easily stated. The Franks Report (all 109 pages) was made available to press, public and Parliament only at 3.30 p.m. on the

afternoon of Tuesday, 18th January at the exact moment when Mrs Thatcher began to make her statement on its contents. Mr Ingham, conscious of the problems which this would cause for journalists, offered help.

He suggested that at 2.45 he addressed a meeting of "the Lobby"—that elite band of Parliamentary Correspondents which never betrays a confidence. He was prepared, three-quarters-of-an-hour before they actually saw the report, "to point out the important paragraphs" in a document which (at least according to its authors) ought to be considered as a whole. Unfortunately, some of the political journalists who might have benefited from his guidance made his offer public. The Prime Minister was so incensed by the implied slur on the integrity of her faithful servant that she forbade him to go on with the proposed spoon-feeding. The ingrates had to fend for themselves. And they managed their lonely obligation very well.

None better than John Warden, the Political Editor of the *Daily Express*. Mr Warden is this year's chairman of "the Lobby". Because he holds that office, he went with Mrs Thatcher on her tour of the liberated islands. And in that capacity he upbraided his indiscreet colleagues for biting the hand with which Bernard Ingham proposed to feed them a pre-digested version of the Franks Report. But surely, he did himself, and his colleagues, less than justice. With or without Mr Ingham's help, "The Voice of Britain" would have celebrated: "Mrs Thatcher scored another Falklands victory last night by yomping all over her fiercest critics."

The *Daily Telegraph* was only slightly less predictable. "Thatcher is Exonerated" probably wins the year's award for the longest word to appear in a banner headline. But there was nothing else of novelty in the paper. Godfrey Barker—now firmly entrenched in the pretentious tradition of *Telegraph* sketch writers—made a singularly inapposite comparison between the Danish Court receiving news of Ophelia's death and the Opposition in the House of Commons listening to the Prime Minister's statement. And its leader writers acknowledged the importance of the subject not by the profundity of their judgments but by the length down the page of their ponderous editorial.

But as compared with the comment column in the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* editorial was a model of moderation. The *Mail* produced a passage of prose which was clearly intended to be purple, but came out in the wash as a slightly streaky mauve. "The slate has been wiped clean. Britain under Mrs Thatcher did win a glorious victory for freedom. Now let there be an end to the carping." What carping did they have in mind? Perhaps they were perturbed by a paragraph six inches higher on the same page. "Lord Carrington wishes he had sent a submarine on March 5th . . . but he didn't." Or are we allowed to go on carping at the Foreign Office and the Tory wets as long as we acknowledge Mrs Thatcher's "glorious victory"?

Compared with all this, *The Times* ("Thatcher cleared of Falklands blame by Franks") and *The Guardian* ("Thatcher is cleared of Falklands blame") seem like paragons of calm objectivity and balance—even though they could not manage an apostrophe between them. *The Times* even found room to report the one policy point that came out of the report's publication—"Fortress Falklands seen as only option". And the *Financial Times* managed to produce "Franks says Government not to blame for Junta's invasion." Did these three papers, I wonder, enjoy the services of journalists who read the report for themselves, rather than rely on Bernard Ingham's assistance?

For despite the Prime Minister's stern injunction, Mr Ingham did come to the aid of the bewildered press. Of course, he did not brief them before they saw the report. But after Mrs Thatcher's House of Commons statement, some lost souls did ask him "to give them a quick run-through". That is how Mr Ingham describes their requests. And "if people do not believe" in the innocence of his agreement to help, "that is their problem."



Last week *Press Gang* began with a paean of praise for Adam Raphael of *The Observer* who anticipated the contents of the Franks Falklands Report by 48 hours. Mr Raphael's coup would have no place in a column which, today, deals with leaks, were it not for one extraordinary aspect of his exclusive story. For the triumphant author argued that he had no prior knowledge of the report's contents, but simply pieced together the opinions of sundry witnesses and came to the conclusion that their evidence would exonerate the Prime Minister.

Now that we have all had the opportunity to digest the Franks Report, Mr Raphael's achievement seems even more spectacular. For after weeks of careful sifting, he actually came to the same conclusion as the document's two final paragraphs. The rest of Franks—as all the serious newspapers have now explained—is highly critical of the Government's performance. It takes a journalist of real talent to conduct an independent enquiry and come up, not with the opinions expressed in the body of the report which his investigations mirrored, but with the conflicting judgement with which it ended.

But as Mr Raphael's story was not based on the sight of a secret document it is not part of this week's subject. Today we examine the publication of private papers: the sort of thing that I vividly remember from my days in the Cabinet. All Cabinets leak. And I suspect that all low-grade Cabinet Ministers react as I always reacted to the Prime Minister's Thursday morning denunciation of the known but unnamed culprit. I always feared that although I was wholly innocent, I was the principal suspect. The intonation, the choice of pronouns and the careful textual analysis of the offending extract all pointed to me.

No doubt someone at New Scotland Yard felt very much the same on the Monday morning after the *Mail on Sunday* published its "EXCLUSIVE: On a plan to devolve the police". Certainly the story made Fleet Street buzz. For it was written by Chester Stern, Crime Correspondent. And not only is Chester Stern a real person, he is an ex-information officer of the Metropolitan Police. It was assumed that Mr Stern was in the know. So his story was dutifully copied

Springing a Leak

into the rival editions of other papers. Unfortunately, he grossly overdramatised the proposals. Innocent politicians who were booked for television and radio broadcasts on the strength of his mountain were told that they were not wanted when the Commissioner of Police unveiled his mouse.

All hope that a second David Henke had been discovered was extinguished. When David Henke was local government correspondent of *The Guardian* he seemed to reveal the contents of a secret document almost every day. They usually belonged to the Department of the Environment, and concerned matters of immense controversy and even greater complication. "Rate Support Grant Formula to be Changed" he would prophesy. And then would follow a passage of explanation which appeared to be written in code. When translated into English the prophecies always turned out to be correct.

Mr Henke clearly benefited from the activities of a mole—a man or woman, deep inside the DoE, who surfaced from time to time bearing a piece of paper. Most leaks are by word of mouth—which is why so many of them turn out to be inaccurate. A perfect example of the fallibility of leaks and the frailty of leakers is to be found in the recent spate of stories concerning the Government's new immigration proposals. Knowing Conservative backbenchers have stopped lobby correspondents in House of Commons corridors and assured them (in absolute confidence) that they know the Home Secretary's secret intentions. The lobby correspondents have confused confidentiality with authority

and a lot of them will be proved wrong. They have all been sprinkled by conflicting leaks.

The other problem about leaks is that they are usually spurted out for a purpose. There are in Parliament and the Civil Service genuine enuretics who leak because they cannot help it, contemptible and compulsive blabbers who cannot see a journalist without wanting to reveal a secret. But most leakers relieve themselves for a purpose. The people in the Department of Health who spread around papers which outlined plans for re-organising the Health Service did it because they believed re-organisation to be synonymous with destruction. Stories from the Cabinet are usually spread with the specific purpose of discrediting one faction and promoting another.

In my experience leaks rarely do any harm and are the cause of much innocent fun. Occasionally they do positive good—as in the case of President Nixon's destruction. More often they do no more than prick the bubble of a politician's self esteem. For nothing makes a Minister feel more important than knowing something that the rest of us do not know. Hence all the fuss when a story which was intended for release on a Monday morning appears in the newspapers on the previous Friday. The leak is also the enemy of news manipulation. If the careful plan requires a story simultaneously to explode on every front page and it pops up prematurely in a single paper, the people who planned the megaton presentation are naturally furious. They take refuge in pompous pronouncements about the proprieties of public life.

This is how the Government responded to that very special category of leak, the broken embargo, when the list of Falklands War gallantry awards was broadcast 24 hours before official publication date. Newspapers and television companies had been given an early sight of the names, so that they could prepare their articles in advance. Falkland enthusiasm prompted some of them to jump the gun. The official complaint was not that another reminder of the Government's victory had been dissipated but that the families of medallists had been pestered at the wrong time.

Of course, the more the Government tries to manage the news, the more good journalists determine to tap the leaks. Which brings us back to Adam Raphael's story in *The Observer*—or rather would bring us back to it, if we suspected that the ingenious Mr Raphael had actually caught early sight of the Franks Report.

THE TIMES - 2 February 1983

Fleet Street's 'cavalier' stance criticized

By Rupert Morris

Fleet Street newspapers were accused yesterday of being "cavalier" in their relations with the Government over the breaking of an embargo on publication of the Falklands awards.

Whitehall's anger is still such that nearly four months after the event copies of government reports and White Papers are being issued to the media only a few hours in advance of publication, instead of the usual day or longer.

This "restricted embargo system" is of considerable inconvenience to newspapers wishing to prepare in-depth coverage.

Mr Bernard Ingham, the Prime Minister's press secretary, said yesterday that he had only just received a reply from the Newspaper Publishers Association, representing Fleet Street newspapers, to a letter he wrote three months ago.

He had asked the NPA for an assurance that the Government could have confidence in the embargo system not being abused. The NPA's response was to invite him to discuss the matter over lunch.

He has replied, in turn, by saying that he will accept such an invitation only if the NPA is prepared to give the assurances he originally requested. The

NPA executive meets tomorrow to reconsider its position.

Mr Ingham said yesterday that he found the NPA's attitude "cavalier", in view of the fact that radio, television and provincial newspaperers had all indicated that they would like the system restored, and would be prepared to work within it.

"I share the deep concern among working journalists to see the embargo system restored", he said. "If the NPA will provide those assurances, I will strongly recommend the Prime Minister to go back to the old system."

Lombard

How not to tame
the press

By Max Wilkinson

FOR NEARLY four months, the Prime Minister's office has been "punishing" the press by severely curtailing the normal embargo system for advanced copies of important documents. This followed the premature disclosure in some papers of names in the Falkland Islands honours list.

As a result Tuesday's 150-page public spending White Paper, for example, was released to the press at mid-day, just 200 minutes before the official publication time, instead of being sent out a day in advance as would have been "normal" practice.

The Downing Street press office may have had a case for cracking the whip back in October when the embargo system was breached, but the continued restrictions are now operating against the public interest.

It is clearly wrong that journalists should be obliged to summarise or comment on complicated state publications without having had adequate time to read them properly.

For this reason a system of advanced copies under embargo has been operated successfully for many years in the UK and in most industrialised countries. Over the years there have been few breaches of confidentiality and these have almost always been honest errors.

However, the continued restrictions, which limit the issue of advanced copies to, at most, a few hours before publication time has a more serious aspect.

It is becoming clear that the restrictions stack too many aces in the hands of the authorities. For journalists who are denied the possibility of careful study of a document before their deadlines for writing are forced to rely more heavily on official conclusions and special "press summaries."

They also become more open to the blandishments of "leaked" hints which can be used skillfully to steer them towards a particular interpretation.

This may well have happened with the reporting of the Franks report on the Falkland Islands conflict which was issued only a matter of hours before the deadlines for most daily papers. Many comments must necessarily have been based on a

superficial or partial reading. This may not have mattered to the Government since the report's conclusions were broadly favourable to it. But in general the public interest requires that time should be given for contrary evidence to be sifted as well.

The present restrictions were imposed when Mr Bernard Ingham, the Prime Minister's blunt-talking Press secretary, wrote to all Press organisations asking for an assurance that the breach over the Falkland honours would not recur.

Most organisations gave the assurance, but the Newspaper Publishers Association, which represents the Fleet Street nationals, has not yet done so. The letter to the NPA on October 11 may have been considered provocative by some editors. It said: "It would be very useful to have the observations of your organisation and the editors of your member companies on whether the Government could have any grounds for confidence in the embargo system in future."

At all events, the NPA appears to have been somewhat dilatory. It is due to consider its position in relation to the letter at a meeting today, but the general question of embargoes has not been discussed by any of its specialist committees.

Downing Street maintains that a matter of principle over the observance of embargoes is at stake. Downing Street also appears to believe that the system represents a special privilege for the press.

There is, however, a more important principle at stake. The system has helped safeguard the thoughtful and independent reporting of State papers. The government interest and the public interest do not always co-incide, as even prime ministers may sometimes need to be reminded. The public interest requires a press which will keep up the pressure of informed criticism. Petty restrictions which inhibit criticism may occasionally appear to serve the Government's immediate interest, but in the long run they injure it because some journalists may tend to become more critical and less well informed.

CHANNEL 4

THE FRIDAY ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMME: 21 JANUARY 1983TRANSCRIPT TAKEN FROM VCR

How you nearly didn't see Mrs. Thatcher in the Falklands.

A row between the Government and the BBC.

Narrator: There is always tension between the Government and the broadcasters but most of it goes on in secret. Mrs. Thatcher's visit was a scoop for the BBC. They had the only crew out there. It would have come back sooner but Downing Street hinted that it might be worth their while staying on. What Downing Street didn't tell the BBC was that it wanted what's called "a pool", an arrangement where the BBC had to make its own exclusive film available to anyone who wanted it. That way, the Government could secure maximum coverage for the visit. There was a terrible row when the BBC, who had n't been expecting this, refused. No. 10 threatened them with incalculable consequences if they didn't agree. We wouldn't now know about the details of this confrontation had a radio ham not happened to tune in and record phone calls made from the Falkland Islands by Mrs. Thatcher's press secretary, Bernard Ingham, during the Prime Minister's visit. The Friday Alternative has obtained a copy of that tape. What follow are excerpts from his conversation with Alan Protheroe, Assistant Director General of the BBC.

Mr. Ingham: It is this childish behaviour that when indeed we have done you a signal service, a signal service, by keeping your people in the Islands I say and to repeat at considerable risks to ourselves I frankly don't believe that the British public, when it is explained to them, will understand this childishness I do expect more actually from the BBC and I am deeply hurt.

A. Protheroe: It would have been a lot easier if your office had asked us, told us 24 hours beforehand

Mr. Ingham: I am sorry, there was absolutely no question of our doing that and you've got to get it into your mind, and the media has got to get it into its mind that we don't operate for your convenience, we operate for the security of the Prime Minister.

A. Protheroe: I really find it very, very difficult to accept that No. 10 can actually just declare a Pool when necessary, Bernard

Narrator: Mr. Ingham had one trump card. His threat that he would stop the BBC's film leaving the Falklands.

Mr. Ingham: No film is coming out tonight unless I have your absolute assurance that it will be freely available to ITN and IRN.

/ Narrator:

Narrator: Alan Protheroe protested. He felt that the BBC was being used by the Government for its own purposes. But as revealed in Bernard Ingham's subsequent triumphant phone call to No. 10, Alan Protheroe had capitulated.

Mr. Ingham to No. 10 Press Office

Mr. Ingham: I've won.

No. 10: You've won?

Mr. Ingham: Yes.

No. 10: What happened?

Mr. Ingham: I rang Protheroe and told him in no uncertain terms that he wouldn't get it back tonight unless it was freely available. He gave me his assurance that it would be made freely available and

Narrator: So the Government managed to secure maximum coverage for itself by pressuring the BBC into cooperating. As we say, the BBC fought against this very hard, but lost.

Sir ROBERT ARMSTRONG

cc Mr R Butler

CHANNEL 4

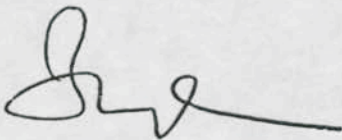
Please see the attached correspondence from Channel 4.

Technically, the report that I raised no objection to the broadcast of my intercepted telephone calls is correct. Liz Forgan of Channel 4 confirms her impression (on informing me of their intention to broadcast about 30 minutes before doing so) was that I took the news rather well. She says she formed the impression that I was taking it on the chin but that by no stretch of the imagination could it be said that I approved.

I did not react other than rather ruefully because I had no idea precisely what was to be broadcast or what I could do about it if extracts from interceptions of my personal telephone calls were broadcast.

As you know, I took an early opportunity after the broadcast to get in touch with you to register my concern both about the broadcast and to raise the question as to whether an offence had been committed. I have since taken many opportunities to deplore the interception of my calls and their subsequent broadcast.

Mrs Forgan does not intend to write to 'Broadcast'. Unless you advise otherwise, I do not intend to do so.



B. INGHAM

2 February 1983

DIVERSE



Protheroe: Conversation "tapped"

Ham and exploit

THE SO-CALLED "bitter row" between Downing Street and the BBC took a new turn last week when it was revealed that Bernard Ingham, the Prime Minister's press secretary, indeed knew that excerpts from telephone calls made between him and the BBC were to be transmitted on Channel 4 and had raised no objection.

It was on this understanding that the IBA cleared the broadcast which was part of *The Friday Alternative*, the programme that replaces the second half of Channel 4's 7-8pm news on Friday night.

The calls between Ingham in Port Stanley and Alan Protheroe, assistant director general of the BBC in London, were recorded by a radio amateur who, apparently fortuitously, tuned to the same frequency.

Since the conversations showed how the BBC was persuaded to share its "scoop" film of Mrs Thatcher's arrival in the Falklands with ITN, under threat of the film being held up for 48 hours in Stanley, fuel has been added to the fire of those MPs and others who are already accusing Downing Street of manipulating the media. But a larger issue is involved: was Channel 4 legally in the clear when it used the recordings?

Downing Street is seeking legal advice on the matter which is further complicated by the fact that not only was a private telephone call "tapped" and broadcast, but also that a recording of material from the air waves was made and published.

Channel 4 is showing no concern at any suggestion that it might have behaved illegally. "We thought it was in the public interest that the incident should be shown to our viewers and so we showed it," was the comment of a spokesman. Whether or not a complaint is made to the IBA seems to rest with the BBC, since Ingham had previously cleared his own interest. — PC

• A question is due to be asked of the Attorney-General in the Commons as to the legality of the broadcasts.



Personal

Bernard Ingham
Press Office
10 Downing Street
London SW1

2 February 1983

*CA Sending
copy of
article -
attached
14*

Dear Bernard

I am distressed to see that the media trade magazine Broadcast is implying in its account of the Falklands radio tapes story, that you in some sense "cleared" our transmission of the tapes.

I would like to assure you that I never at any time gave that impression to anyone, indeed I did not discuss our conversation with anyone except the Channel Controller who informed the IBA that I had alerted you, as a matter of courtesy only, shortly before transmission.

I have not written to Broadcast to this effect as on balance I think that only makes even heavier weather of it all, but I will happily do so if you would like me to.

Best wishes

Yours sincerley

Liz Forgan
Senior Commissioning Editor

014
From the Master · St. Catherine's College · Oxford · OX1 3UJ

Telephone Oxford (0865) 49541

21. 1. '83

26

④
Prime Minister

A.S.C. $\frac{26}{1}$

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you so much for your letter about
my part in the Falkland Islands Review. I greatly
appreciate your generous words of thanks.

Every good wish,

yours sincerely,

Patrick Nairne

mt

KEY PARAGRAPHS

in Franks Report

Argentina

Paragraph

1	Terms of reference.
3	Number of meetings.
5	Documents made available.
6	Files.
12	Structure of Report.
15-70	Chapter I - Account of Dispute from 1965-79.
70	Significant themes of period.
71-160	Chapter 2 - Period of Present Government May 1979- 19 March 1982.
161-259	Chapter 3 - March 19-April 2, 1982.
260-339	Chapter 4 - The Government's Discharge of their Responsibility.
260	2 Questions addressed by Franks.
266 and 339	Answers to those 2 Questions.
263	When order given to invade.
283	British Government's dilemma.
284	Conduct of FCO officials.
288	Conclusions on Endurance.
296	Views on FCO judgement in early 1982.
312-314	Views on intelligence.
317-320	Views on intelligence assessment machinery.
325	Earlier Task Force?
326-330	Earlier smaller force?
331-332	Deployment in response to South Georgia.
334	Warnings to Argentina.
Annex A	Comments on Some Specific Assertions

Argentina

Mr Wilson's Government (until May 1970)

OPD	1970	11 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

Mr Heath's Government (from June 1970)

DOP	1970	12 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

DOP	1971	26 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

DOP	1972	20 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

DOP	1973	24 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

DOP	1974	4 Meetings
-----	------	------------

Mr Wilson's Government (from March 1974)

OPD	1974	18 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

OPD	1975	15 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

OPD	1976	6 Meetings
-----	------	------------

Mr Callaghan's Government (from April 1976)

DOP	1976	6 Meetings
-----	------	------------

DOP	1977	7 Meetings
-----	------	------------

DOP	1978	10 Meetings
-----	------	-------------

DOP	1979	4 Meetings
-----	------	------------

Mrs Thatcher's Government (from May 1979)

OD	1979	13 meetings
----	------	-------------

OD	1980	27 meetings
----	------	-------------

OD	1981	18 meetings
----	------	-------------

OD	1982 (to 8 September)	17 meetings
----	-----------------------	-------------

SECRET

3

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS AND THE DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE
OF THE CABINET: SEPTEMBER 1979 TO APRIL 1982

- (i) 20 September 1979
Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister on the options for handling the Falkland Islands dispute with Argentina.
- (ii) 21 September 1979
Sir John Hunt minutes the Prime Minister on (i).
- (iii) 26 September 1979
The Prime Minister indicates her wish to discuss (i) at an early meeting of OD (Alexander to Walden).
- (iv) 27 September 1979
Sir K Berrill writes to the Secretary of State for Energy about (i).
- (v) 12 October 1979
Comprehensive memorandum by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (OD (79)31) on the Falkland Islands with nine annexes. Sets out three broad options.
- (vi) 15 October 1979
The Prime Minister asks for postponement of discussion of (v) by OD until after the Rhodesian issue has been concluded (Alexander to Walden).
- (vii) 12 November 1979
Lord Carrington seeks Prime Minister's approval to OD decisions on (v) by the end of November to enable negotiations with Argentina to open "at a time of our own choosing" (Lyne to Alexander).
- (viii) 15 November 1979
The Prime Minister agrees to resume discussion in OD but not until after the European Council meeting in Dublin.

1
SECRET

- (ix) 14 January 1980
Hastie-Smith asks Lyne for a supplementary paper on the wider political and economic factors relating to the Falkland Islands before OD meets on 29 January 1980.
- (x) 22 January 1980
Lyne refuses.
- (xi) 24 January 1980
Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister to say that exploratory talks with the Argentines should start soon. "To continue to stall would be risky".
- (xii) 29 January 1980
OD discussion (OD(80) 3rd Meeting) of (v). Authorises talks with Argentina, subject to written confirmation from the Islanders that it is their wish.
- (xiii) 22 February 1980
Lord Carrington minutes Prime Minister to propose that Mr Ridley make contact with his Argentine opposite number.
- (xiv) 25 February 1980
Prime Minister agrees (Alexander to Walden).
- (xv) 24 April 1980
Brief discussion in Cabinet (CC(80) 17th Conclusions) on Ridley talks. "It would be his aim not to allow any such discussion to reach a point at which a decision would need to be taken".
- (xvi) 27 June 1980
Memorandum by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (OD(80)46) on Ridley talks and new options.
- (xvii) 2 July 1980
Further discussion in OD (OD(80) 17th Meeting) on exploratory talks with Argentina.

- (xviii) 4 November 1980
Further memorandum by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (OD(80)66) on need for Mr Ridley to visit the Falkland Islands.
- (xix) 7 November 1980
Further discussion in OD (OD(80) 23rd Meeting) recorded in MCR. Lease-back to be put to the Islanders. OD to consider further in light of their reaction.
- (xx) 27 November 1980
Brief discussion in Cabinet (CC(80) 42nd Meeting) which is reassured by Lord Carrington that the wishes of the Islanders remain paramount.
- (xxi) 3 December 1980
Further discussion in OD (OD(80) 25th Meeting). Inconclusive. Further consideration needed, in light of Islander reaction and feelings in House of Commons.
- (xxii) 4 December 1980
Brief discussion in Cabinet (CC(80) 43rd Meeting). Considered reaction of Islanders still awaited.
- (xxiii) 14 January 1981
Wright (Cabinet Office) minutes Alexander on the Falkland Islanders and the Nationality Bill, suggesting to the Prime Minister that since the Government's handling of this aspect of the problem will be influenced by the Islanders reaction to the proposals which Mr Ridley has put to them, it may be best not to form a view until the meeting of OD on 29 January has taken place.
- (xxiv) 26 January 1981
Memorandum by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (OD(81)2) on latest position. Proposes talks with Argentines in late February/early March with Islanders present.
- (xxv) 29 January 1981
Discussion in OD (OD(81) 1st Meeting) which noted and endorsed (xxiv). Nationality and savings to be urgently pursued.

- (xxvi) 13 March 1981
Lord Carrington minutes Prime Minister on Anglo-Argentine talks in New York on 23/24 February.
- (xxvii) 8 April 1981
Wenban-Smith minutes Hastie-Smith on how matters stand on OD since 29 January.
- (xxviii) 14 May 1981
Sir Robert Armstrong minutes Whitmore, enclosing the three month forward look. The Falkland Islands is entered for an OD in July, on the basis of a memorandum by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. The minute is 'seen and noted' by the Prime Minister on 18 May.
- (xxix) 8 June 1981
Wenban-Smith minutes Hastie-Smith on the bleak outlook for the Anglo-Argentine dispute. He says that Lord Carrington may put round a background paper to OD in July. "But the prospects are not cheerful. The Argentines are jumpy and may soon become provocative OD may need to discuss future policy in September". Hastie-Smith commented: "An announcement of British defence cuts, especially in the maritime field, may make the Argentines more daring".
- (xxx) 8 September 1981
Facer minutes Wright on forthcoming business. The following is an extract:
"Given the absence abroad of the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Defence Secretary for much of the rest of September and early October, I am not bidding for any further meetings of OD before the Conservative Party Conference. But it is possible that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary may wish to circulate a paper on policy towards South Africa and he is also likely to have papers on UK/Vatican relations, the Falkland Islands and the Canadian Constitution. All these are potential candidates for an October meeting".

- (xxxix) 14 September 1981
 Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister before meeting the Argentine Foreign Minister at the UNGA. He is pessimistic and gloomy.
- (xxxix) 25 September 1981
 The Chief Secretary comments advising precautions against stumbling inadvertently into new financial commitments.
- (xxxix) 6 October 1981
 Facer minutes Wright, attaching a business forecast. The relevant extract reads:
 "I also foresee the need for an OD discussion on Gibraltar at about end-October, early November. Another possibility for OD around this time is the Falkland Islands".
 This possibility is not mentioned in Sir Robert Armstrong's subsequent business note of 9 October to Whitmore.
- (xxxix) 16 November 1982
 Wenban-Smith minutes Wade-Gery to record his urging of the FCO to deal with (xxxix) in Lord Carrington's forthcoming minute to OD colleagues.
- (xxxix) 24 November 1981
 Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister on steps to improve certain aspects of the Falkland Islands economic situation (notably savings).
- (xxxix) 2 December 1981
 Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister on his talks with the Argentine Foreign Minister, the evolution of Islander opinion and the prospects for Mr Luce's forthcoming talks with the Argentines. Note of cautious optimism.
- (xxxix) 3 December 1981
 Prime Minister 'takes note' of Lord Carrington's minute of 2 December (Alexander to Lyne).

- (xxxviii) 7 December 1981
 Chief Secretary, Treasury, still worried about expenditure if Argentines interfere with communications (Mathews to Fall).
- (xxxix) 7 January 1982
 Facer minutes Hilton, attaching the three month forward look. This includes an entry for a discussion of the Falkland Islands at an OD in March "contingent on Anglo-Argentine talks".
- (xxxx) 22 January 1982
 Sir Robert Armstrong minutes Whitmore, enclosing the three month forward look in precisely the same terms as (xxxix). The minute is "seen and noted" by the Prime Minister on 25 January.
- (xxxxi) 9 February 1982
 Mr Callaghan warns of dangers of scrapping HMS Endurance (Arthur to Pattison, No 10). Sir Robert Armstrong (?) comments "I agree".
- (xxxxii) 15 February 1982
 Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister on forthcoming talks in New York on 26/27 February. Ends by saying "I expect we shall need a further discussion of the Falklands in OD in March".
- (xxxxiii) 17 February 1982
 Prime Minister says that we must also make it clear to the Argentinians that the wishes of the Islanders are paramount (Coles to Holmes).
- (xxxxiv) 23 February 1982
 Facer's business forecast sent to Mrs McGraffin includes "Falkland Islands (possible)" for OD on 17 March.
- (xxxxv) 25 February 1982
 Sir Robert Armstrong minutes Whitmore. [Falkland Islands] is entered for OD on 16 March which appears to have been brought forward one day.

(xxxxvi) 2 March 1982

Facer's business forecast sent to Mrs McGraffin includes the Falkland Islands for OD either on 16 March or on 25 March. It is marked "possible but unlikely".

(xxxxvii) 5 March 1982

Sir Robert Armstrong's business minute to Whitmore includes the Falkland Islands for OD on 25 March. He adds: "Negotiations between Britain and the Argentine on the Falkland Islands have been taking place in New York. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary may wish to have a discussion of thir outcome".

(xxxxviii) 8 March 1982

Prime Minister minutes on Buenos Aires telegram No 60 of 3 March: "We must make contingency plans". Mr Coles continues: "I understand that it may be the intention of Lord Carrington to bring a further paper on the Falkland Islands to OD in the fairly near future. You may think that this could helpfully contain an account of our contingency planning". (Coles to Holmes).

(xxxxix) 16 March 1982

Facer's business forecast to Mrs McGraffin enters the Falkland Islands as a possible item for OD on 6 April. The minute comments as follows:
 "The Falkland Islands will probably not come to the Committee until after Easter since it is likely that there will be nothing for Ministers to decide before then. But there is a chance that it may need to come at fairly short notice and it might therefore be worth keeping open the possibility of an OD on 6 April".

(L) 19 March 1982

Sir Robert Armstrong's business minute to Whitmore refers to the Falkland Islands as a possible item for OD on 6 April. It then adds:

"This meeting of OD has only been included on a contingency basis since it is more likely that the Falkland Islands will not have come to the Committee until after Easter. If there is to be a discussion, the Chief Whip should be invited to attend".

(Li)

19 March 1982

Wade-Gery minutes Facer on forthcoming business following the meeting of Deputy Secretaries on that day. The following is an extract:

"6 April

... I see that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary is stated to be out of London that day. Can you check whether the FCO are really content for the Falkland Islands to be taken at OD in his absence or, if not, what do they suggest?"

(Lii)

23 March 1982

Facer's business forecast to Mrs McGraffin includes the Falkland Islands for a (possible) OD in the week beginning 19 April. The following is an extract from the minute:

"The position on the Falkland Islands is that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary is expected to minute the Prime Minister in the next day or two to report on the present state of play and to seek authority for contingency planning in case of action by the Argentines. This contingency planning will involve preparatory work with commercial firms for alternative sources of supply, and this will have financial implications. Lord Carrington is also likely to minute the Defence Secretary about HMS Endurance and military contingency plans. The FCO's intention is not to seek a discussion in OD before Easter. Lord Carrington wishes to be present if there is an OD discussion. It would therefore be prudent to find a time in the week beginning 19 April when an OD could be arranged with the Foreign Secretary present You asked if there was any other likely business for the week of 19 April: at present I cannot see any which would require a Ministerial meeting, other than possibly the Falkland Islands".

(Liii)

23 March 1982

Sir Robert Armstrong's business minute to Whitmore includes an OD on 22 April to discuss the "Falkland Islands".

- (Liv) 24 March 1982
 Lord Carrington minutes the Prime Minister on the New York talks and the prospect of an early confrontation with Argentina. Seeks authority for officials to carry forward urgent contingency planning.
- (Lv) 24 March 1982
 Lord Carrington minutes Mr Nott suggesting circulation by him to OD of contingency paper on defence aspects. Also agreement to maintain Endurance on station, to be looked at by OD "fairly soon".
25 March 1982 Cabinet decision: FCS raises Gryptole and "Foreign Affairs".
- (Lvi) 25 March 1982
 Subject to views of other members of OD, Prime Minister agrees (Coles to Holmes).
- (Lvii) 26 March 1982
 Mr Wiggin replies to Lord Carrington agreeing on contingency paper, agreeing to maintain Endurance on station for up to two months but raising financial and other implications. Hopes for "very early discussion by OD, hopefully before Easter".
- (Lviii) 26 March 1982
 Note on defence implications of Argentine action against the Falkland Islands circulated to OD members (Evans to Coles). Ends as follows:
 "The note makes clear that our scope for effective military action in response to whatever the Argentinians do is extremely limited and that almost anything we could do would be too late and/or extremely expensive".
- (Lix) 26 March 1982
 Sir Robert Armstrong minutes Whitmore on business at length. He includes provision for an OD at 11.30 am on 22 April in the following terms:
 "11.30 am OD
 [Falkland Islands]
 [Economic Measures against the Soviet Union]
 Both these items are included in the agenda on a provisional basis. We do not know how matters will develop over the Falkland

Islands in the next few weeks but it is prudent to include this in forthcoming business for OD, since the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary may wish to seek his colleagues' approval for measures which could involve a call on the contingency reserve. The second item should have been taken at OD yesterday. It is possible that a discussion may not after all be necessary".

- (Lx) 28 March 1982
Prime Minister, acknowledging Lord Carrington's and Mr Wiggin's minutes, says she would like the matter to be discussed at a very early meeting of OD (Coles to Holmes).
- (Lxi) 29 March 1982
Financial Secretary writes to Lord Carrington to say he has no objection to contingency planning but ruling out recourse to the Contingency Reserve in the event of implementation.
- (Lxii) 30 March 1982
Falkland Islands appears on Revised Agenda for OD at 11.30 on 1 April (as item 3 after Statement on Defence Estimates and Belize - withdrawal of the garrison).
- (Lxiii) 31 March 1982
Falkland Islands moves up to Item 2 on second Revised Agenda for OD on 1 April.
- (Lxiv) 31 March 1982
Sir Robert Armstrong minutes Prime Minister on OD on 1 April (ie Chairman's brief). Outcome sought is clear guidance to FCO and MOD on contingency planning.
- (Lxv) 31 March 1982
Prime Minister exchanges messages with President Reagan - latter's reply only on file (Coles to Richards of 1 April).

(Lxvi)

1 April 1982

Meeting of OD (OD(82) 6th Meeting). Full record contained in MCR dated 5 April.

(Lxvii)

2 April 1982

Sir Robert Armstrong's business minute to Whitmore includes the following for:

"Monday 5 April

There are at the moment no plans for Cabinet or Cabinet Committees chaired by the Prime Minister. In the light of developments over the Falkland Islands we may of course need further meetings of the Cabinet. The same consideration applies to the rest of the period covered by this minute".



10 DOWNING STREET

1981 -

29 Jan : Falklands

Parlts 17 x 03 meetings.

1982

5 x 03 meetings between

Jan - Dec, not a Falkland.

CONFIDENTIAL

OD M/sgs
1982

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(82)1st Meeting

COPY NO

60

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held in 10 Downing Street
on WEDNESDAY 27 JANUARY at 9.00 a.m.

AGENDUM

THE DEFENCE PROGRAMME

Memoranda by the Secretary of State for Defence
OD(82)2 - already circulated
OD(82)3 - already circulated

Memorandum by the Chief Secretary Treasury
OD(82)4 - to be circulated.

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office

25 January 1982

The Secretary of State for Industry and the Chief Secretary, Treasury, are invited to be present.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(82)2nd Meeting

COPY NO

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held in
the Prime Minister's Room, House of Commons,
on THURSDAY 28 JANUARY 1982 at 5.30 p.m.

REVISED AGENDUM

POLAND - SANCTIONS

To be raised orally

[Letter dated 27 January from the Private Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal to the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, and Note by the Secretaries (OD(82)5), covering a letter dated 27 January from the Governor of the Bank of England to the Chancellor of the Exchequer are relevant].

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office
28 January 1982

The Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food and the Secretary of State for Industry are invited to attend.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(82) 3rd Meeting

COPY NO 57

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
TUESDAY 16 FEBRUARY 1982 at 10.30 am

REVISED AGENDUM

NORTHERN IRELAND: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
OD(82)6 - already circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office
11 February 1982

The following are invited to attend -

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Secretary of State for Scotland
Attorney General

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(82) 4th Meeting

COPY NO 54

CABINET
DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 11 MARCH 1982 at 10.30 am

REVISED AGENDUM

SIXTH INTERNATIONAL TIN AGREEMENT

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Industry
OD(82) 9 - already circulated

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(82) 11 - already circulated

Note by the Secretaries
OD(82) 10 - already circulated

[The letter of 5 March 1982 from the Governor of the Bank of England
to the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs is
also relevant]

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
D J S HANCOCK
D M ELLIOTT

Cabinet Office
9 March 1982

The Secretary of State for Industry is invited to attend.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(82)5th Meeting

COPY NO

58

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 25 MARCH 1982 at 10.30 am

AGENDA

1. NORTHERN IRELAND: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Previous Reference: OD(82)3rd Meeting

Memoranda by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
OD(82)13 - already circulated
OD(82)14 - to be circulated

2. ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(82)15 - to be circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office
22 March 1982

The following are invited to attend -

For Item 1 - Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Secretary of State for Scotland
Chief Whip

For Item 2 - Secretary of State for Industry
(at 11 am)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 1st Meeting

COPY NO 56

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 29 JANUARY 1981 at 9.30 am
—

AGENDA

1. FALKLAND ISLANDS

Previous Reference: OD(80) 25th Meeting

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 2 - to be circulated

2. ARMS SUPPLIES TO IRAN AND IRAQ

Previous Reference: OD(80) 25th Meeting

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 3 - to be circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

Cabinet Office
26 January 1981

The following are invited to attend -

Attorney General

For Item 1 Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury
Minister of State Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Mr Ridley)

For Item 2 Secretary of State for Industry

CONFIDENTIAL

OD mfgs
1981
69411 00

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 2nd Meeting

COPY NO 63

CABINET
DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 12 FEBRUARY 1981 at 12 noon

AGENDA

1. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND: LONGER-TERM APPROACH

Previous Reference: OD(80) 27th Meeting Item 2

Note by the Chairman of the Official Group on
Economic Assistance to Poland
OD(81) 7 - already circulated

2. BELIZE

Previous Reference: OD(80) 21st Meeting Item 1

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 5 - to be circulated

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
and Secretary of State for Defence
OD(81) 6 - to be circulated

3. TORNADO EXPORT SALES

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
and Secretary of State for Defence
OD(81) 8 - to be circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

Cabinet Office
10 February 1981

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 3rd Meeting

COPY NO

1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
MONDAY 23 FEBRUARY 1981 at 4.30 pm

—
AGENDUM

PATRIATION OF THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 12 - to be circulated

Memorandum by the Attorney General
OD(81) 11 - already circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

Cabinet Office
19 February 1981

The following are invited to attend -

Attorney General
Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 4th Meeting

COPY NO 54

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 5 MARCH 1981 at 11.30 am

—
AGENDUM

STATEMENT ON THE DEFENCE ESTIMATES 1981

Note by the Secretary of State for Defence
OD(81) 13 - already circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

Cabinet Office
27 February 1981

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 5th Meeting

COPY NO

1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 12 MARCH 1981 at 9.30 am

AGENDA

1. CAP PRICES 1981

Memorandum by the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
OD(81) 16 - already circulated

Memorandum by the Chancellor of the Exchequer
OD(81) 18 - to be circulated

2. PASSPORTS

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 17 - to be circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
M D M FRANKLIN
D M ELLIOTT

Cabinet Office

9 March 1981

The following are invited to attend -

For Item 1 - Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
Secretary of State for Scotland
Secretary of State for Wales
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 6th Meeting

COPY NO

1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 19 MARCH 1981 at 9.30 am *

—
AGENDUM

FISHERIES SETTLEMENT AND 1981 CAP PRICES

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 20 - to be circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
M D M FRANKLIN
D M ELLIOTT

Cabinet Office

17 March 1981

The following are invited to attend -
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
Secretary of State for Scotland

* Please note change in time of Meeting.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 7th Meeting

COPY NO

54

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 9 APRIL 1981 at 12 noon

—
AGENDUM

UNITED KINGDOM/IRAN RELATIONS: SUPPLY OF DEFENCE EQUIPMENT

Previous Reference: OD(81) 1st Meeting

Memorandum by the Lord Privy Seal
OD(81) 22 - to be circulated

Note by the Secretaries
OD(81) 21 - already circulated

The following papers are also relevant:-

Minute by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to the Prime Minister dated 26 March 1981 entitled 'Arms Supplies to Iran'.

Minute by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Prime Minister dated 3 April entitled 'Arms Sales to Iran'.

Cabinet Office
7 April 1981

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R M HASTIE-SMITH

The following are invited to attend:-

Secretary of State for Industry
Attorney General

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 8th Meeting

COPY NO

1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held in
Conference Room A, Cabinet Office,
Whitehall on WEDNESDAY 15 APRIL 1981
at 11.30 am*

AGENDUM

POLISH DEBT

Previous Reference: OD(81) 2nd Meeting, Item 1

To be raised orally

The following paper is relevant:-

Letter dated 13 April from the Private Secretary to the
Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister

Cabinet Office
13 April 1981

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

The following are invited to attend under the Chairmanship of the Home Secretary

Secretary of State for Industry
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food

*Please note change in time and place of Meeting

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 9th Meeting

COPY NO 52

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
WEDNESDAY 20 MAY 1981 at 5.30 pm

AGENDUM

POLISH DEBT

Previous Reference: OD(81) 8th Meeting

To be raised orally

The following papers are relevant:-

Minute from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Prime Minister
dated 30 April

Minute from the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
to the Prime Minister reference PM/81/257

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

Cabinet Office
18 May 1981

The following are invited to attend:-

Secretary of State for Industry
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 10th Meeting

COPY NO

54

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
MONDAY 1 JUNE 1981 at 4.00 pm
—

AGENDA

1. BBC EXTERNAL SERVICES

Previous Reference: OD(80) 3rd Meeting, Item 1

Note by the Secretaries
OD(81) 28 - to be circulated

2. POLAND: POSSIBLE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IN THE EVENT OF FORCIBLE INTERVENTION

Note by the Secretaries
OD(81) 26 - to be circulated

Note by the Secretaries
OD(81) 27 - to be circulated

Cabinet Office
28 May 1981

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

The following are invited to attend

Chief Secretary, Treasury

For Item 1 Minister of State Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Mr Ridley)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 11th Meeting

COPY NO

55

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
MONDAY 8 JUNE 1981 at 4.00 pm
—

REVISED AGENDUM

THE DEFENCE PROGRAMME

Previous Reference: OD(81) 4th Meeting

Note by the Secretary of State for Defence
OD(81) 29 - already circulated

Note by the Chancellor of the Exchequer
OD(81) 31 - already circulated

Cabinet Office
5 June 1981

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

The following are invited to attend

Secretary of State for Industry
Secretary of State for Employment
Chief Secretary, Treasury
Chief of the Defence Staff

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 12th Meeting

COPY NO

1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

—
MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
THURSDAY 18 JUNE 1981 at 4.45 pm
—

AGENDA

1. INDEPENDENCE FOR ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 30 - already circulated.

2. NORTHERN IRELAND: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRISONS SITUATION

Previous Reference: OD(80) 24th Meeting

Memoranda by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
OD(81) 32 and 33 - already circulated

The following paper is also relevant:-

Minute dated 12 June 1981 to the Prime Minister from the
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland entitled
'Northern Ireland: The Need for Movement'

Cabinet Office
15 June 1981

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

The following are invited to attend

For Item 1 - Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury

For Item 2 - Secretary of State for Scotland
at 4.55 pm - Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Attorney General

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 13th Meeting

COPY NO 53

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
FRIDAY 24 JULY 1981 at 11.00 am*

AGENDUM

ARMS SALES

Previous Reference: OD(81) 2nd Meeting

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 36 - already circulated

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Defence
OD(81) 39 - already circulated

The following paper is also relevant:-

Letter dated 20 July 1981 from the Secretary of State for
Defence to the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth
Affairs

Cabinet Office
22 July 1981

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R M HASTIE-SMITH

The Secretary of State for Industry is invited to attend

*Please note change in time of Meeting

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 14th Meeting

COPY NO

1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
TUESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER 1981 at 10.00 am

REVISED AGENDUM

THE HEAVYWEIGHT TORPEDO

Note by the Secretary of State for Defence
OD(81) 41 - already circulated

Signed R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office

7 September 1981

The following are invited to attend -

Secretary of State for Employment
Secretary of State for Industry
Chief Secretary, Treasury
Chief of Naval Staff

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 15th Meeting

COPY NO

31

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
WEDNESDAY 9 SEPTEMBER 1981 at 3.30 pm

AGENDUM

EC BUDGET RESTRUCTURING: THE NEXT PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

Note by the Secretaries
OD(81) 40 - already circulated

[The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Minute to the Prime Minister dated 4 August 1981 and the Secretary of State for Trade's Minute to the Prime Minister dated 21 August 1981 are also relevant.]

Signed M D M FRANKLIN
D M ELLIOTT

Cabinet Office

3 September 1981

The following have been invited to attend -

Secretary of State for Industry
Secretary of State for Employment
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
Secretary of State for Energy

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 16th Meeting

COPY NO

31

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
FRIDAY 18 SEPTEMBER 1981 at 10.00 am

REVISED AGENDA

1. BBC EXTERNAL SERVICES

Previous Reference: OD(81) 10th Meeting

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 42 - already circulated

Memorandum by the Chief Secretary, Treasury
OD(81) 45 - to be circulated

2. RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs
OD(81) 43 - already circulated

Note by the Secretaries
OD(81) 44 - to be circulated

CONFIDENTIAL

3. FOOD AID TO POLAND

Previous reference: OD(81) 9th Meeting

To be raised orally

[The Minute (PM/81/43) from the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to the Prime Minister, dated 16 September, and a letter of the same date from the Minister for Agriculture to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are relevant]

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office

17 September 1981

The following Ministers have been invited to attend -

	Chief Secretary, Treasury
For Item 1	Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury
For Item 2	Secretary of State for Energy
(at 10.15 am)	Minister of State, Department of Trade
For Item 3	Minister for Overseas Development
(10.30 am)	
	Minister of State, Department of Trade
	Minister of State, Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (Mr Alick Buchanan-Smith MP)

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81)17th Meeting

COPY NO 1

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held in 10 Downing Street
on THURSDAY 12 NOVEMBER 1981 at 4.30 pm

AGENDA

1 EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BUDGET RESTRUCTURING: THE NOVEMBER EUROPEAN COUNCIL

Previous Reference: OD(81)15th Meeting

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs

OD(81)54 - already circulated

Memorandum by the Minister of Agriculture,
Fisheries and Food

OD(81)53 - already circulated

2 ECONOMIC AID FOR POLAND

Previous Reference: OD(81)16th Meeting Item 3

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs

OD(81)52 - already circulated

Note by the Chairman of the Official Group on Economic
Assistance to Poland

OD(81)51 - already circulated

3 GIBRALTAR DOCKYARD

Note by the Secretaries

OD(81)50 - already circulated

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
M D M FRANKLIN
R L WADE-GERY

Cabinet Office
9 November 1981

The following have been invited to attend:-

Items 1 - 3

Secretary of State for Industry
Chief Secretary, Treasury

Items 1 and 2

Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food

Item 1 only

Secretary of State for Energy
Financial Secretary, Treasury
Sir Kenneth Couzens, Treasury

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

OD(81) 18th Meeting

COPY NO

56

CABINET

DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

MEETING to be held at
10 Downing Street on
WEDNESDAY 2 DECEMBER 1981 at 10.00 am

AGENDA

1. OVERHAUL OF CAPTURED CHIEFTAIN TANKS IN IRAQ

Previous References: OD(81) 1st and 13th Meetings

To be raised orally
(Minute from the Secretary of State for Defence to the Foreign and
Commonwealth Secretary dated 19 November 1981 is relevant)

2. SALE OF HMS INVINCIBLE TO AUSTRALIA

To be raised orally
(Minute from the Secretary of State for Defence to the Prime Minister
dated 30 November 1981 is relevant)

Signed ROBERT ARMSTRONG
R L WADE-GERY
R L L FACER

Cabinet Office

30 November 1981

The following are invited to attend -

Secretary of State for Industry
Attorney General

CONFIDENTIAL

Ships visits to Latin America & Falklands.

RN deployment (4/5 DD/FFC + 1 SSN) to Latin America Spring of 1979. During deployment Tribal class frigate (ASHANTI) was refueled off & visited Falklands 1-5 May 1979.

1980. RN Task Group to Far East. Believed no ship visits to South Atlantic (other than ENSORANCE)

1981 RN deployment to South Atlantic cancelled because of fuel cuts (moratorium)

(Other deployments to Latin America '75 & '77)

Keep on file.

A.S.C. 27/11.

Positive

ORDER OF BATTLE MARCH/APRIL 1982 FOR
AIRFORCE AND NAVY

- 10 Canberra
- 20 Mirage 3 aircraft
- 26 Mirage 5 aircraft
- 5 Super Entendard
- 75 Sky Hawks
- 60 Pucara
- 18 Aermacchi
- 7 Hercules
- 2 Hercules Tankers
- 8 Tracker Aircraft
- 6 Neptune