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COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

24 NOV 1983

DUPLICATES

<< Mr. Steinhilber

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FM FCO 231230Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 858 OF 23 NOVEMBER

FOR S OF S'S PARTY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF FID WAS RECEIVED FROM WASHINGTON TELNO 3509 OF 21 NOVEMBER:

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 212226Z NOV 83

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3509 OF 21 NOVEMBER

MIFT

ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE UK AND THE CERTIFICATION OF ARGENTINA.

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF MESSAGE FROM YOU TO SHILTZ:

QUOTE JANET YOUNG HAS TOLD ME OF THE VERY USEFUL TALKS WHICH SHE HAD IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK WITH KEN DAM AND LARRY EAGLEBURGER ABOUT YOUR PROBABLE CERTIFICATION OF ARGENTINA, AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, THE LIKELY RESUMPTION OF ARMS SALES TO THAT COUNTRY.

2. YOU KNOW WHAT DIFFICULTIES THIS POSES FOR US. THE PRIME MINISTER TOOK THE MATTER UP WITH THE PRESIDENT ON HER RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND I HAVE MENTIONED IT FREQUENTLY TO YOU. I AM CONCERNED CHIEFLY ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS SALES UPON OUR FORCES IN THE FALKLANDS, PARTICULARLY IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES BY THE ARGENTINIANS, AND ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF EXPLAINING TO BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION HOW OUR PRINCIPAL ALLY CAN SUPPLY ARMS TO AN OPPONENT OF OURS WHO HAS NOT YET RENOUNCED THE USE OF FORCE TO PROSECUTE HIS CLAIM TO OUR TERRITORY. I WOULD HOPE, THOUGH WITHOUT MUCH EXPECTATION OF RESULTS, THAT A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA WOULD PERCEIVE THAT DEMOCRACY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH A CONTINUED DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ITS CLAIM BY FORCE AND THAT ARGENTINA, SHORTLY TO BE GOVERNED BY A GOVERNMENT OF ITS OWN CHOICE, SHOULD NOT DENY THAT RIGHT TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS. YOU MAY FEEL ABLE TO PUT THESE POINTS TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN ARGENTINA.

3. HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT YOU INTEND TO CERTIFY, AND THAT YOU SEE IT TO BE AN AMERICAN INTEREST TO ESTABLISH A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND THAT ARMS SALES ARE LIKELY TO BE A COMPONENT OF THAT RELATIONSHIP. I AM CONCERNED THEREFORE, AND I HOPE YOU MAY BE TOO, TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE WHICH YOUR DECISION MAY CAUSE NOT ONLY TO THE SECURITY OF OUR FORCES IN THE FALKLANDS BUT TO THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION IN BRITAIN OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES. I HAVE BEEN WORRIED, AS NO DOUBT YOU HAVE BEEN ALSO, BY THE STRIDENCY, AMOUNTING IN SOME CASES TO ANTI-AMERICANISM, OF THE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION TO OUR ACTION IN GRENADA AND TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE IN THE UK. I AM ANXIOUS TO MINIMISE THE INEVITABLE DAMAGE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP THAT YOUR DECISIONS ON CERTIFICATION AND ARMS SALES WILL CAUSE.

4. IT WILL GREATLY HELP ME IN THIS TASK IF I TAKE UP WITH YOU TWO POINTS WHICH BOTH KEN DAM AND LARRY EAGLEBURGER MADE TO JANET YOUNG. THE FIRST IS THE QUESTION OF CONSULTATION ON ARMS SALES. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD CONFIRM THAT WE SHALL BE CONSULTED, BEFORE DECISIONS ARE TAKEN, ABOUT ANY ARGENTINE REQUEST FOR ARMS SALES WHICH COULD AFFECT THE SECURITY OF OUR FORCES ON OUR ISLANDS, AND THE RESOURCES NEED TO DEFEND THEM. THIS WOULD ENABLE US TO LET YOU HAVE OUR CONSIDERED VIEW ON THE LIKELY REPERCUSSIONS OF YOUR ARMS DELIVERIES ON OUR FORCES IN THE FALKLANDS AND ON OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP. THE SECOND CONCERNS THOSE WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHICH WE SHOULD FIND IT MOST DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT. I AM IN TOUCH WITH MICHAEL HESELTINE ABOUT THIS. WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE TO CATEGORIC ABOUT IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SOME WEAPONS WILL BE WORSE THAN

4. IT WILL GREATLY HELP ME IN THIS TASK... POINTS WHICH BOTH KEN DAM AND LARRY EAGLEBURGER MADE TO JANET YOUNG. THE FIRST IS THE QUESTION OF CONSULATION ON ARMS SALES. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD CONFIRM THAT WE SHALL BE CONSULTED, BEFORE DECISIONS ARE TAKEN, ABOUT ANY ARGENTINE REQUEST FOR ARMS SALES WHICH COULD AFFECT THE SECURITY OF OUR FORCES ON OUR ISLANDS, AND THE RESOURCES NEED TO DEFEND THEM. THIS WOULD ENABLE US TO LET YOU HAVE OUR CONSIDERED VIEW ON THE LIKELY REPERCUSSIONS OF YOUR ARMS DELIVERIES ON OUR FORCES IN THE TALKLANDS AND ON OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP. THE SECOND CONCERNS THOSE WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHICH WE SHOULD FIND IT MOST DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT. I AM IN TOUCH WITH MICHAEL HESELTINE ABOUT THIS. WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE TO CATEGORIC ABOUT THESE MATTERS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SOME WEAPONS WILL BE WORSE THAN OTHERS FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. IF, AS I HOPE, WE CAN IDENTIFY WEAPONS OF PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY TO US, THEN I HOPE WE COULD RELY ON YOUR ASSURANCE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTION OF YOUR SUPPLYING THEM TO ARGENTINA.

5. ONE FINAL POINT. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE WELCOMED THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA AND HAVE SAID SO PUBLICLY. WE WISH TO RESTORE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ARGENTINA TO NORMALITY. WHILE THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY, SINCE WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF LETTING ARGENTINA OBTAIN BY NEGOTIATION WHAT WE HAD TO PREVENT HER ACQUIRING BY FORCE, WE ARE READY TO RESUME A NORMAL RELATIONSHIP, AS FRIENDLY AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. WE HAVE ALREADY DEMONSTRATED OUR GOOD WILL BE JOINING IN THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE OPERATION FOR ARGENTINA, WE ARE READY TO RESUME FULL COMMERCIAL, CONSULAR AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AS SOON AS ARGENTINA IS READY TO RESPOND. IF YOU THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL, PLEASE FEEL AT LIBERTY TO MAKE THIS KNOWN TO THE NEW ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. WITH BEST WISHES. UNQUOTE.

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RECEIVED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF EID WTS
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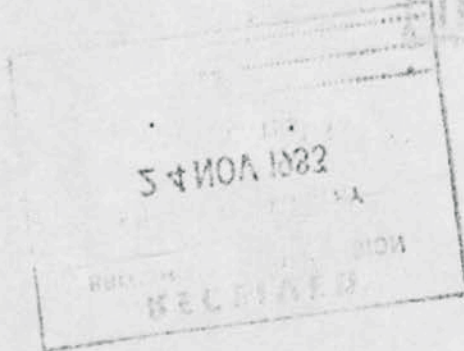
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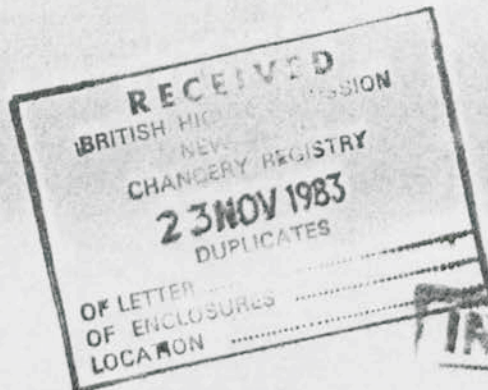
FM FCO 231230Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 859 OF 23 NOVEMBER

FOR S OF S'S PARTY.

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF FID WAS
RECEIVED FROM WASHINGTON TELNO 3510 OF 21 NOVEMBER:



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CONFIDENTIAL

ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE UK AND THE CERTIFICATION OF ARGENTINA.

1. I AM SURE YOU ARE AS CONCERNED AS I AM ABOUT THE APPRENT RISE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AS MOST RECENTLY MANIFESTED OVER REACTIONS TO GRENADA AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE. MORE TROUBLE OF THE SAME SORT MAY LIE AHEAD WITH THE CERTIFICATION OF ARGENTINA AND THE PROSPECT OF THE RESUMPTION OF AMERICAN ARMS SALES TO THAT COUNTRY. WE NEED TO BE CLEAR IN OUR OWN MINDS HOW BEST TO DEFEND BRITISH INTERESTS BOTH IN MINIMISING THE THREAT TO OUR FORCES IN THE FALKLANDS AND IN REDUCING THE GROWTH OF ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT IN BRITAIN. THE US ADMINISTRATION HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN BOTH.

2. IT IS CLEAR FROM ONE TALKS WHICH LADY YOUNG HAD WITH DAM AND EAGLEBURGER THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE DECIDED TO CERTIFY ARGENTINA. THEY MAY DO SO AT ANY TIME AND PROBABLY NOT LATER THAN THE ASSUMPTION OF POWER BY THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT ON 10 DECEMBER. THE AMERICANS TELL US, WHICH IS TRUE, THAT CERTIFICATION ITSELF DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN, ALTHOUGH IT IS A NECESSARY PRECONDITION FOR, THE RESUMPTION OF ARMS SALES. IT SIMPLY CERTIFIES THAT THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA. THIS FACT IS SURELY ONE WE CAN ALSO WELCOME PUBLICLY, NO LESS THAN WE HAVE WELCOMED PUBLICLY THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT WE MAKE THE BEST OF A BAD JOB AND DO SO.

3. IT IS ALSO CLEAR FROM LADY YOUNG'S TALKS IN WASHINGTON THAT THE US ADMINISTRATION WILL WISH TO REPAIR ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH ARGENTINA AND SEES THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICO-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ALFONSIN GOVERNMENT AS AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF THAT REPAIR WORK. ARMS SALES OF SOME SORT WILL FEATURE IN THAT RELATIONSHIP, ALTHOUGH BOTH ARGENTINE FINANCES AND US CONSTRAINTS, AS WELL AS BRITISH PREOCCUPATIONS, ARE LIKELY TO SET LIMITS TO THE QUANTITY AND SORT OF EQUIPMENT THAT WILL BE DELIVERED. NONETHELESS THE DESIRE TO PRE-EMPT ANY SOVIET ARMS DEALS AND PREVENT THE MOVEMENT OF A LEFT OF CENTRE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION WILL REMAIN HIGH ON THE LIST OF AMERICAN PRIORITIES WHEN ALFONSIN TAKES OVER. THAT FACT TOO WE HAVE TO ADJUST TO AND MAKE THE BEST OF.

4. HOW THEN SHOULD WE REACT TO THIS NEW SITUATION: TO PROTECT OUR FORCES IN THE FALKLANDS, TO RETAIN SOME LEVERAGE OVER THE USE ADMINISTRATION AND TO PREVENT THE RISE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE UK? FOR MY RECOMMENDATIONS PLEASE SEE MIFT.

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FM FCO 231230Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 861 OF 23 NOVEMBER

FOR S OF S'S PARTY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF FID WAS RECEIVED FROM WASHINGTON TELNO 3511 OF 21 NOVEMBER:

MIPT: ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE CERTIFICATION OF ARGENTINA.

1. I MYSELF BELIEVE IT SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO SECURE OUR MAJOR BRITISH INTERESTS - THE PROTECTION OF OUR FORCES IN THE FALKLANDS, THE MAINTENANCE OF SOME LEVERAGE IN WASHINGTON AND THE MANAGEMENT OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE UK. TO DO SO, WE SHALL HAVE TO ACCEPT THE FACTS AS THEY WILL BE - THE CERTIFICATION OF ARGENTINA AND THE PROBABLE RESUMPTION OF LIMITED ARMS SALES - AND WITHIN THAT CONTEXT FIGHT HARD TO OBTAIN OUR OBJECTIVES.
2. FORTUNATELY THE US ADMINISTRATION RECOGNISES OUR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AND, MOST RECENTLY IN THE TALKS WHICH LADY YOUNG HELD AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON 18 NOVEMBER, BOTH UNDERTOOK TO CONSULT OVER ARMS SALES AND INVITED US TO STATE WHICH ARMS WE SHOULD WISH NOT (REPEAT) NOT TO BE SUPPLIED. EAGLEBURGER GAVE INSTRUCTIONS IN LADY YOUNG'S PRESENCE THAT NO ARMS WERE TO BE SUPPLIED TO ARGENTINA WITHOUT HIS EXPRESS AUTHORITY. DAM ALSO WARNED LADY YOUNG THAT THERE WOULD BE A LOT OF RUMOURS BUZZING AROUND TOWN, SPREAD BY THOSE WITH AN INTEREST IN DISTURBING US, AND HE RECOMMENDED THAT WE SHOULD, BY CONSULTATION, DISTINGUISH BETWEEN FACT AND FICTION. GOOD ADVICE.
3. I RECOMMEND THEREFORE THAT, IN THE NEW SITUATION, WHERE BOTH SIDES HAVE BEEN BRUISED BY RECENT EXPERIENCE, WE SHOULD TAKE THE AMERICANS AT THEIR WORD AND RIGOROUSLY HOLD THEM TO IT. WE SHOULD INSIST ON THE CLOSEST CONSULATION AS THEIR POLITICO-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH ARGENTINA DEVELOPS AND ON BEING KEPT IN THE PICTURE ON PARTICULAR PROSPECTS FOR AMS SALES. IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD RESPOND TO THE INVITATION TO LET THE AMERICANS KNOW WHICH TYPES OF WEAPONS WE SHOULD FIND MOST OBJECTIONABLE IF SUPPLIED TO ARGENTINA. CDS, WHO WAS HERE LAST WEEK, INDICATED THE MAIN TYPES: AND I KNOW THAT THE DEPAROMENT HASLBEEN DOING SOME VERY USEFUL PRELIMINARY WORK ON THIS. IT WILL OF COURSE BE NECESSARY FOR US HERE TO KEEP IN THE CLOSEST CONTACT WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AS WELL AS THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
4. ONE FURTHER SUGGESTION. TO REINFORCE THE ASSURANCES WHICH LADY YOUNG HAS RECEIVED FROM BOTH DAM AND EAGLEBURGER, THERE MIGHT BE VALUE IN YOUR SENDING A MESSAGE TO SHULT, REFERRING TO THE MINISTER OF STATE'S TALKS, AND WELCOMING THOSE ASSURANCES, SO THAT THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN REGISTERED AT HIS LEVEL. I WOULD PROPOSE TO DELIVER THE MESSAGES PERSONALLY AND SO GUAGE HIS REACTIONS. THIS WOULD ALSO GIVE ME THE OPPORTUNITY OF MAKING ANY OTHER POINTS WHICH YOU MIGHT WISH TO GET ACROSS. MY BELIEF IS THAT THIS WOULD GIVE HIM NO PROBLEM. IN THAT CASE, WE SHOULD HAVE THE ASSURANCES WE REQUIRE AS COPPER BOTTOMED AS THESE THINGS EVER CAN BE. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT AT THIS STAGE WE KEEP THE POSSIBILITY OF A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENT IN RESERVE. SINCE AN OUNCE OF HELP IS WORTH A TON OF ADVICE I SUBMIT A POSSIBLE DRAFT OF A MESSAGE FROM YOU TO SHULTZ. SEE MIFT.

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