



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 April 1982

*Dear John,*Falkland Islands

//

I attach draft telegrams to Washington containing a message to Haig on the lines discussed at the meeting this morning. You will note that the reference to the provisions of the UN Charter concerning non self governing territories has not been placed in the body of the proposed new paragraph 8, but has been presented to Haig as something that he might put to the Argentinians by way of compromise if they asked for more explicit language on decolonisation. This is no more than a tactical gambit, but Mr Pym thought it one worth trying. He also thought on reflection that it would be better not to insist too much in the text on the question of entitlement to representation. He felt that to do so would make the fundamental idea of sounding out the views of the population much harder to sell to the Argentinians; and that our essential interests would be effectively preserved by our membership of the Special Commission.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosures to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

*Yours ever**John Holmes**for* (B J P Fall)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

OUT TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats  
SECRET

Precedence/Deskby  
FLASH

ZCZC  
GRS  
CLASS  
CAVEATS  
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FM FCO  
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TEL NO

1 ZCZC  
2 GRS  
3 SECRET  
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5 FLASH  
6 FM FCO 15 Z APRIL 82  
7 TO FLASH WASHINGTON  
8 TELEGRAM NUMBER  
9 FALKLAND ISLANDS

10 1. Please pass the following message urgently from me to  
11 Mr Haig, together with the new draft formulation for  
12 paragraph 8 of the draft Agreement Memorandum in MIFT.

13 Begins. Thank you for your friendly message which I  
14 have just received. As I have said to you, and indeed to the  
15 British Parliament and people, we in London are most grateful  
16 for the efforts which you are making to resolve the Falkland  
17 Islands crisis. We realise that the determination and stamina  
18 required are very great. We send you our warmest wishes for  
19 your crucial meetings in the coming days in Buenos Aires.

20 Since your most recent visit and our subsequent talks by  
21 telephone, we ~~in London~~ have been thinking further about the  
22 position reached in your efforts to promote a settlement and  
23 about the draft Memorandum which we have been discussing.

24 There is one important matter which greatly concerns the  
25 Prime Minister and myself and our other colleagues. Recent

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| File number                               |  | Dept<br>S/S OFFICE |  | Distribution            |  |
| Drafted by (Block capitals)<br>B J P FALL |  |                    |  |                         |  |
| Telephone number<br>233 5791              |  |                    |  |                         |  |
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Classification and Caveats

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experience has proved that Argentina is willing to resort to aggression. Having been the victim of one sudden attack, we cannot risk the same thing again. We therefore need to ensure that the Islands are protected from further aggression in the future. This is a general requirement, but one particular aspect of it is that Argentina might use the airfield at Port Stanley, only 350 miles from the mainland, to introduce large numbers of troops quickly and conveniently, without our being in a position to prevent this.

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We in London believe that the best way of minimising these risks would be a concrete arrangement involving the United States, which would provide an effective deterrent to Argentine use of force. We should like this to take the form, at least until some permanent settlement takes effect, of a US guarantee of the demilitarisation of the Islands. Such a guarantee could be included in the draft Memorandum or, perhaps more easily, could take the form of a unilateral US statement outside the draft Memorandum. I must emphasise that an arrangement of this kind is of the utmost importance to the British Government.

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Before your departure from London on 13 April, you gave me a revised text of paragraph 8 of the draft Memorandum. Not surprisingly, this text as it stands presents considerable difficulties for <sup>us.</sup> ~~the US~~. The word quote decolonisation unquote would in any case be unacceptable to Parliament, given the importance to this country of the wishes of the Islanders which, as you know, remain paramount for us. I enclose a formula for paragraph 8 on lines which we could accept. For us, the important element is to provide for a sounding of the opinion of <sup>our people on the islands:</sup> ~~the islanders, but this is balanced in our formula by the reference to the provisions of the UN Charter concerning non-self-governing territories~~. If the Argentinians seem reasonably inclined to a solution on the lines envisaged, but

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| TEL NO  | 8  | TELEGRAM NUMBER   |
|         | 9  | MIPT: FALKLAND ISLANDS  |
|         | 10 | NEW FORMULA FOR PARAGRAPH 8   |
|         | 11 | December 31, 1982 will conclude the interim period.   |
|         | 12 | During this period, the signatories shall negotiate with a view                             |
|         | 13 | to determining the future definitive status of each of the                                  |
|         | 14 | three groups of islands consistently with the purposes and                                  |
|         | 15 | principles of the UN Charter, United Nations General Assembly                               |
|         | 16 | Resolutions 1514(XV) and 2625(XXV) and, so far as islands with a                            |
|         | 17 | settled population are concerned, in accordance with their                                  |
|         | 18 | wishes and interests <sup>of that population</sup> which shall be ascertained by a sounding |
|         | 19 | of their opinion to be supervised by the Special Commission.                                |
|         | 20 | If it is not possible to complete the processes envisaged in                                |
|         | 21 | this paragraph by December 31, 1982, the interim period may be                              |
| ///     | 22 | extended for (three) months by agreement between the parties.                               |
| //      | 23 |   |
| /       | 24 | PYM   |
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argue for more explicit account to be taken of the idea of  
decolonisation, I hope that you will impress on them the  
significance of the reference to UNGA Resolution 1514. If,  
however, you felt it essential in order to reach full  
agreement, we would be prepared to consider adding to the text  
after quote these groups of islands unquote the phrase quote  
within the framework of the provisions of the UN Charter  
relating to non-self-governing territories unquote. Ends.

PYM

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