

Gifford 5/82

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY PARIS 250630Z
 DESKBY MOSCOW 250500Z
 DESKBY PEKING, TOKYO 250130Z
 DESKBY DUBLIN, ACCRA 250830Z
 DESKBY MADRID, KINSHASA, WARSAW 250730Z
 DESKBY KAMPALA, AMMAN, NAIROBI 250700Z
 DESKBY PANAMA CITY, WASHINGTON, GEORGETOWN 251300Z
 DESKBY UKDEL NATO 250800Z
 FM UKMIS NEW YORK 242025Z MAY 82
 TO IMMEDIATE F C O

(3)

24 MAY 1982



TELEGRAM NUMBER 836 OF 24 MAY 1982
 INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, MOSCOW, PEKING, DUBLIN, MADRID,
 KAMPALA, KINSHASA, ACCRA, PANAMA CITY, GEORGETOWN, WARSAW,
 AMMAN, TOKYO, UKDEL NATO, NAIROBI.

MY TELNO 825: FALKLANDS: SECURITY COUNCIL.

SUMMARY

1. THE DEBATE WAS RESUMED AT 1530Z TODAY (24 MAY). IT WAS A MAINLY AFRICAN SESSION: UGANDA, ZAIRE, KENYA, LAOS, LIBERIA, GREECE AND CHINA SPOKE. KENYA WAS MAGNIFICENT, EVEN BETTER THAN THE OLD COMMONWEALTH: OTHER AFRICANS WERE EVEN-HANDED, CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND A NEW MANDATE FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL. CHINA LEANED STRONGLY TOWARDS ARGENTINA BUT WAS NOT TOO BAD. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER IF GREECE HAD NOT SPOKEN. THE DEBATE WILL BE RESUMED AT 1430Z TOMORROW, WHEN COSTA MENDEZ IS TO MAKE A MAJOR STATEMENT.

DETAIL

2. OTUNNU (UGANDA) SAID THAT UGANDA SHARED THE TWO-PRONGED APPROACH OF THE NAM: ON THE SUBSTANCE, IT RECOGNISED THE JUSTICE OF ARGENTINA'S CLAIM: ON PROCEDURE, IT FAVOURED NEGOTIATIONS. IT HAD VOTED FOR SCR 502 BECAUSE OF ITS POSITION ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE. THE CRISIS HAD SINCE EXPANDED. UGANDA'S PRESENT ATTITUDE WAS: SUPPORT FOR SCR 502: REJECTION OF THE USE OF FORCE OR WAR AS A METHOD OF RESOLVING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES: A CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS: REGRET THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S NEGOTIATIONS HAD BROKEN DOWN: AND A WISH THAT HE SHOULD BE MANDATED TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS, AS THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS.

3. MAMANDA (ZAIRE), WHO FANCIES HIMSELF FOR HIS ELOQUENCE, MADE A LONG AND VAPID STATEMENT ABOUT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NON USE OF FORCE AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES: ABOUT PEACE AND WAR: ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE UN: ABOUT NATIONAL HONOUR AND SO ON. HE CONCLUDED BY URGING THE COUNCIL TO BRING ABOUT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS TO IMPLEMENT SCR 502, ON THE BASIS OF THE POINTS OF AGREEMENT ALREADY ACHIEVED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL, WHO SHOULD BE GIVEN A FORMAL MANDATE.

4. MAINA (ENYA) MADE AN ADMIRABLY ROBUST STATEMENT WHICH WAS AN EFFECTIVE ANTIDOTE TO ALL THE LATINS HAVE BEEN SAYING ABOUT A CULTURAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE WEST AND LATIN AMERICA (PARAGRAPH 4 OF MY TELNO 828 - NOT TO ALL). HE SAID THAT THE BREACH OF THE PEACE HAD STARTED WITH ARGENTINA'S AGGRESSION ON 2 APRIL. THAT WAS A SEPARATE QUESTION FROM THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF ARGENTINA'S CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY. SOME OF THOSE WHO "FELT OBLIGED" TO SUPPORT ARGENTINA'S CASE ON SOVEREIGNTY HAD TRIED TO TREAT THE TWO PROBLEMS AS ONE. KENYA WAS FRIENDLY TO BOTH SIDES BUT HAD TO SPEAK OUT IN THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. THE DECOLONISATION ARGUMENT WAS IRRELEVANT. ALL (UNDERLINED) OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA HAD BEEN COLONISED IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES. THE TWO CONTINENTS HAD BEEN PEOPLED AS A RESULT OF COLONIALISM: THAT WAS FACT OF THE WORLD'S UNFORTUNATE PAST. THIS WAS NOT A COLONIAL ISSUE: ARGENTINA WAS ENGAGED IN THE PURELY TERRITORIAL CLAIM, IN TOTAL DISREGARD OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLANDS. THE ARGENTINE CLAIM COULD NOT BE SETTLED AT THEIR EXPENSE: THEIR INTERESTS WERE PARAMOUNT. IF THE PRINCIPLE OF DECOLONISATION WAS DISTORTED IN ORDER TO REDISTRIBUTE PEOPLES, THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD BE IN REAL TROUBLE: THERE WOULD BE ENDLESS WAR AND DESTRUCTION. ARGENTINA HAD FLOUTED THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT: YET ONLY EIGHT MONTHS AGO SHE HAD INSISTED ON ENTERING RESERVATIONS ON A PASSAGE IN THE NAM COMMUNIQUE OF SEPTEMBER 1981 ABOUT SUPPORT FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. WHATEVER SOME DELEGATIONS MIGHT HAVE SAID, THE NAM HAD NEVER SUPPORTED ARGENTINE USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE. THERE HAD BEEN A DELIBERATE CAMPAIGN OF DISTORTION IN SOME OF THE INTERVENTIONS IN THE DEBATE. THE FACT WAS THAT ARGENTINA HAD IGNORED CALLS FOR RESTRAINT FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT REAGAN. IT WAS PERVERTED REASONING TO SAY THAT AGGRESSION HAD BEGUN WHEN THE UK FORCES MOVED

TO LEAVE THE AREA. ARGENTINA HAD NO RIGHT TO IMPOSE ITS OWN FORM OF COLONIALISM ON THE FALKLANDS. THE UN SHOULD NOT CONDONE ARGENTINE AGGRESSION; THE MATTER SHOULD BE DECIDED BY THE ICJ. THE UN'S REACTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS WAS BEING VERY KEENLY WATCHED; THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST TAKE CONCERTED ACTION TO PREVENT ANYONE FROM DRAWING THE CONCLUSION THAT AGGRESSION PAID.

5. LAOS WAS BRIEF AND POISONOUS (TO THE US, AS WELL AS TO THE UK). LIBERIA WAS CONFUSED AND EVEN-HANDED. SHE GOT A LAUGH FOR SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS LIKE A MAN WITH TWO WIVES: PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD TO DECIDE WHETHER BRITAIN OR ARGENTINA WAS THE HEAD WIFE. SHE REGISTERED A COMPLAINT ABOUT THE IMPROPRIETY OF ILLUECA'S REMARKS ABOUT THE PRIME MINISTER YESTERDAY.

6. DOUNTAS (GREECE) SAID THAT GREECE WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRINCIPLE OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE WHICH WAS BEING FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC. ALL FORCES SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND A PROVISIONAL UN ADMINISTRATION INTRODUCED IN ORDER TO MAKE NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE. MILITARY INVASION SHOULD NEVER BE CONDONED. GREECE TOOK NO POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE QUESTION AT ISSUE. SCR 502 AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT OF 21 MAY PROVIDED A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS. PEREZ DE CUELLAR SHOULD BE GIVEN A NEW MANDATE.

7. THE PRESIDENT, LING QING (CHINA), SPEAKING IN HIS NATIONAL CAPACITY, SAID THAT THE FAILURE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S EFFORTS AND THE ARRIVAL OF BRITISH FORCES HAD BROUGHT ABOUT AN ESCALATION WHICH CHINA DEEPLY DEPLORED. IT WAS REGRETTABLE THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S NEGOTIATIONS HAD HAD TO STOP BECAUSE OF THE GAP BETWEEN TWO PARTIES AND BECAUSE "THE PARTY WITH MILITARY STRENGTH HAD TAKEN A TOUGH STAND". THERE SHOULD BE AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM WAS A LEGACY OF COLONIALISM, ON WHICH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE NAM HAD ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS. CHINA ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE STRUGGLE OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO SAFEGUARD THEIR SOVEREIGNTY THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE COUNCIL SHOULD RESPECT THE DECISIONS OF THE NAM AND THE TIAR CONSULTATIVE ORGAN AND SUPPORT ARGENTINA'S CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY. BUT THE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENT WAS A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

FARSONS