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TELEGRAM NUMBER 854 OF 25 MAY 1982

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, MOSCOW, PEKING, DUBLIN, MADRID, KAMPALA, KINSHASA, ACCRA, PANAMA CITY, GEORGETOWN, WARSAW, AMMAN, TOKYO, UKDEL NATO.

MY TELNO 836; FALKLANDS; SECURITY COUNCIL.

SUMMARY

1. THE DEBATE WAS CONCLUDED THIS MORNING (25 MAY), WITH THE FOLLOWING SPEAKERS: GUYANA, TOGO, JORDAN, NETHERLANDS, CHILE, ITALY, INDIA, PANAMA (ILLUECA YET AGAIN) AND ARGENTINA (COSTA MENDEZ). I MADE STATEMENT IN RIGHT OF REPLY TO COSTA MENDEZ. ALTHOUGH THE GERMANS HAD INSCRIBED TO SPEAK, THEY DROPPED OUT AT THE LAST MOMENT. GUYANA WAS FIRST-CLASS, AS WAS CHILE GIVEN ITS CIRCUMSTANCES. THE OTHER NON-ALIGNED WERE NOT AT ALL BAD. NETHERLANDS WAS AS UNHELPFUL AS THE OTHER EUROPEANS (EXCEPT BELGIUM) HAVE BEEN, BUT ITALY WAS A BIT MORE ROBUST. COSTA MENDEZ WAS QUITE MODERATE BUT HIS SPEECH WAS DEFENSIVE AND LACKLUSTRE. IN GENERAL, OUR SUPPORT EMERGED MORE CLEARLY AS THE DEBATE DEVELOPED. THE ARGENTINES HAD THE BETTER OF THE FIRST TWO DAYS, WITH A FLOOD OF LATIN RHETORIC. BUT BY THE END THE GENERAL FEELING, I THINK, WAS THAT WE HAD WON QUITE HANDSOMELY ON POINTS. FOR THIS WE SHOULD BE ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL TO KENYA, GUYANA AND BELGIUM - THE OLD COMMONWEALTH SUPPORT FOR US WAS TAKEN FOR GRANTED.



DETAIL

2. SINCLAIR (GUYANA) MADE A FIRST-CLASS STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT SPEAK ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DISPUTE. THE IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE WAS TO END THE WAR BY MEANS OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CONSISTENT WITH SCR 502. THE WAR COULD AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED. BUT ARGENTINA HAD IGNORED THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S APPEAL OF 1 APRIL AND HAD THEN DEFIED THE MANDATORY SCR 502 BY REFUSING TO WITHDRAW AND BY CONSOLIDATING ITS MILITARY PRESENCE. GUYANA PROFOUNDLY REGRETTED THIS VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER BY ARGENTINA. SHE COULD NOT CONDONE THE UNILATERAL RESORT TO FORCE, ESPECIALLY WHEN NEGOTIATIONS WERE IN PROGRESS. THERE WAS OTHER DISPUTES IN THE HEMISPHERE, SOME OF WHICH LOOKED PARTICULARLY OMINOUS AT PRESENT. THE ARGENTINE INVASION WAS EVEN BEING HELD ALOFT AS AN EXAMPLE TO BE EMULATED. IF THIS WAS ACCEPTED, WHAT COULD OTHER STATES EXPECT, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH WERE AT A MILITARY DISADVANTAGE? IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT AGGRESSION SHOULD NOT BE REWARDED. GUYANA APPRECIATED THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES, PERU AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. THERE WAS STILL A ROLE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SCR 502. GUYANA REGRETTED THE LOSS OF LIFE BUT THIS WAS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF ARGENTINA'S NON-COMPLIANCE WITH SCR 502. SHE HOPED THAT AT THIS LATE STAGE ARGENTINA WOULD RECONSIDER AND RETURN TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SHOULD BE GIVEN A FORMAL MANDATE TO BRING THIS ABOUT, ALWAYS ON THE BASIS OF SCR 502.

3. AMEGA (TOGO) WAS MORE EVEN-HANDED. HE REGRETTED THE LOSS OF LIFE AND THE WASTE OF RESOURCES. THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S APPEAL ON 1 APRIL AND SCR 502 SHOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLIED WITH. THE SITUATION HAD BEEN CREATED BY THE INVASION OF 2 APRIL, WHICH RECALLED THE PRECEDENT OF 1833. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SHOULD CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO MUTUAL WITHDRAWAL, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UN AUSPICES.

4. NUSEIBEH (JORDAN) REGRETTED THE "FULLY FLEDGED WAR" BUT FOUND SCR 502 THE ONLY VIABLE FRAMEWORK FOR A SOLUTION. QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE, NOT TREASURE ISLANDS, WERE AT STAKE. THE CONFLICT SHOWED THE NEED FOR THE UN TO TACKLE ISSUES BEFORE THEY ERUPTED. ARMED SEIZURES MUST NOT BE REWARDED. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SHOULD BE GIVEN A MANDATE TO SECURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 502, STARTING WITH A CEASEFIRE AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICAL DATE.

5. SCHELTEMA (NETHERLANDS) SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTENSIFICATION OF HOSTILITIES AND THEIR WIDE-RANGING CONSEQUENCES. A BILATERAL DISPUTE COULD HAVE UNINTENDED NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN CONTINENTS; BUT THE RULE OF LAW MUST BE UPHELD. THE ARGENTINE INVASION RAN COUNTER TO GA RESOLUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE NETHERLANDS WANTED A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION BASED ON SCR 502, STARTING WITH A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND A RESUMPTION OF TALKS.

6. TRUCCO (CHILE) REHEARSED SCR 502 IN FULL AND RECALLED CHILE'S SUPPORT FOR THE THREE GA RESOLUTIONS, THE LAST OF WHICH HAD CALLED FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORIAL DISPUTE AND FOR NEITHER OF THE PARTIES TO MAKE UNILATERAL CHANGES IN THE SITUATION. 15 YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN INTERRUPTED ABRUPTLY AND WITHOUT RECOURSE TO ANY ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SUCH AS ARBITRATION OR MEDIATION. OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 2(3) AND (4) AND CHAPTER VI OF THE CHARTER SHOULD BE OBSERVED, AND THE RECENT MANILA DECLARATION ON THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES (SIC) EXPRESSLY STATED THAT FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS DID NOT JUSTIFY RECOURSE TO FORCE. UN MACHINERY SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED SO THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS NOT TAKEN BY SURPRISE. THE MANY TERRITORIAL DISPUTES IN THE AMERICAS COULD OTHERWISE ENDANGER PEACE IN THE REGION. CHILE REJECTED THE USE OF FORCE AS A MEANS OF SETTLING DISPUTES, REMAINED NEUTRAL BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE UK, SUPPORTED THE POPE'S APPEAL AND WOULD SUPPORT FURTHER EFFORTS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

7. ROCCA (ITALY) EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN. ARGENTINA'S RESORT TO FORCE VIOLATED TWO BASIC CHARTER PRINCIPLES. SCR 502 REFLECTED THE BASIC CONDITIONS FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE. ITALY HAD CLOSE TIES WITH BOTH PARTIES, BELIEVED SCR 502 SHOULD BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED AND WOULD SUPPORT A CEASEFIRE AND FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

8. KRISHNAN (INDIA) RECALLED THAT GA RESOLUTIONS HAD BEEN SUPPORTED BY INDIA AND HAD CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HE REGRETTED THEIR BREAKDOWN AND WAS AGAINST THE USE OF FORCE. HE EXPRESSED SEVERAL EVEN-HANDED GENERALITIES, AND MANAGED TO TALK FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES WITHOUT MENTIONING ARGENTINE INVASION.

9. ILLUECA (PANAMA) READ OUT THE TERMS OF A DECLARATION SIGNED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ARGENTINA, NICARAGUA, PANAMA AND VENEZUELA (REPORTED SEPARATELY), WHICH INCLUDED ALLEGATIONS ABOUT OUR INTENTION TO INFRINGE URUGUAYAN INTERESTS IN THE ESTUARY OF THE RIVER PLATE.

10. DORR (IRELAND) INTRODUCED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WITH A LENGTHY REVIEW OF ITS TERMS. SOMEONE HAD TO SAY "STOP THE WAR". THE RESOLUTION UPHELD PRINCIPLES AND NO-ONE COULD SAY THAT IRELAND HAD NOT TRIED.

11. COSTA MENDEZ (ARGENTINA) THEN DELIVERED HIS STATEMENT, WHICH HAD BEEN AWAITED WITH INTEREST SINCE HIS ARRIVAL AT THE WEEKEND. IT CONTAINED LITTLE NEW. HE THANKED THOSE WHO HAD SPOKEN IN ARGENTINA'S SUPPORT, ATTACKED THE UK FOR "UNLEASHING WAR" IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, AND REJECTED ACCUSATIONS THAT ARGENTINA HAD BEEN THE FIRST TO USE FORCE: IT WAS THE UK WHICH HAD USED FORCE TO OCCUPY THE ISLANDS IN 1833. COLONIALISM WAS AN ACT OF FORCE, PERMANENT AGGRESSION AND A CRIME: THAT WAS THE TRUE EXPLANATION OF CURRENT EVENTS. IT WAS NOT FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE COLONIAL POWER PAR EXCELLENCE, TO GIVE LECTURES ON SELF-DETERMINATION. THE UK HAD ABSTAINED WHEN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 1514, THE MAGNA CARTA OF DECOLONISATION. THE UK'S TRUE ATTITUDE TO SELF-DETERMINATION WAS DEMONSTRATED IN DIEGO GARCIA WHERE 1,400 INHABITANTS WERE COMPULSORILY MOVED TO MAKE WAY FOR AN AMERICAN MILITARY BASE. SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE MALVINAS WAS A JOKE. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE UK HAD INSISTED ON LEAVING INTACT "THE GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE ISLANDS", WHICH WAS JUST A FALSE COVER FOR THE COLONIAL STRUCTURES EXISTING THERE. THE INHABITANTS WOULD NOT DECIDE THE DESTINY OF THE ISLANDS BECAUSE THE LATTER BELONGED TO THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OF ARGENTINA. ARGENTINA HAD NOT INTRODUCED FORMULAS TO PREJUDGE THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS: IT WAS BRITISH INSISTENCE ON THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS WHICH PREJUDGED THE SOLUTION. THE UK HAD PRESENTED ARGENTINA WITH A VIRTUAL ULTIMATUM. IN FACT IT WAS THE UK WHO HAD BROKEN OFF THE NEGOTIATIONS BY SAYING NO TO EACH ARGENTINE PROPOSAL. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE UK DID NOT WANT TO NEGOTIATE. THE COUNCIL SHOULD TAKE MEASURES TO ENSURE A CEASEFIRE AND AN IMMEDIATE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. MEANWHILE ARGENTINA WAS RESISTING INVASION. IT ENJOYED THE SUPPORT OF ITS LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBOURS AND OTHER COUNTRIES AND WOULD NEVER ACCEPT TERMS AND CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD COMPROMISE THESE RIGHTS.

12. I SPOKE NEXT IN EXERCISE OF MY RIGHT OF REPLY (TEXT IN MIFT - TO FCO AND COI ONLY).

13. COSTA MENDEZ MADE THE MILDEST OF REJOINDERS, REPEATING THAT ARGENTINA WOULD GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF THE ISLANDERS.

PARSONS