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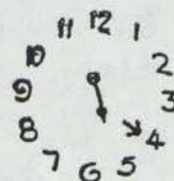
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GR 1400

26 MAY 1982 (12)

UNCLASSIFIED

FM UKMIS NEW YORK 260305Z MAY 82
TO IMMEDIATE F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 855 OF 25 MAY 1982
AND TO C O I.



MIPT: FALKLANDS: SECURITY COUNCIL

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MY STATEMENT IN RIGHT OF REPLY ON 25 MAY:
QUOTE

IN MY MAIN SPEECH IN THIS DEBATE A FEW DAYS AGO I SET OUT
THE FULL POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT ON THE PRESENT CRISIS UP
TO THAT MOMENT. I SHALL NOT WEARY THE COUNCIL BY GOING THROUGH
ALL THAT AGAIN. MY GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ARE PLAINLY ON THE RECORD.
BUT I MUST TAKE UP SOME OF THE COUNCIL'S TIME BY RESPONDING TO
A NUMBER OF THE STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE JUST BEEN MADE BY THE
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

SEVERAL SPEAKINGS, INCLUDING THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HAVE REFERRED TO THE EVENTS OF 1833. I SHOULD TRY TO PUT THEM
INTO PROPORTION. I PUT OUT INFORMATION ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS IN MY LETTER DATED 28 APRIL
(S/15007) TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND I ATTACHED
TO THAT LETTER A CHRONOLOGY OF SALIENT EVENTS. I SHALL NOW
SUMMARIZE THOSE EVENTS BRIEFLY.

THERE WERE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. THERE WERE ALSO FRENCH AND SPANISH SETTLEMENTS. THE LATTER WERE AUGMENTED BY CONVICTS. THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS WERE ABANDONED IN 1806 AND THE ISLANDS WERE UNINHABITED FOR FULLY 13 YEARS BEFORE BUENOS AIRES BECAME INDEPENDENT FROM SPAIN. THE PERIOD FROM 1806 TO 1833 WAS MARKED BY SOME CONFUSION. MANY FISHING VESSELS, AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES NAVAL SHIP LEXINGTON, VISIT THE ISLANDS. BUENOS AIRES ATTEMPTED TO ESTABLISH A COLONY - ITS WORD AT THE TIME - BUT OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING MY OWN, DID NOT ACCEPT THE RIGHT OF BUENOS AIRES TO DO SO.

IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR 1832-1833 A BRITISH SHIP VISITED THE ISLANDS. PORT STANLEY DID NOT EXIST AT THE TIME. CAPTAIN ONSLOW OF HMS CLIO OCCUPIED PORT EGMONT. ON REACHING SOLEDAD HE FOUND A DETACHMENT OF 25 BUENOS AYREAN SOLDIERS AND THEIR SCHOONER THE SARANDI. A MUTINY HAD PREVIOUSLY OCCURRED AT PORT LOUI WHILE THE SARANDI WAS AT SEA AND THE COMMANDER OF THE ARGENTINE SCHOONER HAD PLACED THE MUTINEERS IN IRONS, ABOARD A BRITISH SCHOONER AFTER THEY HAD KILLED THE GOVERNOR. AT THE COMMANDER'S REQUEST, THEY WERE TAKEN TO BUENOS AIRES. MOST PEOPLE ELECTED TO BE REPATRIATED: 18 WERE PERSUADED TO STAY BEHIND. NOT A SHOT WAS FIRED ON EITHER SIDE. CAPTAIN ONSLOW REASSERTED BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY BY RAISING THE FLAG.

I HAVE GIVEN THIS BRIEF ACCOUNT IN ORDER TO DISPEL ANY MISAPPREHENSION ABOUT 1833. THE EVENTS WERE NOWHERE NEAR AS DRAMATIC AS SOME OTHER SPEAKERS HAVE SUGGESTED. THOSE EVENTS BROUGHT TO AN END A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY AND WERE FOLLOWED BY 149 YEARS OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY, DURING WHICH THE ONLY VIABLE COMMUNITY THAT HAS EVER EXISTED ON THE ISLANDS CAME INTO BEING.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ARGENTINA IN HIS OPENING REMARKS TALKED OF THE OUTRAGE COMMITTED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM. SO FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, THE OUTRAGE WAS COMMITTED BY ARGENTINA WHEN, OUT OF A CLEAR BLUE SKY, ARGENTINE FORCES INVADED THE FALKLAND ISLANDS AT THE BEGINNING OF APRIL. THIS WAS RECOGNIZED BY THE TERMS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 502 (1982) WHICH ARE ONLY TOO FAMILIAR TO MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

WHY ARE WE NOW IN CONFLICT? IT IS LUDICROUS TO SUGGEST THAT WE ARE TRYING TO CREATE SOME NEW FORM OF BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC. I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT ANYBODY IN THEIR WILDEST IMAGINATION CAN CREDIT THIS THESIS. WE ARE IN CONFLICT FOR VERY SIMPLE REASONS. WE ARE IN CONFLICT BECAUSE, FIRST, ARGENTINA INVADED THE ISLANDS AND PLACED THE COMMUNITY ON THE ISLANDS UNDER ALIEN RULE WHICH THEY DECIDEDLY DID NOT WANT AND, SECONDLY, BECAUSE ARGENTINA HAS CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO CARRY OUT THE UNQUALIFIED DEMAND TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES, AS DEMANDED IN RESOLUTION 502 (1982) OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER REFERRED AT LENGTH TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND REFERRED TO MY COUNTRY AS THE COLONIAL POWER PAR EXCELLENCE. IT IS TRUE THAT WE TOOK THE POSITION IN THE 1960S THAT SELF-DETERMINATION WAS A PRINCIPLE AND NOT A RIGHT. HOWEVER, IN 1966 THE TWO INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS AND ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS WERE ADOPTED. THESE BOTH STATE THAT:

"ALL PEOPLES HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. BY VIRTUE OF THAT RIGHT THEY FREELY DETERMINE THEIR POLITICAL STATUS AND FREELY PURSUE THEIR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT."

(GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2200A(XXI), ANNEX)

THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS RATIFIED BOTH THESE COVENANTS, WHICH HAVE ENTERED INTO FORCE. FURTHERMORE, IN 1970, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS - THAT IS, WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM JOINING IN THE CONSENSUS - THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG STATES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THIS STATES.

"BY VIRTUE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ALL PEOPLES HAVE THE RIGHT FREELY TO DETERMINE, WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, THEIR POLITICAL STATUS ..." ETC. (GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2625 (XXV), ANNEX)

NOT ONLY HAS MY COUNTRY ENDORSED THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE SENSE OF THE CHARTER, THE COVENANTS AND THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION, BUT WE HAVE GONE A GREAT DEAL FURTHER TO DISPROVE THE ALLEGATION THAT WE ARE THE COLONIAL POWER PAR EXCELLENCE. SINCE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) WAS ADOPTED AT THE END OF 1960, WE HAVE BROUGHT TO SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE AND MEMBERSHIP OF THIS ORGANIZATION NO LESS THAN 28 STATES. WE ARE PROUD OF OUR RECORD, AND I THINK WE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO BE.

I TURN NOW TO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ARGENTINA HAS ALLEGED THAT THE APPLICATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS OF SELF-DETERMINATION IS A TRAVESTY. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT SO. THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS ARE SMALL IN NUMBER - ABOUT 1,800 - BUT AS I HAVE SAID ON MANY PREVIOUS OCCASIONS IN THIS COUNCIL, THIS IN NO WAY AT ALL DETRACTS FROM THEIR RIGHTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, UNDER ARTICLE 73 OF THAT CHARTER. THEY ARE A COMMUNITY. THEY ARE A SMALL COMMUNITY, BUT THEY ARE A PEACEFUL COMMUNITY, THEY ARE A HOMOGENEOUS COMMUNITY AND THEY ARE A COMMUNITY WHICH HAS DEVELOPED DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OVER THE PERIOD OF A CENTURY.

I TURN NOW TO THE RECENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONDUCTED WITH SUCH AMAZING DILIGENCE. WE DID NOT ISSUE AN ULTIMATUM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA. AS I STATED IN MY MAIN STATEMENT TO THE COUNCIL A FEW DAYS AGO, WE REACHED THROUGH VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN LONDON WHAT MY GOVERNMENT GENUINELY AND CAREFULLY REGARDED AS THE FURTHEST IT COULD GO IN TERMS OF FLEXIBILITY WITHOUT COMPROMISING PRINCIPLES WHICH WE WERE NOT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES PREPARED TO ABANDON. ONE OF THOSE MAIN PRINCIPLES WAS THAT, EVEN IN AN INTERIM PERIOD, THE DEMOCRATIC, FREELY ELECTED INSTITUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS COULD NOT BE DISMANTLED AND SET ASIDE. TO HAVE AGREED TO THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN A MONSTROUS OFFENCE TO OUR OWN BELIEFS, TO OUR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES, TO OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS A NATION, TO OUR RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

ALL THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT IN THIS REGARD WAS THAT THEY MIGHT BE USED AS ADVISORS IN A PERSONAL CAPACITY BY THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATOR, PROVIDED THAT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF CITIZENS OF ARGENTINIAN ORIGIN COULD BE SIMILARLY USED. THE ARGENTINE COMMUNITY ON THE ISLAND AMOUNTS TO APPROXIMATELY 30 PEOPLE, THE ISLAND COMMUNITY TO APPROXIMATELY 1,800. STATISTICALLY THAT PROPOSITION WAS OBVIOUSLY TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. CONCEPTUALLY IT WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE LED TO THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THESE INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED AND WHICH HAVE EVOLVED SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY. IT IS WORTH NOTING AT THIS POINT THAT GENERAL ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS FOR THE COUNCILS AS RECENTLY AS OCTOBER 1981. WERE THESE SIMPLY TO BE SET ASIDE EVEN DURING AN INTERIM PERIOD?

I WILL NOT GO INTO MORE DETAIL ABOUT THE NATURE OF OUR REPLY AND CONTRAST IT WITH THE NATURE OF THE ARGENTINE RESPONSE. I HAVE ALREADY DONE SO, IN GREAT DETAIL, IN MANY WAYS. I WOULD ONLY SAY THIS: THAT THROUGHOUT THE SEVEN WEEKS OF NEGOTIATIONS MY GOVERNMENT MADE MANY ADJUSTMENTS TO OUR ORIGINAL POSITION, IN THE SINCERE AND HEARTFEL HOPE OF REACHING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WE REACHED A POINT WHERE WE BELIEVED THAT WE COULD GO NOT FURTHER WITHOUT, AS I HAVE JUST SAID, THE COMPROMISE OF PRINCIPLES WHICH WE WERE NOT PREPARED TO COMPROMISE.

WHEN WE RECEIVED THE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA IT APPEARED TO US TO DEMONSTRATE NO ADVANCE OVER ITS INITIAL POSITION AT THE OUTSET OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS FORUM SEVEN WEEKS PREVIOUSLY. WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO REGARD IT AS A COMPREHENSIVE REJECTION OF OUR PROPOSALS.

THE SITUATION REMAINS AS IT HAS REMAINED EVER SINCE THE BEGINNING OF APRIL. THE CAUSE OF THE CONFLICT IS THE ARGENTINE INVASION OF THE FALKLANDS AND ARGENTINA'S REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MANDATORY DEMAND CONTAINED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 502 (1982). THE EFFECT IS THE CONFLICT WHICH IS CAUSING ALL OF US SUCH GRAVE CONCERN. REMOVE THE CAUSE, THE ILLEGAL ARGENTINE PRESENCE ON THE ISLANDS, AND THE EFFECT WILL DISAPPEAR. WE HAVE NO OTHER DESIRE BUT TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS, TO REDRESS THE WRONG WHICH HAS BEEN DONE, TO DEMONSTRATE THAT POLITICAL DISPUTES CANNOT AND MUST NOT BE SETTLED BY THE USE OF ARMED FORCE, AND TO DEMONSTRATE BEYOND ANY SHADOW OF DOUBT THAT AGGRESSION MUST NOT AND CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO PAY.

UNQUOTE.

PARSONS

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