SAPU(82) 31 SOUTH ATLANTIC PRESENTATION UNIT (SAPU) Attached for information are transcripts of three interviews given for American television by the Prime Minister today. Cabinet Office 9 June 1982

## INTERVIEW GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER MP

TO TOM BROKAW OF NBC TELEVISION (USA)

IN THE GARDENS OF NO 10 DOWNING STREET

ON WEDNESDAY, 9 JUNE 1982

PRESS OFFICE 10 DOWNING STREET

Tel No: 930-4455

INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER, I WONDER IF YOU CAN BRING US UP TO DATE ON THE MILITARY SITUATION IN EAST FALKLAND. THERE HAS BEEN SOME SPECULATION THAT YOUR FORXES WOULD NOT MOVE UNTIL PRESIDENT REAGAN LEFT LONDON, SO THAT WOULD SPARE HIM THE POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT OF THAT. IS THERE ANYTHING TO THAT?

MRS. THATCHER: THE POSITION IS GOVERNED BY THE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND IT IS FOR THE MILITARY COMMANDERS TO DECIDE WHEN THEY'RE READY TO MOVE.

INTERVIEWER: WHAT ARE THE CHANCES, AS OF TODAY, OF SOME KIND OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MAKING A MILITARY BATTLE FOR STANLEY NOT NECESSARY?

MRS.THATCHER: WE'VE BEEN TRYING FOR A POLITICAL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR EIGHT WEEKS, FOR EIGHT WEEKS THE ARGENTINES COULD HAVE WITHDRAWN AT ANY TIME, THEY HAVEN'T WITHDRAWN, IT IS NOW BEYOND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WHEN YOU'VE GOT A HIGHLY COMPLEX POSITION, WITH SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND AIRMEN ABOUT, YOU SIMPLY CANNOT SAY - WE'RE STILL GOING FOR YET ANOTHER NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. I WOULD HAVE NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER TO THINK THAT WE WOULD GET ONE NOW WHEN WE DIDN'T HAVE ONE FOR EIGHT WEEKS. THE WAY TO DO IT NOW IS FOR ANYTHING LIKE THAT TO BE ARRANGED BETWEEN THE MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD AND THERE IS NOTHING TO PREVENT PRESIDENT GALTIERI INSTRCTING HIS COMMANDER ON THE FALKLANDS TO TRY TO ARRANGE A WITHDRAWAL, THEN IT WOULD BE ARRANGED WITH SAFETY, DIGNITY AND DESPATCH.

INTERVIEWER: I LIKE TO THINK THAT IT'S NOT BLOODTHIRSTY CURIOSITY BUT THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF CURIOSITY NOW ABOUT WHY THE BRITISH TROOPS HAVE NOT MOVED ON STANELY, THEY SEEM TO BE EXCELLENT POSITIONS, THE WEATHER HAS IMPROVED THERE, REINFORCEMENTS ARE IN PLACE AND THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME QUESTION ABOUT WHY THEY ARE NOT MOVING ON STANLEY.

MRS.THATCHER: YOU CAN'T FIGHT A BATTLE AROUND A CABINET TABLE, IN THE COLUMNS OF A PAPER OR EVEN ON TELEVISION. WE HAVE VERY VERY HIGHLY PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE, WE MUST LEAVE IT TO THEIR JUDGMENT WHEN THEY'VE GOT EVERYTHING READY FOR THE BATTLE TO COMMENCE. WE HAVE GOOD PROFESSIONALS, ALL OUR FORCES ARE PROFESSIONALS, THEY ARE SUPERB. I LEAVE THAT PARTICULAR JUDGMENT TO THEM.

INTERVIEWER: BUT FROM HERE IT DOES SEEM LIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE A MAJOR MILITARY BATTLE FOR STANLEY DOES IT NOT?

MRS.THATCHER: INDEED I WOULD EXPECT SO, UNLESS BY ANY CHANCE WE WERE ABLE TO SUCCEED IN PROCURING A COMPARATIVELY EARLY SURRENDER SUCH AS HAPPENED AT DARWIN AND GOOSE GREEN AFTER THE INITIAL VERY HARDLY FOUGHT, VERY TOUGH OPENING ROUNDS OF THE BATTLE. THEN OUR FORCES DIDN'T GO ON, IF THEY THOUGHT THEY COULD GET A SURRENDER AND THEY WERE SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING ONE. THAT I THINK SAVED A LOT OF LIVES.

INTERVIEWER: DURING YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN, OR DURING THE CONVERSATIONS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL THAT HAVE OCCURRED HERE IN LONDON IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, WAS THERE ANY SUGGESTION AT ALL FROM THE AMERICAN SIDE THAT THEY... YOU SHOULD FORESTALL A MILITARY BATTLE FOR STANLEY BECAUSE IT MIGHT BE TOO COSTLY IN POLITICAL TERMS, IT WOULD HUMILIATE THE ARGENTINES AND IT WOULD ONLY POLARISE LATIN AMERICA IN TERMS OF ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN ...

MRS.THATCHER: NONE.

INTERVIEWER: NO SUGGESTION WHATSOEVER?

MRS. THATCHER: NONE:

INTERVIEWER: WAS MILITARY STRATEGY RAISED AT ALL IN YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT?

MRS.THATCHER: MILITARY STRATEGY IS LEFT TO THE COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD, ANY WISE POLITICIAN KNOWS THAT. THEY HAVE CERTAIN LATITUDE WITHIN WHICH TO OPERATE, THE REST IS LEFT TO THEM. A WISE POLITICIAN IS WELL AWARE OF THAT AND OF COURSE MR.SECRETARY HAIG IN PARTICULAR IS VERY FAMILIAR WITH THE MILITARY PROBLEM.

INTERVIEWER: DID YOU HAVE ANY SPECIFIC REQUEST OF PRESIDENT REAGAN OR OF SECRETARY HAI FOR ADDITIONAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY SUPPORT IN THAT AREA?

MRS. THAT CHER: DID I HAVE A REQUEST FROM THEM FOR ADDITOONAL ... ?

INTERVIEWER: TO THEM.

MRS.THATCHER: THEY ARE BEING ABSOLUTELY MARVELLOUS IN THEIR SUPPORT, STAUNCH, AS ONE WOULD EXPECT FROM AN ALLY LIKE AMERICA TO BRITAIN. ABSOLUTELY STAUNCH. WE ARE ANXIOUS THAT IF WE NEED ANY HELP. AFTER THE SURRENDER, THAT THEY WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO RECEIVE A REQUEST FOR HELP. IT COULD BE VERY DIFFICULT IF THERE ARE A LOT OF PRISONERS OF WAR BECAUSE WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO LOOK AFTER THEM AND WE'RE A LONG WAY AWAY FROM THE SUPPLY LINES, WE HAVE CERTAIN SUPPLIES THERE BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO THINK THAT THOSE PRISONERS OF WAR ARE LOOKED AFTER AS WELL AS POSSIBLE.

INTERVIEWER: DID YOU GET INTO ANY DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT OR WITH CRETARY HAIG ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE FALKLANDS AFTER YOUR EXPECTED MILITARY VICTORY

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NO. WE ARE ALL VERY MUCH AWARE THAT WE MIGHT NEED TO MRZ.THATCHER: TRY TO ARRANGE A MULTINATIONAL FORCE FOR THE SECURITY OF THE FALKLANDS LATER BUT, YOU KNOW, IT IS GOING TO TAKE SOME TIME, THE PEOPLE ON THOSE ISLANDS HAVE GONE THROUGH AN ABSOLUTELY TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE, THEIR WODL WAY OF LIFE HAS BEEN UPROOTED AND CHANGED. (ABOVE LINE READ 'WHOLE WAY') THEY'VE ALWAYS REJECTED THE OVERTURES, WELL, THERE WEREN'T ANY OVERTURES, THEY'VE ALWAYS REJECTED ANY IDEA THAT THERE'D BE ANY QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY GOING EVEN IN THE VERY LONG TERM TO THE ARGENTINES. THEN THEY WERE PUNISHED FOR THAT VIEW BY THE ARGENTINE INVADER, THEN THEY'VE HAD A BATTLE OVER THEIR TERRITORY. THEIR HOUSES VANDALISED, SOME OF THEM ... SOME OF THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNITY TAKEN AWAY TO WEST FALKLAND AND I CANNOT THINK WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THEIR FARMS AND THEIR WOOL SUPPLIES AND WOOL STOCKS. YOU CAN IMAGINE IF THAT HAPPENED IN A PART OF THE UNITED STATES. STOCKS. THE FIRST THING IS HREHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION AND TO HELP THEM IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE AND TO SEE WHAT WE CAN DO TO DEVELOP THE OTHER RESOURCES, FOR THAT AGAIN, WE MIGHT NEED HELP. AND IN THE LONG RUN YOU'LL NE HE CO-OPERATION OF THE PARGENTANIANS, THAT DOESN'T RUN YOU'LL NE HE CO-OPERATION OF THE ARGENTINIANS, THAT DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN ANYTHING WITH SOVERE TER ALL THERE ARE MANY INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS ORGANISATIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS THAT DON'T IMPLY HAVING AN INTEREST IN SOVEREIGNTY OR IN SOMEONE ELSE'S

INTERVIEWER: BUT THERE HAS BEEN SOME SPECULATION IN THE PAST 48 HOURS OR SO THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE THAT HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITD STATES ON THE FUTURE POLITICAL ROLE OF ARGENTINA, HOWEVER THAT IS DEFINED, ONCE GREAT BRITAIN ACHIEVES WHAT IS EXPECTED TO BE A MILITARY VICTORY THERE.

TERRITORY.

MRS. THATCHER: YES. WE'RE ALWAYS AT ODDS WITH THIS BECAUSE I DON'T QUITE UNDERSTAND THE VIEW WHICH YOU ARE PUTTING. LOOK, LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY, BEFORE THE INVASION, THE PEOPLE ON THE FALKLANDS, SOME OF WHOM HAVE BEEN THEREFOR SEVEN GENERATIONS, FAR LONGER THAN SOME OF THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN PEOPLE IN THE ARGENTINE, THEY HAVE THEIR OWN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SOME OF THE ELECTED MEMBERS ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCI:, SO THEY HAVE ... THEY WERE COMING TO SELF-GOVERNMENT. THEY HAD SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE UNDER BRITISH LAW. AFTER THE INVASION THEY WANT SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AND NEITHER YOU, WHO HAVE ALL OF THOSE THINGS, NOR I, WHO HAVE ALL OF THOSE THINGS AND WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SEEING THAT THEY HAVE THOSE THINGS, COULD STAND BACK AND WATCH IT TAKEN AWAY FROM THEM. THEY DO NOT HAVE MANY OF THOSE THINGS IN THE ARBENTINE. DO YOU REALLY THINK THAT WE'D HAND THEM OVER TO THE ARGENTINE, NO, AND NEITHER WOULD YOU, BECAUSE WE ARE TRYING TO EXTEND THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT LIBERTY AND THAT JUSTICE AND THAT SELF-DETERMINATION. IT'S ALL IN YOUR CONSTITUTION, WHICH IS THE MOST MARVELLOUSLY WRITTEN DOCUMENT I HAVE EVER READ A ND IT'S NOT FOR YOU OR FOR US TO LESSEN WHAT THEY HAD. GRADUALLY EACH YEAR WE WERE REPORTING TO THE UNITED NATIONS WICH ALS O SUPPORTS SELF-DETERMINATION AND WHAT WE WERE DOING TO GET SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THOSE ISLANDS. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE THERE TO HAVE THE! SAY OVER THE!R FUTURE. THE SAME THING HAPPENS IN THE UNITED STATES AND TO THOSE ISLANDS WHICH THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTERS AND SHE HAS A NUMBER, TO HAVE SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT WE WOULD WISH TO DO IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

MRS.THATCHER: SEIZED?

MILITARILY ....

INTERVIEWER: OR TAKE BACK ....

MRS.THATCHER: ONCE WE'VE REPOSSESSED THAT WHICH IS OURS ..

INTERVIEWER: ONCE YOU TAKE BACK MILITARILY THE FALKLANDS, HOW CAN YOU POSSIBLY SUSTAIN A PROTRACTED PRESENCE ON THOSE ISLANDS, GIVEN THEENORMOUS COST OF THIS MILITARY OPERATION THUS FAR AND THE

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WHICH YOU ALREADY FACE AT HOME?

MRS. THATCHER: IF WE CANNOT GET ANY OTHER ARRANGEMENT WE SHALL HAVE TO ARRANGE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THOSE ISLANDS. IT WILL MEAN THAT WE WILL HAVE TO MAKE A NUMBER OF QUITE CONSIDERABLE EXPENDITURES, FREEDOM IS EXPENSIVE TO DEFEND, IT IS WORTH DEFENDING. WE SHALL HAVE TO EXTEND THAT AIRSTRIP SO THAT WE CAN HAVE MAJOR AIRCRAFT OF A KIND

THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO LAND THERE BEFORE, WE SHALL HAVE TO HAVE RAPIER THERE TO DEFEND IT, WE SHALL HAVE TO HAVE SUBMARINES, WE SHALL HAVE TO HAVE SOME SHIPS. YES, WE SHALL HAVE TO DEFEND FREEDOM, I HOPE WE'LL BE ABLE TO GET SOME HELP IN IT, THOSE ISLANDS ARE STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT, AS WELL AS BEING IMPORTANT IN DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL TERMS AND I HLPE EVERYONE WILL REALISE THAT ... EVEN NOW, YOU KNOW, THAT SOME VERY BIG OIL TANKERS HAVE TO GO AROUND CAPE HORN TO GET ROUND TO ALASKA, THEY HAVE A VERY ENORMOUS STRAGEGIC VALUE, THEY ARE TO SOME EXTENT ALSO THE GATEWAY TO THE ANTARCTIC WHICH WILL PROGRESSIVELY MORE IMPORTANT

IN RESOURCE TERMS TO THE WORLD AS A WHOLE.

INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER THIS IS A DIFFICULT QUESTION ....

MRS.THATCHER: I'M USED TO THEM. DON'T WORRY ....

INTERVIEWER: I UNDERSTAND THAT. FROM A POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW YOUR COUNTRYMEN OBVIOUSLY ADMIRE YOUR RESOLVE DURING THIS CRISIS. YOUR REPUTATION AS THE IRON LADY, THE ICE QUEEN, A VERY TOUGH POLITICIAN HAS ONLY BEEN ENHANCED BY WBAT IS GOING ON DOWN THERE BUT I WONDER IF THERE ISN'T A MOMENT IN YOUR PERSONAL OR PRIVATE LIFE WHEN

SOMETIMES THAT RESOLVE WAIVERS AND FROM A BUMAN POINT OF VIEW IF YOU DON'T HAVE SLEEPLESS MOMENTS WHEN YOU SEE THE YOUNG MEN ON THE BEACHES OR MAKING A LANDING OR ENGAGED IN SOME KIND OF COMBAT WHICH COSTS THE LIVES OF MEN ON BOTH SIDES ....

MRS. THATCHER: MANY EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY OUR PREDECESSORS SO THA WE HAD LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, WE MUST MAKE THE SAME EFFORT FOR OUR FRIENDS, FOR THOSE WHO RELY ON US AND FOR OUR SUCCESSORS, TO SEE THAT WE PASS ON WHAT HAS BEEN BEQUEATHED TO US. YES, I HAVE THE REPUTATION AS THE IRON LADY AND OF GREAT RESOLVE, THAT RESOLVE IS MATCHED BY THE BRITISH PEOPLE, IT IS, IF I MIGHT SAY SO, MATCHED I BELIEVE BY THE STAUNCHNESS OF THE UNITED STATES. DOES NOT THE UNITED STATES AND ALMOST EVERY PERSON THERE PUT ON THE ARMOUR OF LIBERTY AND CZRRY THE SWORD OF JUSTICE?

INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

## INTERVIEW GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER MP

TO PETER JENNINGS OF ABC TELEVISION (USA)

IN THE GARDENS OF NO 10 DOWNING STREET

ON WEDNESDAY, 9 JUNE 1982

PRESS OFFICE 10 DOWNING STREET Tel No: 930-4433 IN VIEWER: PRIME MINISTER, YOU'VE ALREADY SAID THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPEECH BEFORE PARLIAMENT EYESTERDAY WAS A TRIUMPH, WHAT DO YOU UNDERSTAND TO BE THE SPECIFIC OF HIS CRUSADE FOR DEMOCRACY

MRS.THATCHER: I THOUGHT FOR THE FIRST TIME WE'D HAD SOMEONE WHO REALLY PUT THE CASE FOR PROCLAIMING FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY ITSELF. WE TEND TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED, WE JUST DON'T REALISE HOW MANY OTHER PEOPLES IN THE WORLD THERE ARE WHO WOULD LOVE TO HAVE IT. INEVITABLY IN OUR SYSTEM WHICH HAS FREE SPEECH, FULL FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, OF ACTION, WITHIN CERTAIN LAWS, WE FIND THAT WE TEND TO BE USING THAT TO CRITICISE OUR OWN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, OUR OWN WAYS OF LIFE AND YET YOU FIND ON THE OTHER SIDE WHERE THEY HAVE TOTAL CENSORSHIP, THEY TEND TO USE THAT TOTAL CENSORSHIP TO PORTRAY ALL THAT IS BEST IN THEIR LIFE AND NONE OF THE CRITICISMS. I WONDER HOW SOMEONE IN THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WOULD TAKE THAT, IF WE ONLY USED OUR FREEDOM TO DISPLAY SOME OF THE THINGS THAT NEED CORRECTING IN OUR SOCIETY. SO IT WAS ABSOLUTELY MARVELLOUS TO HEAR SOMEONE PUT THE REAL POSITIVE POINTS FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AND SAY WITH ALL THEIR FAULTS AND THERE ARE FAULTS WITH A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. NEVERTHELESS THEY'RE SO FAR BETTER THAN ANYTHNG ELSE, THAT WE OUGHT TO BD PROCLAIMING IT FROM THE HOUSETOPS AND TRYING TO EXTEND IT, RATHER THAN CRITICISE IT.

INTERVIEWER: DOES THAT MEAN IN YOUR VIEW THAT THIS IS A CAMPAIGN WHICH SHOULD BE CONDUCTED, FOR EXAMPLE, DIRECTLY INSIDE WHT IS REGARDED AS THE SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE?

MRS.THATCHER: IT'S A CASE WE SHOULD CONDUCT EVERY DAY. YOU KNOW, SO OFTEN WE JUST REACT TO PROPAGANDA FROM THE COMMUNST WORLD, OR FROM ... THEY CALL IT EXTREME SOCIALIST WORLD AND WE DON'T REALLY START BY POSITIVELY PUTTING OUR OWN CASE, WE ACCEPT THAT, WE TAKE IT FOR GRANTED. JUST TAKE THE CASE OF A FREE PRESS AND FREE MEDIA, THEY COULD NOT CONTINUE TO BE FREE UNLESS THEY WERE SUPPORTED BY EVERY SINGLE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENT AND COMMERCIAL FUTURE AND COMMERCIAL SUCCESS AND YET YOU WOULD NOT NECESSARILY HEAR THAT PROCLAIMED ON TELEVISION OR IN THE PRESS.

INTERVIEWER: IS IT A CAMPAIGN THAT SHOULD BE CONDUCTED AS VIGOROUSLY IN TOTALITARIAN REGIMES WHICH SERVE THE WEST'S INTERESTS AGAINST THE DEFENCE OF COMMUNISM.

MRS.THATCHER: WELL, YOU KNOW, WE OFTEN CAN'T GET AT THEM BUT WE GET AT THEM TO SOME EXTENT THROUGH OVERSEAS BROADCASTING AND WE HAVE REASON TO KNOW FROM PE O COME OUT FROM TIME TO TIME THAT OUR BROADCAST S ARE LISTENED TO VERY CLOSELY AND I KNOW THAT I'VE HAD SME OF THE PEOPLE WHO'VE COME OUT OF SOVIET RUSSIA AND SOME OF THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES SAYING TO US 'LOOK, WE WANT TO HEAR MORE AND MORE DISCUSSION, GENUINE ARGUMENT, GENUINE DEBATE, WE NEVER HEAR THAT', THEY SAY, ON OUR RADIO OR TELEVISION' AND THAT'S REALLY WHAT THEY WANT. IT'S COMPARATIVELY FRESH TO THEM.

INTERVIEWER: ONE OF YOUR COLLEAGUES IN PARLIAMENT TOLD ME YESTER-DAY THAT THE WEST SHOULD LOOK FIRST TO ITS OWN DEMOCRACY, I'M REFERRING TO EDWARD HEATH, DO YOU THINK HE HAS A POINT?

MRS.THATCHER: I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHAT THAT SENTENCE, UNLESS YOU GIVE ME ITS CONTEXT, MEANS THE WEST TO LOOK FIRST AT ITS OWN DEMOCRACY, BUT WE ARE SAYING AND REMEMBER IT WAS WINSTON WHO SAID 'THAT DEMOCRACY WHATEVER ITS SHORTCOMINGS IS BY FAR THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT' AND OUGHT WE NOT SOMETIMES TO STATE MORE FORCEFULLY THE ADVANTAGES OF A FREE COUNTRY.

INTERVIEWER: I THINK HE WAS REFERRING TO .....

MRS. THATCHER: .... WITH A GOOD SYSTEM OF LAW.

INTERVIEWER: ... THE VERY HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE WEST - WHETHER OR NOT IT WASN'T BEST TO GET THAT IN ORDER TO EEE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE DEMOCRACY.

MRS.THATCHER: WE'RE ALL TRYING TO DO THAT BUT, MY GOODNESS ME, WITH FULL EMPLOYMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN SOME OF THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES, THEY CAN'T EVEN GROW ENOUGH TO FEED THEMSELVES AND THEY CERTAINLY CAN'T DO THE HIGHEST TECHNOLOGY AND

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF EVERYONE IS VERY LOW. WE ARE TRYING TO GET THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF OUR PEOPLE UP - THROUGH THEIR OWN EFFORTS AND WE TRY FOR THOSE WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED TO SEE THAT THEY HAVE A REASONABLE STANDARD OF LIVING AND ARE REASONABLY WELL LOOKED AFTER BY THE REST WHO HAVE JOBS.

INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER, IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR THERE WILL BE MORE FIGHTING TO RESOLVE THE FALKLANDS CRISIS: WHAT ABOUT AFTER THIS BATTLE, THE BATTLE FOR PORT STANLEY, DO YOU THINK A LESS INTENSIVE WAR WILL CONTINUE?

MRS.THATCHER: ONE ALWAYS HOPE THAT WE SHALL HAVE AFTER THAT A COMPLETE ARMISTICE, TO BE ABLE TO TAKE REPOSSESSION OF THE ISLANDS AS A WHOLE AND ALSO TO SECURE A COMPLETE ARMISTICE IN THE MAINLAND. IF WE CAN'T THEN OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE TO DEFEND OUR OWN TERRITORY AND OUR OWN PEOPLE. THEY CAN ONLY LOOK TO US FOR THEIR DEFENCE. WE CAN'T KNOW YET, WE HOPE THAT THE MILITARY COMMANDERS WILL MAKE THE FIRST ARRANGEMENTS AS THEY DID ON SOUTH GEORGIA AND TOOK A SURRENDER THERE. WHAT WE DO KNOW IS THAT WE HAVE A DUTY TO DEFEND OUR OWN TERRITORY AND ABOVE ALL OUR OWN PEOPLE AND TO SEE THAT THEIR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY, ALL OF WHICH THEY HAD BEFORE THIS INVASION, CONTINUES.

SO IF YOU CORRECT WHAT YOU'VE LONG REGARDED AS THE INTERVIEWER: INJUNICE WHAT HAPPENS THEN: IS THE IDEA, FOR EXAMPLE, OF A ATIONAL FORCE SPECIFICALLY INVOLVING THE UNITED STATES A DEAD ISSUE?

-MRS.THATCHER: NO, I HOPE NOT. I HOPE IT'S A VERY MUCH ALIVE ISSUE. BUT I THINK YOU KNOW BEFORE WE'VE EVEN STARTED THE MAIN BATTLE FOR PORT STANLEY IT'S A BIT DIFFICULT TO SAY PRECISELY HOW THINGS WILL DEVELOP. ONE HAS A NUMBER OF CONTINGENCY PLANS BUT OYOU IMAGINE THE LIVES OF THESE PEOPLE, THEY'VE HAD A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE, THEY'VE HAD A TREMENDOUS INVASION FROM THE ARGENTINES WHOM THEY'VE ALWAYS TOTALLY REJECTED BEFORE AND THEN THEY'VE HAD A BATTLE OVER THEIR TERRITORY, THEIR HOMES, THEIR BUSINESSES, THEIR HOMES VANDALISED, SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN HERDED TOGETHER IN DARWIN AND GOOSE GREEN, THEY'D BEEN HERDED TOGETHER IN A COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT AND HAD TO STAY THERE FOR A MONTH. IT'S GOING TO TAKE THEM SOME TIME TO GET BACK TO NORMAL LIFE, TO REBUILD THEIR FARMS AND THEIR BUSINESSES, IT'S GOING TO TAKE US SOME TIME TO HELP

REHABILITATE AND DEVELOP. WE SHALL NEED HELP IN DEVELOPING THE RESOURCES. I THINK WE MAY NEED HELP INITIALLY IN HOW WE DEAL WITH THE PRISONER OF WAR PROBLEM, THEN WE SHALL HAVE TO PROVIDE FOR THE DEFENCE AND WE SHALL HAVE TO CERTAINLY CONSIDER THINGS LIKE A MULTINATIONAL FORCE.

INTERVIEWER: WHAT ABOUT LONG TERM NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARGENTINA FOR THE ISLANDS ULTIMATE FUTURE?

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS SELF-DETERMINATION, MRS.THATCHER: AFTER ALL THAT'S WHAT THE UNITED STATES STANDS FOR, IT'S WHAT DEMOCRACY IS, THE PEOPLE DECIDE THE FUTURE. SO FAR THE PEOPLE HAVE

TOTALLY REJECTED AN ARGENTINIAN FUTURE. I DO NOT IMAGINE AFTER AN INVASION THAT THEY WOULD ACTUALLY WANT ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE ARGENTINIANS AS FAR AS SOVEREIGNTY GOES - NOTHING, BUT NOTHING AT- ALL.

INTERVIEWER: AND YET YOU'VE BEEN NEGOTIATING WITH THE ARGENTINIANS ABOUT THE ISLANDS LONG TERM FUTURE BEFORE THE CONFLICT - DID THE CONFLICT CHANGE THAT IRREVOCABLY?

MRS.THATCHER: YES, BUT NOT NECESSARILY ON SOVEREIGNTY, BECAUSE THE ISLANDERS DID NOT WANT NEGOTIATIONS ON SOVEREIGNTY. WE SAID TO THEM AT ONE STAGE - WOULD YOU CONSIDER A VERY VERY LONG LEASE, BECAUSE WE THOUGHT THAT WE HAD TO OBVIOUSLY IN PRACTICAL TERMS, TO WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH THE ADJACENT STATE - NO. THEY WOULD NOT CONSIDER IT AND WHAT THEY WANTED WAS TO FREEZE ALL QUESTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY. NOW LOO

DEMOCRACY IS, SO DO WE, SO DO THOSE ISLANDERS. WHO IS AMERICA, OR WE OR ANY OTHER DEMOCRACY TO IMPLY THAT THEY HAVE TO LOSE THAT, THAT, THE THEY DON'T, WE'VE GONE TO DEFEND IT, YOU ENJOY IT, I ENJOY IT, PRESIDENT SAYS WE MUST EXTEND IT AND SO DO 1. SO LET'S NOT ROB PEOPLE OF 1T WHO'VE HAD, AND IF THEY DO NOT WANT NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARGENTINA, THEN IT IS THEIR RIGHT TO SAY NOT.

INTERVIEWER: BUT IN THE LONG TERM, PRIME MINISTER, IF ARGENTINA PURSUES WHAT IT REGARDS AS ITS CLAIM TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDS THROUGH A LEGAL AND NEGOTIATING PROCESS, WOULD YOU IGNORE ARGENTINA OR WOULD YOU PARTICIPATE AGAIN, AS YOU DID BEFORE THIS WAR?

MRS.THATCHER: I DON'T THINK YOU CAN SAY THAT JUST BECAUSE PEOPLE LAY CLAMM TO SOME ISLANDS OR TO SOME TERRITORY, THAT YOU AUTOMATICALLY HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THEM. JUST LET ME GIVE YOU ANOTHER ISLAND - TRINIDAD - JUST OFF THE COAST OF VENEZUELA. FAR FAR NEARER TO VENEZUELA THAN THE FALKLANDS ARE TO THE ARGENTINES, WE BROUGHT TRINIDAD TO FULL INDEPENDENCE. THERE ARE MANY OTHER ISLANDS. CUBA IS NEARER TO THE UNITED STATES THAN THE FALKLANDS TO THE ARGENTINE. THE CANARY ISLANDS ARE NEARER TO MOROCCO THAN THEY ARE TO SPAIN. YOU CAN'T JUST JUDGE THE OWNERSHIP OF A TERRITORY BY HOW NEAR THEY ARE TO ANOTHER SOVEREIGN TERRITORY. YOU CAN'T JUST SAY --- LET ME JUST SAY THE IMPLICATIONS OF YOUR QUESTION, YOU CAN'T JUST SAY THAT BECAUSE PEOPLE LAY CLAIM TO A TERRITORY YOU AUTOMATICALLY HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THEM.

INTERVIEWER: BUT YOU HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING WITH ARGENTINA FOR SEVENTEEN YEARZ.

WHICH THEY SUPPLIED THE COMMUNICATIONS IN A SENSE THAT THEY HAD A SHIPPING LINE AND AN AIRLINE, BUT THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT LET US NEGOTIATE ON SOVEREIGNTY, THAT IS WHAT I AM SAYING. OF COURSE WE WANT TO CO-OPERATE IN EVERY BUSINESS VENTURE AND MANY MANY BUSINESS VENTURES, IT'LL BE NECESSARY IN SOME WAYS FIRST TO DEVELOP THE MATERIALS ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF BUT DO NOT THINK THAT BECAUSE SOMEONE ELSE LAYS CLAIM TO TERRITORY THAT YOU HAVE NECESSARILY TO ADMIT A CLAIM, WE HAVE BEEN THERE - THE ISLANDS WERE DISCOVERED BY THE BRITISH - MANY OF OUR PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ON THE FALKLANDS FOR SEVEN GENERATIONS, LONGER THAN SOME OF THE SPANISH AND ITALIANS ... PEOLE OF SPANISH AND ITALIAN BIRTH, HAVE BEEN IN THE ARGENTINE AND THE FALKLANDS HAD NO INDIGENOUS POPULATION, THE ARGENTINE DID OF COURSE.

INTERVIEWER: JUST ONE FINAL QUESTION, PRIME MINISTER, ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST, WHAT DO YOU AT THIS POINT BELIEVE THE ISRAELI INTENTIONS IN LEBANON ARE?

MRS. THATCHER: IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL BECAUSE THEY HAVE ANNOUNCED SOME OF THEIR INTENTIONS AND YET THE ACTIVITIES SEEM TO HAVE GONE WELL BEYOND THOSE ANNOUNCED INTENTIONS. BUT I DO ... I KNOW IS THAT YOU ... IF YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE ANY INTERNATIONAL LAW. YOU REALLY CANNOT HAVE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON JUST INFRINGED LIKE THAT AND THEREFORE WE AGREE WHOLY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTON ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL. WE'VE GREAT FAITH IN MR. HABIB AND WE SUPPORT WHAT HE IS DOING. IT'S A TERRIBLE THING FOR THE LEBANON PEOPLE, THEY'RE NOT A PARTY TO THESE HOSTILITIES AND YET THEIR COUNTRY IS OVER-RUN. YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL LAW UPHELD OTHERWISE THERE'S INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY. I UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS, LEBANON HAS A RIGHT TO LIVE IN SECURITY AND PEACE, SO HAS ISRAEL AND IT'S ALL RELATED TO THE MUCH LARGER PROBLEM THAT SO MANY OF US HAVE BEEN TRYING TO SOLVE FOR QUITE A LONG TIME, THE WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI WAS PART OF IT, THE NEXT STAGE IS GOING TO BE VERY VERY DIFFICULT.

INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

MRS. THATCHER: THANK YOU.

## INTERVIEW GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER MP

TO TOM FENTON OF CBS TELEVISION (USA)

IN THE GARDENS OF NO 10 DOWNING STREET

ON WEDNESDAY, 9 JUNE 1982

PRESS OFFICE 10 DOWNING STREET Tel No: 930-4433 INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER, HOW CLOSE ARE YOU TO REMOVING THE ARGENTINES FROM THE FALKLANDS?

MRS.THATCHER: IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO SAY. I HOPE NOT TOO DISTANT, BECAUSE AFTER ALL OUR TROOPS ARE THERE, IN VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES, AND SO ARE THE ARGENTINE TROOPS IN VERY MOVES IS UP TO HIM, HE IS THERE, HE KNOWS THE POSITIONS, HE KNOWS HIS PROFESSIONAL FIGHTING MEN, HE KNOWS JUST EXACTLY HOW MUCH HE HAST TO MOVE TO WHERE BEFORE HE MAKES THE FINAL ASSAULT. WE CAN'T FIGHT A BATTLE ROUND THE CABINET TABLE, HE CAN ONLY FIGHT IT ON THE SPOT.

INTERVIEWER: THERE ARE NO POLITICAL RESTRAINTS?

MRS.THATCHER: HE HAS NORMAL RULES OF ENGAGEMENT WHICH YOU'D EXPECT A DEMOCRACY TO HAVE.

INTERVIEWER: IS THERE ANY CHANCE EVEN AT THIS LATE DATE OF AVOIDING A MAJOR BATTLE FOR PORT STANLEY?

MRS.THATCHER: ONLY IF THE COMMANDER OF THE AREA, HAVING HIS BACK TO THE SEA, HAVING MANY MANY YOUNG CONSCRIPTS UNDER HIS CARE, THINKS THAT IT WILL BE BETTER TO SEEK TO WITHDRAW. IF HE DID HE'S ONLY TO CONTACT OUR MILITARY COMMANDER AND SUCH A WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE ARRANGED.

INTERVIEWER: HAS THERE BEEN ANY SOGN THAT HE'S INTERESTED?

MRS.THATCHER: NO SIGN WHATSOEVER. NO RESPONSE OF THAT KIND.
INDEED OFTEN THE CONTRARY, YOU KNOW, THERE HAVE BEEN STATEMENTS
MADE FROM THE ARGENTINES THAT THEY'RE PREPARED TO SACRIFICE FORTY
THOUSAND LIVES AND SO ON, I JUST ALMOST RECOILED WHEN I HEARD THAT
KIND OF STATEMENT AND THEY WOULD FIGHT TO THE DEATH AND SO ON.
AND I JUST HOPE THAT ONCE THE BATTLE HAS COMMENCED AND THEY'VE
TAKEN CERTAIN POSITIONS, THAT BOTH COMMANDERS WILL BE ABLE TO
ARRANGE A SURRENDER WHICH WILL SAVE MANY MANY YOUNG LIVES.

INTERVIEWER: - PRIME MINISTER, YOU AND PRESIDENT REAGAN SEEM TO AGREE ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES THAT LED YOU TO SEND THE TASK FORCE, HAS HIS VISIT NARROWED THE APPARENT DIFFICULTY YOU MAY HAVE OVER THE LONG TERM FUTURE OF THE FALKLANDS?

MRS.THATCHER: WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN TRYING TO WORK WITH THEM TO TRY TO DEVELOP THE RESOBRCES OF THE ISLANDS, OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND IN THE SEAS AROUND - IT'LL NR PROFITABLE AND GOOD FOR THEM, AND PROFITABLE AND GOOD FOR US. THEY HAVE FOR ... EVER SINCE PERON, ALMOST TAUGHT EVERY GENERATION THAT THEY HAVE A TITLE TO WHAT THEY CALL THE MALVINAS. THE BRITISH DISCOVERED THEM, ERITISH PEOPLE HAVE BEE N THERE CONTINUOUSLY FOR A HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AND WERE THERE FROM TIME TO TIME BEFORE. SOME OF THE PEOPLE HAVE

BEEN ON THE FALKLANDS FAR LONGER THAN SOME OF THE SPANISH AND ITALIANS HAVE BEEN IN THE ARGENTINE. ONLY IN THE FALKLANDS OF COURSE THERE WAS NO INDIGENOUS POPULATION TO DISPLACE, AS THERE WAS IN THE ARGENTINE, SO OUR RIGHT TO THE FALKLANDS IS VERY SIMILAR TO THE RIGHT WHICH THOSE WHO WENT TO THE ARGENTINE EXERCISE NOW ... I MEAN, THEIR RIGHT TO THE ARGENTINE, TO BE IN THE ARGENTINE AND TO HAVE SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE ARGENTINE. IS VERY SIMILAR TO THE RIGHT OF THE BRITISH TO BE IN THE FALKLANDS AND TO HAVE SELF-DETERMINATION OVER THAT.

INTERVIEWER: MANY OBSERVERS AND INDEED I THINK STATE DEPARTMENT PLANNERS SEEM TO THINK THAT INDEPENDENCE FOR THE FALKLAND ISLANDSCOOLD BE AN IMPRACTICAL PROPOSITION.

MRS.THATCHER: WELL, THERE ARE THINGS SHORT OF INDEPENDENCE, I MEAN, YOU KNOW THAT WE HAVE AN UNRIVALED RECORD NOW AND AT ANY TIME IN THE WORLD OF HANDING BACK TERRITORIES ... O TO HANDING OVER TERRITORIES OVER WHICH WE HAVE SOVEREIGN POSSESSION TO THE PEOPLE - THAT IS SELF-DETERMINATION, - NEAR YOU, I SUPPOSE THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLE IS TRINIDAD, WHICH IS SO MUCH CLOSER TO THE MAINLAND OF VENEZUELA, THAN THE FALKLANDS ARE TO THE ARGENTINE BUT SHORT OF FULL INDEPENDENCE, THERE IS SELF-GOVERNMENT, WHERE YOU CAN HAVE YOUR OWN PRIME MINISTER AND WHOLE LEGISLATURE, BUT STILL RELY ON US FOR DEFENCE AND FOR A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF TERRITORIES WHICH CHOOSE THAT ROLE AND OF COURSE YOU HAVE A NUMBER OF TERRITORIES WHICH HAVE CHOSEN THAT ROUTE. IT'S NOT REALISED SOMETIMES THAT THE UNITED STATES ALSO HAS A NUMBER OF TERRITORIES.

INTERVIEWER: IS IT A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION ALSO TO TRY TO DEFEND ISLANDS EIGHT THOUSAND MILES WAY WITH ARGENTINA ONLY TWO HUNDRED OR THREE HUNDRED MILES AWAY AND STILL PREPARED PERHAPS TO FIGHT FOR THEM?

MRS.THATCHER: WELL IT HAS BEEN SNOWN THAT IT IS A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION TO FIGHT FOR THEM EVEN IF THEY ARE EIGHT THOUSAND MILES AWAY. THANKS TO SUPERB EFFORTS ON THE PART OF BRITISH ARMED FORCES AND THEIR OUTSTANDING PROFESSIONALISM...(BPTH TALK AT ONCE). NO. INDEED, BUT YOU KNOW, ONCE WE'RE BACK ON THE ISLANDS AND WE REALISE THAT THEY ARE LIABLE TO BE ATTACKED AND INVADED, YOU MAKE VERY DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENTS. YES, WE HAVE TO EXTEND THE AIRSTRIP, BUT THE AIRSTRIP WILL BE BOTH EXTENDED AND DEFENDED. IT COULD HAVE DIFFERENT AIRCRAFT THERE, BOTH BOMBERS AND FIGHTERS. IT COULD HAVE RAPIERS THERE TO DEFEND IT. WE'LL HAVE TO KEEP SUBMARINES AROUND THE ISLANDS BUT AFTER ALL ALL WHAT HAS BEEN SHOWN IS THAT THE SOUTH ATLANTIC IS VERY VERY IMPORTANT, WE HAVE A NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION BUT THE SOUTH ATLANTIC TOO IS VERY IMPORTANT AND THAT IS VERY MUCH ON A STRATEGIC ROUTE, SOUTH OF CAPE HORN. YES, WE SHALL HAVE TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO DEFEND IT WE HAVEN'T LOST BRITISH BLOOD SUDDENLY TO SAY - ALL RIGHT, NOW WE'RE GOING TO LEAVE THESE PEOPLE DEFENCELESS.

INTERVIEWER: ARE YOU THINKING IN TERMS OF SOME SORT OF SOUTH ATLANTIC ORANISATION?

MRS.THACHER: IT HAS BEEN MOOTED SEVERAL TIMES BUT NO-ONE HAS REALLY WORKED IT OUT AND IT IS JUST A GENERAL IDEA.

INTERVIEWER: WHAT ROLE WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE THE UNITED STATES PLAY IN GUARANTEEING THE FUTURE OF THE FALKLANDS?

MRS.THATCHDR: IT IS POSIBLE THAT WE MIGHT HAVE A MULTINATIONAL FORCE WHEN THE UNITED STATES ASKED US TO JOIN IN A MULTINATIONAL FORCE WITH SINAI WE WENT AND DID SO. TO HELP OUR ALLY. THE UNITED STATES. BUT I THINK IT'S JUST A LITTLE BIT EARLY TO TRY TO GET THESE FINALISED YET OR EVEN TO DISCUSS THEM IN DETAIL. IT IS GOING TO TAKE A TIME, IT'S NOT SURPRISING BECAUSE OF THE EXPERIENCES THAT THOSE ISLANDERS HAVE BEEN THROUGH.

INTERVIEWER: PRIME MINISTER, WASN'T THERE AN INTELLIGENCE ERROR OF REALLY MONUMENTAL PROPORTIONS THAT ALLOWED THE ARGENTINES TO TAKE THE ISLANDS?

MRS.THATCHER: I WOULD NOT NECESSARILY SAY SO. IF THERE WAS THEN ALMOST EVERYONE WAS AMZED, THAT THEY WERE ACTUALLY ON THEIR WAY TO INVADE. AS YOU KNOW THEY WERE TAKING PART IN A MAJOR EXERCISE, THERE HAD BEEN MANY MANY EXERCISES BEFORE, THERE HAD BEEN THREATS OF INVASION BEFO NO WHAT WE DIDN'T SPOT WAS THAT THIS ONE WAS ACTUALLY DIFFERENT. WELL, IT HAPPENED, IT HAPPE

CHERVIEWER: THERE'LL BE AN INQUIRY AFTERWARDY?

MRS.THATCHER: I INDEED SHALL HAVE AN INQUIRY, I DO NOT.... AND WHAT IS MORE, MANY MANY PEOPLE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND PREVIOUS MINISTERS, ARE VERY ANXIOUS TO HAVE AN INQUIRY.

INTERVIEWER: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

MRS. THATCHER: THANK YOU.