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FM FCO 141812Z JUN 82
TO IMMEDIATE PARIS
TELEGRAM NUMBER 361 OF 14 JUNE
INFO PRIORITY BONN, UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON.

YOUR TELNO 620: FALKLANDS: FRENCH ATTITUDE

1. THE MAIN LINES OF YOUR DISCUSSION WITH GUTMANN WERE ALL TOO ACCURATELY FORECAST IN YOUR LETTER OF 9 JUNE TO BULLARD (NOT TO OTHERS). IT IS IMPORTANT TO DEAL FIRMLY WITH GUTMANN AND OTHERS WHO ARGUE SIMILARLY.

EVEN IF COMPREHENSIBLE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THEIR OWN SELF-INTEREST, THE FRENCH ATTITUDE IS DEPLORABLE. IT IS ALL TOO LIKELY THAT ONCE PORT STANLEY IS RECAPTURED, THERE WILL BE SIMILAR PRESSURES FROM OTHER ALLIES TO AGREE TO FACE-SAVING FORMULAE. WE SHALL NEED TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT SUCH A POLICY IS UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

2. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR OBJECTIVE THROUGHOUT HAS BEEN TO DEMONSTRATE THAT AGGRESSION DOES NOT PAY. THIS OBJECTIVE WILL NOT HAVE BEEN ATTAINED UNTIL THE ARGENTINE FORCES HAVE WITHDRAWN ENTIRELY FROM BOTH EAST AND WEST FALKLAND. WE HAVE NO WISH TO HUMILIATE THE ARGENTINES, WHO CAN END THE FIGHTING AT ANY TIME THEY CHOOSE BY AGREEING TO WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES WITH DIGNITY. BUT ANY CEASEFIRE WHICH LEAVES THEM IN POSSESSION OF BRITISH TERRITORY WILL BE A VICTORY FOR THE ORIGINAL USE OF ARGENTINE FORCE. WE ASSUME THAT NONE OF OUR ALLIES WOULD ENDORSE THAT, PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH WHO HAVE THEIR OWN OVERSEAS TERRITORIES TO PROTECT, AND WOULD CERTAINLY ACT JUST AS WE ARE DOING IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES.

3. A CEASEFIRE BEFORE THE ISLANDS ARE COMPLETELY LIBERATED WOULD ALSO MAKE AN EVENTUAL RESUMPTION OF THE CONFLICT CERTAIN. IT IS QUITE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT THE ARGENTINES, IF LEFT IN POSSESSION OF TERRITORY, COULD THEN BE TALKED INTO RELINQUISHING

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IT VOLUNTARILY. THEY WOULD TRY TO INSIST ON WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE CONCESSIONS FROM US, AND SUCH POSSESSION WOULD PREJUDICE UNACCEPTABLY THE SAFETY OF OUR FORCES. A CEASEFIRE COULD ONLY BE POSSIBLE AND EFFECTIVE ONCE ALL ARGENTINE FORCES HAVE WITHDRAWN.

4. YOU SHOULD FURTHER MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE CAN BE NO PROSPECT OF ANY EARLY RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARGENTINES ON THE SOVEREIGNTY DISPUTE AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED. THIS WOULD BE QUITE UNACCEPTABLE AFTER ALL THE BRITISH BLOOD THAT HAS BEEN SHED IN DEFENCE OF THE ISLANDS. THE ARGENTINES HAVE HAD THEIR OPPORTUNITY TO WORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT: THEY CHOSE TO USE FORCE INSTEAD.

THE REQUIREMENT NOW IS FOR A PERIOD OF REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. THE ISLANDERS WILL NEED TO ADJUST TO THEIR NEW SITUATION AND TO CONSIDER THEIR WISHES FOR THE FUTURE. THERE WILL ALSO BE THE ESSENTIAL NEED FOR A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE IN BUENOS AIRES. WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE POSSIBLE DANGERS FOR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA (THOUGH WE BELIEVE THESE TEND TO BE EXAGGERATED) AND WE SHALL NATURALLY BE DOING AS WE CAN TO MINIMISE THESE. BUT OUR FIRST COMMITMENT MUST BE TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS AND TO THOSE WHO HAVE DIED DEFENDING THEM. WE WANT A PEACEFUL AND LASTING SETTLEMENT, AS DO OUR FRIENDS. BUT IT CANNOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PRINCIPLES THAT WE HAVE GIVEN SO MUCH TO DEFEND.

5. WITH REFERENCE TO PARA 6 OF YOUR TUR, WE SHALL BE SENDING YOU SEPARATELY ADDITIONAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND MATERIAL. HOWEVER YOU SHOULD NOT ENCOURAGE DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIVE MERITS OF THE RIVAL SOVEREIGNTY CLAIMS BEFORE 1833. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE FACT OF 149 YEARS OF CONTINUOUS AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BY THE BRITISH.

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