



Prime Minister

Wrote doing & think.

Agree that messages may be sent?

A.J.C. 22/10

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 October 1982

Agreed mo.

Dear John,

Falklands: UN Tactics

Your letter of 19 October recorded the Prime Minister's agreement that high-level messages should be sent to appropriate countries as part of our campaign to muster support for the coming debate.

We suggest that the question of messages to European Community Heads of Government should be left on one side until we can take account of the discussion which is to take place during the Foreign Affairs Council in Luxembourg on 26-27 October. It would however be desirable to despatch messages to countries in other parts of the world at the beginning of next week. We are very conscious of the undesirability of devaluing the currency of high-level messages and expending too much credit on one issue. But having consulted our Posts, it is clear that in many cases a message from the Prime Minister may well make a decisive difference. We believe it is worth making a major effort to deny Argentina positive votes. We therefore recommend that the Prime Minister should send messages to Heads of Government in the following countries:

- a. United States
- b. Australia, Canada and New Zealand
- c. Portugal, Jordan and Pakistan
- d. Botswana, Gambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, St Lucia, St Vincent, Trinidad, Vanuatu
- e. Cameroon, Gabon.

Mr Pym envisages sending messages to his Nordic colleagues and to Japan and a wide range of Arab, African and Asian countries.

I enclose a draft for the messages to President Reagan, Mr Fraser and Mr Trudeau; another for Mr Muldoon, Ratu Mara and Mr Price, whose support is already assured; a draft for Lee Kuan Yew in terms recommended by our High Commissioner; and a slightly different version of the first draft which

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might serve for the other recipients. We would propose to make small additions or adjustments to this core message to suit particular recipients, taking account of the nature of our relations, any action they have already taken in the Falklands context and so forth.

You may have seen (UKMis New York telnos 1696-7) that Sir J Thomson remains convinced that our interests would be better served by an attempt to amend the Argentine draft. We are looking again at his detailed arguments. If this leads to any change in our view about the undesirability of going down this road I will of course let you know.

It is most unlikely that the Foreign Secretary will agree with Sir J. Thomson.
A.F.C. 22.12.

Yours ever
John Holmes

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN, MR FRASER AND
MR TRUDEAU

[TO WASHINGTON AND CANBERRA]

1. We are now approaching a debate on the Falklands at the United Nations General Assembly with the vote expected on or about 4 November. This is, as you will appreciate, of considerable importance to us and I wanted to let you know personally how strongly we feel about it.

[TO OTTAWA ONLY]

1. Francis Pym has told me of his most useful exchange of views with Allan MacEachen during his recent visit to Ottawa. I know that you will therefore be aware of the importance to us of the forthcoming debate on the Falklands at the United Nations General Assembly. But I wanted nevertheless to ask once again for your personal understanding and support.

2. The Argentine draft is wholly unacceptable to the British Government and to the British people. It suggests that the maintenance of the present status of the Islands is a threat to world peace and must be ended whatever the people of the Islands may want; it recalls three earlier ~~Ag~~ Argentine-inspired resolutions which were unacceptable to us and which the United

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States/Australia/Canada also declined to support; it refers to pronouncements of the Non-Aligned Movement which prejudged the dispute in Argentina's favour and dismissed the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of the Islands; and it calls upon us to resume negotiations.

3. Negotiations were of course in progress earlier this year when Argentina launched her military assault on the Islands without provocation or warning. Argentina subsequently ignored the appeals and instructions of the Security Council. Her action was widely condemned as a breach of the most important provisions of the UN Charter.

4. I am sure that you will understand how offensive it is to us that Argentina now comes before the General Assembly to seek a resumption of the negotiations which she herself broke off. The hypocrisy of this approach is shown up by the determination of the authorities in Buenos Aires (whatever their spokesmen may say in New York) to keep open the option of a resumption of hostilities. Moreover it is clear that Argentina still contemplates only one possible outcome to negotiations with Britain - the transfer of the Islands to Argentina in defiance of the wishes of the people. To support her in the coming debate would be
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to encourage her in this unprincipled ambition and thus to set back the cause of peace. There can be no resolution of this issue until there is a fundamental change of heart on the part of Argentina. You will understand our insistence that the principles of the United Nations Charter, including those of self-determination and the non-use of force, are as applicable to this as to other international problems.

5. We have deeply appreciated the great help and understanding which we have received from the USA/the consistent support of Australia/Canada/ since the crisis burst upon us at the beginning of April. I now ask for your help once more in supporting us in the vote on the Argentine Resolution at the UN.



DRAFT MESSAGE TO THE NEW ZEALAND, FIJIAN AND BELIZEAN
PRIME MINISTERS

1. We are now making our final preparations for the debate in the United Nations on the Falkland Islands and seeking the understanding and support of our friends in many parts of the world in our rejection of the Argentine demand that we should enter into negotiations. Our people in Wellington/Suva/Belmopan and New York have been keeping us in close touch with your thinking and I wanted to let you know what a great source of strength and encouragement it is to me to know that you will once again be giving us robust support.


[FIJI ONLY]

2. I am most grateful to you for responding as you did to my request that you should bring our views to the attention of our colleagues at the recent regional meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government. This seems to have been a useful discussion and we shall be building on it in the days ahead.

DRAFT MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

1. I am asking for your help over the Falkland Island resolution in the United Nations. We simply cannot accept a call to negotiate with a country which only a few months ago brutally invaded the islands, which has still not renounced the use of force to have its way, and which obstinately rejects the right of the Islanders to self-determination.

2. In deciding our votes on the many issues debated at the United Nations we all constantly have conflicting considerations to bear in mind. But for each of us there is an issue where we really need to be able to count on the support of our friends. For us the Falkland Islands is such an issue.



CORE OF MESSAGE TO OTHER RECIPIENTS.

1. We are now approaching a debate on the Falklands at the United Nations General Assembly with the vote expected on or about 4 November. This is, as you will know, an issue of great importance to Britain and I thought that I should let you know personally how we see it and ask you for your understanding and support.

2. The Assembly will have before it a draft prepared by Argentina. This draft is wholly unacceptable to us. It suggests that the maintenance of the present status of the Islands is a threat to world peace and must be ended whatever the people of the Islands may want; it recalls three earlier Argentine-inspired resolutions which were unacceptable to us [and which your country also declined to support]; it refers to pronouncements of the Non-Aligned Movement which prejudged the dispute in Argentina's favour and dismissed the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of the Islands and it calls upon us to resume negotiations.

3. You will recall that negotiations were in progress earlier this year when Argentina launched her military assault on the Islands without provocation or warning. Argentina subsequently ignored the appeals and

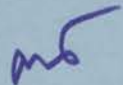
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instructions of the Security Council. Her action was widely condemned as a breach of the most important provisions of the UN Charter. The consequences of this attack will be with us and the Islanders for a long time to come and we have lost many lives in our resistance to Argentine aggression.

4. I am sure that you will understand how offensive it is to us that Argentina now comes before the General Assembly to seek a resumption of the negotiations which she herself broke off. The hypocrisy of this approach is shown up by the determination of the authorities in Buenos Aires (whatever their spokesmen may say in New York) to keep open the option of a resumption of hostilities. It is clear that Argentina still contemplates only one possible outcome to negotiations with Britain - the transfer of the Islands to Argentina in defiance of the wishes of the people. To support her in the coming debate would be to encourage her in this ambition and thus to set back the cause of peace. There can be no resolution of this issue until Argentina accepts that the principles of the United Nations Charter, including those of self-determination and the non-use of force, are applicable to this as to every other international problem.

5. The British Government and the British people
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would now find it difficult to understand how friendly and responsible governments could side with the aggressor. We have been greatly heartened by the understanding our position has received from countries in many parts of the world since the crisis burst upon us at the beginning of April. We now ask that that understanding should be given practical expression in the vote at the United Nations. [In the spirit of/the good relations between our two countries, which we both hope to foster and develop,/our close ties/our close relationship in the Commonwealth/I ask you for your help.] [I have been much heartened by what I have heard of your attitude to the coming debate. I look forward to having your most valued support.]



22 OCT 1982

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