

SECRET

FROM UKMIS NEW YORK 201736Z APR 82
TO FLASH F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 505 DATED 20 APRIL 82
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

(135)

NY TELNO 499: FALKLAND ISLANDS

(139)
see (141)

TOP

ALQ 50/3

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1. I HAVE BEEN THINKING FURTHER ABOUT WHAT WE SHOULD DO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT (A) HAIG'S MISSION FAILS AND (B) YOU AGREE WITH THE CONCLUSION IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE THAT THERE IS NO SCOPE FOR US TO TABLE A NEW DRAFT RESOLUTION.
2. IN CONVERSATION WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS, ESPECIALLY COMMONWEALTH DELEGATIONS, I HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE EXTENT OF SUPPORT AND RESPECT FOR OUR POSITION. THE GENERAL VIEW IS THAT WE HAVE BEATEN THE ARGENTINES HANDS DOWN IN THE DIPLOMATIC CONTEST HERE AND THAT OUR CAUSE IS JUST. THERE IS WIDESPREAD RESPECT FOR OUR DETERMINATION TO DEFEND IT. AT THE SAME TIME THERE IS GREAT ANXIETY THAT WAR SHOULD NOT BREAK OUT. THIS SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION AND RESPECT FOR THE WAY WE ARE ACTING WILL NOT TRANSLATE INTO VOTES IN OUR SUPPORT IF THE CRISIS MOVES FROM A DIPLOMATIC TO A MILITARY PHASE. BUT THEY ARE NEVERTHELESS ASSETS WHICH IT IS IN OUR INTERESTS TO PRESERVE BOTH FOR THE SAKE OF OUR GENERAL INFLUENCE HERE AND AGAINST THE DAY WHEN DISCUSSION OF THE SUBSTANCE IS RESUMED AT THE UNITED NATIONS.
3. IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE THEM, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD BE SEEN TO HAVE OBSERVED THE DIPLOMATIC PROPRIETIES HERE TO THE BITTER END. THE BEST WAY OF SECURING THIS IS FOR US TO ENSURE THAT IT IS THE ARGENTINES AND NOT WE WHO ARE SEEN TO HAVE REJECTED THE FINAL DIPLOMATIC OFFER AND PRECIPITATED THE FAILURE OF HAIG'S EFFORTS. I THEREFORE AGREE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH WASHINGTON TELNO 1358.
4. IF AND WHEN HAIG'S EFFORTS HAVE FAILED, I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ONE WAY IN WHICH WE CAN RETAIN THE INITIATIVE HERE IF ONLY FOR THE LAST TIME. MY IDEA IS THAT, CHOOSING MY TIME CAREFULLY, I SHOULD CALL A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND SIMPLY MAKE A STATEMENT, WITHOUT PROPOSING A RESOLUTION. MY STATEMENT WOULD SPELL OUT HOW FULLY WE HAD CO-OPERATED WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S EFFORTS TO PREVENT HOSTILITIES AND WITH HAIG'S SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS TO FIND A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION: WE HAD AGREED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S APPEAL, WE HAD RESPONDED TO THE SIMILAR APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WE HAD COMPLIED WITH SCR 502, WE HAD SPENT THE LAST THREE WEEKS, WITH HAIG'S VALUABLE ASSISTANCE, IN AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION. I WOULD DESCRIBE IN DETAIL OUR LAST PROPOSAL

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WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN REJECTED BY THE ARGENTINES. I WOULD SAY THAT WE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF THE EXHAUSTION OF ALL THE DIPLOMATIC POSSIBILITIES, FRESH IDEAS SUCH AS THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SG OR OTHER UN MECHANISMS COULD BE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE RESULTS: WE WOULD NOT THEREFORE BE FAVOURABLY DISPOSED TO SUCH EFFORTS, HOWEVER WELL INTENTIONED, AS THEY WOULD ONLY CAUSE FURTHER DELAY, THUS ENABLING THE AGGRESSOR TO CONSOLIDATE HIS GAINS. I WOULD CONCLUDE BY SAYING THAT I WAS NOW CARRYING OUT OUR OBLIGATION, UNDER THE CHARTER, TO INFORM THE COUNCIL THAT, ALL DIPLOMATIC AVENUES HAVING BEEN EXPLORED, WE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DEFEND OUR RIGHTS UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER.

5. THIS STATEMENT WOULD COME AS A BOMBSHELL. IT WOULD PROVOKE ALLEGATIONS OF UK AGGRESSION FROM ARGENTINA'S SUPPORTERS ON THE COUNCIL, IT WOULD ALARM THE NON-ALIGNED AND IT WOULD CAUSE PANIC AMONGST THE DO-GOODERS. WE WOULD HAVE TO FEND OFF APPEALS TO US TO THINK AGAIN AND WE MIGHT HAVE TO VETO RESOLUTIONS TO THAT EFFECT. BUT THE ADVANTAGE OF THIS COURSE IS THAT, TO THE BITTER END HERE, WE WOULD HAVE RETAINED THE INITIATIVE OBSERVING THE DIPLOMATIC PROPRIETIES AND WOULD HAVE KEPT THE ARGENTINES ON THE WRONG FOOT. AS I HAVE SAID ABOVE, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT PEOPLE WOULD VOTE FOR US IN SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS IN THE COUNCIL OR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. BUT IT MIGHT EARN US SOME ABSTENTIONS, EG FROM THE COMMONWEALTH AFRICANS WHO STRONGLY SUPPORT OUR STAND, AND OUR CORRECT DIPLOMATIC BEHAVIOUR WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT INVESTMENT FOR THE FUTURE IN TERMS OF THE RESPECT IN WHICH WE WOULD BE HELD.

PARSONS

LIMITED
HD/S AM D
HD/UND
HD/DEF D
HD/PLANNING STAFF
FS
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR ONSLOW
PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/PUS
MR GIFFARD
MR WRIGHT
MR URE
MR ADAMS