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British Embassy

Washington

2/5/02

SANDDear Francis ^(Richards),

I doubt that interest so long after
 the event will warrant pushing these around in
 (enclose full draft records
 final form. The conversations were reported by
 telegram, & the drafts will do for the record.

- (a) of the Secretary of State's meeting with
 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
 on 22 April;

mpa 2/5/02

- (b) of the talk with Secy Hag on
 23 April.

I'm sorry about the delay. I put



them all on top others no one had a
chance to type them. I am asking
Jane to buy them back to you à l'acte
fine imitations.

Yours,

Stephen Walsh

Restricted

DSR 11C

RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS, THE RT HON FRANCIS PYM, *MC* MP,
AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
HELD IN WASHINGTON DC ON FRIDAY 23 APRIL 1982

Present:

- ① The Hon Charles H Percy (R Illinois) - *Chairman*
- ④ The Hon Jesse Helms (R North Carolina)
- ⑤ The Hon S I Hayakawa (R California)
- ⑥ The Hon Richard G Lugar (R Indiana)
- ⑤ The Hon Nancy Kassebaum (R Kansas)
- ⑥ The Hon Rudolph Boshwitz (R Minnesota)
- ⑦ *The Hon Charles Mc Mathias*
- ⑧ The Hon Larry Pressler (S Dakota)
- ⑩ The Hon Claiborne Pell (D Rhode Island) - *Ranking Democrat*
- ⑩ The Hon Joseph Biden (D Delaware)
- ④ The Hon Edward Zorinsky (D Nebraska)
- ⑩ The Hon Paul E Tsongas (D Massachusetts)

The Rt Hon Francis Pym MC MP

Sir Nicholas Henderson GCMG

Mr Nicholas Fenn, *CMS*

Mr Francis Richards

Mr J S Wall

1. Senator Percy said there was intense interest in Mr Pym's visit. Mr Pym was uniquely *gratified* to find a solution to the problem of the Falklands dispute and the prayers and the hopes of the Committee were with him. Senator Pell said that when push came to shove the United Kingdom could count on the United States to support her.
2. Mr Pym said that the Foreign Relations Committee carried great weight and was very influential. His predecessor, Lord Carrington,

/had met

had met the Committee on a number of occasions and he wished to record his sorrow at the circumstances of Lord Carrington's resignation and to pay a tribute to the honourable motives which had prompted that resignation. Mr Pym himself had taken over in very difficult circumstances in which the occupation of the Falkland Islands had already occurred. The British people were grateful to Mr Haig for the efforts he had devoted to the search for a settlement. The issue at stake was one of simple aggression. The Argentinians had always had a claim to the Falklands but had never put it to the test. Britain believed her claim was solid. Our rights had never been challenged by force before. Now, however, the Argentinians had denied to the people of the Falklands their right of self-determination just as effectively as the Soviet Union had denied similar rights in Afghanistan. This aggression would, if allowed to stand, have very serious consequences for the hemisphere and for the whole world. The essence of the problem was world order, ^{International Law} ~~international order~~ and the upholding of the UN Charter. It mattered little whether 2,000, 20,000 or 2 million people were at issue. Mr Pym could not remember a time since the war when the House of Commons and the nation had been so united. He was equally impressed by the European Community's reaction. While the Community wanted a peaceful settlement and hoped that the dispute would not last too long, they had been solid in their support, as had the European Parliament and a number of other countries such as Australia and New Zealand. There was a sense in Britain that the United States was also supportive. British people felt very close to the United States and many of them hoped that US support would be of a more positive kind than hitherto. The Government had

/explained that

The Government had explained that, while the Administration was trying to negotiate a settlement, it would not be appropriate for them to align themselves too closely.

3. Mr Pym believed that the issues at stake were of the greatest significance for the United States as a country which had a deep understanding of the principles involved. Tension was building, as was pressure on the Argentinians, because of our military measures as well as diplomatic steps. The Argentinians were in no doubt that their aggression could not be allowed to stand. Britain was hell bent on a peaceful solution but, if that proved impossible, the Argentinians knew what to expect.

4. Senator Percy asked how much longer shuttle diplomacy could work, particularly when the Argentinian Government was divided among itself. Did Mr Pym envisage a face to face meeting with the Argentinian Foreign Minister who was due to arrive in Washington that weekend? Mr Pym said that he had no intention of meeting the Argentinian Foreign Minister who would anyway arrive in Washington after his own departure. He agreed that it was difficult for Mr Haig to make progress in dealing with a Government that was not responsible to an electorate and which depended on the support of the military. He noted that, on Mr Haig's second visit to London, after 11 hours of talks, Buenos Aires ^{had} sent messages containing very unhelpful proposals which went back on what had been agreed during Mr Haig's earlier visit there. It remained useful for Mr Haig to explore all ideas and his mission was not yet ended. It could however come to an end ^{but} ~~and~~ he must be ^{the} judge of when that moment might come.

5. Senator Pell said that the war of Jenkins Ear had been a good example of how firmly the United Kingdom

was attached to the notion of honour. But he found it hard to understand how/^{war}between Britain and Argentina could be prosecuted. It was like having a battle between a whale and an elephant. Mr Pym said that our forces were there to be used and were already giving the Argentinians pause. There were quite a lot of options available to us and, if we did not take action, the result would be the creation of a small new anarchy encouraing other countries to pursue their territorial disputes by force. We were basing our position on UN Security Council Resolution 502 which was mandatory.

6. Senator Pell said that many member of the Senate had been critical of Turkey for using US supplied weapons in its invasion of Cyprus. Was there any evidence /^{that} Argentina had used US weapons in invading the Falkland Islands? Mr Pym said that a variety of countries, including European countries, had supplied weapons to Argentina in the past. The Argentinians were now looking to the Soviet Union to bring them aid, not so much in terms of weapons but in terms of trade. The European Community embargo covered about half of the Argentinian export trade. But the USSR was now buying large quantities of grain from ~~the~~ Argentina, and collaboration between the two countries was a horrendous thought. Mr Pym said he would like to apply much more pressure on Argentina now. The Argentinians had clearly miscalculated, believing that Britain would not mind about the loss of the Falkland Islands. In fact, we minded like hell.

7. Senator Lugar asked Mr Pym if he could tell the Committee anything about the form that an interim administration on the Falkland Islands might take. Mr Pym said that it would be wrong to go into detail but withdrawal

of Argentinian forces as demanded in Security Council Resolution 502 was the first necessary step. Thereafter some kind of arrangement (and a variety had been suggested) was needed to get back to a position in which it would be possible to find out what the people of the islands themselves wanted. Then there could be negotiations on an ultimate solution. Britain had learned about decolonization in the United States and had peacefully decolonized millions of people through independence. Britain had never wished to stand in the way of the islanders but was not prepared to impose something they did not want. We must negotiate on sovereignty in accordance with the wishes of the people. We would take back the Falkland Islands as trustees for their ^{inhabitants} inheritance. If, after what had happened, the islanders wanted to organise themselves differently, that was for them to decide.

8. Senator Biden said that he had the impression that the British Government would not be disappointed if the Falkland Islanders decided after all that they wanted to be Argentinians. He wondered whether Britain should not opt for what he called the Milton Friedman solution whereby those islanders who did not wish the islands to be part of Argentina would receive a large sum of money to persuade them to leave. Mr Pym said that it would be quite wrong to infer from what he had said that the British people did not mind what happened to the Falkland Islands. The British people would not accept the kind of solution Senator Biden was suggesting. In principle, we would have no problems over holding a referendum but, after the traumatic experience through which the islanders had gone, it would take months for them to reorganise themselves and to consider the options. However, a referendum

a referendum was not an issue in the negotiations and he did not know if it was one which the Argentinians would accept.

9. Senator Biden said that he was drafting a resolution by which the US would go on record on the side of the United Kingdom if negotiations broke down. In the meantime he hoped that the Milton Friedman solution might be explored. In the long term, it would offer a realistic outcome since the UK could not sustain the security burden of protecting the Falkland Islands in the longer term. Senator Biden continued by saying, that as an Irishman, he would welcome the opportunity on some future occasion, to discuss self-determination with Mr Pym.

10. Senator Helms said that the issues at stake were more complex for the United States than people realised. We had already seen in the OAS an indication that Latin American countries would stick together against Britain. Central America was already being taken over by Marxists, just as the Communists had taken over in Vietnam. No-one in Britain would want such an outcome. Ten per cent of the population of Vietnam had elected to embark in fragile boats on dangerous seas rather than to subject themselves to Communist rule. The people of Central America, threatened by Communism, would be feet people rather than boat people and thousands of them would head for ^{the} US border, posing enormous refugee problems. This was not a matter of choosing between friends. Senator Helms had great admiration for Mrs Thatcher

He wondered of ~~some things~~ ^{could} ~~should not~~ be accomplished by a backing off and cooling off period. If the issue were removed from the front pages there was a reasonable chance that reasonable people would negotiate reasonably. As it was, the issue was so prominent that he had read more about the United Kingdom in newspapers in the last three weeks than ⁱⁿ the entire previous three decades. Senator Helms said that he was no friend of dictators, that the Argentinians had been taught from kindergarten upwards that the Falkland Islanders had been wrested from them by Britain and it was a highly emotional issue. Senator Helms wondered whether a constitutional solution such as that which had been ^{developed} ~~invoked~~ in the Channel Islands might not be appropriate. As far as Lord Carrington was concerned, ^{substantive} he had been unwilling to discuss ~~the~~ issues with the Argentinians and there had been clear indications months ago that something like the Argentinian invasion would happen. However, Senator Helms was not questioning Mr Pym's good faith, nor was he anti-British. But so much was at stake in terms of the opportunities for the growth of world communism. There were also serious issues under the Monroe doctrine and the Rio Pact.

11. Mr Pym said that the so-called Channel Islands solution ^{involved one or a number which could be examined} might be a possibility, but we could not impose a solution on the people of the Falkland Islands. We had to get into a position where the various options could be rationally debated. The Argentinians were not very reasonable people. The fact that they believed the islands belonged to them was no justification for cutting off negotiations and invading. Senator Helms said that both sides should

get out. Mr Pym replied that it should be borne in mind that ^{Britain had} we were negotiating in good faith up to two months ago. There was no way we could stand for annexation.

12. Senator Tsongas said that he hoped Mr Pym was getting a clear impression of the views of the Committee. The members strongly supported the British position. Aggression had taken place and, for the US to acquiesce in it, violated important principles and had dangerous implications for the future. One had only to look at Africa where almost all boundaries were subject to dispute, to see just how damaging ^{the} forces which might be unleashed there could be. Mexico had a greater claim to the Southwest United States than the US itself did. Indeed some members of the Senate might ~~even~~ ^{willingly} acquiesce in Mexico's claim. Senator Tsongas recognised that Mr Haig had made Herculean efforts to bring about a solution. A mistake had been made in using Argentina as an essential element in US policy over El Salvador and Nicaragua. This had been an unfortunate expedient.

13. Senator ~~Helm~~ ^{Tsongas} said that he envisaged two elements in a possible solution - (i) reference to the International Court (ii) a referendum. Senator Tsongas said that he was ready to introduce a resolution to this effect.

14. Mr Pym said that the British people understood the reservations in the US position at present. If and when the moment came, and the US came down on Britain's side, then a Senate resolution would be warmly welcomed. Britain believed that it could count on the United States.

15. Senator Hyakawa said that, as one who had been born in Canada, he was the only member of the Committee who had been a subject of the British Empire. He had seen reports suggesting that Argentinian soldiers on the Falklands had been begging for food and had been killing the sheep to eke out their supplies. How well organised was the Argentinian army? Mr Pym said that our information was limited. The Argentinian army was made up of young conscripts and was not experienced. They were able to receive supplies, but only by air. Mr Pym added that there was no evidence of maltreatment of the islanders by the Argentinians but we did want the International Red Cross to go and investigate the position.

16. Senator Kassebaum asked whether there was any evidence of a diminution of ^{Argentinian} support for President Galtieri and whether US support for the British position ^{would} tipped the balance against the Argentinian Government. Mr Pym said that, so long as Mr Haig was involved in negotiations that must be a constraint on action by the United States. While public excitement over the issue in Argentina had subsided, it was clear that Galtieri's position would be threatened if he went any distance from the present stance of the Argentinian Government. Steps such as Galtieri's visit to the ^{Falkland} islands would not help Argentina's manoeuvrability.

17. Senator Mathias said that, while the US supported the British position, he wondered where ^{would do} ~~they went~~ from here. If, by misfortune, the issue were not satisfactorily resolved, the US would need to think about what it might do. The European Community ban on imports was limited to thirty days initially. Was it being strictly enforced? The business community would want to look very closely at what was involved.

18. Mr Pym replied that the European Community ban was for thirty days, subject to renewal. Economic measures, however effective they were on the Government and on firms, would take some time to make themselves felt in terms of their impact on ordinary people. It would be awful if an American firm filled an order that might otherwise have gone to ^a ~~the~~ European one. In the longer term, even if there were Argentinian withdrawal, we might wish to think of a collective approach. Senator Mathias hoped that the United States and the United Kingdom could think together about these problems.

19. Senator Boschwitz asked about the Continental Shelf and about the implications of ^{its} ~~those~~ resources for Argentinian motivation in invading the islands. Mr Pym said that there were some ^{proved} ~~resources~~ but these ^{had} never really entered seriously into the argument. He did not believe that the Argentinians had invaded the island for economic reasons but out of emotion. Senator Boschwitz said that Argentinian invasion was a very blatant act which could not simply be allowed to stand while negotiations continued. One of the best means of avoiding bloodshed was not to allow aggression to succeed and he hoped that the United Kingdom would take a very firm position.

/ Mr Pym

Mr Pym replied that the United Kingdom had sent a sophisticated and highly trained force to the area and that the Argentinians were aghast at what they might have to face. If, as a result of sending the force, the pressures involved enabled Mr Haig to bring off a negotiated settlement that would be a triumph of great magnitude and would demonstrate the deterrent effect of the force. If that could not be achieved, the force was there to be used. Senator Boschwitz said that, if a US firm did fill an order that might otherwise have gone to a European firm, roles would have been reversed. He noted that, when the United States had imposed a grain embargo on the Soviet Union the Argentinians had immediately taken on supplies to the Soviet Union. He reiterated that the Argentinians were guilty of blatant aggression.

20. At the end of the meeting, Senators Percy and Pell and Mr Pym went out to meet the press. Senator Percy told the press that if force were allowed to succeed it would set a damaging precedent around the world. He paid tribute to Mr Haig for his heroic efforts to substitute diplomacy for military action. But a show of force was necessary and there could be no question of where the sentiments of the US people lay. They were solidly with the people of the United Kingdom whose position on this issue was right. All nations should observe UN Security Council Resolution 502.

/21.

21. Senator Pell said that the Administration was doing a good job in their efforts at negotiation. If diplomacy failed there should be no doubt that, if push came to shove, the US people would be on the side of the British people.

22. Mr Pym said that he was grateful to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the opportunity to share views with them over a difficult problem. He had already had a meeting with Mr Haig and would be seeing him again the next day. It had been very helpful to him to hear the views of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and to know of their support.