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FM FCO 041245Z JUNE 82

TO FLASH PARIS

TELEGRAM NUMBER 334 OF 4 JUNE 1982

AND TO FLASH UKDEL VERSAILLES, UKMIS NEW YORK

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

FALKLAND ISLANDS: SECURITY COUNCIL

FOLLOWING FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY FROM PERMANENT
UNDER-SECRETARY.

1. IN THE LIGHT OF THE MEETING OF MINISTERS THIS MORNING WE
HAVE PREPARED THE FOLLOWING DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR A PARSONS
IN RESPONSE TO HIS TELNOS 924 TO 928. I DO NOT THINK THAT THE
PROPOSED DRAFT RESOLUTION WOULD ADD TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF OUR
MILITARY COMMANDER ON THE SPOT. IT MIGHT HELP US WITH THE
FRENCH AND THE AMERICANS AND COULD BE PRESENTED AS A SERIOUS
PRACTICAL ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE, ABSOLUTELY LINKED
WITH ARGENTINE WITHDRAWAL. PARSONS SHOULD TAKE NO ACTION UNTIL
HE RECEIVES CONFIRMATION FROM VERSAILLES. BEGINS:

1) MINISTERS ARE DETERMINED THAT WE CANNOT GET BOGGED DOWN AT
THIS STAGE IN ENDLESS NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK ABOUT THE MODAL-
ITIES FOR CEASEFIRE, WITHDRAWAL AND VERIFICATION. THEY ARE
ALSO UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THIS TIME ANY WOOLLY AND EQUIVOCAL
COMPROMISE RESOLUTION. WE NEED TO HAVE A CLEAN AND QUICK
OUTCOME TO THE CURRENT SECURITY COUNCIL EXERCISE.

2) MINISTERS ARE AS YOU KNOW CONVINCED THAT THE TIMING OF
CEASEFIRE AND THE MODALITIES FOR ARGENTINE WITHDRAWAL CAN ONLY
BE WORKED OUT BY THE COMMANDERS ON THE SPOT AT THE PSYCHOLOG-
ICALLY CORRECT MOMENT. WE CANNOT GO ALONG WITH ANY SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTION THAT WILL INHIBIT OUR FREEDOM OF ACTION IN
THE FIELD AND WE MUST NOT LAY OURSELVES OPEN TO CHARGES OF
HYPOCRISY BY GOING ALONG WITH VAGUE RESOLUTIONS IN NEW YORK
INITIATING DISCUSSIONS ABOUT A CEASEFIRE WHEN MEANWHILE THE
MILITARY SITUATION COULD INTENSIFY.

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3) THE REVISED VERSION OF THE SPANISH/PANAMANIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION IN YOUR TELEGRAM NUMBER 926, ALTHOUGH SOMETHING OF AN IMPROVEMENT OVER THE ORIGINAL DRAFT, REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE. IT IS HOWEVER CLEVER AND COULD GIVE THE IMPRESSION TO THE SUPERFICIAL READER THAT OUR CENTRAL CONCERN HAS BEEN MET. MINISTERS RECOGNISE THAT IF YOU WERE TO VETO THIS DRAFT WITHOUT FURTHER ADO WE COULD FIND OURSELVES PARTING COMPANY WITH THE FRENCH AND POSSIBLY ALSO THE AMERICANS AND SHOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN GETTING OUR POSITION UNDERSTOOD BY OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVING US SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE, AS WELL AS BY SOME SECTIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

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4) WE HAVE ACCORDINGLY PREPARED A FURTHER REVISION OF THE SPANISH/PANAMANIAN DRAFT, BUILDING ON THE AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED IN YOUR TELNO 928. TEXT IN MIFT. IF YOU JUDGE THAT TO CIRCULATE AND POSSIBLY TO TABLE THIS DRAFT RESOLUTION (EITHER AS A COMPLETE DRAFT OR IN THE FORM OF AMENDMENTS TO THE REVISED SPANISH/PANAMANIAN DRAFT) WOULD IMPROVE OUR POSITION IN THE COUNCIL AND, MORE IMPORTANT, OUR CHANCES OF GETTING OUR POSITION UNDERSTOOD MORE WIDELY IF AND WHEN THE TIME COMES TO VETO AN UNACCEPTABLE DRAFT, YOU HAVE DISCRETION TO DO SO.

5) YOU SHOULD HOWEVER MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE ANY SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE TO THIS NEW DRAFT. IT IS INTENDED TO SET OUT A CLEAR SERIES OF DEADLINES WHICH WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR US AND THE COUNCIL TO BE CLEAR WHETHER OR NOT ARGENTINA WAS COMPLYING WITH ITS PROVISIONS. IT PROVIDES THE DEFINITE LINKAGE BETWEEN CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL WHICH WE HAVE SAID IS OUR ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT.

6) YOU SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHILE WE CANNOT PREVENT DELEGATIONS INSISTING UPON A SHORT BREATHING SPACE TO CONSIDER THIS TEXT, THE COUNCIL MUST COME TO A CONCLUSION TOMORROW AT THE LATEST.

7) WE CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO TIGHTEN UP THE PROVISIONS ON TIMING IN THE AMENDMENTS PROPOSED IN YOUR TELNO 928. YOUR NEW FINAL PARAGRAPH WOULD HAVE ASKED BRITAIN AND ARGENTINA EACH TO 'SPECIFY A TIME FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL OF ARGENTINE FORCES'. THIS MIGHT HAVE ENABLED

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ARGENTINA TO MAKE COMPLICATED PROPOSALS ABOUT THE TIMING OF A CEASEFIRE IN THE HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD NEED THEN TO DISCUSS THOSE PROPOSALS WITH US AND THERE WOULD BE SOME DAYS' DELAY. PARAGRAPH 1 OF OUR NEW DRAFT SEEKS TO AVOID THIS PROBLEM BY STATING ABSOLUTELY CLEARLY THE DEADLINES BY WHICH THE TWO MILITARY COMMANDERS WOULD HAVE TO BE IN CONTACT AND BY WHICH THE CEASEFIRE AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF ARGENTINE WITHDRAWAL MUST TAKE PLACE. THESE DEADLINES AND THE 14 DAY PERIOD FOR THE COMPLETION OF ARGENTINE WITHDRAWAL ARE ALL MEASURED FROM THE MOMENT OF THE ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION. THUS ANY ARGENTINE PROCRASTINATION IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONTACT BETWEEN MILITARY COMMANDERS OR OVER AGREEMENT ON MODALITIES FOR CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL WOULD NOT GIVE ARGENTINA MORE TIME TO COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL. ONCE ARGENTINA HAD ACCEPTED THIS NEW DRAFT RESOLUTION, SHE WOULD BE COMMITTED COMPLETELY TO BE OUT OF THE ISLANDS WITHIN 14 DAYS WHATEVER HAPPENED IN THE MEANTIME.

8) IF YOU JUDGE THAT THE TEXT IN MIFT WOULD WIN NO SUPPORT FROM THE DELEGATIONS WHO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO WORK FOR AN OUTCOME ACCEPTABLE TO US YOU SHOULD REFRAIN FROM PUTTING IT FORWARD AND SHOULD TAKE THE LINE THAT THE SPANISH/PANAMANIAN DRAFT IN YOUR TELNO 926 FAILS TO ESTABLISH CLEAR LINKAGE BETWEEN A CEASEFIRE AND UNCONDITIONAL, REPEAT UNCONDITIONAL, ARGENTINE WITHDRAWAL, THAT IT IS ON THE CONTRARY DESIGNED TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ARGENTINA TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF HER FORCES, THAT IT FAILS TO SET A DEADLINE FOR ARGENTINE WITHDRAWAL, AND THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THESE DEFECTS THERE IS CLEARLY NO PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATING A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE TEXT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE SITUATION DOES NOT PERMIT FURTHER PROCRASTINATION AND THE COUNCIL SHOULD COME TO A DECISION TODAY.

9) IF YOU INTRODUCE THIS RESOLUTION YOU SHOULD SAY THAT HMG WOULD OF COURSE ACCEPT ITS TERMS IF IT WAS ADOPTED, SUBJECT TO ARGENTINA DOING THE SAME WITHIN THE 24-HOUR DEADLINE.
ENDS.

2. THE CDS IS NOT AVAILABLE, BUT THE MOD AT AUS (POL) LEVEL

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HAVE NO OBJECTION TO OUR PUTTING THE TEXT IN MIFT TO YOU.
3. WE ARE SENDING SIR A PARSONS SEPARATELY COMMENTS ON THE
IRISH DRAFT RESOLUTION IN HIS TELNO 925. IN SHORT WE ARE
TELLING HIM THAT IT CONTAINS MANY UNACCEPTABLE FEATURES AND SEEMS
A HOPELESS BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION.

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HD/NEWS D
HD/ERD
HD/ECOD (E)
HD/FUSD
DEP HD/FUSD
HD/RES D
PS
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR ONSLOW
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FOLLOWING FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY
MIPT: FALKLANDS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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1. FOLLOWING IS OUR REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION.
BEGINS. THE SECURITY COUNCIL:
REAFFIRMING ITS RESOLUTION 502 (1982), AND THE
NEED FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS THEREOF,
RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 505 (1982)

1. REQUESTS THE PARTIES, AS A FIRST STEP, TO INSTRUCT THEIR
RESPECTIVE MILITARY COMMANDERS ON THE SPOT TO ENTER INTO
CONTACT WITHIN 48 HOURS OF THE ADOPTION OF THIS RESOLUTION
IN ORDER TO AGREE ON MODALITIES FOR BOTH (A) A CEASEFIRE IN THE
REGION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS (ISLAS MALVINAS) TO COME INTO
EFFECT NOT LATER THAN 72 HOURS FROM THE ADOPTION OF THIS
RESOLUTION AND (B) THE WITHDRAWAL OF ARGENTINE FORCES TO START
IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CEASEFIRE AND BE COMPLETED WITHIN
14 DAYS OF THE ADOPTION OF THIS RESOLUTION.

2. AUTHORISES THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO USE SUCH MEANS AS
HE MAY DEEM NECESSARY AND ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES TO
VERIFY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS RESOLUTION:

3. REQUESTS BOTH PARTIES TO COMMUNICATE IN WRITING TO THE
SECRETARY GENERAL WITHIN 24 HOURS THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE
TERMS OF THIS RESOLUTION:

4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL ON COMPLIANCE WITH THIS RESOLUTION. ENDS.

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