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**Ministerio de
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TELEGRAMA ORDINARIO RECIBIDO

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POLITICA-OCIDENTAL
SUR- INFORMACIONES
ECONOMICOS-EJERCITO
MARINA-AERONAUTICA

STATEMENT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY SIR ANTHONY PARSON,
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

21 MAY 1982

FALKLAND ISLANDS

9TRIBUTE TO CHINESE AND ZAIREAN PRESIDENTS

I SHOULD LIKE TO THANK THE SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE ACCOUNT OF RECENT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HE HAS JUST GIVEN. DURING THE LONG AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS, NO ONE COULD HAVE TRIED HARDER TO BRING ABOUT AGREEMENT THAN DID THE SECRETARY GENERAL. MY GOVERNMENT HAS COMPLETE FAITH IN HIS ABILITY AND INTEGRITY. IT IS NOT THROUGH WANT OF SKILL OR TRYING THAT HE HAS NOT SUCCEEDED.

A. ACCOUNT OF RECENT EVENTS

I FEEL OBLIGED TO RECALL TO MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL HOW THE PRESENT SITUATION DEVELOPED. I START WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND ARGENTINA WHICH WERE HELD IN NEW YORK AT THE END OF FEBRUARY. ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH WAS AGREED BY THE TWO SIDES, THE TALKS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE. THE ARGENTINE SIDE HAD PUT FORWARD DURING THOSE TALKS SOME PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE PROCEDURE FOR FURTHER ROUNDS OF DISCUSSIONS. THESE PROPOSALS WERE UNDER CONSIDERATION BY MY GOVERNMENT DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH. AT THE VERY END OF THE MONTH, INFORMATION CAME TO MY GOVERNMENT THAT THERE WAS A THREAT OF AN ARGENTINE INVASION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. ON 1 APRIL, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ARGENTINA HAD INFORMED THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN BUENOS AIRES THAT HE WAS UNWILING TO RECEIVE A HIGH LEVEL ENVOY: THE DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL HE SAID, WAS CLOSED. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT, THE SAME DAY, 1 APRIL, I SOUGHT AN URGENT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. I EXPLAINED THAT WE BELIEVED AN INVASION TO BE IMMINENT. THE COUNCIL REACTED BY AUTHORIZING ITS PRESIDENT TO ISSUE AN APPEAL TO ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM TO REFRAIN FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN THE REGION. MY DELEGATION IMMEDIATELY RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THIS APPEAL. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ARGENTINA REMAINED SILENT. ON 2 APRIL ARGENTINA INVADED THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. ON 3 APRIL, ARGENTINE FORCES INVADED SOUTH GEORGIA. ON THAT SAME DAY, 3 APRIL, THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED RESOLUTION 502. THIS RESOLUTION DETERMINED THAT THERE EXISTED A BREACH OF THE PEACE AS A RESULT OF THE ARGENTINE INVASION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, AND DEMANDED THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ARGENTINE FORCES.

IN THE SUCCEEDING DAYS, ARGENTINA DID NOT EXPLICITLY REJECT THIS RESOLUTION. NO DOUBT FOR THE VERY GOOD REASON THAT, AS IT WAS A MANDATORY RESOLUTION UNDER ARTICLE 40 OF THE CHARTER (AS WAS MADE CLEAR AT THE TIME), IT WAS NOT OPEN TO ARGENTINA TO PURPORT TO REJECT IT. HOWEVER, ARGENTINA REJECTED THE RESOLUTION IN PRACTICE. INSTEAD OF WITHDRAWING, ARGENTINA REINFORCED ITS ARMED FORCES ON THE FALKLAND ISLANDS... IT IMPOSED MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN THE ISLANDS IN PLACE OF THE PREVIOUS DEMOCRATIC

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TELEGRAMA ORDINARIO RECIBIDO (2)

GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THE BRITISH PEOPLE OF THE ISLANDS HAD LIVED PEACEFULLY IN BRITISH TERRITORY, FOR A CENTURY AND A HALF. IT WAS BENT ON CONSOLIDATING ITS GRIP ON THE ISLANDS. IN THIS SITUATION, THE U.K. HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO EXERCISE OUR INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF DEFENCE UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER. WE METICULOUSLY INFORMED THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF EVERY STEP WE WERE TAKING IN THIS REGARD. POSSESSION OF SOUTH GEORGIA WAS QUICKLY RECOVERED, WITH LITTLE RESISTANCE AND ONLY ONE CASUALTY, ON 22 APRIL. BUT, 48 DAYS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 502, ARGENTINA REMAINS IN OCCUPATION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

MR. PRESIDENT, MY GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE STOOD FROM THE OUTSET ON A POSITION OF ABSOLUTE LEGITIMACY - NAMELY THAT THE AGGRESSOR MUST WITHDRAW, THAT THE STATUS QUO ANTE BE RESTORED, AND THAT THE DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAD BEEN SO RUDELY INTERRUPTED BY THE INVASION, BE RESUMED AT THE POINT AT WHICH THEY HAD BEEN BROKEN OFF.

HOWEVER, IN ITS STRONG DESIRE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, MY GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AND INDEED TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH NEGOTIATIONS WERE FIRST UNDERTAKEN THROUGH OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES: THEREAFTER THROUGH THE PRESIDENT OF PERU. THE WARMEST TRIBUTES ARE DUE TO BOTH FOR THEIR TIRELESS EFFORTS. EVEN AFTER THEIR EFFORTS HAD FAILED TO PRODUCE RESULTS, MY GOVERNMENT DID NOT ADOPT THE POSTURE THAT NO NEGOTIATIONS WERE POSSIBLE OR THAT THE DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL HAD BEEN CLOSED BY ARGENTINA'S ACTIONS. FAR FROM IT. WE WELCOMED THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE BASIS OF A BROAD RANGE OF IDEAS WHICH HE HAD PRESENTED TO MY FOREIGN SECRETARY MR. FRANCIS PYM. TRAGICALLY, THE SECRETARY GENERAL FELT OBLIGED TO REPORT ON 20 MAY THAT HIS EFFORTS HAD FAILED TO PRODUCE THE DESIRED OUTCOME.

BEFORE REVERTING TO THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE LATEST ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO SET OUT SOME BASIC PRINCIPLE.

1. PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ARGENTINE INVASIONS WERE VIOLATIONS OF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER - THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. BOTH ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM HAD LONG ACCEPTED THAT A DISPUTE EXISTED CONCERNING SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE FALKLANDS. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAD ALSO ACCEPTED THIS. INSTEAD OF CONTINUING TO SEEK A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, ON 2 AND 3 APRIL ARGENTINA SOUGHT A MILITARY SETTLEMENT. ON 1 APRIL THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD EXPRESSLY CLOSED THE DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. THESE ACTIONS WERE CONTRARY TO A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE GOVERNING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, SOMETHING WHICH DEMANDS THE SEVEREST CENSURE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. EVEN THOSE WHO HAVE A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION FROM MY OWN MUST SURELY AGREE THAT ARGENTINA, BY USING FORCE, VIOLATED THE FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION ON ALL STATES TO SEEK PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO THEIR DIFFERENCES. ARGENTINA THUS VIOLATED ARTICLE 2(3) AND ARTICLE 37 OF THE CHARTER.

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TELEGRAMA ORDINARIO RECIBIDO (3)

2. NON-USE OF FORCE

THE ARGENTINE INVASION WAS CARRIED OUT BY THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE ENTIRELY PEACEFUL POPULATION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, PEOPLE WHO HAD THREATENED NO ONE AT ANY TIME. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF SELF-DEFENCE BY ARGENTINA. IT IS CLEAR, THEREFORE THAT THE ARGENTINE ACTION WAS ALSO CONTRARY TO THE 4TH. PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER. THIS IS THE OBLIGATION "TO REFRAIN FROM THE USE OF FORCE IN ANY MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS". I NEED HARDLY REMIND THIS COUNCIL THAT THE VERY FIRST PURPOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS "TO BRING ABOUT BY PEACEFUL MEANS SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES" (ARTICLE 1 (1)). ARGENTINE WAS THUS IN BREACH OF THE CHARTER ON 2 APRIL IT BEGAN USING FORCE TO TRY TO SETTLE THE DIFFERENCE THAT EXISTED BETWEEN IT AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OVER THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

INDEED, BY ITS FIRST USE OF ARMED FORCE, ARGENTINA COMMITTED AN ACT OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE DEFINITION SUGGESTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN RESOLUTION 3314. IN HIS STATEMENT TO THIS COUNCIL ON 3 APRIL, THE DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER OF ARGENTINA ATTEMPTED TO ADVANCE A DANGEROUS DOCTRINE THAT THE CHARTER IN SOME UNSPECIFIED WAY DID NOT APPLY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION BECAUSE THE PROBLEM AROSE BEFORE 1945. QUITE CLEARLY, THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO FOUNDATION IN THE CHARTER FOR SUCH A DANGEROUS DOCTRINE. THE CHARTER APPLIES TO EVERYTHING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WHICH HAPPENS IN 1982 : THE ROOTS OF MANY PROBLEMS UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS STRETCH BACK YEARS, DECADES, CENTURIES BEFORE THE CHARTER WAS ADOPTED IN 1945. MOREOVER, THE ARGENTINE ACTION WAS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE RULES OF GENERAL INTERNATIONAL LAW PROHIBITING THE USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE PROBLEMS RULES WHICH EXIST ALONG SIDE THE CHARTER. THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW DO NOT CONTAIN AN EXCEPTION FOR OLD PRE-1945 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATES.

HAVING ESTABLISHED THAT THE ARGENTINE USE OF FORCE WAS ILLEGAL, BECAUSE IT VIOLATED BOTH PARAGRAPH 3 AND PARAGRAPH 4 OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER, IT FOLLOWS THAT THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS WAS AND IS ALSO ILLEGAL. THIS WAS MADE CLEAR BY THE DECLARATION ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY WAY OF CONSENSUS IN 1970 AND WHICH INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITION :
"THE TERRITORY OF STATE SHALL NOT BE THE OBJECT OF MILITARY OCCUPATION RESULTING FROM THE USE OF FORCE IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER."
AS IF THAT WERE NOT ENOUGH, THE CONTINUED ARGENTINE OCCUPATION IS ALSO CLEARLY CONTRARY TO OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 OF RESOLUTION 502.

3. SELF-DEFENCE

THE SITUATION FACING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS THE FOLLOWING. THE BRITISH TERRITORY HAS BEEN INVADDED BY ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES. BRITISH NATIONALS ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO BOTH MILITARY OCCUPATION AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT AGAINST THEIR FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES. ARGENTINA IS USING FORCE DAY BY DAY TO OCCUPY BRITISH TERRITORY AND TO SUBJUGATE THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS. RESOLUTION 502 HAS PROVED INSUFFICIENT TO BRING ABOUT WITHDRAWAL. NOTHING COULD BE CLEARER AGAINST THAT BACKGROUND THAN THAT THE U.K. IS FULLY ENTITLED TO TAKE MEASURES IN EXERCISE OF ITS INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE, RECOGNIZED BY ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER. IF THE CHARTER WERE OTHERWISE, IT WOULD BE A LICENSE FOR THE AGGRESSOR AND A TRAP FOR THE VICTIM OF AGGRESSION. THE FIRST USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE DISPUTES, TO SEIZE TERRITORY AND TO SUBJUGATE PEOPLES IS SOMETHING WHICH THE CHARTER WAS INTENDED TO PREVENT.

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TELEGRAMA ORDINARIO RECIBIDO

Número general: (4)

4. SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES.

THE CHARTER IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLE. THAT IS ARTICLE 1(2). THE COMMON ARTICLE 1 OF THE TWO COVENANTS ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS STATE CLEARLY THAT "ALL PEOPLES HAVE THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION". NEITHER THE CHARTER NOR THE COVENANTS ATTEMPT TO LAY DOWN EXCEPTIONS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 73 OF THE CHARTER, THE DECLARATION RELATING TO NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES, THE PRINCIPLE IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF TERRITORIES SUCH AS THE FALKLAND ISLANDS ARE "PARAMOUNT". AT THE SAME TIME THE INHABITANTS ARE "WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY ESTABLISHED BY THE PRESENT CHARTER". IN OTHER WORDS, THE PROVISIONS ABOUT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND THE NON-USE OF FORCE TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED APPLY EQUALLY TO NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES. ARTICLE 73 SPEAKS OF DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. IT IS INSTITUTIONS OF THIS NATURE WHICH THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS HAVE LONG ENJOYED. INDEED, IT MAKES A MOCKERY OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ARGENTINA TO ATTEMPT TO REPLACE A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BODIES IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS WITH A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP. IT ADDS INSULT TO INJURY WHEN THIS MILITARY DICTATORSHIP ATTEMPTS AS IT IS DOING, TO CHANGE THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS, TO BRING IN SETTLERS, TO BUY UP THE LAND, TO IMPOSE THE SPANISH LANGUAGE TO CHANGE THE CURRICULA IN THE SCHOOLS AND SO ON.

ALL THIS IS QUITE CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION PROTECTED BY THE CHARTER. INDEED, IT SMACKS OF COLONIALISM BY ARGENTINA.

IT IS GROTESQUE FOR ARGENTINA TO CRITICISE THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE FALKLANDS AS "COLONIAL". WE HAVE HEARD ABOUT "THE NEED TO REMOVE ALL VESTIGES OF COLONIALISM FROM THE AMERICAS". BUT THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ENDORSED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. WHAT RIGHT HAVE THE LEADERS OF ARGENTINA TO IMPOSE THEIR FORM OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP ON AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT PEOPLE, WHO KNOW DEMOCRACY AND CHERISH LIBERTY?? IT WILL NOT HAVE ESCAPED NOTICE THAT ARGENTINA HAS NOT RATIFIED EITHER OF THE TWO COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WHEREAS THE U.K. HAS RATIFIED BOTH AND HAS DONE SO ON BEHALF OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS ACCEPTED SINCE 1945 THAT THE FALKLANDS ARE A NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY AND THAT THE U.K. IS THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY. WE HAVE COOPERATED WITH THE COMMITTEE OF 24 WHICH HAS REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN THE FALKLANDS EVERY YEAR, ANNUALLY. LAST YEAR, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ASKED THE COMMITTEE TO KEEP THE SITUATION UNDER REVIEW AND TO REPORT TO THE 37TH. SESSION. WE HAVE FULFILLED OUR OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 73. WE HAVE INTRODUCED POLITICAL ADVANCES - A LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND AN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, BOTH WITH ELECTED MEMBERS. WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO TURN BACK THE CLOCK AND SEE THESE BODIES ABOLISHED. IT HAS BEEN SAID, BUT NOT ON ANY EVIDENCE, THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLANDS ARE A TRANSIENT, EXPATRIATE POPULATION. THIS IS UNTRUE. THE CENSUS RESULTS SHOW THE LIE. THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS HAVE BEEN IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS AS LONG AS, OR LONGER THAN, MOST ARGENTINE FAMILIES HAVE BEEN IN ARGENTINA. THEY ARE AN ENTIRELY SEPARATE PEOPLE, WITH A DIFFERENT LANGUAGE, CULTURE

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AND WAY OF LIFE FROM THE PEOPLE OF ARGENTINA. THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLANDS HAVE AS MUCH RIGHT TO CONTINUE TO LIVE IN THE FALKLAND AS THE PEOPLE OF ARGENTINA HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN ARGENTINA. BOTH PEOPLES HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE UNDER THEIR OWN SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT. ARGENTINA HAS NO RIGHT TO DENY THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. NOR DOES HAVE THE RIGHT TO DECIDE THAT ARTICLE 73 OF THE CHARTER NO LONG APPLIES TO THEM WHEN IT HAS SO APPLIED EVER SINCE 1945.

5. SOVEREIGNTY AND SELF-DETERMINATION.

ARGENTINA CLAIMS SOVEREIGNTY ON THE BASIS OF EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY HISTORY. ARGENTINA'S CLAIM IS NOT STRENGTHENED BY ANYTHING WHICH HAS HAPPENED SINCE 1833. THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS SOVEREIGNTY ON THE BASIS OF EIGHTEENTH, NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY, ON THE BASIS OF THE NATIONALITY OF THE POPULATION, ON THE BASIS OF THE FREELY CHOSEN WISHES OF THE PEOPLE, AND ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IN THE TERRITORY.

WHEN THE PRESS PUBLISHES PICTURES OF HOUSES, SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES IN STANLEY, THOSE ARE HOUSES, SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES WHICH THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS, NOT GENERAL MENENDEZ' FORCES, HAVE BUILT. THE WHOLE TOWN OF STANLEY HAS BEEN BUILT SINCE 1833. I COULD GO ON GIVING EXAMPLES. BUT THE MESSAGE IS CLEAR. THE FALKLAND ISLANDERS HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO THE ISLANDS AND HAVE EVERY INTEREST IN BEING ALLOWED TO GO BACK TO THEIR FORMER WAY OF LIFE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SOVEREIGNTY IS IN DISPUTE, BUT THE PEOPLE ARE NOT. IT IS NOT A CASE OF TWO COMMUNITIES SHARING THE SAME TERRITORY.

NEGOTIATIONS.

NOW MR. PRESIDENT, I COME TO THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES, THAT IS TO SAY THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE OVER THE PAST TEN DAYS OR SO UNDER THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD, AS WAS THE CASE DURING THE PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS INITIATED BY SECRETARY HAIG AND PRESIDENT BELAUNDE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS EXERTED ITSELF WITH THE UTMOST GOOD FAITH AND THE STRONGEST SENSE OF URGENCY. THE DISCUSSIONS UNDER THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S AUSPICES HAVE BEEN PERHAPS THE MOST INTENSIVE AND UNREMITTING NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH I HAVE EVER PARTICIPATED. IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROGRESS WHICH WE HAD HAD BEEN MADE, I WAS CALLED BACK TO LONDON LAST WEEKEND IN ORDER TO TAKE STOCK OF THE SITUATION WITH MY GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. ON MY RETURN ON 17 MAY I GAVE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL THE FINAL POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT IN THE FORM OF A DRAFT INTERIM AGREEMENT, THE TEXT OF WHICH WAS RELEASED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS YESTERDAY AND WHICH HAS BEEN PUBLISHED IN FULL IN THE NEW YORK TIMES TODAY. THE POSITION WAS, IN THE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED JUDGEMENT OF MY GOVERNMENT, THE FURTHEST POINT TO WHICH WE COULD GO IN TERMS OF FLEXIBILITY WITHOUT COMPROMISING PRINCIPLES WHICH WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ABANDON. AS MY FOREIGN SECRETARY INFORMED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS YESTERDAY - I AM PARAPHRASING HIS WORDS - OUR FIRST REQUIREMENT HAS BEEN TO SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ARGENTINE FORCES, WHICH WAS DEMANDED AS A MATTER OF MANDATORY OBLIGATION BY SCR. 502. THE SECOND HAS BEEN TO ESTABLISH A CEASEFIRE TO AVOID FURTHER LOSS OF LIFE AS SOON AS WITHDRAWAL COULD BE AGREED. THE THIRD HAS BEEN TO MAKE SATISFACTORY PROVISION FOR THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLANDS IN ANY INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS THAT MIGHT PROVE NECESSARY.

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TELEGRAMA ORDINARIO RECIBIDO (6)

THE FOURTH HAS BEEN TO ENSURE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARGENTINA OVER THE FUTURE OF THE ISLANDS SHOULD INCLUDE TERMS OF REFERENCE TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE SUCH AS TO PRE-DETERMINE OR PRE-JUDGE THE OUTCOME, WHETHER ON SOVEREIGNTY OR OTHER MATTERS. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY MADE CLEAR IN THIS CONNEXION THAT WE REMAINED PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITH ARGENTINE ABOUT THE LONG TERM FUTURE OF THE ISLANDS, WE SHALL BE READY TO DISCUSS ANYTHING WHICH EITHER SIDE MIGHT WISH TO PUT FORWARD SUBJECT TO THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BEING IN NO WAY PRE-DETERMINED OR PRE-JUDGED IN ADVANCE. AS MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WILL SEE FROM STUDY OF OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT, WE HAVE STOOD FIRM WHERE WE HAVE HAD TO AND WE HAVE SHOWN FLEXIBILITY WHERE WE CAN.

I REGRET TO HAVE TO INFORM YOU MR. PRESIDENT AND THROUGH YOU THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL THAT THE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA TO OUR PROPOSALS WAS WHOLLY UNSATISFACTORY. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT INSISTED ON INCLUDING SOUTH GEORGIA AND THE SOUTH SANDWICH ISLANDS IN THE AGREEMENT. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO US: THESE ISLANDS HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH OUR DIFFERENCE OVER THE FALKLANDS. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT INSISTED ON AN UNEQUAL PROCESS OF WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES WHICH MY GOVERNMENT COULD NOT ACCEPT. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT REJECTED THE CONTINUATION IN BEING DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD OF THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE ISLANDS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 73 OF THE CHARTER. ARGENTINA WAS ONLY PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN THE POSSIBILITY THAT "PERSONS" WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE POPULATION OF BRITISH ORIGIN AND ARGENTINE RESIDENTS IN THE ISLAND, IN EQUAL MEMBERS, MIGHT BE APPOINTED AS "ADVISERS" BY THE U.N. INTERIM ADMINISTRATION. THIS WAS NOT ONLY WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE TO US IN CONCEPT, AS IT INVOLVED THE DISMANTLING OF THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED, BUT THE IDEA OF PARITY OF "ADVISERS" BETWEEN A POPULATION OF ABOUT THIRTY AND A POPULATION OF ABOUT 1,800 WAS LUDICROUS. ARGENTINA REQUIRED FREEDOM OF ACCESS WITH RESPECT TO RESIDENCE AND PROPERTY DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. THIS WOULD HAVE ENABLED THEM FUNDAMENTALLY TO CHANGE THE DEMOGRAPHIC STATUS OF THE ISLANDS DURING A SHORT INTERIM ADMINISTRATION, CLEARLY AND UNACCEPTABLE PROPOSITION. THE ARGENTINE FORMULATION ON HOW AND WHEN AND BY WHAT MEANS THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE CONCLUDED WAS ALSO TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO MY GOVERNMENT.

THERE WAS ALSO NO ASSURANCE, CONTRARY TO WHAT WE HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN LED TO BELIEVE, THAT ARGENTINE HAD AGREED TO LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD LEAVE IT BEYOND DOUBT THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE PRE-JUDGED AT THE OUTSET.

THIS IS NOT AN EXHAUSTIVE LIST, BUT IT IS ENOUGH TO DEMONSTRATE THE JUSTICE OF MY GOVERNMENT'S CONCLUSION THAT THE ARGENTINE RESPONSE AMOUNTED TO A COMPREHENSIVE REJECTION OF OUR PROPOSALS.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL MADE A LAUDABLE LAST MINUTE ATTEMPT TO SEE IF THE WIDE GULF BETWEEN THE PARTIES COULD BE BRIDGED. MY GOVERNMENT DID NOT REJECT THIS INITIATIVE BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL. I COMMENTED TO HIM ON THE TELEPHONE YESTERDAY, AS MY PRIME MINISTER INFORMED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS THE SAME AFTERNOON, THAT WE APPRECIATED THE POSITIVE ASPECTS IN HIS INITIATIVE.

I HAD TO TELL HIM THAT IT DIFFERED IN IMPORTANT RESPECTS

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Número general: (7)

FROM OUR FINAL POSITION AND THAT, EVEN IF ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, IT WOULD TAKE DAYS IF NOT WEEKS TO KNOW WHETHER SUCCESS COULD BE ACHIEVED. I TOLD THE SECRETARY GENERAL THAT, BEFORE COMMENTING IN DETAIL ON HIS IDEAS, WE WOULD FIRST NEED TO SEE COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTS FROM THE ARGENTINE SIDE ON EVERY SINGLE POINT IN THEM. THE GULF WAS SO WIDE BETWEEN OUR FINAL POSITION AND THE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINE THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FRUITLESS TO CONTINUE UNLESS WE COULD BE CERTAIN THAT THE ARGENTINE REACTION COMPRISED A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE OF POSITION AND MAJOR MOVEMENT TOWARDS POSITIONS WHICH MY GOVERNMENT COULD ACCEPT. I ALSO MADE CLEAR TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AS I HAD MADE CLEAR THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AS I HAVE EQUALLY MADE PLAIN TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS THAT, ALTHOUGH MY GOVERNMENT'S MIND WOULD NEVER BE CLOSED TO ANY AVENUE WHICH PROMISED TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS, WE COULD NOT IN THE MEANTIME ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE IN ANY WAY INHIBITED FROM CARRYING OUT MILITARY ACTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF DEFENCE UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE UN CHARTER.

THE REMAINS OUR POSITION TODAY. THE BRITISH PEOPLE ARE NEITHER MILITARISTIC NOR BLOODTHIRSTY. OVER THE CENTURIES MANY NATIONS HAVE MADE THE MISTAKE OF EQUATING OUR SLOWNESS TO BE AROUSED WITH WEAKNESS. THIS HAS ALWAYS PROVED A PROFOUND MISTAKE. WE ARE NOT CARRIED AWAY BY SLOGANS OR RHETORIC, BUT WE ARE IMPLACABLY STUBBORN IN DEFENCE OF PRINCIPLES AND THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES. IN THIS INSTANCE, THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND OF THE NONE USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES HAVE BEEN FLAGRANTLY BREACHED BY ARGENTINE AGGRESSION. THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS HAVE BEEN TRAMPLED ON BY THE INVADERS, WE HAVE REACTED AS WE HAVE ALWAYS REACTED TO SUCH CHALLENGES DOWN THE CENTURIES OF OUR HISTORY. EVEN SO, WE STILL HOPE AND PRAY FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT PROVIDED THAT IT SATISFIES THESE PRINCIPLES AND THESE RIGHTS.

ROCA