

THE TIMES

31.12.83

Galtieri joins two former Presidents indicted for murder and treason

From Our Correspondent
Buenos Aires

Former President Galtieri of Argentina, who was also the Army commander, and the Navy and Air Force commanders who helped him to plan last year's ill-fated Falklands invasion, were arraigned yesterday on charges of murder, torture, and illegal privation of liberty by Argentina's highest military court.

The court appearances came one day after four former armed services commanders, including former Presidents Jorge Videla and Roberto Viola, presented themselves before the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces here. They are accused of the same crimes by the military's new commander-in-chief, the new civilian President, Señor Raul Alfonsín.

In all, nine former service commanders, comprising the first three of four military juntas ruling Argentina since the armed forces seized power here in 1976, are being tried in the Government-ordered courts martial.

One of the two commanders who has not yet been arraigned



General Galtieri: In the dock with junta colleagues

is former Navy Commander Emilio Massera, who is under "preventive arrest" in a Buenos Aires naval jail pending a civilian court investigation of the mysterious disappearance in 1977 of a Buenos Aires man believed to have been his business partner.

The courts martial proceedings, begun on Thursday, were ordered in a special decree two weeks ago by President Alfonsín, the 56-year-old leader of the mainly middle class Radical Party, who was inaugurated on

December 10 to end nearly eight years of military rule here.

The decree was seen as an effort to fulfill a repeated campaign pledge by Señor Alfonsín to try those responsible for the military's bloody campaign against leftist terrorism in the mid and late 1970s.

More than 6,000 Argentines are believed to have been kidnapped and murdered by state security and armed forces.

The new President's initiatives, which include a commission to investigate the fate of the disappeared and special legislation to facilitate the investigation of military personnel by civilian courts, have prompted a broadening perusal by Argentines of their country's bloody past.

Court-ordered exhumations from mass graves of the bodies of presumed victims of state security forces were due to have taken place yesterday in Buenos Aires.

In apparent effort to keep a politically even-handed approach to past civil strife, Señor Alfonsín's Government announced on Thursday the formation of a special anti-terrorist security force

FINANCIAL
TIMES

31.12.83

Court charges Galtieri junta

BY DAVID WELNA IN BUENOS AIRES

GENERAL Leopoldo Galtieri, the former Argentine President, was yesterday charged with murder and torture in a summary court martial before the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. The two other members of the ruling military junta during the Falkland Islands conflict, Brig Basilio Lami Dozo, the former Air Force commander, and Admiral Jorge Anaya, the former Navy commander, were also charged.

They, and the six other members of the three successive three-man juntas which ruled between 1976 and 1982, have been so charged for having allegedly presided over the disappearance of more than 7,000

Argentines after the 1976 military takeover.

The court martial was ordered by Argentina's recently inaugurated civilian President Sr Raul Alfonsín. He signed into law this week the repeal of an amnesty law decreed by the former military government which protected members of the armed forces from prosecution for the disappearances. Two former presidents, General Jorge Videla and General Roberto Viola, were charged on Thursday in the same proceedings.

This is the second summary court martial that General Galtieri and his Air Force and Navy commanders have faced this month, having already been

arraigned for their handling of the Falklands conflict.

The proceedings are to continue next month despite the traditional suspension of legal activity during the forthcoming summer holidays here. The verdicts can be appealed against in civilian courts, where new evidence can be introduced.

In a related development former President General Reynaldo Bignone failed to appear in civilian court on Thursday where he had been accused of illegal privation of liberty in relation to the disappearance of a physicist five years ago. Gen Bignone's lawyer told the court that the former President was unable to testify because his wife was ill.

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JONATHAN STEELE visits the office in Buenos Aires that campaigns on behalf of Argentina's ex-combatants

A South Atlantic fund of bitterness and betrayal

IT'S MORE than 18 months since the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano was sunk by a British submarine, and Juan Coronel, a frightened 20-year-old, found himself floundering in the icy Antarctic water. It was the beginning of an agony which he cannot forget quickly and probably never will. One horror succeeded another.

He pulled himself into a life-raft with 20 other survivors. He watched an officer shoot two sailors in the water as they tried to clamber aboard. Two conscripts died of their wounds as the raft tossed up and down in the South Atlantic. Three others died of cold and exhaustion. For 44 hours the raft drifted helplessly until the hospital ship, the Valparaíso, finally found them.

Now Juan Coronel spends hours every day in a tiny cubby-hole of an office in Buenos Aires, the headquarters of the Centre for Ex-Combatants in the Malvinas. With him on the day I dropped in was another cons-

cript with memories which have scarred him for life, he says.

Ugo Villareal spent 66 days on the Falklands, part of the garrison of Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley), a slow, damp, and dispiriting wait for the inevitable surrender. For him the war was not a single scary episode of fear, but a two-month lesson in understanding the value system of the dictatorship's officer corps. "General Moore was a good soldier," he says of the commander of the British land forces. "At the surrender he wore a uniform that was dirty and used. General Menéndez, our commander, was neatly dressed. He had never seen combat."

For Villareal and Coronel and the roughly 750 other "chicos de la guerra," young conscript veterans of the Malvinas, whom they say their centre represents, the war was a crisis of national betrayal while it lasted. They still feel a sense of betrayal today. Since the ignominy of its end, they find that most Argentines have blocked it — and the men who fought it — from their minds.

"We find it hard to be re-integrated into society," says Villareal, who was an electrician before his call-up and now cannot find a job. "People want to forget the war. Some people pity us, and some laugh at us, but mostly they just reject us. We remind them of the national defeat."

It is a plight which many young American veterans of the Vietnam war also discovered, but Villareal and Coronel vigorously reject the analogy. "The Vietnam war was quite different. The Americans had no justice on their side. There was a war against a rich nation against a poor one. We were defending our flag. We really feel love for our flag, for our country, and for the Malvinas," they say.

Their argument is with the conduct, the timing, and the declared purposes of the war, not with the justice of the Argentine case. In spite of their strong criticisms of General Menéndez, they proudly display on their wall a facsimile of the proclamation of his appointment

as Governor-General of the Malvinas a day or two after the Argentinean landing on the islands. The facsimile is signed by him with a message of good wishes for the work of their centre.

If he knew all their purposes, perhaps he might not be supportive. Their centre feels itself sharply opposed to another one with a similar name, known as the House of the War Veteran, which was inaugurated in October.

This confines itself to helping war veterans, particularly the disabled, to find medical assistance and employment. Many of its prime supporters are army officers, and the assumption is that behind their charitable aims they make it clear to the young men they help that political demands are taboo.

The Centre for the Ex-Combatants feels no such inhibition. They fully back the new civilian government of President Alfonsín in its moves to put on trial the military leaders who led the country into the Malvinas war. They deplore the influence the military has traditionally had in Argen-

tina's public life—so much so that they disagree with Mr Alfonsín's plans to professionalise the army.

"The so-called professional army is not professional. In South Georgia they were all professionals and they surrendered to the British without a shot being fired," says Villareal.

What he wants is better training for conscripts, and a more democratic army structure—something like a people's militia.

This presupposes a radical democratisation of Argentine society and what they see as a psychological shift towards genuine independence.

"We must first defeat the enemy within — the multinational companies and the banks. The enemy is in our cultural life. We are a very dependent nation. The officers who launched the war were really supporting the economic interests of Britain and the United States.

First we have to win the battle in Buenos Aires and the continent of Latin America. Only when we have a united nation and have defeated imperialism at home

can we win a war for the Malvinas," they say.

While these are their long-term aims, in the short term their demands are more human — compensation for the disabled and the families of the dead, punishment for the guilty, jobs and psychiatric help for those of their members that need them.

They eagerly ask an English reporter about the fate of their counterparts in Britain. "Our so-called Patriotic Fund for soldiers and their families was a disgrace. Army officers pinched some of the money and we were told of cases where chocolate being sent for the troops was sold in the shops."

They ask whether Britain's South Atlantic Fund was more equitable and honest, and whether British soldiers have been given psychiatric help. They assume, they say, that in a more developed society and career soldiers will be better treated. They wonder how ex-combatants are regarded in Britain, and what the public's conception of the war is now. Apparently they have not heard of the Falklands Factor. For them and their friends, the war was a symbol of a society which was sick.

GUARDIAN
30.12.83

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GUARDIAN

30.12.83

Question on submarine

Mr Michael Heseltine, the Defence Secretary, is to be asked to explain in the Commons why Britain maintains a nuclear submarine on patrol off the Falkland Islands.

The Labour MP, Mr Tam Dalyell, yesterday tabled a question to the Defence Secretary after watching a Scottish TV programme on life in the Falklands.

Mr Dalyell said: "I could hardly believe it when a British nuclear submarine appeared on the screen off Port Stanley, the capital. Britain has a treaty commitment to keep nuclear weapons out of the South Atlantic."

Mr Dalyell has tabled further questions to Mr Heseltine asking the cost to public funds of enabling the Scottish television company to film life on the Falklands.

"This company is desperately short of resources. It is hard to imagine that it met all the costs of this programme, including travel to the Falklands, use of helicopters for photographing penguins, and other facilities on the islands," he said.

THE
TIMES

30.12.83

Argentina digs up its past

From Our Correspondent, Buenos Aires

Argentine courts are literally digging up their country's bloody past as judicially-ordered exhumations of mass graves in several cemeteries have in the past week yielded the bodies of more than 30 presumed victims of security forces.

The exhumations are part of a wave of court investigations into the fate of more than 6,000 Argentines who vanished during the past seven years of recently-concluded military rule.

Acting with vigour after the inauguration of President Raul Alfonsín's civilian administration on December 10, the courts have had graves dug up in the Buenos Aires suburbs of Almirante Brown, Olivos and in the city of La Plata near by.

Judging by the immediate

results of the investigations and growing calls for inquiries at other graveyards, it would seem the courts have only begun to scratch the surface on burials during the "dirty war" against terrorists.

The Mayor of Almirante Brown revealed on Tuesday that 14 of the 15 bodies exhumed in his city were without hands, evidently, cut off he said, to prevent identification.

He said three of the skulls exhumed had gunshot holes in them, while many skulls showed signs of having received severe beatings. He estimated that the cemetery would yield between 60 and 70 similarly-buried bodies.

The newly-elected mayor of the northern Buenos Aires suburb of San Isidro said on

Wednesday that 41 more unidentified bodies of Argentines "killed in confrontations with security forces" were concealed in mass graves in a local cemetery.

Television, which was heavily censored under military rule, has been replete with graphic reporting of the exhumations. News reports this week included footage of graveyard workers packing large plastic bags with bones and taking them for identification.

Most bodies found so far in these and earlier exhumations have been discovered in groups of about a half dozen in paupers' graves or beneath legal graves.

The exhumations are not the only sign of a new willingness to strip away the secrecy surrounding the "dirty war".

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Falklands rush fades with the patriotic fervour

DAILY TELEGRAPH

29.12.83

By ALAN COPPS

AS the wave of patriotic fervour which followed the conflict against Argentina has receded, so too has the enthusiasm of the thousands who rushed to sign on for a new life in the Falkland Islands.

But for the determined few who have remained on the immigration list and who have valuable skills to offer, the long wait may soon be over.

Already the islands' population has shown its first increase since 1945. Since the end of the conflict 26 Falklanders have returned from overseas and 28 newcomers have moved in.

Now Mr David Taylor, newly appointed chief executive of the Island's Government, has started work in Port Stanley with the task of planning the economic development of the colony.

Lack of trades

Some trades are desperately needed. In a place where residents have long been proud of their self-sufficiency, many of the individual businesses to be found in even a small English village are lacking in the town of Stanley, with its 900 population.

There is no baker, no butcher's shop, no shoemaker, no barber or hairdresser and no watchmender. These tasks have previously been done by islanders in their spare time on a barter basis, but now, with the town's population outnumbered at least three-to-one by the garrison, the need for more specialists is pressing.

Before such people can move in, however, new homes are needed for them. But so far, with all building materials having to be imported and the absence of any declaration by Argentina that hostilities have ceased, military needs have had priority.

Now a score of imported wooden houses, triple-glazed against the wind and cold, are being completed on the edge of Stanley, near the racecourse.

£31m to spend

Mr Taylor's job is to spend the £31 million in development aid pledged to the Falklands over five years. Already £15 million has been earmarked to improve the town's ageing and damaged basic services, and work is under way to modernise water and power supplies.

Mr Taylor says that all his plans will be based on the premise that even when the new airport, capable of taking wide-bodied jets, is opened, a sizeable permanent garrison will remain on the islands.

"I simply don't see any prospect of a political settlement at all," he says.

He believes that the greatest

other field for possible expansion is fishing. The islanders are pressing the Government to declare a 200-mile economic zone around the islands in order to raise revenue from the sale of licences. But such a zone would be difficult to police.

At present these rich waters are heavily fished by Spanish, Japanese and East European fleets.

Fleet servicing

Traditionally fish have played a small part in the economy because the Falklands are too far away from any large market, and lack the vessels and freezing equipment required for large-scale trawling.

Mr Taylor, who formerly worked for the Booker McConnell Company in several Third World countries, thinks that if a zone could be established the islanders would benefit from servicing and supplying the fleets. One inshore fishing venture is already being tried.

Tourism is another field for development. Two American cruise vessels call regularly at Stanley during the summer and, together with the troops, provide the basis for a growing souvenir industry.

priority is to improve agricultural productivity, chiefly from the islands' 600,000 sheep. A team of experts from Britain is already at work examining ways of improving the rough pasture land, and at Fox Bay, on West Falkland, a £150,000 woollen mill has started production. Eventually it will provide not only wool for home use but also complete knitted products.

Ideas needed

Immigration remains the key to expansion. "Everyone here is in a sense an immigrant, be it going back 20 years or 150 years or more. That is the life blood of the islands. What we need now are people with ideas," says Mr Taylor.

A site for several small factories has been found near Stanley and these will be available both to immigrants and islanders with ideas. Among those being considered is a garage, a plant for re-moulding tyres, which get such heavy punishment on the rough roads, and a metalworking shop.

WEDNESDAY PAGE

Castaways come in from the cold

Cindy Buxton and Annie Price have
braved war and isolation to become
two of Britain's leading wildlife
film-makers, as Nancy Mills reports

When Cindy Buxton and Annie Price arrived on the island of South Georgia in the South Atlantic in October 1981, all they had on their minds were king penguins – the three feet high variety identifiable by the swatch of red under the chin. They did not know they would get caught in the middle of a war between Argentina and Britain over the Falkland Islands. South Georgia, population 40,000 penguins, is 800 miles beyond the Falklands, but because it is a British island, it became a war objective of some value.

Argentina tried and failed to capture the two English film-makers. "The Argentinians sent a message saying they were coming to get us", Buxton recalls, "so we kept looking over our shoulders. We heard a lot of firing, but we were so isolated they could only have reached us by air or by sea. It turned out their two helicopters were shot down, and one of their ships was destroyed."

At the same time, though, the two women had good reason to be afraid. However, stranded as they were, they coolly continued to mingle with the penguins. The Antarctic winter was approaching and food was running short as the conflict raged over the horizon. Finally, eight months after they arrived on the barren island and one month longer than they planned to stay, Buxton and Price were taken out by Royal Navy helicopter.

Brushing aside their "war" experiences, they returned to England to put together *Stranded on South Georgia*. The programme was shown in Britain as well as in countries as far apart as Finland, Japan and Yugoslavia. It is the wildlife programme that they intended to make, with a rumble of war in the background.

Buxton and Price specialize in photographing strange beasts in faraway places. They travel to isolated environments, set up camp for an average of six months and film what they see, working under contract to the British company, Survival Anglia Television. Survival Anglia uses about a dozen teams around the world and Buxton-Price

easier and easier because you can show your latest film. It was a bit of a struggle at the beginning, but you just go on until you get what you want."

Buxton, in her early 30s, is quite persistent. When the British Antarctic Survey Commission told her South Georgia was not a place for women, she would not take no for an answer. "The Americans have a number of women scientists working in their Antarctic bases", she says, "but the British have only men in their teams. It took me nine months to persuade them." At the time, she and Price were already filming in the Falklands.

"They had the old-fashioned idea that the conditions were too harsh and severe for us", she says. "I think they finally said yes because they got fed up with me telephoning them all the time. But once they'd agreed, they gave us lots of help and advice on such subjects as when to cross glaciers and how to read clouds. The weather can change so rapidly."



Annie Price, left, and Cindy Buxton. They continued to film wildlife as the Falklands was war raged around them

South Georgia is one of the most isolated, unwelcoming places on earth. With an average temperature of 32°F (0°C) with 30 mph winds, it is a perfect environment for penguins and elephant seals.

During their stay, Buxton and Price lived in an eight-foot square

hut two miles from a huge king penguin colony. "It was probably the hardest shoot I've ever done, as far as conditions were concerned", Buxton says. She spent her first eight film-making years in the heat of Africa. "But the wildlife was tame and approachable, so that part was easy."



Price took all the still pictures while Buxton shot the documentary footage. They shared the daily chores, including the melting of snow for drinking water. "Neither of us had worked in conditions like this before", Buxton says. "There was a team of scientists stationed just 15 miles from us, but we couldn't reach them by land." The women were totally alone, except for the 40,000 penguins, hundreds of elephant seals and some albatross.

Buxton and Price have worked together for three years. Before that, Buxton shot documentaries on her own. "Being alone didn't bother me, but sometimes now I wonder how I coped." She finally decided she needed an assistant when she began making plans in 1979 to film in the bleak Falklands. She called Price, a school friend she had not seen for 10 years, who became interested in photography while working for an advertising agency in London.

'The Argentinians said they were coming to get us'

"I do get a lot of people approaching me, but most of them I'd never consider", says Buxton. "I didn't want to take someone who would get fed up after four weeks, once the novelty wore off, and be dying to get home. I went to Annie because I knew her, because she was a photographer and because I thought she might enjoy going to the places I liked. I explained the conditions and told her that in no way could she change her mind and go home. I told her the worst."

The pair have been filming green turtles, sea birds and native wildlife on Ascension Island, a volcanic island in the South Atlantic with a population of about 1,000 – and, with its tropical temperatures, quite a change from South Georgia.

Of her film-making philosophy, Buxton says, "I choose my own subjects. I'll visit the location if I can. Then I'll write out the basic story line of the film or films. Hopefully, there will be more than one. Then I work out a budget and schedule and take it to Survival Anglia. If they like my proposal, they'll finance it."

Buxton has worked for Anglia for almost 12 years, initially as an independent film-maker, but for the past eight years under contract. The company has never turned down any of her proposals, and already she has the go-ahead for a project in south-west Spain starting in September 1984.

"In that part of Spain", she says, "there are these massive, great sand dunes, 100 feet tall, that move at a rate of 20 feet a year. They smother the pine forest and then gradually move on. The forests have 50 or 60 years to recover until the next sand dune comes."

'DEAL SOON' ON BEAGLE CHANNEL ²⁸/₁₂

By MARY SPECK
in Buenos Aires

A PRELIMINARY accord between Argentina and Chile over disputed islands in the Beagle Channel may soon be ready for signing, according to the Argentine Foreign Minister, Dr Dante Caputo.

He said on Monday that "concrete progress" had been made towards an agreement during a visit by Under-Secretary Hugo Gobbi to Rome last week.

Only a few differences remained to be resolved, he said.

The Vatican has mediated on the border dispute between Argentina and Chile for more than four years. Although Chile accepted a mediation proposal by the Pope in December, 1980, the Argentine military government refused either to accept or reject it.

Throughout the recent Argentine election campaign President Alfonsín promised to work within the framework of the Papal proposal to reach a peaceful solution to the dispute.

Dr Caputo hinted that an agreement may force Argentina to relinquish its claims to some of the islands and to share the waters.

The conflict has been over three small islands off the southern tip of South America. Their possession could determine the right to search for oil.

DAILY TELEGRAPH
28.12.83

GUARDIAN
28.12.83

Expedition lands

INDIA'S third expedition to Antarctica landed there yesterday to set up the country's first permanent scientific station. The 83-member team, including two women, completed the 24-day trip aboard the Finnish ice breaker Finn Polaris. — AP.

THE TIMES
28.12.83

Ship intercepted

An Argentine cargo vessel infringed the 150-mile Falkland Islands protection zone, on Christmas Eve, but left after being seen by RAF fighters, the Ministry of Defence said. ^{28/12}

THE TIMES
27.12.83

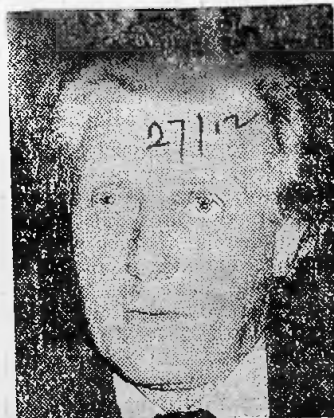
Questions on Falklands death

By Our Political Reporter

Mr Michael Heseltine, the Secretary of State for Defence, is to be urged to set up an inquiry into the conditions of British servicemen on South Georgia in the South Atlantic after the death of a soldier.

Relatives of a colleague of the dead soldier, Sapper David Mead, aged 23, of the Royal Engineers, have contacted Mr Tam Dalyell, Labour MP for Linlithgow, to tell him of the "extraordinary set-up" on the island, the MP said yesterday.

Sapper Mead was found dead in his sleeping bag after a regimental party. A post-mortem examination was ordered by the Ministry of Defence after initial suspicions that he had been unlawfully killed. A Home Office pathologist found that he



Mr Heseltine: Questions over soldier's death.

died of acute alcohol poisoning. Sapper Mead's body was flown back to Britain last week and an inquiry will be held early

in January. The Ministry of Defence said yesterday that it was unaware of any suspicious circumstances but could not comment officially until after the inquest.

Mr Dalyell said yesterday that he had been contacted by the family of another soldier, who was not one of his constituents, because of his interest in Falklands matters. "This family has the impression that there have been all sorts of strange goings on possible because of the extreme climatic conditions down there. They believe that the climate is having a strange effect

Mr Dalyell is tabling Commons questions asking Mr Heseltine to set up a board of inquiry into the death of Sapper Mead.

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Royal Engineers change shape of Falkland Islands

By ALAN COPPS in Port Stanley

THE garrison in Port Stanley has not only made a decisive impact on the Islanders' way of life, it has quite literally changed the shape of the island.

Beside the airfield overlooking Stanley Harbour, there was until about a year ago a 100 ft peak called Mary Hill.

All that remains is a 50-ft hole surrounded by the mechanical paraphernalia of the biggest quarry run by the Royal Engineers since 1945.

The scar of workings, crushing machinery and temporary buildings spreads for half a mile along the skyline.

"When they next come to survey the Islands they'll have to re-draw the map here," says Capt. Stephen Braden of 20 Field Squadron, who is now in the process of handing over the quarry, complete with all its equipment, to a civilian consortium.

Roads across peat

The quarry was one of the first works begun after the liberation of the Falklands last year, when its stone was desperately needed to reinforce the bumpy roads that run across peat around Stanley to take the weight of military vehicles.

Since then just under 2,000 tons of stone have been taken out of Mary Hill each day, and in the windy South Atlantic summer its biting dry dust dominates the landscape around Stanley.

The roads are now coated in the crushed rock, and the Portakabin villages where the troops live and work stand on foundations made of it.

But the quarry working, although regarded as a major success by the Engineers in a field where previously they had

limited experience, has not been without its problems.

"This Falklands rock is a kind of sandstone quartzite, even harder than granite. It wears out machinery quicker than anything else," said Capt. Braden.

At first the quarry worked 24 hours a day, but that proved too expensive on machinery. Now it works for 12 hours a day extracting stone, while another team of 30 Sappers carry out maintenance throughout the night.

Bomb disposal

It is estimated that almost half a million tons of rock have now been taken out of Mary Hill.

With the immense amount of construction work under way in Stanley, the quarry will be required to work at the same rate for a long time to come.

The quarry is not the engineers' only task on the Islands. Bomb disposal remains a high priority even 18 months after the end of the war.

The Argentine trenches around the town are still revealing hidden menaces, such as the 57 120mm mortar bombs found earlier this week and detonated in a deafening controlled explosion.

Such blasts are regular features of life.

But the bomb disposal's most difficult problem remains the fields of plastic mines sown indiscriminately around the town.

Although the boffins in Britain are still working to find a proper detector for such mines, all the squads on the Islands can do at the moment is fence in the known fields.

So far 115 have been found and new suspect areas are still being regularly reported.

Falklands sovereignty pledge by Thatcher

By NICHOLAS COMFORT Political Staff

THE Prime Minister told Falkland Islanders last night that she had no intention of negotiating away Britain's sovereignty over the colony and that they had "much to look forward to."

In a Christmas message on the B B C World Service, Mrs Thatcher made it plain that her recent exchange of civilities with Dr Alfonsín, the newly-elected President of the Argentine, did not mean any softening of her position on sovereignty.

Brighter future

"I am not negotiating the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands with anyone," she said. "They are British. You, the people, have a right to determine your own future. That is not negotiable."

"So you can look forward to the New Year knowing that it is absolutely all right."

Mrs Thatcher, recalling the hospitality shown her when she

visited the Falklands in January, told the islanders that British troops in the islands would be missing their families and added: "I hope you'll look after them and give them a terrific Christmas."

She said she would be recalling the places she had visited and the islanders she had met, at Chequers tomorrow when she read as the Christmas Day lesson the passage from Luke's Gospel on the shepherds abiding in the fields, keeping watch over their flocks.

The Prime Minister also offered hopes of a brighter economic future, starting with the completion of the new airport which is now under construction.

"We're trying to do everything we can to rebuild the structure of the Falkland Islands and give the young people a chance to know that they can have the kind of life which they can build and which has become traditional in the islands."

GUARDIAN

24.12.83

Absolute unclarity

One minute the shrivelled little paper pound is being phased out: the next minute Mrs Thatcher says it's not. One minute Britain is beginning a tortuous rapprochement with the new, democratic Argentina: the next minute Mrs Thatcher is delivering her Falklands Christmas message — a broadcast absolutely outside the bland, moralistic tradition of such effusion. "I want to make one thing very clear," she says. A thousand kelper radio sets shiver. "I am not negotiating the sovereignty of the Falklands with anyone . . . You can look forward to the New Year knowing that you are absolutely all right."

Nothing, on the one hand, could be absolutely clearer: nothing, on the other hand, could sit more uneasily with the muffled diplomatic drumbeats surrounding Mr Raul Alfonsín's accession to power. Mr Alfonsín has his own public opinion at his back. If he talks at all, he will want to talk in the end about sovereignty. Otherwise there is no point in talking, he, and his heirs and successors, must merely wait until Britain gets another Prime Minister. The Foreign Office knows that. The Cabinet knows that. But has anybody told Mrs Thatcher

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A'crofting in the Falklands go family of 10

By John Ezard

THE arrival of one immigrant family in the Falklands next year will increase the islands' net population gain since the conflict by nearly 30 per cent and also drastically boost their rice imports.

Roland Dowling is taking his wife's entire Vietnamese extended family down to start the first croft attempted there in modern times and to open one of the few Vietnamese restaurants south of the Equator. They will be the newest, most numerous and most frugal immigrants so far.

The family totals 10 people — Mr Dowling, his Vietnamese-born wife Cam Tu, their son Michael aged 2, and

his wife's sisters' families of four adults and three children. Seven-tenths of them are still living in small villages in the Cantho area of south Vietnam. But they are being granted exit visas by the Vietnamese government and residence visas by the Falklands government.

The advance guard — the three Dowlings — will travel in the new year with two pigs and a cow and a container-full of belongings. They go to a 50-acre patch of bare moorland at Fitzroy Ridge, 20 miles from the capital, Port Stanley. There they will build themselves a house out of abandoned containers clad with local granite.

This is a revolutionary

idea even for Falklands architecture but to the Dowlings it makes economic sense. Spare containers sell for £50 each there. They are well insulated and are already used for accommodation by troops in some of the more exposed parts of the islands, as well as by scientists in the Antarctic.

Mr Dowling yesterday assured listeners to BBC's *Calling the Falklands* programme: "I am not totally green." An ex-customs officer, he has already run a croft "in a bleak part of Calthness," he said.

He will earn money by working as a sheep-drover. His wife is a trained nurse. Next year the rest of the family will make a 16,

mile journey from Vietnam to join them, bringing a wide range of skills including farming, carpentry, fishing and teaching.

In a year's time, according to the Dowling plan, the restaurant opens and makes Oriental takeaway food available to the Falklands garrison for the first time. In the early stages it may only serve about 20 meals a week. "But that's enough cash-flow for a group like ours," Mr Dowling said. "We can live more cheaply than most."

"Our biggest expense is going to be importing rice. I reckon 10 of us will get through eight hundredweight bags a year — and that's not counting what we need for the restaurant."

FINANCIAL
TIMES

24.12.83

'Falklands are British' insists Thatcher

By Margaret van Hattem

THE PRIME MINISTER yesterday sent a Christmas message to the Falklands again assuring the islanders that the question of sovereignty was not negotiable.

She said in a BBC World Service broadcast: "I am not negotiating the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands with anyone. They are British."

"You, the people, have a right to determine your own future. That is not negotiable."

Mrs Thatcher also stressed the Government's determination to proceed with building a new airport at Port Stanley. A freeze on construction of the airport was one of the main conditions laid down by President Raul Alfonsin, the Argentine leader, for resumption of normal relations between Britain and Argentina.

Mrs Thatcher said: "There is a great future to look forward to. We are trying to do everything we can to build that new airport . . . to rebuild the structure of the Falkland Islands." The aim was to give the young people a chance to build on the traditional life in the Falkland Islands — a life of effort, where people were all part of the same community. Gradually it was hoped to attract more people and business to the islands.

Soldier 'died of drink'

A soldier whose body was flown back from South Georgia this week, died from acute alcohol poisoning, a Home Office pathologist has found.

Sapper David Mead, aged 23, of the Royal Engineers, was found dead in his sleeping bag after a "regimental knees-up".

A post-mortem examination was ordered by the Ministry of Defence after initial suspicions that he had been unlawfully killed.

His body, which was examined at Oxford mortuary after an RAF jet brought it to Brize Norton, is expected to be released for burial by his family.

The ministry said yesterday that it could not comment until the verdict of an inquest was known.

A board of inquiry would take cognizance of the verdict and any evidence that was submitted, or comments made by the coroner.

THE TIMES 24.12.83

Thatcher's sovereignty pledge to Falklanders

By Tony Samstag

The sovereignty of the Falkland Islands is not to be a matter for negotiation in the new year if ever, the Prime Minister said last night.

In her Christmas message to the islanders on the BBC external services' twice weekly programme *Calling the Falklands*, Mrs Thatcher said: "I want to make one thing very clear to you. I am not negotiating the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands with anyone. They are British."

You, the people, have a right to determine your own future. That is not negotiable. So you can look forward to the new year knowing that is absolutely all right."

Describing the islands' future as great, Mrs Thatcher added:

"We are trying to do everything we can to build that new airport, to rebuild the structure of the Falkland Islands and to give the young people a chance to know that they have the kind of life which they can build and which has become traditional in the Falkland Islands."

"A life of effort. A life where you are all part of the same community. A life where you do things for one another, and a life where you hope gradually to attract more people and more business to the Falklands Islands."

Mrs Thatcher said she and her family would never forget "the tremendous warmth of welcome" she had experienced during her visit to the Falklands last January.

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Sovereignty not negotiable, islanders told

Thatcher ends speculation of Falklands deal

By Colin Brown,
Political Staff

Mrs Thatcher last night sought to end speculation that her Government would be seeking a new agreement with Argentina over the Falkland Islands by bluntly reassuring the islanders in a Christmas message that their sovereignty was not negotiable.

She said in an interview for the BBC World Service Calling the Falklands that islanders could look forward to the new year knowing that the future of the islands was "absolutely all right."

She said: "I want to make one thing very clear to you. I am not negotiating the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands with anyone. They are British. You, the people, have a right to determine your own future. That is not negotiable."

Mrs Thatcher was clearly worried that her message of congratulations to President Alfonsín on his inauguration earlier this month as the first elected ruler of Argentina for eight years had been interpreted as a signal that Britain was ready to negotiate about the future of the Falklands.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, also sought to dispel reports that sovereignty was once more on the agenda

and Downing Street officials made strenuous efforts to dampen speculation that the Fortress Falklands policy had been abandoned.

However, Mrs Thatcher's message to President Alfonsín coincided with a report that he was ready to break the deadlock in diplomatic relations which had existed between the two countries since the Falklands war by offering a lease-

the Government's foreign policy.

However, Mrs Thatcher's message to the islanders will set the tone for any further developments of tentative diplomatic links with Argentina by the Foreign Office.

Mrs Thatcher recalled her visit to the Falklands with her husband Denis in January in her message to the islanders

She added: "There is a great future to look forward to. We're trying to do everything we can to build that new airport . . . to rebuild the structure of the Falkland Islands and to give the young people a chance to know that they have the kind of life which they can build and which has become traditional in the Falkland Islands — a life of effort, a life of where you're all part of the same community . . . where you hope gradually to attract more people and more business to the Falkland Islands."

Mrs Thatcher told the islanders that she would be reading the lesson in her local church on Christmas morning which she felt would have special significance for them.

"It will be the famous one from St Luke's, Chapter two: 'There were shepherds abiding in the fields keeping watch over their flocks by night,'" she said.

Leader comment, page 8:
Family of 10 heads for
Falklands, page 2

back deal to Britain for the islands — the same proposal canvassed by the Foreign Office and rejected by Parliament before the invasion.

The Falklands official representative in London, Mr Adrian Monk, was astonished by a further report that Britain had dropped its demand for a formal ceasefire declaration by Argentina.

Although Sir Rex Hunt, the Civil Commissioner for the Falkland Islands, said on Tuesday in Port Stanley that the signs of a thaw between Britain and Argentina had been given greatly exaggerated importance, MPs at Westminster remained convinced that there had been a noticeable shift in

FALKLANDS

Making a new start with a ready market

By MARGARET DAVIDSON

THIS WINTER, as you wonder whether to expand your business or call in the receivers, can I add a further suggestion to your list of possibilities. How about horticulture in the Falkland Islands?

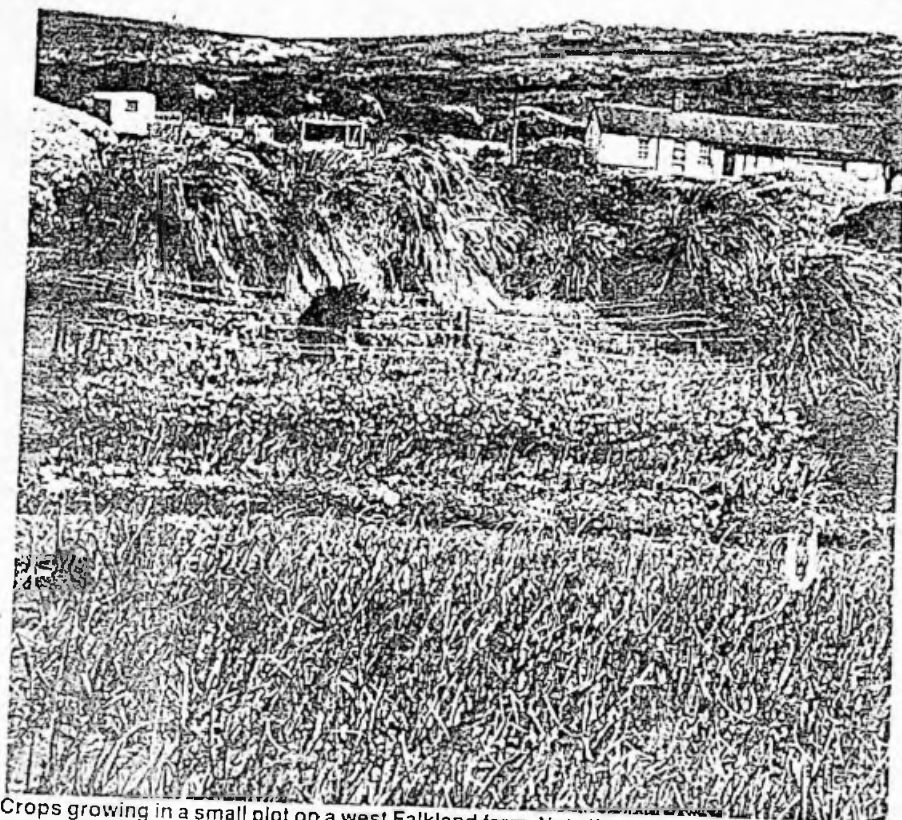
After last year's activities in the South Atlantic, I can dispense with a geography lesson. My family and I have just returned to live in Scotland after 11 years in the Falklands, running a small market garden and hotel business.

Make no mistake about it. I don't believe there is a long-term future in the islands - Mrs Thatcher can't last for ever. But, in the short term, say five to ten years, well-planned work and investment could yield a lot of money.

The Falkland Islands Government is receiving embarrassingly large amounts of development aid. There has been a long and sorry history of ill-thought-out and poorly-executed development projects in the Falklands, and a series of depressing failures. The Government in Stanley is desperate for some success in the next 12 months, or there will be embarrassing questions asked in Parliament and redundancies in the development office at Stanley. I would think that a professional grower willing to set up in the Islands would be welcomed with open arms and a good deal of financial aid.

Growing conditions in the Islands are better than you probably think. The climate is by no means as bad as the press makes out. The summers are cool and dry, with long hours of sunshine, and the winters are milder than most parts of the UK. The difficult factor to deal with is the wind - shelter fencing will be a costly but necessary investment.

Root vegetables and brassicas do well there, and disease levels are low. I have



Crops growing in a small plot on a west Falkland farm. Note the shelter from a native grass (tussock), also the exposed mountainside behind the house.

never seen club root or potato blight, though unfortunately potato root eelworm is present and, as most people there keep their own seed, it is likely to increase. Given shelter soft fruits grow well, but because of the persistent winds and absence of bees, top fruit seems to be a non-starter.

Initial difficulties will be land acquisition and the problems of supply. Land is difficult to buy and tends to come on the market in about 30,000 acre blocks. But, if you can convince local government that you are a serious starter, it may well help to find a suitable site.

Supply is also difficult - remember that you are 8,000 miles away from your suppliers. Civilian cargo arrives on a chartered vessel four times a year, and freight rates are high and rising.

The brightest spot is your market. When we left the islands in July there was no one selling fresh fruit and vegetables. There are more than 1,000 civilians in Stanley, over 4,000 military personnel and an estimated 2,000 or so contract workers arriving to build the new air-strip. That's without counting people on the farms outside Stanley and on the visiting ships.

Some final points:

- ① think big. People in the Islands have seen a steady stream of idealists, who talk about such things as living in their polythene tunnels until they get going;
- ② don't be put off by civil servants. If you are serious, push hard for a trip out there. You can be to Stanley and back within a week, courtesy of the RAF;
- ③ think hard about the social set-up there. A small, defensive, local population; a growing, highly-paid ex-patriot community; a very high ratio of males to females, and few amenities. But the countryside and wildlife are wonderful.

If the prospects are that good why did we leave? Partly because of our lack of faith in the future of the islands. Also, our older children are reaching secondary school age and we think it is time they got a wider view of the world.

If you are seriously interested, write to Adrian Monk, The Falkland Islands Office, 29 Tufton St, London SW1, telephone 01-222 2542; or the Development Officer, Stanley, Falkland Islands.

Round carrots preferred

ACCORDING to a Campden PFRA exhibit at NIAB recently, carrots make up 20% of UK canned vegetables, with most processed whole and a lesser quantity sliced. Diced carrots are used in soups and vegetable macédoines.

Root diameter for whole carrots (Amsterdam, Chantenay and Danvers) is 19 to 32mm; for sliced carrots (Nantes, Berlicum and Autumn King) 32 to 44mm; and for diced carrots (Berlicum and Autumn King) 45 to 57mm.

For the European market also the majority of carrots are canned whole, either on their own or with peas. In Holland, France and Belgium the long, cylindrical Amsterdam types are used, while in West Germany

round types such as Parisienne Market are preferred on the whole.

Glass packs are used more commonly in Europe - 43% of total units are packed in glass in Holland, 15% in West Germany, 13% in Belgium and 5% in France. All processed carrots are graded by root diameter and each country has its own size grades and label designations.

In Holland these are: <10 Fine/Miniature, <17 Extra Fine, <21 Fine, <25 Carrots; West Germany has 6-17 Extra Fine, 16-20 Fine, 20-23 Carrots (22-32 round types); Belgium has 6-11 Miniature, 6-15 Extra Fine, 15-18 Very Fine, 18-23 Fine; and France 8-14 Extra Fine, 8-17 Very Fine, 8-20 Fine, 8-23 Carrots.

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3 JAN 1984

Anglo-Argentine thaw discounted by Sir Rex

By ALAN COPPS in Port Stanley

SIGNS of a thaw between Britain and Argentina have been given greatly exaggerated importance, said Sir Rex Hunt, Civil Commissioner for the Falkland Islands.

The exchange of messages between President Alfonsín and Mrs Thatcher was "perfectly innocuous," he said.

"It doesn't change our policy in any way."

"It was a perfectly innocuous message from the Prime Minister, who has been called upon to be magnanimous in victory, and was responding to that call.

"Our policy remains that we want to normalise relations with Argentina but we are not going to negotiate on the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands," he said.

Islanders anxious

Sir Rex was reflecting an anxiety expressed by many Islanders at the way in which reports from Britain had suggested the exchange of messages could herald a breakthrough leading to new talks between the two governments.

"What a lot of people don't understand, not only in London but also at the United Nations and elsewhere, is that when the Argentines talk about negotiations, they mean the transfer of sovereignty.

"There is no sign that they have changed their minds about their claim to the islands.

"There is no middle way, no middle ground," said Sir Rex in an interview in Port Stanley's refurbished Government House where he was forced to surrender after the Argentine invasion in April last year.

"Alfonsín sounds an intelligent and upright man. He had the courage to oppose the invasion at the time and has since called it 'an illegitimate act by an illegal government'.

"But he added 'in a just cause' and that is not acceptable to the Islanders.

"We have to be steadfast and resolute to show him that we do not consider that cause just.

"I would hope that in time the Argentine Government will mature and come to understand

that these islands have never been theirs.

"It is no hurt to them if the Falklands remain British, no more than a hurt to France if the Channel Islands stay British," said Sir Rex.

Hope for future

The messages from Mrs Thatcher and Senor Alfonsín both acknowledged the deep differences between the two countries, but at the same time spoke of hope for the future.

But Sir Rex, by contrast, held out little hope of any talks in the near future.

His view was that until Argentina renounced its claim to sovereignty, there was nothing to talk about.

"The Falkland Islanders, after what happened, don't want to see another Argentine.

"Until 1971 the Falklands got on very well without any connection with Buenos Aires. Supplies came out by ship from Britain and there was a monthly ship to Montevideo.

"I would very much like to see better relations with other South American countries like Uruguay and Chile. We have quite a few Chileans in the Islands and even a few Argentines who are now British by marriage," said Sir Rex.

He said he believed the military presence, which at present outnumbered the 1,800 islanders by at least 2-1, would be substantially reduced when the new airport at Mount Pleasant became operational in 1985, allowing for rapid reinforcement of the garrison.

The economy would be helped if the population of the islands increased to about 2,500, and he expected that eventually the garrison would settle down to something like the same figure.

Population rise

"We have had to discourage immigration so far because we haven't got any houses for new people."

Since the liberation, however, there had been a net increase in the population for the first time since 1945. A total of 28 Islanders had returned from overseas and 41 outsiders had come to settle.

I RUN into an old sea dog of top notch pedigree who has been talking to even more top-notch sea dogs while putting together yet another book on the Falklands War. His version of the sinking of the Belgrano runs as follows: it was the Argentine aircraft carrier Veinticinco de Mayo, which really caused John Nott to break out in sweat and read a few more chapters of Trollope before lights out. Around the critical time — at the end of April/beginning of May — Northwood lost all trace of Veinticinco de Mayo due to plenty of fog being in the neighbourhood. The more they worried about the carrier the more determined they became to sink the Belgrano to throw the Argies' naval operation into disarray. But to admit to this — and my sea dog says this comes straight from the sea dog's mouth — would be to admit the roteness of the Royal Navy's radar and sonar equipment capability. So the denials will continue and so will the mystery of the Belgrano.

Wildlife in Falklands

From Sir PETER SCOTT

SIR—The new Falklands airport (report, Dec. 19) is one of many development projects likely to be started in the islands over the next few years.

These vary from salmon ranching to agricultural expansion to exploiting the rich fish stocks in coastal waters.

Development is to be welcomed but great care must be taken to ensure that it is sustainable and does not jeopardise the unique Falklands' environment. Fishing must be limited to a level which guarantees healthy stock for future generations of islanders and safeguards the food supply of the penguins, albatrosses and other sea birds.

Over-grazing must be prevented, particularly on the Tussock islands, which provide breeding grounds for some of the most spectacular sea bird colonies in the world and could stimulate valuable tourist revenue in the future.

The Falkland Islands' Foundation, a charitable organisation which I helped to form in 1979, has already helped engineers building the new airport to protect a nearby penguin colony from disturbance. We are now planning to establish a data base of all the principal wildlife resources in the Falklands, so that we are in a position to advise any future development operation on how to minimise environmental damage.

We need an initial £100,000 for this work and have launched an appeal. If any of your readers would be interested in helping us, they should make contact with me.

PETER SCOTT

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Daily Mail
21.12.83

Cut the pomp please—think of Britain's circumstances

THE Foreign Office is being urged to be less lavish with home comforts for diplomats abroad.

MPs on the influential Commons Public Accounts Committee have been looking at the style to which our envoys are accustomed and said yesterday that there must be more emphasis on cost effectiveness and less on 'prestige and tradition'.

In Vienna, for instance the Embassy garden is so large that the Government wants to build

offices in it. The ambassador to Brazil uses his palatial old embassy in Rio as a pieda terre away from his new home in Brazilia.

In Nairobi, the High Commission residence is half as large again as it ought to be, and in Singapore, 65 per cent. bigger than the rules allow.

Economies in Singapore were first proposed in 1973. But in December 1982, the Foreign Office still wanted the decision postponed.

Moving, said the F.O., would give a very bad impression as the house was 'accepted for a long time as the outward and visible sign of the British presence.'

The Foreign Office also told the committee that there would be 'a very considerable ripple' if Britain was to break the tradition of occupying very large houses in cities such as Paris, Washington or Rome.

A Government reply will be published next year.

Despair hangs over the Chamber

THE TIMES

20.12.83

Mr Joh Biffen, the Leader of the House, was being questioned yesterday by the Labour back bencher, Mr Tam Dalyell, about leaked secret Whitehall documents when he suddenly made a disclosure about Mr Dalyell.

"As to secrets, I think the House should note that many years ago I sponsored the hon member to be chairman of the Cambridge University Conservative Association", Mr Biffen observed, in that amiable way of his. Mr Dalyell is that tall, slightly wild-eyed, plummy-voiced Scot of gentle birth and good English education who is interested in all known conspiracies.

On the subject for example, of why we sank the Argentine warship, *General Belgrano*, he has shaken off all vestiges of his Conservative past and is an ordinary, respectable extremist. The fact that he was once a Conservative has long been well known. It has always been ascribed to youthful low spirits.

His membership of the party has also to be seen in the context of the Cambridge of the early 1950s: that despairing era when young idealists believed that, with the seemingly unstoppable rise of R. A. Butler, conservatism offered the only hope of a seat in Parliament.

What is new about the Biffen testimony however, is the revelation of how significant Dalyell was within the Conservative apparatus set up in Cambridge during those morally confused times. It now appears that Mr Dalyell was a much more important agent than has hitherto been supposed. He was in the social circle of the young Mr Biffen, and he was sufficiently powerful to be nominated for the Cambridge University Conservative Association chairmanship itself.

No doubt his defence is that, like no many other Old Etonians who in later life become socialists or progressives of one kind or another, he became more extreme once he faced up to the responsibilities of a career.

But it all left a lot of questions unanswered. At what point did he leave the party? To what extent is he still sympathetic to the bourgeois ideology with which the party indoctrinated him? There are grounds for an independent inquiry.

But Mr Biffen's revelation had made us all smile. And smiles were welcome during this particular question time. For we all knew what was coming. And what was coming was the statement by Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary.

These statements after terrible events tells us little that we do not know already.

Mr Brittan described the events at Harrods once again. He paid his respects, and vowed that the terrorists would not profit from this deed. Mr Gerald Kaufman, the chief Opposition spokesman on home affairs, shared those sentiments on behalf of his party. Mr Brittan answered questions from all sides. A certain despair hung over the chamber.

This is the despair of people who do not know what to do next. As such it affects a majority on both sides of the chamber, but not the minorities in the House who believe they do know what to do.

These include those on the Labour left who believe that the answer is to move towards a united Ireland, though in some undefined way that does not bring on the massacre of the very Catholics whose cause they espouse.

There are also the Unionists, including Mr Enoch Powell; some Tories; Dr Ian Paisley. For them the answer is greater "security." But that too is never wholly defined.

But the majority yesterday betrayed no such certitude. In all the questioning only a few lingered in the memory. Mr John Hume, of The Social Democratic and Labour Party, said that as an Irishman he was ashamed and that, if those who planted that bomb were Irish patriots, "then God save Ireland."

The Conservative, Mr Ivan Lawrence, said the Government should ensure that the details of the crime "receives the widest possible circulation in the United States."

What was missing from Mr Brittan and from Mr James Prior, is a sense that the Government knows how to wage the undaunted fight against terrorism which these ministers promise. Their strategy at the moment seems to be that the British should carry on shopping. The Blitz has been evoked. But in the Blitz our leaders sought allies and devised offensives.

DAILY
TELEGRAPH
20.12.83

Falkland troops stick to islanders' motto

By ALAN COPPS in Port Stanley

THERE is a saying that Falkland islanders work in the summer and survive through the winter.

The same is largely true of the British garrison for whom Christmas is a brief interruption in a period of feverish activity. The priority is to make yourself comfortable before the bad weather begins.

But while conditions have improved out of recognition since the liberation forces pitched their tents in a sea of mud and snow 18 months ago, commanders readily admit that there is a lot more work to be done.

The variety of accommodation in which the troops now live is matched only by the ingenuity of their efforts to add a homely touch to Christmas.

Cpl Phil Thomas, of 16 Squadron R A F Regt, will spend Christmas day in the Tudor-style dug-out next to a Rapier missile site "somewhere around Stanley airfield" in the still careful words of the Ministry of Defence.

There is no room for a tree in these cramped quarters shared between eight men, most on their second four-month tour in the Falklands, so Cpl Thomas and his men have painted one on the wall. Paper chains festoon the ceiling.

The dug-out is in fact a prefabricated cabin planted in a deep hole on a hillside below the Rapier battery. The whole thing is cloaked in camouflage netting.

Troops' individualism

It is cramped, but infinitely more comfortable than a tent. The half-timbering of blackened planks around the kitchen hatchway is typical of the individualism which troops impress upon their makeshift quarters.

It extends far beyond girly pictures and photographs of the family, although these are always in evidence.

"This was done by the previous squadron but we'll finish it off. It gives it a homely cottage look. That's the way it is here, you're always working for the next unit in," said Cpl Thomas.

The pantomime and party season is in full swing in Stanley and yesterday's air-bridge flight from Ascension Island was expected to bring in the Christmas concert party from Combined Services Entertainment.

The variety shows provide a welcome relief from work and video viewing although like everything else they are the butt of forces' direct humour.

One of the biggest advances in accommodation for troops is the use of three huge floating hotels made of cargo containers mounted on barges.

Known as "coastels," they are based on a design used in oilfields and line the shore between the airport and Stanley.

Each has room for up to 900 men and while there is little privacy in the four-bunk cabins, the mess rooms and bars are spacious and well equipped with videos and other entertainments. In the huge hulls of these floating barracks there is room for squash courts and a gymnasium.

WO Paul Critchley, a catering instructor from Aldershot, already has 60 turkeys in the cold room of his kitchens aboard the Pursuivant coastel where about 700 men currently live.

The pensioners of Stanley have already been royally entertained aboard the Coastel, and there is a whole series of variety shows, parties and pantomimes planned by various units over the holiday.

Maggie reveals her recurring 'worry' dream

MRS THATCHER has a recurring dream that she is running to catch a train or plane but her legs are leaden. But the Prime Minister always makes her connection.

She has the dream when something is worrying her about next day's work she told children questioning her for tonight's CBTV programme on Thames Television. She also admitted having bad habits and getting into trouble at school.

Earlier Finn Kay, 13, from Camden Town, had said he did not think he had a future after watching the nuclear war film *The Day After*, and he asked Mrs Thatcher whether she thought he had a future.

"I think you have more of a

Standard Reporter

future than I did," the Prime Minister replied. "When I was your age, we were on the brink of a Second World War. I was 14 when it broke out."

"It was only 21 years since the previous Great War and we were into the second one because nations were not strong enough to stop the tyrants of that time from attacking us."

Asked why Britain had nuclear weapons when she thought they were so horrific, she said: "Sometimes you get things that are so terrible that both sides know they could not use them because the catastrophe would be so great."

reporters to be extremely wary of IRA bombs. "It's not easy to stop every terrorist because you have to watch everywhere and they can choose where they attack," she said. Finn asked her why she thought the IRA did such terrible things. She replied that they were people who, if they did not get what they wanted from the ballot box, used bombs to kill.

When asked if she got into trouble at school, Mrs Thatcher said: "Didn't we all? We are none of us perfect angels and there is a streak of rebellion in all of us."

Eleven teenagers, who went to Downing Street for the interview, came from Australia, Canada, Cyprus, the Falklands, Grenada, India, Zimbabwe, Bangladesh, Hongkong, Jamaica and England.



MRS THATCHER: no angel at school.

Falklands forces' post speeded up

By Rodney Cowton

Although servicemen in the Falkland Islands will not enjoy the free telephone call home this Christmas which the South Atlantic Fund provided for them last year, their chances of hearing the voices of their girl friends and relatives have improved recently.

The sending of tape-recorded messages to soldiers is now a popular means of communication, and the forces' postal service has recently speeded up the delivery of these tapes by including them with their top-priority "red-label" air mail, rather than lumping them with the lower priority "all-other" air mail.

As a result tapes as well as letters should get to the Falklands within a week. Even in the bustle of the pre-Christmas period it is reckoned that air mail tapes and letters posted at civil post offices in Britain by last Friday should be delivered in the Falklands before Christmas.

This is all part of the service offered by the Postal and Courier Depot operated by the Royal Engineers at Mill Hill, north London, on behalf of all three services. All mail, both for British servicemen abroad and for Royal Navy ships both at home and overseas, using the British Forces Post Office system, passes through the Mill Hill depot.

The name of the serviceman, or woman, his unit and a BFPO number is all that is required by way of address for some of the most remote spots on earth.



From left: Privates Lorraine Forrester, Sandra Horsley and Jackie Cousins sorting Falklands Christmas mail

Although the geographical location attaching to specific BFPO numbers is restricted information, it is widely known that a letter addressed to BFPO 1 is heading for Hong Kong, and BFPO 666 is the Falkland Islands.

There are about 80 of these more or less permanent BFPO locations. But in addition short-term BFPO numbers are established for temporary deployments.

Mail addressed to HMS Invincible, BFPO Ships, or to any other named naval vessel, is sent to Mill Hill, where it is dispatched to intersect with the ship's next port of call.

At Mill Hill they normally handle 1,000 to 1,500 bags of mail a day, although in this pre-Christmas period it increases to about 2,400.

The increase in postal activity since early last year has predicably enough, been to the Falklands and to the British contingent of the multinational peace force in the Lebanon.

The Mill Hill depot handles about 1.5 tons of letters and small packets a day going to the Falklands by air and about a ton of parcels going by sea.

The biggest single destination for forces post is the British Army of the Rhine, which is served by more than 40 BFPOs.

250 land to start work on airport

By ALAN COPPS
at Mount Pleasant, Falklands

MORE than 250 men arrived in the Falklands by sea at the weekend to begin work on the £215 million new airport—a military necessity and an economic lifeline for the islands.

The suggestion by President Alfonsín, Argentina's new civilian leader, should be frozen as a prelude to peace talks is brushed aside by those concerned.

The main runway, 8,500 feet long, is capable of taking wide-bodied commercial aircraft or fast military jets and is due to open in April 1985, two years after its creation was agreed.

Already a five-mile access road from the sea has been completed to carry contractors' plant and work is well advanced on improving the 30-mile road, now little more than a track, which connects the site at Mount Pleasant to Port Stanley.

Mr Maurice Chamings, construction manager for the Property Services Agency, which controls the project said:

"I don't think anyone has ever been asked to build something like this so quickly." But he expected to be on time.

Local complaints

At its peak the project will employ 1,500 men, more than three-quarters of the islands' total population, but none of them will be recruited locally.

This has caused local complaints as the imported labour will earn many times the community's usual pay rate of about £1.40 an hour.

Some locals would obviously like to benefit from the temporary construction boom. But it is understood the Ministry of Defence feared too many would be attracted away from the farms.

Mr Chamings' office is the captain's cabin of the 14,000-ton freighter Merchant Providence which arrived with an advance party of 100 men in October. The vessel will now serve as a jetty for the duration of the work.

The former North Sea ferry England will shuttle between the Falklands and South Africa, which will be used as a staging post for men and equipment.

The men will work 12 hours a day, six days a week. The construction consortium of Laing, Mowlem and Amey Roadstone is relying on experienced labour so the project has created few new jobs.

Group Captain Danny Laverder, Air Commander Falklands, commented: "The airfield is primarily designed for military purposes, to take fast jets and large transports for rapid reinforcement of the garrison."

Alfonsín aims to get clear of recession

Buenos Aires (Reuter) - Argentina's new President, Señor Alfonsín, outlining his Government's plans for economic growth, has announced a package of economic and social legislation to be sent to congress.

He said in a televised address that the Government was aiming for five per cent economic growth next year to lift Argentina out of its recession. It also aimed to slash the budget deficit to four per cent gross domestic product from 14 per cent this year, he said.

Señor Alfonsín was sworn in just over a week ago after his Reformist Radical Party won elections which returned Argentina to democracy after nearly eight years of military rule.

The Bill was likely to encounter stiff resistance from the opposition Peronist Party, which for the last 40 years has controlled Argentina's powerful trade union movement.

The president also announced draft legislation to establish a minimum salary to be adjusted automatically with the cost of living and a national food programme to distribute basic foodstuffs to needy families.

Other Bills include tax reform aimed at increasing direct taxes on income and property, while reducing indirect taxes on consumption.

Señor Alfonsín said the key to economic recovery was to reduce and eventually eliminate the budget deficit by increasing government revenue and cut-

ting unnecessary state spending, including the defence budget.

He also said his Government would demand improved conditions for rescheduling Argentina's \$40bn (£28bn) foreign debt in 1984, including lower interest rates and longer terms for repayment.

Argentina's ability to pay off its debt in the long term depended on a recovery in the world economy which would allow increased exports and a larger trade surplus, he said.

The Government has also ordered a 1,000 peso (£34)

Mystery men flee Argentina

Buenos Aires (AFP) - Ten unidentified people have left Argentina secretly in an air force jet, the Argentine news agency reported yesterday, raising the possibility that they may be members of past military juntas.

Airport workers said they left last Monday in a military Boeing 707 for the Canary Islands without clearing customs. Much of their luggage consisted of documents.

increase in all monthly salaries to compensate for inflation

The rise effectively increases the minimum wage by 56 per cent to 2,800 pesos per month. But trade union leaders expressed disappointment with the increase, saying it did not adequately compensate for Argentina's 400 per cent inflation rate.

CHRISTMAS: THE ULTIMATE ESCAPE

HEADING FOR THE ICE FIELDS

Would you like to spend the Antarctic winter in a tent? The Joint Services Expedition to Brabant Island set off yesterday. Andro Linklater meets the men taking part

In 1774 Captain James Cook sailed south in search of a legendary continent which until then had appeared at the foot of the atlas as a vague shape labelled *Terra Incognita*. In the furthest reaches of the Southern Ocean he found a land which, he wrote, was "doomed by Nature to lie buried under everlasting snow and ice". That inhospitable place was the Antarctic. Other explorers followed him there, among them James Ross, Ernest Shackleton and, more recently, Sir Vivian Fuchs.

Thanks to their work it is no longer unknown territory. The coastline and mountain ranges have been mapped, scientists have filled in many of the details of its geology and ecology, and there are now semi-permanent bases there, with scientists carrying out further exploration and research.

But the everlasting snow and ice ensure that many blank spaces remain where no one has yet set foot. To those with a taste for adventure they present an irresistible attraction.

"I think adventurousness is more than a wish to escape routine", says Commander Chris Furse, who is about to lead a team of servicemen in the Antarctic. "It's closer to a powerful curiosity about what's happening around you and what's coming over the horizon".

That urge has already taken him twice to the Antarctic, but the Joint Services Expedition to Brabant Island, which he has organised, is likely to prove a more challenging test than any so far.

The team's destination is an island 40 miles long, lying west of the Antarctic peninsula: a long finger of land pointing towards the tip of South America, described as "the second largest island in the Palmer Archipelago". Photographs taken from passing ships show that the mountains which occupy its entire surface are covered in ice and snow, and aerial surveys have established that its highest point, Mount Parry, is 8,276ft above sea level. A Belgian expedition under Adrien de Gerlache discovered it in 1898, but since then only two parties have landed there, both briefly. Apart from having one of the most hostile climates on earth, with frequent hurricanes and winter temperatures falling to minus 40°C, nothing more



One of the most remote places on earth, Brabant Island has mountain ranges covered with ice and snow. Winds there often exceed hurricane force 12

is known about it. The island remains one of the last unexplored places on the globe, and this is its great – some would say its only – attraction.

"There doesn't really have to be another reason for going there", said 32-year-old Captain Nick Evans of the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment, one of four soldiers on the team. "The urge to explore has always been one of the fundamental driving forces in the history of mankind, and so far as I am concerned what attracts me is the chance to stand where no one else has stood".

In one way or another this view is shared by most members of the expedition. It is, for instance, the prospect of unclimbed mountains which excites Sergeant John Kimbrey, an ebullient, red-haired Marine who, at 28, is the team's most experienced climber. "To actually see a gully 500ft high, all ice, and no one's set foot on it... I'll be bloody itching to get up it".

But for Chris Furse, the reasons go rather deeper. "I love the Antarctic – it's as simple as that", he says. "There's total isolation, just mountains, birds and ice, everything I love most".

A naval engineer officer based at Chatham, Furse is married with two children, but at the age of 47 he is about to undertake a project which would daunt a man half his age. The nine-man team which yesterday started out from Heathrow Airport on its journey south will stay on Brabant Island until April 1984, when it will be replaced by another

team of ten men for the Antarctic winter and, finally, if funds can be found – and the expedition is still looking for £20,000 for this phase – a third team will start work in November 1984. Only then will Furse himself return to England. Thus, unlike his two previous visits both to Elephant Island for the four summer months, he will spend almost a year in perpetual snow with only a tent for shelter.

"In Norway the Marines are able to operate from tents in similar conditions", he said laconically. "I'll just be doing it a little longer".

Tall, powerfully built, with a boxer's broken nose, Furse belongs to that family of ruthless romantics who make their dreams come true.

It was in August 1980 that Furse initially approached the British Antarctic Survey (BAS), the government body responsible for administering British interests in the area, with the idea of setting up an expedition.

Brabant Island was the suggestion of Dr Richard Laws, Director of the BAS. "It hadn't been studied because of the difficulty of access", he explained. "There are high cliffs and glaciers coming down to sea level. In geological terms it would be useful to have information about the island, and a British expedition would be particularly appropriate since 95 per cent. of our knowledge about the geology of the Antarctic peninsula has been contributed by the British".

With the cautious blessing of the BAS, Furse could then turn to the

next hurdle, the Joint Services Expedition Trust, which would decide whether he could use Services equipment.

"We've heard about you, Furse", an admiral remarked when he arrived. "I suppose this means more bloody rucksacks".

As the Services officially encourage exploration, both as adventure training and to encourage recruiting, the Trust gave him the go-ahead, but only for a brief, summer expedition. Furse was not deterred.

"Sir Vivian Fuchs gave me a piece of invaluable advice", he observed. "Always keep all your options open", he said, "and if you meet resistance, advance on all fronts and envelope them – eventually they'll give in".

Accordingly he set about picking a team and assembling supplies for a year-long expedition. It was fortunate that he did so. In February 1982 he arranged for HMS *Endurance* to put 15 tons of provisions ashore at Port Palmer on Anvers Island, the nearest base to Brabant. Four weeks later the Argentine invasion of the Falklands would have made it impossible for a supply dump to be established later.

Almost 100 people applied to join the expedition, and in selecting his team Furse looked for two contradictory qualities. "Obviously these people are going to have a more individualistic streak than usual", he said. "But they have to be able to fit into the community. In any group there is a core of three or four who set the pace, but they have to be ready to drop back if necessary and the others have to be able to rise above themselves".

Although a civilian geologist was picked, character counted for more than scientific expertise, and this entailed some hasty training in the gathering and preservation of specimens. One person who selected himself was a 22-year-old Belgian soldier, François Gerlache, grandson of the discoverer of Brabant Island.

Having chosen his team, Furse's advance continued, aided by the patronage of the Prince of Wales and the approval of the Royal Geographical Society, and in July 1982 the Fuchsian strategy paid off when permission was finally given for the expedition to continue

through the winter. The Trust had every reason 'to be' dubious, for no one has ever attempted to survive the rigours of an Antarctic winter with only tents for protection. Winds which can tear canvas to shreds, and temperatures low enough to cause death from hypothermia within minutes will be constant threats, but there will also be less predictable hazards such as avalanches and ice-falls.

Some of the team's tent sites will be on the rocky shore, the only place where there is no snow – but where they may be crushed by elephant seals weighing up to four tons, or inundated by tidal surges caused by glaciers breaking off into the sea. These dangers, threatening enough in daylight, must also be expected during the weeks of endless mid-winter night.

The summer team will obviously experience easier conditions, but it faces what may be the most demanding test of all: if the weather is clear during the first ten days of January, the 15 tons of stores at Port Palmer can be taken to Brabant by helicopter; if not, they must be transported by Skiddoo and sledge across 65 miles of glacier and mountain on Anvers Island, then in open inflatables across 22 miles of open seas subject to ice-floes and sudden storms.

In these circumstances one mistake could be disastrous and, as Dr Haydn Ellis of the Psychology Department at Aberdeen University explains, the likelihood of such errors is greatly increased in extreme temperatures.

"The cold produces two reactions", he pointed out. "Physically the discomfort and shivering distract your attention, but there is also an alteration in the brain state, which is a biological adaptation directed towards escaping from the predicament you are in. It makes it difficult to concentrate properly on the task in front of you". He paused then added feelingly, "From what I hear they are going to be very cold indeed – my God, I wouldn't do it".

Nor would most people, and at first it was difficult to see what made the members of the expedition any different. When they gathered together for the first time last August to meet each other and train among the mountains and islands of Wester Ross in Scotland, there appeared to be no obvious distinguishing characteristic about the group which ranged in age from early twenties to late forties; in size from towering to diminutive; and in temperament from restrained to theatrical.

Some, like Flight-Lieutenant Bill Hankinson, the 31-year-old Deputy

THOUGHT FOR FOOD



CHRISTMAS FAVOURITES Three days before Christmas we all trooped to the butchers. Uncle Edmund's face lit up at the sight of the goose ordered for him especially. It would sit proudly alongside the turkey on Christmas Day. The pheasants and wild ducks were parcelled up along with strings of sausages, a side of sweet-cured bacon and ham for boiling. "Now", said Grandmama, "we need only collect the lobsters and oysters tomorrow and, then, the vegetables; then we are right for Christmas". The kitchen vibrated with the baking of breads, shortbreads and mince pies. The mince pies were made with a short-crust base and a puff pastry top. ("Gives you the best of both worlds that way", said Grandmama as she added yet another slug of brandy to the freshly-opened pot of mince). Chocolate fudge, peppermint creams and coconut-ice sweets were made for the carol-singing children and for the adults. On Christmas Eve the carollers arrived just as the smoke from the apple logs spiralled heavenwards. We performed our nativity play. The wassail cup was drunk and they went away singing.

I hope you all have a happy Christmas – and here are a few of my favourite recipes which I should like to share with you:

Wassail cup for Christmas Eve Heat one quart of old ale in a preserving pan. Stir in 1lb soft brown sugar and add a cinnamon stick. When the sugar is completely dissolved add a good scraping of nutmeg and a tspn of powdered ginger and 2 thinly-sliced lemons. Pour in a bottle of medium dry sherry and a further 2 quarts of beer. Heat to warm. As you drink, wassail – sing Christmas greetings.

Extra special soup for Christmas Melt 2oz butter in a saucepan and in it sweat a chopped Spanish onion until translucent. Stir in 8oz smoked salmon pieces. Sauté until the salmon turns colour. Now stir in the corn from 2 cobs which have been boiled in salted water until tender. Add 1½ pints chicken stock and 10fl.oz milk. Bring all to simmering point. Liquidise. Return to the heat and stir in 10fl.oz double cream. Season generously with freshly-ground white pepper and taste for salt. Serves 6.

Stuffing the turkey Here are some ideas for different stuffings. **Mushroom:** Finely chop 1lb mushrooms and turn in 6oz butter. Season with a copious grinding of freshly-ground pepper and a little sea salt. With your hand loosen the skin over the crop end of the bird and spread the mushroom stuffing between the skin and the breast. **Old English:** Mince (or food process) 8oz each of veal, lean pork and mix with 8oz sausage meat. Melt 2oz butter in a pan and in this sweat 1 Spanish onion until translucent. Now stir in the minced meat and 2 slices of bread (first soaked in milk, then squeezed dry) plus a good handful of finely chopped parsley, 2 crumbled leaves of sage and the leaves picked from a sprig of thyme. Chop the turkey liver and stir this in too with 3fl.oz burgundy. Season. Let cool and finally bind with a beaten egg. Stuff the crop end with this mixture. **Middle Eastern:** This Lebanese salad makes a sensationally different stuffing for Christmas turkey. Drain 7oz burghul (cracked wheat) which has been soaked in cold water for 30mins. Squeeze out the moisture by wringing it in a cloth. Place in a bowl and mix with it 3oz finely-chopped Spanish onion, 3oz finely-chopped parsley and 1 tblspn finely-chopped-mint. Add 2 heaped tblspns each of finely-chopped tomato flesh, cucumber and green pepper. Mix in 4tblspns lemon juice, 2oz melted butter, a good grinding of pepper and a little salt. Bind together, adding more butter if necessary. Stuff the vent end with this mixture (sweetcorn addicts can add a small drained can).

Turkey delight for Boxing Day Soak 6oz raisins overnight in 10fl.oz cider together with the pithless peel of a lemon. Slice 2lb turkey meat from the carcass and crush the carcass with cleaver. Place this in a large saucepan with a sliced onion, a heart of celery, 2 bay leaves, a handful of parsley and cover with chicken stock. Boil for 1 hour then drain the liquid through muslin into a clean bowl. Reduce the stock further to 8oz. Blanch 5oz whole almonds, peel and split. Melt 2oz butter in a sauté pan and in this fry the almonds with one sliced onion until golden. Add 3 Russet apples, cored but not peeled, each cut in half then each half in eight slices. Turn altogether for 5 min. but make sure the onion does not burn. Pour in a miniature of warmed Calvados. Flambé. Now add the liquid in which the raisins were soaked, the 8oz stock and about 10oz double cream. Simmer together gently. It should just begin to thicken. Colour softly with a little turmeric. Now stir in the raisins and the turkey slices to heat through. Adjust seasoning and serve on a bed of Basmati rice, turned in butter and into which 4oz nibbled almonds, fried in butter, have been stirred. Scatter over a handful of deep-fried parsley. Serves 6. **Denis Curtis**

Leader of the expedition, had been on expeditions to Greenland; others like Surgeon-Lieutenant Howard Oakley, 29, a specialist in survival medicine, had the relevant expertise; and almost half of them had some climbing experience. Otherwise they might have been 16 ordinary servicemen and two normal civilians – except, that is, for their attitude to the ordeal ahead.

"You're going to be under stress", said Corporal Jon Beattie, aged 24, a quietly spoken, rather reflective member of the RAF Mountain Rescue Team at Lossiemouth. "You're going to have to push yourself and make good decisions when you're tired and cold. It's a chance to find out about yourself".

Despite the experience of similar conditions in Norway, 25-year-old Dr Jonathan Morris, one of the two civilians (the other, Michael Ringe, is a geologist), expressed a mood eager to anticipate rather than apprehension. "Now is the time to do it", he exclaimed. "I can spend my next 50 years in the UK, but there might never be another chance to go to the Antarctic". On the whole it is a more daunting prospect for the wives. About half the team are married and Faye Furse's reaction was typical when she said, "I am happy about it for his sake, but I still think 12 months

is too long for him to be away. On the other hand I couldn't stop him, even if I wanted to".

Once on the island, the team will split into two parties, one in the south, the other at the base camp half-way up the east coast. Their activities will involve a mixture of science and mountaineering, in the course of which they hope to make the first ascent of Mount Parry.

"I don't want half the team climbing mountains while the others are 'ologising down below", Furse insisted. "Each of us is responsible for some aspect of the scientific work".

A small hut will be available for laboratory work and as a communal centre, but otherwise the two-man tents are where they will live, cooking their compo ration – 5,000 calories a day – on spirit stoves, reading and playing games. It leaves little room for luxury: wet clothes, for example, must be dried by being worn inside a sleeping bag and

washing is discouraged because dirty faces and hands are less vulnerable to cold.

Except on days when the weather is so bad that they have to stay in their tents – "festering" as it is delicately put – the pattern of activities will include mapping, gathering lichen and rock samples, taking counts of birds and eggs, measuring tides, and identifying the food sources of seals and penguins. In addition there will be psychological experiments for Dr Ellis, and Howard Oakley will conduct research on the relationship between skin temperature and calorie intake.

"I hope that during the winter we shall be very cold", he said, his eyes gleaming with enthusiasm above his black beard. "Then I shall be able to get some most interesting data".

The scientific equipment has had to be added to the huge list of essentials, from Skiddoos to soup, which an Antarctic expedition requires. The cost so far has been

about £50,000, raised by sponsorship and donations, including those of the expedition's members, each of whom puts 25 per cent. of his pay into the kitty.

Although the training in Wester Ross was not physically arduous, the fortnight together was vitally important if a sufficiently strong sense of community was to be established. From the start the signs were encouraging. Like members of an exclusive club, there was an immediate ease about their attitude to one another. Out on the hill and in the pub inter-service rivalry bred jokes rather than divisions – "Be careful", a Marine gasped to the airman loading him up with climbing gear, "an ounce of Marine sweat is worth more than an ounce of Chanel Number Five".

Considering what lay ahead it boded well. Piloting the inflatable which will soon be carrying them through the icy waves, Jon Beattie looked up at the shimmering green and blue hills of Wester Ross. "I keep trying to imagine them all white", he said. Soon the snow and the storms, as well as the beauty and the solitude, will be utterly real. Perhaps that is what impels adventurers to look over the next horizon – whatever is happening there will always be beyond the scope of their dreams. **①**

TRAVELLERS' TALES

Dream holidays in faraway places are featured in an exotic series starting in our next issue on January 8 1984. Laurie Lee goes to Penang, P. J. Kavanagh cruises the Nile and Frederick Raphael discovers Turkey. First

to report is Lee Langley, who went on a guided tour of Peru. In common with other national Sunday newspapers, the *Telegraph Sunday Magazine* will not be published on Christmas Day or New Years Day.

Look at **Guernsey** for a change

particularly when it comes to shore and marine life as artist Phillip Emms discovered.

Contrasts and species abound from the rare and almost secret ormer to the bustling crabs, beautiful sea anemone and myriads of sea shells. You don't have to paint to enjoy all that's best in Guernsey, but if you do it's even better.

Guernsey, inspiration to us all.

Guernsey Tourist Board

Parfums Caron. Paris.



Perfume – Toilet water – Bath line.

THE OBSERVER

18.12.83

THE TROOPS,, facing a rather bleak and lonely Christmas in the Falkland Isles, have just coined another nickname for the islanders they are reluctantly protecting. And I'm afraid it's no more flattering than the earlier ones.

The first nickname, after the war, was 'Bennies' because of the inhabitants' supposed resemblance to the ignorant Benny of 'Crossroads.' A notice went up in the barracks ordering this name to be dropped, so it was changed to 'Stills' (Well, sir they're still Bennies).

But as the months drag on, the mocking endearments have changed to openly hostile ones. The new name is now 'Bubs'—this is an acronym for 'bloody ungrateful bastards.'

SUNDAY TIMES

18.12.83

LETTERS

200 GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON WC1X 8EZ

How the Falklands helped Britain

TO SAY THAT I was somewhat stung by your Editorial on the Falklands (last week) would be stating the obvious, but I think you owe readers an explanation.

You wrote "the first (pitfall) is the belief that the south-west Atlantic may, after all, be vital to the Western alliance. This contention was never made before the war; even later it

took a long time to surface. Now, armchair strategists are deploying arguments resting on the premise that the defence of Land's End begins at Tristan da Cunha. Some of them spoke in the Lords debate last week."

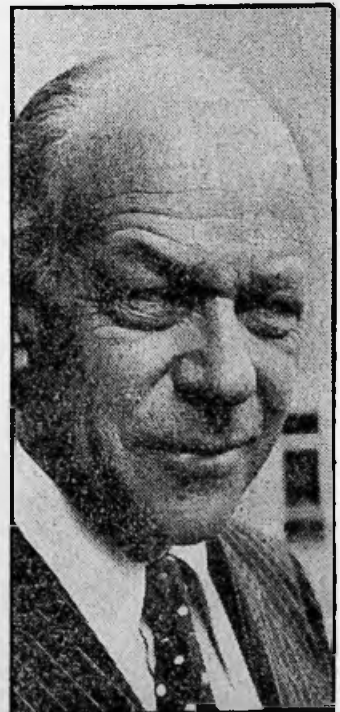
First, apparently you do not know that our vital sea lanes across the Atlantic were probably saved by our possession of the Falkland Islands in two

world wars. That is unarguable.

Second, the passage quoted above could only refer to me, because in opening the Lords debate on the South Atlantic I dealt specifically with our maritime security and mentioned all British islands, including Tristan da Cunha. The question I put was, what would be the position of the West and the free world, in the event of conventional warfare, if Suez and Panama were closed, and there were Marxist regimes at the Cape and at the Horn?

I do not claim to be a strategist, but my "armchair" consists of four lengthy visits to the Falkland Islands, two stays on Ascension Island, a long voyage to the Antarctic, including visits to British, Chilean, Argentine and Russian Antarctic bases, and having film crews in St. Helena and Tristan da Cunha. I have also been to the Cape and the Horn.

Buxton
House of Lords
London SW1



Buxton: well-travelled

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone 01-930 6935

SOLDIERS HELP SHEAR SHEEP

By ALAN COPPS
at Goose Green, Falklands

IT is sheep shearing season in the Falklands and there is no shortage of willing hands to help the farmers among the troops who patrol the remote settlement.

Lt-Col Mike Hayley, commander of the Second Battalion Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, cites this new-found skill of his men as an example of the way in which good relations are encouraged between soldiers and civilians.

"Last year in the aftermath of war the shearing season was chaotic. Now the islanders are in the phase of getting back on to their land for the first time and we intend to do all we can to help them," he said.

The colonel said they had moved their camp away from the Goose Green settlement because "if we become too enmeshed neither of us can fulfil our tasks. But that doesn't alter the fact that we need each other."

He pointed out that the civilians used the Army's base doctor while a local man was so expert at repairing Land-Rovers "we often call upon him."

Rare complaints

At the same time a farmer might complain about low-flying aircraft or other disturbance to his animals but such instances were rare.

Col Hayley's battalion is responsible for protecting the entire area of the island outside the capital of Port Stanley. His headquarters is in a "village" of prefabricated cabins a few hundred yards from the settlement of Goose Green.

With its own power station and water plant it is a comfortable contrast to the traditional tented Army camp.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

17.12.83

THE TIMES

17.12.83

UN move threatens Antarctic Treaty

From Zoriana Pysariwsky, New York

A United Nations study on the status of Antarctica and the exploitation of its resources has been requested by the General Assembly in a move that could jeopardize the meticulously constructed Antarctic Treaty and pave the way for universal decision-making in the region.

Señor Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General, has been given a year in which to prepare the report. He will have to thread a fine line between the signatories of the treaty and the rest of the world's nations which would like to see Antarctica declared the common heritage of mankind, and make its largely untapped resources available to all.

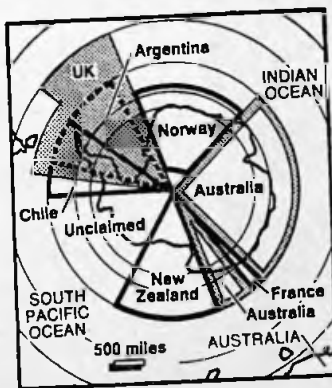
The report provides a period of grace for the treaty's 16 consultative parties who joined in the consensus resolution calling for the report rather reluctantly. Faced with an immediate confrontation, they chose the lesser of two evils, but the issue will undoubtedly become an emotive one in a year's time. Delegates recalled that the genesis of the now concluded Law of the Sea treaty was a seemingly innocuous statement by Malta calling for the sharing of the sea's wealth.

This time Malaysia, which explored ways to make its international mark, came up

with the idea of launching as international debate on Antarctica, a clarion call which was quickly echoed by a majority of the UN's membership who do not like the treaty's "gentlemen's club".

Any attempts to unravel or tamper with the treaty which sets aside conflicting claims to sovereignty over the continent and contains vital disarmament provisions, are expected to encounter stiff resistance from the United States and the Soviet Union. The treaty is one of those rare instances in which the two super powers find themselves in agreement.

The treaty has been in existence for 24 years without attracting much notice, comprising an alliance of 14 initial consultative parties.



Argentina to find out why 7,000 disappeared

From Douglas Tweedale
Buenos Aires

President Raul Alfonsín has appointed a commission to investigate the disappearance of more than 7,000 people who vanished during the Argentine military campaign against urban terrorism in the 1970s.

The 16-member commission, which includes journalists, authors, churchmen and scientists known for their concern about human right violations will have access to military and Government records in order to determine what happened to the missing persons.

The commission will have no power to try those responsible for the murders, but has been instructed to submit all evidence of possible crimes to the courts. It is to produce a report on its findings in six months' time.

Argentine human rights groups have documented the disappearance of more than 7,000 people who are believed, to have been kidnapped and killed by Government security forces during what the military has called its "dirty war" against left-wing subversion from 1976 to 1981.

But relatives of disappeared people and human rights activists believe the figure of missing people is closer to 30,000, due to the many incompletely documented cases and instances of disappeared persons whose families did not report them as missing out of fear.

Meanwhile, former President Isabel Perón, who was overthrown by the 1976 military coup, prepared to leave Argentina after a one-week visit during which she met President Alfonsín and began what is expected to be a thorough purge of the Peronist party which she formally heads.

Senora Perón was flying back to Madrid for what she promised would be a brief stay before returning to take full charge of the movement she inherited from President Juan Perón.

Sailing ships rot in Falklands grave

By Tony Samstag

At least 500 wrecked British and American 19th century ocean-going sailing ships are rotting off the Falkland Islands because there is no preservation programme, the Falkland Islands Foundation says.

Its newsletter published this week described the ships as "the finest natural museum of nautical antiquity in the world", which "in the turmoil of post-war Falklands are every bit as threatened as the wildlife".

Sir Peter Scott, who established the foundation in 1979, praised military efforts to

minimise disturbance of the square riggers.

Mr Michael Mensun Bound, a maritime archaeologist and an islander, says that the ships "are mostly survivors of the great trades which flourished during the last century with the west coast of South America and "required the best ships in order to survive the heavy loads and the constant slamming westerlies around Cape Horn".

But many could not take such punishment and limped into the Falklands harbours, turning them into the world's largest

nautical graveyard. The wrecks have survived because of the islands' isolation and climate.

Mr Bound says that the American vessels *Charles Cooper* and *Snow Squall* the most important. The *Cooper*, a packet ship built in 1856, "dominates Stanley's waterfront" but is in a critical condition.

The *Snow Squall* is "the only true survivor of a clipper ship", of which only about 40 foot is above water.

Some ships have been bought by American museums

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FALKLANDS TROOPS MUST PAY MORE FOR NAAFI GOODS

By Maj-Gen EDWARD FURSDON
Defence Correspondent

SERVICEMEN in the Falklands will have to pay 20 per cent. more for cigarettes, drinks and other goods from next April because Naafi Headquarters confirmed yesterday that it will have to pay freight charges to the Defence Ministry for moving its goods to the South Atlantic from Jan. 1.

Then Servicemen will be buying goods at British duty free prices to which a freight element has been added.

The Defence Ministry said yesterday that a Local Overseas Allowance Review Team will visit the Falklands in early January.

It will now assess not only the validity of the current LOA rate of £1 per head per day for all ranks, but also the effects of this new ruling being imposed on the Naafi, and come up with new recommendations.

The Naafi has always enjoyed a freight-free status with the Defence Ministry when dealing with an active service environment. It has to pay freight to peacetime stations, and hitherto has continued to enjoy the concession in the Falklands which has been the legacy of Operation Corporate.

This is being terminated in what the Defence Ministry term as being part of a return to normality.

'Not so rosy'

Sir James Spooner, Naafi chairman, said in his annual report published today that the £19 million trading profit by the Naafi during 1982-83 may seem a very good result, but in reality the picture appears less rosy.

The profit is up £4 million on last year, but £5 million of it came from profits on sterling/deutschmark exchange. Much

came from non-traditional business such as car hire-purchase.

Without this the traditional activities would not have covered the £10 million distributed to Naafi customers.

Sir James says: "We need to earn more from the mainstream of our business next year, and so ensure Naafi remains viable."

In the same report Mr Brian Whitaker, Naafi managing director, says that the Falklands "is a drain on our overall sales."

He adds: "While the head of a family is away, a Service wife's spending drops by as much as two-thirds. Many families 'go home to mother' for the duration, and we lose their business altogether."

"While in the Falklands, our customer's needs are comparatively few and simple: they do not spend money on goods which they would either have to abandon within four months—the tour length—or transport home and pay customs duty."

Why new Antarctic regime is sought

FINANCIAL TIMES
16.12.83

claims to the UN that all claims to the area should be eliminated; that exploration and exploitation be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole; that the Antarctic be demilitarised; and that a new legal framework—in other words a new Antarctic Treaty—be drawn up to create a more genuinely international regime for the area than exists at present.

Few, apart from the treaty powers themselves, are able to see why a self-appointed group, whose rights of control date from the last century or because they were invited by the U.S. to take part in the 1959 conference, or because they have been admitted to the closed circle in the past 25 years, should continue to govern this important region.

Evan Luard was a Foreign Office Minister concerned with UN matters between 1976-79 and is a writer on international affairs.

Farmers Weekly, December 16, 1983 33

NEWS

MONEY FOR SCILLIES

THE European Commission is to contribute £75,000 towards a special study of how agriculture and other industries on the Isles of Scilly can be improved.

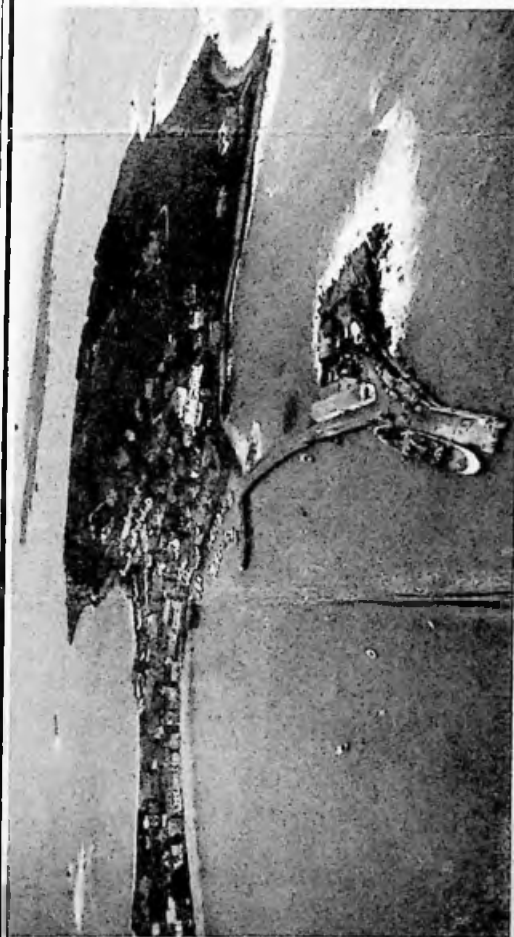
The grant is to the Isles' council for a feasibility study into setting up a comprehensive programme of investment.

The study will look at public utilities, basic infrastructure, coastal defences, transport facilities, rural development, industrial development, the fishing industry, tourism and conservation of the environment.

The Isles are 28 miles south-west of Land's End and cover 1600ha (3970 acres). There are five inhabited islands with a population of 1850 people.

The islands are recognised by the UK Government as an area of outstanding natural beauty but have also recently been designated a less-favoured area by the EEC.

The study will be undertaken by Graham Moss Associates, a London-based consultancy which was commissioned last year to undertake a preliminary examination of the Isles' problems.



16.12.83

Alfonsin retires 44 armed forces chiefs

By MARY SPECK in Buenos Aires

PRESIDENT ALFONSIN of Argentina has announced military promotions that will force into retirement at least 26 of the army's 49 generals and 16 of the navy's 25 admirals.

Brig.-Gen. Julio Fernandez Torres, 54, who ranks 24th in the army hierarchy, will assume control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Brig.-Gen. Jorge Arguindeguy, 53, will head the Army Staff although he ranks below 26 other generals. The new Navy Chief of Staff will be Rear-Adm Ramon Arosa, 52, who ranks 17th among the admirals in active service.

Only the air force escaped a major shake-up. Maj.-Gen. Teodoro Waldner, the new Air Force Chief of Staff, ranks third on the seniority list. His appointment forces into retirement the two top brigadier-generals.

The appointments came the day after President Alfonsin announced that the new government would bring charges against members of the three military juntas that governed Argentina from the 1976 military coup to the Falklands war.

Tougher sentences

He had promised he would move quickly to consolidate his constitutional role and that of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The appointments are the first steps towards purging the military of those considered most responsible for the brutal anti-terrorist campaigns of the 1970s.

The two houses of the Congress are to meet today in emergency session to consider legislation that will increase sentences for officials convicted of torture or plotting to over-

throw the constitutional government.

A Defence Department communique announcing the military changes said the armed forces' role had been "perverted" for many years by those who "lost sight of the purpose for which the military was created, namely the defence of the fatherland from foreign aggression."

"Coups d'etat and usurping of (civilian) constitutional power are now part of a past that will never again be repeated," it said.

Study defines role of censor in wartime

By David Fairhall,
Defence Correspondent

Some form of military censorship is desirable even in a limited conflict like the Falklands, an independent study group has recommended.

Censorship should be voluntary, the group recommends, but made effective in such a limited war by an "accreditation bargain" between the military authorities and the news media. In other words, information, access and communications would be provided in return for discretion in not revealing sensitive military information.

In a serious European war, the group suggests, censorship should also be established in the UK, but it sees no purpose in trying to control the press during "low intensity operations," of which Northern Ireland is the most important example.

The study group, which was appointed by the Defence Minister to advise on policy was chaired by General Sir Hugh Beach and drew its members from journalism as well as government and the armed forces. It was set up in the wake of the Falklands operation because of widespread criticism of the way public information was handled.

The report was welcomed by the Ministry of Defence yesterday and is likely to lead to a number of specific measures, including the training of a small number of professional censors and the redrafting of military press regulations which have remained substantially unchanged since the Suez invasion.

The study group's report endorses several practical lessons of the Falklands "propaganda war" that others have already drawn, including the desirability of inviting foreign war correspondents to accompany the British forces, the need to have information coordinated by a senior military man in the field, and the trouble caused by vetting news reports in London as well as at the point of origin.

Although the report supports the need for censorship it wants to see that function strictly limited and clearly separated from the Defence Ministry's other function of helping to inform the public. Deliberate disinformation (of which there were a few authenticated examples during the Falklands war) also has a part to play in warfare, the report concedes.

The report's main conclusions say:

- Although most journalists would exercise self-censorship when lives and the interests of their own country were at stake, they cannot always identify precisely the information which would be of use to an enemy; some form of official censorship in time of conflict is therefore desirable; provided that this were enlightened, fair and efficient, most journalists would accept it.

- Censorship should be limited to preventing the untimely disclosure of information which would prejudice our own or allied operations and assist the enemy.

- It is important for public morale that as much news as possible reaches the people; there may be good reasons for a government to seek to delay the news of a defeat, but information should always be released as soon as it is safe to do so.

- deliberate dissemination of false information through the media is to be eschewed and deception should play no part in any censorship system; but sophisticated measures to deceive the enemy have a proper role to play in wartime.

- Well-informed speculation in the media may occasionally give the enemy useful leads; retired officers and others in receipt of official information should therefore be required to check with the Ministry of Defence before accepting invitations from the media in times of conflict.

The Protection of Military Information — Report of the Study Group on Censorship Command 9112, Stationery Office, £6.40.

Boredom and cramp on the 12-hour airbridge to Port Stanley

By ALAN COPPS
in Port Stanley

IT was a classic illustration of the sheer difficulty of maintaining the airbridge—the 3,300-mile freight flights from Ascension Island which, 18 months after the war, are still the key supply route to the Falkland Islands.

Just 40 minutes after taking off for the 12-hour run the pilot of the RAF Hercules told his 52 passengers: "We are turning back."

The meticulous in-flight checks had discovered a rare fault in the navigation equipment and on this mission that could not be tolerated.

Even a small error could mean the plane missing its pinpoint rendezvous for the delicate in-flight refuelling operation in the vast empty spaces of the South Atlantic.

More fuel

The decision had to be taken quickly. The Hercules tanker which would carry out that operation was already in the air about five minutes ahead of the freighter. The Victor tanker which would catch up both aircraft and refuel the Hercules tanker before it in turn refuelled the freighter was due to take off within minutes.

The freighter turned back, the

Hercules tanker circled in wait and the Victor on the ground took on more fuel to cover the Hercules tankers' extra time in flight.

Another 40 minutes and the freighter is back at Wideawake airfield in Ascension. The passengers wait in the humid heat while engineers replace the defective component. Then, two hours behind schedule, we are airborne, again.

The airbridge runs five days a week and is estimated to cost up to £250,000 for a one-way journey. It is the only way a passenger can get to Port Stanley without a two-week sea passage from Ascension, and the only way urgently-needed equipment can be delivered in time.

The passengers are a mixed bunch: men of all ranks from the three Services, merchant seamen, civilian ship repairers, two Swedish scientists going to inspect the site for a floating harbour and a handful of journalists.

Most spent nine hours of the previous day in an RAF VC-10 flying the 5,000 miles from Brize Norton to Ascension.

The Hercules is first packed with baggage and cargo shackled to the floor under heavy nylon nets. Some of the piles reach almost to the roof of the fuselage. Diplomatic bags are prominent on one heap.

The passengers squeeze into whatever space they can find around the miscellaneous piles. We fasten our safety belts on the canvas webbing seats and

scrabble for legroom in the confined space.

Boredom is the major problem. Most try to sleep but few succeed for any length of time. One officer has brought a hammock and sways gently, suspended across the cargo ramp.

Another man clings like a monkey to the cargo netting to keep his boots clear of the lolling heads below. There are plenty of rations and fruit juice. But all the time men stretch and stir and shift, seeking elusive comfort.

At about the halfway stage the pilot orders: "fasten seat-belts." Refuelling is imminent. Our speed and the noise level increase, the tanker trails its 85ft hose.

Familiar map

The pilot tries to line up the freighter's intake nozzle with the basket on the end of the tanker's fuel line. Third time lucky, and for 15 minutes the aircraft fly locked together 20ft apart while the fuel is transferred.

The tanker turns away to chase the Victor back to Ascension. The freighter lingers on for the second half of its journey.

Six hours later the radar screens reveal that familiar map of the two islands and after a smooth landing, the paperbacks are stowed, ears unplugged, cramped legs are stretched and 52 dazed men step into the damp South Atlantic summer.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

16.12.83

FALKLAND LETTER

By Our Correspondent at the
United Nations in New York

The United Nations Secretary-General, Sr. Javier Perez De Cuellar, yesterday summoned the British and Argentine Ambassadors and handed them a letter aimed at breaking the diplomatic stalemate between the two countries since last year's Falklands War. Details of the letter were not disclosed.

44 sacked—P5

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

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Partnership in Antarctica

From Mr Julian Amery, MP for Brighton Pavilion (Conservative)

Sir, Your leading article "South Atlantic Partners" (December 10) makes the constructive suggestion that the Falklands and their dependencies could, without any change of sovereignty, be turned into an Anglo-Argentine base for Antarctic exploration and development. But should you not take the proposal further?

Chile, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand also have claims on the Antarctic continent and obvious interests due to geographical proximity.

Could we not develop your concept to include these other interested parties, perhaps at the joint invitation of Britain and Argentina? Other signatories of the Antarctic Treaty might also like to take part.

Once the new airfield on the Falklands is fully developed and the harbour facilities improved, the islands might well prove to be the most convenient base available for Antarctic exploration as well as the meeting ground on which cooperation might resolve existing differences between Britain and the Argentine and the Argentine and Chile.

The Antarctic continent is generally thought to be a prolongation of the Andes and the Southern African plateau. There is, therefore, a distinct possibility that the mineral wealth of both may exist under the permafrost. Discovering it and then extracting it would be a challenging task but no more than landing a man on the Moon.

Yours sincerely,
JULIAN AMERY,
112 Eaton Square, SW1,
December 13.

Alfonsín begins military purge by naming four new chiefs of staff

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

President Raul Alfonsín has named four new chiefs of staff of the armed forces, in the first step towards what he promised would be a "substantial and profound" reform of Argentina's military structure.

The Defence Minister Seor Borras, announced the appointments on Wednesday night, just 24 hours after President Alfonsín ordered the trial of nine former military junta members on charges of murder, torture, and illegal deprivation of liberty, in connection with human rights abuses.

General Julio Fernández Torres a career infantry officer who once disobeyed orders from former President Galtieri during the Falklands war, is to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This is Argentina's top-ranking military post, president Alfonsín eliminated the rank of commander-in-chief in all three services on the ground that the constitution empowers the

President to be commander-in-chief of all military forces.

General Jorge Arguindeguay, an officer with a reputation of being non-political, was named Chief of Staff of the Army Rear-Admiral Ramón Arosa was designated Chief of Staff of the Navy, and Brigadier Teodoro Waldner will occupy the same post in the Air Force.

President Alfonsín's choices imply a virtual purge of the existing military leadership, as the promotion of younger officers will automatically force 29 generals into retirement from the Army 17 admirals from the Navy and two brigadiers from the Air Force.

The new Government has pledged to rid the armed forces of officers with political ambitions and to place the military under firm civilian control which may turn out to be the most difficult task facing Seor Alfonsín.

Besides their long history of invention in Government,

Argentina's armed forces greatly increased their economic and political power during the last seven years of military rule. The armed forces are also widely believed to have become corrupt and to be responsible for numerous atrocities during their campaign against left-wing terrorism in the mid-1970's.

President Alfonsín has promised that those officers responsible for human rights violations will be brought to justice, and that he will transform the services into "strong, effective armed forces that will play their proper role within the constitution."

General Fernández Torres, the centerpiece of the Government's military reforms, reportedly refused to obey an order from General Galtieri to launch a parachute attack on Goose Green during last year's war on the ground that it would inflict unacceptably high casualties on the Argentine troops.

Finance and industry, page 17

Argentine debt deal confusion

By Our Financial Staff

Argentina's new government has asked its commercial bank creditors for a moratorium on debt payments, it was claimed yesterday. However, there was confusion in banking circles over the exact nature of the request.

Reports from Buenos Aires said that Argentina wanted a six-month delay on payments on its \$40 billion (£28 billion) external debt. But bankers in London suggested that a 90-day moratorium on principle payments was more likely.

Senor Bernardo Grinspun, the Argentine Economy Minister, denied that Argentina had requested a deferment of payments on foreign debt, but said he had asked foreign creditor banks to concede a six-month period in which to renegotiate debt payments due up to the end of next year.

Bankers interpreted the action of the civilian government, which formally assumed power on Saturday, as a prelude to a new round of debt-rescheduling negotiations on which the new ministers wanted to stamp their mark.

London banking sources said that Argentina would want to defer signing public-sector debt-rescheduling agreements negotiated by the previous government. It was likely to press for more favourable terms on the refinancing of \$4 billion to \$5 billion of public-sector debt maturities due in 1984 and 1985.

Although debt negotiation with the Argentinians have caused considerable problems for the banks over the past year, bankers are reasonably relaxed about reaching new agreements with the civilian government. Indeed, the return to civilian rule has been seen as a hopeful sign.

THE TIMES

16.12.83

Call for 30 skilled war censors to start training now

By Maj.-Gen. EDWARD FURSDON
Defence Correspondent

THIRTY censors of high calibre, and with a good knowledge of their subject and of the media, should be selected and trained for their duties now, as part of contingency planning for the next war.

A Chief Press Censor, who would have direct access to Ministers, would also be appointed.

All of these should be separate from the MoD's Chief of Public Relations Staff.

This is one of the more important recommendations made in the Report of the Study Group on Censorship which was published yesterday.

Retired officers and others in receipt of official information, who may be invited—as in the Falklands conflict—to appear as specialist pundits on radio and television should be required to check with the Defence Ministry first, before accepting invitations to do so.

Critical of Whitehall

Retired Gen Sir Hugh Beach, chairman of the group, said yesterday: "It's all about the protection of information in war."

He stressed that the Press and media had been as strongly represented in his 10-man team as "officialdom," and that the final report had been a unanimous one.

The report supports a form of censorship, but advocates its application somewhat differently in times of tension, major conventional war and limited conflicts. It is critical of Government information handling in Whitehall generally, and says now is the time to start improving the quality, status and training of information staff.

In the general area, the key is that some form of censorship in time of conflict is desirable. Provided this is enlightened, fair and efficient, most journalists would accept it, but it should be limited to preventing "the untimely disclosure of information which would prejudice our own or allied operations, and assist the enemy."

Pictures should not be shown

As one correspondent said after the recent BAOR exercise, "a soldier's right to live outweighs the public's right to know."

Disseminating false information through the media "is to be eschewed," the report says. "The damage it is liable to do in eroding Government credibility far outweighs the benefit it is likely to bring."

"Deception," it continues, "although acceptable in fighting the enemy, should form no part of any censorship system."

Although not strictly a censorship matter, but "one of common decency," the report recommends that the media and TV should refrain from showing close-up pictures of untreated recognisable casualties in distress, badly injured or near to death.

Dealing with Transition to War, the report says some restriction of military information

"might be necessary both to prevent war and, if war broke out, to ensure military effectiveness." At this time a voluntary arrangement with the media might suffice, but more might be needed. War correspondents should be accredited and service censorship begun.

For a major conventional war situation, the report made 18 recommendations. Among others, these highlighted the very relevant problem of what arrangements were being implemented on the Continent.

Censorship would be valuable in the United Kingdom, anyway, "irrespective of what was happening over there," and should be voluntary. The D Notice Committee should give guidance to editors

Sir Hugh reminded everyone that during the 1939-45 war some 400,000 media editions were published, and only four prosecutions were made in connection with sensitive information.

With the war correspondents, "an accreditation bargain" should be struck whereby in return for key facilities and information their copy would be submitted for scrutiny.

Lessons of the past

In limited conflicts, the report advocates no formal censorship system, but that the "accreditation bargain" with war correspondents should apply. Consideration should be given as to whether to accredit foreign journalists—a sore point in the Falklands campaign—and the system of "stop lists" on sensitive subjects be implemented.

Sir Hugh said of the report's criticism of Government information "that it reflects a sense around the place that the information arm of Government is not accredited the priority necessary—and that the calibre and quality, training, status and pay of the information staff is not generally as good as the importance of their function deserves."

His team had found that the whole censorship question was very much one of relearning the practical lessons of the past—"many of those of the Falklands were similar to those of Suez," he said, "and had been forgotten; the result was a system which had had to be cobbled together."

In addition to Sir Hugh, the inquiry comprised Mr John Grant, ex-deputy editor of the TIMES; Mr John Groves, ex-Chief of Public Relations at the MoD and ex-Director of the Central Office of Information; Mr David Holmes, chief assistant to the Director-General of the BBC; Mr Donald Horobin, deputy editor, Independent Television News; Mr Peter Hudson, ex-MoD senior official; Mr Chapman Pincher, DAILY EXPRESS; Mr Norman Reddaway, ex-FCO; Mr John Thompson, Director of Radio, Independent Broadcasting Authority; and Rear-Admiral Anthony Whetstone, of the Cable Television Association of Great Britain.

"The Protection of Military Information," Report on the Study Group on Censorship. Cmd 9112. HMSO £6.40.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

16.12.83

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

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THE ECONOMIST

10-16 December 1983

Falklands

SIR—Your suggestion that Britain use the opportunity provided by the election of a new government in Argentina to make some progress towards a solution for the Falklands is welcome (November 26th). However, the observation that "none of this will be easy for Mrs Thatcher" should be amended to read, "none of this will be easy, especially for Mrs Thatcher". The prime minister's most reliable political investment in recent years has been in a combination of national chauvinism and self-righteous belligerence, not only towards Argentina but also in relations with her EEC partners.

Argentina has done some growing up. Is it really to be expected that Mrs Thatcher will reciprocate, when teething intransigence has yielded such dividends at the polls? Methinks the "Nays" have it.

London CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Self-determination

SIR—A tale of some widely dispersed islands reveals British foreign policy for what it really is. Regarding the Malvinas, Britain said it was defending not Mrs Thatcher's then-waning political career but the principle of self-determination—against Argentina's appeal to the principle of territorial integrity. Then, regarding Cyprus, it put the principle of territorial integrity ahead of the Turkish Cypriots' appeal to self-determination—exactly the reverse.

And if Britain argues that the wishes of the Turkish Cypriots cannot be paramount because they form only a minority within the total population of their island, then Britain is arguing in favour of the exact reverse of its policy in Ireland.

Forest Hills,
New York

LIDIA CABRERA

Guardian
15th December 1983

ROYAL COURT
Nicholas de Jongh

Falkland Sound

AFTER a national tour and winning approval in seafaring cities Falkland Sound/Voces de Malvinas returns to its theatre of origin for a few performances. It is now promoted from the upstairs studio to the main auditorium, and the larger space and the notable lack of what we

still describe as theatrical "intimacy" does reduce the impact of what was originally one of the most disturbing dramatic occasions of the last 12 months. Created by Max Stafford-Clark from actual recollections, raw and racked at times, of the Falklands war, it remains an evening which chills, heats and provokes: no bad epitaph for either the campaign itself or this piece of special pleading.

The event consists of two sections, the first adapted from Lieutenant David Tinker's letters home during the battle, with interpolations from his professorial father; the second retails the experiences of a disparate quintet peripherally caught up in the war. But a single theme unites the two halves: it is the sense that in this campaign the feelings of the individual participants, and others indirectly involved, were "squeezed out" by the momentous clatter of the main event. National sentiment, voices braying in unison, had to prevail and Falkland Sound tries to redress the balance.

But we are never glutted with emotive sensations. Tinker's letters have been thoroughly filleted and some of the complexities ironed out, but the ironies which shaped his character remain: the conventional, romantic, sea-struck boy who did not want to kill but relished battle and who, in the devastating phases of battle reaches an apogee of anger as he feels himself liable to become cannon fodder for hypocrisy, and involved in a duel between two crazy animal absolute Simon Curtis who now directs does not quite encourage Bill Buffery's David into a sufficient climactic of anger.

But his touch is sharper in the quintet's description of how, at a tangent to the Falkland's axis, they were all changed or modified by war: the pacifist naval wife, the

Anglo-Argentinian businessmen and above all, the ruminate war journalist who speaks for the way we tamper and manipulate war news, leave you troubled and stirred.

Argentina to put three Presidents on trial

From Douglas Tweedale
Buenos Aires

President Raul Alfonsín has ordered the trial on murder and torture charges of nine leaders of the military regime which seized power in 1976. He also called on Congress to enact a sweeping package of human rights reforms.

Promising to restore the rule of law in Argentina, Señor Alfonsín announced an a broadcast speech on Tuesday night that he had ordered the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to try the first three military juntas which ruled Argentina after the 1976 coup. He said he was also seeking the prosecution of seven left-wing terrorist leaders active during the early 1970s.

"The abhorrent human rights violations committed by terrorists and by the repression of them cannot remain unpunished", he said.

The military leaders, who include former Presidents Jorge Videla, Robert Viola and Leopoldo Galtieri, will be tried by the highest military court for having ordered and planned the campaign of repression against left-wing terrorists from 1976 to 1981. Between 7,000 and 30,000 Argentines are believed to have disappeared after being kidnapped by security forces.

In addition, President Alfonsín summoned an extraordinary session of Congress to consider seven legal reforms which he said were necessary to guarantee the broadest respect for individual rights and the constitutional decision-making process.

At the top of the list of measures is the immediate repeal of an amnesty law passed last September by the outgoing military regime to protect itself from prosecution on charges of human rights violations.

There is also a proposal to establish the same punishment for torture as for murder, and to enact a law to protect democracy and the constitutional order, which sets to protect democracy and the constitutional order, which sets penalties for any attempt to overthrow an elected government.

By reforming the Code of Military Justice the Alfonsín Government hopes to prevent the trial of civilians by military courts, and to place military officers who commit common crimes under civilian rather than military jurisdiction.

● **Diplomatic hope:** Mrs Margaret Thatcher's note to President Alfonsín represents "a small light" towards the reestablishment of diplomatic relations, Señor Dante Caputo, the Argentine Foreign Minister, said yesterday.

THE TIMES

15.12.83

The Standard
15th December 1983

Generals forced out

BUENOS AIRES, Thursday. MORE than half the generals in Argentina's army and two-thirds of the admirals in the navy have been forced into retirement by the new President Raul Alfonsín.

The defence ministry said that Alfonsín had appointed new commanders for the armed forces. The 47 senior to them will have to quit the services.

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GUARDIAN

14.12.83

THE current issue of the Falkland Islands paper, Penguin News, carries an interview with Mrs Ann Green, the mother of a Welsh Guard killed in the Argentine air attack on the Sir Galahad. Mrs Green has signed a contract to work as a cook at the Upland Goose Hotel and plans to stay on the islands if all works out.

Her daily work is carried out just 25 miles from the memorial to her 21-year-old son Paul, a mortarman. "When we went to Southampton to see them off on the QE2 I had this strange feeling that I would not see Paul again. I couldn't take my eyes off him."

Mrs Green, from Rhyl, North Wales, and her 15-year-old twins first visited the island last April with the next of kin party. "The more we thought about it the better it sounded," she said. "We got as many books as we could about the islands and I started practising making my own bread. I think we're going to like it here."

Pride and principle still clash in the Falklands

MAKING sense of Mrs Thatcher's foreign policy is not easy. Instincts war within her bosom. Her strongly pro-American inclination vies with a prickly and legalistic insistence on national rights and interests; her nationalism competes with her beliefs in liberal free trade; sometimes she takes a Manichean view of the world, sometimes a Treasury view. When the Middle East is on the agenda her understanding of British interests in the area is subverted by the Finchley Zionist in her. She is impatient with diplomacy, especially with all international bureaucracies, yet she thrills to the rustle of a leaf in her hand. She is a town girl with yearnings for stardom on the international stage.

So it is that one day she holds steady with our troops behind the Americans in the Lebanon, and the next day lams into her soulmate's economic policies as if she were Helmut Schmidt. She has surprised both fan and foe recently, first by her repudiation of the American intervention in Grenada and now by her wave of an olive branch at Argentina. Was this the face that launched a Task Force, the woman sexily described by resident Reagan as "the best man they've got"?

There is no ordered pattern to this behaviour, or none as yet. There is no "Thatcherite" foreign policy; her policy is what she does and says. Nevertheless, several tendencies have become evident since her re-election last June. First, she has become more active and interested in foreign affairs. Second-term leaders usually do. Second, there is a new assertiveness which is common to the several, and sometimes conflicting, directions of her diplomacy. Perhaps she believes that it is time to project Britain's national regeneration on to the world scene. A third, more surprising development is that she has taken to listening to the Foreign Office.

The editorialists of the chauvinist press could not be more wrong in supposing that her gesture towards the new democratic Argentina

was all her own brilliant idea, which would show the mandarins of the Foreign Office. Her Fleet Street friends are behind the times. No longer is it the party line that the Foreign Office ought to be renamed the Ministry for National Humiliation and Decline.

This became quite evident at the time of the Grenada incident when Number 10 made no attempt to blame the Government's embarrassment on failures of intelligence or diplomacy. In the latest case the Prime Minister was persuaded, against her first instincts in the matter, to make a sensible and generous-minded gesture on the occasion of President Alfonsín's inauguration.

It was an important departure, although after the Sunday papers had hyped it up the Government felt it necessary to dampen the enthusiasm. For that task Sir Geoffrey Howe stands ever ready and, in a radio interview, the Foreign Secretary dismissed the talk of leasebacks, or whatever, as premature; the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands was still very much "not on the agenda."

We shall come to that in a moment but it is worth first remarking how the Falklands issue is an aberration even

within the not-very-coherent scheme of Mrs Thatcher's foreign policy. Her instincts, as I have stressed before, are against risky or costly entanglements abroad. We saw this in the case of Grenada and we know also that initially she was exceedingly reluctant to commit troops to the peace-keeping force in the Lebanon. In the case of the Falklands themselves, her first approach was to allow the Minister then responsible at the Foreign Office, Mr Nicholas Ridley—a reliable Thatcherite—to negotiate a deal which would have, effectively, abrogated British sovereignty over the islands.

In other words, her attachment to the Falkland Islands grew out of no world-view in which she harboured dreams of far-flung empire. Rather she had been busy trying to cut the Navy. Hotly anti-Soviet though she was, when it came to aggression in Afghanistan she was no enthusiast for sanctions, and even less so when the United States, powerless to release its hostages in Tehran, suffered a humiliation of a dimension surely greater than the invasion of the Falkland Islands at 7,000 miles distance.

No, her attachment to the Falklands is due solely to



Peter Jenkins

the events of last year. To save the nation's face, and to save her government, she went to war. Men were killed and maimed. She won a famous victory and the nation rejoiced. "Fortress Falklands" was the price which had to be paid. Her policy for the future was entirely dictated by the events of the past. There was no other rationale for spending a billion a year on 1,800 kelpers—in resource terms, sheer lunacy; the talk about the "strategic importance" of the Falklands is strictly for the Antarctic gulls.

The Government has no long-term policy for the Falklands other than to stay put,

to soldier and sailor on. What it does have is a medium-term objective which is to normalise, as far as possible, relations with Argentina on the basis of the status quo. It was to this purpose that the Prime Minister sent her carefully-worded message to President Alfonsín and to this end that the Government dropped its insistence that the state of hostility must be formally ended before the process of normalisation could begin.

"Where there is a will, there is a way," replied the Argentinian, somewhat gnomically. Mrs Thatcher has a will all right. For her, sovereignty is simply not at issue. Nor is it for President Alfonsín, if he meant what he said at his inauguration. Argentina was "inflexible" on this point, he said; the recovery of the islands was Argentina's "unalterable objective." Moreover, he repeated the paranoid allegation (apparently widely believed in Buenos Aires) that Britain is engaged in establishing a "nuclear fortress" in the South Atlantic.

It is obvious from these preliminary exchanges that to talk about sovereignty at this stage, or in the near future, would be a waste of breath all round. In this context the ill-fated "Peruvian

formula" of May 1982 remains relevant. The fourth of its seven points was: "Acceptance by both parties of the fact that a dispute over sovereignty exists." That is a way of keeping it on the agenda (from the Argentinian point of view) and off the agenda (from the British point of view) whilst enabling negotiations to develop without prejudice, as the lawyers would say.

For Argentina, as for Britain, the Falklands have a significance far transcending national interest. For her their repossession was to have been an historic mark of national regeneration, their subsequent loss was a calamitous humiliation. The escape from this clash of pride and principle must lie down the road of interest, and it is on this route that Mrs Thatcher and President Alfonsín have set foot.

Argentina's interest lies in defusing her territorial disputes and from preventing revanchist passion from destabilising her politics; it lies in conquering her hyperinflation and rebuilding her shattered economy; it lies in curbing her military expenditure and reducing the internal political role of the army. Normalisation of her relations with Britain would assist to those ends.

Britain's interest are more pressing still. The Falklands garrison weakens our national defences, impairs our contribution to Nato, is an irritant in our relations with friends and allies, and makes for a totally disproportionate drain on resources. The cost over 10 years is about the equivalent of the Trident programme.

The commitment to the Falklands distorts the choice which will one day, and before long, have to be made between the three military roles we play — as a nuclear power, as a contributor of land forces to the continent of Europe, and as a sea power. One of those roles will have to be abandoned or downgraded unless the economy performs miracles; and the most obvious candidate is the naval one.

Moreover, Britain has some interest in a stable and prosperous Argentina, an important trading partner and by tradition our special relation in South America. Not least, the security of the Falklands themselves depends upon the internal stability of Argentina. One way of promoting that is to salve (repeat salve) the festering grievance of *las Malvinas*.

These considerations of British national interest give the Argentinians some strong cards to play if they are willing and able to go down the road of normalisation. That would also seem to be the best available strategy for the eventual satisfaction of their territorial claim, although in the context, perhaps, of some internationally-agreed tripartite arrangement between Britain, Argentina, and the Falklands themselves.

Somewhere down that road must come the point at which principle becomes subsumed in practice. For it is surely inconceivable that Britain can for ever defy the laws of geography, insist upon the right of a handful of islanders to self-determination at whatever cost to the motherland, and permit a small lobby of special interests and sentimental imperialists to veto the pursuit of national interest.



As the financial reality of Mrs Thatcher's Fortress

Falklands policy bites home MAX HASTINGS asks

Is she brave enough to do a Nixon?

FOR the tenants of 10 Downing Street, this looks like being a Christmas of small comfort. Yet last week one small glow of hope was lit for 1984—by the Prime Minister's message to Buenos Aires.

If the British and Argentine Governments can now develop their frill contact and reach a settlement of the Falklands issue, one of Mrs Thatcher's most costly and perilous problems might be put to rest.

Before the Falklands war was even fought, some long-sighted politicians, including Mr John Nott, pointed ahead to the huge liability that victory might impose upon the Government. In 1982, amidst the euphoria, few Tories were disposed to make much of the cost of Fortress Falklands. The British public had scarcely become aware of this.

But today the grim financial reality has at last bitten home. As the Government struggles to contain public expenditure, the crushing weight of the defence budget has become clear to the most myopic back-benchers. Towering amidst the statistics stand the bleak bills for the Falklands: £624 million this year, £682 million next, £352 million the year after.

These sums are no mere rivulets branching off the mainstream of the nation's defences. They are contributing critically to the Government's financial difficulties. It is awareness of the scale of seriousness of the Falklands cost that has now created a formidable alliance within Whitehall: of Ministers and civil servants and not a few senior service officers pressing hard upon the Prime Minister for a Falklands settlement.

It is this domestic sentiment, matched by immense diplomatic pressure from the Americans and some of our European allies, which caused Mrs Thatcher to send her message last week to Buenos Aires.

Following this first small step, the problem now is how to make real progress towards a settlement. Beneath the cursory expressions of goodwill on both sides, possible negotiations remain hamstrung by the Prime Minister's insistence that sovereignty is not and never will be on the table. This is matched by the determination of even the new civilian government in Argentina that peace can only be achieved if Britain cedes some legal title to the island.

The other critical problem is that time is not on Britain's side. The indefinite continuation of the Falklands dispute costs

the Argentines precisely nothing. Their armed forces pose a threat to the British garrison by their mere existence, without requiring any degree of alert. Buenos Aires is perfectly aware of the huge financial pressures upon the British, which will not diminish.

Yet it is now, during the honeymoon following the installation of the new civilian government in Argentina, that Mrs Thatcher has the best chance she ever will to make a reasonable settlement. It is difficult to believe that the new regime will remain immune to the country's chronic instability. With every passing month the domestic and financial pressures will increase, together with the danger of renewed military interference. Their room for manoeuvre in negotiations can only diminish.

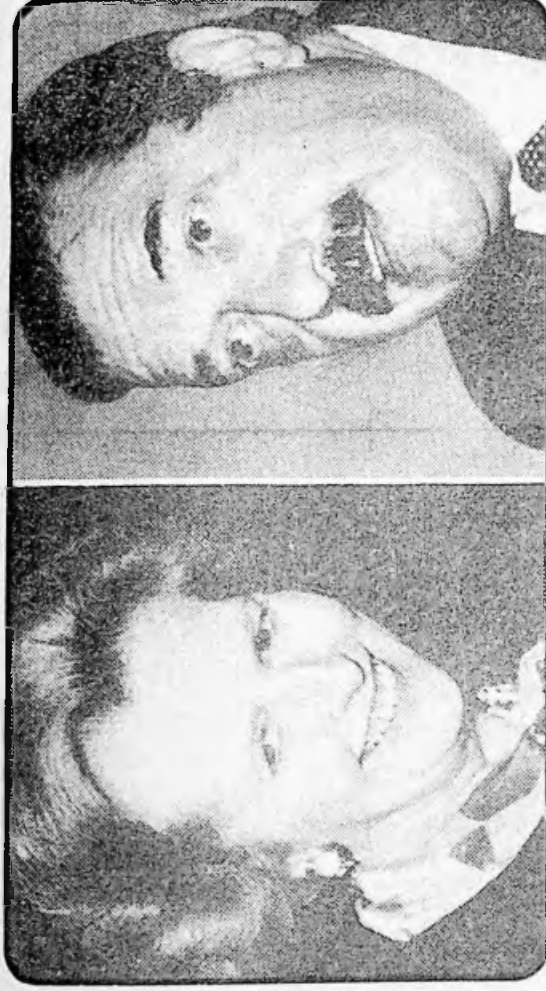
Today, there seems a real possibility that the Argentines would accept a Falklands settlement based upon the cession of sovereignty and the retention of British administration by lease-back. It will be a tragedy if Mrs Thatcher declines to consider this option, to seek urgently for a way out of an impasse that by the next election could become a huge embarrassment and liability to her government.

Dismayed

She herself still argues forcefully that when the Argentines invaded the Falklands, they forsook any claim to a share in the islands' government. In the heat of the war, many of us who were in the South Atlantic shared her sentiments. But today, in calmer times, it is striking to perceive how many servicemen who fought, and whose comrades died, are deeply dismayed by the Fortress Falklands policy and its appalling, distorting effect on our defence budget.

There is no contradiction here. The war was fought for the utterly right and proper reason—to show that Britain would always resist armed aggression. This point was triumphantly made. But it seems tragic now to have conceived to be financing a fictitious strategic interest in the South Atlantic merely to justify, post facto, the fighting of the war.

Wars are fought for many reasons, but it is seldom that when they are ended the victor feels compelled to hold every yard of battlefield on which men have died. Politics and



NOW is the best time to negotiate—for Margaret Thatcher and President Raul Alfonsín.

prudence of the Government's response to Chinese demands for the return of Hongkong. Unfortunately though capitulation may be, we know that in the last resort we have no possible means of resisting Chinese wishes. We must therefore simply make the best terms we can.

Politics are about possibilities, not elysiums. It seems utterly tragic if the British Government fails to make a compromise settlement with the Argentines, if Mrs Thatcher's desire to retain her reputation for determination demands a continuing expenditure of £600 million a year.

It is a change of will on her part that above all seems necessary. Richard Nixon was perhaps the only President whose reputation as a cold warrior was sufficiently safe to allow him to take America out of Vietnam and go to Peking. Mrs Thatcher's title as Iron Lady is surely secure enough to allow her to cede some Argentinian claim to the Falkland Islands at the cost only of some brief spasm of hysteria from the leader of the columns of The Sun.

diplomacy rarely revolve around pleasantly simple issues of black and white, right and wrong. They are matters of compromise and balance of interests. Most Tory MPs and a great many Tory supporters around the country today have come to believe that the balance of national interest is being fantastically distorted if the paramount wishes of 1800 Falklanders are to be served at a cost of £600 million a year.

It would be thought absurd, for instance, to close down the Windscale nuclear plant merely because a majority of local residents would like to see it shut. If the wider national interest requires the continuing functioning of Windscale, then most of us tacitly sympathise with the local residents, but would close our ears to any petition from them.

Conversely, almost all of Britain today accepts the

The Standard
13th December 1983

Late sitting

IT WILL be just like the old disputatious times at the Royal Court tomorrow evening when MPs and journalists debate the controversial motion: the Falklands War was "just a blip at the end of the radar screen of Imperial History."

The debate will follow the theatre's Falklands show, *Falklands Sounds/Voces de Malvinas*, which has just returned to Sloane Square after a tour which included emotional sessions in the naval cities of Portsmouth and Plymouth.

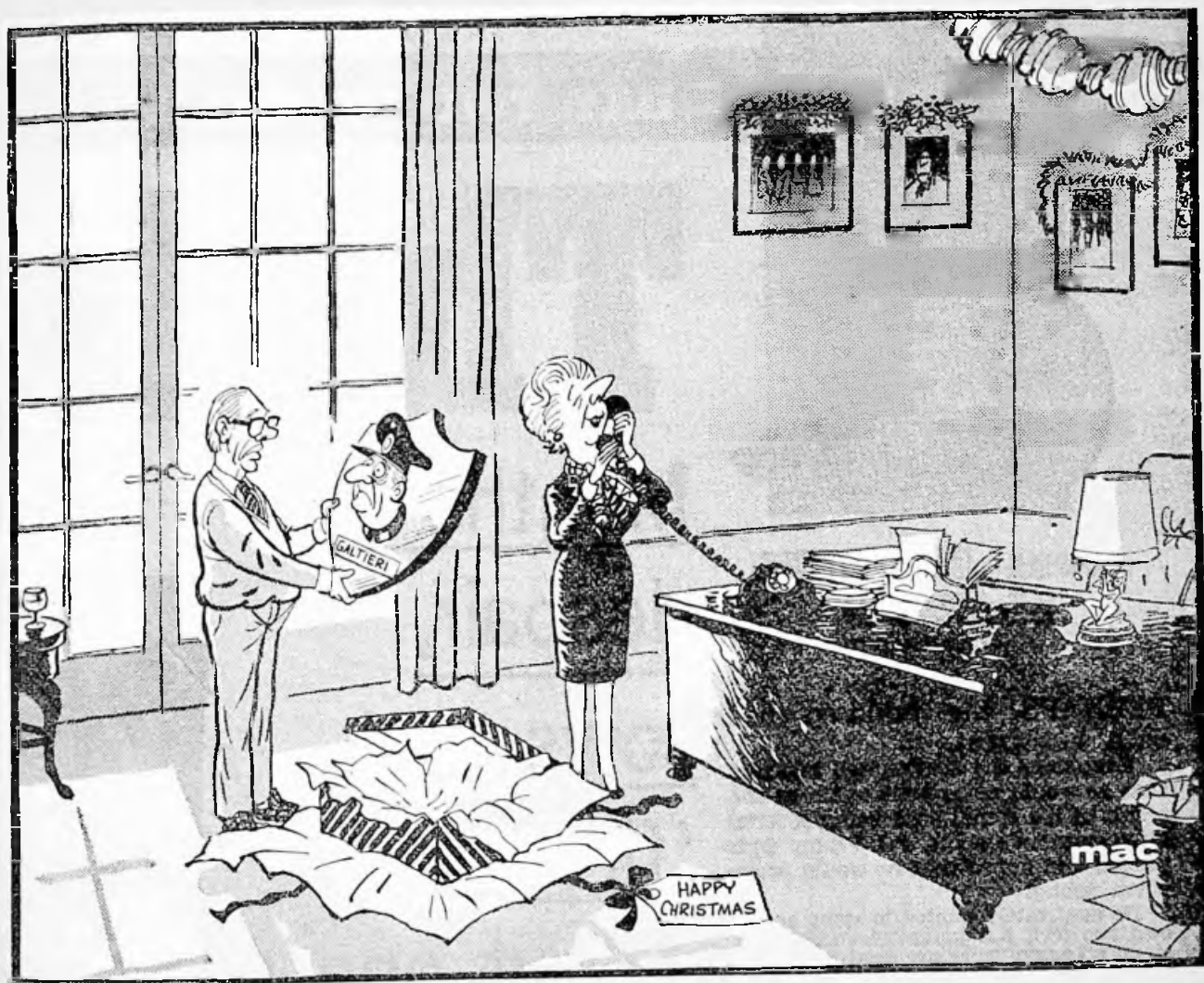
The audience will remain behind to watch the actors replaced by a four-man

panel consisting of Sir Anthony Buck, chairman of the Conservative Parliamentary Defence Committee, anti-Falklands war hustler Labour MP Tam Dalyell, Sunday Times journalist Simon Winchester, who was jailed in Argentina, and The Sunday Telegraph's Peregrine Worst-horne.

Adrian Monk, spokesman for the Falkland Islanders, will also be there and the discussion will be chaired by Jonathan Dimbleby. It is expected, in parliamentary terms, to be a late sitting.

BUENOS AIRES: Argentina's new democratic government has imposed price controls, starting with a virtual 20-day freeze, as a first step to tackle the country's 400 per cent inflation rate.

Daily Mail
13th December 1983



'Oh President Alfonsín, you shouldn't have ...'



TASK FORCE II

A MESSAGE, NOT A TRUCE

MRS THATCHER'S MESSAGE to President ALFONSIN on his inauguration as Argentina's new leader has aroused unjustified expectations that somehow this opens the door to talks on the Falklands. This amounts to a misreading of the Prime Minister's message, designed to welcome Argentina's new democratically elected leadership. A democratic Government in Buenos Aires does not mean that we should surrender our rights to the Falklands. Mrs THATCHER has consistently excluded discussions on sovereignty.

Britain fought the war to defeat aggression, to free the islanders from foreign occupation. Solemn promises have been made that we will not enter into any agreement without meeting the wishes of the islanders as well as those of Parliament. There remains after nearly 18 months too much mutual mistrust and bitterness even to speculate about ultimate solutions. In the immediate future, one can look forward to a gradual normalisation of relations, on a step-by-step approach involving the removal of trade and commercial barriers. It would help if Argentina would give some concrete evidence that hostilities are at an end.

Although much is being said about how Argentina has turned its back on military rule, it is too early to say whether the new régime will be stable and be successful in grappling with the country's formidable economic problems. A policy towards Argentina cannot be based simply on good will. The military may have retired bruised to their barracks, but for 40 years the generals have largely controlled the country. It is uncertain whether the armed forces are ready to give up politics. There will of course be criticism of the policy of "Fortress Falklands," but the islanders are British, and the islanders want to remain under the British flag. That is something all would-be mediators should bear in mind.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

13.12.83

FALKLAND ISLANDS 'Strategy' for recovery

OUR NEW YORK STAFF writes: Senor Dante Caputo, Argentina's Foreign Minister, says that his country plans a "diplomatic strategy" for recovering the Falkland Islands.

He told NEWSWEEK: "We plan a diplomatic, not a hostile strategy — an energetic one which will allow us to renew negotiations, principally at the United Nations."

"We will look for, in a spirit of peace, the best diplomatic method to discuss time periods, forms and ways to effectively re-establish our sovereignty over the islands."

Asked what he hoped to get from Washington in trying to recover the Falklands Islands, he replied: "We want understanding and help in achieving the legitimate rights of Argentina which are now being sought in the name of democracy."

"It is no longer a just cause being advocated by an illegitimate regime, but a legitimate government asking for justice."

Editorial Comment—P12

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

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Geoffrey Smith

Mrs Thatcher's message to President Alfonsín of Argentina marks a new phase in the Falklands saga. It also indicates a significant development in her own premiership. It confirms that she is now prepared to be influenced by the advice of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

After the Argentine invasion of the Falklands, the Foreign Office was very much out of favour. Mrs Thatcher had never had much rapport with professional diplomats, and she came to the conclusion then that they had let her down.

By about the beginning of this year the Prime Minister's attitude had evidently mellowed. But the first notable indication that she had become receptive to Foreign Office advice came at the Conservative Party conference in October, when she spoke of the need for dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Virtues of active diplomacy

This did not exactly conflict with what she had said in Washington a fortnight before when receiving the Winston Churchill Foundation award. But the balance and tone of her Blackpool speech were very different: and her Guildhall speech a month ago, in which she announced her intention to visit Hungary early next year, was in keeping with the new style.

It is an approach that accords precisely with Foreign Office thinking, with its belief in the value of keeping open the lines of communication with the East so as both to control the rise of international tension and to create the conditions in which a disarmament agreement might be negotiated.

One is tempted to suggest that Mrs Thatcher's response to the invasion of Grenada also bore the mark of Foreign Office influence. Certainly, it too was in line with the analyses of the FCO, which did not believe that the United States had sufficient justification for its action on the basis of the evidence then available either in London or in Washington - whatever may have been subsequently discovered about the Cuban arms build-up on the island. But this seems to have been an instance where the Prime Minister and the Foreign Office came independently to the same conclusion.

The Argentine initiative, however, clearly bears the stamp of the FCO. It is not just that the Foreign Office has always believed in the need for a deal sometime with Argentina. Professional diplomats see the advantages of starting a process of discussion without specifying exactly where it should lead. But one would not have thought that this kind of tentative, indirect, conciliatory approach was quite Mrs Thatcher's style.

It is all the more remarkable that she should become influenced by FCO thinking at a time when the Foreign Secretary himself is not particularly strong. Sir Geoffrey Howe has had an uncomfortable few months since his transfer from the Treasury. He is one of the most resilient of politicians, but his air of battered doggedness has enabled him neither to command the Commons nor to cut an imposing figure on the international stage.

The need for professionalism

No doubt he carries more weight with Mrs Thatcher than his immediate predecessor, Mr Francis Pym, who neither enjoyed a happy relationship with the Prime Minister nor seemed well placed in that post. But by far the strongest of Mrs Thatcher's Foreign Secretaries has been Lord Carrington. He could persuade her to change her mind, although usually after long and bruising argument. But that was essentially a personal influence rather than that of a department.

Perhaps that may be what we are seeing again. The softening of Mrs Thatcher's attitude towards the FCO became apparent shortly after Sir Anthony Parsons became her special adviser on foreign affairs a year ago. Her acceptance of the case for a dialogue with the East became evident shortly after Sir Anthony wrote her a paper on that theme a few months ago.

In his new job Sir Anthony has been a valuable link between the Prime Minister and his former colleagues in the FCO. But he finally retires at the end of the year. It will be a pity if the Foreign Office influence goes with him. The conduct of international affairs requires professionalism, provided it is recognized that professionalism is not enough.

One of Mrs Thatcher's greatest qualities, in foreign policy as in other fields, is a refusal to be deterred by odds that would daunt most reasonable, well-informed people.

THE TIMES

13.12.83

THE TIMES

13.12.83

Portugal offers to act as go-between in Falklands negotiations

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

Portugal has offered to transmit Argentina's views on the Falkland Islands dispute to the British Government, Senhor Mario Soares, the Prime Minister, revealed in Buenos Aires.

It was the second West European nation to offer to intercede with Britain in search for a negotiated solution to the Falklands problem. France made a similar proposal on Sunday. Signor Bettino Craxi, the Italian Prime Minister, who carried Mrs Thatcher's Note congratulating the new Argentine Government, has also offered to carry any return messages.

Señor Soares made his offer during a private meeting with President Raúl Alfonsín two days after the new Argentine leader took office and put an end to the military Government responsible for last year's war in the South Atlantic.

"We are in a position to transmit Argentina's opinions to the British Government and to point out the importance of this change to democracy," Señor Soares told reporters after meeting Señor Alfonsín.

The Prime Minister added that the inauguration of President Alfonsín was "well viewed" in West Europe and would "facilitate a dialogue within the framework of the United Nations about the problem of the Malvinas (Falklands) Islands."

The French Prime Minister, M Pierre Mauroy, hinted on Sunday that Paris might be ready to shift its position on the Falklands as part of its support for Argentina's new democratic Government.

M Mauroy told a press conference: "France never voted against Argentina in the United Nations, it only abstained, and Alfonsín was not President when that occurred." He also promised that France would open a dialogue with the British to bring about negotiations soon with Argentina in the Falklands.

President Alfonsín's Government was expected to begin announcing its first measures after being inaugurated formally on Saturday. Officials at the Economics Ministry said they would impose indirect price

controls on Argentine businesses to halt the soaring inflation rate.

A thorough reform of the armed forces, promised by Señor Alfonsín during his campaign, is also expected to be among the first measures taken. Newspapers on Sunday reported that the Government had chosen General Mario Fernandez Torres as head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a move which would drive many high-ranking generals into retirement.

Government officials have not confirmed these reports and said the names of military appointees would be released this week.

The Government's purge is expected to be particularly severe in the Army because it has not weeded out officers responsible for Argentina's defeat in the Falklands war. President Alfonsín has also blamed senior military officers for human rights abuses and the disappearance of up to 30,000 people in a period of repression which began as a fight against left-wing guerrillas.



MRS THATCHER

HOW INSTINCT TOLD HER THE TIME WAS RIGHT



PRESIDENT ALFONSIN

Falklands peace bid was Maggie's idea

THE decision to send a conciliatory message of welcome to Argentina's new President Raul Alfonsín at the weekend was Mrs Thatcher's alone.

She decided on 'instinct' it would be the right thing to do and drafted the message in her own hand.

Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, are delighted with the swift and warm response from Buenos Aires to this initiative.

Because of this Britain is ready to make another gesture by inviting relatives of Argentines killed in the

Falklands war to visit their graves on the islands.

The Prime Minister believes that this is the moment to get things moving towards an end of hostilities and the beginning of normalisation between the two countries.

But she continues to insist that there can be no surrender of the sovereignty of the islands. That has been firmly conveyed to Argentina's President.

Nor is Mrs Thatcher prepared to stop work on the new airport at Port Stanley which is said to be one of the Argentine conditions for talks. Work is going ahead fast. The Prime

Minister believes that it is a capital investment which will bring a great dividend both commercially and politically to the islands.

What is important in getting the talks going is that Argentina understands that Mrs Thatcher herself is opening the dialogue to try to end a situation which, in many respects, is counterproductive for both nations.

In another friendly act, to show that the war is finally over, 18 months after the invasion, the Royal Navy's 150-mile exclusion zone around the Falklands may be reduced.

But the Prime Minister has let it be known that her 'fortress Falklands' policy is not to be bargained away. The wishes of the 1,800 islanders as to who should rule over them are still paramount.

And they want to remain British. Britain is not prepared to discuss an arrangement to concede

sovereignty over the islands and then lease them back.

According to a Buenos Aires report, one 'leaseback' plan would allow the islanders to be responsible for their own security as well as keeping their rights as British nationals.

But Sir Geoffrey said in a radio interview that it 'would not be helpful' to discuss such a proposal. 'There are obviously some very real differences between us,' he pointed out.

The next move may have to come from Buenos Aires for Mrs Thatcher has no intention of dropping her guard until the leaders of the freshly elected democratic regime show they are ready to settle the dispute.

With the Falklands costing £2624 million this year and a third of Britain's Nato fleet tied up in patrols against threat of attack, any lessening of tension would be a relief in Whitehall.

Daily Mail
12th December
1983

Argentina: New hope

MRS THATCHER'S initiative, which apparently was all her own, in sending a message of congratulations to Argentina's new President, Mr Raoul Alfonsin, on the restoration of democracy to his country is truly an inspired one.

The timing has been brilliant and at one stroke may well have changed the whole situation between our two countries from hostility to tentative friendliness.

What Mrs Thatcher has perceived is that a possible negotiating position over the Falklands has now emerged which may not last and may not recur.

Argentina now has its first democratic Government for years.

Yet that Government faces awesome economic problems including 400 per cent. inflation and an enormous foreign debt.

A settlement of the Falklands dispute would be an economic relief to both our countries.

This is just the type of situation where American good offices might be enlisted to persuade Argentina to end hostilities and make it possible for Anglo-Argentine talks to start.

Nobody pretends that even then a mutually acceptable solution to our dispute will be easy — for as Mrs Thatcher rightly insists there can be no sell-out of our Falklands sovereignty — yet her timely and cordial message to Argentina's new President may be seen by future historians as its beginning.

—A new olive branch

MRS THATCHER is prepared to take another step towards healing the breach with Argentina.

Families of Argentine Servicemen killed in the South Atlantic conflict may soon be invited to visit their graves in the Falklands.

This is in stark contrast to the Government's attitude earlier this year when an Argentine vessel with relatives on board was refused permission to go anywhere near the islands. It was turned back by a warship at the edge of the exclusion zone.

Argentine books

From Mr D. Mason

Sir, A month has passed since Mr R. F. Cutler's letter (October 22) underlining the anomalous stance taken by the Department of Trade and Industry over the import of books published in Argentina. The history of this affair may be familiar to your readers.

In April, 1982, the British Government imposed a comprehensive ban on the import of all goods of Argentinian origin. The ban was relaxed, following the end of the Falklands campaign, to allow entry of newspapers and periodicals and, more recently and after wide protest initiated by an editorial comment in *The Times Literary Supplement*, by the extension of the relaxation to include books - provided that they are not imported for resale.

Librarians and scholars may now order from booksellers in the Argentine and are allowed to pay those booksellers. No one may order a book published in the Argentine from a British bookseller, which is what nearly all non-specialist libraries and most scholars would wish to do.

Mr Cutler clearly demonstrated the folly of depriving British booksellers to the advantage of the retailing nationals of a former adversary. His protest deserves maximum support from the library and information community and we urge that pressure on the Government should continue.

Unlike other products from the Argentine, for which substitutes can be found from other countries in the world, there is nothing that can be substituted for books published in, and information emanating from, the Argentine. The stance taken by the Department of Trade and Industry, in spite of its recognition that unique considerations apply to books, imposes a measure of censorship which is contrary to this country's traditional attitude to the free transfer of information.

Yours faithfully,
D. MASON, Chairman,
Joint Consultative Committee
(representing Aslib, the Institute of Information Scientists, the Library Association, Sconul, and the Society of Archivists),
7 Ridgmount Street, WC1.
December 5.

Falklands sovereignty not on agenda, says Howe

By Philip Webster, Political Reporter

As Britain and Argentina made the first significant moves towards the restoration of peaceful relations, the Government made clear yesterday that it was prepared to talk to the new leaders in Buenos Aires about diplomatic, economic, and commercial issues, but not about sovereignty over the Falkland Islands.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, said the Prime Minister's message of goodwill on Saturday to the new Argentine President, Señor Raúl Alfonsín, was intended as a "friendly signal", the first step in paving the way towards a more normal relationship. He welcomed the response from President Alfonsín.

But the continuing differences between the two Governments, and the difficulties that lay ahead, were underlined when Sir Geoffrey firmly rejected suggestions by the new President to open the way to a negotiated settlement.

Sir Geoffrey said that the question of sovereignty, including the possibility of a leaseback solution, was "not on the agenda", and described as unrealistic a possible freeze on the construction of the new airport at Port Stanley. Both proposals were made by Señor Alfonsín in an interview in *The Observer* yesterday.

Politicians were, however, attaching much importance to the first official exchanges between the two Governments since the conflict. Despite the absence of diplomatic relations

Mrs Thatcher took the initiative in sending an inauguration message to Señor Alfonsín.

She said: "On the occasion of your inauguration, I wanted to let you know that, although we have many differences, we can all take pleasure in the restoration of democracy in Argentina, believing it will bring freedom and justice to all your people. Today brings new hope to your country."

The President replied: "I thank you for your words regarding the reestablishment of

conciliatory tone of recent government statements on Argentina, although she made clear in it that sovereignty was not up for negotiation.

In what was seen as another important move the Government emphasized that a formal declaration from Argentina that hostilities are over is no longer a precondition of talks.

Dr David Owen, the Social Democrat leader and former Foreign Secretary, said last night that the Government appeared to have moved a good deal over the last few days towards a position of greater realism, but he was worried over the refusal to negotiate about sovereignty.

He said that his former political adviser, Mr David Stephen, who attended the inauguration as guest of the President, had detected a strong wish among the new leaders to get the Falklands issue settled quickly by negotiation.

The Foreign Secretary said there were strong economic and developmental reasons for the airport project to proceed.

In the interview in *The Observer*, President Alfonsín was reported as calling on Mrs Thatcher to consider reducing the exclusion zone around the Falklands, and to freeze the construction of the airport.

Stating his belief that negotiations should eventually lead to the "recovery" of the islands, Señor Alfonsín was also reported as saying: "I think that we are resolved to study

Continued on back page, col 8



President Alfonsín: Reply welcomed by Britain

democratic institutions in Argentina. I agree with your appraisal of the existence of differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom. Regarding this, it would be useful to remember an old English saying: 'Where there's a will there's a way.'

In a further message to the Argentine Foreign Minister, Mrs Thatcher emphasized the

alternatives... Yes, we would provide the islanders with guarantees as we have no wish to hurt them, and we would look at the question of lease-back."

Sir Geoffrey, in a BBC radio interview, said that Mrs Thatcher's message had been part of the process of gradually restoring relationships with Argentina. There were still real differences, with painful memories on both sides, and there were some issues, like sovereignty, which it was not helpful to begin discussing.

He suggested that the two Governments could discuss the question of visits by Argentine next-of-kin to war graves on the Falklands, and the return to Argentina of the bodies of their soldiers killed in the war.

FALKLAND CALL FOR CHANGES

By ROBIN GEDYE

A CONSTITUTIONAL committee in Port Stanley has sent proposals to London which, if adopted, would imply that the Falklands would remain a Crown Colony with a British Governor or Commissioner.

The committee suggested that in future the Legislative Council in the Falklands should have a membership of eight elected representatives, and that there should be changes in the composition of the islands' executive council.

The proposals come as Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, rejected any possibilities of the islands' problems being resolved in a leaseback agreement with Argentina, as proposed by Senor Raul Alfonsin, the country's new President.

The question of a leaseback came to be regarded as long ago as the mid-1970s as the most realistic solution to the islands' problems, according to the Franks Committee report published in January.

Paper by Owen

Although admitting that leaseback was the only feasible solution to the problem, the then Labour government avoided discussing the issue with Buenos Aires because of the Islanders' insistence that Britain retain sovereignty as long as possible.

In 1977, when Dr Owen, then Foreign Secretary, presented a paper to the Defence Committee on the Falklands, the committee took the view that "it was likely that the government would be forced back in the end on some variation of a leaseback solution linked with economic co-operation."

Britain's stated aim at the time was to keep Argentina talking while public opinion at home and on the islands could be educated to accept the leaseback proposals.

But Argentina's patience ran out, here attitude hardened, and the British Government changed to Conservative.

In 1980, the Defence Committee favoured a leaseback agreement. But when Mr Nicholas Ridley, then Foreign Office Minister, sounded out the Falklanders on a leaseback he found opinion to be divided "with a substantial minority opposed to it and the majority undecided."

Mrs THATCHER READY TO HEAL FALKLAND RIFT

By JAMES WIGHTMAN Political Correspondent

AN unexpected message of goodwill from Mrs Thatcher to President Alfonsin, Argentina's new leader, signalled a willingness by Britain to take a step-by-step approach towards healing the rift caused by the Falklands war.

But the Prime Minister is still adamant that the sovereignty of the Falklands is not negotiable.

Britain is prepared to talk about restoring trading and diplomatic links with Argentina now that the military junta which launched the Falklands invasion has been replaced by a democratically-elected Government.

There is no longer any British insistence that, as a precondition to renewed links, Argentina should formally declare an end to hostilities.

But the so-called "Fortress Falklands" policy, a costly military operation for Britain, will continue until ministers are convinced that Argentina has no intention of attempting another invasion.

'New hope'

Mrs Thatcher's message to President Alfonsin was relayed by a Swiss representative because the British Embassy in Buenos Aires is closed.

The Prime Minister said: "On the occasion of your inauguration I wanted to let you know that, although we have many differences, we can all take pleasure in the restoration of democracy in Argentina, believing that it will bring freedom and justice to all your people. Today brings new hope to your country."

In a separate message to Senor Dante Caputo, the Argentinian Foreign Minister, she recalled recent statements by herself and other ministers expressing the hope that normal relations could be restored.

But she also emphasised that she would not negotiate on Argentina's claim of sovereignty over the Falklands.

The Prime Minister's move was welcomed by other parties. But Dr Owen, SDP leader and a former Labour Foreign Secretary, last night called on Mrs Thatcher to drop her insistence that she would not talk about sovereignty.

He said: "There is no way that she can expect the leader of a newly-elected government to use a form of words that have never been used by his country before."

He also understood from a reliable source in Buenos Aires that the new Argentinian government was facing such economic problems after the Falklands war that it badly wanted to have restored links with Britain.

Ministers were encouraged by President Alfonsin's reply to Mrs Thatcher he said: "I thank you for your words about the re-establishment of democratic institutions in Argentina."

"I coincide with your appraisal of the existence of differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom."

"Regarding this, it would be useful to remember an old English saying: 'Where there's a will, there's a way'."

But there is no expectation among ministers that the rift between the two countries will be healed quickly and perhaps other than partially.

'Friendly signal'

Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, yesterday described the Prime Minister's message as "a friendly signal — the first step towards paving the way to a more normal relationship."

But Sir Geoffrey said Britain could not agree to President Alfonsin's call in a newspaper interview for Mrs Thatcher to consider reducing the 150-mile exclusion zone around the Falklands and freezing construction of the new airport at Port Stanley.

Mr Tam Dalyell, Labour MP for Linlithgow, said yesterday that he would try to raise the issue of the "Fortress Falklands" policy in the Commons today.

D Telegraph
12 12 83

Support held back

Subsequently the Islanders passed a motion in their Legislative Council withholding support for a leaseback.

On June 30, 1981, a major policy review was undertaken during which Mr John Ure, Under Secretary for South America, commented that he found "Argentine Foreign Affairs Ministers... well disposed towards the leaseback idea."

As pressure for a settlement was built by Argentina, so Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, was advised by Mr Ridley against the leaseback solution on the grounds that "it would breach the long-held policy of acting only in accordance with Islanders' wishes."

Lord Carrington sent a minute to the Prime Minister on Sept. 14, 1981, saying that given the Islanders' views, there was "little prospect of doing more than keeping some sort of negotiation with Argentina going."

BRITAIN IS SET TO SEND HOME ARGIES' BODIES



Alfonsin . . . new leader

BRITAIN is ready to return the bodies of Argentina's war dead as a gesture of goodwill over the Falklands.

Scores of Argy soldiers — some still unidentified — lie in graves on the islands.

By shipping them home under Red Cross supervision, Britain would remove one of the obstacles to a future peace deal — the bitter-

Howe in peace move

ness of grieving relatives.

They would also be allowed to visit graves on the Falklands, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said yesterday.

It is yet another indication that the Government wants an early thaw in relations with Argentina.

Premier Margaret Thatcher has already sent personal congratulations

to the country's new democratically elected government.

Sir Geoffrey's offer, made via the Swiss, is the first top-level contact between the two countries since the bloody Falklands war last year.

America has already recognised the new regime of President Raul Alfonsin.

Offered

Now Vice-President George Bush has offered to act as go-between in negotiations between the UK and Buenos Aires.

Last night Mr Bush praised President Alfonsin as a champion of the rule of law.

He urged other Latin American countries to follow Argentina's example in returning to democracy.

Mr Bush stressed during private talks with Mr Alfonsin that the U.S. wanted good relations with Argentina.

Relations become tense after the Reagan administration sided openly with Britain over the Falklands.

The Sun Says—Page 6

THE SUN SAYS

Good move, Maggie

THE PRIME Minister is absolutely right to make her friendly gesture towards the new Argentine regime.

The generals who sent so many innocent young men to their deaths are now back in their barracks facing a richly-deserved court martial.

The new Government was elected at the ballot box which means there is a chance that our two countries can inch towards a negotiated settlement for the Falklands.

And certainly no one can doubt Britain's goodwill after the offer by Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday.

Graves

Sir Geoffrey promised that the bodies of hundreds of Argentine soldiers in graves on the island can be sent home.

This at a stroke will remove one source of bitterness among bereaved families in Argentina.

It is too early to be confident—South American generals have a nasty habit of coming out of their barracks again.

But of one thing we can be sure. The Argies will try jaw jaw and not war war this time.

Democracy back in Buenos Aires after eight years of military rule



Faces in the crowd: Two former Presidents of Argentina, Señora Isabel Perón and Señor Arturo Frondizi, at the inauguration of President Alfonsín in Buenos Aires.

VIPs turn spotlight on Central America

From Our Own Correspondent, Buenos Aires

Heads of state and diplomats at President Alfonsín's inauguration at the weekend turned it into a mini-summit on the Central American crisis.

Six Latin American leaders, four European prime ministers and US Vice-President George Bush were among the dozens of dignitaries invited to the ceremony, but they spent as much time discussing Nicaragua and El Salvador as they did Argentina.

Delegations from Spain, Portugal, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and the United States were the most active, quietly arranging meetings

among themselves and with the new Argentine government.

An expected meeting between Mr Bush and the Nicaraguan junta coordinator, Commander Daniel Ortega, apparently did not materialize, but the former did seek Señor Felipe González, the Spanish Prime Minister, to discuss diplomatic solutions to the region's problems.

Señor González was hosting a dinner at the Spanish Embassy last night, which some diplomats said would be an amplified version of the Contadora group although the Spanish leader denied this.

Argentines dance in the streets

From Douglas Tweedale
Buenos Aires

Jubilant Argentines danced the night away in the streets of Buenos Aires to celebrate the inauguration of President Raúl Alfonsín on Saturday, and with it the end of nearly eight years of harsh and unpopular military rule.

Señor Alfonsín took over from the outgoing military President, General Reynaldo Bignone, on Saturday morning and promised a crowd of 100,000 cheering supporters that "we are beginning 100 years of freedom, peace and democracy".

The winner of General elections on October 30, President Alfonsín was sworn in by the National Congress in a ceremony attended by dozens of foreign dignitaries. In a speech setting out the aims of his Government, he promised Congress that "public immorality has ended. We will be a decent Government."

The inauguration took place in a festive atmosphere that had been growing as the last days of the military Government ran out. The new President's Radical Party organized street parties on Saturday night which lasted into the early hours.

Señor Alfonsín is a slightly left-of-centre politician who captured the imagination of Argentine voters with his honest and dynamic image, and his campaign pledges to bring the military under civilian control.

On Saturday he committed his government, among other things, to far-reaching reform of the armed forces, and a thorough investigation of human rights abuses, including more than 7,000 "disappearances" which occurred during the military regime. He also said he would arrange repayment of Argentina's \$40bn (£27.6bn) foreign debt "so long as it does not interfere with development", and reduce the annual inflation rate of about 450 per cent.

RAÚL ALFONSÍN: THE MAKING OF A PRESIDENT

Born Chascomus, Buenos Aires province, 1926. Mother of British descent. Married, six children. Educated at military secondary school. Law graduate from National University of La Plata. Worked as journalist, setting up small paper in Chascomus, *El Imparcial*. Municipal councillor, Chascomus, 1950. Imprisoned by Peronist Government, 1953. Elected deputy in Buenos Aires Province Legislature, 1958. Elected deputy in National Legislature, 1963. Founded Renovation and Change Party after military campaign, 1966, seeking presidential nomination, 1972. Elected President of Argentina, 1983.

Falklands amazed by British move

By John Ezard

The Falklands' official representative in London, Mr Adrian Monk, said last night that he was astounded by the British Government's decision to abandon its demand for a formal ceasefire declaration by Argentina.

The move was confirmed yesterday by Downing Street, which said the demand was no longer a precondition of talks with the Alfonsín Government. It came as a surprise both to Mr Monk—whose headquarters are only half-a-mile from the Foreign Office—and to elected members of the Falklands Government.

"This really astounds me," Mr Monk said. "I can't see how you can have friendly talks with someone who is maintaining a state of hostil-

ities with you. The two things are not compatible. It amazes me. It is upsetting to have to find out about these things from the newspapers. It's very bad that we have not been informed or consulted."

In Port Stanley Mr John Cheek, a councillor who has several times represented the Falklands at the United Nations, said: "I am surprised and disappointed that they did not think to advise us about this. Presumably they are accepting a de facto cessation of hostilities."

"If Argentina and Britain can return to normality, I would be happy with that. But I would be interested to know what they are thinking of talking about. I am happy to hear that they have excluded talking about leaseback and sovereignty."

Thatcher moves closer to renewal of Argentine links

BY OUR FOREIGN AND POLITICAL STAFF

THE EXCHANGE of messages at the weekend between Mrs Thatcher and Sr Raul Alfonsín, the newly installed Argentine President, has raised the possibility that diplomatic relations may soon be restored.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, said on BBC radio yesterday that the matter would be considered over the next few days but Whitehall officials insisted there had been no change of British policy. They specifically ruled out any negotiation over Falklands sovereignty, for example in the context of a leaseback arrangement.

Mrs Thatcher's congratulations to President Alfonsín on his inauguration were intended as no more than a friendly gesture, it was stressed. Nothing was on offer to the new régime that had not been on offer to its predecessor. But the way Britain is now approaching the issue is a new departure.

The belief in Whitehall, underlined by Sir Geoffrey, is that

the Alfonsín Government will be more responsive to British offers of resumed economic and commercial links and that dealings will be smoother and more harmonious.

Sir Geoffrey did not reject the two points advanced by President Alfonsín in a newspaper interview as conditions for a formal cessation of hostilities: reduction of the 150-mile exclusion zone around the Falklands, and a freeze on building the new Port Stanley airport. But he pointed out that Britain would have great difficulty stopping the airport because it was needed for economic and commercial reasons.

Mrs Thatcher's initiative in sending the message is understood to have stemmed from a meeting between the Argentine Government and a British diplomat in Buenos Aires 10 days ago.

Western diplomats in Buenos Aires described Mrs Thatcher's message as "a drop of gold"

and suggested the two countries were closer to talks about talks than at any time since the Falklands war ended.

Four British diplomats have been working in the Swiss Embassy there since the breaking of diplomatic relations during the Falklands war.

The U.S. Government has repeated its offer to mediate between London and Buenos Aires. Mr George Bush, the U.S. Vice President, met President Alfonsín privately on Saturday and said later he had expressed "our willingness to be helpful."

Washington is understood to have offered to try to persuade U.S. banks to adopt a flexible attitude when \$17bn (£11.8bn) of Argentina's \$40bn foreign debt comes up for negotiation next year.

In return, the U.S. has been seeking reassurances of the new Government's non-belligerence, particularly its commitment not to use its nuclear programme for military ends.

PAGE 2

* *

Falklands peace bid— was Maggie's idea

THE decision to send a conciliatory message of welcome to Argentina's new President Raul Alfonsin at the weekend was Mrs Thatcher's alone.

She decided on 'instinct' it would be the right thing to do and drafted the message in her own hand.

Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, are delighted with the swift and warm response from Buenos Aires.

Based on this, Britain is ready to make another gesture by inviting relatives of Argentines killed in the

investment which will bring a great dividend.

What is important in getting the talks going is that Argentina understands that Mrs Thatcher herself is opening the dialogue.

In another friendly act, to show that the war is finally over, 18 months after the invasion, the Royal Navy's 150-mile exclusion zone around the Falklands may be reduced.

But the Prime Minister has let it be known that her 'Portress Falklands' policy is not to be bargained away. The wishes of the 1,800 islanders as to who should rule over them are still paramount.

And they want to remain British. The next move may have to come from Buenos Aires for Mrs Thatcher has no intention of dropping her guard until the leaders of the freshly

elected democratic regime show they are ready to settle the dispute.

With the Falklands costing £624 million this year and a third of Britain's Nato fleet tied up in patrols against threat of attack, any lessening of tension would be a relief in Whitehall.

Sir Geoffrey was clearly encouraged yesterday by President Alfonsin's telegram to the Foreign Office which said: 'Where there is a will there is a way'.

The Foreign Secretary commented in a radio interview: 'On both sides there is a will towards restoring more normal relations step by step.'

Mrs Thatcher's action was approved yesterday by the widow of Falklands VC Sgt. Ian McKay. Mrs Marica McKay said it 'was inevitable' that politicians would take over once the Services had done their job.

By GORDON GREIG
Political Editor

Falklands war to visit their graves on the islands.

The Prime Minister believes that this is the moment to get things moving towards an end of hostilities and the beginning of normalisation between the two countries.

But she continues to insist that there can be no surrender of the sovereignty of the islands.

Nor is Mrs Thatcher prepared to stop work on the new airport at Port Stanley which is said to be one of the Argentine conditions for talks. Work is going ahead fast. The Prime Minister believes that it is a capital

First step to Falklands peace deal

By JOHN WARDEN

SIR GEOFFREY HOWE yesterday described Britain's olive branch to Argentina as "a friendly signal."

The Foreign Secretary said Mrs Thatcher's surprise message to the new Argentine president was "the first step to a more normal relationship."

OPINION: PAGE 8

But Sir Geoffrey declared firmly that sovereignty of the islands or a lease-back deal could not be discussed.

And he denied that the "Fortress Falklands" policy was being scaled down.

Diplomatic and trade links are now expected to be resumed.

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EXPRESS OPINION

Winning the peace

MRS THATCHER'S handling of the "normalisation" of Anglo-Argentinian relations is good to see, for it has the sure, confident touch of her management of the crisis that made it necessary in the first place.

The sending of congratulations to Senor Alfonsin, the newly installed civilian President of Argentina, was a shrewd, conciliatory, and generous gesture.

It shows that she recognises the significance for the Falklanders, for Britain, and, not least, for the Argentinian people, of the return to democratic government in Buenos Aires.

Such a Government, almost certainly, would not have launched that foolish attack on the Falklands. And such a Government now is just as unlikely to do so.

This is why it seems that Whitehall now acknowledges that Buenos Aires **does** agree that hostilities have ceased in the South Atlantic, despite the lack of an official Argentinian declaration.

Nevertheless, we are still maintaining our guard.

In backing British participation in the financial rescue of Argentina, Mrs Thatcher has already shown that she always knew our two countries would have to put the Falklands War behind them.

The humiliating drumming out of the junta has been a major factor in making this process happen sooner rather than later.

The election of Sr Alfonsin, one of the few politicians brave enough to criticise the invasion publicly at the time, helps it along even more.

Mrs Thatcher is giving nothing away: She is not encouraging the President to entertain any false hopes over the issue of "sovereignty."

What she has done, this apart, is to indicate to him that however fast or slow he now wants "normalisation" to proceed, she will accommodate him.

She is playing her cards extremely well; with great sensitivity and alertness.

Foreign Office mandarins should watch—and learn.

No sell out, pleads Falklands hero

A FALKLANDS war hero begged Premier Margaret Thatcher yesterday not to sell out to Argentina.

Para Lance-corporal Denzil Connick, who lost a leg in the conflict, said: "Good men died out there.

"To give away the Falklands would be to mock their deaths."

His plea came after clear signs of a thaw in Britain's relationship with Argentina.

On Saturday Mrs. Thatcher sent a goodwill



INJURED: Cpl Connick message to the country's new president, Raoul Alfonsin, and he responded warmly. Now the weekend

breakthrough could pave the way to the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Corporal Connick, who was injured the day before the ceasefire, said: "It is obvious that we have to come to some sort of arrangement with the Argentines.

"But if we merely give away the islands we will be a laughing stock.

"I do not feel bitter about losing a leg, but I would be if I felt it was all for nothing."

Thatcher clears way for envoy

A BRITISH ambassador could be back in Buenos Aires soon for the first time since the Falklands war.

And there were fresh hopes last night of diplomatic talks with Argentina leading to a permanent solution of the South Atlantic issue.

GLUE - KIT BROTHERS IN COURT

TWO shopkeeper brothers are to appear in court today accused of selling glue-sniffing kits to children.

The trial, which will make legal history, follows an appeal court ruling last month that such sales were a crime in Scotland.

Khalig Raja, 23, and his brother Ahmed, 28, of Bolton Drive, Mount Florida, Glasgow, are alleged to have sold solvents, along with containers like plastic bags and crisp packets, to 18 children.

The two will also be charged at Glasgow High Court with receiving stolen goods from youngsters in exchange for solvents.

By DAVID BUCHAN
Political Editor

"Where there's a will there's a way."

Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe backed up the Prime Minister's goodwill message with an offer to return the bodies of Argentina's war dead.

He also said relatives

would be welcome to visit the Falklands to see Argentinian graves.

But he said it would be "premature" to talk of a peace settlement involving the eventual withdrawal of British troops.

He commented: "There is a will to begin taking some of the steps towards restoring normal relationships."

Message

Quite out of the blue, Mrs. Thatcher sent Mr. Alfonsin a message of congratulation as he was sworn in as president to succeed the military junta at the weekend.

It said: "Although we have many differences, we can all take pleasure in the restoration of democracy to Argentina, believing that it will bring freedom and justice to all our people."

Mr. Alfonsin sent a message back which read: "In the words of the English proverb

'Fortress Falklands' intact after letter to Argentina's president

Thatcher sticks to sovereign stance

By Ian Aitken in London and Andrew Graham-Yooll in Buenos Aires

The British Government has dropped its insistence on a formal end to Anglo-Argentinian hostilities in the Falklands as a precondition for talks with the new regime in Buenos Aires. But Whitehall yesterday was quick to dampen speculation that the "Fortress Falklands" policy had been abandoned, and insisted that Britain's continuing sovereignty over the islands could not be negotiated.

This emerged yesterday after a day in which the entire Government information machine threw itself into reverse in an almost comic attempt to end weekend speculation based on the clearly conciliatory personal message sent by Mrs Thatcher to President Alfonsín on his inauguration as the first elected ruler of Argentina for eight years.

In Buenos Aires President Alfonsín's aides deflated expectations by refusing to

read any special significance into Mrs Thatcher's congratulatory note.

"It has to be seen as a message of goodwill, and nothing else. Now we have to see how to build on the fact that it is a new government, that wants negotiations, not war," an official said.

"The trouble is that the British are so arrogant they probably think we have to thank them for defeating general Galtieri," he added.

President Alfonsín, in his reply to Mrs Thatcher did not refer to the islands, and merely agreed that "there are differences between us." But if there was a readiness to talk, contacts might be resumed, Foreign Ministry officials said.

Mrs Thatcher's letter, delivered by the neutral Swiss, stopped a long way short of a reconciliation. But as well as acknowledging the continuing differences between London and Buenos Aires, the Prime Minister added that everyone could take pleasure in the restoration of democracy to Argentina.

The move, Whitehall con-

ceded, was probably unprecedented between the heads of government of two countries still formally held to be at war. It was this which led some Sunday newspapers to conclude that peace and reconciliation were now the order of the day.

It became clear yesterday that this was not the message Mrs Thatcher wanted her letter to convey.

Besides ruling out the issue of sovereignty, Government spokesmen were at some pains to take the glitter even out of the letter to President Alfonsín, and insisted that it was intended to be no more than a conventional gesture.

Moreover, they claimed that the withdrawal of insistence on a formal ending to hostilities was not new. It has not been regarded as a precondition of talks for something like two months.

But officials were unable to provide a specific date on which the change of policy became known, although there are references to the importance attached to such a declaration as recently as last week Baroness Young alluded to it in a House of Lords debate last Tuesday, and Mrs Thatcher mentioned it in a letter to Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democrats.

Besides vigorous Whitehall counter-briefing, the Prime Minister authorised her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to go on the radio to put the message straight.

Characteristically, Sir Geoffrey made it clear that the Government had nothing spectacular in mind, insisting that its real policy was "to find means of restoring relations gradually, step by step." Mrs Thatcher's letter had been part of that policy, no more and no less.

Not even President Alfonsín's strikingly cordial reply to the Prime Minister, in which he declared that "where there's a will there's a way," persuaded Sir Geoffrey to alter his cautious tone.

Sir Geoffrey's flat and unqualified exclusion of the sovereignty issue seems likely to cancel out most of the impact of Britain's decision to drop the longstanding demand for a formal declaration from Argentina that hostilities are now at an end. But in case it had not been fully understood in Buenos Aires, Mrs Thatcher herself repeated it in a second message sent over the weekend to the Argentinian Foreign Minister, Mr Dante Caputo.

The message drew attention to the fact that Mrs Thatcher had made a number of comments welcoming the Argentine elections, and provided chapter and verse from them. But the quoted passages included this paragraph from the Prime Minister's oft-quoted interview with Sir David English in the Daily Mail last month:

Turn to back page, col. 6

Continued from page one

"I am willing to enter into talks. We want good commercial relations, good diplomatic relations. We want normal relations. But I am not entering into talks about sovereignty."

Last night Dr Owen, a former foreign secretary, made it clear that he is worried that Mrs Thatcher's intransigence about even discussing the sovereignty issue could destroy the hopes of a long term settlement offered by the accession of President Alfonsín.

He said that he had had a lengthy telephone conversation yesterday afternoon with his former adviser, Mr David Stevens, who had attended the inauguration of President Alfonsín, as possibly the only Briton to be invited as a guest. Mr Stevens had told him that the new regime was desperately anxious to normalise its foreign relations as a preliminary to tackling its gigantic domestic problems.

This, he said, would involve settling differences with Chile as well as with Britain, and

the new regime was anxious to begin talks as quickly as possible.

Dr Owen conceded that it was now evident that the Prime Minister had moved "light years" in her attitude to Argentina and the Falklands in the past few weeks.



Dr David Owen: Feared PM's intransigence

THE French Prime Minister, Pierre Mauroy, said last night that France would do everything it could to bring Argentina and Britain to the negotiating table. He said in Buenos Aires that a change had occurred in Argentina, which would undoubtedly influence France's position on the Falklands issue in international forums, including at the United Nations.

Argentina does not want US arms, page 7; Never afraid again, page 17; Falkland representative amazed, back page.

Mail on Sunday
11th December 1983

Argentina is ready to talk

Maggie buries hatchet

MRS THATCHER last night extended an olive branch to Argentina, which promptly offered one back in exchange.

Just 16 months after the Task Force expelled the Argentinian invaders from the Falkland Islands, both governments signalled that they were ready to start talking again.

Mrs Thatcher made her dramatic gesture by sending a personal message to Argen-

By **PETER SIMMONDS**
and **DAVID ROSE**

tina's new President Raul Alfonsin on his installation.

And Whitehall dropped its insistence that Argentina should formally announce an end to hostilities as a precondition to talks.

President Alfonsin's response was swift. While acknowledging that 'many differences' divided the two countries, he reminded Mrs Thatcher of an old English proverb: 'Where there is a will there is a way.'

The exchange of messages paves the way for a new chapter in relations between the two countries. But formidable problems remain.

These were highlighted when, in

a British newspaper interview, President Alfonsin called on Britain to reduce the 150-mile exclusion zone around the Falklands and to freeze construction of the new airport at Port Stanley.

He implied that the basis of any future deal would be a leaseback of the islands by the British after Argentine sovereignty is recognised.

But this is totally unacceptable to Mrs Thatcher, the Government and Parliament. Having sent a Task Force to defend the islanders' right to choose their own government, Mrs Thatcher is unwilling to see that right negotiated away.

However, the fact that both countries are signalling readiness to talk again is itself highly significant.

Mrs Thatcher is prepared to begin talks whenever and wherever Argentina wants — possibly in the United Nations or even with a

Turn to Page 2, Col 3

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Mail on Sunday
11th December 1983

Next move up to Argentina

From Page One

third country, such as America or Switzerland, in the chair.

Her message to President Alfonsín, handed over by the Swiss because Britain has broken off diplomatic relations, said:

'On the occasion of your inauguration I wanted to let you know that although we have many differences, we can all take pleasure in the restoration of democracy to

Argentina, believing it will bring freedom and justice to all your people. Today brings new hope to your country.'

The President replied: 'I thank you for your expressions concerning the re-establishment of democratic institutions in Argentina. I agree with your assessment concerning the existence of differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom.

'In this respect it may be

useful to remember an old English proverb: Where there is a will there is a way.'

Mrs Thatcher's message is quite unprecedented. Such a courtesy is accepted diplomatic practice, but in this case it was sent to a country which maintains a state of warlike hostilities to Britain.

The Prime Minister now believes the diplomatic ball is firmly back in the Argentinian court.

Settlers' dreams of life in Falklands fade

HOUSING shortages and long administrative delays have disappointed hundreds of would-be emigrants to the Falkland Islands. The civilian population has increased by only 65 since the end of hostilities with Argentina in June last year in spite of Government policy to revive the islands' economy.

The islands offices in London have a big back-log of applications. Some were made more than nine months ago. Many Britons have lost their initial enthusiasm and have decided not to go.

Applicants range from unemployed people in Britain to rich widows and divorcees from America. Others include Hong Kong Chinese and families from India wishing to set up a small business including take-away curry restaurants and laundries.

Mr Adrian Monk, London representative of the Falkland Islands Government, said: "We have been embarrassed by the number of applications. We have never advertised. They have been attracted by the publicity about the islands.

"We have limited resources and, although we try, we cannot keep in touch with each one of them monthly. It may be that half the people who have applied now no longer want to go.

"People don't realise the

By DAVID BROWN

problems there are with accommodation. Then there is the low civilian population of the island which now stands at about 1,800.

Only 400 people live in Port Stanley, the capital. Although we need skilled carpenters and plumbers, for example, we have 20 to 30 carpenters on our books. We cannot find a place for all.

"We have been going through a period of rehabilitation after the conflict with Argentina. In the medium and long term we believe there will be great scope in the Falklands.

Many applicants have been attracted by the decision of Coalite, the British company which owns most of the land in the Falklands, to sell off plots to individuals wishing to start small farms.

Fishing limit sought

But Government officials stress that the purchasers would still need another source of income to survive. Most land on the Falklands is of poor quality and fit only for sheep farming.

The Falkland Islands Development Corporation has been set up to encourage local industries. The islanders are pressing the British Government to set up a protective fishing limit of up to 200 miles around the islands.

That would enable the Falklanders to benefit from an

inshore fishing industry with guaranteed catches which are now being plundered by more than 100 East European, Japanese, Spanish and Israeli fishing boats.

There are worries that the islands are losing ideal settlers who are tired of delays. The biggest single disappointment so far is the case of Mr Colin Dow, a redundant farm manager who lived with his wife and three children near Windsor.

As reported in the *Sunday Telegraph* in May, they wanted to set up a 200-acre vegetable farm. Mr Dow's experience of harsh conditions on Scottish islands made him a prime candidate. But after months of talks and despite being offered a job as well, he changed his mind at the last minute.

A spokesman for Coalite said: "We were so sure that the Dows would make a real go of things over there that we went out of our way to help them.

"We organised a plane ticket for Mr Dow but he did not turn up for the flight. We have tried to trace the family but they have moved on."

A relative of Mr Dow said: "He wanted to go to the Falklands since he was a teenager. I am surprised he has not gone. But the family will be pleased that he has decided to stay in Britain."

MY ARGENTINA

To make sure the new Argentine Government understands that this does not involve any question of the Falklands, a parallel message was sent.

It reminded Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo of a newspaper interview in which Mrs Thatcher said:—

"I am willing to enter into talks. We want good commercial relations, diplomatic relations. We want normal relations. But I am not entering into talks about sovereignty."

It was clear last night that although the handshake extended by Mrs Thatcher will please President Reagan in Washington the motivation behind it is entirely the Prime Minister's.

Helpful

It was pointed out that Britain has already been helpful to Argentina, particularly over repayment of her huge foreign debts.

But there is no question of any sell-out over the Falklands or any question of giving up British sovereignty.

Short of that there are many matters the two countries could discuss to their mutual advantage, particularly trade.

So Mrs Thatcher has decided to give Argentina's first democratically elected president in eight years the chance to reciprocate and to break through diplomatic barriers.

American Vice-President George Bush was a guest at the Alfonsín inauguration in Buenos Aires. He is pressing the new Government there to swallow national pride and declare a formal end to Falklands hostilities.

And from the tone of President Alfonsín's inaugural address the way to some settlement is being cleared.

Argentina had "profound scars," he said, and had learned that "the ends never justify the means."

BY HOPE, T

by KEITH RENSHAW and MICHAEL TONER

IN an exceptional gesture of conciliation last night Mrs Margaret Thatcher congratulated Argentina's new democratic President upon his inauguration.

The Prime Minister's message to President Raul Alfonsín amounts to a major initiative because Argentina regards itself as hostile to Britain and there are no diplomatic relations between London and Buenos Aires.

Now it is for the President to decide how to respond to this peace-feeler from Britain's "Iron Lady," delivered through a Swiss diplomat attending the inauguration.

Mrs Thatcher said:—

On the occasion of your inauguration I wanted to let you know that, although we have many differences, we can all take pleasure in the restoration of democracy to Argentina, believing it will bring freedom and justice to all your people. Today brings new hope to your country.

Falklands bridge too far

MICHAEL DAVIE
notebook

WITH a new, democratically elected Argentine President taking office yesterday, the Falkland Islands are all set to return to the centre of British politics. What are the next steps in the Falklands? Are the islands to go on being turned into a fortress, the present Thatcher policy? Or will Mrs Thatcher now want or dare to make a move towards solving the problem?

In search of enlightenment about the state of informed opinion on these questions, I attended, a few days ago, a small conference on 'Falkland Futures' held at the Commonwealth Institute in London. The participants were not particularly high-powered — no policy-makers were on hand — but they surely reflected accurately the opinions and pressures in the world outside.

I went in a spirit of optimism, based on the simple notion (over-simple, as it turned out) that because the present fortified status quo suits nobody — not even the Falkland Islanders, who do not like being a fortress — everybody would be looking for compromises.

Others, I think, had gone along in the same reasonably hopeful frame of mind. About 60 people were present, including three politicians (Lady Ellis for the Conservatives, Lord

Hatch for Labour, Mr Eric Ogden, 20 years a Labour MP, for the SDP), the representative in the UK of the Falklands Government, several British dons who specialise in Latin America, a Falklands clergyman, the former RN captain of Endurance, a group of Argentines — a publisher, a journalist, a lawyer, an academic — a Canadian trade unionist who is director of international affairs for the Canadian Labour Congress (the equivalent of the TUC), other interested parties, and three British journalists.

The meeting was private, and 'Chatham House rules' applied, which means that information and views can be reported but not attributed to named speakers, a device intended to encourage frankness. It did.

At 9.30 a.m. when we kicked off, the mood seemed friendly. Eight hours later, the three distinct groups that had emerged — the Falklands group, the Argentines, and those in the middle — were being polite in

their mutual farewells, but not without effort. Almost everyone, I judged, felt irritated or worse as a result of the day's exchanges.

It was of course to be expected that there should be sharp disagreement about Argentine and British claims to sovereignty over the islands, but the disagreement took polemical form. The whole subject is still evidently surrounded by confusion. The first speaker of the day, a polytechnic don, said that Mr Cecil Parkinson's celebrated description, at the height of the crisis, of Britain's claim as 'rock solid' was much too confident. The claim was 'grey' at best.

Then an ex-Foreign Office man, who had served in the British Embassy in Buenos Aires, said that the 'very odd' Argentine claim had been 'invented' by General Peron in person. He himself had discussed the claim with Peron, who had admitted its weakness. He also said he had examined Argentine school-books, and none of them before Peron had

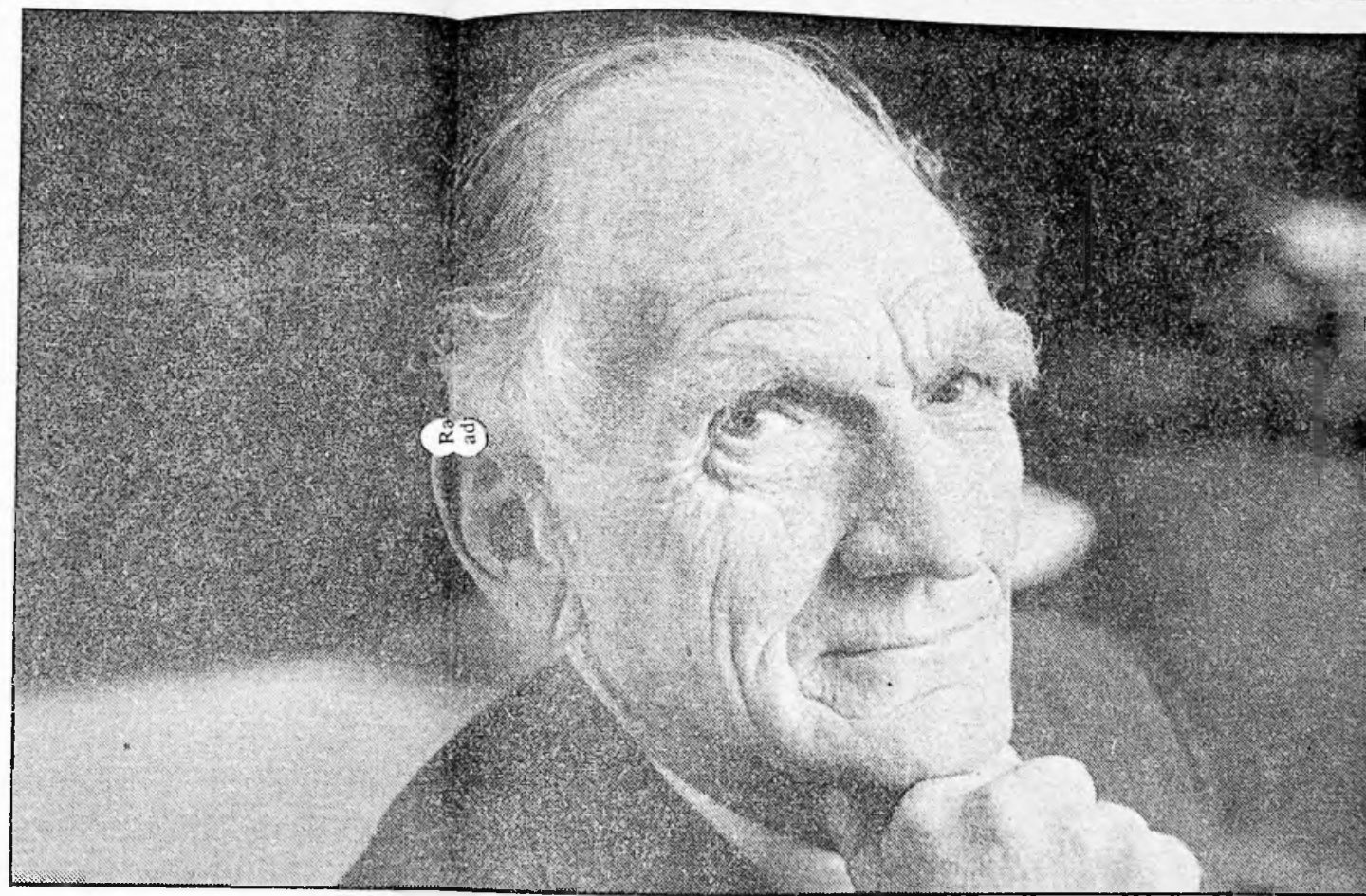
ever mentioned any Argentine claim. At that, an Argentine said that if he had known that the Foreign Office official had been interested in school-books he would have lent him the ones he had had, because they had certainly featured the claim.

Nor was there any agreement about the cost of the Fortress Falklands policy. A university lecturer in war studies, or peace studies as they are now known, had provisionally calculated the true cost at £6 billion to the end of 1987. This is far higher than the official sum. The Falklands Islands spokesman — Mr Adrian Monk, who has allowed me to quote him — said: 'We hear these figures bandied about. I don't believe a word of them.' His own way of expressing the cost of keeping the islands British was that it worked out, for the average UK taxpayer, at 'two bottles of gin and 200 cigarettes a year.'

Are the islands of any strategic importance? Again, the Falklands people and their backers said they were, and others said they weren't. A British don quoted a government spokesman in the House of Lords as saying, recently, that despite official hopes only 29 people had emigrated to the Falklands since the end of the war, while 35 had left. A Falkland Islands spokesman said these figures were 'erroneous.' There had been a net increase, not a decrease.

Once or twice, the discussion became embarrassingly acrimonious. An Argentine outlined the kind of settlement he thought the new Alfonsín Government would be looking for and the guarantees it would be prepared to give. In reply, the ex-Foreign Office man said that 'listening to Mr X, I was beginning to think that we might have lost the war.'

There was another bad moment when the Falklands cleric referred to 'racial' differences between the islanders and the Argentines. He added that it would be 25 years before anything could begin to happen to heal the wounds of war: 'My



Falklands spokesman Adrian Monk: 'Two bottles of gin and 200 cigarettes to keep the islands British.'

country was invaded, my people subjugated. I say this as a man of the cloth, a man of peace.' This intervention was not well received by the Argentines. 'The Falkland islanders reject every possible solution,' said the Argentine lawyer.

References were made by the Falklands group to Argentine brutality. The blanket nature of these remarks especially annoyed the Argentines, since they too had opposed the savagery of the Junta. 'They lump us all in the same bag,' said one. Another Argentine tried to build a bridge by saying from the platform that what the islanders objected to about the invasion force was exactly what the majority of Argentine citizens objected to also. That was why they had voted overwhelmingly for Sr Alfonsín, whose record in opposing the Junta, and the invasion, was so strong. The bridge, however, remained unbuilt.

The Canadian trade unionist, a professional conciliator,

floated a scheme for a condominium: government of the Falklands jointly by the Organisation of American States and the Commonwealth. Such an arrangement, he said, would remove the danger of another invasion and get rid of competing forms of nationalism. It would also save Britain a lot of money. Nobody wanted to discuss this idea, though, and the Canadian's last word at the close of play was about the 'destructiveness' of the exchanges.

Sitting through the conference, I had one clear impression: that the pressures on the Thatcher Government to modify its public stance are bound to grow.

No better or more conciliatory man than Sr Alfonsín is likely to become Argentina's head of Government, the most knowledgeable people at the conference agreed. The USA will shortly resume arms sales to Argentina. The new Argentine Government has good

contacts both with the Italian and the French Governments. Pressure on Britain will thus be felt, in the form of diminishing support in the EEC. Then, of course, there is the expense, referred to even by a Conservative representative as 'enormous.' It will be the policy of the new Argentine Government, if there are no negotiations, we were told, to try to make the expense as high as possible, in order to move British public opinion against the Fortress Falklands policy.

A Latin American expert, British, added that the new Argentine Government would quickly be able to reassemble Argentina's natural constituency in Latin America that the Junta had thrown away, for instance in Mexico. The same man spoke of a threat to arrangements in Antarctica if there was no movement over the Falklands.

Then there is the modernisation of the Argentine armed forces, already under way. The

peace studies man instanced the supply of new frigates from West Germany, partly equipped by such British firms as Rolls Royce, Hawker Siddeley and David Brown. The Argentine Air Force, he said, lost 74 aircraft during the war and had acquired 107 since it stopped, including troop carriers and helicopters. Three aircraft were being converted for anti-submarine work. He described all this as a 'rather impressive rearmament process.'

Meanwhile, he said, the Royal Navy is keeping about one third of its modern ships down there, which does not please NATO.

So, with Sr Alfonsín apparently ready to talk, and the Falkland Islanders, as the conference showed, highly suspicious of any talks at all, a test of Mrs Thatcher's statesmanship is at hand.

Peace hopes

continued from page 1

Other British grants to the Falklands since last year include £46 million for economic and social development, £15 million for war damage work, and £31 million for a six year economic programme.

Mrs Thatcher's gesture has great importance for the Alfonsín administration. Sources inside the Radical party indicate that the new government has an "enormous interest" in re-establishing relations with Britain. In their view, the junta's invasion in April was a grave political error, although they have always insisted that the Falklands/Malvinas cause was just.

"It is obvious to us", a Radical party foreign affairs adviser said "that Argentinian public opinion would not understand any rapprochement with the United Kingdom at a moment when the United Kingdom is building 'Fortress Falklands'. At the moment, the Argentine position is quite comfortable, in the sense that Argentina has already lost everything she has to lose. Argentina can afford to wait."

Mrs Thatcher's message is

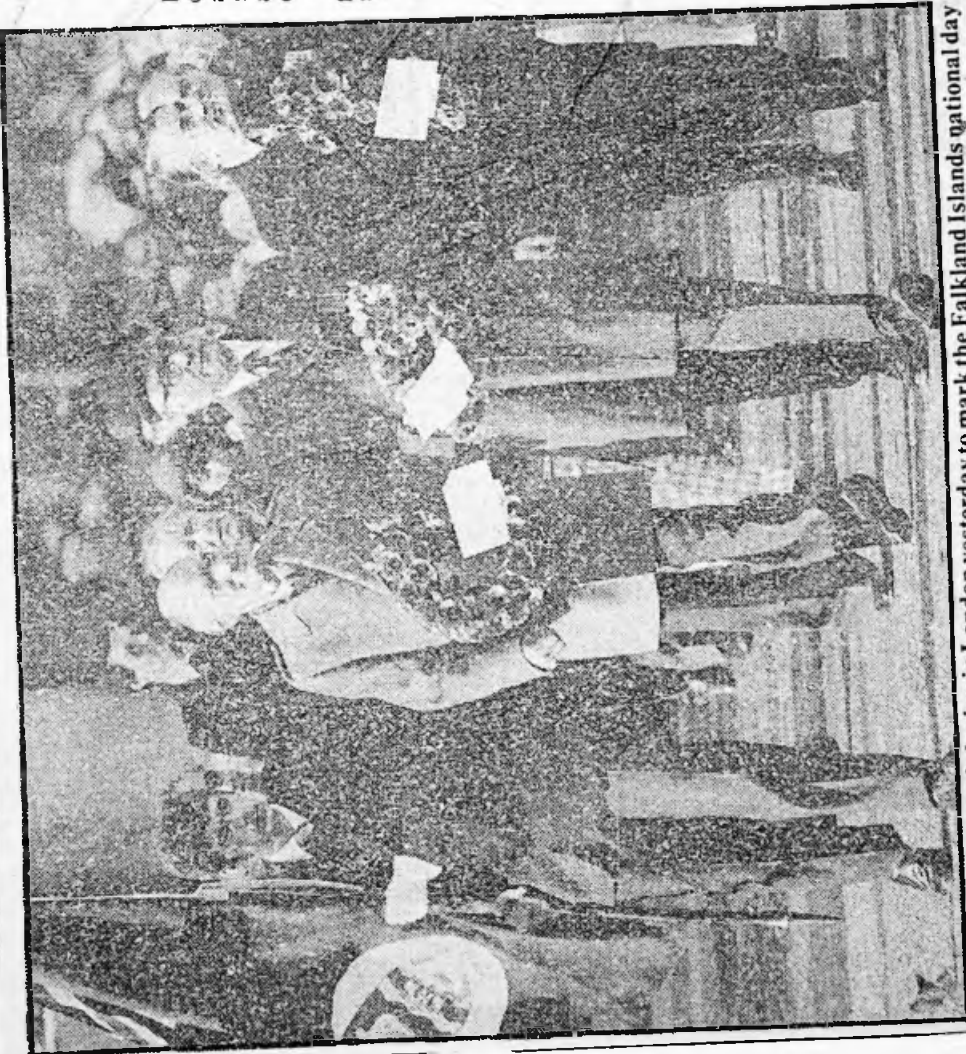
the gesture tat could soften that attitude.

News of the message began to circulate in Buenos Aires on Friday after Italy's socialist prime minister, Bettino Craxi, said he had received a telegram from Mrs Thatcher before leaving Italy, informing him of the message to Alfonsín.

Vice-President George Bush, representing President Reagan for the inauguration, was briefed by British officials in Washington before he left for Buenos Aires. Britain not seeking mediation by Bush, but it does want the prime minister's message to be pressed home.

The secret-listeners, page 11; and Editorial comment, page 16

Frank Herrmann



Falklands day: a wreath-laying in London yesterday to mark the Falkland Islands national day

Argentina offers leaseback deal

from JIMMY BURNS in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA's new civilian President, Raúl Alfonsín, is prepared to modify Argentina's position on the Falklands dispute. In an exclusive interview with *The Observer* — the first granted to a British publication by any senior Argentine official since the Falklands conflict — he revealed new ideas designed to break the deadlock with Britain and open the way to a negotiated settlement.

Alfonsín, installed as President yesterday, when more than two million people poured into Buenos Aires to celebrate his inauguration, calls on Mrs Thatcher to consider reducing the 150-miles exclusion zone around the Falklands and to freeze the construction of the new Port Stanley airport.

Without specifically saying that he would declare an end to hostilities, the new President indicated that an end to hostilities would probably be announced by Argentina immediately, if the British took these steps.

He told *The Observer*: 'I

Exclusive

have no doubt that if Mrs Thatcher were to make such a move, we would regard this as a very positive step, and it would take us a long way down the road to a solution. Once Argentina and Britain resumed negotiations, the new Argentine Government would be ready to work towards a solution that (at least in the short term) would skirt round the principles — territorial integrity and self-determination — over which the war was fought.

Instead, Alfonsín hinted that he would offer an alternative compromise acceptable to majority opinion not just in Britain and Argentina, but eventually to the islanders themselves.

Since the end of the war the Argentine Foreign Ministry has insisted that sovereignty must be on the agenda of any talks, a view consistently rejected in London.

Alfonsín now implies that 'leaseback' a British lease of the Falklands after Argentine sovereignty is recognised — could possibly be a basis for a future deal. He still firmly believes in Argentina's right to sovereignty over the Falklands, but will not push for immediate control over them.

'We think that negotiations should eventually lead to the recovery of the islands. But the talks should provide the basis for a more positive atmosphere on the islands including a much better standard of living for the islanders.

'I think that we are resolved to study alternatives. Yes, we would provide the islanders with guarantees as we have no wish to hurt them, and

we would look at the question of leaseback. . . .

The President refused to be drawn on how long he thought the lease should run and whether he would ensure that the island administration would remain British during the period. However, it is understood that the new Radical Government would not be opposed to offering generous guarantees to the existing generation of kelpers.

The Argentine Foreign Ministry is expected soon to draw up a draft plan suggesting that the islanders during the leaseback period would be allowed to be responsible for their own security. The kelpers would also be allowed to retain their political and cultural rights as British nationals.

Leaseback has been on the Falklands agenda since the mid 1970s, but Alfonsín was insistent that the advent of a solidly backed civilian Government in Argentina and the firm rejection of the military had put the future of the Falklands issue in a new light.

'A fundamental argument that used to be held by people in Britain as a reason for not negotiating with us has now disappeared. We are no longer a de facto regime, nor are we run by a dictatorship. We Argentines have finally understood that we will always be a tin-pot country if we don't follow a golden rule. The armed forces must come under the firm control of the civilian powers.'

Argentina's new Radical Government is committed to cutting military spending from 5 per cent to 2 per cent of gross domestic product.

But Alfonsín said that the



PRESIDENT ALFONSÍN : Breaking the deadlock.

achievement of such a target depended on defusing traditional areas of territorial tension such as the Beagle channel and the Falklands, which in the past seven years have been used by the armed forces as justification for an estimated £6.6 billion worth of arms purchases.

The Government is expected to embark very soon on two major initiatives aimed at underlining its commitment to non-belligerence.

According to Alfonsín, Argentina will by the middle of next month have almost certainly accepted the peace proposal made by the Vatican in 1978 as the basis for an agreement with Chile over the Beagle channel.

Alfonsín also revealed that he would put the country's nuclear programme out of the hands of the Navy and under the full control of Parliament.

One of the first moves of the new Parliament is expected to be the repeal of an amnesty law which covered hundreds of officers involved in the torture, deaths, and 'disappearance' of some 15,000 Argentines after the 1976 military coup.

● The new President was showered with confetti and flowers yesterday, as he made his way beaming in an open car down the quarter-mile avenue which separates the majestic Congress building from the Presidential Pink House in May Square. His inauguration marked the end of nearly eight years of military rule.

Thatcher to end Fortress Falklands

by ADAM RAPHAEL, Political Editor

MRS THATCHER last night signalled the end of the Government's 'Fortress Falklands' policy by sending a personal message of congratulations to the new President of Argentina, Raúl Alfonsín, on his inauguration.

Whitehall officials at first claimed it was normal to send such a message to a new Government, but later conceded that it was unprecedented to do so to a state which is still nominally at war with this country.

Mrs Thatcher's message coincides with a remarkable interview by President Alfonsín, which appears exclusively in today's *Observer*, and the first significant step towards a peaceful resolution of the Falklands conflict.

As Britain has no diplomatic relations with Argentina, Mrs Thatcher's message was handed over by the Swiss State Secretary, Herr Probst, who is attending the inauguration ceremonies in Buenos Aires.

Mrs Thatcher's message said: 'On the occasion of your inauguration, I wanted to let you know that, although we have many differences, we can all

take pleasure in the restoration of democracy to Argentina, believing it will bring freedom and justice to all your people. Today brings new hope to your country.'

At the same time, a diplomatic text from the British Government was handed to the new Argentine Foreign Minister, Señor Dante Caputo, outlining a number of conciliatory Ministerial statements made recently in London on future relations.

The initiatives are clearly designed to secure a positive response from Argentina's new President. Whitehall officials said last night that Britain was no longer insisting on the announcement of a formal cessation of hostilities by Argentina as a pre-condition for talks on the Falklands.

Mrs Thatcher is still, however, firmly ruling out any negotiations over sovereignty, and officials say these can clearly be no resumption of full diplomatic relations while hostilities still continue.

It is hoped that the Prime Minister's message will be the first step towards normalising relations with Buenos Aires.

'If Alfonsín wants to reply and end hostilities, then he has got a way through,' said one senior Whitehall official last night.

Downing Street officials are studying closely the text of the Alfonsín interview in today's *Observer*, in which he indicates that he would be prepared to end hostilities, if Britain took steps to ease the military tension between the two countries. Suitable steps, he suggests, would be reducing the 150-mile protection zone or abandoning work on Port Stanley airport.

Mrs Thatcher's move to normalise relations with Argentina comes after the expression of growing unease in her party's ranks about the long-term viability of the 'Fortress Falklands' policy.

America's willingness to resume arms sales to Argentina has reinforced the view of Tory MPs that Britain should not wait for a formal cessation of hostilities before attempting to resume a dialogue.

The mounting cost of 'Fortress Falklands'—nearly £1,000 million a year—is a potent additional factor.



THE SUNDAY TIMES

Godspeed Falklands

EIGHTEEN months after the Falklands war, Argentina has returned to democratic rule, presenting Britain with a chance to establish the Falklands peace. Mrs Thatcher has now welcomed Dr Alfonsín into office, and expressed the hope of more normal relations. The need is to move swiftly and flexibly to bring a rational end to an episode which, for Britain, was heroic at the time, but which now casts a pall of gloom and futility over areas far removed from the south-west Atlantic.

The present state of the Falklands damages Britain in four ways. First, it is a major irritant in Anglo-American relations. Mrs Thatcher unwisely made a public complaint last month against the imminent resumption of American arms sales to Buenos Aires. It got her nowhere. President Reagan has certified that Argentina's human rights record now justifies arms sales: an optimistic assessment, given that Alfonsín took office only on Friday, but an improvement on El Salvador where, human rights being non-existent, the president has simply vetoed the congressional demand that there, too, arms sales should be conditional on their maintenance. To Washington, the Falklands are, understandably, an almost irrelevant pimple on a teeming continent.

Secondly, any policy is futile which impairs, without compensation, trade and diplomatic relations with Argentina itself and other South American Countries. We have an overriding interest in returning to normality, the neat little Falklands war having had a beginning and an end. The same goes for the third area of damage, to Britain's own defence budget. Spending £1,000 million on the Falklands garrison is a Ruritanian folly, disconnected from any other British defence interest - indeed positively harmful to more pressing commitments. This points, in turn, to the fourth victim of present policy: the native community on the Falklands. The vast military establishment radically alters the character and the way of life of the islands. Since it was to protect that way of life that the war was fought, there could hardly be a more perfect, or troubling, paradox.

Some of these costs had to be paid in the aftermath of British victory. But they are a spur to speed in solving the Argentinian question, now that Dr Alfonsín has taken over. Exchanges of messages between London and Buenos Aires are a good start. There now needs to be a prolonged diplomatic effort, giving the issue the priority which properly derives from the damage now being done. There should be an early exchange of ambassadors. It will also be essential for the foreign secretary himself to lead the British initiative. Too often in the past, the Falklands were left to junior ministers, who got mangled by the House of Commons whenever they came near to a solution.

Of course there is no immediate "solution". But talks need to begin as a prelude to Argentina calling off hostilities; this should not be precondition. From that basis, the resumption of commercial and political relations ought to flow. Within that dialogue, the long-term future of the Falklands will have to be discussed. In the course of it incautious British negotiators need to beware of two pitfalls.

The first is the belief that the south-west Atlantic may, after all, be vital to the Western alliance. This contention was never made before the war; even later it took a long time to surface. Now, armchair strategists are deploying arguments resting on the premise that the defence of Land's End begins at Tristan da Cunha. Some of them spoke in the Lords debate last week.

Secondly, while maintaining close contact with the islanders and consulting them at every stage, the British government should not feel bound by the "paramountcy" of their wishes. This term should be struck from the vocabulary. A wise prime minister will exploit the opening offered by Dr Alfonsín's accession to secure a properly-defended deal which protects the Falklanders' way of life. But she will not give them alone the veto.

Thatcher seeks Falklands peace

Argentina responds positively to British goodwill initiative

by Michael Jones in London and Isabel Hilton in Buenos Aires

IN DRAMATIC behind-the-scenes moves marking Argentina's return to democratic rule yesterday, Britain and its Falklands war adversary have exchanged their first official and friendly messages since last year's conflict. Britain also dropped its insistence that Argentina must formally end hostilities before talks can begin.

Recognising that the first months of the new government in Buenos Aires will be crucial, Mrs Thatcher took the initiative and sent a message of congratulations to the new president, Raul Alfonsín, who took the oath of office yesterday morning in the National Congress building to the cheers of newly elected deputies and senators.

The British prime minister's gesture brought an immediate response. Dr Hugo Grubbi, Argentina's

that, although we have many differences, we can all take pleasure in the restoration of democracy to Argentina, believing that it will bring freedom and justice to all your people. Today brings new hope to your country".

In his reply Alfonsín said: "I recognise there were differences between us. But, in the words of the English proverb, 'Where there's a will, there's a way'".

In Buenos Aires, Dr Gobbi said that, although Mrs Thatcher's message acknowledged the distance between the two countries, "it is a gesture of good will, and perhaps it is the first step towards something".

Last night Downing Street took the unusual step of releasing a text

outlining the British negotiating position, which was sent yesterday to Argentina's new foreign secretary, Dante Caputo.

This sets out the terms stated by Mrs Thatcher and the Foreign Office following the Argentinian election which replaced the military junta with the 57-year-old Alfonsín and his Radical party.

The emphasis is on Britain's desire for restored relations. The point is firmly made, however, that while Mrs Thatcher is willing to enter into talks to achieve this, she remains implacably opposed to discussions involving British sovereignty over the Falklands.

Both her personal message to

Alfonsín and the formal message to Caputo were handed over in Buenos Aires by Swiss diplomats, who have been acting as the protecting power for British interests in Argentina, which remain considerable, while Brazil looks after Argentinian interests in Britain.

The prime minister's initiative, it is made clear in Whitehall, was not made at the behest of the Americans, although the beneficial effects on Anglo-American relations are recognised.

Mrs Thatcher has been careful to keep the door open for a return to normal contacts with Argentina and, partly on these grounds, she defended a 10 per cent British participation in a controversial \$1,100 million international bank loan to the junta.

She, successfully demanded, in return, that British companies be allowed to repatriate their dividends, though other restrictions remain.

continued on page 3

After the junta

IT is clearly an irritation to the Government that America has gone some way towards restoring the supply of arms to Argentina, but it need not be seen as more than that. Certainly it should not obscure the much more important fact that the news from Argentina itself is encouraging. Yesterday a democratically-elected President was inaugurated in Buenos Aires and a period of infamous military rule came to an end. Tomorrow an elected Congress will begin to tackle the task of restoring order to the country's stricken economy and social fabric. The signs are that Argentina is at last on course for a return to political health. Mrs Thatcher's cordial message yesterday to President Alfonsín acknowledges this.

The next welcome news would be that President Alfonsín's new regime had agreed to a "normalisation" of relations with this country. The restoration of diplomatic relations, broken since the Falklands invasion, has been urged by the British Government, subject only to the

inevitable proviso that Argentina first announces an official end to the hostilities. But "it takes two to tango," as the Foreign Office spokesman expressed it in the House of Commons on Friday. The new regime is so great an improvement upon its disreputable predecessor, so much more inclined towards sense and away from bellicosity, that one may well hope that it will accept the case for a renewal of civilised discourse, beginning with the limited contacts Britain now proposes.

Its problems at home are in any case immense. Apart from trying to heal the wounds left by years of tyranny, it has a shattered economy to coax back to life. Inflation is running at more than 400 per cent, a truly horrific figure; unemployment stands at 20 per cent; and the burden of debt is crippling. The test of Argentina's ability to meet these problems must start at once; and so far as Britain is concerned, after the trauma of the Falklands war this country has reason to wish it well.

Argentina's military rule ends in cheers

By FRANK TAYLOR in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA put an end to nearly eight years of military rule yesterday when Senor Raul Alfonsín, 56, leader of the Radical party, was sworn in as President.

In an address to Congress, he immediately put the military on notice that it would have to pay for the years of repression and that those found responsible for the disappearance of thousands of people since 1976 would be punished in the courts.

He declared that the amnesty which the military announced for itself earlier this year and which effectively absolved it of blame for the disappearances, would be rescinded.

To the cheers of legislators, Senor Alfonsín promised an Argentina of "justice and freedom". He deplored the "catastrophic state" of the economy left behind by the military and said there would no longer be the rule of fear in political administration.

"Public immorality ends today," he declared. Violence from the Left or the Right would not be tolerated.

After addressing Congress,

Senor Alfonsín was driven in an open car to the presidential palace. There he received the sash of office from General Reynaldo Bignone, the respected officer who had the task of guiding Argentina to democratic elections after the military junta of General Galtieri resigned, humiliated in the Falklands war and discredited by the recession at home.

The route to the palace was lined with millions of wildly cheering Argentines, waving blue-and-white national flags and the red-and-white banners of the Radical party.

Many had been up all through Friday night celebrating the end of yet another period of military dictatorship. One television channel began its services yesterday with the title "Welcome, Democracy."

But while most Argentines seemed to have convinced themselves that this time a civilian government could work, some recalled that in the past 53 years only two elected presidents had seen out their terms of office.

The inauguration ceremonies yesterday were witnessed by presidents and prime ministers from all over the world, the

notable exception being Britain, diplomatic relations not yet having been restored.

Among those specially invited by Senor Alfonsín was Senora Isabel Peron, the former President whose catastrophic rule led to the military coup in 1976. She spent five years under house arrest before going into exile in Spain in 1981.

Thatcher overture

OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT writes: Mrs Thatcher made an important peace overture towards Argentina last night. In a conciliatory message to President Alfonsín, the country's new leader, she opened the door to diplomatic and trade negotiations frozen since the Falklands war.

In the message, relayed via the Swiss representative in Buenos Aires, the Prime Minister again emphasised she would not discuss sovereignty of the Falklands. But she is no longer insisting on a formal Argentine acknowledgement that hostilities have ended as a precondition to any talks on trade and diplomatic contacts.

Editorial comment—P20

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SOUTH ATLANTIC PARTNERS

Argentina today acquires a new President. Senor Alfonsín was democratically elected. He represents a break with forty years of turbulent political alternation between Peronism and military dictatorship. His election obviously does not guarantee that that volatile country with its ruined economy will indefinitely sustain a leader who, alone of his peers, stood out in opposition to the invasion of the Falklands. But that fact adds extra significance and symbolism to his election, and it should elicit an appropriate response from Britain which has sadly not yet been forthcoming.

Of course there are difficulties and distractions, of which the question of resumed American arms sales to Argentina is only the most recent. It is, frankly, an irrelevance, in the longer term context of the Falklands and British relations with Argentina. It occurs partly because the Reagan administration has endorsed a certification of progress on human rights in Argentina which means that the embargo on arms sales can now be lifted. Perhaps Washington has been premature in the lifting of that embargo since it suggests that human rights progress has been made by the now wholly discredited junta which was dissolved two days ago. It would have been better to have waited until such progress could clearly have been attributed to positive measures taken by Senor Alfonsín's administration.

However, it is a distraction because British ministers know both that Senor Alfonsín neither wants nor needs arms from the United States with which to alter the local balance of power in the South Atlantic, and because the American Administration would not wish to sell him arms which would have such an effect. The hope for a normalization of Anglo-Argentine relations, expressed by Mr Whitney in the Commons yesterday and by Baroness Young in Tuesday's wide-ranging debate on the Falklands in the Lords, is the more sensible attitude to convey.

British policy towards Argentina must therefore be calculated, where possible, to assist the fortunes of Senor Alfonsín in his attempts to consolidate power and rehabilitate democracy in his country. There will be

a need to prevent any recurrence of a situation where the underlying Argentine feeling on the Falklands can be exploited unscrupulously for domestic political purposes leading to a knee-jerk reaction with tragic consequences.

How can this be done? First, there should be no British ambiguity of the kind which preceded and was partially responsible for last year's Argentine invasion. We know now that the Argentines would never have attacked if they had thought the British would respond in kind. The British position should thus be clear cut: that will recognize that sovereignty over the Falklands – certainly some of them – is disputed, that neither side regards its claim as negotiable, that neither side is willing for the claim to be tested at the International Court, and that the basis of each side's claim is anyway unlikely to be clear enough for any judicial decision to be achieved.

In this the position of the islanders is crucial. But it cannot be the sole factor. The doctrine of self-determination is not clear enough to point the way further than the assertion that no change in the administration and government of the Falkland Islands should be agreed without the fullest consideration of the islanders' views. Logically self-determination could lead to creation of an independent Falklands. That might be attractive as a means of overcoming the residual anti-colonialist attitudes which underly much of the international opposition to the British position. In practice it is not desired by the islanders, or by Britain, since it would merely create one more micro-state without the means to defend itself in a potentially hostile environment – another Belize or Grenada in the making.

Nevertheless the conversations currently in hand between Britain and the Falklanders are based on moves to establish a fully self-governing colony, but still a colony; and a colony of only some 500 householders surrounded by many more troops. Admittedly the size of the garrison will drop on completion of the new air strip, as will the running expense of defending the Falklands. But long before then it should be

hoped that discussions with Argentina, even without resolution of the irreconcilable positions on sovereignty, had established in practice that, whatever the juridical status of this or that island, all three parties – Argentina, Britain and the Falklands – were legitimately and collectively involved in the future, not just because of geography, but because of the need for long term development of resources in the South Atlantic and Antarctica.

Britain is legitimately concerned with that part of the world as a participant in the Antarctic Treaty, to which now even India and China have acceded. The Argentine claim to the Falkland Dependencies is a nonsense juridically and geographically – South Georgia for instance is as far from Argentina as Britain is from Greenland – but the Antarctic Treaty at least has provided a useful precedent for international cooperation without prejudice to or disturbance of unresolved claims of sovereignty.

Consequently the future status of the Falklands should not stand in the way of Anglo-Argentine cooperation provided that Britain can make it clear that – whatever that status will be – it will contain an Anglo-Argentine dimension of some kind. The actual constitution of the Falklands is now a matter for the islanders and the British Government, but the ultimate relationship will undeniably have to be a tripartite one within the region as a whole. Britain's readiness to accommodate Argentina should be coupled with an unambiguous intention to remain an active participant and collaborator in the South Atlantic and Antarctica where the two countries could work together on the basis of mutual respect.

How we get there remains to be seen, since it will be a slow process. But given that the fact and history of the Falklands inspires in each country an emotional and political response of particular intensity, it should – indeed it must – be possible to work for a future where the Islands become the symbol of an Anglo-Argentine partnership in the South Atlantic and Antarctica and no longer an open wound.

Falklands 'main issue' in foreign policy'

By FRANK TAYLOR in Buenos Aires

THE new civilian Government in Argentina regards the "unresolved" question of the Falkland Islands as the country's main foreign policy problem, according to informants close to the presidency.

Soon after being inaugurated today as President, Senor Raul Alfonsin is to hold talks with Vice-President Bush of the United States.

Senor Alfonsin said recently he would not declare a formal end to hostilities without some "concession" from Britain, such as a readiness to talk about the Falklands' sovereignty.

Knowledgeable sources said yesterday it was likely that Senor Alfonsin would try to enlist the Reagan Administration's backing for moves aimed at getting Britain to open negotiations on the islands' future.

Good offices

In return, the sources said, Senor Alfonsin would probably offer to place all of Argentina's nuclear installation under international inspection and safeguards, as requested by the United States.

American intelligence reports said recently that Argentina would be capable of producing an atomic bomb within three years.

But the outgoing military regime refused to allow the International Atomic Energy Commission to make regular inspections of some of its nuclear facilities, a procedure that would ensure that reprocessed fuel was not diverted to weapons research.

Argentina is not a signatory of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, nor has it adhered to the Treaty of Tlatelco, aimed at keeping Latin America a nuclear-free zone.

It is by no means certain that the Americans will accept such a deal, although officials in Washington have said they are ready to offer "good offices" should Britain and Argentina appear to be ready to open talks on the Falklands.

Too early

But without a declaration of an end to hostilities by Argentina, Mrs Thatcher is unlikely to be interested in talks and would almost certainly not wish to discuss the sovereignty issue. After the Grenada invasion and the lifting of the American arms embargo on Argentina, Mr Reagan's leverage with Mrs Thatcher is probably minimal.

The arms embargo decision has gone almost unremarked by officials and the Press in Buenos Aires although presidential

informants said it was "naturally welcomed."

Argentine defence experts said it was too early to say precisely what weapons might be sought from the United States. But they thought radar and communications equipment, as well as anti-aircraft systems including ground-to-air missiles, would almost certainly figure on an early shopping list.

Personnel carriers and, eventually, the ultra-modern F16 jet aircraft with its Side-winder missiles would also be sought. The air force is also interested in helicopters.

But with a foreign debt of more than \$40 billion (£27 billion), Argentina will have to hope that the Reagan Administration would grant military credits to cover any purchases.

FALKLAND ISLANDS BATTLE DAY

There will be a short ceremony at the Cenotaph in Whitehall today to commemorate the Battle of the Falkland Islands in December, 1914, the Battle of the River Plate in December, 1939, and the Task Force, 1982. Wreaths will be laid by Mr Adrian Monk, Falkland Islands Government Representative in London, on behalf of the Falkland Islands Government and the people of the Falkland Islands, by Capt. Nicholas Barker, R.N., on behalf of H.M. Forces, and by Mr E. W. Hunter Christie, Chairman of the Falkland Islands Association, on behalf of the United Kingdom Falkland Islands Committee and the Falklands Islands Association.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

10.12.83

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

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US surprised by British reaction

From Harold Jackson
in Washington

US officials were apparently startled by the public reaction in Britain to President Reagan's decision to end the arms embargo on Argentina.

They stressed yesterday that there were no immediate plans to sell equipment to the new government in Buenos Aires. They also said that any requests would be examined

closely to see what implications a sale might have for British forces on the Falkland Islands.

It seemed evident that any outstanding orders for American weapons were unlikely to be filled until there was much clearer evidence of improved relations between Buenos Aires and London, though there is optimism in Washington that the arrival of an elected Argentinian government may speed a reconciliation.

The principal items on the Argentinian shopping list have been embargoed since 1978 — 24 A4E Skyhawk ground attack fighters, two C-130 heavy transport aircraft, and 16 turbo-commander light transports. The American items are only one element in an extensive range of military orders now in the pipeline. Many of the others have also been held up since the Falklands war.

Argentina has previously bought arms from the US, Bri-

tain, West Germany, France, Italy, and Brazil, and has also developed its own manufacturing capacity. It has an agreement with the German firm Thyssen Henschel under which it is building most of its own tanks to a Thyssen design. This is to replace the ageing second world war Sherman tanks with the Argentine Mediano, or TAM, made specially light to allow it to travel on poor-quality Latin American roads.

Efforts to rebuild the navy with six West German submarines, three destroyers, and six corvettes, have ground to a halt and the orders for 15 Anglo-French Puma helicopters and 12 Panhard armoured cars are also in abeyance. Equipment ordered from Brazil is mainly geared to internal security or to training. It includes 24 training aircraft and 11 light counter-insurgency planes.

Drive to heal split on arms sales decision

Continued from page one

relations would be harmed. "Actually the US has not sold arms to Argentina for a long time, while other countries have, and the UK relationship with those countries still seems to be in existence," he said.

Mrs Thatcher's denial of any rift in Anglo-American relations came at the opening of a new building for news agencies in London.

Diverting from her prepared text she said: "A number of newspapers this morning described my attitude to Anglo-American relations in terms that vary from wholly untroubled to spitting mad."

"I wonder if I might be allowed to say a word? And this will be the truth. So far as I am concerned Anglo-American relations are in good heart."

"Even as the press were describing my attitude, I was having a customary warm and friendly discussion this evening with Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. It is with friends you can talk frankly: never with rancour; always with friendship; always with understanding."

Mr Regan, had a 45-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher on Thursday night two hours after she had strongly attacked US economic policy in the Commons.

He said yesterday that he had assured Mrs Thatcher that US interest rates would gradually come down.

In the Commons the Foreign Office Junior minister, Mr Ray Whitney, said that President Reagan's decision on arms sales "was not sprung upon us."

Mr Whitney stressed that the Government welcomed the election of President Alfonsín in Argentina and had stated its hope of being able to return to normal diplomatic relations with Argentina in the future.

The stumbling block, according to government sources, is the refusal of Argentina to announce publicly a cessation of hostilities over the Falklands.

Government supporters are convinced that private diplomatic overtures are likely to be made by the Foreign Office once Mr Alfonsín, who is installed officially today, has safely established his leadership.

The Commons foreign affairs select committee whose membership was agreed by the Commons yesterday could play a part in rebuilding the diplomatic links.

Mrs Thatcher's change of tone was described yesterday by the shadow foreign secretary, Mr Denis Healey, as a sensible climbdown.

Mrs Thatcher had talked about "outrage and betrayal" if President Reagan dropped the ban on arms sales, said Mr Healey, but she was now treating it rightly in a very low-key way. He added: "The Foreign Office is recovering control of foreign policy."

In the Commons Mr Healey called on the Government to send an ambassador to Buenos Aires but he received no direct response from Mr Whitney.

Dr David Owen, the leader of the SDP and foreign secretary in the Callaghan Government, advised Mrs Thatcher to declare a readiness to open negotiations with Argentina.

"Se should now drop her hysterical attitude on Fortress Falklands and realise that this is a burden that no country should be asked to continue unless there had been a failure to reach a negotiated settlement."

In pursuit of peace in the South Atlantic

Sir, — Just over a year ago, we fought a battle to prevent the military regime in Argentina from seizing the Falkland Islands by force; that regime no longer rules and is condemned alike by the Argentinians and the British for its cruelty as well as for its use of force. The Argentinian nation emerges to a new birth of freedom under a fairly elected civilian government: we share together in the life of democracy.

Need we remain locked into a purely military approach to our mutual problems? We cannot retreat into a fortress of distrust and refuse to talk to our fellow human beings, against whom we have fought in the battle of the Falklands.

We are bidden to be angry and sin not, and not to let the sun go down upon our

wrath. What is the point of victory if one does not go on to make one's enemy into one's friend? To be magnanimous in such a situation is both a moral duty and political prudence.

At present, the restrictions on normal trade harm both nations and the supply of arms to the Argentinians by the United States and others could lead to dangerous tensions.

We are separated from the Argentinians by a dispute over sovereignty in which each side holds strong views about islands inhabited by 1,700 people. Each side backs its opinion by evidence from history.

In such a situation, we must meet and discuss with one another the problem of sovereignty in order to find a way to lead us above our quarrel to a new solution. The restoration of peace is in

the true interests of both our countries and the whole of South America — and those who live in the islands and those who lost relatives in the recent war.

We ask Christian people of goodwill, in both countries, to speed the progress of reconciliation with their skills in practical peacemaking, and with their prayers. Many lives have been lost, and our statesmen have a hard task —

Edward Carpenter.

(Dean of Westminster).

Martin Dent.

(Lecturer in Politics, University of Keele).

Bill Flagg.

(Bishop of the Anglican Church in South America, 1951-1977).

Victor Guazzelli.

(Bishop of Eastern Pastoral Area, Westminster Diocese).

Alan Webster.

(Dean of St Paul's).

London EC4.

Drive to heal arms sale split and hint of Argentina thaw

From Derek Brown
in Brussels and
Colin Brown

Britain and the United States were hard at work yesterday healing the breach over the US decision to lift its embargo on the sale of arms to Argentina.

There were assurances from both countries' foreign ministers that there would be detailed consultation before any arms were actually sold to the newly elected government in Buenos Aires.

And Mrs Thatcher declared: "So far as I am concerned

State, while refusing to be drawn on whether missiles and submarines could be sold to Argentina, added: "We have told the British that we will consult with them."

As part of the fence repairing job there were signals from Britain — notably in a Commons statement by one of Sir Geoffrey's juniors — that there could be a thaw in the frozen diplomatic relationships that have existed between Lon-

don and Buenos Aires since the 1982 Falklands war.

Sir Geoffrey told reporters after the meeting of Nato foreign ministers that the US had been kept closely informed of British concern over arms for Argentina, particularly those which could be useful in a future attack on the Falklands. The US had promised consultations before such sales resumed, "every sale to be considered separately."

He went on: "We made very plain to the US and they understand very clearly how concerned we should be if certification were to lead to the sale of arms of the kind which could do damage or harm in the Falklands situation."

"Certification" refers to the act by President Reagan in signing a certificate about progress in the restoration of human rights — a necessity for Congress to sanction a resumption of arms sales.

Mr Shultz insisted that President Reagan's move was not specifically to do with arms sales, but was rather a recognition of improved human rights conditions in Argentina.

He did not think Anglo-US
Turn to back page, col. 3

Cartoon, back page; Parliament, page 5

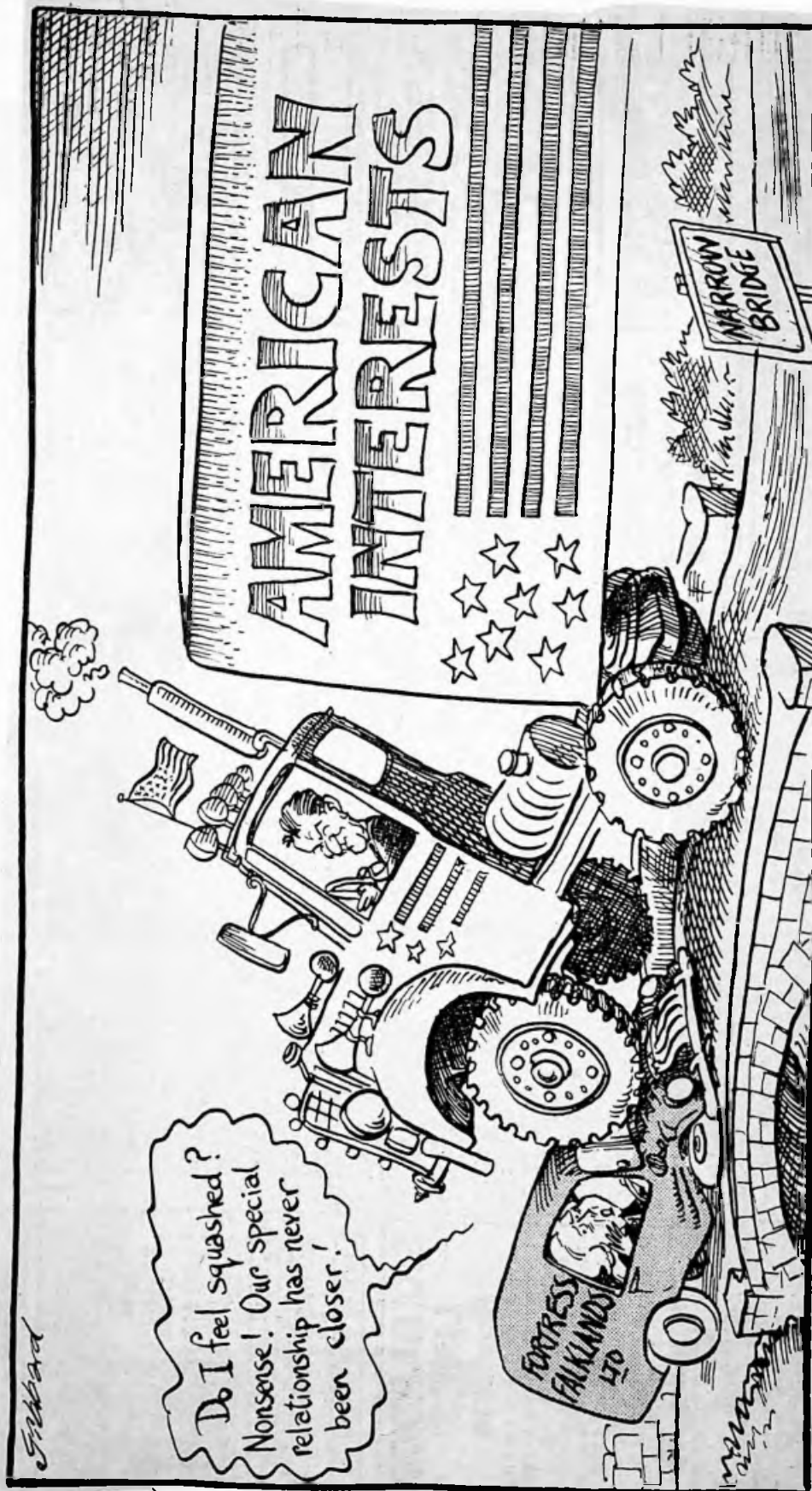
Anglo-American relations are in good heart. . . . It is with friends you can talk frankly: never with rancour, always with friendship; always with understanding."

In Brussels Sir Geoffrey Howe, her Foreign Secretary, said that Britain would be consulted on every US sale of arms once the five-year embargo was formally lifted.

His counterpart, Mr George Shultz, the US Secretary of

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Daily Mail
10th December 1983

Maggie puts out olive branches

By ROBERT PORTER and JOHN DICKIE

MRS THATCHER is going all out to heal the rift with President Reagan.

She stressed yesterday that relations with America had not been damaged by recent events, including the lifting of the U.S. arms embargo on Argentina.

Later in the Commons, Foreign Office Under Secretary Ray Whitney insisted that President Reagan's decision to lift the arms ban had not taken Mrs Thatcher or the Government by surprise.

Their messages were also seen in Whitehall to signal an important thaw in relations with the new Argentinian Government.

America, too, was being extremely careful to point out that lifting the embargo did not mean immediate arms sales—although there were no guaran-

tees that missiles and submarines, which could be used in another Falklands attack, would not be sold.

After private talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Brussels, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said: 'The Americans are well aware of our concern.'

Mr Shultz said: 'I don't think that we can expect out of this any damage to our relationship.'

And he insisted: 'As far as immediate plans for arms sales



GEORGE SHULTZ

to Argentina are concerned — there aren't any.'

In London, Mrs Thatcher strongly denied reports of a near-unbridgable gulf growing between herself and President Reagan.

'So far as I am concerned Anglo-American relations are in good heart,' she said. 'It is with friends you can talk frankly, never with rancour, always with friendship, always with understanding.'

And in what some MPs saw as an olive branch to Buenos Aires, Mr Whitney told MPs that the Government was anxious to normalise relations with Argentina 'while at the same time preserving the vital interests we have committed ourselves to in the Falkland Islands.'

Sensible overtures from Buenos Aires would be 'considered positively in the spirit of our professed desire to restore normal economic and diplomatic relations,' he said. But he added: 'It really does take two to tango.'

Argentina's move

IT IS hard to believe that the Americans have any wish to embarrass Mrs Thatcher over supplying arms to Argentina.

Indeed, they are only putting the Argentine Government back on the approved list for arms purchases because it has passed the test for respecting human rights.

The Americans also insist that they will not supply arms for use against the Falklands.

All the same, Mrs Thatcher is absolutely right to refuse to negotiate with the Argentines until they declare an end to hostilities.

Argentina's new rulers claim to be democratic and peace-loving. Surely it is not too much to ask them to prove it (and the Americans to encourage them to prove it) by making it clear beyond doubt that the war started by the military junta whom they succeeded is now over.

WORLD WIDE reports a Peronist celebration

Isabel, Viva Isabel!

AN EXILE
RETURNS
HOME TO
ARGENTINA



Evita and Peron—October 23, 1951

WAVING and reaching out to the people as Evita once did, Isabel Peron returned from exile yesterday to find the crowds have grown smaller.

Ten years ago when she came home with husband Juan from

a similar absence abroad a million Argentines turned out to applaud her off the plane.

Yesterday there were just a couple of thousand at the airport and another thousand waiting outside her hotel in Buenos Aires, but it was still a noisy reception. 'Isabel,' they chanted. 'We're with you, Isabel.'

Isabel alone—December 9, 1983

Viva Peron.' They mobbed her car and banged on the roof. Above the din their 52-year-old idol proclaimed this her 'happy day.'

The wife who succeeded Evita; the President who succeeded her husband on his death; the ruler overthrown by generals who put her under house arrest for five

years—Isabel was back, after two years away in Spain, accusing the military of a reign of terror.

With the generals themselves now handing over power, Isabel has been invited to Argentina for today's swearing-in of President Raul Alfonsin. In her brief visit she also hopes to breathe new life into her own Peronist party.

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Isabel Peron flies to inauguration of civilian government

By FRANK TAYLOR in Buenos Aires

ISABEL PERON, the former President of Argentina, is due to arrive in Buenos Aires today to attend tomorrow's inauguration of the new civilian government under Senor Alfonsin, the Radical party leader.

She is expected to stay in Argentina about a week.

Senora Peron, who was overthrown in a military coup in 1976, has been living in voluntary exile in Spain for the past two years.

Leading members of her Peronist party, which suffered a stunning defeat in the recent elections, were squabbling yesterday over who had the right to go to the airport to meet her.

Senora Peron issued a list of names of a welcoming committee that she wished to see, but it excluded such prominent Peronists as Senor Lorenzo Miguel, the party's vice-president and the country top trade unionist.

Senor Miguel said yesterday he intended to go to the airport anyway "although I do not know in what corner."

Patch up rifts

One of Senora Peron's objectives will be to patch up rifts in the Peronist party.

Tight security will be in effect today and only those with special credentials will be allowed in the airport approaches.

Meanwhile, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who have held weekly demonstrations demanding accountability for the thousands of people of disappeared during the generals' rule, have held their last protests against the military.

Large crowds watched the protest yesterday in the centre of the city. Human rights activist plastered walls with 30,000 lifesize paper silhouettes of people said to have disappeared during the military's "Dirty War" against Left-wing subversion.

Argentina 'ready to make bomb'

By FRANK TAYLOR
in Buenos Aires

THREE Argentine physicists claimed yesterday that "certain groups" were experimenting to develop nuclear weapons.

Dr Luis Masperi, president of the Argentine's Physics Association and two of his colleagues, said that the recently announced capability of the National Atomic Energy Commission to make enriched uranium had raised new concerns.

In an apparent reference to the military, Dr Masperi said certain groups were interested in applying the new found technology to "war purposes." "These sectors want to make a bomb," he added.

Three-year limit

The capacity to produce enriched uranium, announced last month, coincides with estimates by American intelligence sources that Argentina would be able to produce an atomic bomb within three years.

Senor Raul Alfonsin, the new President of Argentina, says the nuclear programme is devoted to peaceful purposes, but Dr Masperi and his colleagues are concerned that so many senior physicist posts in the Atomic Energy Commission are held by military officers.

Britain 'informed'

By JAMES WIGHTMAN Political Correspondent

THE Prime Minister and colleagues were caught in new political embarrassment last night by the announcement that the United States had re-certified Argentina as a potential purchaser of American arms despite the expressed wishes of the British Government.

Ministers hoped that the Reagan Administration would go no further than re-certification and would not in practice lift the arms embargo imposed on Argentina by President Carter in 1978.

But Mrs Thatcher was put into a particularly difficult situation by the American announcement, although she had known for about two weeks that it was likely.

She was again exposed to Opposition charges that, as over Grenada and Lebanon, she had failed to influence President Reagan despite the special relationship between Britain and the United States.

MPs quickly recalled her words in a newspaper interview on Nov. 6 when she said: "The United States lifting the embargo would be the single most difficult thing for me. It is the one thing I am very worried about . . . very, very concerned indeed."

During her talks with President Reagan in Washington in September she expressed the hope that the embargo would not be lifted because the arms might be used by Argentina to make another assault on the Falklands.

Mr Healey, Labour's Shadow Foreign Secretary, said last night: "I think the relationship between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan is falling apart. It has something to do with the woman scorned over Grenada. "Ever since then she has been particularly sensitive over what he has been doing."

The announcement from Washington came shortly after Mrs Thatcher made particularly strong criticism in the Com-

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mons of President Reagan's economic policies.

Her Commons remarks and the arms embargo development MPs about the strains on the British-American alliance and the close relationship between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan over Grenada and Lebanon.

Mrs Thatcher recently told President Reagan that she feared that a full lifting of the arms embargo would create serious anti-American feeling in Britain during the sensitive period of deployment of cruise missiles.

However, reports that the Prime Minister was furious with President Reagan were officially denied last night. So were suggestions that relations between her and the President had deteriorated and that the alliance had been weakened.

It was also said that the

American Administration had kept the British Government fully informed of developments and that Mrs Thatcher was not surprised.

The official line being taken by the Government was that the announcement in Washington did not mean that arms sales were either in the pipeline or planned in any way.

However, it was acknowledged that, although each case would be considered on its merits, there was no longer an automatic bar to consideration of arm sales.

There were even signs last night that the Government would not be too concerned about limited military hardware sales to Argentina, as long as they were to involve only small arms and not powerful weapons which could be used by an invasion force.

Human rights

Certification was not equivalent to arms sales, it was stressed in Whitehall.

An amendment in 1978 to the United States Foreign Assistance Act placed a ban on most arms sales to Argentina. Only when the Administration certified that the Argentine authorities "have made significant progress on human rights" and that the resumption of arms sales in the United States' interests could they be resumed.

The Administration has now judged that the situation in Argentina met that test.

Like President Reagan, it was stated, the British Government had noted and welcomed the restoration of democracy in Argentina and other progress on human rights.

For Labour, Mr Healey criticised the Government for supplying arms to Chile at the same time as it was trying to stop the United States lifting the arms embargo on Argentina.

Dr Owen, SDP leader, said in a statement: "It is hysterical humbug for the British Government which is currently supplying arms to Chile, the worst military dictatorship in Latin America, to criticise our friends for supplying modest military equipment to Argentina, now democratic, when it is clear that as long as President Alfonsín remains in office there will be no invasion of the Falklands."

Washington promises 'no Falklands threat'

By RICHARD BEESTON in Washington

PRESIDENT REAGAN yesterday ordered the lifting of the American arms embargo on Argentina, despite British appeals that it should be maintained at least until Buenos Aires formally declares an end to the state of hostilities over the Falklands.

Citing "dramatic improvements in the human rights situation in Argentina," the Reagan Administration announced that the embargo would be lifted tomorrow—the day of the inauguration of the new civilian administration in Buenos Aires.

A British Embassy spokesman in Washington said that Mrs Thatcher had made Britain's position "very clear" during her meeting with President Reagan in Washington in September. But he added that Britain had been glad to note a statement made last month by Mr Caspar Weinberger, the American Defence Secretary, that the United States would not supply weapons to Argentina that could be used in attempting a new invasion of the Falklands.

Careful consideration

The State Department said yesterday that while Argentina would once again be eligible to buy American arms and receive military assistance, all arms requests would be carefully considered "on a case by case basis."

Asked about British objections, the State Department spokesman Mr Alan Romberg said: "We have engaged in extensive contacts with a variety of concerned parties, including the United Kingdom. But I am not going into the content of our exchanges."

Mr Romberg said the United States was not a major arms supplier to the region and that the lifting of the prohibition

was "not the equivalent of such sales or a threat against British forces. We consistently supported a peaceful solution to the Falklands/Malvinas dispute, and after certification we will review each request carefully."

"No arms transfers are contemplated that would increase the prospects of renewed conflict either in the Falklands/Malvinas or the Beagle Channel areas."

Legislation dating back to the Carter Administration barred American security aid to Argentina unless the State Department was able to certify an improvement in human rights performance.

The legislation was prompted by widespread abuses by Argentina's military government in its so-called "dirty war" against Leftists. Thousands of Argentines disappeared at that time and remain unaccounted for.

After the British Government's opposition to the American invasion of Grenada the latest action by President Reagan is an added strain to Anglo-American relations.

British sources said that now what was important was the question of the quality of new United States military supplies. "Army boots are one thing, guided missiles are another," said an official.

The sources said that the United States was and is being kept closely informed of British concern.

Britain was also pointed out to the United States that any build-up of modern arms by Argentina would mean Britain having to divert more of its

forces and armaments to the Falklands—a move which was in the interest neither of Nato nor the United States.

Mr Romberg said that tomorrow's certification of Argentina as being able to receive military aid was appropriately timed.

"The inauguration of the democratically-elected government of President Alfonsín represents a major step in Argentina's continuing progress towards improving its human rights performance," he said.

The elections had been fair and honest, political prisoners had been released or remanded to the Ministry of Justice and "disappearances" in Argentina had all but ceased.

"The United States believes that the overall human rights situation in Argentina has dramatically improved over the past 18 months and merits certification," he said.

Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, American Ambassador to the United Nations, has been one of the leading influences in persuading President Reagan to try to repair the damage done to U.S.-Argentina relations by America's backing for Britain over the Falklands war and to resume arms sales.

Many Americans who strongly supported the British cause in the Falklands, and who would have opposed a resumption of arms supplies to Argentina, now, however, feel let down by Britain's failure to back President Reagan over Grenada.

Dispute with Chile

Asked why the Administration was not also certifying Chile for arms sales, Mr Romberg replied that while Chile's human rights position had improved its performance was "mixed."

Questioned about Argentina's territorial dispute with Chile, Mr Romberg said that Chile had been consulted and that the United States was backing the papal mediation process to solve the Beagle Channel issue.

Asked about reports that Argentina was developing nuclear weapons, Mr Romberg said: "Our view on the Argentine nuclear enrichment facility and the need for safeguards is well known. But the two issues are separate questions and are not linked."

President Reagan is sending Vice-President George Bush to Buenos Aires to represent him at the inauguration of Argentina's new President and civilian government after more than seven years of military rule.

Argentine officials said the resumption of American supplies would not be an issue of "high priority" for the new Government.

They said the move to lift the arms embargo was seen as a gesture by the United States to the newly elected Government and that Argentina was more interested in outstanding orders for military spares than big new arms deals.

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U.S. LIFTS ARGENTINE ARMS BAN

Two-front policy clash for Thatcher

PRESIDENT REAGAN yesterday ordered the lifting of the United States embargo on arms sales to Argentina despite Mrs Thatcher's warning last month that such action "would be the single most difficult thing for me . . . the one thing I am very worried about."

Mr Alan Romberg, the State Department spokesman, said the decision was not a threat to British Forces. "No arms transfers are contemplated that would increase the prospects of renewed conflict . . . in the Falklands/Malvinas," he said.

Differences with the United States on another front became evident in the Commons where Mrs Thatcher surprised MPs with the vehemence with which she attacked American economic policies. High American interest rates were extremely damaging to Britain, she said.

U.S. 'TOO QUICK' OVER ENDING ARMS EMBARGO

By FRANK TAYLOR in Buenos Aires

ARMENTINA welcomed last night the lifting of the United States arms embargo although it was clear the incoming civilian Government of Senor Raul Alfonsin would have preferred President Reagan to wait until after the formal inauguration ceremonies tomorrow.

I understand that in private conversations with American officials in Buenos Aires, Senor Alfonsin's senior advisers expressed their opposition to the move at this time.

They felt that it bestowed on the outgoing military regime a respectability that regime does not merit.

But having been told in advance that the declaration to Congress was to be made even while the military was still in power, Senor Alfonsin was not likely to criticise it in public.

The timing was clearly designed to give the best possible atmosphere for Vice-President Bush, who is due in Buenos Aires today, to attend the inauguration.

Thousands who vanished

But it will also be seen by critics as a patent attempt by the Reagan Administration to "keep in good" with the Argentine military, which is viewed as an important element in keeping Communism out of South America.

It is ironic, however, that Washington saw fit to declare Argentina "clean" on human rights on the very day that the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo were holding one of their biggest demonstrations, demanding that the military be accountable for the thousands of people who disappeared during the "dirty war" against Left-wing subversion.

Walls in the city centre were plastered with life-sized paper silhouettes, each bearing the name of one of the "disappeared ones" and the date on which that person was last seen.

Human rights organisations say that 30,000 people were "disposed of" by the military in seven years.

Whatever President Reagan has said, the Argentine military still stands accused of crimes for which it will apparently never be punished.

The question now is what kind of military hardware Argentina will seek to buy from the Americans and whether Washington will grant credits, given that Argentina's foreign reserves are critically low and that it has a foreign debt of more than \$40 billion (£27.8 billion).

The way has been opened for a future arms build-up, and Senor Alfonsin has said he has no intention of declaring a formal end to Falkland Island hostilities.

Defence experts said last night priority would go to radar and communications.

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McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone: 01-930 6935

Argentine deal fails to worry Whitehall

By Julian Haviland
Political Editor

British ministers were wholly untroubled last night by the expected news that Argentina had been re-certified as a potential purchaser of United States arms.

But because they are aware of public anxiety about the Falklands, and more generally about the present state of relations between Washington and London, they went out of their way to emphasize that in this area at least the Administration had been exemplary in consulting them.

A lengthy statement from Downing Street pointed out that re-certification did not mean that arms sales were either in the pipeline or planned in any way, and was not equivalent to arms sales.

The Prime Minister's office was glad to note that Mr Caspar Weinberger, the US Defence Secretary, had said America would exercise caution about the resumption of supplies and would not provide weapons which could be used in a new attempt to invade the Falklands.

The statement also recalled that the Argentine foreign minister-designate had said that buying arms was not a priority of the new government.

● **BRUSSELS:** Britain would "obviously express concern" to the US if the American Administration were to sell any weapons to Argentina which could be used in a war against the Falkland Islands, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary said yesterday (Ian Murray writes).

But he emphasized that the US was still a long way from making any decision about actually selling weapons to the new Argentine Government.

He said that the Administration had to review its relations with Argentina in the light of the human rights situation in that country and see whether or not it could properly continue to impose a ban on arms sales there on grounds that human rights were not being observed.

● **Chilean doubts:** A number of other Latin American countries will have misgivings over the US decision, not the least among them being Chile which has a long-standing dispute with Buenos Aires over islands in the Beagle channel (Henry Stanhope writes).

America to lift Argentine arms embargo

From Nicholas Ashford, Washington

Despite British misgivings, the Reagan Administration yesterday announced it was taking the necessary legal steps to end the five-year ban on US arms sales to Argentina.

The State Department said President Reagan would certify to Congress tomorrow that Argentina has made "dramatic progress" in human rights in the past year and a half and therefore the arms embargo imposed in 1978 could be lifted.

The certification has been deliberately timed to coincide with the inauguration of President Raul Alfonsin in Buenos Aires. Vice-President George Bush is to attend the inauguration ceremony of the democratically elected President.

Announcing the move, a State Department spokesman went out of his way to emphasize that certification would only make Argentina eligible to purchase American arms and that requests would be "examined on a case by case basis".

He also emphasized that "no arms transfers are contemplated which would increase the prospect of renewed conflict" in the Falklands.

The terms in which yesterday's announcement was couched went some way to allay British fears about a resumption of arms sales to Argentina, which attacked the Falkland islands last year.

British objections to US arms sales had been frequently voiced during the past year, most particularly by Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

During a meeting with President Reagan in Washington last September the British Prime Minister pointed out that Argentina has still not made a formal declaration of cessation of hostilities.

President Reagan gave strong support to Mrs Thatcher during the Falklands conflict, thereby seriously damaging US relations with Latin America. Since then the US has been urging both sides to seek a negotiated settlement.

British diplomats reacted cautiously to yesterday's announcement and expressed the hope that any arms sales would only involve spare parts and defensive equipment.

They recalled that last month Mr Caspar Weinberger, the Defence Secretary, said the US would not provide sophisticated equipment which could be used to attempt a new invasion of the Falkland islands.

The State Department spokesman himself pointed out that the US has traditionally never been a major supplier of arms to Argentina.

The two biggest suppliers, France and West Germany, have already resumed their sales.

British diplomats said the US had kept Britain fully informed ahead of yesterday's announcement. Mr George Shultz, the Secretary of State, has been holding talks with Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, during his current Nato ministerial council session in Brussels.

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McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone: 01-930 6935

This time things may be different, writes Jimmy Burns in Buenos Aires

Bright dawn of hope for a new Argentina

SR RAUL ALFONSIN, the new President of Argentina, is likely to have a rousing first 100 days. On Monday, after Saturday's day of public celebration of the end of military rule and his inauguration, the Congress will sit in "extraordinary session" to deal with a package of emergency legislation.

The pervading note of optimism generated by the victory of Sr Alfonsin's Radical Party and his own personal popularity have begun to be measured against the country's lurking economic and political problems. Sr Alfonsin's aides believe these should be tackled as soon as possible, for Argentines tend to be fickle in their loyalties.

The new Government is already in a quandary, torn both by its wish to deliver at least some of the more populist promises of its electoral platform, and by its orthodox concern for stability through cautious reform rather than revolution.

On the political front, the Radicals will turn their attention in Parliament, to the armed forces. Sr Alfonsin's strident anti-militarism undoubtedly helped him greatly to win the election.

Parliament is likely immediately to start to consider the repeal of the outgoing military Government's amnesty law, which benefits officers responsible for the torture, deaths and disappearances of some 15,000

Argentines since the 1976 coup.

Sr Alfonsin has hinted that he would prefer selective justice, rather than sweeping trials, with the focus on the regime's first two juntas and a small number of other individual officers. But he could face pressure from human rights groups and members of Parliament to take more drastic action.

The radicals' plan to cut military spending from 5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product to 2 per cent could be greatly eased if the new Government reaches an early agreement with Chile over their territorial dispute in the Beagle Channel. Sr Alfonsin has accepted in principle the Papal peace proposal made in 1978 which leaves the three islands of Nueva, Picton and Lennox in Chilean hands.

The Radicals hope that an eventual agreement with Chile will also assist Argentina's efforts to seek a diplomatic solution to the Falkland Islands problem. Sr Alfonsin maintains the claim of sovereignty to the islands, but his government is expected to adopt a more realistic attitude if the British agree to negotiate.

There are now Argentine officials in the Foreign Ministry prepared to discuss thorny issues like leaseback and the interests of the islanders.

But perhaps the worst problems lie in the economy. Last month members of Sr Alfonsin's economic team broke the official veil of secrecy over the future

Government's programme. They speculated that an early announcement would be major wage increases. This prompted shopkeepers to mark up their prices by between 20 and 80 per cent on the spot, so that the Radicals' room for manoeuvre has already been greatly reduced in advance.

The Radicals are hoping that all is not lost. They still want to attain several basic targets for 1984:

- Double digit inflation rate by the end of the year against 400 per cent currently.
- Growth of 4 per cent, from an unexpected level of just over 1 per cent in 1983.
- A trade surplus of \$3bn.
- Unemployment down from the present record of 20 per cent.

The 1984 budget is expected to be put to parliament by early January. The Government has inherited a budget deficit equivalent to about 12 per cent of GDP, and time to reduce this to at least 5 per cent by the end of next year.

Revenue is expected to be boosted by tax increases on most luxury goods, on capital gains and on land, and the tightening up of the collection system. The party is hoping to negotiate a social contract involving wage and price controls in return for job creation schemes and improved welfare programmes. The fiscal and prices and incomes policies will probably depend on whether the

Government can successfully apply two related proposed reforms: changes in the main trade union body, the General Confederation of Labour, to break the grip of opposition Peronists and changes in the banking system to transfer greater resources to industry, bowed under the weight of its debts.

The Radicals also want to consolidate some of the changes that have taken place over the past year. Interest rates will be subject to a maximum level laid down by the authorities and will be negative in real terms. A greatly empowered central bank will centralise funds and reallocate credit by a complex mechanism of advances and re-discounts among the banks. New branches will be discouraged and mergers favoured in an attempt to trim the banking sector, which grew excessively in a speculative boom following the 1976 coup. There is no talk of nationalisation, however.

On the external side, the radicals' public position since winning the election has been not to interfere publicly in the debt negotiations of the outgoing Administration and to issue repeated reassurances that they would honour all Argentina's obligations.

In spite of some public posturing about "unsuspecting" interest rates, the Radicals privately claim to have adopted a cautious line, maintaining the official contacts both with the

International Monetary Fund and the commercial banks.

Sr Bernardo Grinspun, the Economy Minister, hinted two weeks ago that formal negotiations with the Fund could begin before the new year. The targets set in the current standby agreement, until March 1984, have been broken and the Radicals are keen on striking a new deal that would be more compatible with their policies.

Argentina faces repayment of principle totalling \$14bn on its \$40bn foreign debt next year. Its freely disposable reserves are understood to be around \$200m, making the prospect of meeting \$5bn of interest payments falling due next year particularly troublesome.

The Radicals' optimism about being able to pay off a substantial part of this figure thanks to a healthy trade surplus has been dampened by recent problems with the annual wheat yield.

Sr Grinspun himself is assuming a trade surplus in 1984 of about \$3bn down from previous estimates of \$4bn.

The success of the new Government depends very much on Sr Alfonsin's ability to project the human face of Government after seven years of depersonalised politics run by distant generals.

The overriding feeling both at home and abroad is that Argentines can look forward to a brighter future with more confidence now than for many years.

FINANCIAL TIMES

9.12.83

Reagan to lift Argentina arms ban

BY REGINALD DALE IN WASHINGTON AND PETER RIDDELL IN LONDON

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan is to lift the ban on U.S. arms sales to Argentina because of the country's "significant progress" in restoring respect for human rights, the State Department announced yesterday.

The department stressed, however, that no arms transfers would be contemplated that would "increase the prospects of renewed conflict" with Britain over the Falklands Islands or with Chile over the disputed Beagle Channel.

The British Government seemed seriously upset last night by the U.S. decision.

In a deliberately low-key response, however, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, said on Channel 4 News that the Government had expressed con-

cern about the prospects of the U.S. resuming arms sales to Argentina.

The decision is to take effect on Saturday, when Sr Raul Alfonsín is inaugurated as the country's new democratic president. Officials said the move had been preceded by "extensive consultations" with Britain and Chile and demonstrated that the Reagan Administration remained "sensitive" to UK concerns.

Washington also insisted that Mr Reagan's action only lifted the ban on arms sales and permitted the resumption of U.S. military aid to Argentina. It was not the same as an agreement to supply Buenos Aires with American weapons.

If Argentina wanted to buy

U.S. arms, each case would be "carefully considered" in the same way as requests from all other countries which bought American weapons, the State Department said.

There are no outstanding requests for arms from Argentina. "We will have to wait and see what they ask for," officials said. There is no provision for military aid to Argentina in the current U.S. budget.

Senior administration officials have said privately that the screening process will be strict enough to ensure that Argentina does not receive any equipment that could be militarily useful in a new conflict with Britain.

The administration's inten-

tion to certify human rights progress in Argentina has long been known in Washington—the debate has been over timing.

While the White House wanted to certify progress several months ago, Congressional leaders have argued that the formal move should await the installation of the new democratic government.

The U.S. has not issued licences for arms sales to Argentina since early in the Carter Administration, when the ban went into force.

The State Department cited the October 30 presidential and congressional elections as the "major step" in Argentina's continuing progress in improving its human rights record.

Sir Geoffrey Howe pointed out on television that there was a wide gap between certification on human rights and any decision to enter a particular commitment to sell arms.

The Argentine Foreign Minister-designate has said that buying arms is not one of the priorities of the new government.

MPs pointed out that Mrs Thatcher presumably knew of the U.S. decision when she launched her attack on U.S. economic policy in the Commons today.

The immediate reaction of Conservative back benchers was anger coupled with warnings that the announcement will further undermine transatlantic relations.

FINANCIAL

TIMES

9.12.83



Yesterday's men (from left): Galtieri, Lami Dozo, Videla and Massera.

From heroes to villains

Junta limps off the stage

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

The military Government which slipped out of power in virtual disgrace this week had the tacit if not open support of most Argentines when it overthrew President Maria Estela Perón in March 1976 and started a "process of national reorganization".

The Perónist administration had been such a shambles that most breathed a sigh of relief when the three-man junta which had seized power stated its objectives: to end corruption, to strengthen the economy and to end terrorism.

Seven years and four military juntas later, the "process" is in full retreat. Five of the 12 officers who were in the junta at one time or another are on trial, countless other officers have been charged with corruption, the economy is groaning under an unpayable \$40bn (£27bn) foreign debt and inflation is

more than 400 per cent. In addition, the military is accused of atrocities in its fight against terrorism.

Señora Perón, who was tried by the military and kept under house arrest for five years, is expected to return from exile today to find two of the three officers who ousted her in somewhat different circumstances.

General Jorge Videla, a member of the first junta and the only president of the "process" to complete his self-imposed term, is being sued by a leading Perónist politician, accused of abuse of power.

The former navy commander, Admiral Emilio Massera, who cultivated an image as the most dashing and charismatic member of the 1976 junta, has become the first to be jailed for his role in one of more than 7,000 "disappearances"

which occurred after the coup.

Also on trial are the members of the junta which ordered the invasion of the Falkland islands last year. A military commission which investigated the conflict ruled that President Leopoldo Galtieri, the former navy commander, Admiral Jorge Anaya and the former air force chief, Brigadier-General Basilio Lami Dozo, should be held responsible for leading the country into a war for which it was not prepared.

General Galtieri, who had hopes of using a victory in the Falklands to launch his own political career, is accused of crimes during the conflict, which carry the death penalty. Admiral Anaya faces a similar sentence and General Lami Dozo could receive life imprisonment if convicted in the court-martial now under way.

THE TIMES

9.12.83

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The case for Crown Agents

FINANCIAL
TIMES

9.12.83

IF THE Crown Agents did not exist, then nowadays no one would bother to create it. But since it does exist, it would be altogether another matter to abolish it. As it faces the prospect of extinction in the week ahead—not for the first time over the past decade—it is worth pointing out that the British taxpayer would gain little if anything if it were abolished, while a large number of governments in the developing world, along with a host of small companies in the UK, would be disadvantaged.

Set up in the 1830s to supply to subject governments in distant corners of the Empire with everything from school books and crockery to railway carriages, the Crown Agents has for the past 30 years sought alternatives to its traditional procurement work.

In the search for new roles it courted disaster. Involvement in the late 1960s in property speculation and secondary banking almost brought catastrophe to the Crown Agents after the property market collapse in 1974. It lost £212m, and forced a government rescue that cost the taxpayer £175m.

In the mid-1970s, it concentrated on investment portfolio management for governments and government-controlled organisations in the third world. By the end of the decade, these financial services had become an important cushion of profit for its traditional services, which invariably lost money. In July this year, the loss of a lucrative contract to manage the Sultan of Brunei's £3.5bn investment portfolio punctured this cushion, and provoked the current crisis over the Crown Agents' future.

Independence

It is an irony that the Brunei Contract has nothing to do with the efficiency of the Crown Agents' financial management. In fact, by all counts, it had a better record than the other organisations managing the Sultan's £14bn funds. The break was almost certainly because of political factors linked with Brunei's imminent independence from Britain. It has nevertheless damaged the Crown Agents' profit and loss account, made a nonsense of recovery targets set by the government in March last year, and forced it to turn once again to the government for its debts to be rescheduled.

With a Government keen to privatise where it can, and reluctant to bail out an organisation which has repeatedly fallen into loss, the case for saving the Crown Agents has been a difficult one to press. It is hard to maintain that financial services, the provision of technical advice on development projects, and the supply of stamps or currency—all profitable areas of the Crown Agents' operation—cannot be provided by private sector organisations.

Unhappily for the Crown Agents, the strongest arguments for retention involve areas of operation which are almost inevitably loss-making. Most of the 200-odd developing countries whose institutions use the Crown Agents for their procurement do not have the resources to maintain staff in London or other major commercial centres to make their own judgments about suppliers. Because the orders they place tend to be small, and the overhead costs of handling such orders are high, it is unlikely that any private-sector organisation would step into the Crown Agents' shoes.

Impartiality

In the UK, it is notable that of the £144m of orders handled by the Crown Agents in 1982, £39m of them went to 2,400 companies not listed by the Financial Times as quoted companies nor owned by quoted companies. Such small companies tend not to have the resources to tender for overseas contracts, and the disappearance of the Crown Agents would mean the loss of their only export orders. It was no accident that the momentum behind Sir Terence Beckett's letter giving CBI backing to the Crown Agents came from the CBI's Midlands region, where so many of these small companies are based.

Rather than abolish the organisation that seeks both to finance and provide an appreciated service to British trade it would be more pragmatic to allow it to continue in business, seeking out functions (including reserve management) where its quasi-official status and image of impartiality give it a particular entree to government business across the world. A repeat of the errors of the past can be avoided if the government insists upon maximum transparency in the way the Crown Agents runs itself.

Lifting of arms ban widens rift Anglo-US

By Ian Aitken,
Political Editor

Mrs Thatcher's carefully calculated "special relationship" with President Reagan seemed last night to have run into the buffers with the announcement that the United States has lifted its ban on arms sales to Argentina.

The announcement, citing progress made in Argentina on human rights, came only shortly after the Prime Minister had fiercely denounced US economic policy as a potential troublemaker for the world economy. The odds are that she was aware of what was to come when she made the remark in the Commons.

The two events seem likely to unleash an intensified wave of anti-American feeling on the Conservative benches, just as ministers believed they had got the outbreak under control following the US invasion of Grenada and their failure to keep Britain informed about their intentions in Lebanon. But there was no doubt at Westminster last night that the lifting of the ban on arms sales to Argentina represents the most serious rift between Downing Street and the White House since the Thatcher-Reagan partnership began 3½ years ago.

The Prime Minister made it

clear to the President during her Washington visit last September that a resumption of US arms sales to the Argentinians would be "the single most difficult problem" he could set her in maintaining the Anglo-American alliance. Both Downing Street and the US embassy in London were at pains last night to emphasise that State Department announcement in Washington did not relate to specific arms sales, but merely marked the "re-certification" of Argentina for theoretical receipt of American arms.

They drew attention to recent statements by Mr Caspar Weinberger, the US Defence Secretary, that the US would exercise extreme caution in the delivery of specific weapons and would not supply anything which could be used to support a second invasion of the Falkland Islands. But none of this seems to have cut much ice with Mrs Thatcher, who thinks she knows a betrayal when she sees one.

She has made it clear over and over again that she would regard the sale of any kind of arms to an Argentinian government as just such a betrayal

until such time as the Argentinian Government recognises that hostilities with the United Kingdom have formally ended. No such recognition has been acknowledged in Buenos Aires, either by the outgoing military rulers, or by the leaders of the new civilian regime.

That, no doubt, is why Mrs Thatcher was so fierce in the Commons when she was questioned yesterday about American economic policy only a few hours before she was due to meet US Treasury Secretary Mr Donald Regan at Downing Street.

The question put to her was unquestionably intended to rile her, since it came from Mr Peter Tapsell, a profoundly anti-monetarist Tory backbencher. He asked if she would discuss with Mr Regan "the reasons why economic policies which can broadly but fairly be described as neo-Keynesian seem to have brought beneficial effects to the United States."

The very word Keynesian is guaranteed to bring a flush to Mrs Thatcher's cheeks. But Mr Tapsell went on to call on her to acknowledge that there should be a rigorous re-examination of British economic policy before the next budget, bearing in mind the American experience.

However the outbreak of

Turn to back page, col. 4.

Lifting of arms ban widens Atlantic rift

Continued from page one

anti-Americanism has been alarming senior Conservative ministers in recent weeks, and Mrs Thatcher might have been expected to swallow her annoyance with Mr Tapsell and seize the opportunity to calm down the chauvinists on her own benches. Instead, she indulged in an astonishing outburst against American Government policy.

She declared that the enormous American budget deficit was causing high interest rates in North America, which were extremely damaging to Britain and to other European countries. Moreover, she added, America's "fantastic" balance of trade deficit contrasted sharply with Britain's prudently established surplus of £1.2 billion this year.

To the astonishment of MPs on both sides of the Commons, Mrs Thatcher went on: "I would rather be in our position, which I believe is sustainable, than in theirs—which I fear will cause great trouble to the world within 12 months."

Against this background, a damage-limitation exercise launched by civil servants on both sides of Downing Street seemed unconvincing. Officials were at pains to emphasise that recertification of Argentina as a potential purchaser of US arms did not necessarily mean that actual sales were either planned or in the pipeline.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said in Brussels yesterday that Britain "would obviously express concern" over any US arms sales to Argentina. Sir Geoffrey told reporters that Britain would be concerned "at the prospect of Argentina securing weapons which could be used in any future conflict in the Falkland Islands. Our opposition to that is very clear."

The episode seems likely to undermine the supposedly warm personal relationship Mrs Thatcher has cultivated with President Reagan, as well as threatening support for the Anglo-American alliance among Conservative MPs. An astonishingly large number of

Tory backbenchers have emerged in recent weeks as undercover anti-Americans, bitterly complaining about the failure of the US Administration to take Britain into its confidence on major issues of policy.

A further underlying threat involved in this surprising new development in a party which prides itself on its loyalty to the North Atlantic partnership is its likely impact on the public mood over the establishment of cruise missiles on British soil.

Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Denis Healey said that Mrs Thatcher should be the last person to complain about the US decision.

Speaking on Channel Four news, he said that the Prime Minister had agreed to providing vital equipment to German warships which were sold to the Argentinians during the election. "When she was accused of hypocrisy in the House of Commons she just brushed it aside."

Mr Healey added that the Government's sale of arms to the "peculiarly revolting"

regime in Chile was likely to thwart the new Argentinian president's plans for demilitarising his country.

A alarming voice emerged last night from the unlikely source of Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democrats. He reminded Mrs Thatcher that the elected president of Argentina, due to take office on Saturday, could not be branded as a political leper.

"In the circumstances Britain should neither be surprised nor angry that the United States Vice-President Bush to the inaugural ceremony, and intends to reopen full and friendly relations."

"We should not forget the support we had from the United States during the Falklands war, nor the heavy political and economic cost that fell on them as a result of their support," Dr Owen said it was "hysterical humbug" for the British Government, which is currently supplying arms to Chile, to criticise the US for supplying "modest military equipment to the newly-democratic Argentina."

America pledges Falkland safeguard

From Harold Jackson
in Washington

THE US State Department said last night that the ban on arms sales to Argentina had been removed after "extensive contacts" with the British Government. It added that no weapons would be sold which increased the chance of a renewed Falklands war.

President Reagan decided to tell Congress that the Buenos Aires regime had moved sufficiently towards "internationally recognised principles of human rights" for him to certify it as qualified under the International Security and Development Cooperation act. This law, passed in 1981, bars the sale of arms to countries not meeting the required standards — the Pinochet government in Chile is still subject to an embargo under its terms.

The certification will officially be made tomorrow, to coincide with the inaugural ceremonies for the newly-elected Argentinian president, Mr Raoul Alfonsín. The Vice-president, Mr George Bush will be in Buenos Aires as the US representative.

The State Department spokesman, Mr Alan Romberg, said last night, that the certification decision had been made after "dramatic improvements" in Argentina's human rights record in the past 18 months.

He cited six specific factors—the recent presidential and congressional elections, the release of some dissident writers and the filing of specific charges against others, the end of the "disappearances," the resumption of full political activity, the removal of press restrictions, and the relaxation of measures against the trade unions.

"The major human rights question remaining," Mr Romberg said, "involves accounting for the abuses of the past. The United States has consistently encouraged the Argentine government to provide as full an accounting as possible on the 'dirty war' which led to the disappearances. The Alfonsín government has pledged to address both these issues."

The spokesman emphasises that the certification did not mean that arms sales would be resumed at once. "It only lifts a prohibition against the re-establishment of a security assistance relationship with Argentina." Should Argentina wish to make arms purchases from the United States, each request would be considered on its merits.

He said there had been

US pledges safeguards

Continued from page one

"extensive contacts with a variety of concerned parties, including the UK", but refused to elaborate on them.

Mr Romberg told correspondents that the lifting of the ban should not be seen as the same as actually selling weapons, nor as a threat against British forces in the Falklands.

"No arms transfers are contemplated which will increase the prospects of renewed conflict, either in the Falklands-Malvinas or in the

Beagle Channel dispute with Chile". He also remarked that America was not a major arms supplier in that part of Latin America.

He refused to elaborate on the timing of the move and whether Mr Reagan was giving a final seal of approval to the Bignone military junta, as had been alleged by some Congressmen, or welcoming in the democratically-elected Alfonsín administration. "It is not a question of certifying a government," he said. "It is a question of certifying a situation."

GUARDIAN

9.12.83

Argentina: a time to keep calm

Mrs Margaret Thatcher was right to break with Ronald Reagan over Grenada. She is right to question America's role in the Lebanon. She is right to express public doubt about the malevolent impact of Washington economic policy on much of the world. And she is right, too, bitterly to resent the unhinged, unco-ordinated way the slights and slaps from the White House are visited upon her. But she (and her loyal backbenchers) will be wrong, utterly wrong, if they allow Mr Reagan's sudden decision to resume arms sales to Argentina to become the occasion for a fulminating froth of anti-Americanism.

We know Mrs Thatcher feels passionately on the issue. Four weeks ago she said as much, in terms. "I am not going to be anti-American... but I will tell you what will really make it difficult for me—it's the one thing I am very worried about—is if they supply arms to the Argentine." Last night those worries came true. Today she will be asked time and again to follow through with angry denunciations. In as far as she can resist compulsive temptation, she should curb her fury and her tongue. The Prime Minister has a simple, vehement vision of the Falklands; at times almost a magnificent obsession. But the vision has never had much to do with reality and she must, at some stage, allow that reality to colour her judgment. At what stage? There is no time like the present.

America ceased arms sales to Buenos Aires long ago, on the high tide of Jimmy Carter's concern for civil rights. Two years ago, as General Galtieri toyed with his map of Port Stanley in private offices, the overture of resumption was being decorously played. Washington, hag-ridden with Marxist paranoia about Latin America, desperately needed Argentina back on the team. When the Galtieri fleet sailed there was an agony of choice in Washington; but the choice was made, and without American logistic support, Mrs Thatcher's boys would surely have lost the war, and the election.

Since then, however, British Govern-

ment attitudes have been frozen in irrelevance. We have merely piled billions in weapons and concrete south. We have found nothing negotiable. We have suffered painfully as UN majorities have stacked up against us. And even when the military rulers of Argentina were swept away at the ballot box—replacing the "fascist dictatorship" with whom we could never do business with a benign, intelligent social democracy—we have still found nothing to say. That Fortress policy is a policy of sorts; the policy of the blanket over the head and the blank cheque. But it was never to be expected that the rest of the world, and Washington especially, would hang on to the same blanket.

So what will happen now? In reality, probably very little. America is not going to heap armaments upon Mr Alfonsín. He doesn't want them. He wants to cut the strutting generals down to size. He is not going to invade the Falklands. He is simply standing pat on a territorial claim on which he has national unanimity and waiting for someone to talk to him... if not Mrs Thatcher then, in time, Mr Kinnock or Mr Steel or Dr Owen. In the end there will be talk; in the end two democracies will more calmly explore the bones of a settlement that Britain can afford and that the Falklanders will accept — if Whitehall can ever summon enough candour to address them frankly.

Meanwhile — if there has to be a meanwhile — only futile harm and pointless damage can come from outbursts against a President who seeks to signal his satisfaction with Argentina's restored freedoms. American policy needs criticism and dialogue in so many areas; but not this one. If Mrs Thatcher wants to "do something" on the morning after, she should do what she openly pledged sixteen months ago and has since conveniently forgotten: consult fully and openly with the Falkland Islanders about the long-term future Britain can offer them.

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Daily Mail
9th December 1983

By ROBIN OAKLEY

PRESIDENT Reagan delivered a bitter snub to Mrs Thatcher last night when he freed the U.S. arms industry to resume sales to Argentina.

Relations between the two former staunch allies are now at rock-bottom.

Mrs Thatcher had already been angered by the lack of American consultation over the invasion of Grenada and the lack of advance warning of the U.S. bombing raid on Syrian positions which increased the risk to Britain's peace-keeping force in the Lebanon.

The Americans did tell her about yesterday's move in advance. But that did not lessen the Prime Ministers' anger at what she sees as a betrayal. It spilled over at Commons Question Time in a bitter denunciation of the handling of the U.S. economy, some hours before the announcement.

Worried

Mrs Thatcher had made the resumption of arms sales to Argentina a deliberate test case of the special relationship between Britain and America. When she met the President in Washington in September she urged him not to go ahead. Exchanges between U.S. and British officials continued up until a few days ago as we tried to deter the Americans from authorising weapons deals.

Mr Reagan has put America's need to mend her fences in South America after siding with Britain in the Falklands War above the special Transatlantic relationship.

What makes it so difficult for Mrs Thatcher to swallow is that she has stressed again and again that she did not want it to happen. In an interview a month ago with the Editor of the Daily Mail, Sir David English, the Prime Minister said she was 'very worried' about the possibility of resumed arms sales—'that would be the single most difficult thing for me'.

The British Government was particularly angered because the Americans have not even used their leverage to insist that as a condition of arms sales being resumed Argentina must formally

Arms deal

Continued from Page One

declare an end to the Falklands war, which it has never done.

The Presidential 'certification' that Argentina is now a fit country to be allowed to buy U.S. weapons will be formally released tomorrow, the day Argentina's new democratically-elected leader Signor Raul Alfonsin is inaugurated in the presence of American Vice-President Bush.

The British Government has been privately assured that nothing will be sold to the Argentines which could increase the risk to the Falklands. And no arms sales have yet been requested by Buenos Aires. But the symbolism of the gesture from the U.S. President is far more important than any actual deals.

An American Embassy official stressed yesterday that arms sales would be carefully reviewed on a case by case basis. 'We do value our special relationship and we're not incautious, stupid people.'

He claimed that the Americans did not expect any row with Britain over the certification and added: 'The last thing that we would want to do is anything that would pose a threat to British interests or British people anywhere. That includes the South Atlantic.'

He emphasised that America's previous record in selling arms in Latin America was a cautious indeed a parsimonious one and insisted there would be no arms sales which would increase the prospects of conflict in the South Atlantic.

Condemned

Nevertheless, it is believed in Washington that the Argentines urgently need new engines for the American-built Skyhawk jets which attacked British forces in the Falklands.

Argentina's neighbour Chile still in dispute over the Beagle Channel, is also worried.

The American announcement was intended as a recognition of 'dramatic progress' by Argentina over human rights. America imposed the ban in 1978 in protest against the methods used by the military junta in cracking down on dissident Left Wingers, many thousands of whom disappeared without trace.

The Americans and British Ministers are stressing that the President's certification of Argentina as a country to whom arms *may* be sold does not mean necessarily that any *will* be sold.

In the Commons, the Prime Minister condemned the Reagan Government for running a huge deficit and exclaimed: 'I would rather be in our position, which is sustainable, than theirs, which I believe will cause great trouble within 12 months.'

She went on to blame high American interest rates for damaging the economic recovery in Europe — and claimed they were preventing Britain from getting needed investment which was being switched to the U.S.

Daily Mail
9th December 1983

Daily Mail COMMENT

Do not trifle with this trust

FORGET the public posturing. It was inevitable that the United States would resume arms sales to Argentina when that country embraced democracy.

Our Prime Minister will resent that. But she should be enough of a realist to ride it—even though a suspended state of hostilities still exists down in the South Atlantic.

The real issue is *what* arms will America sell to the senors?

If they turn out to be missiles and warplanes and submarines which render Britain's defence of the Falklands more dangerous and more costly, then President Reagan will have done more than trifle with the affections of a lady. He will have betrayed the trust which must underpin the alliance between our two nations.

It is that serious at this time. And the White House had better be made to believe it.

Daily Mail
9th December 1983

Nato Ministers pick Carrington

BRUSSELS: NATO Foreign Ministers unanimously appointed Lord Carrington to succeed Joseph Luns of the Netherlands as the alliance's Secretary-General.

Carrington, 64, former Foreign Secretary, takes over in June.

8.12.83

WRAC's END FALKLANDS DUTY TOUR

By Our Port Stanley
Correspondent

The first contingent of the Women's Royal Army Corps have completed their four-month tour of duty in the Falklands, and their commanding officer, Capt Diane Foster, described it as being "pretty well unique."

The Falklands weather had surprised everyone with almost 7 weeks of uninterrupted sunshine. Many of the girls would be returning with suntans said Capt. Foster. There is no lack of girls wanting to undertake the Falklands tour.

A new contingent of WRAC's have arrived under the command of Capt. Lorna McGregor and they will take over most of the jobs carried out by the first girls, clerical, in the forces H.Q., police and postal sections and in the cookhouses.

VICTORY RECALLED

By Our Port Stanley
Correspondent

The Falklands are celebrating today as the 69th anniversary of the British Naval victory over the Germans in the Battle of the Falklands in 1914. All three Services are contributing to a day of displays, demonstrations and sport.

THE TIMES

8.12.83

Falklands Day

Today is Falkland Islands' national day, known as "Battle Day" after the Battle of the Falkland Islands on December 8, 1914, when the Royal Navy defeated the German South Atlantic Squadron. After a memorial service in Stanley Cathedral, wreaths will be laid at the battle memorial and there will be a march past by the band of the 2nd Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, with a Royal Naval detachment and the Falkland Islands Defence Force. The day will be marked in London on Saturday at 11.00 by the annual ceremony at the Cenotaph.

Argentine air threat to Falklands aims to run up Britain's bill

From Douglas Tweedale
Buenos Aires

The outgoing head of Argentina's Air Force, Brigadier Augusto Hughes, has vowed that Argentine planes will test Britain's defences on the Falkland Islands and harass them to make the defence more expensive for Mrs Thatcher.

"The Air Force will be present in our sovereign airspace, testing and probing the enemy's defence capabilities to wear him down and make his defence more costly," the commander said.

Brigadier Hughes, who resigned his command on Tuesday in preparation for the transfer of power to the elected civilian government, said in a farewell speech that "the more effective our presence is, the more it will cost the enemy to maintain his forces."

He added that it would be difficult for Britain to continue "providing dollars (for the defence of the islands), especially since those colonies do not produce any dividends."

The Air Force has traditionally been the most nationalistic of Argentina's armed forces,



Señor Alfonsín: Polishing up his first speech

and it is known that many officers still harbour strong feelings because of the heavy losses suffered by air crews during the war with Britain.

Brigadier Hughes also said that the Air Force proposed that British capital frozen here during the war should not be released and that British companies not be allowed to take profits out of the country.

Meanwhile, the Argentine Congress formally proclaimed Señor Raul Alfonsín as the next President of Argentina, just four days before he is to take office

as the country's first civilian ruler in nearly eight years.

In a brief meeting postponed from Monday, the joint houses of Congress confirmed the results of the elections last October which gave Señor Alfonsín the victory, and officially named him President.

Señor Alfonsín is to be sworn in on Saturday in a ceremony that will be attended by a number of European and Latin American heads of state, including Spain's Señor Felipe Gonzalez. The US is to be represented by a delegation led by Vice-President George Bush.

The President-elect was putting the finishing touches yesterday on a speech he is to deliver to Congress before being sworn in, while his advisers prepared a package of emergency measures they will propose immediately after Señor Alfonsín takes power.

Those measures are believed to include sanctions against military officers for human rights abuses in recent years, economic measures aimed at reducing Argentina's inflation rates of more than 400 per cent, and a plan to reform the structure of the armed forces.

Standard
8th December 1983

Dry dock closed to ship in nuclear weapons row

Australia bans the Invincible

by Steve Doughty

THE British aircraft carrier *Invincible* was barred from an Australian naval dry dock today after her commanders refused to say whether she was carrying nuclear weapons.

The carrier—spearhead of the Falklands Task Force—had sought permission to dock for propeller repairs.

The dispute blew up as Australia's Labour Government—torn over nuclear policy—enforced a nuclear-free rule covering weapons on Australian soil.

The decision was hailed in Australia as a major rebuff for Britain.

Demonstrations

Invincible, once intended for Australia, has been leading a fly-the-flag tour of the Pacific and Indian oceans intended to foster economic and defence links.

The 20,000-ton carrier, with two frigates and three support ships, arrived in Sydney a week after facing demonstrations from anti-nuclear protestors in New Zealand.

When the request was made



THE INVINCIBLE: moored in Sydney Harbour.

for use of a dry dock at Sydney naval base Australian Defence Minister Gordon Scholes asked if the ship was carrying nuclear weapons.

The Government regards the dock as Australian soil.

An Australian navy spokesman said: "The British refused to say and Mr Scholes said the Royal Navy could not use the dry dock as long as it refused an answer".

The commander of the British fleet, Falklands hero Rear Admiral Jeremy Black,

captain of the *Invincible* during the war, and her current captain, Nicholas Hill-Norton, were making no comment.

In London a Ministry of Defence spokesman refused to discuss the involvement of the Australian Government.

The spokesman said: "The ship is suffering a technical difficulty. While it might have been docked in Sydney, it has been decided that it does not need to be docked at the moment."

Throughout the Falklands



ADMIRAL BLACK: no comment.

war there were reports that *Invincible* and other British ships were carrying nuclear depth charges.

The reports caused embarrassment for the Australian Government which is divided on nuclear policy.

Last month Premier Bob Hawke narrowly won a crucial vote to develop uranium mining in South Australia—a plan bitterly opposed by his party's Left-wing.

Invincible is due to leave Australia early in January.

SUB FOR ARGENTINA IN TRIALS

By JULIAN ISHERWOOD
in Copenhagen

THE first of a series of six diesel electric submarines for the Argentine navy has begun seaworthiness tests in the Skagerrak off the Danish coast, according to confirmed reports in Copenhagen.

Two of the 216ft TR-1700 submarines are being built for Buenos Aires by the West German Thyssen - Nordseewerke yard of Emden and the remaining four are being built in Argentina under licence.

Depth tests for the single-engined submarine are being conducted in the freer stretches and depths of the Skagerrak in trials which have drawn both Eastern and Western intelligence observers.

An agreement between Thyssen-Nordseewerke and the Danish Fredrikshavn docks for repairs and supplies during the trials has enabled the submarine to complete tests faster than if it had been forced to return to Emden.

Assembly line

The first TR-1700 is to be delivered to the Argentine Navy next April and the second is to be operational next December.

Two of the submarines being built under licence in Argentina are already on the assembly line.

Cdr John Curtis, British Naval Attaché in Copenhagen, said that if Argentina maintained a policy of military confrontation



towards the Falklands, the submarines would provide "a military addition of which we must be wary."

The TR-1700, with a crew of 30, carries 20 heavyweight wire-guided torpedoes which can be launched from six forward tubes. An option for four missile tubes is open but has not been used so far.



The deposed Argentine President, Isabel Peron, 53, who is returning to Buenos Aires to attend the inauguration on Saturday of President Raul Alfonsin, pictured at her Madrid home. She has lived in Spain since 1981, after five years under house arrest in Argentina.

Isabel Peron to return temporarily

By TIM BROWN
in Madrid

ISABEL PERON, 53, former President of Argentina, is due temporarily to end her exile in Spain today when she flies back to Buenos Aires.

She is to attend the ceremony at which Senor Paul Alfonsin, President-elect, will be sworn in following his Radical party's narrow but decisive electoral victory over the Peronists on Oct. 30, and according to Peronist sources in Madrid she plans to return there in 10 days' time.

Widow of Gen. Juan Peron, she became President on his death in 1974 only to be deposed in a military coup 633 days later.

Refused to plead

She has been in affluent exile in Spain for the past two-and-a-half years and refused pleas to return to lead the Peronist election campaign in the early autumn.

La Senora, as she is known to her followers, has refused to make any political comment or be interviewed since the military rulers in Argentina released her from house arrest and allowed her to go to Spain in July, 1981.

She has been booked to fly to Buenos Aires on an Argentine Airlines flight leaving Madrid late tonight. Travelling with her will be her constant Spanish companion since her exile in Madrid, Senora Flores Tascon, and her chief bodyguard, Croatian-born Col Milo Bojetic.

Falklands war

Powered by eight 120-cell batteries, the vessel is propelled by a Siemens 6,600 kilowatt motor enabling it to make 24 knots submerged.

It is one of the largest present designs of submarine and can stay under water for at least five days at eight knots or below without surfacing to recharge.

Test and delivery schedules for the submarine were frozen by the West German Government last year during the Falklands war, but were recommenced after European Governments relaxed their restrictions on arms sales to Argentina.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

7.12.83

CHEAP CALLS TO FALKLANDS

By Our Business Correspondent

Christmas and New Year telephone calls to and from the Falklands will be halved in price to 75p a minute, British Telecom said yesterday.

The cut price rate will run from Dec 20 until Jan 11 and Servicemen will be able to make direct calls.

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone 01-940 6935

Coalite rises 22% to £10m midterm

MODEST IMPROVEMENTS in almost all activities produced a 22 per cent rise in first half profits at the Coalite Group, on turnover 9 per cent higher at £190.84m, against £174.95.

The taxable surplus of £10m compares with £8.21m, and included lower interest received of £1.54m, against £1.61m. Shareholders will receive a higher distribution of 1.67p (1.55p) net for the period covering the six months to September 30 1983.

Tax for the period takes £5.2m (£4.27m).

The company's main contribution derives from fuel processing and distribution operations and,

Dividends

Announced p26

as always, the directors point out that the outcome for the second half will depend largely on the winter weather.

Other interests of the group incorporate the manufacture of solid smokeless fuel, vehicle building and distribution, transport, warehousing and shipping services, builders merchanting, instrument manufacture and sheep farming in the Falkland Islands.

For the whole of last year group pushed its taxable surplus up from £23.86m to £27.34m and paid a final dividend of 3.5p (3.1p).

● comment

Stock profits from solid fuel helped boost profits from Coalite's main business in what is traditionally the quieter period, covering the summer months. The rest of the group has shown an all round improvement, with perhaps vehicle building being the least attractive. Coalite saw a welcome turnaround in its transport warehousing business and in one of its small instrument manufacturing companies. The cash and investment pile, £37m at the year end, continues to bring in substantial income, despite lower interest rates. Chairman Ted Needham says Coalite continues to look around for acquisitions of various sizes—though nothing seems imminent that would make a really big dent in the cash. Meanwhile, the company continues to be "prudent" on dividend payments, though if analysts' forecasts of around £31.5m pre-tax for the year materialise, the final dividend may be a little more generous. The shares rose 5p to 170p where they sell on a p/e of 9.5.

Falkland bound

Two hundred and sixty British workers boarded a ship in Cape Town bound for the Falkland Islands where they will help to build an airstrip to replace the one damaged during the 1982 fighting

FINANCIAL TIMES

7.12.83

THE TIMES

7.12.83

Argentine junta dissolves itself

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

The three-man junta which headed Argentina's military government has ordered its own dissolution, putting an end to more than seven years of unpopular military government and paving the way for an elected civilian Government due to take office on Saturday.

The newly elected Congress is due to proclaim Señor Raul Alfonsín, the winner of elections on October 30, as the country's next President today.

The outgoing President, General Reynaldo Bignone, will remain as provisional President until Señor Alfonsín is sworn in on Saturday.

The junta has also annulled all the statutes and by-laws enacted by the military Government which seized power in March 1976, thus eliminating the last formal vestiges of military power.

The junta was the last of four which have held power since 1976, including the one over which General Galtieri presided, which ordered Argentina's disastrous occupation of the Falklands. That defeat and growing resistance to the Government's repressive social and economic policies made it impossible for the military to

retain power, and shortly after the war it announced elections.

● MADRID: Señora Isabel Perón, widow of the former Argentine dictator, is temporarily to abandon her exile in Spain and visit Buenos Aires to coincide with the inauguration of Señor Alfonsín, Peronist sources indicated here (Richard Wigg writes).

She was due to leave last night and will be staying in Argentina for about 10 days. She will be accompanied by a Spanish woman friend and her chief bodyguard, a Croatian exile. She has been living in Spain since June, 1981.

McMillan-Scott Associates *Public Affairs*

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone: 01-930 6935

Daily Mail
6.12.83

TV Mail

A one-eyed look at the enemy

THE Argentine ex-conscript was young and tubby. He wore a yellow shirt and an aggrieved expression. He had seen a bit of action on the Falklands but did not pretend to be brave.

'A shell fell right in the trench,' he said, 'and sent everything up in the air—machine gun, soldiers, the lot. We just closed our eyes, clung to each other, and cleared out. What else could we do?'

Listening to him, and to others in that cold, confused, ill-equipped and hungry army dispatched by Galtieri to redeem the honour of Argentina, you wondered how the Falklands War lasted more than a day.

Malvinas: Story Of Betrayals (Channel 4) last night provided an extremely slanted but nevertheless revealing insight into the Falklands conflict as seen from the enemy side.

The 90-minute film, produced by a group of Left-minded Argentines while in exile in Mexico, condemns Mrs Thatcher and General Galtieri with equal bitterness. It declares confidently that both leaders went into battle for cynical political reasons, chiefly to restore

their own flagging popularity at home at a time of rising unrest and unemployment.

The film naturally shows Britain in a very poor light, using selective footage—abandoned, roofless factories, street violence, Ulster graffiti, gaudy-thatched London punks—to suggest a country in decline and decay.

But the criticism was equally levelled at Argentina's own frailties. Much was made of the national strike of March 30, 1982, which apparently brought that country to a standstill. Galtieri's sudden invasion of the Falklands two days later was seen as a last desperate bid to whip up a patriotic hysteria and save his terror-based regime from collapse.

It was never expected that Britain would go to war. A military strategist in Buenos Aires

said: 'It was assumed that Britain would not invade but negotiate. It was also assumed that the United States would support Argentina.'

Foiled in both these expectations, Argentina's nondescript army did not have the men, or the heart, or the arms, for a prolonged fight. Certainly none of the conscripts we saw in last night's film had the look of a serious or steely foe. They looked more like callow boys and had been treated as such by their superiors. 'Whenever we got rations of meat and cigarettes the platoon leader kept it all for himself,' said one.

Another talked on lightweight summer uniforms useless against Antarctic winds: 'We couldn't stand the cold any longer . . . we were on the verge of tears.'

Britain's victory provoked an eruption of rage in the streets of Buenos Aires. We saw

mobs burning buses and bellowing 'Galtieri, you drunkard, you killed our boys!'

The film employed pertinent quotes from Tony Benn, nuclear disarmament E. P. Thompson and a cluster of unnamed people in an English pub to suggest that British public opinion was far from unanimous in its support of Mrs Thatcher's militant response to the Argentine provocation.

The final message of the programme was that 'the People' had been betrayed on both sides. Despite such threadbare populist rhetoric this was a film which at least opened a window on another point of view and was well worth screening because it trusted the British viewer to be mature enough not to swallow its obvious bias and propaganda.



TELEVISION REVIEW
BY HERBERT KRETZMER

Daily Mail
5.12.83

Geese mission

EGGS of rare kelp geese from the Falklands are to be flown to waterfowl collector Bill Makins of Fakenham, Norfolk, in the hope that they can be reared in captivity for the first time.

Daily Mail
5.12.83
TV Guide Channel 4

- 11.0 THE ELEVENTH HOUR: Malvinas—Story of Betrayal. From the detached viewpoint of their exile in Mexico a group of Argentines reappraises last year's battle for the Falklands, weighing one side's claims against the other's and sparing the invaders no stick.
- 12.25 CLOSE.

Daily Mail
6.12.83

'Make the Foreign Office toe line'

By Political Staff

THE Prime Minister is today urged to set up a new body to check the advice given her by the Foreign Office and provide her with alternative policies.

A study paper from the Thatcherite Adam Smith Institute complains that the Foreign Office does not speak up for Britain and urges the creation of a new National Security Council with the status of a Whitehall department.

The council would have its own staff, given access to intelligence and diplomatic information, and would come

under the direct authority of the Prime Minister.

The institute praises the Foreign Office for technical efficiency, but says it tries to insulate its policies from the effect of governments which come and go, believing it knows better than the politicians.

Former MP Mr Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, one of the authors, called for public funds to be made available to outside bodies like the Institute of Strategic Studies (and, presumably, the Adam Smith institute) to question Foreign Office policies on particular issues.

A case for two Foreign Offices—Page SIX.

Daily Mail
5.12.83

Carrington job

BRUSSELS: Former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, 64, will be unanimously nominated to replace Joseph Luns as Nato secretary general on his retirement next year when the 16 members of the Atlantic alliance meet here this week.

Daily Mail
6.12.83.

A case for two

THEY used to say that the clerks of the Foreign Office were like the fountains in Trafalgar Square, because they played from ten till three.

Certainly, this large body of officials has become self-sufficient and insulated from the nation.

Their virtual monopoly of much of the information necessary for Governments to take foreign policy decisions makes it hard for politicians to argue with the single interpretation which the FO adopts.

That has already led the

Prime Minister to set up her own foreign policy advisory service in the Cabinet office.

Now with its call for a National Security Council to check FO advice, it looks as if the Thatcherite Adam Smith Institute is adopting Harold Wilson's old trick of creating a department to solve every problem.

But don't dismiss it so lightly, because this scheme has real advantages.

With direct access to Intelligence from MI6, Defence Intelligence, Government Communication HQ and diplomats abroad, it could supply authoritative

Foreign Offices

briefing direct to the Prime Minister (and Cabinet) an alternative point of view to help them judge critically what the FO was telling them.

It would also make it much easier to take foreign policy initiatives rather than merely reacting to events.

The most dramatic of the proposed initiatives concerns the United Nations.

Since the original membership of 50, the UN has acquired more than 100 extra, mostly small and undemocratic nations who tend to support the Soviet bloc.

So why not carry on as usual in the UN institutions, but also participate in another forum representing peoples not States—a League of Democratic Peoples.

The qualification for joining would be above all else whether a country could peacefully change its Government by election.

This body would have moral authority. The desire of countries to join it would create an incentive to improve democratic institutions.

RUSSELL LEWIS

THE
TIMES

6.12.83

England football team ready to play Argentina

The England football team is likely to play Argentina next summer for the first time since the Falklands conflict.

England have been invited to compete in a tournament in Brazil to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the Brazilian Football Association. Argentina are expected to take part.

The Football Association have provisionally accepted the Brazilian invitation. The secretary of the FA, Mr Ted Croker, said yesterday: "We will play any countries invited."

Plans are still being finalized, but if the provisionally fixed date of June 9 is confirmed then England's participation seems certain.

Page 26

GUARDIAN

6.12.83

Falklands ferry set to sail from Cape Town

From Barry Streek
in Cape Town

A ferry leaves Cape Town today with the first batch of 250 British workers for the Falkland Islands to begin the building of the new £250-million airport.

The use of the South African port was strongly criticised by 24 Labour MPs, sponsored by the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Anti-Apartheid Movement when the decision was announced in October.

They argued that the use of Cape Town would be a breach of the UN Security Council's military sanctions against

South Africa. It amounted to a strategic agreement between South Africa and Britain for the Cape route, the south Atlantic and the Antarctic, they said.

The British Government gave an assurance that all workers and all materials would come from Britain, arguing that the use of Cape Town would reduce costs.

The 8,100-ton Danish-built ferry, renamed The England, is fitted with stabilisers and is designed to handle conditions similar to those in the south Atlantic, including the Furious Fifty latitude which she will cross twice a month.

The voyage to the Falklands

is expected to take 11 days and The England will return to Cape Town early in January to fetch the next batch of workers. They will be flown out from Britain by South African Airways.

According to reports here, The England will be used only for ferrying workers as all equipment for building the airport is to be shipped directly from Britain in another ship, the 14,000-ton Merchant Providence. Its passenger list is expected to include crane and construction machinery operators, boatmen, quarry workers, road and water installation workers and a back-up staff of office workers.

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone 01-930 6935

Sunday Telegraph
4th December 1983

Taylor made for it

IT'S not everybody's idea of the ideal job, despite a salary of £33,000 a year. Very bracing, the Falkland Islands, but also a little on the remote side.

Mr David Taylor, the newly appointed chief executive of the Falkland Islands Government, who left for there on Thursday is unperturbed. The last chief executive the Falklands needs is a flamboyant, fast-talking whizz-kid. They have not got one.

"Senior Booker McConnell executive on secondment" Mr Taylor may be, but he conveys much more of the flavour of his first employers, the Colonial Service, for whom he worked in what was then Tanganyika.

As he himself says, this is the

sort of job he could have expected if he had never left.

Nevertheless, it was "a total surprise" when he was approached by the Overseas Development Administration.

"But the more I thought about the move, the more I felt it would be a very difficult job to resist if it was offered."

It was; he didn't. He's already been out to look at the islands and talk to the people. He was impressed by both. He is also sensitive to their reaction.

"Okay, I'm being paid £33,000. That seems a colossal amount in Falkland Islands terms, but that's the market rate for this job. [Mr Taylor will also be head of the Falklands' new development corporation.] The Falklands are going to depend to an extent on expatriates.

And there's always a problem with short stayers. That's why I decided to stay for three years: three years sounds like a commitment, two years sounds like a contract."

And he stresses amid all the Shackletonia, all the projects, their speed, their slowness, their cost, that "it's absolutely essential that it is the wishes of the Falkland Islanders we follow in making the decisions about the economic future of the islands."

As for himself, he's 50, single and used to remote places, he says. Luckily, his principal recreations are painting, reading and listening to music. "I also hope to improve my French," he says. "But not my Spanish." He may need that sense of humour.

rats without skinning them and the women had breasts three feet long and where, to the wind, waft latratory paper and the detritus of modern civilisation into the scrub round every human settlement.

Only the toughest could have survived what the family called 'that tragedy'. William, his wife, grandfather, a babe in arms and six children saw all their supplies sink in a boat coming ashore except for a sack of biscuits, a kettle, a sewing machine and grandfather's box of tools, leaving the family with only a sail to shelter them from the spreading climate. William set off south to find his sheep, coming back to find a half-starved brood. For ten years pumas attacked the sheep; Mabel climbed into a cave with a candle on the end of a stick to rout them out.

The surviving Tehuelche Indians were less of a bother than the pumas. The family remembered them as a people who loved parties and played a form of brag picked up from stranded sailors. Mr Mainwaring's sympathetic account of the tragedy of these splendid horsemen makes sad reading. Rotted by traders' alcohol, riddled with European disease, hunted down like dogs by settlers, the last pure bred Tehuelche died in 1945. They stank and stole. The following, after all, was the natural reaction of the primitive poor to the exotic rich but the settlers could not accept this logic. In the Mexican *selva* tribal Indians stole my only pair of trousers. 'You have many pairs at home', the chief declared; confronted with this irrefutable but, in the situation, irrelevant proposition, I lost my temper and regained my trousers.

Against all the odds — as late as 1899 they lost 3,000 sheep in a single winter — the Hallidays made good. By 1897 they sold their wool for £1,499; they built Hill Station, a solid house, and by 1903 could afford to come with their children to Scotland. In the early years it was the family who worked the farm: the children they later employed as peons brought endless trouble and finally, in the 1920's, staged a peon's revolt. The peons had a point. Hard conditions were imposed by men of immense wealth — 'twittering pachyderms with their snapping teeth and castrated consciences' as their union organiser called them. The Hallidays were not hard masters; but there were too many pachyderms around in Patagonia.

Mr Mainwaring is a novelist, not an economic historian. Perhaps his main theme is the effect of loneliness. The enforced closeness to animals of the early settlers in a world where there were few human beings stands revealed in their diaries: 'A fox carried off the gander', 'The ibis flew away today'. Mainwaring does not see economic expansion in quantitative terms but only its effects on human relationships. Gradually, isolation breaks down as the town of Rio Gallegos grew with its bars and banks across the river from Hill Station. The foreign settlers began to shed their absolute separateness as the Argentinian state claimed them. They kept their British Club

and their St Andrew's day dinner but their children learned Spanish. Further north the Welsh Nationalist dream faded with time as the settlers in the Chubut Valley, who had proved that survival in Patagonia was possible, gradually lost touch with home. 'The danger', a journalist wrote in 1910, 'takes the form of the dark-eyed Argentinian maid who is apt to make roast meat of the heart of the Welsh youth'. Against the dark eyes, Miss Lloyd Jones, 'the Patagonian nightingale', sang in vain. Most Anglo-Argentines were not enthusiastically pro-British in the Falklands War; after all, home tends to be where your land and money is.

With the expansion of settlements the effect of loneliness weakens; but odd balls had always flourished — whether they came odd to Patagonia or whether Patagonia made them so. Mr Mainwaring seizes on them, indeed might be charged with dragging them in: Orlie Antoine, self-styled King of Patagonia, distributor of bogus titles and protector of Indians, ended up as a lamplighter in his native town; George Greenwood, the rhea hunter who shunned society and slept in the snow without a blanket; 'Mister' Jack Harris, who cropped her hair, dressed as a man, rode like fury and vanished to Canada. These flashes from outside illuminate by contrast the unflinching domestic endeavour of the Hallidays. It all makes for a good read.

Adrian/Anney.

You may be interested

Lynda
2/12

Viva Scotia!

Raymond Carr

From the Falklands to Patagonia: The Story of a Pioneer Family
Michael James Mainwaring
(Allison & Busby £12.95)

Some people have all the luck. A professional historian might slog away for half a lifetime without hitting on as rich a cache as Mr Mainwaring. On a holiday trip to Patagonia he met Mabel Halliday, the last surviving child of William Halliday who, in 1862, had emigrated from Dumfries to the Falklands and then, in 1885, set up as a sheep farmer on 30,000 acres of uninhabited waste in southern Patagonia. From family diaries and Mabel's memories, Mr Mainwaring has pieced together an extraordinary account of the human endeavour and endurance that has somehow dropped out of a world where no adventurer ever seems far from a television crew.

Not all Scots were, as Anthony Powell described them, 'second rate engineers and obscure surgeons'. In his family coaching business William Halliday heard stories of Scots who, through sheer guts, had made good abroad. At the age of 17 he decided to sign on for 20 years as a shepherd for the Falkland Islands Company.

By the time William arrived on Darwin's 'miserable islands' described by a traveller in 1854 as 'the best-suited spot in Her Majesty's dominions for a convict station' the Falklands were a huge sheep ranch. Fed up with the reluctance of the Falkland Islands Company to grant enterprising shepherds land after 20 years' labour and its propensity to appoint managers from Britain, he decided to try his luck in Patagonia, that inhospitable last thousand miles of South America where Magellan's chroniclers reported that the men were giants who ate

5.12.83

DAILY
TELEGRAPH

3.12.83

MOBILE PORT SAILS

By Our Shipping Correspondent

The first two parts of the new mobile harbour for the Falklands, completed at the Harland and Wolff shipyard in Belfast, set sail on their 12,000-mile journey south.

WILDLIFE HINTS FOR FALKLANDS SERVICEMEN

By Our Defence Correspondent
A 20-minute film of South Atlantic wildlife is being shown to all Servicemen before they leave for their tours of duty.

Compiled from material shot by Cindy Buxton, the naturalist, who, with Annie Price survived in South Georgia during the Argentine invasion, it demonstrates the reasons for troops to take special care to avoid upsetting the Falklands Islands' wildlife.

The film makes three rules which the Defence Ministry and Falkland conservationists suggest should govern behaviour of troops: Do not chase anything; do not disturb anything; and, "if you wish to photograph anything, sit down, stay quiet, and let the wildlife come to you. Its so tame it probably will."

JUNTA DEFEAT WAS NATURAL CONSEQUENCE

By MARY SPECK in Buenos Aires

THE Argentine Army has admitted in an official report that it was never adequately "organised, equipped or trained" to confront British forces in the Falklands conflict.

In a report released on Friday, the Army said Argentina's defeat was the "natural consequence of severely adverse factors" including the "tactical capacity of the British command and the courage and training of their troops."

The report was prepared by Gen. Edgardo Calvi, Army Chief of Staff.

It is the first in-depth analysis of the Falklands war made public by the armed forces.

The release of the Calvi report came more than a week after an Argentine magazine published a secret report prepared by an Armed Forces Commission led by retired Gen. Benjamin Rattenbach.

The Rattenbach report, which the Military Government claims was published illegally, charges the military junta of former President Galtieri with "negligently" causing Argentina's defeat.

The Calvi report cites the lack of air and naval support as a major reason for the defeat. The crucial battle of Goose Green was lost when the navy and air force rejected an attack by paratroopers because it would result in "excessive losses" for their units, it said.

Useless equipment

The report also admits that the Argentine Army used poorly-trained conscripts, many of whom came from semi-tropical regions of northern Argentina, instead of troops trained in the Andes Mountains.

Britain's technological superiority was enhanced when Argentine equipment was rendered useless because of such problems as a lack of batteries and the incompatibility of different communications systems, the report says.

The report says that hours before Gen. Mario Menendez surrendered to British troops, former President Galtieri told him his men "should charge out of the trenches, not back into them," because "the British must also be exhausted."

But when Gen. Menendez insisted that his orders were impossible to carry out, President Galtieri allowed his field commander to make the final decision on Argentina's surrender.



DISPUTE ON CHANNEL 'TO END SOON'

By MARY SPECK
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S new Government expects to resolve its dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel shortly after the Dec. 10 inauguration, says Dr Hugo Gobbi, newly-appointed sub-secretary of the Foreign Ministry.

Dr Gobbi, a key adviser to President-elect Raul Alfonsín and Senor Dante Caputo, future Foreign Minister, said a quick solution to the dispute with Chile over three small islands off the southern tip of the continent would also help the Argentine Government in its international campaign to regain the Falkland Islands.

"If we solve the Beagle Channel dispute, we are showing that we can find peaceful solutions even when they are not entirely favourable to us," he said in a recent interview.

He said the new Government wanted to reach a rapid agreement with Chile even at the risk of offending some Argentine nationalists. But it did not expect a rapid solution to the Falklands dispute.

THE TIMES

3.12.83

Junta did not expect a war

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

The latest published excerpts from the top-secret Rattenbach report on Argentina's defeat in the Falklands war reveal that the junta which ordered the occupation of the islands did not seriously consider the possibility that Britain would react with military force.

The weekly magazine *Siete Dias* published on Wednesday the second instalment of excerpts from the military's definitive investigation of the war, which strongly condemns the decision to seize the islands and states that confused strategic planning led the country into a war for which it was not prepared.

"A British reaction, including the massive use of military force, was considered little short of impossible" by the military and civilian officials who planned the Argentine occupation, the report says.

In a nine-month study of the war, the special military commission which drafted the report found that the military junta began planning an invasion of the Falklands as early as January 12, 1982, several months before Argentine workmen on South Georgia triggered a diplomatic incident which led to the war.

In its last scheduled meeting before turning over power to the

elected civilian government, the junta ordered both military and civilian courts' to look into possible violations of secrecy laws in the publication of the report.

Air Commodore Carlos Rey, one of the authors of the report, said the leak "is extremely serious and a breach of a national secret", and that it was probably "due to motives of profits".

Señor Raul Borras, designated to be Defence Minister under President-elect Raul Alfonsín, said that the Rattenbach report would be used as the first step in the future

Government's own investigation of who was responsible for the Falklands war.

As President, Señor Alfonsín will have the final word on the fate of those military officers court-martialled by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. That court-martial has begun summary proceedings but will probably take several months to pass a verdict on those indicted by the Rattenbach report.

There are only 10 copies of the 300-page report in existence, and *Siete Dias* said it had access to the copy sent to the current junta.

Time to talk, says Steel

By Our Political Editor

Mr David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party, said yesterday that failure to pursue negotiations with Argentina over the Falkland Islands would be to abandon a crucial opportunity presented by Argentina's return to democracy.

Speaking to members of Edinburgh University Air Squadron, he said that a policy of "Fortress Falklands", made necessary by war, was no long-

term answer and was profoundly damaging to Britain's national defence commitments. The economic burden of defending the islands, at about £750m a year, was more than the total air defence cost of Britain.

There had been a "clear renunciation of hostilities and the future use of force" by Argentina. Continuation of hostilities could only lead to greater defence spending.

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

41 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone: 01-930 6935

Cross-border liaison in fight against leftwing insurgents

Guatemalans want British soldiers to stay in Belize

From Paul Ellman
in Guatemala City

Guatemala has told Britain that it hopes British troops will be kept in Belize as a bulwark against leftist guerrillas who are trying to overthrow the government here using it as a base.

Britain maintains an 1,800-man garrison in Belize, backed by a flight of RAF Harrier jets, ostensibly as a deterrent against an invasion by Guatemala which claims the former British colony as part of its territory.

The Guatemalan message, delivered privately through the British Embassy in Mexico City in the absence of British-Guatemalan relations, comes at a time when there are other pressures on Britain to maintain the military presence in Belize.

This pressure, which is causing concern among Foreign Office officials, comes from Belizian politicians, who fear that their country could fall prey to leftwing guerrilla subversion, and from the US which is anxious to see an ally maintain a military presence in the region.

At a secret meeting in Miami last September, attended by the head of the Foreign Office's Mexico and Central America department, Mr Bryan White, Guatemala proposed the creation of joint patrols along the border and offered to train Belizian troops in this role.

Despite the public hostility shown by Guatemala, which has attempted to cast its claim to Belize in the same mould as the Argentinian claim to the Falklands, diplomatic sources here said that informal relations with London have become increasingly warm.

The military regime headed by General Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores, which took power in a coup on August 8, moved swiftly to reassure Britain that it had no intention of invading.

Belize borders Guatemala's Peten province, which is the



General Mejia- Victores

area of operations of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), one of four insurgent groups operating under the umbrella of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG).

Diplomats noted that the Miami meeting involved no representatives of the Guatemalan Foreign Ministry and that the Guatemalan delegation consisted almost entirely of officers from General Mejia Victores's personal entourage.

They also noted the presence of a representative of the Belizian Defence Force, a lightly armed gendarmerie trained by Britain to maintain law and order and theoretically fill the gap left by the British army in the event of a withdrawal.

The meeting was the first since unsuccessful talks in New York in January. It produced no progress on a Guatemalan offer to recognise Belize's independence in exchange for the cession of the southern Belizian province of Toledo.

Nevertheless, it has been followed by a relaxation of tension along the border, and British officers now maintain regular liaison with their Guatemalan counterparts which is said to have resulted in exchanges of information on the movements of Guatemalan guerrillas.

THE TIMES

3.12.83

Falklands calendar tours around the islands

One of the New Year's more unusual calendars has been produced by Mr Stephen Whitley the Falklands Island's veterinary officer, whose photographs of views, landmarks and wildlife were taken on his continual travels around the islands (Sandra Hempel writes).

The British public, however, will not get the chance to buy it for, although it is being printed in London, all 5,000 copies are going to the Falklands.

January (right) shows a group of Rockhopper penguins, the smallest of the five species which breed in the Falklands. A protected bird, it is very noisy and quarrelsome.

February (below right) has a picture of St Mary's Church, Ross Road, Port Stanley, built in 1899. Ross Road is named after the British explorer and navigator Captain Ross, who visited the islands with the British Antarctic expedition in 1842. Captain Ross favoured the move of the capital from its original site at Port Louis to the better harbour at Port William with its inner harbour, Port Stanley.

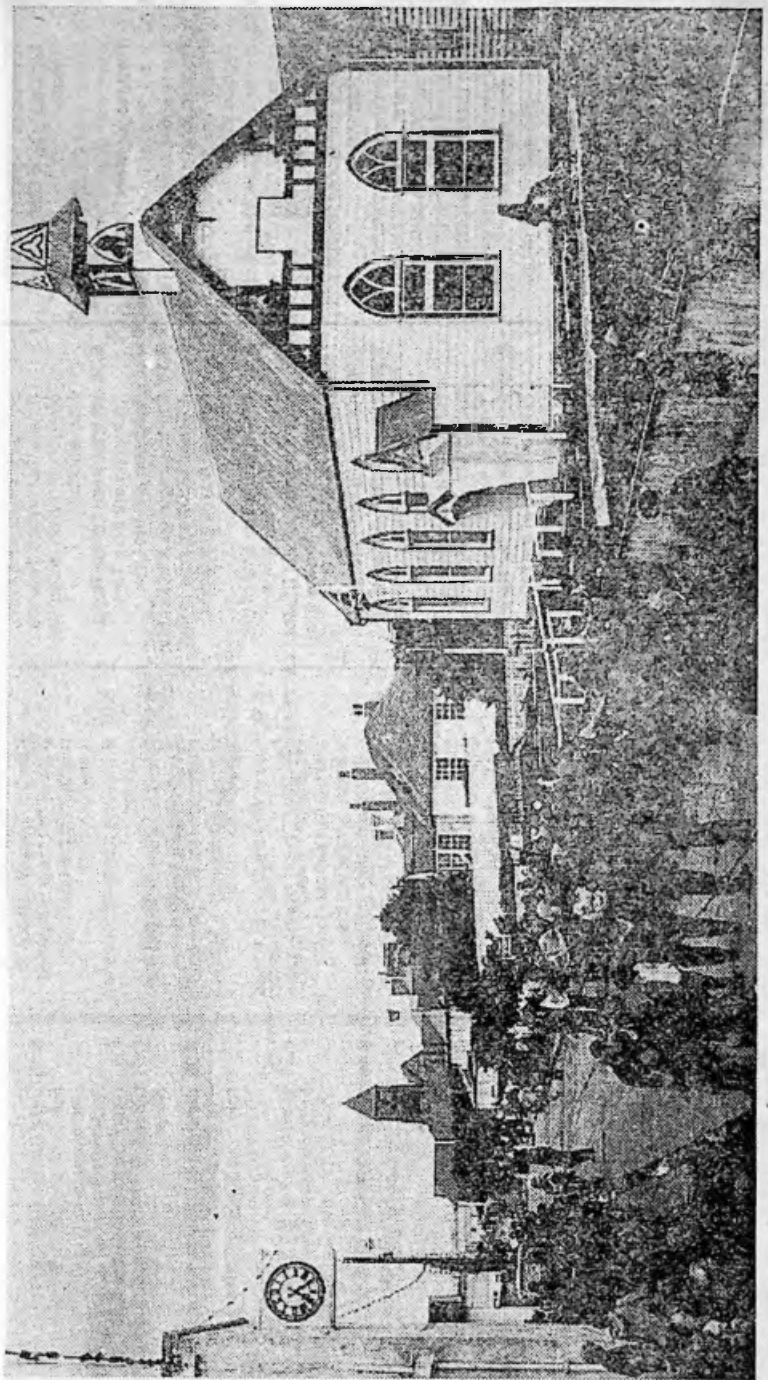
Shown below is Mr Whitley with his wife, Susan, a schoolteacher, who was killed by an artillery shell in the last days of the fighting around Port Stanley.



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THE TIMES
3.12.83

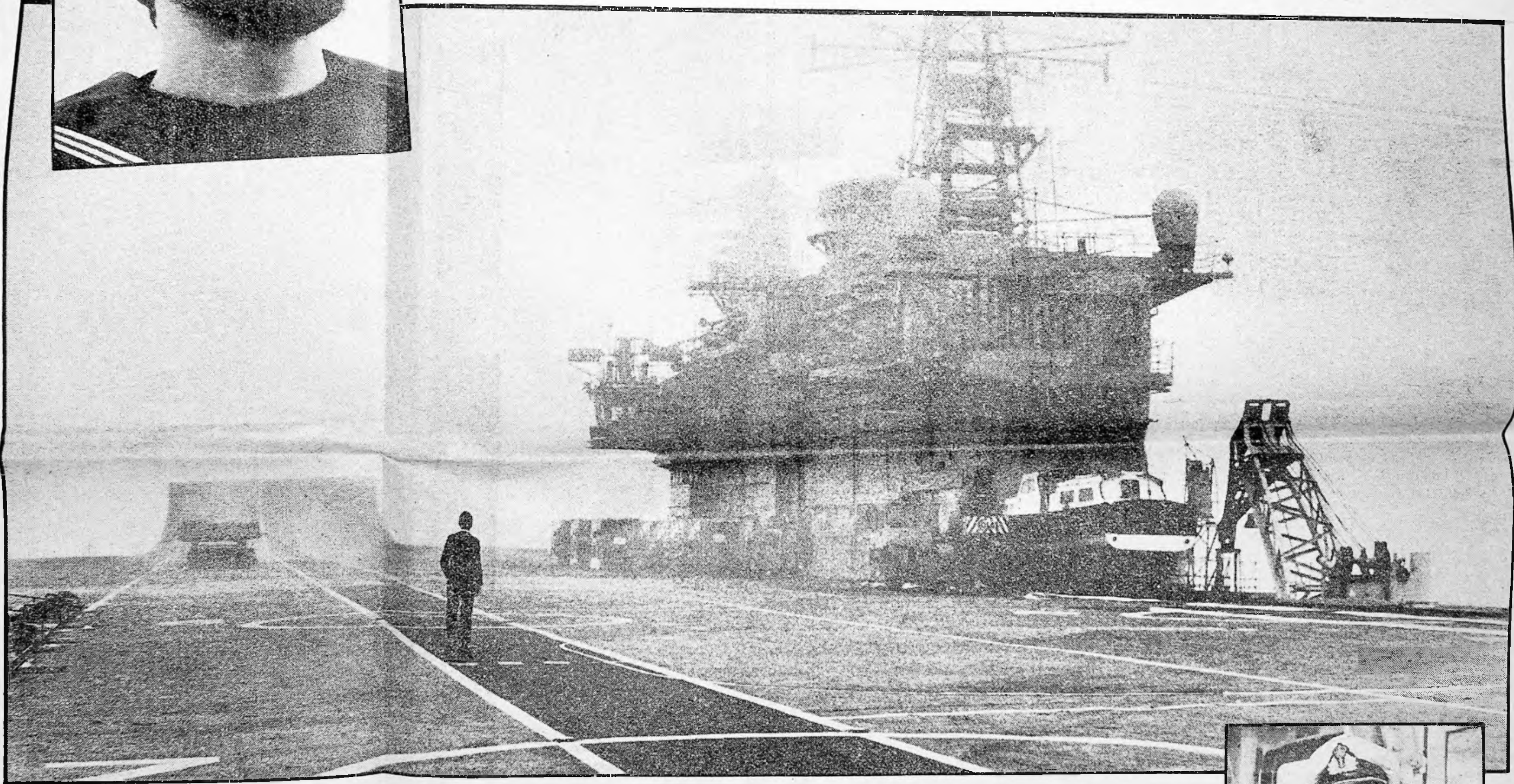


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A GREY DAY, A SAD DAY: THE FALKLANDS FLAGSHIP BOWS OUT

Hermes sails home to the mist of history



A great ship beached by the changing times: The empty flight deck of Hermes and (above) one of her proud crew.

Pictures by NEVILLE MARRINER

AT THE eleventh hour the Sailor's God relented, reached down and lifted the web of fog that hid the upturned prow of HMS Hermes even from men standing on her stern.

And so the last of the 'big ships' that our Royal Navy will ever command was able to slide to her berth in Devonport docks precisely on schedule.

Another half hour and the tiny 'window' of tide, current and wind would have closed, leaving Hermes steaming in slow, measured squares in Falmouth Bay. Perhaps for days.

And that would have been a grotesquely unkempt end to the last leg of the last operational voyage of Hermes, flagship at the Falklands.

The world seemed dressed for the occasion, sea, sky and city

only colour was in the uniform of the Marine bugler exchanging the thin, clear civilities with the thin, clear civilities of the 770ft harbour command, and the 770ft pennant trailing astern as a boast to her 30-year service.

But this was no celebration. The civvies in Plymouth streets who ran to the front to wave the sailors of every other RN vessel who trooped on deck to watch, knew this was tradition gliding into history.

Hermes, planned in the last year of the last war, launched 30 years ago, was the last 'proper' carrier. The ship that replaces her in 18 months, Ark Royal, is her in 18 months, half her size, little more than half her age.

Being aboard Hermes for her last day and night at sea was an odd sort of privilege: not quite hitching a lift on a hearse but not riding home on a bandwagon either.

For sailors of the 1980s are high-tech realists rather than

By Brian James

about how it is . . . not how things used to be.

Thus the Captain, Ken Snow, the last of his rank to have this command: 'I know, accept, and endorse the reasons for ending the active service of Hermes. She's had an unbelievable record of efficient service, been the biggest and best in the RN for years. But times, and needs, change.'

Nonetheless: 'I am almost ridiculously pleased to have been given her before she finishes. No officer could think otherwise.'

'Frigates can come and go about the world. But Hermes is so visible — physically and politically — her arrival anywhere has to be an event.'

Thus the Commander, Jeremy Blackham, second in command: 'By modern standards Hermes is

labour intensive. And, of course, every ship has a useful life which inevitably ends.'

Nonetheless: 'I was the man who had to bring on board the news that she was going on the shelf. All expected it, yet still chins did drop.'

'People's first thought was "What have we done wrong?" The second was "What's the point of going on training?" Then the third was "So long as she is still in service, let's keep her as the best."

In the half-deserted wardroom officers apologised this last night out for the lack of crowd. 'With no fliers or Marines on board it's a bit like a holiday hotel out of season,' said one.

But then the stories started, and there was clearly some pride

in the fact that this lounge deck was where the aircrews slept before getting up at dawn to dominate the sky over the Falklands.

Down in the quiet aircraft hanger, the off-duty crew mustered to see a film, Psycho II. 'Been a good lot to run', said the ship's disciplinarian, Fleet Master at Arms, Dick Aylott.

'I'm the link between the men and bridge. Supposed to hear all the buzzes, sense the mood. Happy Hermes is right — because they do the job right. There was never a need to chase 'em'.

Yesterday, Hermes' men were scattering on leave. Many will never go to sea again. And none will ever sail on a ship that big. But many will cherish memories.

Like Charge Chief Chris Vaughan, who sat in the depths and watched dials and lights as we dawdled down the Channel: 'The night I remember was in the South Atlantic when we had

an "Exocet coming" warning. We all hit the deck. Then got up and watched the Atlantic Conveyor on fire. Bloody awful. We knew the missiles were meant for us.'

There has been a Hermes in the Navy since 1796. The first ship converted to carry aircraft was a Hermes. The first purpose-built aircraft carrier was a Hermes. In each world war a Hermes has gone down fighting the enemy. This Hermes is the tenth of her name.

As she inched up the deep-water channel, I found a full commander on the quarter-deck personally polishing a beautiful wooden plaque, the size of a dining table, that lists HMS Hermes' battle honours.

'Nice thing, isn't it? I suppose when they finally scrap us or sell us (after 1985) they'll give our name to another RN ship. But this thing was made for a big ship. It'll look bloody silly on a rotten submarine.'



Captain Snow: 'Ridiculously pleased'

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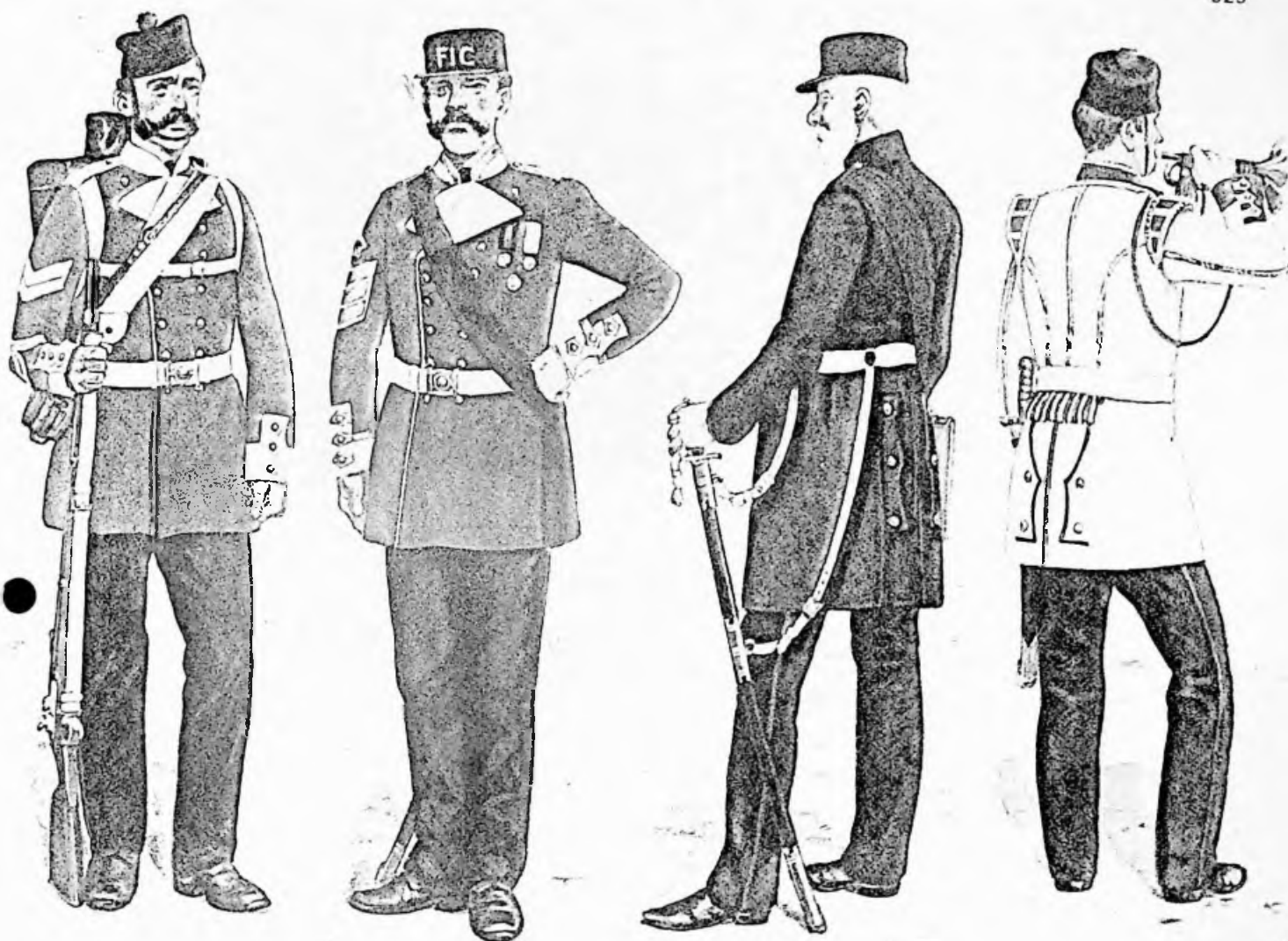
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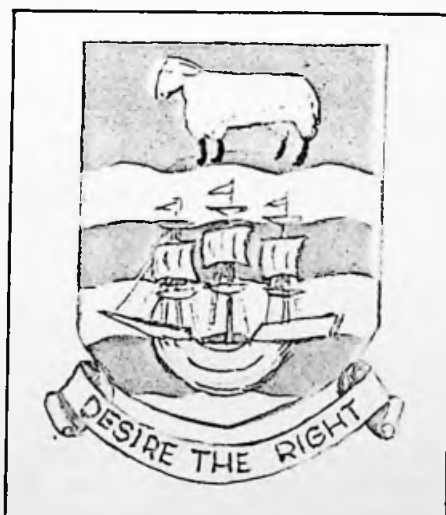
FALKLANDS DEFENCE FORCE

W. Y. Carman describes the beginnings of the Islands' local defence force
Illustrations by Bryan Fosten

The Falkland Islands now known to many people through the Argentine invasion, have a history which goes back as far as many of the early territories of the British Empire or Commonwealth.

A Frenchman writing two and a half centuries later said that *Americus Vesputius* had sighted the islands in 1502 but this is not well documented. However there is no doubt that Captain John Davis in the ship *Desire* was driven towards the islands on 11th September, 1592. Two years later Sir Richard Hawkins in the *Dainty* explored the coastline but made no landing. A landing was made in 1690 by Captain John Strong who named the islands after Anthony Viscount Falkland who at that time was the First Lord of the Admiralty.

In February 1764 a party of 23 settlers from St. Malo led by Louis Anton de Bougainville landed on East Falkland, naming that part *les Iles Malouines* after their home port. The place where they landed they called Fort St. Louis (later Port Louis) and 28 people were left behind as settlers, when the ship departed.



Commander John Byron (grandfather of the poet) arrived in 1765 naming his anchorage Port Egmont in honour of the Earl of Egmont who was then the First Lord of the Admiralty and a hundred British settlers were established at that time. Unfortunately, in international warfare the British settlement was destroyed by the Spanish in 1767. For their part the French sold their property to the Spanish in the same year, and the new owners soon expelled the French settlers. Spain kept the French name, but rendered it as the *Malvinas*. That nation also sent warships to attack Port Egmont. The British Navy prepared a squadron to retaliate and among those mobilised at Chatham was a young volunteer — Horatio Nelson. Whether the Spanish had

Above, the Falkland Islands Company c.1857, showing from left to right, corporal, acting sergeant-major, officer in frock coat and bugler. Left, the coat-of-arms for the Falkland Islands as heraldically approved in 1948 and carried in the centre of the Union flag.

foresight of that coming naval hero is doubtful but they desisted from their aggression and handed the settlement back to the British in 1771. However the British could not make a living in the islands and left in 1774, whilst retaining their claim to sovereignty, by erecting a leaden plaque declaring that the islands were to be the sole right and property of King George II. Even Spain lost interest in the East Falklands and their settlers left in 1811.

In 1816 the rebel government of La Plata (later to be named Argentina) broke away from the control of Spain, but it was not until 1820 that it decided to lay claim to former Spanish possessions, including the Falklands. Needless to say Great Britain made firm objections. After some delay, in 1822, the new Argentine Confederation gave Luis Vernet (born in Hamburg) permission to form a settlement at Port Louis and to kill cattle.

Actually in 1823 Don Pablo Aregual was appointed as the first Argentinian governor, but in 1828 Vernet was made governor of the *Malvinas* and as may be expected he adopted a high-handed manner. He exceeded the bounds of permissible behaviour in 1829 when he warned off an American schooner which he considered had infringed shipping rights and subsequently seized it as a prize vessel. When three United States sailing vessels suffered similar indignities, the American Nation did take this lightly and sent the warship *Lexington*. This destroyed Vernet's fleet, sacked his settlement and declared the Falklands Islands free of all government. In 1832 the government of Buenos Aires sent Monteviot to take charge of a settlement but he was murdered by his own men!

The British government had renewed its claim in 1829, but it was not until January 1833 that Captain J. J. Onslow in command of HMS *Clio* and with another ship made a landing. The British flag was raised at Port Louis and some 150 Argentinians still remaining were evicted.

A log book covering this occasion is preserved and on view at Rockingham Castle, Northants. Control was now in the hands of a British official, although there was no garrison. When former employees of Vernet murdered the appointed British superintendant and committed other crimes, action had to be taken. Naval officers acted as superintendants of the Falkland Islands until 1841 when civil administration with a resident governor was established. This man was Richard Claremont Moody, who, although nominally a civilian, had been an officer in the Royal Engineers. From now onwards all was peaceful in the Falklands. By 1847 there was a new Governor, George Rennie (he too had been a military man, a Deputy Assistant Commissioner General). In 1856 the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief was Thomas Edward Laws Moore. As the war with Russia had broken out, a military presence was deemed necessary in the islands, an aspect dealt with later.

In May 1864 the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief was James George MacKenzie, who was a Captain in the Royal Navy. In 1866 the post was held by William C. E. Robinson, followed in 1870 by George A. K. D'Arcy, late colonel of the 3rd West India Regiment, a hero of both Indian and African campaigns. In 1876 the Governor and Commander-in-Chief was Thomas Callaghan and in 1881 Thomas Kerr. In May 1892 the islands were created a Crown Colony and continued with up to the present Rex Hunt.

In the early days of the British settlements in the Falklands there was little reason for a permanent military presence. The Royal Navy which helped in the early administration brought Royal Marines in the visiting ships and thus began a relationship which continued to the present day. Eventually a governor with a military origin was appointed and Richard Clement Moody from the Royal Engineers was appointed as the first civilian governor. He

used his connections to have a small party of Sappers and Miners brought over to improve the condition of the islanders by new roads and an adequate water supply.

Attempts were made to create a local military force and in 1847 among the material which was sent out from Whitehall for the islanders was cavalry equipment for local use. On October 3rd two groups of soldiery were formed, one for infantry consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, a sergeant, two corporals and 47 privates. The other group intended to be mounted was somewhat similar in organisation, but had a cornet instead of an ensign and in the other ranks only a corporal and 18 men. There was to be a small artillery section with two 12pdr guns served by a sergeant, a corporal and 11 men. Whether all these men were recruited is not known because in the following year only 30 men were to be provided with blue guernsey frock jackets and Scotch tartan bonnets (the latter a feature to be noted later) at a total cost of £39 12 0. However by the next year these local troops seem to have disappeared.



Above, the modern cap badge, in gilding metal for the Falkland Islands Defence Force.

On 4th March, 1855 a militia guard and volunteers were to be considered with a permanent establishment of a sergeant, a corporal and four men. The outbreak of the war with Russia brought about the movement of regular troops from remote stations and islands like those of the Mediterranean and their replacement by garrisons of militia regiments from Great Britain. In the case of the Falkland Islands a local force was to be created, the Falkland Islands Company. In 1857 Captain Charles Compton Abbott of the 75th Highlanders was listed as in command of detachments in the Falklands, so this may have included the new company. In April 1860 Captain Abbott was replaced by Captain John Sharman Moloney as in command of detachments and as captain of the Falkland Islands Company, a post which he held until mid 1864.

No doubt these officers were responsible for the organising and training of the recruits. Little is available about the new corps. The Army Lists stated that the uniform was scarlet with white facings and it is lucky that a water-colour drawing by R. Ebsworth shows the uniform. A memorandum of his picture reads 'Style of uniform (as) our Line Regiments wore in Crimea 1856'. The full dress tunic depicted is the short-lived double-breasted garment (1855-57). It is scarlet with white collar and cuffs as well as small turned-down lapels. The cuffs have upright patches or flaps with three buttons and loops of lace, a fashion still surviving in the Foot Guards. No full dress head-dress is shown. The acting sergeant-

major wears a round forage cap with a flat jutting peak and the initials 'FIC' on the band. He appears to have gold lace round the top and front of his collar, also around his cuffs. He carries a crown and three chevrons on his right upper arm and a crimson sash over his right shoulder. Moustachioed and with several medals on his chest he obviously was a known character. His white waistbelt has a circular clasp in front and his sword is behind him so that the hilt is hidden.

A corporal wears the same type of tunic, but his two chevrons are white, not gold as the senior NCO and he has service stripes on his forearm. His two medals suggest that he was sketched from life. He has white shoulder-straps and his dark blue kilmarnock cap has no badge or device in front. His dark blue trousers have red welts down the sides.

A bugler in a white tunic has red collar and cuffs. The back-seams are shown with the special drummer's lace or braid. This braid has a narrow white line in the centre dividing chevrons of white and blue, with narrow red stripes down the outer sides. His dark blue kilmarnock cap has a red bobble on top and he carries a brass-hilted band sword on the left hip.

The 1864 Dress Regulations for officers quotes the dress of the Falkland Islands Company as being 'uniform and appointments as for officers of infantry, white facings, shako and waist-plates and buttons according to the pattern at Horse Guards.' This would indicate the low shako but Ebsworth's water-colour only showed an undress rig. Here was a lieutenant in the dark blue frock coat and a stiff-peaked forage cap. The officer wears a crimson sash over the left shoulder and a black scabbarded sword hanging from the white waist-belt. There is no discernible distinction for the Falkland Islands Company. It is said that the regular company was formed from volunteers of fifteen years service. When it was disbanded is not clear, but perhaps it was in 1866 when the appointment of Captain Moloney lapsed.

There were local volunteers when the Falkland Islands became a Crown Colony in 1892 but details of uniforms are lacking. By 1905 the 105 all-ranks volunteers were wearing a Norfolk jacket of dark grey cloth with green collars and cuffs, with scarlet piping round the collar and cuffs, bronze buttons, silver chevrons and badges mounted on green. Trousers were of the same material as the jackets with green stripes. The field service cap had sides of black cloth and a green top, edged with scarlet piping and a scarlet embroidered badge. The weapons were Lee-Enfield rifles and sword-bayonets.

In the 1914-18 war the volunteers were called up for active service to handle the single 12pdr gun and in 1918 the Falkland Islands Defence Corps was stood down. In 1920 they were re-constituted as the Falklands Islands Defence Force.

On 3rd June, 1933 on the centenary of the establishment of the colony, a group photograph shows that the uniform was of the practical khaki. The officer's service dress tunic had four large patch pockets and the turned-down collar revealed a khaki shirt and tie. The breeches were of the voluminous type. High boots or puttees were worn, the latter with the tapes tied at the top for the infantry company and those tied at the bottom for the mounted section. Gloves were of brown leather as was the normal Sam Browne belt, complete with sword. The only distinctive feature was the khaki tam-o-shanter with the badge on the left side. It will be remembered that the early force also had Scottish head-dress.

When 'Coronation' blues were introduced for the British army, they were also available for the Falkland Islands Defence Force. The closed-collar tunic was blue with red piping on the cuff of senior NCOs in the shape of a three-pointed scalloped flap. The blue shoulder-strap

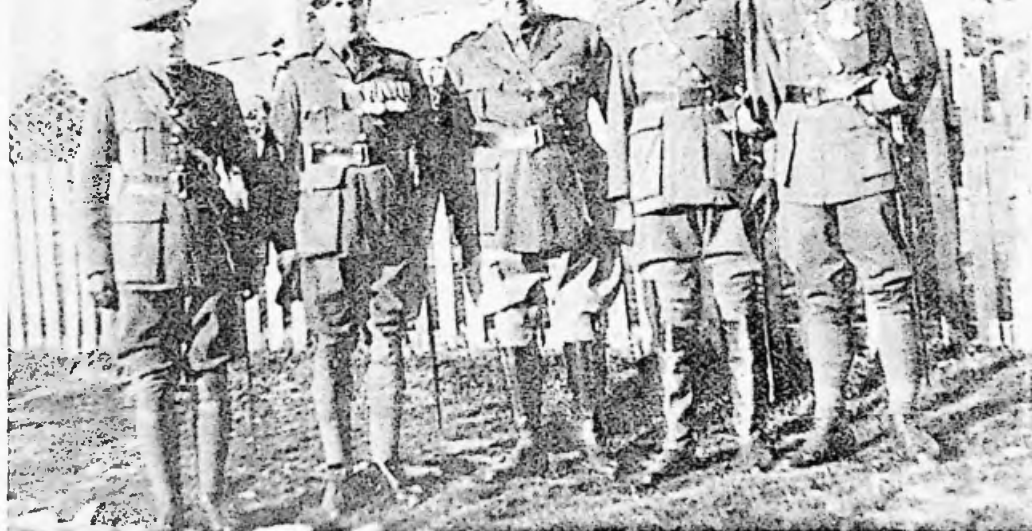
appears to have red embroidered initials and the peaked forage caps had a red band and welt. The dark blue trousers of the men had narrow red piping down the sides and the waist belts seem to be of black leather.

The central device in the Union flag for the Falkland Islands had a bearing on the cap badge, eventually worn by the FIDF. At the time of the First World War the round badge contained a naturalistic picture of the hills, the water, the peaty land, with a ship on the water and a white bull in the foreground. This was still described in 1928 as a white bull standing amid the characteristic tussock with a frigate near by. This haphazard design was formalised in 1948 when proper heraldic arms were designed and approved. The blue shield had three wavy white bars below indicating water. On the upper part was a white ram standing on 'tussock grass' while below on the water was the golden ship 'Desire'. On a scroll below was the motto 'Desire the Right' in black letters. This motto may be taken in two meanings — first, to have the desire to do right and secondly, the ship 'Desire' gives the right to the colony. This was the design in the centre of the Union flag which flew in Port Stanley and was brought back by the Royal Marines.

The badge of the Falkland Islands Defence Force had inspiration from this coat-of-arms. It is of gilding metal and the heater-shaped shield is divided diagonally so that the galleys in the upper right hand part and a seal on the lower left-hand section. The surrounding label with cord and toggle carries the words 'Desire the Right'.

The infantry company as well as the mounted section were both allied to the West Yorkshire Regiment and this alliance continued in the newly-formed Prince of Wales' Own Regiment of Yorkshire.

Those who watched the television coverage of the Falkland Islands events would have seen on June 29th, 1982 Governor Rex Hunt on his return to Port Stanley being greeted by a guard



of honour dressed in their 'blues'. The uniform was as described previously, but there are minor differences. The chin-strap of the cap is worn down to combat the strong winds, collar badges have appeared, and the piping on the sleeves seems abandoned. The initials 'FIDF' are now blue on a scarlet 'flash' worn just below the point of the shoulders. White belts have now appeared and as weapons vanished during the Argentine invasion, the only protection seems to be a whistle worn from a lanyard on the left shoulder.

MM

N.B. Since this article was written the FIDF have paraded with arms reissued since the British regained the Islands.

Falkland Island Defence Force, June 1933. Note officers sporting khaki tun-o-shaners and various forms of legwear. See text for full details.

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Clash over fate of Crown Agents

By Maggie Brown

The Treasury and the Foreign Office are at odds over the fate of the Crown Agents. The Treasury wants the crisis-stricken Crown Agents to be abolished, and their aid-dispensing functions and services either privatised or handed over to other government departments. But their sponsors, the Foreign Office, and the Overseas Development Administration, are backing a survival plan for the Agents.

The matter will now have to go before a Cabinet committee, and the final decision — which is at least two weeks away — could rest with the Prime Minister.

Mr Peter Graham, the chairman of the Crown Agents, said yesterday that after a "pleasant and cordial" meeting with Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, on November 7, he expected a favourable decision to have been announced by now.

Instead, Mr Geoffrey Lawler, Conservative MP for Bradford

North, has tabled "hostile" questions and "during the long delay which had ensued in taking a decision, it has been made clear in answer to parliamentary questions that closure is one of the options being considered," Mr Graham said.

He added that he had perhaps been "guilty of wishful thinking" in believing that the battle had gone his way.

The Crown Agents crisis was precipitated with the bombshell news in July that the Sultan of Brunei was immediately removing the £3.5 billion of investment funds handled for decades by them. The loss of the £3 million management fee brought about a trading loss, breaching the Agents' articles of incorporation.

To survive the Agents require the backing of the Treasury, because they have £19 million of outstanding loans from it, and a repayment target which they now cannot meet.

GUARDIAN

1.12.83

THE TIMES

1.12.83

Medal for Falklands diver

By Our Defence Correspondent

Petty Officer Michael Harrison, a Royal Navy diver, received the Queen's Gallantry Medal yesterday for his part in what is described as "possibly the most dangerous task ever undertaken by a Royal Navy diving team". The presentation was made during an investiture held by the Queen at Buckingham Palace.

Working at a depth of 300ft on the wreck of HMS Coventry, which was sunk during the Falklands conflict last year, Petty Officer Harrison, aged 33, squeezed through an 18in gap to get into the operations room to recover code books and other classified equipment.

Twice his oxygen and other supply lines from the surface snagged on the wreckage.

Petty Officer Harrison, from Fareham, Hampshire, was one of a team of 26 divers who had to work from a diving bell wearing suits heated with warm water.

It was while he was searching for a second set of codes that the umbilical line carrying his breathing mixture, communications, hot water, and safety rope snagged for the first time. It was more than an hour before he was released.



PO Harrison: Trapped for over an hour.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

1.12.83

Vet with a camera

AN INTERESTING and highly professional private enterprise scheme has come out of the Falklands in the form of a calendar for 1984 showing colour photographs taken by the Falklands Government's veterinary officer, Stephen Whitley.

Whitley, 33, who knows the islands as well as any man, travels around continually—mostly by aircraft—with one eye on the local animals and their problems and the other ever vigilant for a good picture. He has also filled a vacuum in local communications by producing a series of coloured postcards of island views, doubtless with the British forces in mind.

Whitley's schoolteacher wife, Susan, was killed by an artillery shell in the last days of the fighting around Port Stanley and it was Whitley himself who suggested to the British Government that the "Noah's Ark" ship filled with animals be sent out to restock the islands.

Falklands fishery

From Mr N. J. Mustoe

Sir, The waters around the Falkland Islands are fished by trawlers from Poland, Russia, Spain and West Germany. Why no British trawlers?

We are said to have fleets of deep-sea trawlers laid up after the loss of grounds around Iceland and other areas. What has gone wrong?

Yours faithfully,
N. J. MUSTOE
The Gables,
Tiverton,
Tarporey,
Cheshire.
November 25.

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

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Falklands cash offer likely by new Argentine Government

By John Ezard.

Argentina would be willing to join Britain in paying financial "reparation" to relatives of British as well as Argentinian soldiers killed in the 1982 Falklands conflict, according to the fullest study yet made of the negotiating position of the democratic Government, which takes office in Buenos Aires, next week.

Argentina would also be prepared to help offset the £15 million so far spent by Britain on repairing war damage in the Falklands, says a summary of interviews with 15 policy-forming politicians, civil servants, and academics, in what is already said to be a consensus in the pursuit of the claim to the islands.

But the price for this would be a leaseback period of no more than 17 years, during which only a "nominal" and transitional British defence force would be allowed to stay while genuine negotiations took place for full sovereignty.

During this period, Argentina would insist on the right of its nationals to make offers

to buy land on the Falklands. It would be prepared to offer "land reform via compensation" in buying out the Falkland Islands Company, as well as smaller landowners.

To protect the islanders, it would also offer local autonomy and rule under English Common Law "for a century or more," together with guarantees on English-language education.

These terms were outlined by the Argentinian President-elect Mr Raul Alfonsin, his foreign minister, Mr Dante Caputo, and a number of their Radical Party advisers, as well as by leading figures in the Opposition Peronist Party. Their interviews were given to Mr Guillermo Makin, a researcher and tutor in South American studies at Cambridge.

Mr Makin was a leading witness in inquiries earlier this year into the future of the Falklands by the Commons select committees on defence and foreign affairs. His findings will be published shortly in the Bulletin of Latin American Research.

The Argentinians told him that the first phase of negotiations could be a joint admission of wrongs by their country and Britain. If Britain admitted wrongs in establishing British administration on the Falklands in 1833-34, Argentina would be ready to deplore its 1982 invasion.

"The ceasefire in the 1982 war would be signed and ratified by any future Argentine Senate only if Argentina's titular sovereignty appears as possible in the light of negotiations which revolved around leaseback," Mr Makin's research paper says. Britain "would have to provide a new Argentine regime with indications that there would be no attempt to repeat" the delays of previous negotiations between 1965 and 1982.

In talking to him, the Argentine politicians stressed their fears that nonexistent or fruitless negotiations with Britain would "greatly heighten the possibility" of another military coup in Buenos Aires in three years' time.

Menendez under army fire

From Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

General Mario Menendez, Argentina's military commander and governor on the Falklands last year, has appeared before the Armed Forces Supreme Council. He was informed of the possible charges against him recommended by the Special Commission led by General Benjamin Rattenbach, aged 87, after an investigation into the causes and conduct of the crisis.

General Leopoldo Galtieri, President and head of the army, was summoned with the other two members of the ruling Junta then in power earlier this week. He and Admiral Jorge Anaya, navy commander at the time of the invasion, could both face charges carrying capital



● General Menendez

punishment or life imprisonment.

Although the proceedings are being conducted in secret, it appears that the council has yet to indict anyone or bring

formal charges against any of the 16 officers blamed by the report for the defeat.

The summonses came shortly before publication of further details of the still secret Rattenbach report by a weekly magazine, *Siete Dias*, whose earlier report has yet to be denied by the authorities.

The Commission accused General Menendez, who could face eight charges making him most responsible for the defeat, of "not showing the abilities of command essential in an emergency."

The Commission also noted that a proper plan for defending the Falklands was not ready until April 12, after Britain had despatched its task Force to retake the islands, and that the Junta ignored chances of avoiding an armed conflict.

GUARDIAN

1.12.83

FINANCIAL TIMES

1.12.83

Lobbying by Crown Agents increases

By Charles Batchelor

THE Crown Agents for Oversea Governments and Administrations has stepped up its campaign to persuade the Government to let it continue managing investment and providing other services for foreign governments.

In a letter sent yesterday to about 150 MPs and members of the House of Lords Mr Peter Graham, the agency's chairman, said closure of the organisation would be detrimental to Britain's interests.

The agency is pressing for a rapid decision on its future by ministers. It said more delay could damage confidence among foreign customers.

In its letter the agency said its activities are undertaken at no cost to taxpayers and asked how much of its business could be performed equally effectively, or at all, by private organisations.

To support its case it questions whether the 70,000 orders, worth £300m, placed by it and funded by non-UK sources would still be placed in Britain. Small companies receiving £200m-worth of orders might lose these export markets, the agency said.

APPOINTMENTS

Coalite Group chief

Mr Peter A. Fowler, a board member of the COALITE GROUP since 1978, has been appointed group managing director. He joined the company in 1972 from the NCB's regional marketing department. A year later he became manager of the "Coalite" works at Grime-thorpe, returning to head office as general manager-group services. In 1978, Mr Fowler was appointed divisional managing director, a position he held until his new appointment.

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Hero of RN's most dangerous mission

A FALKLANDS hero was rewarded by the Queen yesterday for 'possibly the most dangerous task ever undertaken by a Royal Navy diving team.'

Petty Officer Michael Harrison, 33, was one of 26 divers who searched for secret code books and equipment inside the upturned hull of the destroyer Coventry, sunk by Argentine bombs.

Surprise

Twice he became trapped 300 feet down when his life-support cord snagged on wreckage.

The second time, it took more than an hour to release him after he had squeezed through an 18-inch gap into the operations room to retrieve secret equipment.

Yesterday, at Buckingham Palace, the Queen heard of those



Brave Michael Harrison with his son, Morgan

harrowing hours on the icy seabed of the South Atlantic.

And she congratulated him as she pinned the Queen's Gallantry Medal to his chest.

The award was a surprise for his wife Linda, who was at the ceremony with their five-year-old son, Morgan.

'I was flabbergasted,' she said. 'I had no idea what he'd done, but now I'm so proud of him.'

Petty Officer Harrison, who lives in Holbrook Road, Fareham, Hampshire, and is based at Portsmouth, said: 'It was pretty chilly down there—and when I got stuck it made the old heart jump a bit.'

Argentiniens feared cannibal Britons

AUCKLAND, Thursday
ARGENTINIAN troops wounded during the Falklands War feared that British soldiers would eat them, and some actually woke up to find themselves surrounded by paratroopers with knives and forks, a Royal Navy doctor said.

Surgeon-Lieutenant Commander Simon Glover said in an interview published in the

New Zealand Herald today that he became aware of the Argentines' fears on a hospital ship during the war.

Argentine commanders had told their men they would be eaten if they were taken prisoner, Glover said.

British soldiers played on

the fears of wounded Argentines, who were put in beds next to British wounded on the converted cruise ship Uganda.

'More than one Argentinian awoke to find his bed surrounded by (British) paratroopers, each with a knife and fork,' said Glover.


'Actually we had to put a stop to that,' he said. 'It probably didn't help that I operated wearing cook's trousers,' he said.

New Democrat

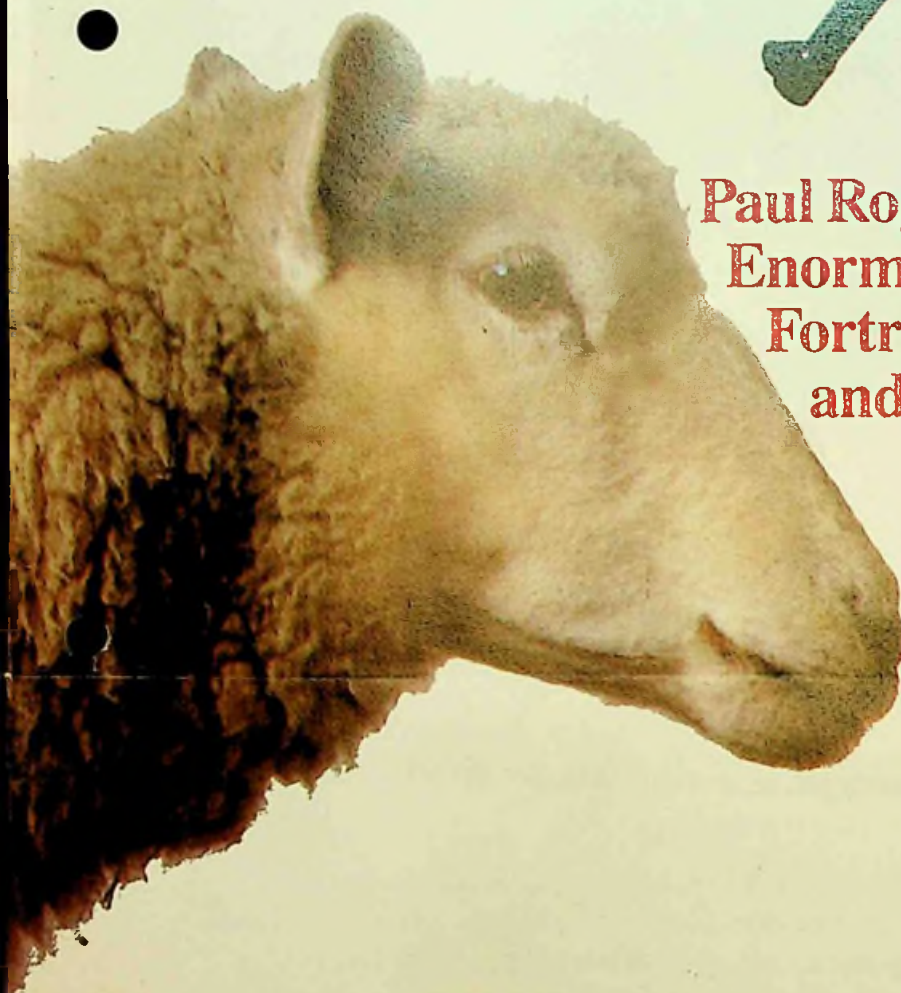
The magazine of the new politics incorporating Alliance

November/December 1983 80p

*Send
£6 billion or they'll
kill this sheep.*



**Paul Rogers surveys the
Enormous cost of defending
Fortress Falklands' 2000 people
and 500,000 sheep.**



**Evan Luard calls for Lab/Alliance pact
Owen plumps for privatisation
Paul Rogers: The soaring cost of pensions
Steel: Cruise and partnership
O'Kennedy: United Ireland**

Britain's running sores

Ulster and the Falklands bleed Mrs Thatcher's popularity as well as Britain. New political initiatives are vital

THE major issues of controversy during the next four years of this Parliament's life are clear. They are monetarism, pensions, privatisation and the Falklands and Northern Ireland.

Unless there is an electoral pact between the Alliance and Labour about which seats to fight, the odds are that the Conservatives will be in a position to win over 40 per cent of the vote in the next general election and continue in government for a third term. Still, if the Alliance can bang the gong successfully both in Parliament and in the argy bargy of by-elections they could, especially if new Alliance MPs of the right calibre win the by-elections, stimulate public opinion so that they can challenge the Tories. Much depends on how Alliance spokesmen in and out of parliament tackle the crucial issues.

The Tories have had some apparent success over the economy. Inflation is in hand and according to the London Business School, the Guru, Nigel Lawson may be correct in his prediction that recovery is on the way although according to the CBI Survey it is pretty patchy. Unemployment is as grave as ever but it is no longer an emotive issue with the voters.

Pensions cry out for improvement so that those changing jobs need not lose out. For the sake of those contributing to pension funds we must hope that the expected White Paper from the government will be non-controversial and win all party approval. For many now in retirement it was a tragedy that the Crossman Pension plan was killed by the Tories and the Joseph Plan by Labour so that many precious years of earnings were wasted before the Castle Plan eventually replaced the absurdly inadequate and out-of-date Boyd Carpenter scheme during the third Wilson Government.

Liberal lead

David Owen is taking a welcome lead in defining the Alliance stand over privatisation, and David Steel shares his approach. On page 20 *New Democrat* spotlights David Owen's stimulating approach to his controversy.

There is strong evidence from opinion polls that the Liberal Assembly had public opinion on their side when they passed against the Parliamentary Party's better judgement the resolutions in favour of an United Ireland and for negotiations over the future of the Falklands.

The Thatcher Government intend to preserve the status quo in Ireland regardless of the continuing loss of lives, and the escalating cost to the Exchequer. The nation is getting restive at this running sore being left unhealed, for so long, and public opinion could be stirred so that there would be an almost irresistible demand for British forces to be withdrawn from Ulster. Alas the Liberal official spokesmen in the Assembly Northern Ireland debate spoke in the language of Carson and the SDP leadership so far have been negative. Ulster is an issue where the Alliance should go to town and demand a change of policy, and if they do so there would be a fine dividend in terms of votes.

Democratic Argentina

With the defeat of the Peronistas, and the emergence of a moderate democratic Government in Argentina the whole issue of the Falklands becomes red hot. Almost unbelievably Margaret Thatcher decrees, despite the change in government, that the sovereignty of the Falklands cannot even be discussed. Here she may soon be slipping down the road to grave unpopularity, because opinion polls show a remarkable change in the nation's view over our enormous expenditure on the Falklands, and this must steamroller as the new Argentine government demonstrate how reasonable it is.

The least the Alliance should demand now is both the immediate abandonment of the exclusion zone and the postponement of our plans to make the Falklands a fortress at enormous expense. With an Argentine government committed not to use force there can be no urgency about our immense defensive preparations in the Falklands. Paul Rogers, an independent academic expert, on page 6 estimates the total cost to the British Exche-



Richard Lamb

quer of Fortress Falkland between the end of hostilities and 1988 as around £6 billion. Make it clear to the voters what this means in curtailment of health services, social security and measures to create new industries and mop up unemployment, and the government will be in dead trouble in by-elections.

Ever since the end of the war successive governments were trying to negotiate an end to the dispute with Argentina over the Falklands. Until the victory of the expeditionary force last year, change of sovereignty or lease back were considered reasonable solutions. Now the Prime Minister, drunk with the popularity of armed victory, has turned her back on any possible solution satisfactory to the Argentine. She does not appreciate that Raul Alfonsin, Argentina's new leader can only stay in power if he can deliver to his nation a satisfactory answer to his countrymen's ambitions over the Falklands. Argentinians sincerely believe the Falklands to be theirs by right.

Thatcher helps extremists

Thatcher's intransigence is dangerous because it makes probable another extremist government in Argentina, and she is alienating the whole of the Spanish and Italian world already horrified by the callous *Belgrano* sinking.

The Alliance was divided over the Falklands invasion. Owen was a hawk. Jenkins was a dove. Steel was on the fence. Now the Alliance leadership should be unanimous that negotiations with the moderate Argentine Government must be started immediately about future sovereignty or leaseback, and that the enormous budget to make the islands a Fortress must be postponed indefinitely. Here the Alliance should lead public opinion and debate. Then they will reap a rich harvest of votes in coming by-elections. ■

The cost of Fortress Falklands

In the cold war of attrition around the Falklands, rearming Argentina has the geopolitical advantage. Paul Rogers, of Bradford University School of Peace Studies, analyses the vast cost to Britain and NATO of defending 2,000 people and half a million sheep.

ON March 21 this year, less than a year after the start of the Falklands conflict, the Argentine Navy took delivery of the first of four new frigates from a West German shipyard. The *Almirante Brown* is a Meko 360 frigate built at the Blohm and Voss shipyard and, with Rolls-Royce engines, David Brown gearboxes and Hawker Siddeley electronic propulsion controls, is one of the most modern fighting ships in the world. It and its three sister ships are expected to be equipped with the Otomat anti-ship missile, superior to the Exocet, and the Aspide anti-aircraft missile, considered at least as good as the British Sea Dart system.

Such a ship represents, in a nutshell, the problem facing the Ministry of Defence with Fortress Falklands. It is faced with defending a cluster of islands the size of Wales, only 400 miles away from what must remain potentially enemy territory. Moreover, that potential enemy is now equipping itself with armaments which are often as good as those of the British forces which suffer the permanent disadvantage of being over 7,000 miles from their home base. Defence cuts by the new Argentine Government will not affect the arms programme described in this article which is already in the pipeline.

As time goes on, and as any talk of a negotiated settlement involving sovereignty is ruled out by the British government, so the cost of Fortress Falklands rises, both in direct economic terms and in relation to the distortion of British defence policy.

Apart from the four frigates, Argentina has a major modernisation programme for its navy. Blohm and Voss are building six Meko 1400 corvettes and another yard is building two Type 1700 diesel submarines. Eventually six of these will be built, adding to the two modern Argentinian submarines which were in service during the conflict and caused the Royal Navy such concern. Furthermore, Argentina has five fast attack craft on order from Spain and it is believed that such craft could be fitted with the Israeli Gabriel anti-ship missile, a potentially devastating combination if used against Royal Navy ships.

The Argentine Air Force re-equipment

programme is similarly comprehensive. By May of this year, Argentina had replaced the 74 modern strike aircraft lost in the conflict with 107 acquisitions, many of them superior to the aircraft they replaced. At the start of the conflict, Argentina had five aircraft capable of firing Exocets, together with five missiles. Now they already have 24 such aircraft and at least 20 missiles.

New transport aircraft have been purchased, as have large numbers of troop-carrying Super Puma helicopters,

cess is *not* aimed at enabling Argentina to carry out another invasion of the Falkland Islands. That would be hugely expensive in casualties and would be unlikely to succeed with the present British garrison available for defence. The Argentine policy appears to be considerably more subtle and is designed as a war of economic attrition, forcing Britain to commit large forces to the South Atlantic.

Britain is at the continual disadvantage of never knowing when the next probing foray might turn into a hit-and-run raid, always concerned that Argentine forces might stage another flag-raising propaganda episode such as the one on Thule, and also worried that Argentina might goad Britain into some kind of rash military response to some such foray which could then be made an excuse for an escalated military response such as a

"We are having to keep between one-third and one-half of our most modern ships in the Falklands"

and the 21 home-produced Pucara aircraft which were destroyed or captured during the conflict are being replaced by 71 new planes. Finally, and perhaps most significantly of all, Argentina is converting three Lockheed Electra aircraft to an anti-submarine role, no doubt aimed at countering the effectiveness of the Royal Navy's nuclear-powered hunter-killer submarines which have been patrolling the area ever since the war.

The crucial point to grasp is that this singularly impressive rearmament pro-

missile attack on a Royal Navy frigate.

Thus the facts of geopolitical life favour the Argentine armed forces in this stalemate. The whole process can actually be far less costly to them than to Britain and can, if need be, be stepped up slowly to make the burden on the British forces even heavier.

The British military response has been far more substantial and certainly far more costly than has been revealed by the Ministry of Defence, and the effect on Britain's defence posture, particularly its



Diverted from NATO

naval forces, has been quite remarkable.

For several months after the war itself, Britain had to keep not just a task group of five frigates and destroyers in the Falklands, but a carrier group as well. Eventually, when the Stanley air base became operational to Phantoms, the carrier group could be withdrawn, but it was not safe to rely on a single runway so RAF and Royal Navy Harriers have had to be kept on. The formidable problems of supplying outlying parts of the Falklands garrison, communicating with ships and maintaining the air link with Ascension Island all means that many different aircraft types have had to be operated, serviced and repaired. They included,



On guard forever?

and still include, Phantoms, Sea Harriers, Harriers, Hercules, Wessex, Chinook, Gazelle, Sea King and Lynx. All require spares, specialist equipment and skilled personnel.

Even six months after the conflict ended, there were some 7,000 personnel on the Falklands and they included seven complete squadrons of Royal Engineers, 1,400 men in all. Five bases have been built on the islands outside of Stanley. All have to be maintained and defended in difficult terrain. Even the building of a new air base will do little to relieve the strain. The main reason for having such a base is supposedly that it will enable rapid reinforcement of the islands from Britain. This is, of course, nonsense. The base will have just one full-length runway, the only one in the Falklands capable of taking wide-bodied troop-carrying aircraft, and it can be put out of action by a single strike aircraft using modern runway-busting weapons such as the Durandel bomb. The army garrison

“... to 1988, we find the cost to be around £6,000 million, not far short of the government's current estimate for the entire Trident programme!”

will therefore have to be maintained.

It is in terms of naval deployments that Fortress Falklands is proving most costly. For the past year, Britain has maintained a naval task group of at least five frigates and destroyers. At times of tension this has risen to twice that number. For every ship on station, another is in transit or preparing for deployment. Allowing for

the garrison itself will be little more than £200 million. However, they get this figure on the basis of the additional costs of keeping the forces in the South Atlantic, not on the total costs. But if we are faced with a commitment measured in years rather than months, and if those forces are, by reason of distance alone, not available for other defence functions,

shore leave and servicing, Fortress Falklands is accounting for more than a quarter of the Royal Navy's entire force of operationally available destroyers and frigates. Moreover, because the Argentine armed forces are now acquiring more sophisticated ships, some of them using British-made components, we are having to keep between one-third and one-half of our most modern ships in the Falklands, and the Ministry of Defence has admitted that as the Argentine capabilities improve, so we may have to increase our commitments still further.

The cost in terms of distortion of defence policy is considerable, especially at a time when NATO naval chiefs are critical of the lack of naval forces available in the North Atlantic. But just as significant is the monetary cost. Apart from the considerable (£2,000 million or more) costs of replacement equipment and capital costs of new bases on the islands, the MoD appears insistent on arguing that the eventual annual cost of

then such costings are highly misleading.

A preliminary estimate of full functional costs puts the recurrent cost of Fortress Falklands at well over £600 million per annum. If we add the cost of the war itself, replacement of equipment, capital costs of Fortress Falklands and recurrent costs for a six-year term, from the end of the conflict in 1982 to the end of the present parliament in 1988, we find the cost to be around £6,000 million, not too far short of the government's current estimate for the entire Trident programme!

At some stage, Britain will have to negotiate over the Falklands, and the negotiating will have to include sovereignty, perhaps involving some kind of leaseback. Until that time, Fortress Falklands will continue as a most remarkable example of an extravagant defence commitment. But then, 500,000 sheep can't be wrong. ■

Dr Rogers has submitted evidence to the Commons committee on defence.

Belgrano: Expose the truth

David Steel and the Labour Party have both called for an enquiry, under a Judge of the Court of Appeal, into the sinking of the *Belgrano*. Tam Dalyell marshals more evidence against Mrs Thatcher

AT an election meeting in the hall of the picturesque village of St Boswell's, in his own constituency, on Saturday, May 28, David Steel replied to a questioner that he would be in favour of a public enquiry, chaired by a High Court Judge, into the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the *General Belgrano*. The audience, mostly wearing Liberal rosettes and badges, applauded vigorously. They were right to do so. And David Steel was right to support a public enquiry, rather than reference to a Select Committee of the House of Commons. Any Select Committee has a decisive Tory majority, and you can imagine the fate which would be in store for any Tory MP who cast a vote in favour of an enquiry into the Prime Minister's conduct between Friday, April 30 and Sunday, May 2, 1982. Political Siberia would be the least of punishments.

The purpose of this article is to persuade members of parties — other than Labour — why they should join in the renewed demand for that which David Steel asked for at St Boswell's. For the sake of clarity, let us consider the all-important chronology of events. Before 16.00 hours on Friday, April 30, 1982, HM Submarine *Conqueror* picked up sonar signatures which her officers knew came from the *Belgrano* and her escorts, the *Piedra Buena*, and the *Hipplito Bouchard*, accompanied by an oiler. Identification was corroborated by previous intelligence. From that moment, there was no way in which a nuclear submarine (SSN) could lose surface vessels, though a nuclear submarine might have had some difficulty in keeping in contact with other submarines, given such factors as differing water densities.

A sitting duck

From the early forenoon of Saturday, May 1, the *Conqueror* was lying at 4,000 yards at some depth, monitoring the *Belgrano* and her escorts "razzing" — refuelling at sea. It is important to underline that during this period the Argentines constituted sitting-duck targets. If Mrs Thatcher argues that the *Belgrano* was a threat to our Task Force, she is obliged to explain why she did not order

her sinking on the Saturday morning, when she was much nearer units of the Task Force, rather than 28 or more hours later, when she was sunk. Then, as at all other times, HM Submarine *Conqueror*, like all other HM submarines, was under the direct command of Fleet HQ Northwood, and not the Task Force Commander. There were no communication problems with Northwood. Liberals and Social Democrats need not only take my word for this, nor that of my several informants. Lord Lewin himself confirmed this point during that astonishing interview on the "World this Weekend" on January 30, 1983.

Going home

From midday onwards, any conceivable threat receded. From a distance of 10,000 yards, the *Conqueror* discreetly followed the *Belgrano* and her escorts on a 280 degree course, steadily proceeding towards the port of Uschaia.

30 hours." Where do MPs seriously interested in Defence, such as David Owen, John Cartwright, Stephen Ross and Richard Wainwright think that this leaves the Prime Minister? Small inaccuracies are often part of larger inaccuracies, small lies part of larger lies. Liberals and members of the SDP should note that if Mrs Thatcher ever admitted that she knew about the *Belgrano* being in *Conqueror*'s sights from the early forenoon of Saturday, she would have to find a convincing answer to the question as to why she tarried until Sunday afternoon to order the sinking of the ship. (Especially, as she knew the orders given at 20.07 hours on Saturday from Admiral Allera, confirmed at 01.19 on Sunday from the Argentine Naval Command, to return to port.) If it is possible to monitor a MiG fighter pilot's orders over a Korean airliner, it is chicken feed to monitor shore to ship orders via satellite and Nimrod AD 470 Transceiver Equipment, and with the decoding techniques currently in use the

"The crucial threat to Mrs Thatcher came, not from the *Belgrano*, but from the . . . Peruvian peace plan, which would have involved the withdrawal of all troops, British and Argentine"

Now this is not the story that Mrs Thatcher has been giving to David Owen, David Steel, or anyone else. She refers MPs to the White Paper, *The Falklands Campaign: The Lessons* (Command 8758, published in December, 1982). Paragraph 110 begins: "On May 2, HMS *Conqueror* detected the Argentine cruiser, *General Belgrano*, accompanied by two destroyers, sailing near to the total exclusion zone." This scenario, however, is contradicted by the submarine commander, Christopher Wreford Brown, DSO, RN, who wrote (page 16) in Geoffrey Underwood's book, *Our Falklands War — the men of the Task Force tell their story* the following sentence: "We took up a position astern and followed the *General Belgrano* for over

Admiralty would have known about these orders within minutes not hours, and they would have rapidly been communicated to the Prime Minister at Chequers. (See also *International Defence Studies* (May) 1983 and *Asian Wall St Journal* October 3, 1983.)

Peruvian peace plan

In *International Defence Studies* (2/1983) Juan Carlos Murguizar, Lecturer in Military History at Argentine Staff College, stated that because of the Peruvian peace proposals and Pym's reaction to them the Argentine Government were about to make arrangements for peaceful withdrawal of their forces from the Falklands, and that "the British intercepted

all our radio transmissions and almost certainly broke all our codes" (page 138).

On May 2, the crucial threat to Mrs Thatcher came, not from the *Belgrano*, but from the very detailed Peruvian peace plan, which would have involved the withdrawal of all troops, British and Argentine. Were this to have come about, does any Liberal or Social Democrat MP really doubt that elements in the Tory Party would have wished to replace Mrs Thatcher with Mr Pym in Downing Street? An incident had to be created to scupper the Peruvian peace proposals. Now Mrs Thatcher claims that she did not know about the Peruvian proposals until three hours after the *Belgrano* was sunk. Rubbish! Everyone else involved knew what President Belaunde Terry of Peru was doing. And Manuel Ulloa, Prime Minister of Peru at the time, points out (*Observer*, August 21) that they were talking to Hugh Thomas. As her biographers, Brock and Wapshott point out, no one is closer to Mrs Thatcher than Hugh Thomas, a fluent Spanish speaker and head of her think-tank. It is inconceivable that she did not know about his discussions with Ulloa.

Pym did not know

Besides would anyone of elementary goodwill have ordered the sinking of the *Belgrano*, in the knowledge that as many as 1,200 people, many of them known to be kids and conscripts, could be drowned, without first checking with her Foreign Secretary who was in a negotiating position?

Remember *Newsnight* of June 2. Peter Snow asked Francis Pym if he was consulted about the decision to sink the *Belgrano*. No, he wasn't! Well, why not? "I was away," said Pym. What on earth was he away doing? He was not the Secretary of State for the Environment away at some housing conference in Stockholm. Pym was the Foreign Secretary, sweating his guts out to get some solution, without bloodshed, closeted with the American Secretary of State, on the very subject of the Falklands. What possible excuse is there for not consulting one's Foreign Secretary in a negotiating position? And, men like David Owen† might ask themselves, not only how they would have felt as Foreign Secretary, but how come that the American Government was not consulted about the decision to escalate the war by sinking the *Belgrano*? Supposedly, we are to have this intimate relationship on Trident, Pershing, Cruise etc? Why take an irrevocable step involving war in the Americas without consulting Washington? The Americans were appalled. There is only one reason — that had the Americans

"It is the sheer enormity of the charges against Mrs Thatcher that makes people reluctant to take them up. People just cannot believe that British Prime Ministers are guilty of gross deception, and sending young men to their graves in large numbers, for domestic political reasons. Yet, on the present evidence, this is precisely what this Prime Minister did"

been told they would have objected, unconvinced that the Ancient USS *Phoenix*, survivor of Pearl Harbor, or her escorts with Exocets, maximum range 20 miles, could have been a threat to the British carriers, 300 miles to the East?

Enquiry essential

It is the sheer enormity of the charges against Mrs Thatcher that makes people reluctant to take them up. People just cannot believe that British Prime Ministers are guilty of gross deception, and sending young men to their graves in large numbers, for domestic political purposes. Yet, on the present evidence, this is precisely what this Prime Minister

did. "Wicked" and "evil" are not adjectives I have ever applied to political opponents in over 21 years as a Member of the House of Commons. It would not occur to me in a month of Sundays to apply "wicked" and "evil" to Ted Heath, Alec Home, or my first Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan. Unhesitatingly I apply them to Margaret Thatcher. Only an enquiry, under a Judge of the Court of Appeal, will do. **Tam Dalyell**

*At the Labour Party Conference in October a resolution calling for a public enquiry under a High Court Judge into the sinking of the *Belgrano* was passed overwhelmingly.

†David Owen is known not to favour an enquiry into the *Belgrano* sinking — EDITOR



Maggie's unexploded political bomb