

'Times' 30/6/83

## **Falklands plane in Brazil row**

A second British aircraft within a week has made an emergency landing in Brazil on its way to the Falklands (Our Foreign Staff writes).

The latest incident caused "amazement and consternation" at the Argentine Embassy in Brasilia, an Argentine diplomat said.

Brazil says it allows British aircraft to make emergency landings only and has refused normal refuelling facilities.

Meanwhile Señor Osvaldo Destefanis, who is campaigning to take the relatives of the Argentine war dead to the Falklands graves, has been refused an entry visa by Britain.

# The challenges construction faces in the Falklands

by Stephen Einton

**THE LAING/Mowlem/Amey Roadstone Construction consortium** is due to tie up its £190 million Falklands airport contract by the weekend with a formal award from the Property Services Agency.

Added to this will be £25 million worth of work involving construction of a surfaced road from Stanley to Mount Pleasant, and the installation of defence equipment.

For the industry as a whole, and the three contractors in particular, the job comes as one of the most controversial, exciting and demanding projects ever carried out overseas by UK firms.

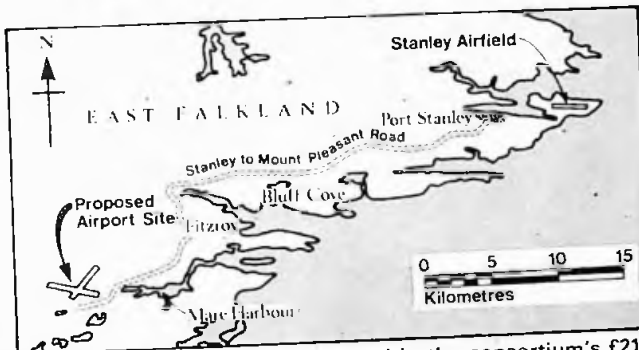
On the employment front work will be provided for 1,400 men and many more on the services and supply side.

## Boost

For the consortium members the contract comes as a financial boost, although as with most PSA jobs margins are expected to be tight.

Unlike much overseas work there will be little chance of the client failing to meet payments. With its timespan of at least three years the job will also provide guaranteed cash flow.

Indications are that work will be split 40:40:20 within the group. Laing will concentrate on



**TWO construction jobs are involved in the consortium's £210 million worth of Falkland Island contracts — the new airfield at Mount Pleasant and a road between Port Stanley and the airfield along an existing track**

the building side, Mowlem on civils and ARC on rock crushing and ancillary work.

No official leader has been put forward although Laing has nominally led the bid.

Plans for a new airport first received a public airing in Lord Shackleton's report on the Falkland Islands last September. Then, a strong call was made for improved airport facilities or a completely new airfield at a likely cost of £35 million.

The costs were way down on the current figures largely because of the huge defence element involved in the Heseltine project. The Defence Ministry sees the new airfield as a 'critical reconnaissance and defence base' and has planned accordingly.

Following the Shackleton report a shotgun marriage took place last Autumn between seven contractors shortlisted by the Property Services Agency (PSA) for the work. Laing, Mowlem and ARC teamed up as did Cos-

tain with Tarmac, and Taylor Woodrow with Wimpey.

Site visits followed in March this year with rushed bids going in on May 2. Only two weeks later CN revealed that the Laing consortium had already emerged as front runner for the work with the PSA hurrying through tender discussions.

## Praise

Despite sometimes criticising the PSA for the rushed tender process and a lack of some information the contractors responded quickly to the bid challenge. And, most have praise for the PSA which itself was hampered by uncertainties within the Ministry of Defence, including political delays imposed by the election.

The firms had to submit alternative prices, one for extensions to Stanley airport and one for a

new airport at Mount Pleasant. The road job, from Stanley to Mount Pleasant, was put in as a supplement.

Few details have emerged of the actual bidding results for both jobs but CN understands that Laing's price for the Mount Pleasant work was around £144 million. Shipping costs and other additions increase the total to, £190 million. To this is added some £20 million for the road and around £5 million for defence installation work.

The scope of the work includes a main runway up to 2900 m in length with associated taxiways and pavement areas, lighting, fuel storage, weapon storage, hangars, aircraft shelters and accommodation for technical refits. There are also plans for a cross runway of 1500 m.

Although completion is not due until February 1986 the consortium has no more than 18 months of good weather to carry out construction work. This is likely to prove a very tight schedule and some slippage has been acknowledged as possible by the PSA. With the horrendous logistics involved with men and supplies, any minor delay could set the project back several months.

The Falklands winter starts at the end of April and continues until September during which a strong chilling wind blows, not allowing the boggy terrain to dry.

With the huge amount of men and plant committed to the job, the PSA and the consortium are however confident that completion will be on time.

But, questions have been raised by the House of Commons defence committee into the reality of the timetable. The PSA appears to have made some rather optimistic calculations as to timing.

P.T.O. ....

## 'Construction News' contd.

According to J Peters, Under-Secretary of State (air staff), the PSA plotted the work as a normal civil engineering task. The Falklands airport does have particular problems and observers have questioned whether the PSA has made sufficient allowance for this in its 'normal civil engineering' calculation.

Unlike Johnston Construction, which built the original Stanley airport in the mid-1970s, the consortium will not be able to use men or materials from Argentina or other Southern American countries because of last year's war.

The effects of this are also apparent in other fields. The contractors face the knowledge of possible conflict of business interests. Suppliers, with work in South America, may run into trouble if successful in obtaining contracts in the Falklands.

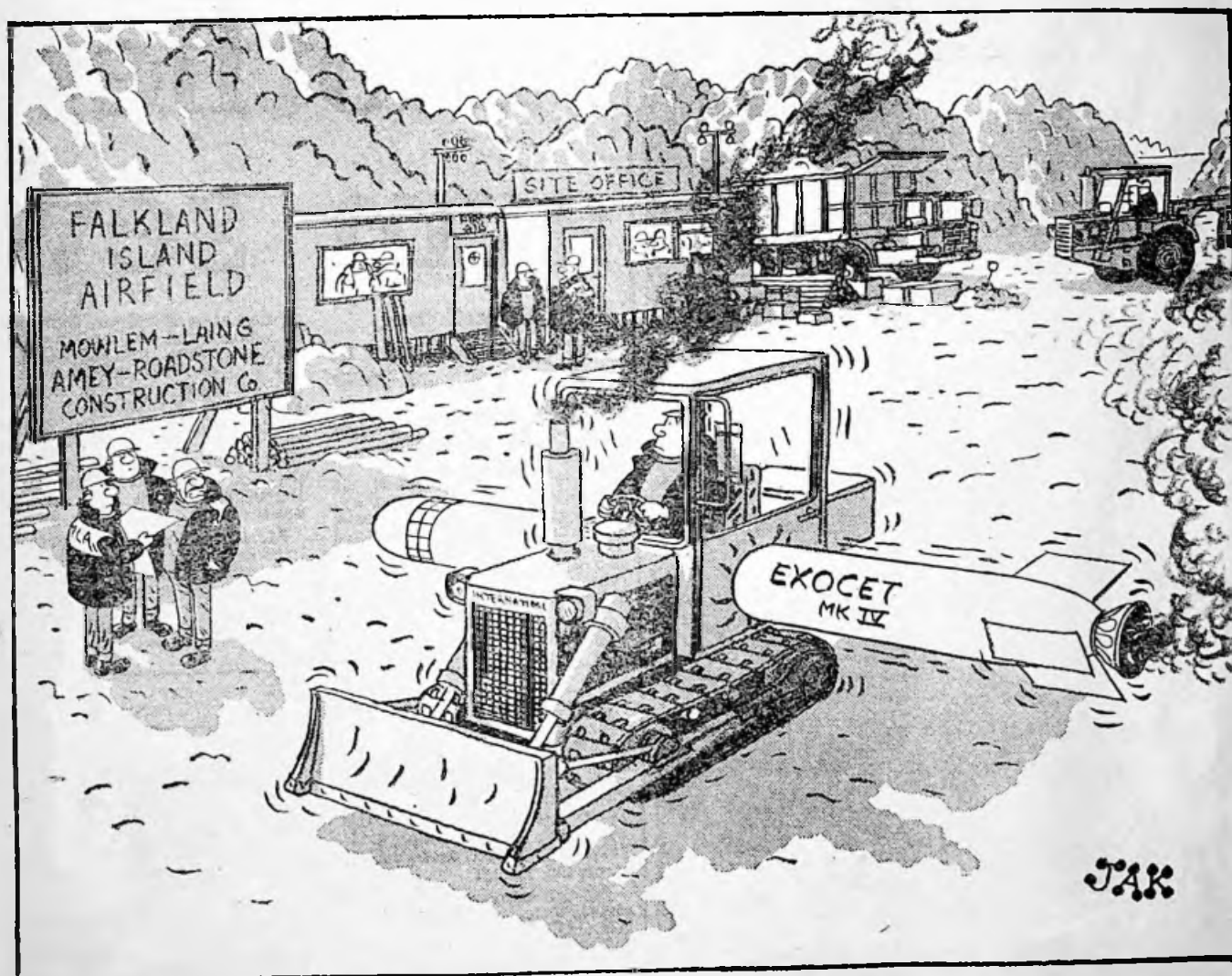
Accommodation will be provided for the 1,400 workforce in timber frame units in facilities comparable to RAF and Army camps in the UK. Several firms are vying for contracts to supply these and for the site services themselves. Both are substantial in value and will help employment in Britain.

Laing/Mowlem/ARC has now to set about its mammoth logistical and engineering task. Cape Town will be used as a staging post for personnel but both the PSA and the contractors are anxious to rule out any South African involvement in supplies or any other part of the work.

However one source told CN that the Laing group was intending to use supplies of South African bitumen for surfacing work.

With the use of local materials the consortium will be thankful that the area around Mount Pleasant was not mined during the war. This is unlike Stanley which is surrounded by Argentinian minefields, particularly on the beach.

'F. Standard' 29/6/83



"What is it this time, Murphy? Not enough Guinness? Too far from the nearest pub...?"

BRASILIA: A British aircraft carrying supplies for the Falkland Islands landed in Brazil less than 24 hours after Argentina expressed its concern about such actions. The Hercules cargo plane made an emergency landing at Florianopolis on its way from Ascension Island.



'Guardian' 29/6/83

# SA link in the chain

Government plans to build a new airstrip in Fortress Falklands have provoked criticism. David Fairhall and Paul Keel outline the misgivings

MEMBERS of the Mowlem/Laing/Amey Roadstone consortium which will build the new airport in the Falklands kept their heads down yesterday despite the political embarrassment at their decision to use South Africa as a staging post for men and materials.

Two things in the £215 million contract on which the Government insisted are that the labour force should be British — that is about 1,000 men on average, rising to a peak of about 1,400 — and that any non-British materials should be declared. How the South African staging post came into the picture is still not clear.

According to the Property Services Agency, the contractors said that all freight would go by sea — as most of it must until the new airport is built — and were reminded that the military staging post of Ascension Island was not equipped as a major port. Nor did it have the facilities to house large

numbers of construction workers on their way to or from the Falklands, in addition to its heavy military traffic.

In any case, the PSA pointed out yesterday, the last leg of the journey would have to be completed by sea and it would probably not make sense for a freighter to make a special call at Ascension simply to pick up passengers. The contractors told the Government agency that they would not be using South American ports — presumably because of the Falklands' political sensitivity — although this decision would be kept under review. That left South Africa as the obvious alternative.

Sand and aggregate for runway building is available in the Falklands. There is also fresh water on the Mount Pleasant site. But most of the other supplies will have to be shipped in. The engineers' first job will be to moor some sort of floating base in the cove at

Mare Harbour which they have identified as their landing place and to build a strong road from there to the airfield site a short distance inland. Work will start in September or October, the beginning of the South Atlantic summer, and last for an estimated three years on a seasonal basis.

The chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Robert Hughes, MP, appealed to the Prime Minister yesterday to stop the airport contractors making arrangements in South Africa. He demanded "firm undertakings that Britain will not enter into any other direct or indirect military or security collaboration with South Africa."

A Conservative MP, Mr Warren Hawksley, appealed yesterday to the Defence Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine, to set aside Opposition protests about the use of South Africa and asked if the British contractors could make use of the former Royal Navy base at Simonstown.

## Kelpers' mixed response

By Paul Keel

THE Government's decision to build a strategic airfield on the Falklands will be welcomed by the island's tiny community although, with characteristic ambivalence, they will have mixed feelings about the consequences of its construction.

It will show the 1,850 islanders that the UK Government is determined to follow through the policy it began last year with the despatch of the task force.

But while commending the development in principle, Mr Terry Peck, a member of the Falklands' six-man legislative council, expressed concern about the impact of a large influx of civil contractors.

The Falklanders have already had to learn to live with a garrison almost four times the civilian population. But the enforced coexistence has been assisted by both the military's internal discipline

and its physical dispersal across the islands.

Mr Peck observed that the 1,000 civilian workers who will be there for two years will not be subject to the same strict codes of conduct.

During their six-month sojourns of employment on the construction site in what, by even Falkland standards, is an isolated wilderness of former grazing land, many will be compelled to seek the somewhat less than bright lights of Port Stanley — an hour's dirt track drive away at present.

Mr Peck, a former policeman on the island, said: "I think we're going to have to look at the whole question of law enforcement on the islands once the contractors start arriving."

"Apart from the military police, there are only three civilian police officers here at present. We are going to have to start recruiting more

civilian officers from Britain to come out with the workers."

He also said the persisting anxiety among Falklanders that Britain's commitment to defending the colony may not carry with it any genuine effort to develop its economy.

In theory, the new, longer airstrip could provide the communication with the outside world necessary for the economy's diversification.

But even those entrepreneurs tempted to consider the 8,000-mile flight to the Falklands may stay at home unless the Government is prepared to talk about development grants for opening up new areas of commercial activity in the islands.

"Whatever has happened over the past year, the Shackleton Report proposals about developing fishing, wool, meat and potential oil resources around the islands have still to be responded to," Mr Peck said.

'Guardian'

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through every fresh dollop of cash. A new airport at £215 million? Certainly, sir. A fine bargain in the end, if I may say so, sir.

In truth, any constructive post-electoral look at the Falklands needs to start a few paces back. Not with this or that costly project, but with the wishes and interests — long invoked — of the islanders themselves. Twelve months ago Mrs Thatcher and her then Foreign Secretary pledged a proper consultative exercise on the islands — in context, a referendum — within twelve months. There is not a bleep of that pledge manifest today. It seems to have vanished without trace. Mrs Thatcher apparently reckons she knows what the islanders want. On this week's form, amongst other things, they want 1,400 construction workers knocking holes in Mount Pleasant, over and above the existing garrison outnumbering them by more than two to one. So much for a tranquil life in the deserted southern seas. The Falklanders, through the next five years, might have a quieter time camped in a lay-by on the M1.

Last year the Government offered an apparently reasonable time scale for consultation. Give the Falklanders a period to recover and then — implicitly after the British general election — we can judge their democratic wishes. The more the infrastructure of the islands changes meanwhile under supposed military imperatives, the less real freedom of choice the people of the Falklands will have. But any referendum, of course, depends on the questions to be put: and those questions are properly ones for the people of Britain, who foot the bill, via their elected representatives at Westminster. We know already that some of those elected representatives are deeply unhappy. The foreign affairs committee thinks Fortress Falklands a long-term nonsense, lease-back a medium-term solution, and a campaign of "public education" in Britain a short-term imperative. The defence committee is acutely anxious about the drain of the Falklands on Britain's real Nato defences. It is here that any MP, sitting impotent as Mr Heseltine lobs millions south, ought to start. We are pledged — long since — to offer the Falklanders some options for their future. What are those options? When will the consultation start? Spending money, in spite of all Mrs Thatcher's rhetoric, is easy. It is intelligent diplomacy that this Government seems to find so hard.

## A debate on the runway

After an election challenge sunk like the Belgrano, Labour is not, for the moment, best placed to offer constructive opposition to continuing Falklands expenditure. Mr Heseltine — as he did again on Monday afternoon — can jeer his way

Adrian

What about Ron Binnie writing to 'The Guardian' saying he'd rather an airfield on his farm than no airfield!

LG 29/6

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## RAF landing in Brazil

Brasilia: The British Embassy here has confirmed that another of its transport planes en route to the Falklands landed on Brazilian territory yesterday, a day after the Argentine ambassador expressed his concern. The embassy said that an RAF C-130 Hercules 'diverted into Florianopolis this morning.' A spokesman offered no further details about the stop, in the southern state of Santa Catarina.

Argentina's ambassador to Brazil, Mr Hugo Caminos, has been quoted as saying there is "serious concern" that relations between Brazil and Argentina would deteriorate if the landings by British planes continue. — AP.

'D. Express' 29/6/83

# Stand by for take-off in the Falklands

## £215m airport will trigger a big boom

EIGHT thousand miles away in the South Atlantic, the Falkland Islanders were preparing yesterday for yet another shock to their way of life.

The Argentinian invasion and British liberation thrust them onto the world stage last year. Now, with the announcement of a £215 million strategic airport, the final act will be played out to keep the Falklands firmly and irrevocably on the map.

In less than three years, the islands will acquire the potential for industrial expansion, tourist development and international trade — all of which would have made the islanders shudder 16 months ago.

For the Falkland Islanders this is the price of freedom. For Britain it represents some of the offshoot benefits that will come from spending enormous sums of money in the years ahead, while the airport could mean savings in the cost of the military operation on the islands.

### IMAGE

Clearly, with a major airport on the site at Mount Pleasant, the Falklands will take on a totally different image in the eyes of the rest of the world.

There are three reasons: ● BECAUSE it underlines more strongly than ever that the British Government has no intention of handing over sovereignty to Argentina, in the short or long term.

● BECAUSE communications will be so vastly improved that the islands will no longer be viewed as a bleak outpost in a forgotten part of the globe.

● BECAUSE it opens the way for the tapping of the industrial possibilities in the area.

With a proper fisheries licensing system, for example,

the islands would profit from the massive fishing industry that is bound to develop once the airfield is completed.

With a major airport and a 200-mile economic zone, the area could attract the British fishing fleets, as well as the Russians, Poles, Japanese and Bulgarians — with a potential annual catch of more than £200 million for the British fleet alone.

Lord Shackleton, whose two reports on the Falklands in 1976 and last year recommended a new airport, pinpointed two key areas that would flourish in three years' time — fisheries and tourism.

He said yesterday: "In 20 years' time there could also be oil exploration in the Antarctic with the Falklands as the base." It has been estimated that there could be more oil in the area than in the North Sea, which itself is worth over £14 billion a year.

Another expert on the Falklands, barrister Bill Hunter-Christie, is even more optimistic about the future in the South Atlantic.

Chairman of the Falklands Research and Development Association and a former Foreign Office man with res-

ponsibility for the islands he predicted yesterday: —

① A flourishing kelp industry — the giant seaweed from which alginate salts are extracted for a whole range of uses in food, chemical and textile industries.

② A new approach to sheep farming on the islands with the development of frozen meat exports.

③ And the use of the Falklands as a civil airline staging post for people flying from countries like Chile to Europe or from the United States to Australia and New Zealand.

Militarily, the construction of a strategic airport was the only sensible and economic alternative for a Government committed to the permanent protection of the islands.

### RAPID

The defence of the islands will remain a major financial burden but in the long term the £215 million spent on the airport will be recouped from the savings made in flying troops and freight in wide-bodied jets rather than in the cavalcade of Hercules aircraft.

The Government is already committed to spending about

£2.5 billion on the defence of the Falklands up to 1986.

And even after the airport is built in February, 1986, it will still cost an average of £200 million a year to run the garrison.

Theoretically, it should be possible to withdraw a substantial number of the 4,000 troops now stationed in the Falklands and rely on a rapid reinforcement strategy from Britain.

However it is unlikely that Defence Secretary, Michael Heseltine, would be happy to reduce the garrison to just a battalion strength — about 1,000 men.

This financial year, the garrison is costing £424 million. With about 4,000 men on the ground and another 2,000 on the ships and submarines, that represents about £70,000 for every British serviceman now guarding the Falklands.

Potentially, therefore, big savings could be made if the garrison was reduced in size but the right military balance will be a difficult judgement to make.

There is still, of course, one big question mark: Stability in the area, which is essential to any future development.

To achieve that means an Argentinian Government, military or civilian, coming to terms with the fact that the British commitment to the Falklands will remain steadfast.



By MICHAEL EVANS

Defence Correspondent

Times  
29/6/83

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SDAY JUNE 29 1983



'Times' 28/6/83

## New Falklands airport will cost £215m

TIMES  
28 JUN 83

By Rodney Cowton, Defence Correspondent

The Government is to spend £215m on building a completely new airport on the Falkland Islands. The main runway, which will be capable of taking wide-bodied jets, is expected to be usable from April 1985, and the whole project to be completed in early 1986.

The decision was announced yesterday by Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for Defence. The airfield will have two runways, and will be built by a consortium formed by Mowlem, Laing and Amey Roadstone Construction.

Mr Heseltine told journalists that the round trip from Britain to the Falklands by wide-bodied jet via Ascension Island would take three days and would not require mid-air refuelling. All except high priority personnel and cargo now make the journey between Ascension and the Falklands by sea so that the round journey from Britain takes about four weeks.

The new airport will mean that in a crisis it will be possible to reinforce the Falklands much more rapidly. Mr Heseltine

would not commit himself, but it is likely that, in the absence of acute tension, it will be possible to maintain a smaller garrison on the islands because of the possibility of faster reinforcement.

The new site will be at Mount Pleasant, sometimes referred to as March Ridge, about 28 miles south west of Port Stanley. It will be served by a road which will run from Stanley to the airport and continue on to Darwin.

There are expected to be 400 workmen on the site, by the end of the year, and the average over the construction period will be about 1,000.

Mr Heseltine put the economics, when the new airport is in service, at about £25m a year. The cost of flying 240 men by chartered wide-bodied jet from Ascension Island to the Falklands about £70,000. This compares with over £100,000 today to transport 50 men using Hercules aircraft with mid-air refuelling.

The site at Mount Pleasant was preferred to building a new airport at Port Stanley.



# 'TREBLE PAY' DEAL FOR FALKLANDS AIRFIELD PROJECT

By GERALD BARTLETT

CIVIL engineers, quantity surveyors, craftsmen and building labourers employed on the £215 million strategic airfield to be built in the Falkland Islands are expected to earn up to three times their basic United Kingdom salaries.

Executive staff such as quantity surveyors and top civil engineers are likely to command salaries of about £30,000. Their "package deal" will include accommodation and meals, and freedom from tax if they spend a year abroad.

It is understood that craftsmen like bricklayers and carpenters, whose guaranteed minimum wage at home is £97.50, and labourers, whose home minimum is £83.07, will earn nearer £300 a week. Food and accommodation found.

Both sets of employees are likely to get leave after six months, with the option of returning to the Falklands for another six months. They will all get a 25 per cent. tax reduction for working outside Britain for more than 30 consecutive days.

A spokesman for the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians said last night that it expected the 1,400-strong workforce sent out for the airfield project to be paid "in accordance with working in harsh conditions overseas."

"It is difficult to give firm, meaningful figures at the moment but we will be hoping for bubble wages—a lot more than the United Kingdom minimum."

## Awarded to consortium

Construction of the Falklands airfield and a road from Port Stanley to Mount Pleasant is expected to start in September and be completed by August, 1986.

The contract, awarded by the Government to a consortium of companies, includes installation of sophisticated communications equipment supplied by the Ministry of Defence.

The consortium, John Laing and Son, John Mowlem and Co., and Amey Roadstone Corporation, each refused to answer questions about recruiting, pay, accommodation or transport of staff yesterday.

Spokesman for all said:

"Until we formally sign the contract — which we have not yet done — we regard ourselves as not having the job and cannot comment."

Nevertheless, letters have already been sent out by at least two of the three companies involved inviting "Falklands volunteers" among employees.

Vacancies unfilled by volunteers will probably be taken up from unemployment blackspots such as Liverpool. Unemployment within the construction industry is running at 27 per cent., or 400,000 people.

The announcement that a decision had been reached on the contract was made by Mr Heseltine, Defence Secretary, in the Commons on Monday.

## Cape Town link

The consortium is expected to fly personnel to Cape Town and then ship them down to the Falklands. Plant, equipment and materials are expected to travel by sea.

Once personnel start arriving in September, work will start on a special "work-camp" near Mount Pleasant. Eventually this will house all 1,000 or so employees expected to be in the Falklands at any one time.

Until enough huts are built, however, they will live aboard ship anchored off the islands. They will be provisioned from Britain and expect to be "totally self-sufficient" throughout so that they are not a drain on the islands' resources.

The present airfield at R A F Stanley is temporary and operations are restricted by the length and strength of its single runway.

The new airfield will have two landing strips and be able to operate wide-bodied aircraft, civil as well as military. Work on the longer of the two runways, which will be 8,500ft, will begin first. The other will be a 5,000ft cross-runway.

Commons—P10

D. Telegraph

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## 'Commercial' use of Cape is defended

By PETER PRYKE  
Parliamentary Correspondent

MRS THATCHER rejected criticism in the Commons yesterday of the use of South Africa in the building of a £215 million airstrip in the Falklands.

It would be a transit point to accommodate the movement of staff and was purely a commercial matter for the contractors, Mowlem-Laing-Amey Roadstone Construction, she said.

### 'Insult to dead'

Mr ROBERT HUGHES (Lab., Aberdeen N.), had challenged her to square defending the interests of 1,800 Falklanders with "invoking the assistance of the South African government, which denies freedom to 18 million of its citizens."

"This betrays entirely and besmirches the principle of freedom and is an insult to those who died in the Falklands," Mr Hughes added.

Mrs THATCHER said the arrangements made for people to get to the Falklands to fulfil the contract was a commercial matter for the contractors.

"If you are suggesting that we should have no commercial relations with South Africa whatsoever I would remind you there are 150,000 jobs at stake in the United Kingdom," the Prime Minister said. "Perhaps that's what you want."

The labour force for the airstrip which will be recruited in Britain, will reach a peak of 1,400. The contractors will ship employees to Cape Town.

### 'Falklands commitment'

Sir GEOFFREY said the decision to build a new airfield in the Falklands illustrated the Government's commitment to protect the rights of the islanders. *Telegraph 29/6/83*

The Foreign Secretary insisted that an acceptable solution to the problem of British budget refunds had been achieved at the EEC summit in Stuttgart.

Sir Geoffrey stressed the need to find a lasting solution to recurring financial problems which affected the Community.

"We would like to see a safety net built into the Community's finances so that no member State will bear a burden disproportionate to its gross national product and its relative prosperity."

# £215m FOR FALKLAND AIRFIELD

By Air Cdre G. S. COOPER  
Air Correspondent

THE Government is to spend £215 million to build a new Falklands airfield which could allow the islands' garrison to be reduced.

The airfield, at Mount Pleasant, 28 miles south-west of Port Stanley, will be able to take wide-bodied jets.

They will cut the time for troops to reach the islands from one month travelling partly by sea, to three days.

Mowlem-Laing-Amey Roadstone Construction will begin work on the Mount Pleasant site this autumn: the Falklands Spring. The new 8,500ft main



runway should be usable for civil and military wide-bodied aircraft from April 1985.

In a statement to the House of Commons, Mr Heseltine, Defence Secretary, said the Government believed the defence of the Falklands, support of the garrison, and its reinforcement in emergency, depended on permanent and improved airfield facilities.

A contract for the construction of Mount Pleasant airfield is to be signed within a few days between the Property Services Agency and the Mowlem consortium.

The value of the work, including the cost of sub-con-

## FALKLANDS

By Air Cdre G. S. COOPER

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tracts and shipping, is about £190 million.

The cost of the Stanley-Mount Pleasant road, and a separate contract to install Government-supplied communications and navigation aids, bring the total to £215 million.

This cost, said Mr Heseltine, was already allowed for in the additional provision of £990 million for spending on the Falklands garrison, included in the Defence Budget for the next three years.

It would not add to planned public expenditure, or require cuts in Defence spending elsewhere.

The labour force, to be recruited in Britain, will start at 400 and reach a peak of 1,400, with an average of 1,000 on site throughout construction.

South Africa is to be used by the contractors as a transit point between air and sea travel to the Falklands, because there is not room at Ascension Island to accommodate the movement of military and civilian staff.

The consortium's shipping will use Cape Town.

### 'Welcome savings'

"The new airfield will enable us to make welcome savings in the running costs of supporting the garrison; it will greatly reduce the amount of time required to reinforce the garrison if need be, and it will give a powerful boost to the economy and infrastructure of the islands," said Mr Heseltine.

Mr Heseltine said the Mount Pleasant site, to be bought from the Falkland Islands (Coalite) Company at a price still being negotiated, could cost less to develop as a two-runway strategic airfield than Stanley airport.

It was much less likely to involve unforeseen delays and construction work interruptions.

Stanley would have suffered difficulties in sustaining air operations during construction, and the first wide-bodied aircraft would not have been able to land until November 1986 at the earliest.

Mr Heseltine told a Press conference later: "At the moment it takes a month for troops to get to the Falklands and back. That will be cut to three days."

"The options open to us must be much wider, including an option of a smaller garrison."

No decision has been taken on the temporary surface of Stanley's runway, built by the Royal Engineers. But the Defence Ministry intends to maintain the airport for use as a diversion when the new airfield is operating.

Savings in the running cost of the Falklands garrison, largely as a result of using wide-aircraft, are expected to be £25 million a year.

### £110,000 flights

The cost of flying five Hercules transport aircraft a week from Ascension to the Falklands and back is estimated at £550,000.

Tanker support on the outward journey is responsible for £40,000 of each £110,000 round-trip, and the seating capacity of each Hercules is limited to 50.

The TriStars bought by the RAF from British Airways will be able to carry 240 passengers, and by flying direct from Ascension without in-flight refuelling, a wide-bodied aircraft will cut the round-trip cost to £70,000.

In addition to shortening the time it would take to reinforce the islands, the new airfield will allow a considerable increase in the range of operational capabilities for the RAF.

Continued on Back P, Col 3

Guardian 28/6/83

# Fortress Falklands gets new airport

By Paul Keel  
and Julia Langdon

The Government's commitment to maintaining its Fortress Falklands policy for the foreseeable future was confirmed unequivocally yesterday with the announcement that work will start soon on the construction of a £215 million strategic airfield on the islands.

The announcement, and the implied pessimism it carried for the prospects of finding a diplomatic solution to the dispute with Argentina over the islands' future, caused anger in the Commons, where it was delivered by Mr Michael Heseltine, the Defence Secretary, and further political reverberations when it was learnt that men and materials would be transported via South Africa.

Dr David Owen, the leader of the SDP and a former Labour Foreign Secretary, described this aspect of the project as

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immensely foolish and warned the Government against its possible international consequences.

Mr John Silkin, Labour's defence spokesman, accused the Government of suppressing in the Commons the information that Britain proposed to use South Africa, rather than Ascension Island, as a staging post.

He will be submitting an emergency question calling on Mr Heseltine to "come clean" about the Government's proposals.

Labour and Alliance MPs are furious that Mr Heseltine, when he made his Commons statement yesterday, omitted to mention that South African territory would be used as a staging post.

nation £425 million a year and that by the time the airfield was completed in February 1986 the expenditure would be £3 million for each family on the islands.

But Mr Heseltine, who announced that the airfield would be built at Mount Pleasant, about 20 miles from Port Stanley, said the support of the garrison and its reinforcement in emergency depended on permanent and improved airfield facilities.

The present facilities at RAF Stanley were never intended for this purpose and were restricted by the length and the strength of its single runway.

He reacted angrily when another Labour MP, Mr Doug Hoyle, suggested that the Government was helping Argentina to buy arms and also providing them with an airfield for the future. Mr Heseltine retorted that he was not prepared to take risks with the lives of the men and women based on the islands.

He said a £190 million construction contract would be placed very shortly by the Property Services Agency with the consortium of Mowlem/Laing/Amey Roadstone Construction. There would be an added cost of the Stanley to Mount Pleasant road, plus a separate contract to install Government-furnished communication and navigational aids which would make a total of about £215 million.

The Defence Secretary said that work would begin this autumn on the Falklands, spring — and the new main runway should be usable from April 1985, while the whole project should be completed by February 1986.

The labour force, which will reach a peak of 1,400 will be recruited in Britain, Mr Heseltine announced.

Ascension Island, the halfway staging post between Britain and the Falklands, is already stretched for facilities by the daily passage of military ships and aircraft.

The Defence Secretary suggested at a press conference after the announcement that the companies involved wanted to stage materials and men through Cape Town.

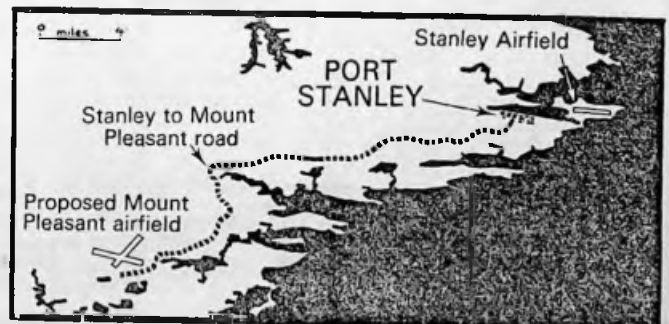
The new airfield will have two landing strips capable of taking wide-bodied planes, including Tristar tankers. Work on the longer of the two run-

Turn to back page, col. 7

Mr Silkin said last night: "I think it quite scandalous that a decision as important as this should be made without references to the House of Commons, even worse when a statement was being made about the future of the Mount Pleasant airfield."

"This is not the first time that Mr Heseltine has omitted to tell the House matters that are important, really because they are embarrassing to him."

Mr Silkin claimed that the Government's Falklands policies were already costing the



Guardian 28/6/83

## Fortress Falklands to get new airport

Continued from page one

ways which will be 8,500 feet, will begin first. The other will be a 5,000 feet cross runway built to allow for wind variations.

The completion compares with the expected November 1986 date if the existing 6,100 feet RAF Stanley runway had been improved. More importantly, Mr Heseltine said yesterday, its present use by the garrison will not be restricted while a new airfield was being built.

He said that savings of £25 million a year would be made from the reduced transport costs and the speed with which the military would be able to turn around staff.

At present a four-month tour of duty involves an additional month travelling spent largely at sea between Ascension Island and the Falklands. With a direct air link, the switch could be made in two to three days.

Hercules aircraft which are able to land at RAF Stanley's short runway carry a maximum only of 50 passengers. And the five weekly round trips which they make to the Falklands from Ascension Island currently cost £25 million a year due to the in-flight refuelling necessary to get the aircraft down to the islands.

Mr Heseltine said yesterday that the new airfield, which would also be available for civilian aircraft, would give a powerful boost to the islands' economy. He thought civilian traffic would include both industrial and tourist flights.

Speaking from Port Stanley last night, Mr Terry Peck, a member of the islands' council, welcomed the announcement but said it would be "a bloody waste of time and money" if the facilities were not of benefit to the 1,850 islanders.

John Carvel adds: The Mowlem, Laing, Amey Roadstone consortium is expecting no difficulties recruiting engineers and labourers to build the new Falklands airfield in spite of the extreme isolation of their working conditions.

About one in eight of the British unemployed are in the construction industry and British firms already have experience in attracting thousands of workers for contracts in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Recruiting is expected to start almost immediately.

Government sources pointed out that the workers would be kept almost completely cut off from the Falklands inhabitants. Their camps will be self-sufficient, with their own medical facilities and transport arrangements to work sites; and the workers will not be allowed to find entertainment in the Falklands community.

One condition of the contract is that British labour, materials and plant will be used as far as is practical and economic. It will be up to the contractors to get their workforce to the Falklands, probably by air to Cape Town and on by sea. For those who go, there will not be an early trip back. Leave is expected to be offered once every six months.

# Green light to airfield plan for Falklands

The Government has decided to go ahead with the building of a new £215 million strategic airfield on the Falkland Islands, the Defence Secretary, Mr Heseltine, announced in the Commons yesterday.

The airfield will be located on a site at Mount Pleasant, between Stanley and Darwin, and will be able to operate civil and military wide-bodied planes.

The labour force for the project will be recruited in Britain and work will start this autumn. The Falklands spring. The new main runway should be usable from April, 1985, with the whole airfield ready by February, 1986, Mr Heseltine told MPs.

He said that the alternative of improving the existing airfield at Stanley would be more expensive, even allowing for the cost of a road between Stanley and Mount Pleasant.

Mr Heseltine said the new airfield would enable savings to be made in the running costs of supporting the Falklands garrison, greatly reduce the time required to reinforce the garrison if need arose, and give a powerful boost to the economy and infrastructure of the islands.

Tenders had been received from the three British consortia of civil engineers and a contract for building the airfield would be placed with the consortium of Mowlem/Laing/Amey Roadstone Construction.

The value of the contract, including sub-contracts and shipping, was about £190 million. In addition, the new Stanley-Mount Pleasant road and separate installation of communication and navigation aids took the total cost to around £215 million, the Defence Secretary said.

For the Opposition Mr John Silkin attacked the cost of the Government's "Fortress Falklands" policy. It was running at about £425 million a year, he claimed and from April, 1982, before the war started, to February, 1986, would total £3 billion — "more than £3 million per Falklands family."

Mr Silkin challenged whether "Fortress Falklands" was really a permanent solution.

Mr Heseltine said total MoD spending on the Falklands over the next three years would be £424 million this year and £334 million and £232 million in the following two years. These figures included the £215 million for the airfield. The new airfield offered "potential savings" of £25 million a year as it would no longer be necessary for hundreds of servicemen to spend long periods en-route to the Falklands by sea.

Mr Heseltine told questioners that the project would provide



Mr Heseltine: 'The least costly option'

about 1,400 jobs when work reached its peak.

Tory backbenchers generally welcomed the announcement, with Mr Eldon Griffiths (Bury St Edmunds) describing the airfield as a useful public sector investment.

But some MPs, including Sir John Biggs Davison (C. Epping Forest) and Mr Enoch Powell (Official Unionist, Down S) suggested that the Falklands war might have been avoided if the move had been taken earlier.

Mr Jack Ashley (Lab. Stoke South) told the Defence Secretary, "A sign of true strength would be genuinely to seek negotiations with Argentina about the long term future of the Falkland Islands."

Mr Heseltine told him: "There is no question of long-term negotiations about the sovereignty of the Falklands being transferred to Argentina."

Mr Doug Hoyle (Lab. Warrington N) asked: "How much longer can we afford this Colonel Blimp Fortress Falklands policy?" He said that the money would be better spent on social projects at home. The Government was not only helping Argentina to buy arms but providing them with an airfield in the future as well, he claimed.

An angry Mr Heseltine replied: "I am not prepared to take risks with the lives of the men and women based on the islands." He attacked Labour's policy as "hypocritical rubbish" and said it had been "thunderingly destroyed" in the election campaign.





Confident smiles from Mr and Mrs Wilton, with their seven-year-old daughter Victoria, when they left England for the Falklands in February.

## FALKLAND 'FISH AND CHIP VAN FAMILY' QUIT

By *PATRICK WATTS* in Port Stanley

**T**HE WILTON family, the Falklands' first immigrants following last year's conflict, are on their way back to England, leaving their intended business still in the hands of its original owner and their fish and chip van parked on the road, unused and covered by mid-winter snow.

Mr Michael Wilton, his wife Julie and their young daughter sold their share in a fried chicken business in Hastings, handed over their confectionery and tobacconist's shop to Mrs Wilton's sister, and set out for the Falklands, intending to buy a small general store and to supply fish and chips to British Servicemen.

However, the proposed deal to buy the Philomel Store from Mr Desmond Peck fell through.

A follow-up plan to build a restaurant and bar, to be called Thatcher Inn, did not materialise, as the islands' Executive Council rejected the Wiltons' application for the large loan required.

The Wiltons, who arrived in the Falklands in early March, decided there was no future for them in the islands and accompanied by their business partner, Commander Ray Bowman, took passage on the SS Uganda for Ascension Island and a RAF flight to England.

### '£600 bill unpaid'

Mr Peck was not amused as he learned of their impending departure. He said they had lived in his house for three months and left without paying a £600 bill for rent, electricity and milk.

Mr Peck said he had offered Mr Wilton free rent "only if he fulfilled his agreement to purchase my business." As it was he had decided to charge the Wiltons only £1.50 a day, the rate which the Services pay private householders in Stanley.

Philomel Store, which is surrounded by military vehicles, stands at the head of the harbour pier.

Failure to reach an agreement over the price seems to have partly led to the Wiltons' decision on their future. Mr Wilton claimed sometime ago that Mr Peck had tried to add £25,000 to the earlier agreed purchase sum of £50,000, which included the house.

Mr Peck insisted that the £50,000 did not include new stock, which has just arrived from England, hence the additional £25,000.

### Upset at leaving?

The local population was amazed that the Wiltons made no attempt to put their fish and chip van on the road after it had arrived from Britain. Another family which began selling fish and chips three months ago has repeatedly said it cannot meet the demand from Servicemen.

Mr Wilton, who is 40, was unavailable for comment as he left his rented house several days before leaving on the Uganda. But a friend who now has the task of trying to sell the fish and chip van said he appeared "upset at leaving."

Both he and his 23-year-old wife had "met some good people in Stanley and had no regrets at coming here."

# Pinochet bid to end strike

from MARY HELEN SPOONER in Santiago

UNION leaders in Chile are discussing this weekend an offer which may bring to an end the first national strike since the days of Salvador Allende's Socialist Government in the early 1970s.

The offer was made to the president of the Truckers' Federation, Adolfo Quinteros, by General Pinochet's Government late on Friday. Quinteros declined to give details of the offer but said it meant the Government was more receptive to opening a dialogue.

The latest moves came after the Chilean bishops issued a statement declaring that 'workers have a right to a genuine union life, including a right to strike in specific circumstances.' The bishops also condemned the regime's prohibition of all Press coverage of the opposition, which has proved so effective that many Chileans remained unaware that a strike had been called.

As a result, the strike began with barely a whimper on Thursday. Many workers remained at their jobs, and public transport continued without interruption.

The subdued atmosphere contrasted with the dramatic call for a national strike by the truckers, copper miners and other labour groups. Earlier last week, the union leaders gathered at the Santiago Press Association to announce the strike, which would remain in effect until democracy was restored.

On the eve of the strike,

Chilean officials tried to negotiate with the truckers, sending low-level emissaries to meet Quinteros and other trade unionists. The efforts failed, partly due to the fact, as Quinteros noted with a smile, that it is difficult to bargain under threat of arrest.

Quinteros and a half-dozen other trade unionists face prosecution on charges of violating the regime's internal security laws. The president of Chile's Copper Mine Workers' Confederation, Rodolfo Seguel, and his vice-president, Hugo Estivales, are being held in Santiago jail on similar charges.

Another five leaders at El Teniente, the second biggest copper mine in Chile, have been arrested, while at least six labour leaders at the El Salvador mine in northern Chile have been detained. The El Salvador mine and Chuquicamata, the biggest copper mine, have been declared military zones.

The Pinochet regime's strategy of rounding up labour leaders, while restricting the flow of information within Chile, appears to be at least partially successful. The 27,000-member Copper Mine Workers' Confederation had called for an 'empty pots' protest on Thursday night, but few Santiago residents heeded—or heard—their call.

The regime has also succeeded to some degree in distracting public attention from the trade unions' activities by announcing that several prominent exiles would be allowed to return. Among those returning are



GEN PINOCHET : Opening dialogue.

Andres Zaldivar, president of the World Christian Democratic Union and former Finance Minister, who was sent into exile late in 1980 after his criticism of the controversial constitutional plebiscite which prolonged General Pinochet's presidency until at least 1989.

This past week a group of 54 opposition figures signed a petition calling on Pinochet and all his officials to resign. The petition called for the formation of a provisional military-civilian government and elections for a National Assembly in six months' time. A year ago such a gesture might have earned the petitioners imprisonment or exile, but members of the group indicated they had received no threats or warnings from the authorities so far.

At a press conference to present their petition calling for the Pinochet regime's removal, the signatories were asked if they had any idea what view the armed forces took. The response was a slightly embarrassed silence. There are stories circulating of discontent within the Army and Navy, arising from the rumour-mills of Santiago, but these reports invariably contain a strong element of wishful thinking on the part of Pinochet's opponents.



'Spectator' 25/6/83

Sir: Does Simon Jenkins really expect us to find his reasons for the sinking of the *Belgrano* credible (11 June)? He is naïve if he does. Regardless of all the debate surrounding Francis Pym and the Peruvian peace plan, two stark facts remain:

a) The *Belgrano* was apparently sailing away from the task force, and has been estimated as being ten hours' sailing time away from our ships. Jenkins says that if the *Conqueror* had merely played 'tag' with the *Belgrano*, then it may have risked being counter-attacked. Does this not lose credibility in the face of the 'retreat' of the Argentinian ship from the battle zone? Could it not have been left alone, and a notice of extension of the exclusion zone then flashed to Buenos Aires, to deter bringing the ship back?

b) Does Jenkins really believe that the *Belgrano* was sunk to speed up the chances of peace, because of the shock of the large numbers who lost their lives? True, the British may have been even more determined to end hostilities as a result, but he claims that they did not realise how much damage would be sustained by the ship, and were thus shocked and surprised afterwards! Furthermore, anyone with an ounce of wit would realise that the junta would have retaliated to gain revenge, especially in a country which oozed with propaganda, and where the three rulers could be toppled if they drew back at that stage. No, Mr Jenkins, the sinking of the *Belgrano* was more than 'unfortunate', to use your word, it was disastrous! No amount of Mrs T. waving the flag and saying it was necessary to 'save our boys', as she did on the recent *Nationwide* programme, can stop many of us from fearing that the incident was radically mishandled, and that too many people are now trying to fudge the issue.

**Kevin O'Donnell**

32 New Street,  
Altrincham,  
Cheshire

Sir: Is it not time to sink the whole *Belgrano* debate? After all, the people who are trying to make capital out of it are the very ones who were opposed to the sending of the task force in the first place. As far as the great majority of British people are concerned, the decision to attack the Argentine cruiser was probably the bravest and most necessary one taken in the whole war. To them it does not matter where the *Belgrano* was going when it was torpedoed or even

whether it was part of a great pincer attack on the task force. By sinking this ship we showed the Argentines that we were not prepared to reach some wishy-washy compromise that left the thief with even half of his ill-gotten gains and, perhaps more important, it ensured that the Argentine navy stayed at home for the remainder of hostilities — thus greatly increasing our chances of a relatively bloodless and successful reconquest of the islands. This is what the British people wanted and the decision to sink the cruiser was therefore the right one.

**C. J. Arthur**

Milton Abbey,  
Milton Abbas,  
Blandford,  
Dorset

'Spectator' 25/6/83

## Letters

### The Belgrano incident

Sir: Simon Jenkins's account, 'The truth about the *Belgrano*' (11 June) differs sharply from the truth about the *Belgrano* in a recent book *The Battle for the Falklands* by Max Hastings and Simon Jenkins.

In the *Spectator*, Simon Jenkins concludes: 'Irrespective of the *Belgrano*'s course or destination on 2 May, it would have been militarily irresponsible not to have put out of action so substantial a part of the enemy's arsenal.' In his book Simon Jenkins wrote (I assume he wrote it, because he lays claim to the political sections): 'Both then and later it seemed remarkable how readily Mrs Thatcher's Cabinet assented to a step which caused Britain to inflict the first major loss of life in the Falklands war.' (Page 148.)

Two pages later, he expanded on this theme: 'What was the purpose of declaring geographical limits within which enemy ships would be liable to attack, only to act outside them, even if Britain was within the letter of her legal rights? It is argued that if *Conqueror* had not attacked immediately, *Belgrano* could have steamed through the shallow waters that reach out into the Atlantic in these regions and given the submarine the slip. But it is difficult to believe that if the British had delayed an attack until they had given warning of an extension of the TEZ, the task force would have been put at serious risk. Had it not been for events which swiftly followed, Britain's strong diplomatic position and the support for it from her allies could have been seriously compromised by the *Belgrano* attack.'

Which truth is the truth? And why has Simon Jenkins changed his tune? Will he also address himself to the question to which there has not yet been a single convincing answer: why, if the *Belgrano* had to be sunk wherever it was and in whichever direction it was heading, was it not sunk when it was first sighted? Why was the sinking delayed for 30 hours — until exactly one hour before the Argentine junta sat down to discuss the Peruvian peace plan?

Simon Jenkins patronises me as falling 'victim to a mendacity from Buenos Aires'. I have not been to Buenos Aires. I have spoken to no one there. I have spoken to Foreign Office officials and to members of the elected conservative government of Peru, all of whom without exception believe that the Argentine junta, including Admiral Anaya, were preparing to accept the Peruvian peace plan on 2 May last year, and rejected it only after and because of the sinking of the *Belgrano*. President Belaunde, Prime Minister Ulloa and

Foreign Secretary Arias Stella, all of whom were in close touch with Buenos Aires and with Washington at the time, have all testified to this conviction. Their view is not recent, but was vigorously expressed at the time. I find them more credible than Simon Jenkins and all his sources in Whitehall, with their constantly shifting analyses.

Paul Foot  
Daily Mirror,  
Holborn Circus,  
London EC1

'Guardian' 24/6/83

## No accord with Brazil

From Bernardo Kucinski  
in Sao Paulo

Brazil and the IMF are as far away as ever from reaching an agreement following the return to Washington of the head of the mission Eduardo Wiesner.

The mission spent 10 days in Brazil but was unable to reach an understanding with Brazil's economic authorities even on the most basic items of the new economic readjustment plan. They are due to return again next week, but Brazil may not get its next IMF payment before August.

Banks may be asked to transform all payments of interest due this year next year and in 1985 into new loans. This way they will be refinancing their own credits without actually giving a single cent of new money to Brazil. The short term cash problem remains, and can only be solved with new money. Estimates of how much is needed vary from \$3.5 billion to as much as £6 billion.

Brazil is nearly three weeks overdue on about \$1.2 billion of principal debt payments due to commercial banks, senior banking officials in London and New York report.

Guardian 24/6/83

## Chilean haulage men say strike is paralysing system

Santiago: Thousands of lorry drivers kept their vehicles off the road and paralysed Chile's largest port yesterday, but most workers ignored a general strike call by union opponents of President Pinochet's military rule.

Lorry owners claimed they had almost halted traffic in the country's road haulage system. But the Government said the situation was normal.

The vice-president of the lorry owners' union, Mr Eduardo Riquelme, said road haulage was paralysed in the north and south of Chile and few lorries were out in the capital.

There was no cargo handling at the Talcahuano-San Vicente port complex on the Pacific coast near Concepcion.

There were no early reports of serious absenteeism in key industries such as copper mining, steel production, and petroleum. Some workers said they were unaware of the hastily organised strike call, but most

appeared unwilling to heed it because such walkouts are illegal and unemployment is more than 20 per cent.

For 48 hours, five union federations had tried to reach 200,000 workers they say they represent in scattered industries to ask them to stay home from work each day and hammer on pots each evening, at least until the Government drops charges against 17 gaoled leaders of an earlier copper industry strike.

The Copper Workers' Confederation reported the arrests yesterday of four more union leaders at the El Teniente mine, near Rancagua, but it was not clear whether they had anything to do with the general strike attempt.

The National Council of Ground Transport had asked its 210,000 owners of lorries, taxis, and inter-city buses to join the indefinite stoppage, but taxis operated normally in main cities.

There was a noticeable, but not dramatic, decline of car use, and bus passengers in Santiago, and of urban buses in Concepcion and Valparaiso, the third largest city. Inter-city bus lines reported normal traffic in and out of the capital's largest terminal but fewer passengers.

On the eve of the strike, the Government reinforced police patrols in Santiago and other cities, brought criminal charges against six strike leaders and instructed Chilean media not to report the call for the first general strike in nearly a decade of military rule. — AP/Reuter.



● President Pinochet: imposed news blackout

Since Sunday.

TIMES 24 JUN 83

## Hongkong policy irks Peking

From David Bonavia  
Hongkong

The Chinese will be irked by the Queen's speech on the future of Hongkong. It seemed to link the status of the British-ruled territory with that of Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands informed observers believe.

China's position has been that it alone has sovereignty over Hongkong and will decide "at an appropriate time" when to re-absorb it into the political fabric of the People's Republic.

Any analogy with Gibraltar is firmly rejected by the Peking leaders, because Britain will not return it to Spain, partly for reasons of security, and partly because most inhabitants of Gibraltar would rather be ruled by Britain.

China has ruled out any idea of a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the 5.5 million inhabitants of Hongkong.

Nor can Peking be happy about the reference to the Falkland Islands, since Britain used naval and military power to regain control after they were overrun.

Nobody expects Britain to offer military opposition to a Chinese takeover of Hongkong, but in China the Queen's speech will be taken as a sign that Britain will not simply sign any agreement dictated by Peking.

TIMES 24/6/83.



# A ROOM OF MY OWN

## CINDY BUXTON

*Interviewed by Ena Kendall  
Photographed by Tim Mercer*

Cindy Buxton's house is more of a launching pad than a fixed abode. In the seven years since she bought it, she has spent only about four months there. The rest of the time she has been in Africa or the South Atlantic, making wildlife films of quite exceptional flair and originality. The house, built in 1595, and standing in one and a half acres of garden, looks out from the edge of a small village over the flat and haunting landscape of north Norfolk, with a view of the sea foaming angrily up the sands about a mile away.

She had been looking for a house in this part of her native Norfolk for about a year before settling for this one. 'I was having problems because I was simply not interested unless the house was flint. Then an estate agent rang me up about this. It was in a bad condition, saturated with damp, the stairs were rotten and when I put my hand against one wall, all the plaster fell off. But it was solid flint, and I thought it was worth giving it a go.'

The builders moved in and she went off to Africa. When she came back, she found to her delight that they had uncovered the original open fireplace in the sitting room, complete with the hooks and chains used for cooking, and the original timber beam above it, full of nail-holes. They reversed the beam to hide the nail-holes, and the fireplace – 'a bit on the big side but better than being too small' – is the focus of the room. She designed the fire back and basket, fire guard, dogs and irons, and asked a local blacksmith to make them up. The chimney can be blocked up if there is no fire so that heat is not lost. 'When I'm here on my own, it isn't worth lighting it.'

After she had been living in an 8ft by 12ft hut in South Georgia, or alone in the African bush, the room was good to come back to – although isolation holds no fears for Cindy Buxton. 'I thrive in lonely places. I really prefer to be left entirely alone: I get distracted too easily.' She worked solo for nine years before going to the South Atlantic. On that journey, for the first time, she took an assistant, Annie Price. 'Annie takes the photographs and I do the filming, which I love. We work very well together. But when we come home we like going off in different directions.' They are on the move again soon, this time to the Coto Doñana in southern Spain.





## ROOM OF MY OWN continued

Perched on a trunk with L.C. (Lucinda Catherine) Buxton painted on it, an Argentine helmet picked up on Pebble Island beside her, she glanced around the room. 'I hate to say it but without the help of my parents I might have had to resort to orange boxes. The sofas and chairs belong to my mother: there's a big barn on my parents' farm [about six miles up the road] where they store surplus furniture. They are letting me use things until I can buy my own.'

The Buxtons, an old Catholic family, have lived in this part of the world for hundreds of years. Cindy is the middle one of seven children, two sisters and a brother on either side. Their father, Aubrey Buxton, was created a life peer in 1977 and she was given leave to take her camera into the House of Lords and photograph him in his robes with his sponsors. The results stand on the bookshelf behind her, along with some small cups she won for riding as a child and a big one for clay-pigeon shooting. Now she confines her shooting to the camera. To her knowledge, she is the only professional woman wildlife photographer in Britain: the only other one she ever knew of was American, a close friend, killed in Africa in 1975 by charging elephants.

Cool, decisive, authoritative, with the blonde, light-eyed looks of one who might just have stepped off a Viking longboat, Cindy Buxton is a traveller in the intrepid mould: you feel she would not be thrown by meeting a wild beast face to face. And indeed she was not, when, in Africa once, she walked unknowingly into the middle of a pride of lions. 'There were six of them: I froze. They growled at me, and after about 20 seconds they all got up and walked into the bush. I remember wishing I was back in Norfolk.' The animal pictures on every wall are reminders of her eight years in Africa. They were painted by an artist friend who lives there.

Once she spent 10 months alone on a small island in the middle of a 7,000-square-mile swamp in Zambia, picking up her supplies by canoe and only in occasional radio contact with the outside world. She brought into the room a photograph of the reason for that expedition and propped it against the bookshelf. 'That's the shoebill, or whale-headed stork, a bird resembling the dodo. They grow as tall as 5ft.' She spent the whole time watching and filming one particular nest. 'One of the eggs was pinched so I made one out of rolled-up newspapers and papier mâché and they sat on it for about a month.' That 'egg' is among the bits and pieces from faraway places scattered about her shelves. She is now something of an expert on the

shoebill, about which little information is available. On a fireside table there is a small cast-iron whale harpoon head from South Georgia, where whaling stopped in 1962.

The room is well supplied with books. One of the four trunks she takes on her expeditions is always packed with a mini-library. She also takes nine metal camera cases that double as jacks when she needs to service her vehicle: she showed us one of her small cameras, a special silent one that does not disturb her subject when she is working from a hide. The three years she spent in the South Atlantic, culminating in the narrow escape from the Argentines in South Georgia a year ago, was her most enjoyable film-making experience. Her subject was penguins. 'It's a photographer's paradise. Everything is so approachable. About 50 penguins came to see us.'

Unlike the birds, the Argentines never came near them: what really worried her, if they did, was possible seizure of film. 'Cameras you can replace, shots of penguins laying eggs you can't.' Her latest venture is a book about her South Atlantic experiences. Not that her life has been lacking in experiences since the day when, as a 19-year-old secretary in Cambridge, she was asked to act as dogsbody to an expedition to the Galápagos. She knew little about

wildlife or cameras. But the trip fired her: she learnt all she could, came back and practised filming ducks in Hyde Park before setting out alone.

Like all the best travellers, Cindy Buxton is well organised and likes order around her. She has the four bedrooms and two bathrooms - 'all very small' - in shape now. Each time she is home she does more work downstairs and on the garden, though she takes a holiday from self-sufficiency when it comes to cooking, something she is not keen on. An obliging sister-in-law, a Cordon Bleu cook, comes to the rescue every time she returns to England. 'I say, "Will you fill my deep freeze?" - and she does, with the most splendid things that I just have to heat up. For me, that's luxury.'

She thinks her family have given up worrying about her, partly because she is not the only one with an adventurous streak. Her eldest sister is a sailing fanatic and has raced across the Atlantic; another sister is a flying instructor and commercial pilot. Her parents themselves spent three weeks in the Antarctic last year on HMS Endurance. 'We're a very close family, we get on very well and the credit goes to my parents for that. We each admire the others for what they have done: you can't really ask for much better.'

## NEXT WEEK

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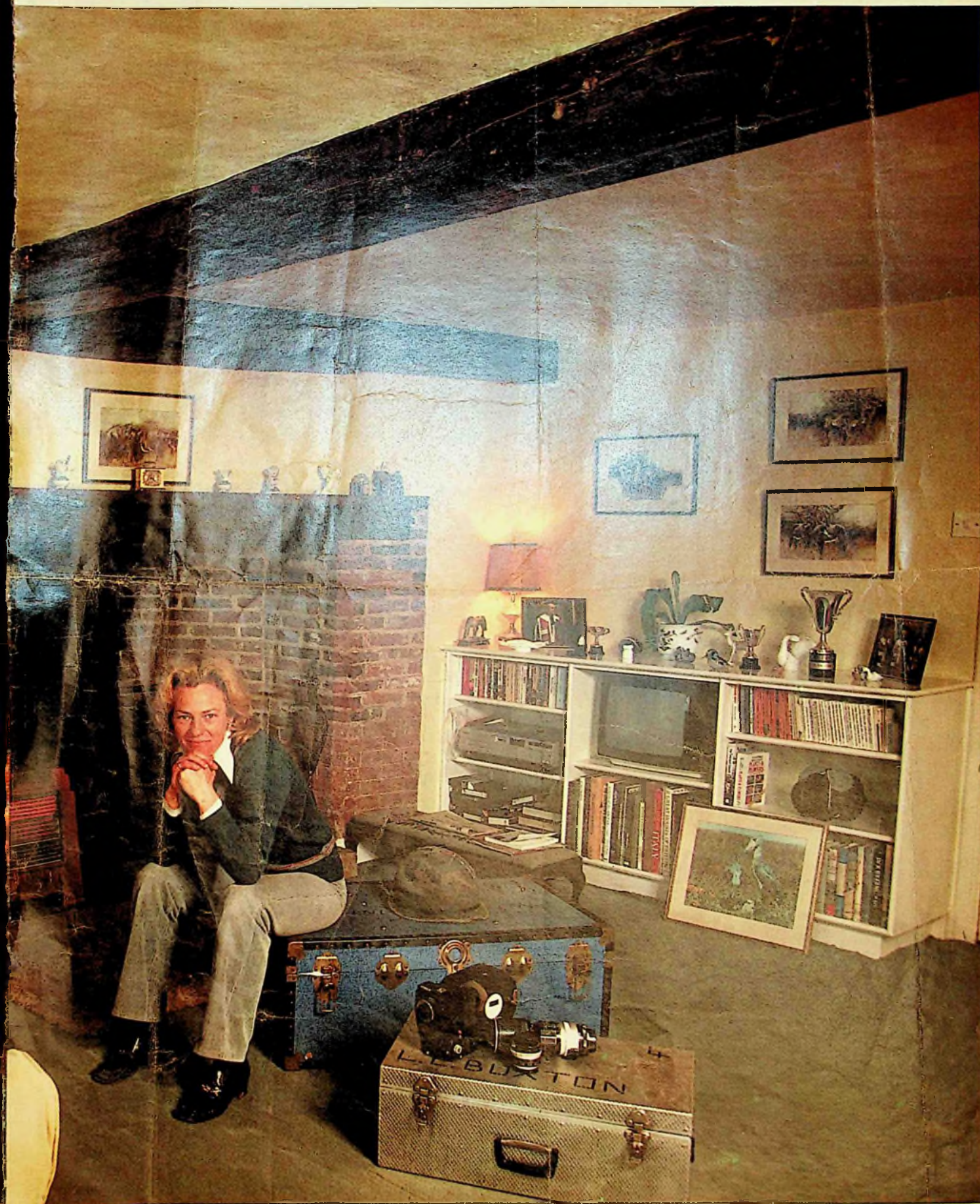
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S. Times 19/6/83



D. Telegraph 23/6/83

## DEFENCE SPENDING OVER £50bn

By Air Cdre G. S. COOPER  
Defence Staff

THE cost of sustaining Britain's contribution to Western Defence, both within and beyond Nato, is bound to become an increasing burden on the country's public purse, but it is a commitment to which the Government is determined to give priority.

Britain is the only European nation to contribute to each of the three elements of Nato's triad of forces: Strategic nuclear, theatre nuclear, and conventional. And it is one of the few countries to commit forces for more than one region of Allied Command Europe.

The Government remains committed to implementing up to 1985-86 the Nato aim for annual growth of 3 per cent. in expenditure.

Defence spending for this year is planned as £15,987 million, for next year £17,290 million, and 1985-86 £18,330 million.

Extra money to meet the costs of the Falklands garrison over the three-year period will amount to £1,860 million.

D. Telegraph 23/6/83

News Round-up

## FALKLAND MARRIAGE ENDS

By PATRICK WATTS  
in Port Stanley

PAULINE GRIFFIN, the Falklands' only police-woman and the first local girl to marry a member of the military forces since last year's conflict, confirmed yesterday that her marriage was over.

She married former Royal Military Policeman David Griffin, 21, on Jan. 29, this year.

Mr Griffin, of Stapleford, near Nottingham, left the Army and joined the Port Stanley civil police in which Pauline, 19, already served.

He returned to Britain in April to sort out his affairs and went back to the Falklands last month. Three weeks later he unexpectedly returned home.

Although reluctant to discuss her marital problems, Pauline said yesterday: "We have no plans to get together. He is in England and I'm not going over there."

D. Telegraph 23/6/83

## CHILE UNION LEADERS ARRESTED

By  
CHRISTINE McDERMENT  
in Santiago

SEVEN union leaders and a former senator face possible prison sentences as the military government of President Pinochet in Chile continues its union crackdown.

The purge is an attempt to stem the tide of dissention which has been sweeping the country.

It follows a call for an indefinite general strike, due to start at midnight tonight.

At the same time as it has announced the return of 128 more political exiles, including ex-senators and former ministers, the junta is making sure no political activity takes place.

Adolfo Quinteros, president of one of the transport owners' associations which was to the fore in the strike call, and Manuel Caro, president of the National Gastronomic Confederation, have been arrested. The remaining five are apparently not yet in custody.

Also facing charges are Jorge Lavandero, a former senator and one of the leaders of the emerging opposition groups; Hernol Flores, president of the National Association of Fiscal Employees, and Federico Mujica, president of the Confederation of Private Employees.

All are being charged with "abusing their positions by inciting the public to infringe the internal security laws."

'Guardian' 23/6/83

## Chilean unionists summoned to court as strike begins

Santiago: Five union leaders who called a general strike from today were summoned to court yesterday as the Chilean military Government cracked down on organisers while publicly ignoring the protest.

Union sources said they did not know if the five unionists would appear in court, where they would face charges under internal security laws for calling an illegal stoppage. Newspapers have been forbidden to carry news of the strike. And were at pains to report the summons without mentioning the stoppage.

They quoted an Interior Ministry statement that the union leaders were summoned for "abusing their union attributions and calling on the population to break security laws."

The strike was to start at midnight last night and to continue indefinitely. It was called by the National Workers' Command, an umbrella group including workers in the vital copper industry, and by the confederation of lorry owners. The organisers say they represent 30 per cent of workers.

The strike was called after the arrest of seven copper workers, and after two months of unrest against General Pinochet's 10-year rule. The organisers made no specific demands. They said the strike had been motivated

by repression, lack of freedom, and the economic crisis.

Police have also arrested the leader of the lorry owners' confederation. Those summoned to court yesterday included three moderate union leaders belonging to the Workers' Command.

The copper workers' union released a letter from its gaoled president, Mr Rodolfo Seguel, saying: "I beg you not to let yourselves be frightened by force and by the fear of those who cannot understand that this country has been and will be free and democratic."

The newly-appointed Archbishop of Santiago, Mgr Juan Francisco Fresno, said he was "deeply preoccupied" by the detention of union leaders.

The independent radio station radio, Cooperativa, said that 15 leaders of the union of hotel and restaurant staff started a hunger strike yesterday to protest against the reported arrest of their president, Mr Manuel Caro.

General Pinochet came to power in September, 1973, in a coup which overthrew the late President Allende.

Although President Allende headed the world's first democratically elected Marxist Government, General Pinochet, aged 67, has never wavered in his belief that he and the armed forces answered a call by the Chilean people and that

his destiny was to eliminate the threat of another Marxist government. His conviction was reinforced when he won a big majority in a 1980 plebiscite which confirmed him as President and approved the new Constitution.

This provides for a gradual return to democracy by 1989. But in the meantime his Government exercises sweeping powers under a series of "transitory" articles of the Constitution. A state of emergency still exists, political activity is banned, and a curfew is in force.

Strikes are banned except in pursuit of collective wage negotiations and the protests last week were countered with teargas and water cannon. Four people were shot dead in circumstances still to be explained.

Through his labour laws, General Pinochet has managed to fragment the Chilean union movement so that the effective coordination and rapid communication required in a general strike are almost impossible, they say. "I don't like to see suicide committed."

Diplomats say the key to success is held by transport owners, without whose support the moderate union leaders would not have acted. "It's getting very hard to sit on the fence," said one. — Reuter.

'Guardian'

23/6/83

## Admiral stays put

From Jeremy Morgan  
in Buenos Aires

The federal judge investigating the disappearance of an Argentine businessman six years ago has ordered that retired Admiral Emilio Massera remain in custody. Judge Oscar Salvi said the former head of the Argentine Navy should be held in "preventive custody" on the grounds of allegedly withholding information related to the disappearance of Mr. Fernando Branca, a business associate, in 1977.

Judge Salvi said that Admiral Massera, who as a member of the military junta which seized power in 1976, is the most prominent member of the regime to face judicial action so far, should continue to be held under arrest at a navy base.

But mystery again surrounded Admiral Massera's exact whereabouts, as well as the attitude of the force he once commanded. It was not clear whether the navy would, as some observers earlier expected, argue that the admiral be handed over to military justice.

## Britain woos Latin America

By Patrick Keatley,  
Diplomatic Correspondent

A discreet attempt to strengthen British relations with the other Latin American countries, in the face of continuing hostility from Argentina gets under way in London tomorrow when the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, hosts a government lunch at Lancaster House for envoys from six countries.

Next month is the 200th anniversary of the birth of Bolivar and Sir Geoffrey will lay a wreath at the statue in Belgrave Square before he takes the envoys to the gala lunch at Lancaster House.

At the House of Commons yesterday an exhibition of Bolivar paintings was opened by the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Lady Young, accompanied by the Junior Minister, Mr Ray Whitney, who has served as a diplomat in Latin America and is a fluent Spanish speaker.

The red carpet treatment continues next week when the Mexican Foreign Minister, Mr Bernardo Sepulveda Amor, holds talks with Sir Geoffrey at the Foreign Office. He is convening a meeting in London of his country's heads of mission in European capitals. The fact that he has chosen the British capital for this is a source of quiet satisfaction in Whitehall.

# Golf club links

## with humbler twin



*A birdie at the first for Sir Rex Hunt, seen with a penguin yesterday at the affiliation ceremony between two golf clubs which are far from par for the course*

John Ezard on a great day for the Stanley course whose handicap is a minefield

**THE ANCIENT** Salisbury and South Wiltshire Golf Club twinned yesterday with a distant, younger, humbler club with which it shares strong links of sentiment, if not yet of opulence.

The other club stands near a sheep slaughter house. Its clubhouse is an upturned container box. And it is probably the only golf course in the world to have contained not only a live ammunition dump, but a fully operational minefield.

The event was billed officially as a "unique affiliation ceremony," and so it was. Those taking part on the 95-year-old Wiltshire club's perfect 18th green included the RAF, a Scots Guards piper who fought on Mount Tumbledown, and six penguins. They were Peruvian penguins, because all the Cotswold Wildlife Park's Falklands captive rockhopper penguins were sitting on eggs.

Problems are expected about away matches between the new twins. The Ordnance Survey calculated that the distance between the Salisbury clubhouse and the first tee of the Port Stanley, Falklands Islands, golf club is roughly 13.726 million yards. The figure has been submit-

ted to the Guinness Book of Records as a record for sporting affiliation.

The aim of the link is to restore Stanley golf club to what is kindly described as its "former glory." That glory was recalled yesterday by Mr Bill Goodman, a Salisbury club member who helped to build the Stanley course in 1969. "You would not have recognised it as a golf course, really," he said. "It had no bunkers except for rocks. The greens were just peat dust which we spread to keep down the white grass. The longest hole was about 600 yards, driving out across a brook, the rocks, and the daed sheep. Gulls kept flitting about to take your golf balls, thinking they were sheep or lambs' eyes."

The affiliation was accepted by the Falklands Civil Commissioner, Sir Rex Hunt, who is on holiday in Britain. He confessed that during his first game in Stanley he had been unable to find the eighth hole of the nine-hole course. The Argentinians did find it, and installed a bunker of the military rather than the sporting kind. The British forces recapturing Stanley had to use 105mm shells to flush them out.



Construction News' 23/6/82

#### IN BRIEF

AMEY Roadstone Construction has won a contract worth about £1.5 million for resurfacing, paving and associated works at Gibraltar airport for the UK government's Property Services Agency.

'Times' 23/6/83

... go inside for a more official

TIMES 23 JUN 83

## Argentine judge confirms detention of admiral

From Andrew Thompson, Buenos Aires

An Argentine federal judge has confirmed the detention order against Admiral Emilio Massera, the former Navy commander who is being investigated in connexion with the disappearance and presumed murder of an Argentine businessman in 1977.

In another development, a local court has seriously questioned the official police version of an incident in which two men were killed last May. It was claimed that both men were severely tortured before their deaths and that evidence had been covered up.

Federal Judge Oscar Salvi on Tuesday ratified the "preventive detention" of Admiral Massera. He ruled that the Admiral would have to stand trial on charges of criminal responsibility in failing to report a crime and withholding or destroying evidence.

The case against Admiral Massera involves the disappearance of Señor Fernando Branca on April 28, 1977. The judge also ordered the preventive detention of Señora Marta Rodriguez McCormack, Señor Branca's second wife, and another Navy officer, retired Captain Eduardo Invierno.

Admiral Massera's lawyer has appealed against the judge's decision, and a higher court is expected to rule within a week.

The case has been surrounded by high political tension. The well-known political columnist Señor Jesús Iglesias Rouco, who writes for *La Prensa* has implied that Judge Salvi has the backing of Air Force intelligence officers in his action against the Admiral.

The Party for Social Democracy, which was set up by Admiral Massera, claims that court proceedings were initiated to prevent an alliance between the admiral and the Peronists.

Another court, under Judge Juan Carlos Marchetti, has ordered the imprisonment of three police officers involved in the death of Señor Osvaldo Cambiasso and Señor Eduardo Pereira Rossi on May 14.

Buenos Aires province police said that Señor Pereira Rossi was a Montonero guerrilla, and Señor Cambiasso a left-wing militant with a police record, and they had opened fire on a police patrol car. But Judge Marchetti said that both corpses showed signs of torture suffered before death.

'Times' 22/6/83

## Chile invites home top political exiles

Santiago (AFP, AP)—The Chilean Government announced yesterday it was allowing 125 key political opposition leaders to return from exile. General Enrique Montero, the Interior Minister, said a complete list of the people involved would be published today.

General Montero said that Senor Andres Zaldivar, President of the Christian Democrat World Union and former leader of Chile's Christian Democrats, was on the list. So were five other "major political figures". They could "return to Chile as of tomorrow without any problem", he said.

The announcement was a response to a growing protest movement that is pressing for steps to speed up a transition to civilian rule, including a return of the 10,000 to 37,000 Chileans banished into exile since General Pinochet overthrew President Salvador Allende in 1973.

● **Strike tomorrow:** one and a half million Chilean workers are expected to launch a national strike against the Government tomorrow after a vote by the National Council of Transport and the National Command of Workers, Florencia Varas writes.

Contradictory versions and

severe press censorship make it difficult to ascertain the impact of the strike. The unions joining the strike

Despite Government announcements that all is normal within the country, and the strikers have gone back to work, the National Confederation of Copper Workers has stated that strikes at three copper mines are continuing.

Señor Adolfo Quinteros, president of the Confederation of National Transport told *The Times* yesterday that the strike would continue indefinitely until the Government changed its attitude. "We are asking for the release of detained union leaders and the rehiring of more than 2,500 dismissed workers, as well as the return of democracy and changes in the political economy".

Yesterday morning, 53 people representing political parties from the centre to the left, labour and professional people, issued a statement calling for the restoration of democracy.

On Saturday General Enrique Montero met representatives of Chilean media and "suggested" that they should not write on the activities of labour organizations. This has led to a total silence within the Chilean press about the call for tomorrow's strike.



Strike call: Señor Adolfo Quinteros, the transport union leader, announcing tomorrow's general strike.

'Times' 22/6/83

Times 22 JUN 83

## Britain and Argentina condemned

From Christopher Mosey  
Stockholm

The influential Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) condemns both Britain and Argentina for the war over the Falklands in its yearbook, *World Armaments and Disarmament*, published today.

The yearbook is distributed to top decision-makers on armaments in 147 countries by the institute, which is funded by the Swedish Government.

In a chapter devoted to the Falklands conflict, the yearbook says: "The war was 'unnecessary' in the sense that it was not fought to defend the vital interests of either party. Neither was it a 'just' war fought to liberate people suffering from colonial or racist oppression. Resort to force to settle the dispute was gratuitous, because it was inconceivable that the quasi-colonial status of the islands could be maintained forever, whatever the merits of the legal arguments adduced by the parties.

"Great Britain was not likely to cling to a few barren islands, which many Britons had hardly any knowledge of, at the expense of relations with the whole Latin-American continent and in particular with Argentina, where the question of the Malvinas has a deeply emotional significance", the institute's report states.

It goes to claim that there is evidence that responsible British diplomats had been considering a far-reaching compromise solution.

"Practical preparations were made for a possible devolution" the yearbook says and cited the British-Argentine agreements of 1971 and 1974 which established closer links between the islands and the South American mainland as evidence of this.

"Indeed, Lord Shackleton's report of 1976, commissioned by the British Government, made it clear that any ambitious scheme for expanding the economy of the islands would require political agreement with Argentina."

The report says the Argentine defeat could spark an arms race in the region.

*World Armaments and Disarmament*, SIPRI Yearbook, 1983, published by Taylor Francis Ltd, London (£26).

'Times' 22/6/83

TIMES 22 JUN 83

## Looking after Pitcairn's future

From Mr Glynn Christian

Sir, Stupendous technology and expense mean we are familiar with remote daily events on the Falkland Islands and that their future is of proper public concern. The same is not true of Pitcairn Island, the Bounty mutineer colony deep in the South Pacific.

Pitcairn has just two supply ships annually, from New Zealand. Contact with the British High Commission in NZ is by Morse code; a vaunted radio system will allow only a few island operators to contact a Post Office employee! The jetty built in 1976 by the British Army is collapsing. The sole contact Pitcairn has directly with its mother country is through the kindness of strangers - ham radio operators and foreign sea captains.

It is little wonder Pitcairners support seriously the bizarre plans of an American millionaire to build them an airstrip on a nearby island. They see it as their sole hope of survival. But to allow this would be shaming to Great Britain.

Only Great Britain can be responsible for Pitcairn's future. If it can not, its people must, especially those who have profited by writing or filming the colony's history. I trust the makers of the new *Mutiny on the Bounty* film, and David Essex, who is completing a musical, will act more honourably than their predecessors.

Pitcairn Island does not need British blood. It needs swift compassion and effort to ascertain the true condition and wishes of its people. A start might be the appointment of a resident representative of HM Government (at present the New Zealand teacher "doubles").

The cost of permanently reversing the colony's steady decline is probably half that of protecting one Falklander: I feel your readers would agree that colonial principle is above mere accountancy.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,  
GLYNN CHRISTIAN,  
Garden Flat,  
42 Chepstow Villas, W11.



22/6/83

Chile's economic fabric is crumbling. RICHARD GOTT analyses the likely fate of the brutal military regime

# Pinochet's last stand

THE WRITING has been on the wall for General Pinochet for most of the year, and the current round of strikes and demonstrations is a reminder of how precarious his position has become. But he may still be able to soldier on for a while yet. It is going to be difficult for the widespread and growing civilian opposition to military rule in Chile to capitalise on the present discontent — unless it can show that a straightforward and clear alternative exists. At the moment this embryonic civilian alternative is inchoate, leaderless, and lacking a firm outline in the public mind. Only a revolt within the armed forces can lead to a change of regime.

General Pinochet has ruled Chile for a decade. On September 11, if he survives that long, he will celebrate the tenth anniversary of his coup d'état against the elected government of Salvador Allende. Pinochet seized power with the initial support and encouragement of Chile's comparatively large middle class, organised politically in the Christian Democrat party. Their enthusiasm slowly melted away as Pinochet abandoned all forms of parliamentary democracy, political organisation and trade union activity, and extended and maintained his power through a policy of repression and control on a



General Pinochet: calls for change from the armed forces

scale rarely seen before in South America.

Some of these erstwhile middle class supporters soon found their own economic power whittled away, as Pinochet embarked on a counter-revolutionary programme that reversed the economic policies not just of the Allende era (with its experiment in socialism) but of the previous thirty years. With an extensive campaign of privatisation, with the reversal of the enlightened land reform schemes of the previous decade, and with the opening of the country to the full force of the international market, Pinochet dramatically changed the course of Chilean history.

For a while, with opposition leaders dead or in exile, many Chileans appeared to accept the new deal with equanimity. But after Pinochet's success in 1980 with a constitutional referendum, that appeared to legitimise his place at the top until at least 1989, things began to become unstuck. The economic miracle collapsed in ruins. The much-vaunted "social market economy" was abandoned. Banks crashed, many middle class savers were ruined, and the regime itself began to lose credibility. Gabriel Valdes, the successor to the late Eduardo Frei as leader of the Christian Democrats, began the difficult task of welding together a civilian opposition front. Yet given the tight governmental con-

trol of political and trade union organisation, fruitful and eventually successful opposition can only come from within the armed forces.

The navy and the carabineros (Chile's paramilitary police force) have traditionally been politically neutered. But dissent has occasionally surfaced in the air force, the army—as elsewhere in Latin America—where socialism and extreme nationalism often intermingle. Some of Allende's supporters came from the air force and General Gustavo Leigh, the air force member of Pinochet's original junta, was an early casualty of intra-junta quarrels. He remains a figure around whom dissent might coalesce, though it is doubtful whether he cuts much ice beyond his own immediate circle.

Only the army itself stands as a possible focus of rebellion, and here General Pinochet has devoted his attention most assiduously in order to forestall incipient discontent. He has long since sent his own peer group into retirement. Potentially charismatic young colonels have been systematically weeded out. Pinochet has for years stood alone and unchallenged.

But even this is changing. Leaflets have been printed within the military institutions calling for change, and last week Jorge Alessandri, the ageing former President (from 1958 to 1964)—and the only civilian figure in the country who commands a wide measure of respect across the spectrum of the centre-right—held a meeting with various senior generals. The burden of their deliberations is not known, but although Alessandri is far too old to assume any post-Pinochet role himself, he is known to be alarmed about the present situation.

In the short run Pinochet may be able to face down the current wave of protest. A minority of workers are involved, the copper workers in particular are notoriously easy to isolate and intimidate, and a bloody crackdown will certainly buy the general time. But if the mood of disillusion is as great as it seems, and if the volume of protest within military ranks is as powerful as it sounds, he will only be buying time to bow out.

Mr Koestler is coming through. He wants me to have the chair in parapsychology.



'Guardian' 22/6/83

## Chile exiles can return

Santiago: The government last night authorised the return of its most prominent critic in exile but continued a purge of strike leaders demanding a further relaxation of military rule.

Police arrested Mr Adolfo Quinteros, leader of 70,000 taxi and lorry owners, after he announced a call by his group and five labour federations for a national strike beginning tomorrow to protest against the gaolings of seven labour leaders.

The Interior Minister, Mr Enrique Montero, said that Mr Andres Zaldivar, president of the Worldwide Christian Democratic Movement, as well as 127 other Chileans banished after the military coup in 1973 "can return to Chile as of tomorrow without any problem."

Pinochet last stand—Page 17.

'Guardian' 21/6/83



Panic erupted in Mexico City's Aztec Stadium at the end of the Junior World Cup soccer championship match between Brazil and Argentina, when gas-filled balloons were ignited by fireworks. Young people taking part in the closing ceremony ran to escape the blast as the balloons exploded

## Second labour leader held

HUGO Estivales, the acting president of Chile's striking copper workers, was arrested yesterday as other labour groups met to decide what action to take in support of the strike, labour sources said.

A judge investigating charges against 11 leaders of the Confederation of Copper Workers (CTC) summoned them to court and ordered the arrest of Mr Estivales.

All 11 are charged with offences under internal security laws for calling a 24-hour strike in the vital industry last week, when the CTC president, Mr Rodolfo Seguel, was arrested.

The CTC leaders and the presidents of the regional federations had met earlier, under growing pressure from the military government and from moderates within the union, to call off stoppages, which have become indefinite following mass sackings of strikers.

Union officials said that no decisions were taken, and the strikes, which the CTC said have paralysed production at the El Salvador and El Teniente mines, were continuing. The state-owned copper corporation, CODELCO, said that activity there was normal.

● Bolivian miners have accepted a provisional proposal by the Government to share control of the state mining enterprise, Comibol, which they seized two months ago. Mr Jose Pimentel, the public relations secretary of the Mine Workers' Federation, said that the decision was made following a two-day meeting of national union leaders.—Reuter.



'Guardian'

21/6/83

## Army denies links with visit to Peron

From Jeremy Morgan  
in Buenos Aires

The Argentine Army has denied having anything to do with the visit that the former navy commander, Emilio Massera, is believed to have made to Madrid before he returned and was detained last week.

Retired Admiral Massera is thought to have gone to Madrid last month on the latest of several visits to Mrs Maria Estela Peron, the exiled former President and widow of the late General Peron.

Despite the low opinion many Argentines have of Mrs Peron's Government, which was overthrown by the military in 1976, her direct link with the dead "Caudillo" means she

remains a key figure on the political scene.

Mrs Peron's vote will be the one that counts most in the selection of a presidential candidate to lead the Peronists, Argentina's biggest political movement, into the elections due on October 30.

Nominally head of the party and popularly known as "Isabel", she has yet to indicate her preference among several prominent aspirants for the job. She is even suspected to continuing to harbour presidential ambitions herself.

Since the Peronists are given a good chance of winning the election, her support could effectively decide who becomes Argentina's next President,

who will have to deal with the military when power is handed over early in 1984.

That prospect has ensured non-stop speculation that at least some sectors of the military are in regular contact with Mrs Peron and other leaders on the Peronist right.

One aim is supposed to have been to secure a deal under which the books would remain closed on the "dirty war," the confrontation between the authorities and leftwing opponents in which thousands of people disappeared during the 1970s.

Military leaders deny that such contacts exist, and Mr Raul Alfonsin, who hopes to be the Radical Party's presidential candidate, has earned himself

a slander suit from Mr Lorenzo Miguel, a Peronist labour leader, for suggesting he was involved in a "pact" with the military.

Admiral Massera appears to have met Mrs Peron at least twice recently, but there is not proof they agreed on anything. But the trips were taken as a sign he might be acting as go-between for the Peronists right and sympathetic military officers.

Such rumours are far from new, and appear to have been tolerated by the regime in the past. But the admiral's detention in the case of the disappearance six years ago of Mr Fernando Branca, an occasional business associate, means he has become an embarrassment.

D. Telegraph 21/6/83

# Kent teacher quits Falklands farm school on the spot

By PATRICK WATTS in Port Stanley

A 26-YEAR-OLD teacher from Bromley, Kent, has an urgent message for any other aspiring women who may be considering taking up some form of employment in the Falklands: "Be sure to check every detail of the job involved."

Julie Carrol took one look at the sheep farm in West Falkland where she was due to have spent the next two years and promptly offered her resignation.

Employed by the Falkland Islands company to work at Fox Bay West, she found the tiny school room "in need of repair after a fire had damaged part of the ceiling.

Her proposed accommodation turned out to be "dirty, grimy, unclean and generally unlivable. It had not long been vacated by British troops stationed on the farm, and no one had bothered to clean it out," she said.

Her doubts had begun when she arrived in the Falklands on board the Keren, the ship which comes from Ascension each month.

"I stood on the jetty in a blizzard while other passengers were met by friends and employers. Not one person from the Falkland Islands Company bothered to meet me," she complained.

## Sleeping on floor

Later "some kindly civilian picked me up in a Land-Rover and deposited me at the door of the company's shipping agent, where I slept on the floor for two nights."

The company's manager in Port Stanley, Mr Terry Spruce, admitted yesterday: "Yes, we did slip up. We didn't know the ship was in port."

Miss Carol, who gave up a teaching job in Haverhill, Suffolk, and took a 50 per cent. cut in salary, was attracted to the Falklands following an article in a British Newspaper just before Christmas.

She had to pay her own fare and now finds she cannot afford a return passage, which would cost close to £400.

However, the local government education chief Mr John Fowler, has offered her a teaching job at Port Howard, also on West Falkland, or an alternative post in Port Stanley.

Copy sent to R. Lee

D. Telegraph 21 June 1983

## TRADE WITH ARGENTINES DENIED

By PATRICK WATTS  
in Port Stanley

**T**HE Falkland Islands Company yesterday denied allegations that it carried on a thriving and profitable trade with the Argentine forces during the occupation.

Mr Peter Britten, the firm's managing director, said he was shocked and distressed at the allegations in a Sunday newspaper which, he said, are either grossly distorted or simply not as reported.

"The circumstances concerning the sale to the occupying forces of limited commodities at normal prices by the company and other farmers and traders—frequently under duress—are widely known and understood in the islands and call for defence.

"Local management weighed the situation at the time and acted in a way that they felt was in the best interests of the community.

### 'Tense situation'

"For obvious reasons, they could not seek guidance from the United Kingdom and should be commended, not criticised, for showing sound judgment in keeping what was a tense and delicate situation under control," he said in a statement yesterday.

The Argentines took bales of wool from a warehouse in Port Stanley and later paid after demands from Mr Harry Milne, the firm's manager.

Mr Britten insisted that the firm did not sell the wool. "They took it and we made them pay," he said.

He agreed that fuel was sold on the same basis. If the firm had refused to sell the Argentines would have taken over the depot and closed it to civilian use or just removed what they wanted, said Mr Britten.

'Times'

21 June 1983

TIMES 21 JUN 83  
Neglect of the  
Western Isles

From Mrs Kenneth Stewart of Coll

Sir, Last year Mrs Thatcher's Government quite rightly defended the Falklands against the Argentine invasion and are subsequently spending vast sums garrisoning the islands, but I hope they will not lose sight of the fact that there are many small islands around the coast of Britain fighting for survival against enormous economic pressures.

In the last year food prices have not risen so rapidly, but I would like to quote the prices we pay for various commodities in the Isle of Coll compared with a mainland (Oban) supermarket:

|                              | Coll  | Mainland |
|------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Petrol (gal)                 | £2.19 | £1.79    |
| Nescale (100 gms)            | £1.24 | 95p      |
| Tea, Tetleys (250 gms)       | 80p   | 75p      |
| Cheese, Dutch Cheddar (1 lb) | £1.40 | £1.06    |
| Biscuits, rich tea (300 gms) | 36p   | 27½p     |
| Milk, (1 pint)               | 29p   | 21p      |
| Margarine, Stork (500 gms)   | 41p   | 35p      |
| Low's orange juice (1 litre) | 58p   | 38p      |
| Heinz baked beans (15 oz)    | 28p   | 19½p     |
| Andrex twinpack              | 60p   | 45p      |
| Ariel powder (900 gms)       | 98p   | 81p      |
| Large Whiskers cat food      | 51p   | 34p      |

We get no subsidies from the Government to help pay for our astronomical cost of living, which is particularly hard for pensioners and those on fixed incomes, and in the last four years, due to the recession and high interest rates, two of our four main industries started on the island have gone to the wall, and the only one thriving is run as a charitable trust.

Agriculture and tourism are both adversely affected by our high costs and people are not prepared to take the risk of coming to settle on the island to make a living.

Our neighbouring island of Mull (pop 2,000) with whom we have close contacts is fighting to save the closure of the pier in the main township of Tobermory; this pier has fallen into an appalling state of dilapidation and the Strathclyde Region is not prepared to take it over until it has been brought up to standard by the shipping company, Caledonian-MacBrayne.

The amount of money needed to repair this pier must be infinitesimal compared with the amount needed to rebuild Stanley airport, yet the Western Isles are clearly rated to be of third-rate importance.

Yours faithfully,  
JANET STEWART,  
Estate Office,  
Isle of Coll,  
Argyll.  
June 16.



D. Telegraph 20/6/83

By JAMES ALLAN

**THE** Prime Minister is to be questioned when Parliament re-assembles this week about reports alleging trade deals worth £93,000 between the Argentines and the Falkland Islands Company during the occupation of the islands last year.

Mrs Thatcher will face demands for an inquiry into the way the company operated before, during and since the conflict.

The company owns more than 40 per cent. of the islands and employs nearly half the population.

The trade is said to have involved food, fuel, timber and bales of wool which were used to line Argentine trenches. The wool was sold at £2 a kilo, above the local market price of £1.40.

The Commons all-party defence committee last week criticised the company for charging the Ministry of Defence what it regarded as an excessive £1.50 a night to billet soldiers in its properties.

But Mr Ted Needham, chairman of the Coalite group and of its subsidiary, the Falkland Islands Company, defended the company yesterday from suggestions of collaboration with the Argentines.

#### 'Profit before lives'

And he was supported by Sir Anthony Kershaw, chairman of the Commons 11-man select committee on foreign affairs which visited the islands in February this year.

Like Mr Needham he maintained that local managers for the company had charged the Argentines for goods which they were going to requisition anyway.

Two Labour members of the committee at least, Mr George Foulkes (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) and Mr Denis Canavan (Falkirk West) are not, however, satisfied with the company's explanations.

Mr Canavan said: "The Falkland Islands Company seems to have made a killing out of the war and by supplying the Argentine forces they seem to have considered their own profits more important than young men's lives.

"Now they have the audacity to exploit British troops by excessive billeting charges and claiming £2 million compensation for damages from the Ministry of Defence. The company should be compensating the MOD in my opinion.

"I shall be tabling a question to the Prime Minister asking her to investigate matters and urging her to take the appropriate action to stop the company capitalising on the situation."

## Falkland company 'in £93,000 deals with Argentines'

### Urgently needed

Mr Foulkes said: "When the committee was in the islands we received a great deal of criticism from the islanders and indeed the local managers of the Falkland Islands Company about the way they operated."

He felt an inquiry was urgently needed to consider whether the company's style of business was in the best interests of the islands.

Sir Anthony Kershaw agreed that the committee had received evidence of trade between the company and the Argentines but said company officials had been faced with little choice.

"It is all very well for people to talk about collaboration but if someone comes along who is armed and says they want your stores what the hell do you do about it?"

"It was not trading with the enemy. It was forced trading. The managers were not going all out to make money for the company but they got what money they could from the Argentines."

Mr Needham, speaking on BBC Radio 4's "The World This Weekend" said yesterday: "The Argentines at this time were obviously armed and if they wanted something they were going to take it.

"It is quite clear that some of the islanders got a fair amount of amusement and entertainment by taking the Argentines for a ride even though they were taking whatever they wanted.

## Company defends trade with Argentine troops

*TIMES 20 JUN 83*

Mr Ted Needham, chairman of the Coalite group of companies which owns the Falkland Islands Company, admitted yesterday that trade had taken place with Argentine forces during their occupation of the islands last year.

But he said his firm had charged them extortionate prices and may of the islanders had derived certain amount of amusement from taking the Argentines "for a ride".

An article in yesterday's *Sunday Times* said that the Falkland Islands Company, which owns 43 per cent of the islands and employs nearly half the population, had conducted business worth £93,000 with the invaders.

During the three-month occupation it had sold food, fuel, timber, and other stores.

Mr Needham, head of the Derbyshire-based Coalite Company which recently reported pre-tax profits of £27m for the financial year ended in March, said yesterday that the Argentines were armed and consequently in a position to take what they needed.

They were, he said, anxious to win the hearts of the islanders and wanted to pay for goods.

The invaders were likely to seize wool so his company had sold it to them at about twice the normal market price. "What's wrong with that?" he asked, and said the questions now being asked were "a slur on the character of the local islanders".

Labour MPs will be calling for an investigation of the company's actions during the occupation and there are claims that it is now charging excessive rents to the Army for houses to billet troops.

A parliamentary defence committee which visited the islands noted in its report that the Ministry of Defence was paying £1.50 a night each

Sir Timothy Kitson, the committee's chairman, described the charges as "excessive" and said 15 or 16 soldiers were billeted at one house in Goose Green, bringing the company about £650 a month for a property with a normal rentable value of £60 a month.

*TIMES*  
20 JUN. '83

## Countess sails

*TIMES 20 JUN 83*

Valetta - The luxury liner Cunard Countess left yesterday after a refit at the Malta dry docks which cost £2.2m and lasted 44 days. The ship set sail for San Juan, Puerto Rico.

'Guardian 20/6/83

## Row over blood test fee

A woman who asked the South Atlantic Fund for money to support her illegitimate daughter has been told that she will have to pay £100 for a blood test to prove that the girl's father was a Marine who died in the Falklands. <sup>S.A. 20/6</sup> The South Atlantic Fund said that there was no proof that he was the father so Mrs Barker decided to take the blood test. "The hospital refused to do it on the National Health," she said. "My solicitor has told me that it will not be covered by legal aid, either."

Mrs Dawn Barker, aged 21, said yesterday: "I only get £30 a week to live on. To find £100 is impossible."

Mrs Barker of Devonport, Plymouth, lived with Stephen McAndrews, who was killed in

'Guardian' 20/6/83

# Army opposition grows, as Pinochet's power fails

From Kenneth Freed  
in Santiago

General Pinochet seems to be isolated from all sections of society, including the armed forces, for the first time, and a coup may be in the offing. After 10 years of unquestioned rule, General Pinochet appears to have serious opposition from inside the army.

Chilean and foreign experts say that a movement to remove the 68-year-old army general is by no means a certainty, but they acknowledge that President Pinochet is facing his most serious crisis since taking power in 1973 with the violent removal of President Allende.

According to a former high-placed government adviser and a one-time Pinochet supporter, the general "has almost no support among the people, and that includes the businessmen and industrialists who scoffed at his opponent just a few months ago." "Pinochet," the former adviser declared, "has lost all support among every element of society."

Retired air force General Gustavo Leigh, a former member of General Pinochet's ruling junta, has publicly cast doubt on the President's ability to rule.

Another indication of internal military discontent came late last week with the private circulation of a statement from anonymous discontented

officers, calling for a change in the presidency.

Citing the devastated economy and the large-scale and often violent demonstrations of May 11 and June 14, the circular said: "We call on you to think and to act in accordance with the interests of the country, with honour and responsibility of the soldiers of Chile."

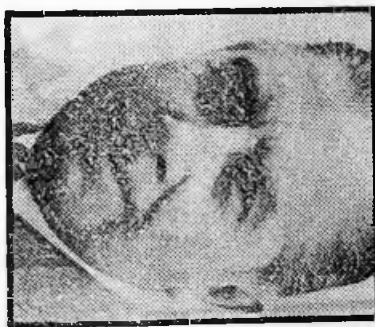
The bad conditions, the statement went on, "make imperative a change in the helm of the government and in the supreme command of the armed forces."

Finally, the circular, which was distributed to high-ranking officers of all branches of the military, said: "It is preferable to alter again our sacred institution before facing a future of ruin and dishonour."

A civilian source, who was once a senior government official and still has strong ties with the military establishment, agreed that the statement fits in with his knowledge of armed forces preoccupations. What is particularly significant, other sources said, is that the army and the police now seem to have been infused with discontent.

Sources reported last February that air force officers had considered attempting a coup, but backed off because of a lack of support in the army, the most powerful arm of the military establishment.

Young officers question rule of General Pinochet (right) and fear spread of corruption



Now, several sources report, that is changing.

The reasons for the reported shift in military sentiment are several, according to sources. One is the economy. "The military men have families, too," said a Chilean who acts as the legal adviser to several officers. "Hardly a day goes by when I don't get a call from some general asking me to help a relative who has lost a job or seen his business fail."

This, other sources say, has reinforced a general distrust of President Pinochet's free-market economic policies by military men who want to return to a more populist and nationalist system.

Another reason cited by several sources is alleged corruption of some officers and even

some of President Pinochet's relatives. Though still considered insignificant in comparison to widespread dishonesty in the Argentine and Bolivian military, alleged special privileges enjoyed by President Pinochet's aides and family are considered a blot on the honour of the armed forces, which think of themselves as the most professional and honourable military organisation in South America.

Also contributing to the military dissatisfaction is a growing belief that President Pinochet's well-known stubbornness and inflexibility have provoked today's civilian discontent and allowed it to go out of control. Nearly everyone consulted dismissed the possibility of a popular uprising or even a

violent military overthrow.

"It will be a classical coup," said one experienced politician who backed General Pinochet's move against President Allende. "The No 2 general or someone like that will make an appointment and tell him that things simply can't go on, that there must be a change."

This can happen very soon, the source said.

Still, there are many sources and observers who, while acknowledging that President Pinochet stands at the weakest moment of his rule so far, predict that he will remain in power, at least for some time.

"There is no sign that President Pinochet is unpopular among the military," said one foreign analyst when he was asked if the armed forces shared the conclusions of a recent public opinion poll that gave General Pinochet only 18 per cent civilian support.

A member of the right-wing Military Circle indicated that the army will not act against the President because it does not want to appear to be unprofessional by acting under the pressure of politicians who, it feels, are influenced by sub-

Some sources raised the possibility that President Pinochet could change his policies. A dose of populist economics could recover for him support he has lost among some officers. — Los Angeles Times.





Tam Dalyell: Queen's speech question

## Dalyell returns to sinking of Belgrano

By Michael White,  
Parliamentary Correspondent

The Government's most tenacious Falklands critic, Mr Tam Dalyell, MP, will this week press the Defence Secretary, Mr Heseltine, about the extent of British intelligence on Argentine thinking just before the Belgrano was sunk.

In the wake of new reports from Buenos Aires that Argentine generals and even the "hawkish" Admiral Anaya, commander-in-chief of the navy, were moving towards acceptance of the need for compromise rather than risk a war, the MP has written to the Secretary of State giving warning that he intends to try to raise the question during the Queen's Speech debate which starts on Wednesday.

This will be no surprise to Mr Heseltine. But yesterday's Observer report confirmed what Mr Dalyell said he knew already, that 15-20 divisional and brigade generals and field

commanders met informally on the Saturday afternoon — 24 hours before the sinking — and agreed that they were not prepared for all-out war; a view reinforced at a further meeting at higher level that night and conveyed to General Galtieri. Quite separately, at about the same time, Admiral Anaya reportedly ordered the withdrawal of the fleet, including the Belgrano.

Mr Dalyell wishes to know when the MoD learned of these developments, and he will almost certainly be told. Ministers and officials believe that this kind of talk is, at best, wishful thinking and, at worst, malevolent mischief-making, given the enormous dangers facing the British task force at the time.

Mr Dalyell persists in believing that insofar as the Falklands issue made Mrs Thatcher what she is today, so its contradictions will eventually unmake her.

'Guardian' 20/6/83

THE GUARDIAN Monday June 20 1983

## **Company chairman defends business with invaders**

# **Falkland wool sales 'fleeced Argentiniens'**

By Paul Keel

The head of the Falkland Islands Company, which was attacked this weekend for selling wool to Argentine troops during their occupation of the colony, said yesterday: "They would have taken it, anyway."

The soldiers used bales of wool to line their trenches, but Mr Ted Needham, the chairman of the Coalite Group, which owns the company, said that the invaders were the ones who had been fleeced.

"It's quite clear that some of the islanders got a fair amount of amusement and entertainment in taking the Argentiniens for a ride, even though they were taking whatever they wanted," he said.

Speaking on BBC Radio's World This Weekend programme, Mr Needham said: "Under these circumstances, what would anybody else have done? If they were going to take this wool out of our warehouses they were going to take it, anyway."

Mr George Foulkes, the

Labour MP for Ayrshire South and a member of the Foreign Affairs select committee which recently visited the Falklands, was not happy, with Mr Needham's defence.

He said that under the circumstances of last year's invasion it seemed very strange for a British-based private company to be trading with an enemy. Speaking on the same programme, Mr Foulkes called for a general inquiry into the company's operations in the Falklands.

During his visit to the islands earlier this year he had heard widespread criticism of the company, which has a near monopoly of the colony's sheep-farming economy.

But Mr Needham was equally abrasive in dealing with the MP's call for an inquiry. He accused Mr Foulkes of having no genuine interest in the islanders and doubted whether he had even heard of them before last year's hostilities.



**Ted Needham: "amusement  
for islanders"**

'Guardian' 20 June 1983

## General strike <sup>Guardian</sup> 20/6 planned

SANTIAGO: Chile's striking copper workers held meetings with other unions yesterday to try to get them to agree on a general strike without which their action will collapse, informed sources said.

The Workers National Command (CNT), the umbrella labour group including the copper workers who organised last week's day of protest against the military government, is due to resume its formal sessions today.

The sources said small groups would be meeting to try to persuade the powerful lorry, bus and taxi owners to join the labour unions in a call for a general stoppage later this week.

The Confederation of Copper Workers (CTC) called its 22,000 members out on an illegal 24-hour strike last Friday when the CTC president, Rodolfo Seguel, who also headed the Workers Command, was arrested after last Tuesday's protest.

But there was no strike at Chuquibambilla, the mine which produces half the copper on which Chile's ailing economy relies.

The union said production in the other three principal mines was brought to a halt, but the state-owned copper corporation said the action had failed, sacked 1,800 strikers, and began hiring new labour.

The Workers Command issued a statement yesterday saying that all unions had put their members on alert —Reuter.

D. Express

18/6/83

## Bid to probe Falklands fund fails 18/6

A CALL for an inquiry into the running of the South Atlantic Fund was dismissed an unnecessary by the Charity Commissioners last night.

Tory MP Colin Shepherd urged an inquiry after a Falklands widow wrote to the Prime Minister protesting that some widows have been given more than others.

But a spokesman for the commissioners who "police" the fund, said: "We have no reason to criticise trustees of the fund. There is no need for an inquiry."

Mrs Lynda Gallagher, whose husband Sergeant Major Lawrence Gallagher, was killed with 18 other SAS men when their helicopter crashed into the sea off the assault ship Intrepid, was paid £28,000 with £1,000 each for her three children.

Mrs Gallagher said at her home in Hereford: "I don't think that system is fair." Average payment to Falklands widows is £38,000.

# MPs see hint on <sup>Guardian</sup> 18/6 Falklands

A junior ministerial appointment to the Foreign Office is provoking speculation among MPs that the Government is indicating to Argentina and other Latin American countries that Britain's stand on the Falklands is not inflexible.

Mr Ray Whitney, aged 52, MP for Wycombe and the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, is a former senior diplomat at the British embassy in Buenos Aires. He was head of chancery in the embassy for three years from 1969.

Baroness Young, the Deputy Foreign Secretary, who is a close supporter of the Prime Minister, is responsible under Sir Geoffrey Howe for Falklands policy. Mr Whitney will answer in the Commons for the Falklands.

MPs recalled yesterday that Mr Whitney won prominence in the Commons Saturday debate in April last year after the Argentinian invasion. He was almost howled down by MPs for appearing to question the wisdom of sending the task force.

One senior Tory, a former minister, acknowledged privately yesterday that Mr Whitney's appointment was surprising. Mr George Foulkes, Labour MP for Carrick, Cumnock, and Doon Valley, commented: "There is no doubt this is a signal to Argentina which I welcome."

"My view for a long time has been that Britain should be ready to negotiate the sovereignty of the Falklands with a civilian government in Buenos Aires. Such a government could be in office by early next year."

Mr Foulkes said that Mr Whitney's appointment was part of a pattern. A number of ministers and officials in the Foreign Office at the time of the invasion had now had their reputations restored with a series of awards and appointments.

These included the award of the Companion of Honour to Lord Carrington and the reappointment to the Foreign Office of Mr Richard Luce.



Mr Ray Whitney—  
Falklands brief



# Mgr Spraggon — Falklands' local hero

Catholic Herald 17/6/83



A military salute (left) as Mgr Spraggon (to left of picture) ministers at the reburial of Argentinian soldiers. The white-painted Catholic church, St Mary's, has been used by both sides.

"THIS YEAR I'm meeting all the important people." Mgr Daniel Spraggon may, perhaps, be forgiven if he feels not too badly satisfied with the way that things have fallen out in a year which has seen him dining with Mrs Thatcher at the residence of the Civil Commissioner at Port Stanley (and forgiven, also, if he refers to him still as the Governor), which has seen him accorded the honour of a twenty-five minute private audience with the Pope, and which will take him on July 20 in the company of Sir Rex Hunt to Buckingham Palace to receive the OBE from the Queen.

He has the air of a man who has done his duty as a Mill Hill missionary for the peoples he has served in a long and extremely active life, and of knowing that there is nothing more worthwhile that a man can do. He has served many years with the army in West Africa, and with the missions in Cameroon, and now he is the Apostolic Prefect — and parish

priest — in the Falkland Islands.

It must be among the least populated but the largest parishes which the Church has in its gift. But when the offer came while he was staying at his mother house of the Mill Hill Missionary Fathers in North London it seems that he did not regard it as a gift of dubious value. He slept only one night on it before deciding that having never before refused a posting he would not refuse this one.

And yet he knew it was a job for life. As a Vatican appointment of episcopal status he could not be moved on. That was twelve years ago, and in three and a half years time he will be 75, and must offer his resignation. But he has thrived on activity and an unpampered life, and he looks like a man with decades of good service yet remaining in him.

His military experience has served him well, because in the year that has passed since the Argentinian forces surrendered



to the men of the British Task Force he has seen his weekly congregation at the little metal-roofed church at Port Stanley increase from the 70 or so of the total of 200 Catholics on the islands to perhaps four times that number, swelled, as the population of the islands has been swelled, by the permanent British military garrison which has been established.

Mgr Spraggon pays tribute to the way that the army has striven to minimise the impact that its numbers have had upon the way of life of the islanders.

**This week saw the first anniversary of the recapture of Stanley. Martin Whitlock speaks with Mgr Spraggon (left) who saw the Falklanders through their war.**

It is a far cry from the behaviour of the Argentine forces, although they too swelled the numbers at the Catholic Church. Sometimes the Argentinian forces chaplains would use the church for their own services, but often the individual men would come to join his own services, being careful only not to be detected by their own commanders.

And sometimes he would find small groups of the Argentinian soldiers by themselves in the church, leading themselves in the saying of the Rosary. Some

of these soldiers made their first confessions and first Holy Communion in his church.

But he would not let the soldiers or any of their eight chaplains into his house because, as he says, it was important that he maintained his standing among his own people. That he found this *via media* between the call of Christian charity and his own particular mission to his people is a further indication of the profound value of his own field experience.

And since the liberation he has performed the re-burial of 223 of the Argentinian war dead. To this the people of Darwin have added their own gesture of reconciliation: flowers with the message "Our sympathy to those who died and the families who mourn. From the people of Darwin."

However, despite such outward signs of hope Mgr Spraggon is convinced that there is at present no basis for negotiation with Argentina.

Argentina is, he says, "like a school-child, who will have nothing but her own way." He cites the example of the dispute between Argentina and Chile over the Beagle Channel which has twice gone to arbitration which Argentina has refused to accept.

And no more does he believe that the British Government has mounted the "Fortress Falklands" policy purely for the benefits of the islanders themselves. The strategic importance of the islands as the "gateway to the Antarctic" should not be overlooked, he says. But he has no criticism for this policy.

Mgr Spraggon will be returning to Port Stanley where his assistant, Fr Austin Monaghan, has been holding the fort, in September. And whatever the next three and a half years may bring in that tiny corner of the globe we can be certain that there is one man at least who will take everything firmly in his stride.

D. Telegraph 17/6/83

# **FALKLAND SAILOR LOST OVERBOARD**

By Our Port Stanley  
Correspondent

A sailor serving in the Falklands aboard the frigate Falmouth has been lost overboard while the ship was on patrol off Port Howard, West Falkland. He was Deric Edward Lomax whose parents live at Shotton, Clwyd.

Guardian 17/6/83

## Falkland war still takes toll

By Martin Wainwright

NEW victims of the Falklands War are still being added to the roll of honour a year after the Argentine surrender. Doctors have advised the South Atlantic Fund that several recent deaths are partly attributable to the fighting.

Three cases reported to the fund have been accepted as war casualties on the strength of medical reports. Members of the task force have also developed psychiatric disorders.

The Secretary of the fund, Captain Tony Lambourne, said that previous conflicts like the

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*Cunard refit bill increased, back page*

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second world war had produced similar "delayed" casualties.

All the servicemen involved are aged under 35, with one described as very young.

They include one seaman who was hurled against a bulkhead when his ship was sunk by a bomb. He escaped without apparent injury but later developed a fatal brain tumour.

Another serviceman died of cancer after returning from the South Atlantic. Doctors told the fund that he might have failed to notice the symptoms because of the fighting.

The third victim suffered a heart attack brought on by the stress of the campaign. Other sufferers include sail-

Turn to back page, col. 4

## Falklands conflict still claiming new victims

Continued from page one  
ors who now find it intolerable to be confined in small rooms because of their prolonged spells at action stations.

The fund's acceptance of the men as war casualties contrasts with the official obstacle course which is familiar to applicants for compensation for delayed injuries from previous wars. Captain Lambourne said that the fund was able to take a more generous view than the rigid guidelines laid down for pensioners from the first and second world wars.

Medical opinion was usually the deciding factor and the doctors' association of the men's deaths or injuries with the war had been convincing.

The Royal British Legion said yesterday that delayed psychiatric injuries were familiar in servicemen from Northern Ireland but its deputy pensions adviser, Mr Peter Lowe, could not recall cases of delayed deaths from Northern Ireland service.

The legion is currently handling several claims over psychiatric injury to men who served within the Falklands.

The number of regular servicemen killed in the Falklands was 237, with 18 from the auxiliary and merchant services and three Falkland Islanders. There were 777 injuries, 443 of them defined by the Ministry of Defence as "considerable."

The South Atlantic Fund now stands at £14.87 million, of which about £8 million has been disbursed to victims and dependants.

The widow of an SAS soldier killed in the Falklands is to protest to the Prime Minister over the distribution of money from the fund.

Mrs Linda Gallagher, who is 31 and has three small daughters, was paid £18,000, and is not complaining about the amount but about the way in which some widows received much more than others.

'Guardian' 17/6/82

## Cost of Cunard refit up to £4m

By Margareta Pagano

Malta Dry Docks yesterday completed the controversial refit of the Cunard Countess, the luxury liner used to carry troops in the Falklands war, within the 44-day time limit set by Cunard.

But the original £2.2 million contract has been pushed up to £4 million to include additional costs not accounted for in the first quotation. Mr Eric Parker, managing director of Trafalgar House, Cunard's owners, said last night that the balance covered costs of the new generators and furnishings. Most of this furnishing, which will be done while the ship is on its way to the Caribbean, is being carried out by British contractors.

Cunard's decision to award the contract to the Maltese yard provoked a storm of protest, with British Shipbuilders accusing the group of imposing unacceptable time conditions and a penalty for missing the deadline. British Shipbuilders could only offer the work within 60 days.

The Countess, which has been worked on day and night, is due to leave Malta for the Caribbean on Sunday. The ship begins its American cruises on July 9.

Cunard also took out an 80 per cent loan in Malta to cover the cost of the work. The state-owned shipyards offer loans at a fixed rate of 8 per cent.

Picture, page 18

'Times' 17/6/83

**UK Falkland Islands Committee  
and Falkland Islands Association**

The United Kingdom Falkland Islands Committee and the Falkland Islands Association held a reception at Lincoln's Inn on Wednesday for the Civil Commissioner, Sir Rex Hunt, and the Falkland Islands Government Representative, Mr Adrian Monk. The guests were received by Sir John Barlow, Chairman of the UKFIC, and Mr E W H Christie, Chairman of the FIA.

*Falkland Islands Post*



D. Telegraph

16/6/83

## DEFENDING THE FALKLANDS . . .

THERE IS LITTLE COMFORT to be extracted from the all-party House of Commons defence committee report on the future of the Falklands garrison. Its conclusion is that it looks as if the problem of maintaining an adequate defence of the islands will be with us indefinitely and we might as well get used to the idea that we are going to have to spend a great deal of money—getting on for £6 billion over ten years. The committee is undoubtedly right about two things. First, the prospect for any diplomatic settlement with Argentina are entirely bleak. Rightly or wrongly, the Government has conferred the right of veto on the islanders. After their experiences under Argentine occupation it is safe to assume that they would take an exceedingly dim view of any flirtation with the mainland, however disguised.

The committee is also correct to say that adequate defence must be provided. However, where we might, tentatively, take issue with the committee's members is over the meaning of the word "adequate." The question which must be asked is the oldest one in the military textbook—what is the nature of the threat? Primarily, we are concerned to deter another Argentine invasion. At a secondary level, we face the possibility of small-scale military harassment. We might also conclude as part of this assessment that, after the experience of last year, the likelihood of full-scale invasion is not great. On the other hand, the Argentines might well find the temptation to deliver a few pin-pricks irresistible.

Paradoxically, the big but improbable threat is militarily easier to deal with than the one which is small and quite likely. As long as a runway substantial enough to accommodate the biggest jets was available (we would swallow hard and pay the £200 million required to build such a facility), combat troops could be rapidly deployed from Britain at the first sign of Argentina mustering forces for an invasion. A limited number of submarines and aircraft in place would also serve as a powerful deterrent. However, to be sure of repelling any and every minor hit-and-run raid an enormous permanent garrison would be required. If the burden of the Falklands is to be borne in perpetuity it must not be made heavier than is necessary to meet a main threat.

D. Telegraph 16/6/82

## Thatcher ends shuffle

By OUR POLITICAL STAFF

**MR** Raymond Whitney, Conservative MP for Wycombe and a former diplomat, was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office by Mrs Thatcher yesterday as she completed her Ministerial reshuffle.

Mr Whitney, 52, was one of the British diplomats in Peking during the cultural revolution who had to run the gauntlet of the Red Guards who surrounded the British legation.

He will receive a salary of £15,700 plus the Parliamentary allowance of £8,460.

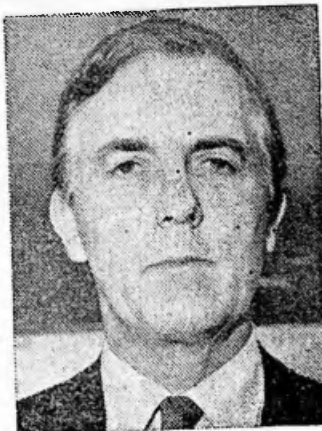
Mr Timothy Sainsbury, 51, a member of the grocery family, and Mr Michael Neubert, 49, a former Mayor of Bromley, have been made Assistant Whips. They will receive salaries of £15,275 plus the £8,460 allowance.

Further Government appointments of Ministers not in the Cabinet, additional to the list published yesterday, are as follows:

**AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD.** — Ministers of State: Lord Belstead, 50 (£24,200); John MacGregor, 46 (£20,575); Parliamentary Secretary: Peggy Fenner, 60 (£15,700).

**DEFENCE.** — Armed Forces Minister: John Stanley, 41 (£20,575); Defence Procurement Minister: Geoffrey Pallie, 47 (£20,575); Under-Secretary of State for the Armed Forces: Lord Trefgarne, 42 (£19,350); Under-Secretary of State for Defence Procurement: Ian Stewart, 47 (£15,700).

**EDUCATION AND SCIENCE.** — Under-Secretaries of State: Peter Brooke, 49 (£15,700); Robert Dunn, 36 (£15,700).



Mr Raymond Whitney.

**EMPLOYMENT.** — Minister of State: Peter Morrison, 39 (£20,575); Under-Secretaries of State: John Selwyn Gummer, 43 (£15,700); Alan Clark, 55 (£15,700).

In addition to their Ministerial salaries, Ministers in the Commons receive a Parliamentary allowance of £8,460.

Law officers—the Attorney General, the Lord Advocate, the Solicitor General and the Solicitor General for Scotland—are not full members of the Cabinet, but are called for consultation as are other Ministers.

'Spectator' 11/6/83

Spectator 11 June 1983

surrounding its despatch prevented the normal military assessments from being presented to cabinet. Not until the second week of April did ministers cross Whitehall to the defence ministry to receive a full briefing on risk. They came out thoroughly demoralised.

The full-sized aircraft carrier was able to launch reconnaissance, air attack and air combat missions with planes more powerful than anything available to the task force. The Argentinians had an Exocet-armed battle cruiser, plus six Exocet destroyers and frigates. They had Sea Dart ship-to-air missiles and two lethal Type 209 German-built submarines. More important than all this, they were within a day's sailing of home ports and enjoyed land-based air cover. Not surprisingly, the Royal Air Force felt the Navy had taken leave of its senses in careering off to the South Atlantic. The army staff were hardly more confident. The predicted Harrier and ship losses, not to mention the likelihood of a defended landing, defied every rule of military strategy.

Added to this was the fact that Admiral Woodward had only the haziest battle plan. The Argentine navy and air force had to be neutralised before any landing could be commenced. To achieve this meant luring enemy ships and planes out to the limit of their endurance and then eliminating them. The plan was highly fanciful (and failed). But given the resources at his disposal, what else could Woodward have done?

By the time of the 2 May meeting at Chequers, the war cabinet's mood was therefore tentative in the extreme. The whole voyage south had been plagued by arguments back and forth between Woodward, the war cabinet and the Foreign Office over rules of engagement. These had been progressively extended from covering pure self-defence, to defence against surveillance (including Boeing reconnaissance), to the maritime exclusion zone, to a 'defence area' round task force operations and finally to virtually the whole South Atlantic. The defence area was declared on 23 April, a week before the *Belgrano* attack, and was fully comprehended in Buenos Aires.

Britain had three nuclear submarines in the South Atlantic at the time. Already *Spartan* had located a minelayer off Port Stanley and been told not to sink it. *Splendid* had later located the enemy's powerful Type 42 destroyer group outside the exclusion zone but was detailed to disengage and go in search of the carrier group (which she failed to find). *Conqueror*'s 1 May location of the third main enemy group, the *Belgrano* plus two Type 42s, was first greeted with disappointment that it was not the carrier. What should Woodward do? Having broken off from the first enemy group and not found the second, he could hardly be told merely to play cat and mouse with the third, and risk it counter-attacking *Conqueror* into the bargain.

Much has since been made of a signal which the Argentine navy says it sent on 1 May recalling all its three battle groups to

## The truth about the *Belgrano*

Simon Jenkins

Sooner or later someone's self-control had to give. All parties had struggled to keep the Falklands out of the election campaign, but as Labour's desperation mounted, Neil Kinnock and Denis Healey could clearly bear it no longer.

Mr Healey's messy intervention, in which he said he was accusing Mrs Thatcher of glorying in the slaughter of South Georgia (where there was none), was simply daft. Mr Kinnock's was more deliberate. Like a tired entertainer confronting a groaning audience, he grabbed desperately at the sinking of the *Belgrano*, relying on Mrs Thatcher's patent discomfiture on the subject earlier in the campaign to get him by. The gambit fell flat. Or almost flat. Hindsight clearly makes lousy politics, but it does no service to history either. Just enough doubt remains about this one incident of the Falklands war to let speculation run free. Why does a nervous twitch come over ministers at any mention of the *Belgrano*? Why do they seem defensive, as if still holding back?

A year of investigative journalism into the *Belgrano* affair has produced few new facts and obscured many others. What it has not clarified is the state of mind of the British ministers who actually took the Chequers decision to attack the *Belgrano* at lunchtime on 2 May 1982. To understand this we must not rehearse the now well-known results of the sinking but go back to its cause — and to the yawning gulf which at that time separated the public's vision of the impending South Atlantic campaign from that of senior ministers.

The public's vision was wholly conditioned by the previous week's victory on South Georgia: the 'appetiser' to be followed by the 'big match' and the 'walkover', in Ad-

miral Woodward's reported words. Mrs Thatcher had then demanded we 'rejoice, just rejoice' on the steps of Downing Street. It was a much misconstrued phrase. She had in fact been reflecting her own personal and overwhelming relief at the outcome of the mission, which her war cabinet had ordered against some naval advice and which had almost ended in total disaster. To the public, however, this was unknown. The war now offered the spectacle of a continuous triumph in which the only shortcoming was the apparent unworthiness of the enemy.

To put it mildly, this was how it appeared to the war cabinet. To counter Argentine aggression, they had almost recklessly sent the first flotilla south from Ascension Island, under-armed to meet an enemy which, in any logistical equation, was more than a match for it. The political context

port. In the first place, not a word now uttered by the Argentine navy on its performance during the war should be believed. It is contorted with guilt and frantic to salvage some domestic reputation from the shambles of its cowardice. That said, such a signal, if sent, would have been the one sensible decision made by Admiral Anaya in the whole war. His best tactic by far was to withdraw his ships to various bases as the British entered the exclusion zone and make random sallies towards the task force at night or in fog. Three British submarines could not possibly patrol every inlet of the Argentine coast. It is the view of most naval experts that such a tactic, allied to regular air attacks, would have been devastating to the task force and could well have won Argentine the war. Anaya and his propagandists now know this.

In other words, irrespective of the *Belgrano*'s course or destination on 2 May, it would have been militarily irresponsible not to have put out of action so substantial a part of the enemy's arsenal. The *Belgrano* carried sophisticated directional equipment for guiding air attacks on to the task force. The lack of this was subsequently a bitter bone of contention between the Argentine air force and navy.

By the time the *Belgrano* was sunk, Britain was already engaged in a sea battle with Argentina. An air attack had narrowly missed *Glamorgan* and more attacks, including from the carrier, were expected by the hour. A torpedo against an Argentine cruiser was hardly an appreciable escalation of a bomb attack against a British destroyer. The British fleet was at this time in really appalling danger, with the odds against eventual success — though hidden from the British public — an ever-present concern to the war cabinet. Within the month, all five of Woodward's most sophisticated Sea Dart-Sea Wolf air defence ships (*Coventry*, *Sheffield*, *Glasgow*, *Brilliant*, *Broadsword*) were sunk or out of action. And this was after the removal of the entire enemy surface fleet from the scene following the *Belgrano* sinking. Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues were hardly likely to increase those odds by rejecting the fleet commander's request for an engagement at the start of the campaign.

These considerations totally overwhelmed all others in the collective mind of the war cabinet. With hindsight, the weekend of 1 May can seem like no more than the cruel prelude to an ultimately one-sided encounter. It did not seem so at the time. Ministers may stand charged with the recklessness of the whole adventure. They were certainly foolish in the bravura they encouraged in the popular media when caution and an awareness of risk might have been more prudent. It was undeniably unfortunate that the *Belgrano* attack took place outside the total exclusion zone and was followed rather than preceded by a new geographical zone off the Argentine coast. But this was a presentational rather than substantive point. The action was covered by the 23 April defence area declaration. If,

after that declaration, the Argentine fleet really thought it could cruise outside the TEZ (and launch attacks into it) with impunity, it was foolish. The sinking was militarily justified. All those involved in the decision regarded it afterwards as one of the 'least difficult we had to take'.

Militarily justified perhaps, but what of diplomacy? Was this not a limited conflict, not total war? What of the Peruvian peace plan? What of the accusation that the *Belgrano* was sunk deliberately to sabotage Francis Pym's negotiations in New York?

All wars are catalogues of coincidence and none more so than the Falklands. The fact that on 2 May yet another of General Haig's peace plans (disguised in Peruvian clothes) had reached a fruitful moment and that Francis Pym was in conclave with Perez de Cuellar was inevitably a gift to every conspiracy theorist. It sent Tam Dalyell MP into paroxysms and Paul Foot scurrying all the way to Lima, both to fall victim to a mendacity from Buenos Aires which might have put less partisan souls on their guard.

Mr Pym's dinner with de Cuellar in New York was purely exploratory and is really irrelevant. No UN peace effort had yet been mounted and there was no reason to impede Woodward's operations in the hope of one. Nonetheless, it is patently true that the *Belgrano* sinking pre-empted the first post-Haig initiative of Belaunde Terry (president of Peru). Galtieri told Belaunde on the Sunday night that there was no way he could proceed. He and Costa Mendes have both

since declared that they had accepted the Peruvian plan and would have signed it. But such statements are meaningless. The junta at the time was wholly under the control of Admiral Anaya whose all-powerful navy council had not approved the plan — and had rejected a remarkably similar one the weekend before. Anaya remained convinced throughout that Argentina would win. It was nothing new that Galtieri and Costa Mendes were for a settlement — they had also accepted Haig's various plans. Anaya was the obstacle.

After the sinking, the British war cabinet was privately horrified at the loss of life from *Conqueror*'s two torpedoes. The size of the ship had led them to expect only a crippling, with a modest casualty rate. John Nott was patently shocked when told of the scale of disaster in the middle of the next day's press conference. The war cabinet's enthusiasm for peace undoubtedly increased as a result and was only reinforced by the swift revenge raid on the *Sheffield*.

The opportunity for a Falklands settlement was probably never greater than in the week following the *Belgrano* affair. Both sides had suffered shattering traumas. Indeed Anaya might have been thought a convert to peace, with his contribution to the war now apparently at an end. Still he held out, opposing the resurrected Peruvian plan which Mrs Thatcher herself pushed through an emergency meeting of her full cabinet on 5 May. Had Anaya picked up this plan, the war would have ended, Britain would have suffered at least partial humiliation and



# LATIN INSIGHT' OF OFFICER PAVED WAY TO SURRENDER

By Maj-Gen EDWARD FURSDON  
*Defence Correspondent*

**A** YEAR ago today all the Argentine forces in East and West Falkland surrendered to Maj-Gen Jeremy Moore, the British Land Forces Commander, and the Falklands campaign was over.

This was the climax not only of a magnificent feat of arms, but also of a unique supporting psychological battle which had been masterminded by a very small team led by Lt-Col. Mike Rose, Goldstream Guards, with Capt. Roderick Bell, of 3 Commando Brigade Headquarters.



Capt. Roderick Bell

## 'DISMANTLE' CALL BY 'ARGENTINES'

By MARY SPECK  
in Buenos Aires

**ONE** year after the defeat that ended Argentina's three-month occupation of the Falklands, Argentine civilian politicians are ready to declare an end to hostilities if Britain will promise to dismantle her South Atlantic fortress.

Few Argentine politicians, however, believe that Britain is likely to dismantle the "island fortress" in the near future, and military leaders say that Britain is preparing to establish a Nato base in the South Atlantic.

"It's not only London that wants to stay on the archipelago," said former military President Roberto M. Levingston. "Nato has re-evaluated its global strategy and needs the Malvinas."

Senor Delindo Bittel, vice-president of the Peronist party, Argentina's largest political movement, said that all possibilities would be exhausted to bring Britain to the negotiating table.

"We'll consider declaring a cessation of hostilities if that's what England wants," he said. "But England must show it is ready to withdraw its forces and negotiate the sovereignty of the islands."

### 'Only one battle'

Argentine troops surrendered to British forces on June 14, 1982, after 74 days of war and more than 1,000 deaths.

But to the Argentine Armed Forces the surrender of Port Stanley was only one battle in a crusade to regain the islands. They have never formally acknowledged the war's end.

Now the military regime is preparing to hand over power to elected officials after nearly eight years of authoritarian rule, and civilian politicians are anxious to burnish the international image of a country known for the brutality of its military rulers.

"It will be much harder for England to deny the claims of a constitutional Government," said Elsa Kelly, an aide to the Radical party presidential candidate, Senor Raul Alfonsín. "The next Government will have international public opinion on its side."

Capt. Bell was educated in South America and possessed a deep understanding of the peoples' particular psyche of honour, machismo and temperament.

He is fluent in the idiomatic Latin American as opposed to the European Spanish language. Capt. Bell "was grabbed" — as the puts it—by Col. Rose to help prepare and broadcast carefully-tailored programmes to the Argentines, aimed at their eventual surrender.

On June 14, following the previous night's British battle successes on Tumbledown and Wireless Ridge and closing the inner ring around Stanley, Capt. Melbourne Hussey, the Argentine officer contact, suddenly spoke on the radio: "We're ready to talk; let's stop everything—a cessation of hostilities."

Capt. Bell answered that a team "would be there in an hour," but they agreed on 1 p.m. Within minutes orders went out to all the British units to stop their advance and hold their fire.

The British team of Col. Rose, his personal radio operator, Cpl Gunn, and Capt. Bell flew off in a Gazelle helicopter via Berkeley Sound to touch down briefly at an SAS outpost on Mount Low while a white flag was fitted to the helicopter's underside.

It then flew on, intending to land at the playing field near the Government Secretariat where they were to meet Gen. Menendez, the Argentine Commander.

### Teams across table

Capt. Bell recalls with some astonishment how they had only thoughts in broad terms of how the conference would be conducted. "We had no prepared position in depth," he said.

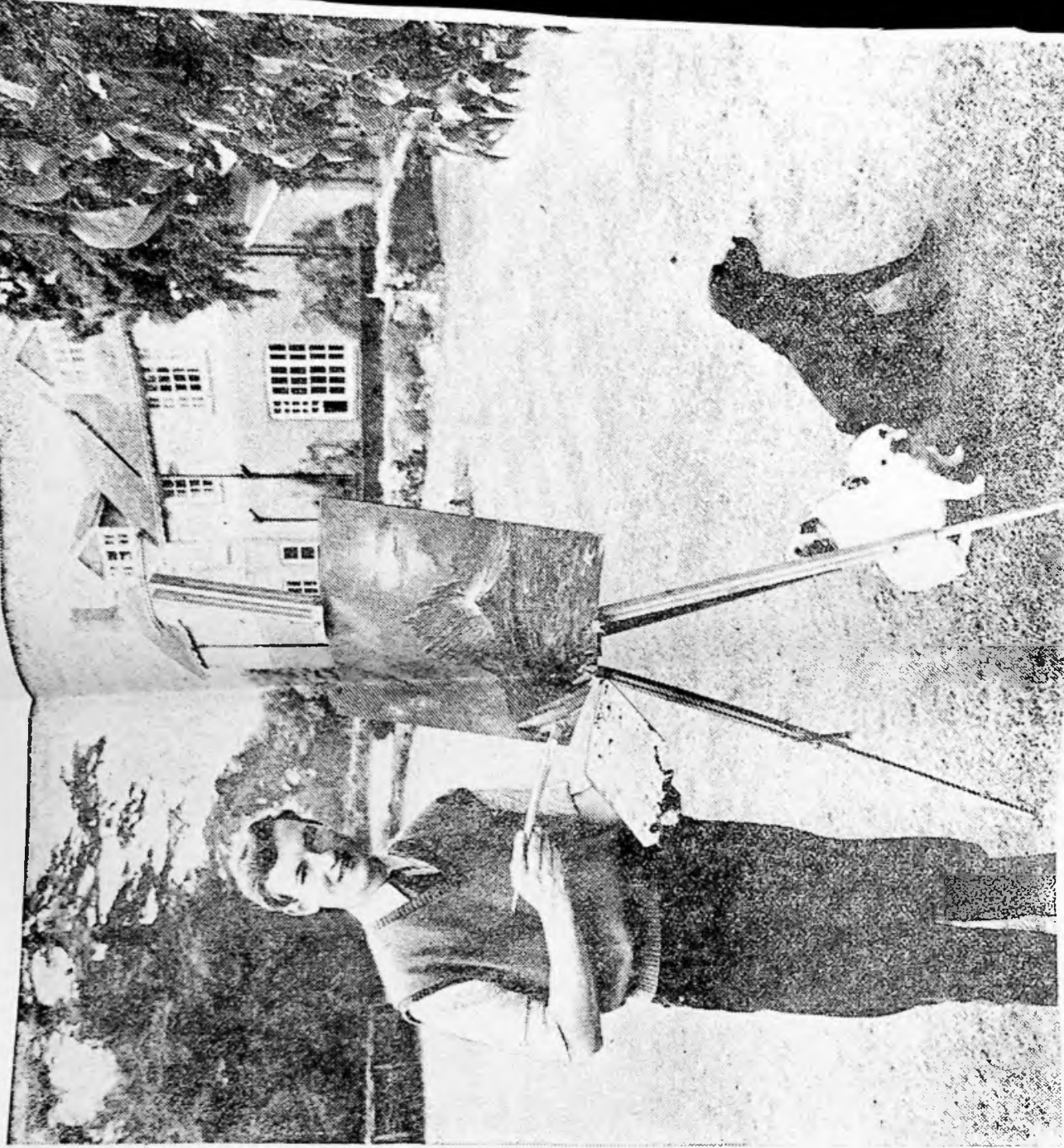
At the Government Secretariat building, Gen. Menendez and two staff officers were waiting. After saluting, he led the way into the Conference Room and the two teams sat down at the table.

On the British side there was only Col. Rose and Capt. Bell, with the intrepid Cpl Gunn by his side, looking out of the window with his radio aerial mast sticking through it.

Gen. Menendez was flanked by Capt. Melbourne Hussey of the Argentine Navy Education branch on his left, with Air Cdre Bloomer Reeves, a legal specialist and another officer on his right.

Initially Capt. Bell did the talking to break the ice, but then Gen. Menendez put his hands together—with the tips of both sets of fingers pressing into each other—and said they had to get down to the real reason for being there.

He brought up—to Col. Rose's and Capt. Bell's delight—nearly all the points the British had made so often in their radio campaign: The Geneva Convention; honour, dealing soldier to soldier; the "harvest" of war; both nations were of the West; and Gen. Menendez added, the only ones profiteering out of the Falklands battles were the Russians.



Lieut. Alastair Bruce, of the 2nd Bn, Scots Guards, completing at his Hampshire home a set of canvases depicting the capture of Tumbledown Mountain in which he took part a year ago today. A cousin of the Earl of Elgin, he carried a sketch pad with him during the Falklands campaign.

### Never explained way

The military Government has never explained why the country was suddenly thrown into a disastrous war on April 2 last year.

Although the wartime commanders-in-chief of the Armed Forces, including ex-President Leopoldo Galtieri, have been called to testify before military tribunals, the oft-postponed final report on the "Malvinas" was has yet to be published.

Argentine politicians unanimously support their country's claim to the South Atlantic archipelago, but few believe that last year's war would have taken place under a constitutional regime.

"The Argentine people are very nationalistic, just like the English," said Senor Leopoldo Telamanti, a Peronist leader.

"But if the military had asked the Congress calmly and objectively to analyse a declaration of war before they invaded the islands, I seriously doubt it would have been approved."

Senor Telamanti also said: "We cannot declare an end to hostilities while Great Britain is filling the islands with troops and maintaining a 200-mile exclusion zone."

read

"I didn't agree to unconditional surrender," Gen. Menendez said. "It is inconsistent with honour."

Gen. Moore accepted this and there and then crossed out the word "unconditional". He Gen. Menendez's request to amend the title of the Islands to include the words "Las Malvinas".

Very soon the "Instrument of Surrender" of four short paragraphs was signed by the two generals, witnessed by Col. Brian Penicott, and the war was over.

### Junta said 'no'

Finally, the teams came round to discussing the surrender terms—a document based on an unconditional surrender that was even at that moment being typed aboard Fearless, the Hibernia assault ship.

Gen. Menendez first agreed to negotiate on East Falkland only, but the British team replied that this was unacceptable. The discussion went on until Gen. Menendez adjourned for 15 minutes to speak to the authorities in Argentina.

Apparently he asked them for authority to surrender, but got the answer "No".

He then told them that as Military Governor he was surrendering anyway, and wanted no more air strike attacks sorties from the main.

On his return to the room, Gen. Menendez agreed to surrender, and said he would go off to brief his commanders accordingly. A meeting was arranged between him and Gen. Moore for 11 p.m.

The final conference, with the same Argentine team, started calmly and pleasantly until the moment when Gen. Moore concentrated the minds by saying: "We now would have been approved."

The British produced the prepared surrender documents from a standard but envelope — three copies in English and one in Spanish. Gen. Menendez immediately passed his copy over to his legal adviser to read.

"I didn't agree to unconditional surrender," Gen. Menendez said. "It is inconsistent with honour."

Gen. Moore accepted this and there and then crossed out the word "unconditional". He Gen. Menendez's request to amend the title of the Islands to include the words "Las Malvinas".

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'Guardian' 18/6/82

## Former Argentine navy chief detained

From Jeremy Morgan  
in Buenos Aires

Admiral Emilio Massera appeared in court yesterday to answer charges that he helped to cover up the disappearance of a business associate six years ago.

Court sources said that the former head of the Argentine navy arrived at Buenos Aires Central Court to testify for more than an hour before Judge Oscar Salvi, who ordered his arrest on Monday. Yesterday court sources said Judge Salvi had received anonymous threats.

Reports in the Argentine press confirmed that the admiral had returned from Brazil the previous day on a secret navy flight.

The security surrounding the flight was so tight that even Judge Salvi believed on Thursday night that the former navy chief had not returned.

Admiral Massera, who stayed overnight at navy headquarters, is thought to be contesting Judge Salvi's right to take action in the case of the disappearance of Mr Fernando Branca in April, 1977. The admiral's lawyers have unsuc-

cessfully tried to lift the detention order.

Legal sources said that the judge had yet to bring more serious charges, suggesting that the admiral might be freed soon, even though the case is apparently considered one of kidnapping and presumed murder.

However, Judge Salvi ordered the detention of two other important witnesses, including the missing man's estranged wife and a so far unidentified "close business associate" of Mr Branca. But three other key witnesses have died

since he disappeared.

Admiral Massera's appearance in court came after other appearances by leading members of the military regime. Former President Roberto Viola, who was removed by General Galtieri in a coup in 1981, was called to testify in the investigation into the disappearance in 1977 of Mr Hector Hidalgo Sola, then Argentina's ambassador to Venezuela. General Jorge Rafael Viola, the regime's first President after the 1976 coup, is also said to have been summoned in the case.

'D. Telegraph' 15/6/83

## **'Air raids' briefing for islanders**

By PATRICK WATTS  
in Port Stanley

**T**HERE was a noticeable urgency surrounding military movements in the Falklands yesterday on the first anniversary of the liberation from Argentine occupation.

With Phantom and Harrier aircraft regularly screaming overhead at midnight while undertaking special patrols, the civil administration reminded the public not to be alarmed by these practices "or indeed by any undue aircraft or other military activity."

People have been given a code of air raid instructions involving sirens and radio.

### **Still veiled**

The code begins: "In the unlikely event of an air raid threat," and ends: "There is no cause to be disturbed by this notice, which is being issued as a totally routine precaution."

But although there always had been unwritten instructions this was the first time official rules had been issued.

The anniversary itself was not a day of great merrymaking as the liberation monument could not be unveiled, owing to the non-arrival of the granite blocks from Britain. The main activity was a service of thanksgiving.

There was extreme disappointment that the ship carrying the granite had suffered engine trouble and was now in Gibraltar. For weeks shepherds had travelled to Stanley to help prepare the monument site, giving their services freely.

Times 14/6/83

## The ministerial appointments

The Queen has approved the following appointments:

|   |                         |  |                        |
|---|-------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Solicitor General   | Mr Patrick Mayhew       | Scottish Office  |                        |
| Privy Council Office  |                         | Minister of State  | Mr Hamish Gray         |
| Minister of State (Minister for the Arts)                   | Lord Gowrie             | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State                   | Mr Michael Ancram      |
| Foreign and Commonwealth Office                             |                         | Department of the Environment                            |                        |
| Ministers of State  | Lady Young              | Minister for Housing and Construction                    | Mr Ian Gow             |
|   | Mr Malcolm Rifkind      | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State                   | Mr William Waldergrave |
|   | Mr Richard Luce         | Department of Health and Social Services                 |                        |
| Home Office   | Mr Douglas Hurd         | Minister for Social Security                             | Mr Rhodes Boyson       |
| Minister of State   |                         | Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of State                 | Lord Glenarthur        |
| H M Treasury  | Mr John Moore           | Department of Employment                                 | Mr John Patten         |
| Minister of State (Economic Secretary)                      | Mr Peter Brooke         | Minister of State  | Mr Peter Morrison      |
| Department of Education and Science                         | Mr Robert Dunn          | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State                   | Mr Alan Clark          |
| Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of State                    | Lord Mansfield          | Department of Trade and Industry                         |                        |
| Northern Ireland Office                                     | Mr Christopher Patten   | Minister for Trade                                       | Mr Paul Channon        |
| Minister of State   | Mr Alick Buchanan-Smith | Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of State                 | Mr Alexander Fletcher  |
| Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State                      | Mr Giles Shaw           | Department of Transport                                  | Mr David Tripper       |
| Department of Energy  |                         | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State                   | Mr David Mitchell      |
| Minister of State   | Mr John Stanley         | Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food              |                        |
| Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State                      | Lord Trefgarne          | Ministers of State                                       | Lord Belstead          |
| Ministry of Defence   |                         | Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household (Deputy Chief Whip) | Mr John MacGregor      |
| Minister of State for the Armed Forces                      |                         | Lords Commissioners, HM Treasury                         | Mr John Cope           |
| Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Armed Forces |                         | Baroness In Waiting                                      | Mr Ian Lang            |
|   |                         |  | Mr Tristan Garel-Jones |
|   |                         |  | Lady Trumington        |

D. Tel. 14/6/83 (?)

### **SIR TRISTRAM RETURNS**

The Sir Tristram, one of the two landing ships bombed at Bluff Cove during the Falklands war, arrives back in Britain today for repair.

She is due to be off-loaded from the recovery ship Danlister off the Tees, then towed to Jarrow, where ship repairers can inspect her in order to tender for the Defence Ministry contract.

'Times' 14/6/83

# The day Argentina told Britain by telephone: 'Stop everything'

14 JUNE 1983 TIMES

By Rodney Cowton  
Defence Correspondent

On June 14 a year ago, the words came over the radio-telephone in Spanish: "We are prepared to talk. Stop everything." They were uttered by Captain Melbourne Hussey, one of the senior Argentine officials on the Falkland Islands.

Almost immediately the fighting stopped, and within 15 hours had been negotiated and signed. It was possible to accomplish this so quickly at least partly because the British forces had been trying to establish a line of communication with the Argentine forces for more than a week, transmitting messages to them twice daily.

The work was directed by Lieutenant-Colonel (now Colonel) Mike Rose of the Coldstream Guards, but the actual transmissions were for the most part made by Red Bell, now aged 33, a captain in the Royal Marines.

Captain Bell, whose father worked for the United Nations, had spent virtually all his childhood in Latin America, using Spanish as his main language. He came to Britain in 1969 and joined the Royal Marines.

Today he says: ("I sometimes wonder why they took me on because I could scarcely speak English. I used to speak and think in Spanish.")

That ability paid handsome dividend in the Falklands.

Captain Bell says that on June 4 or 5 last year Colonel Rose told him he was going to ask him to start talking to Port Stanley. "He told me what he was going to do, and how he was going to get in touch. I think Colonel Mike used me because I could assimilate what the Argentines could assimilate, and react how they would react."

The British had worked out that they could make contact with the Argentines either by telephone or by using the short-wave radio frequency on which Dr Alison Bleaney on Port Stanley maintained medical contact with the outlying islanders.

They were made at various stages from the assault ship HMS Fearless, and at other times from Estancia House, which was in the hills about 14 miles north-west of Port Stanley, the capital, which was known to the Argentines as Puerto Argentino.

Captain Bell made the first call, saying in Spanish: Puerto Argentino, here in Fearless. . . . They must have been monitor-



Victors and vanquished: Captain Bell, General Moore (top right) and General Menéndez.

ing that net. . . . We were transmitting perhaps 20 minutes before they responded. We were quite amazed. . . . Hussey said he understood my message, but that it was for governments to negotiate, and that it was not really for us.

"That was one of the few occasions that I actually spoke to anyone between June 8 and 14. . . . Even at this stage we were not talking about surrender. We were talking nevertheless about how we would treat

## Great admiration for General Moore

them - with honour, with dignity as soldiers, the normal sort of gallantry stuff.

"Our broadcasts by June 13 were a bit stronger, saying 'if we carry on like this and there is a subsequent bloodbath it will be your fault and the world will judge you for it'.

"We were by now saying openly that their position was hopeless, that they were completely encircled, cut off by air, sea and now by land, and it was pointless to keep on."

On the morning of June 14 Dr Alison Bleaney answered. After a brief conversation "she dashed off, and I subsequently found out pleaded with Menéndez, and then Hussey was dragged to the phone and he

said: 'We are prepared to talk'."

A little after that the message came through that white flags were flying over Port Stanley. But Captain Bell thinks that few were Argentine flags: "They didn't have anything white to shove up. The white flags were mainly the civilians saying don't shoot at this house."

Although the fighting then ceased, the British peace negotiators were not able to go into Stanley until about three hours later - about 1pm.

On arriving in Port Stanley, Colonel Rose and Captain Bell were taken to the Secretariat building and met General Mario Menéndez, the Argentines' military commander.

Captain Bell says: "At the one o'clock meeting we were negotiating a surrender. Menéndez said he could only negotiate for East Falkland, but that was not acceptable. They left the room for 15 or 20 minutes. Menéndez got in touch with Argentina who told him he could not surrender, but he said that as military commander he was going to surrender and did not want any more sorties flown from Argentina."

"He then came back into the room and said he would surrender East and West Falkland. . . ."

Later Major-General Sir Jeremy Moore, the British commander arrived, having flown by helicopter through a snowstorm to get there, and a second negotiating session was held.

Captain Bell recalls: "Menéndez was very solemn about the whole thing, but I think if he had been a different kind of man we might have had to fight our way through Stanley, to the loss of both peoples. I think he was humane and understanding."

"Menéndez said he had great admiration for General Moore. General Moore said: 'We now have this matter to resolve.'"

Surrender documents were produced in buff A-4 envelopes, three copies in English and one in Spanish.

"The Argentines said unconditional surrender was not compatible with honour, and the word 'unconditional' was crossed out, but General Moore agreed to the retention of side arms by the officers", Captain Bell says.

"After a reference to the Falkland Islands, the Argentines inserted 'Islas Malvinas', but this was rejected by General Moore."

That night General Moore slept in the bedroom in the Governor's House which General Menéndez had been occupying.



'Times'

14/6/83

## Belgrano sinking

*From Mr Alan Brownjohn*

Sir, Professor Draper (June 4) quotes me too selectively. I did not write that the Belgrano was "no danger to the exclusion zone". I said: "Whatever it might do later, the Belgrano was no danger to the exclusion zone during the vital hours in which the peace agreement might have been reached."

The communication to the Argentine Government of the general warning of April 23 cited by Professor Draper does not affect the argument about the precise relation between military decisions and political negotiations on May 2. The war cabinet had time on that Sunday in which to consult Mr Francis Pym in Washington about the progress of his talks; though exactly how much time we shall not know until the accurate log of the course of the Conqueror is published.

We know that they had lengthy discussions. But they did not consult Mr Pym, as he himself made clear on *Newsnight* on BBC 2 on June 2.

Mr Al Haig's original negotiations had failed only hours before, on Friday, April 30. What was the war cabinet sending Mr Pym to Washington on May 1 for, if it was not to seek urgent means of averting all the horror and grief of a killing war, maintaining the closest touch with his hour-by-hour efforts?

The wider question remains unanswered. In a different, nuclear crisis, the government of an indefensible target country would need to be in the most constant communication with its emissaries in foreign capitals if the logic and inexorable momentum of war were not to take over. In the case of the events of May 2, 1982, the British Government, as represented by Mrs Thatcher and her war cabinet, was not in such communication.

Yours sincerely,

ALAN BROWNJOHN, 14 JUN 83  
2 Belsize Park, NW3.  
June 6.

'Times' 14/6/83

TIMES 14 JUN 83

# Falkland casualty gets his old job back in reshuffle

By Julian Haviland Political Editor

Mr Richard Luce, who resigned from the Government with Lord Carrington and Mr Humphrey Atkins after the invasion of the Falkland Islands last year, has been reappointed to his former post as Minister of State at the Foreign Office.

His is one of 34 appointments

'Times' 15/6/83

Fair isle <sup>TIMES</sup>  
15 JUN 83

So smitten were Cindy Buxton and Anne Price with the Falklands while filming last year for Anglia's *Survival* series - despite being trapped on South Georgia for seven months during the Argentine invasion - that they returned to Stanley in February for the 150th anniversary celebrations. Now, in the week of the publication of their book *Survival: South Atlantic?*, we learn that Buxton has bought 50 acres of land near the Fitzroy Settlement, complete with a trout stream which she plans to make available to piscatorially inclined Servicemen.

⊗ One of my readers has spotted this most sensible clause in the fire regulations of an office block in Riyadh: "In the case of fire, evaluate the building immediately".

'Times' 16/6/83

## Galtieri's junta face the axe

From Andrew Thompson  
Buenos Aires

The three members of the Argentine military junta in power during last year's war with Britain may be expelled from the armed forces.

Reliable sources say that the "inter-forces commission", a special body set up last year to investigate the political, military, and diplomatic conduct of the country during the South Atlantic crisis, may recommend these sanctions against General Leopoldo Galtieri (President and Army Commander during the conflict) and his two colleagues on the junta, Admiral Jorge Isaac Anaya and Brigadier Basilio Lami Dozo.

These sources confirm earlier leaks on the work of the inter-forces commission, presided over by retired Army General Benjamin Rattenbach, which continues to hear testimony in offices in the National Congress building in Buenos Aires.

The commission of investigation, which also includes Brigadier Carlos Alberto Rey and Admiral Alberto Vago, retired officers from the Air Force and Navy, was originally expected to present its report to the present military junta this month.

The sources say, however, that because of the large number of interviews, the final report will not be ready until next month. The commission has questioned key figures of the war, including the three junta members, Señor Nicanor Costa Mendez, the former Foreign Minister, and General Mario Menéndez, the former Governor of the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) during the Argentine occupation.

All in all, just under 100 people have been called to testify.

The commission's report will be presented to the current military junta, with its recommendations. The junta is likely to withhold certain parts from publication and is expected to release a summarized version of the charges against the three former junta members.

If the commission recommends the demotion of the three officers, and the current junta accepts this course of action, the request for demotion will be passed to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, the highest internal military court, for a definitive ruling.

# Hot news from the deep, cold south

'The Times'  
16/6/83

Now that one can talk about the Falklands War again without fear of treading on an unexploded Labour MP, the true story of how animals inadvertently played a part in causing the conflict and then helped repulse the invader can be told.

Those intrepid lady explorers Cindy Buxton and Annie Price have today brought out a book *Survival: South Atlantic* (Granada, £9.95) with wonderful pictures of the harmless-looking fauna and flora of South Georgia. But they have missed my theory of the sinister political significance of the quite ordinary reindeer they met among the glaciers.

Their opposite numbers in Buenos Aires watched every move made by naturalists from the British Antarctic Survey in the years leading up to the invasion. They were searching for a sign that the British would pull out and I think that they may have found it by totally misunderstanding Dr Nigel Leader-Williams's work on reindeer.

Dr Leader-Williams, who was writing his paper "Abnormal Testes in Reindeer", used to struggle daily through the tussac grass to inspect the unfortunate animals' parts, which were not all they might have been because of the cruel climate.

Dr Ronald Lewis-Smith of the BAS said: "Reindeer are not indigenous and had been brought from Scandinavia between 1910 and 1925 to live in two remote regions." Spying Argentinian fishermen who had never heard of reindeer would have found talk about lack of "cojones" among the English very interesting indeed.

The word "reindeer" also sounds like the Spanish verb *rendir* which means to surrender. The generals in Buenos Aires were thus informed that the British were on the verge of quitting the Malvinas, surrendering because of the absence of manly fortitude and because a doctor had discovered the climate did terrible things to their "what-nots".

From there it was a short step from occupation by scrap metal merchants to invasion. "The Argentinians did kill reindeer; we had a strict permit control on culling when we were there", said Dr Lewis-Smith sadly. As in any war its always the innocent bystanding reindeer that suffer.

Other animals fought back against the invader, in particular the resolute brown rats which infested the conquistadores' sleeping bags, ate their food and led to at least one corporal shooting himself in the foot. These creatures became a "plague of giant rats" in the Argentinian press.

The South Atlantic fur seal, after years of being hunted, has a pceevish attitude to invaders. The BAS order says: "They are remarkably unresponsive to pain and are much stronger than you. To deter a seal prod round the side of the head and touch its whiskers with the pole. By doing this you mimic the cow's actions in warding off the bull."

"If the worst comes to the worst and you have found you have slipped on the tussac or tumbled into the harem area, or been knocked down by a bull, *lie prone on the ground*. Bulls have never been known to bite an adversary who lies on the ground. You may be nipped by adjacent cows but this is better than trying to fight it out with the harem bull."

The worst thing the young Argentinian conscript alone in the eerie tussac could do was run into young bulls who did not have a harem.

But since the Union Jack was hoisted, everything has got back to normal. "Now the Argentinians have gone it has been a success story," said Dr Lewis-Smith. "Penguins, seals, albatross and elephant seals are all breeding well and have increased in numbers because they are protected."

The British liberators could also be forgiven if they misinterpreted the Argentinian wishes to *rendir* (surrender) as some horrible Latin boast about reindeer. The Junta would be well advised to buy a large Spanish/English dictionary before any more adventures, though Mr Neil Kinnock will doubtless complain if it's a Penguin made in England.

When I told my cleaning lady about this new theory, she stood up very straight indeed, before commenting: "If a British doctor wants to take a reindeer from Norway to the other side of the world to look at its, well you know whats, then he should be allowed to do it. That's what freedom is. That's being British for you; they couldn't do that in Russia."

But there is a chilling postscript. When I asked if Dr Leader-Williams was returning to the South Atlantic, Dr Lewis-Smith paused for a moment as if reflecting on the enormity of what he was about to say, and added: "No, Dr Leader-Williams has gone to Zambia to do the same sort of work on the rhinoceros." He is a very brave man.

And, of course, any revolutions or wars in that part of Africa in the next few months must be purely coincidental.

# AIRPORT COST

**CONTRACTORS which bid for the massive Falkland Islands airport contract have rubbished an all-party defence committee report on the scheme.**

The report says that because the Ministry of Defence let it be known that the airfield would cost £200 million to construct contractors would bid at about this price.

The glaring inaccuracy of this claim is brought home, according to one of the bidders, by the fact that the John Laing/Mowlem/ARC consortium is poised to sign a £140 million contract early next month.

The report says that if the figure of £200 million was known to contractors it would be bound to have an effect on the process of tendering for the construction programme. Because of the great uncertainties involved in the project, a form of cost-plus contract is likely to be offered. Inevitably the consortia would be likely to start from the ministry's own estimate, adding the additional costs at a later date. This may ensure that the ministry gets the worst of all worlds.

One contractor dismissed these words as "layman's talk" and added that he was surprised that the committee had not been better informed of the project by the PSA. He added that it was quite normal procedure for government clients to estimate job values and that when pricing work the estimate was often given scant attention when faced with bills of quantities that had to be approached in a normal way.

As for the claim that the contract is likely to be "a form of cost-plus contract" this has also been dismissed. CN understands that the award will be on a fixed

price basis, although there may be some room for manoeuvre on prices if problems or delays arise.

The report said: "Behind the Ministry of Defence's rather confident prediction of the timetable for construction lie a number of problems of three types — the difficulties of construction, ancillary works, and costs. For neither of the sites, and particularly for March Ridge, is there the geological data which would normally be available in respect of construction sites in the UK.

"Much of the raw materials for the airfield construction will have to be imported and the construction workers will have to be sent to the Falklands with their own self-contained living facilities.

"It is a process which will be vulnerable to substantial delay or obstruction."

The report went on: "In addition to the new runways, construction at either site will also entail provision of all the main facilities of a modern airfield. Because most of the facilities at Stanley are of a temporary nature, they would have to be reproduced in any case.

"Not only will the airfield be the centre of air operations, but logistic and other support functions may also be moved there. All of this must be accomplished by a workforce who will have to create their own facilities to support themselves. The concentration of all the construction tasks at one time is a very considerable engineering job and may give rise to problems."

# ROW ERUPTS



'Times' 16/6/83

# APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE

## FALKLAND ISLANDS

### DUTIES:

The appointee will be both head of the public service of the Islands government and the Chief Executive of the Falkland Islands Development Corporation.

The Development Corporation will be created under legislation recently adopted in the Islands, following recommendations in the Falkland Islands Economic Survey 1982 ('Shackleton Report'). The Chief Executive will be expected to play a major role in establishing the Corporation and developing its working practices and strategy for the Islands. He will chair a small executive board handling all day-to-day matters, in addition to his role as a member of the Corporation.

The Chief Executive's constitutional function will be an equal call on his time and he will carry out the duties now fulfilled by the Chief Secretary and will deputise for the Civil Commissioner in the latter's absence. He will be supported in these responsibilities by a new post of Administrative Secretary, to be filled by an officer with experience of relevant government work, and by the existing posts of Financial Secretary and Attorney-General. The Chief Executive will be responsible for the direction and efficient administration of all government departments. He will be an *ex officio* member of the Islands' Legislative and Executive Councils, and will chair various committees, including those on finance, security, immigration and housing.

### QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE:

The job is a challenging one calling for a high level of commitment, energy and sensitivity as well as extensive experience at a senior management level and experience of stimulating economic development.

Experience of Government and/or local authority work would be useful, but is not essential. A loan or secondment from an existing employer would be considered.

**EMOLUMENTS:** Salary will be negotiable, commensurate with the experience and capacity of the selected candidate. An initial appointment of three years is envisaged, with the possibility of extension. Date required 1st September 1983, and earlier if possible.

The post is wholly financed by the British Government under Britain's programme of aid to the developing countries. In addition to basic salary and overseas allowances, other benefits normally include paid leave, free family passages, children's education allowances and holiday visits, free accommodation and medical attention. Applicants should be British citizens.

For full details and application form please apply, quoting ref AH372F stating post concerned, and giving details of age, qualifications and experience to:

**Appointments Officer,  
Overseas Development Administration,  
Room 351,  
Abercrombie House,  
Eaglesham Road,  
EAST KILBRIDE,  
Glasgow G75 8EA.**



## OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT

BRITAIN HELPING NATIONS  
TO HELP THEMSELVES

'Times' 16/6/83

## Chilean opposition leader arrested after day and night of protests

Santiago (AP, Reuters) - Armed plainclothes policemen burst into an apartment early yesterday and arrested Señor Rodolfo Seguel, the union leader who organized nationwide protests against the military government in Chile on Tuesday.

At least one person was killed - a boy of 15 - and 350 people were arrested as hundreds of thousands of Chileans joined in the largest anti-Government demonstrations in 10 years of military rule. President Augusto Pinochet responded by threatening to "crack down if necessary, whatever the cost".

Thousands of Chileans kept their children home from school, boycotted shops, blew car horns and banged empty saucepans.

Señor Seguel, aged 29, president of the copper workers' confederation, Chile's biggest union, was spending the night at the Santiago apartment of a fellow union leader, Señor Hernán Mery, when five armed men broke down the door.

Señor Seguel, his driver and Señor Mery were ordered to get dressed and were taken away without any explanation, according to Señor Mery. He was later allowed to return to his apartment alone.

A police spokesman later announced that Señor Seguel had been detained on orders from the Minister of the Interior.

Tuesday's disorders continued in the capital into yesterday morning. Police in small armoured vehicles cleared barricaded sections of the Pan-American highway.

The dead boy, Patricio Yáñez, was shot in a Santiago slum where protesters clashed with police, according to family and hospital sources. Two radio stations said the youth was shot in the chest as he stood in the doorway of his house. Relations said he was shot by uniformed police.

At least two other people were reported wounded, one of them critically. Police killed two people in similar protest on May 11.

Tuesday's protests ended with police charging into crowds along Santiago's main avenue, the Alameda. Thousands of people were there after being stranded in the city centre by a cut in bus services.

Correspondents who visited poor neighbourhoods to the south of Santiago during the night said the police had withdrawn from the area as rioters built barricades of burning tyres and showered them with stones.

The day protest was organized by a group of five trade unions to demonstrate opposition to the Government's economic policies as well as to demand a rapid return to democracy. It was described by President Pinochet as the work of Communists.

He said during a tour of

northern Chile that there would be no change in the constitution, which does not envisage a return to democracy before 1989.

● LONDON: Hostility was being expressed yesterday to a visit to London next week by a member of the Chilean junta, Rodney Cowton writes.

Admiral José Toribio Merino, Commander of the Chilean Navy, will be in London as part of a private tour of Europe. He will have informal talks with Admiral Sir John Fieldhouse, Chief of Naval Staff and First Sea Lord.

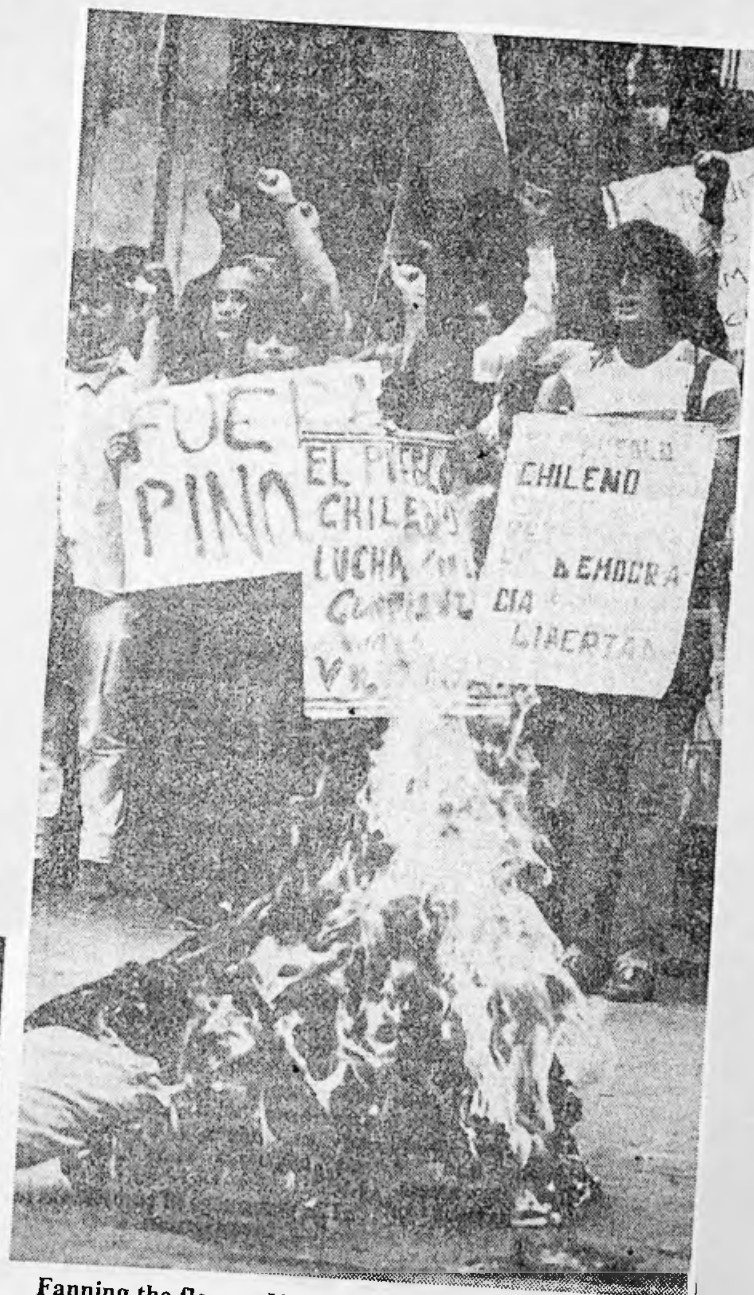
This has led to renewed speculation that Chile may be interested in buying the British aircraft carrier *Hermes*, which is due to be paid off by the Royal Navy in 1985-86.

P.T.O

The Times 16/6/83



Señor Seguel: Taken away by armed police.



Fanning the flames: Young Chilean exiles in Mexico City burning effigies of President Pinochet and his wife.

'Times' 16/6/83



**PENGUIN BOOK:** Cindy Buxton (left) and Annie Price, who made headlines last year when they were trapped by the Falklands war while filming wildlife on South Georgia, have written a book about their experiences called *Survival: South Atlantic*. They celebrated its launch yesterday — by visiting some old friends at London Zoo.

Picture by Frank Martin

'The Daily Telegraph' 16/6/83



The Hon Cindy Buxton (left) and Miss Annie Price, who were stranded on South Georgia by the Argentine invasion last year, in the safer surrounding of the penguin pool at the London Zoo yesterday to launch their book, *Survival: South Atlantic*. It describes their exploits filming wildlife for the Anglia Television Survival series. (Photograph: Chris Harris).



'Times' 16/6/83

### Government appointments

The Queen has approved the following appointments: Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Mr Raymond Whitney.

Assistant Whips: Mr Michael Neupert; and Mr Timothy Sainsbury.

● Sir Brian Hayes, and Sir Anthony Rawlinson, have been appointed joint Permanent Secretaries of the new Department of Trade and Industry.



# Falklands drain on Nato

THE COMMONS Defence Committee investigation of the Falklands garrison's future took as its starting assumption that "a negotiated settlement of the dispute with Argentina was unlikely, certainly within the timescale in which it is planned to make the major infrastructure improvements."

The Defence Ministry's evidence puts the timescale at three to 10 years. On that basis the all-party committee of MPs, which prepared its

**Defence Committee  
MPs fear resources  
may be overstretched,  
reports David Fairhall**

## Leader comment, page 10

report before Parliament was dissolved for the election, broadly endorsed the Government's plans, including the construction of a £200 million military and civil airport.

Such an airport would save £25-£30 million a year, the Ministry told the committee, but the garrison will continue to cost £175-£200 million a year for the indefinite future, even after the basic infrastructure is built.

The extra bill over the next three years, while the runways, roads and harbour facilities are constructed, will be about £1,000 million, bringing the cost of the war and 10 years of commitments to around £5 billion — similar to the initial estimates for the Royal Navy's Trident nuclear force.

Maintaining such a garrison will affect Britain's commitment to Nato.

But the MPs acknowledge that the impact on Nato will not be entirely adverse. Extra equipment bought primarily for the Falklands will enhance Britain's overall defences; the forces' experience has undoubtedly increased operational efficiency.

The Government has already decided in principle to build a new Falklands airport. Only the site, and whether one of the three tenders received by the Defence Ministry is satisfactory, remain to be considered in Cabinet — possibly next week.

The Commons committee had no access to tenders, but carefully compared the two possible sites — the existing Stanley airfield and a site at March Ridge, some miles to the west.

The existing Stanley airfield has a 6,100ft runway, adequate for Phantoms, Harriers and the Hercules transports. But to take wide-bodied jet transports that could quickly reinforce the garrison — reducing the permanent strength required —

a stronger 8,500ft runway is needed, with a further 1,000ft if they are to take off fully-laden.

The Defence Ministry hopes to start work in September and to finish in three years. In engineering terms, the existing Stanley site poses more difficulties, and is estimated to cost rather more than £200 million (with a 100 per cent contingency margin).

The March Ridge option is costed at slightly less than £200 million, but would require roads and harbour facilities, as well as generally increasing uncertainties in a project that is in any case bound to be "vulnerable to substantial delay or obstruction."

March Ridge would mean duplicating some defences, but would leave a smaller airfield at Stanley for emergencies. The islands executive council favours March

Ridge, but the MPs had no firm preference.

The Defence Ministry evidence justified the £200 million expenditure by pointing to savings in sea and air transport and other costs.

The MPs agree that the capital projects should be "vigorously pursued," but accept that such a programme — even the choice between Stanley and March Ridge — may have some effect on the search for a diplomatic solution to ensure permanent peace.

"We do not consider that infrastructure expenditure should be judged on financial grounds alone," says the report. "and care should be taken to ensure that the very act of such expenditure is not characterised by a posture of permanence."

They assume that although Argentina could not launch another full-scale attack in the immediate future, she is

capable of "military harassing operations" against which the garrison must be prepared. The reinforced infantry battalion currently deployed is "almost the minimum required."

The committee concludes that since over the next few years the dispute with Argentina will remain "as insoluble as ever," it is important to provide the troops with the specialised equipment, recreational facilities and general environment — in return for respect, on the troops' part, for the conservation of the local wildlife — that will maintain morale over a long period.

In particular, its report recommends paying a special Falklands allowance, plus an extra payment for those doing more than one tour every three years.

*The Future Defence of the Falkland Islands, HC-154, Stationery Office, £12.40.*

'Times'

15 June '83

TIMES 15 JUNE 1983

## Argentina demands talks on Falklands sovereignty

Buenos Aires (Reuter) - President Reynaldo Bignone said yesterday that Argentina was continuing to fight for its claims to the Falklands.

He described the British recapture of the islands after a 10-week Argentine occupation as a military setback and called on Britain to resume negotiations over sovereignty as suggested by a UN resolution.

Argentina "suffered a military setback, but it continues its 150-year-old fight to recover the sovereignty snatched from it by colonialism", he said.

"The Malvinas have been, are and will be Argentine, and

that is the whole country's decision."

The anniversary received low-key treatment in the local press and was overshadowed by wrangling in preparation for the presidential elections.

Only former conscripts who fought on the islands and political youth groups were planning anniversary protests.

⊕ A US Embassy van was blown up yesterday in a bomb attack which an Embassy spokesman said seemed intended to mark the anniversary.

Select Committee, page 4  
Junta man accused, page 6

'Guardian' 15/6/83

## And the money we won't

Not all Government efforts, of course, are expended on "getting our money back" (from Europe, or anywhere else). Sums of an uncannily similar dimension, indeed,

pour into other budgets as a matter of conviction. Now that there is definitively no election — and no Falklands factor to influence voting — the Commons Defence Committee has judiciously released the results of its Port Stanley labours and findings. They should be read soberly in tandem with the leaked verdict of the Foreign Affairs Committee which, a few weeks ago, felt that Fortress Falklands was no long-term option and that every possible solution — with lease-back top of the list — should be explored. Hard upon those conclusions, of course, Mrs Thatcher has pungently reasserted her belief that all such notions are out of court and that, indeed, the only possible way forward would be for Argentina to forget the whole thing. Since the lady is likely to brook no argument from those bedraggled remnants of the Foreign Office who still think diplomacy is a matter of give and take, we have an admirably agreed basis on which to study the Defence Committee's costings. The MPs reckon the dispute "over the next few years will remain as insoluble as ever." They are surely right. Their bill follows.

Briefly, they put the extra military costs of the islands over the financial years 1982-86 at £2.61 billion, to which may be added the basic costs in pay and equipment of the forces involved (set out at some £690 million over 1983-86 — the costs in 1982-83 aren't given). Looking beyond 1986, the Committee foresees additional costs running at between £175 million and £200 million a year, plus some £200 million in naval capital costs. The members decline to compute the price of any extra replacements to ships or planes which wear out faster in the wild climate of the South Atlantic. And there is a grey area between the civil expenditure already announced under Foreign Office ODA auspices and further military expenditure on secondary bits of infrastructure, like extra road building. The figures, of course, aren't adjusted for inflation. Nor, no matter how the Committee tried, can they be adjudged a neat package. The now approved new airport, for instance, is a project of a size to make over-runs of its current £200 million costing utterly conceivable.

If one was taking a ball park stab at interpretation, one might set the cost of the Falklands between 1982-83 and 1985-86 at a

'Guardian' 15/6/83

## Fortress plan and airport get committee's approval

# MPs back huge spending on Falklands base

By David Fairhall.

Defence Correspondent

The Government's decision to invest billions of pounds in a more or less permanent "Fortress Falklands," including a new £200 million military and civil airport, has received broad endorsement from an all-party defence committee of the House of Commons.

A report prepared by the committee before Parliament was dissolved for the general election, accepted that for the next few years the dispute with Argentina would remain "as insoluble as ever." The

ment, such as the airport's construction, should be "vigorously pursued." The site of the new runways — either at the existing airfield near the capital, Port Stanley, or a few miles away at March Ridge — has yet to be chosen.

But the decision in principle to go ahead, at a cost of about £200 million over the next three years, was defended in evidence to the committee on the grounds that the venture should pay for itself in reduced transport costs over ten years.

This gives some idea of the time-scale on which the military planners are working, whatever Mrs Thatcher's new administration may or may not do about seeking a diplomatic solution.

The report describes the permanent garrison as a "major burden" on Britain's defence resources which is bound to have some detrimental effect on our commitments to Nato as well as costing vast sums of money.

But it does not see any way out for the foreseeable future and concentrates its advice on ways in which the British troops can be helped to do a difficult and boring job.

Later, Mr Ted Needham, chairman of the Falkland Islands (Coalite) Company, said of the MPs' complaints about accommodation charges: "I am not aware of what the charges are for accommodation in Stanley, but who puts who up for £1.50 a night? How trivial can these people get?"

"It is a typical comment from people who are looking around for items with which to try to knock the Falklands Islands Company."

Full report, page 3: Leader  
comment, page 10

South Atlantic islands would therefore need defending "for some time to come."

The committee's report is critical in detail. It finds that some of the Defence Ministry's emergency airfield projects may have been "misjudged."

Some of its members evidently did not trust the Ministry's assurances that our commitments to Nato will not suffer, and were worried about the prospect of building a major new airport 8,000 miles away on a mixture of peat bog and hard rock.

The MPs also had a sharp word for the Falkland Islands (Coalite) Company, which is charging the army £1.50 a night for the use of some of its buildings.

But generally the report, published yesterday, accepts the Ministry's assessment of the military problem and what should be done about it.

In particular, the report recommends that capital invest-



The landing ship Sir Tristram, badly damaged at Bluff Cove, arrived back from the Falklands yesterday and was off-loaded from the recovery vessel Danlifter in the Tees



'Guardian' 15/6/83

## Chile navy likely to buy Hermes

By Martin Walker

Admiral Toribio Merino, the head of the Chilean Navy, is expected to hold "informal discussions" with Britain's First Sea Lord in London next week.

Admiral Merino, who has been in charge of Chile's navy since the 1973 military coup, will visit Britain on what is officially described as a private visit, but his meeting with the First Sea Lord, Sir Henry Leach, has led to renewed speculation that Chile is likely to buy the ageing British aircraft carrier, HMS Hermes.

The Chilean Navy is one of the best customers for second-hand British vessels, and recently bought two fleet auxiliary ships formerly HMS Norfolk and HMS Tidepool.

Chile's hostility to Argentina, and friendliness to Britain during the Falklands war, has

strengthened military links between the two countries. Since the Falklands conflict Chile has also bought Hawker Hunter fighter jets, and three Canberra bombers from Britain.

Speculation about the purchase of HMS Hermes arose last year in Santiago, when Chile suggested that her navy required an aircraft carrier to counterbalance the Argentine carrier, 25 of May.

Admiral Merino is scheduled to hold a series of meetings at the Chilean Naval Mission in London, which acts as purchasing agent.

The protest groups, the Chile Committee for Human Rights, and the Chile Solidarity Campaign, said last night that they would hold demonstrations "in view of the increasing repression in Chile last month."

D. Telegraph 15/6/83

## Navy's emasculation 'led to invasion'

By DESMOND WETTERN, Naval Correspondent, on board the U S S John F. Kennedy in the North Atlantic

**A**RGININA'S attack on the Falklands stemmed directly from the 1966 decision to scrap the Royal Navy's conventional carriers and "the emasculation of the Royal Navy over the past 10 years," the American commander of Nato's Atlantic Striking Fleet has claimed.

Vice-Adml James A. Lyons was speaking on board the carrier John F. Kennedy, 61,000 tons. He said navies formed a vital deterrent to aggression. But that posed by the Royal Navy last year had been "perceived as inadequate" by Argentina, he believed.

"If the United Kingdom had had one carrier with the Kennedy's capability, you wouldn't have had a Falklands. There would have been no way that the Argentine Super Etendards and Skyhawks would have got near such a force."

He felt that the key to winning any future battle of the Atlantic lay in "winning the battle for the Norwegian Sea" to prevent Russian forces, so far as possible, gaining access to the North Atlantic.

Adml Lyons is the Commander Afloat of a force of about 90 Allied warships, drawn from eight navies, in Exercise Ocean Safari whose main task is to defend two convoys, each of eight chartered merchant

ships, shuttling between Lisbon, Falmouth and the Azores.

For the first time for several years, four carriers are participating in a Nato exercise. With the John F. Kennedy is the British carrier Hermes, 23,900 tons, providing anti-submarine defence and close-range interception of "hostile" aircraft with her Sea Harriers. The British carrier Illustrious, 16,000 tons, is providing similar protection for the French carrier Foch, 27,307 tons.

Unlike the two British ships, the Foch has a full range of conventional aircraft including Super Etendard fighter-bombers, interceptors and fixed- and rotary-wing anti-submarine aircraft.

### Bigger carrier

This means that the British ships have to operate as a "second XI" in the air "war" to some extent, because even with new fuel tanks to give longer range, the Sea Harriers can only intercept intruding aircraft to a range of about 150 miles, compared with 1,000 miles for the Tomcat fighters from the John F. Kennedy.

Rear-Adml Derek Reffell, Commander of Nato's Anti-Submarine Warfare Group II, who also commands the Royal Navy's Third Flotilla, said the ability of the Sea Harrier as a rugged aircraft able to operate in very bad weather had been proven.

What was needed was an improvement in the weapons it carried.

D. Telegraph 15/6/82

# £200m AIRFIELD FOR FALKLANDS

## MPs SUPPORT

By Air Cdr G. S. COOPER Defence Staff

**F**AILURE to build a strategic airfield in the Falklands could be interpreted as a sign of weakness, reducing the prospect of negotiations with Argentina, says a report by the Commons all-party Defence Committee.

The report on the future defence of the islands says it is clearly of fundamental importance that government policy does not make a diplomatic settlement more difficult.

The 300-page analysis of the Falklands situation was published yesterday.

The MPs say they were not wholly convinced by the argument that the construction of the airfield at a cost of £200 million would diminish the likelihood of a peaceful settlement.

"It would be sensible to design an airfield for both civil and military purposes, the use of which would make the defence of the islands less burdensome to the United Kingdom and would enable the size of the garrison to be reduced so that it will be less of a source of potential discord with Latin America," says the report.

The Defence Committee heard in evidence from the Ministry of Defence that, once the strategic airfield was completed and the level of the forces stabilised, the additional annual cost of maintaining the garrison, the Royal Navy and supporting shipping would be between £175 and £200 million at current prices.

The new strategic airfield is assumed to cost £80 million in 1983-84, £85 million in 1984-85 and £57 million in 1985-86.

### Road access

Replacement of the present, very expensive, air bridge with wide-bodied jet aircraft able to land in the Falklands, and cuts in the cost of chartering ships, should allow a saving of between £25 and £30 million a year.

"Even allowing for the imprecision of the capital cost estimates, annual savings of this order would appear to justify the judgment that completion of the major capital projects should be vigorously pursued," the report says.

The Government is expected to decide this summer where the new airfield is to be built, and by whom. The report notes that although new runways and facilities at Mount Pleasant might be cheaper than at the more restricted area around the present airfield at Stanley, the cost of road access and more defence could offset that advantage.

But the need to keep an airfield open during construction and the subsequent advantage of keeping Stanley available as a diversionary emergency airfield present substantial arguments in favour of the new Mount Pleasant site, "provided that the costs quoted in the tender reflect a cost advantage" there, it says.

### Vast sums

It also notes that the continued air embargo of the Falklands by South American States makes the construction of a new airfield important, not least on safety grounds.

The MPs searched for an alternative to the "Fortress Falklands" policy without success.

"Had the decision as to the future position of the islands rested with us, we would have had the difficult task of reconciling the vast sums of money planned to be spent there with the restraints on expenditure applied elsewhere within the Defence budget to meet equally important political obligations," it says.

"We conclude that over the next few years the dispute between the British Government and Argentina as to the future status of the Falklands will remain as insoluble as ever. Diplomatic developments are therefore unlikely to reduce the need to defend the Falklands for some time to come."

The report highlights importance of not letting the commitment in the South Atlantic indefinitely absorb an unduly large part of scarce Defence resources. It stresses that Britain's defence effort is intended to be concentrated in Europe and the North Atlantic.

"We have pressed the Ministry of Defence to indicate where current and planned deployments have stretched resources and altered the declarations of forces to Nato and we are not completely satisfied by their reassurances.

"We cannot disguise the fact that there will be substantial problems and that there will be effects on Nato capabilities," the MPs say.

But the Ministry's re-equipment programme, paid for by extra Defence funds, should reduce the effect that the defence of the Falklands has on Britain's Nato defence contribution.

### Force levels

The Defence Committee considers the threat from the mainland and assesses that for practical and political reasons the launch of a major attack by Argentina on the Falklands is unlikely for some time.

"It is, however, within her military capabilities to engage in military operations to harass British forces by launching small-scale raids on the Falklands or the Dependencies, or by threatening British air or shipping communications with Ascension Island.

"This is a strategy which could have serious implications for the force levels required by British commanders, and for the state of readiness required."

The report observes that the military potential represented by the aggregate inventory of Argentine weapons, including new submarines and aircraft, poses a major intelligence problem.

### Logistic support

"The lessons of 1982 about the vital importance of intelligence and the correct reaction to it, and also of having reinforcement plans ready, clearly have been learned. In future it will be essential to identify the genuine threat when it is posed," the report warns.

The committee stresses that the strength of the Army's reinforced infantry battalion in the islands is "almost the minimum required."

The greatest potential reductions in the garrison are identified as in the area of logistic support, for example bakery and laundry services, which might be provided locally.

The MPs found considerable cause for concern in the rents being charged for soldiers' accommodation in buildings owned by the Falklands Islands (Coalite) Company. The charge of £1.50 a night was "disturbingly high in the light of the Forces' contribution to the regaining by the company of its livelihood," the report says.

The committee consisted of 10 members under the chairmanship of Sir Timothy Kitson. The chairman and seven members — Mr Richard Crawshaw, Mr Dick Douglas, Dr John Gilbert, Sir John Langford-Holt, Mr Michael Marshall, Mr Michael Mates and Mr Chris Patten — visited the Falklands and Ascension Island for a week in February.

The remaining members were Mr Bernard Conlan, Mr Bruce George and Sir Patrick Wall.

Third Report from the Defence Committee: The Future Defence of the Falkland Islands, HMSO London, £12.40 net.

D. Telegraph 15/6/83

# Downing Street list of appointments

**E**IGHT MPs join the reshuffled Thatcher government from the backbenches and there are 11 promotions from within in the list of appointments from Downing Street published yesterday.

Altogether, there are about 60 changes from the Prime Minister's previous Government.

## The Cabinet

PRIME MINISTER, First Lord of the Treasury, Minister for the Civil Service.

Mrs Thatcher, 57 (£52,800)

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL,  
LEADER OF THE LORDS

Mr Whitelaw, 64 (£28,950)

LORD CHANCELLOR

Lord Hailsham, 75 (£52,500)

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY

Sir Geoffrey Howe, 56 (£22,950)

HOME SECRETARY

Leon Brittan, 45 (£28,950)

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

Nigel Lawson, 51 (£28,950)

EDUCATION SECRETARY

Sir Keith Joseph, 65 (£28,950)

NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY

Mr Prior, 55 (£28,950)

ENERGY SECRETARY

Peter Walker, 51 (£28,950)

DEFENCE SECRETARY

Mr Heseltine, 50 (£28,950)

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND

George Younger, 51 (£28,950)

SECRETARY FOR WALES

Nicholas Edwards, 49 (£28,950)

ENVIRONMENT SECRETARY

Patrick Jenkin, 56 (£28,950)

LORD PRIVY SEAL AND LEADER OF THE COMMONS

John Biffen, 62 (£28,950)

SECRETARY FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

Norman Fowler, 45 (£28,950)

EMPLOYMENT SECRETARY

Mr Tebbit, 52 (£28,950)

SECRETARY FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Cecil Parkinson, 51 (£28,950)

CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER

Lord Cockfield, 66 (£28,950)

TRANSPORT SECRETARY

Tom King, 50 (£28,950)

AGRICULTURE MINISTER

Michael Jopling, 52 (£28,950)

CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY

Peter Rees, 56 (£28,950)

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Sir Michael Havers, Q C, 60 (£50,700)

LORD ADVOCATE

Lord Mackay of Clashfern, Q C, 55 (£29,000)

SOLICITOR GENERAL

Patrick Mayhew, Q C, 53 (£25,350)

SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND

Peter Lovat Fraser, Q C, 56 (£21,750)

## Ministers not in Cabinet

**ENERGY.** — Minister of State: Alick Buchanan-Smith, 51 (£20,575); Secretaries of State: The Earl of Avon, 52 (£19,350); Giles Shaw, 51 (£15,700).

**ENVIRONMENT.** — Minister for Local Government: Lord Ballwin, 60 (£24,200); Minister for Housing and Construction: Ian Gow, 46 (£20,575); Under-Secretaries of State: Neil Macfarlane, 47 (£15,700); Sir George Young, 41 (£15,700); William Waldergrave, 36 (£15,700).

**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE.** — Ministers of State: Baroness Young, 56 (£24,200); Malcolm Rifkind, 36 (£20,575); Richard Luce, 46 (£20,575); Minister for Overseas Development: Timothy Raison, 53 (£20,575).

**HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY.** — Minister for Health: Kenneth Clarke, QC, 42 (£20,575); Minister for Social Security: Dr Rhodes Boyson, 58 (£20,575); Under-Secretaries of State: Antony Newton, 45 (£15,700); John Patten, 37 (£15,700); Lord Glenarthur, 38 (£19,350).

**HOME OFFICE.** — Ministers of State: Douglas Hurd, 53 (£20,575); David Waddington, QC, 53 (£20,575); Under-Secretaries of State: Lord Elton, 53 (£19,350); David Mellor, 34 (£15,700).

**NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE.** — Ministers of State: Adam Butler, 41 (£20,575); Earl of Mansfield, 52 (£24,200); Under-Secretaries of State: Nicholas Scott, 50 (£15,700); Christopher Patten, 39 (£15,700).

**PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE.** — Minister for the Arts: The Earl of Gowrie, 43 (£24,200).

**SCOTTISH OFFICE.** — Minister of State: Hamish Gray, 53, who becomes a Life Peer (£24,200); Under-Secretaries of State: Allan Stewart, 41 (£15,700); John MacKay, 44 (£15,700); Michael Ancram, 47 (£15,700).

**DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY.** — Minister for Trade: Paul Channon, 47 (£20,575); Minister of State for Industry and Information Technology: Kenneth Baker, 48 (£20,575); Minister of State: Norman

Lamont, 41 (£20,575); Under-Secretaries of State: John Butcher, 37 (£15,700); Alexander Fletcher, 53 (£15,700); David Trippier, 37 (£15,700).

**TRANSPORT.** — Under-Secretaries of State: Mrs Lynda Chalker, 41 (£15,700); David Mitchell, 55 (£15,700).

**TREASURY.** — Financial Secretary: Nicholas Ridley, 54 (£20,575); Minister of State: Barney Hayhoe, 57 (£20,575); Minister of State (Economic Secretary): John Moore, 45 (£20,575); Parliamentary Secretary: John Wakeham, 50 (£21,450).

**LORDS COMMISSIONERS.** — Alastair Goodlad, 40 (£15,275); Donald Thompson, 52 (£13,275); David Hunt, 41 (£13,275); Ian Lang, 43 (£13,275); Tristan Garel-Jones, 42 (£13,275).

**ASSISTANT WHIPS.** — Archibald Hamilton, 41 (£13,275); John Major, 40 (£13,275); Douglas Hogg, 58 (£13,275).

**WELSH OFFICE.** — Minister of State: John Stradling Thomas, 58 (£20,575); Under-Secretary of State: Wyn Roberts, 52 (£15,700).

In addition to their Ministerial salaries, Ministers in the Commons receive a Parliamentary allowance of £8,460.

**THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.** — Treasurer: John Cope, 46 (£20,575); Comptroller: Carol Mather, 64 (£15,275); Vice-Chamberlain: Robert Boscawen, 60 (£13,275); Captain of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms: Lord Denham, 56 (£24,200); Captain of the Queen's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard: Earl of Swinton, 46 (£19,350); Lords in Waiting: Viscount Long, 54 (£16,925); Lord Lyell, 44 (£16,925); Lord Skelmersdale, 58 (£16,925); Lord Lucas of Chilworth, 56 (£16,925); Baroness in Waiting: Baroness Trumpington, 60 (£16,925); Second Church Estates Commissioner: Sir William van Straubenzee, 58 (£14,500).

There are a few more whip appointments to be announced.

D. Telegraph 15/6/83

TELEVISION

RICHARD LAST

## Tea and tears in Stanley

THE surrender at Port Stanley on June 14, 1982, must have been a very English occasion. "Menendez didn't like the word 'unconditional,' so we crossed it out. After all, if he was going to surrender, I didn't much care what the wording was. Then we all had tea."

Maj-Gen. Sir Jeremy Moore, Commander of Land Forces in the Falklands, and the man who introduced his Argentine opponent to British tea and compromise, was to have been the focus of last night's anniversary retrospective. Being a modest sort of chap, he didn't much care for that either. So instead Malcolm Brown's documentary took in some two dozen other veterans of the war as well: Paras, sailors, pilots, Royal Marines, nurses, the odd civilian.

So much was written, broadcast, screened, and instant-paperbacked at the time of the South Atlantic conflict and its immediate aftermath that there was not a great deal new for *The Falklands Experience* (BBC-1) to say. Yet the analysis of courage and human

reaction to extraordinary circumstances must always have value. Twelve months on, the reflections garnered by Brian Hanrahan did not differ much from those he so memorably elicited in the heat of battle.

For virtually all of the young and not so young men he spoke to, fear of the unthinkable seems to have been mercifully tempered by the adrenalin of action. "I suppose the shock of realising that someone was actually trying to put holes in your little pink body lasted less than a second. Then your brain just clicked into normal operating mode," said an RAF pilot. The RN captain who survived the Atlantic Conveyor attack recalled: "I was quite cool at the time. It was only when I got a cup of tea inside me that it came home how frightened I had been." "Fear of dying? No problem," claimed a tough Para. "It's always going to be somebody else."

Perhaps the most striking testimony came from a young casualty—one of several interviewed—who had lost a leg. "All I remember was this big thudding sound. I looked down

and saw what had happened to me leg. But there was no pain. I was just numb from the waist down. What did I think about? Mostly, whether I was going to make it."

On board the *Uganda*, a senior nurse remembered, the amputees gave each other model parrots. "In a normal ward it would have been horrific. In these conditions it didn't seem out of place. They all laughed with each other. The worst thing for most of them was worrying how their wives and families would react."

Gen. Moore himself, now a distinguished recruit to the army of the unemployed, came over as a decent, caring, humane commander whose concern was to minimise slaughter. You believed him when he said he became a soldier in the hope of helping to prevent war, not because he enjoyed it.

In contrast, a Royal Marine captain admitted that he had found a lot of the things he had been called on to do "stimulating." "There's no greater buzz than surviving. You don't consciously think about risking your life. The real fear is not of death or injury, but of being afraid."

Both attitudes inevitably have a place in the human lunacy we call war. For the civilian onlooker, recoiling from the brute realities of death and mutilation, the dilemma must always be to reconcile even a necessary conflict, as the Falklands clearly was, with the loss of young lives, and the enviable courage and comradeship of battle with the obscenity of slaughter. As a pretty young Falklander put it, remembering the moment of peace: "I didn't know whether to laugh or cry. So I ended up crying."



D. Telegraph 15/6/83

## Liberation celebrated in Falklands

By PATRICK WATTS  
in Port Stanley

THE Anglican cathedral in Stanley was packed out yesterday to commemorate the first anniversary of the liberation of the Falklands.

Units representing all military forces in the islands attended together with the local defence corps, many of whom lined the steps leading into the cathedral.

Every pew was taken 15 minutes before the service began and late-comers had to stand in the aisles and outside the church where loudspeakers had been erected.

The military and civil commissioners read lessons, the band of the Royal Irish Rangers played hymns, and a lone piper played a Lament.

Relatives of the three civilians killed last year in Stanley attended.

The address, given by Father Augustin Monaghan, reminded the congregation of last year's events and described the people of Stanley as having been confined to a "prison camp" bordered by four main streets.

The liberation was a "wonderful miracle."

### Baking cakes

He spoke of the determination of the local people, telling of one woman who began baking cakes two days after the invasion "in readiness for our boys when they return."

Father Monaghan said that the British Servicemen who had died gave their lives that "we could go forward together."

"We should not look back but look forward and build so that nothing like that should happen again."

We should thank Almighty God for giving us a Government that would stand by and defend the God-given right of freedom and justice.

"Let us go forward with that torch for a future life where our children and ourselves can live in peace and harmony."

Three military chaplains representing the Army, Royal Navy and R A F said prayers.

Following the service the Acting Civil Commissioner, Mr Dick Baker, entertained 120 guests at an official liberation day anniversary party at Government House.

All civilians who were decorated or commended for their actions during the conflict attended.

D. Telegraph 15/6/83

### SOVEREIGNTY TALKS CALL BY BIGNONE

President Bignone of Argentina said yesterday that Argentina was continuing to fight for its claims to the Falkland Islands despite its defeat by Britain one year ago.

In a statement, Gen. Bignone described the British recapture of the islands after a 10-week occupation by Argentine forces as a military setback. He called on Britain to resume negotiations over sovereignty as suggested by a United Nations resolution.

Argentina "suffered a military setback, but it continues its 150-year-old fight to recover the sovereignty snatched from it by colonialism," he said in the only official statement on today's anniversary of the surrender.—Reuter.

**MPs back airfield and  
picture—P5**

'Times'

15 June '83

15 JUNE 1983

TIMES

NEWS/LAW

# New Falklands airport to cut costs suggested by MPs

By Rodney Cowton, Defence Correspondent

The Government should press ahead with capital spending projects in the Falkland Islands, including building a new airport, as quickly as possible to achieve savings on annual running costs, a Commons committee recommended yesterday.

That is one of the central conclusions of a report by the defence committee published on the first anniversary of the surrender of the Argentine forces in the islands.

The committee says it is important that the commitment in the South Atlantic should not indefinitely absorb an unduly large part of scarce defence resources.

The report was finished immediately before the dissolution of the last Parliament. It was produced under the chairmanship of Sir Timothy Kitson, who has now retired from the Commons.

Among the points made by the committee are:

1 The scale of the commitment to the defence of the Falkland Islands does not at present have a significant impact on the capacity of the Armed Forces to fulfil other tasks, but there is the danger that it could affect Britain's contribution to Nato.

2 For both political and military reasons it would be difficult for Argentina to launch a new attack on the islands in the immediate future, but Argen-

tina is capable of military operations to harass British forces in the islands.

3 With the arrival in due course of patrol craft and other equipment it will be possible to reduce the number of destroyers and frigates deployed in the South Atlantic, although the committee sees no possibility of reducing the submarine deterrent required unless there is a change in the politico-military situation.

4 The committee says it is a matter of high priority that a special financial allowance is established on a permanent basis for forces serving on the Falklands. Major-General D. C. Thorne, former commander of British Forces in the Falklands, had recommended an allowance of £3 a day.

5 The committee is critical of rent being charged by the Falkland Islands (Coalite) Company for use of some of its buildings as accommodation for infantry. "The rents being levied for this accommodation of £1.50 a night are disturbingly high".

Last night, Mr Adrian Monk, Falklands government representative in London, said it was unfair to single out Coalite for criticism. "What would you have got in this country for £1.50 a night?"

*The Future Defence of the Falkland Islands*, (Stationery Office; £5.10).

'Guardian' 14/6/83

## Painful Falkland memories relived

By Gareth Parry

PORT Stanley was won back by the British a year ago today. A young Royal Marine is asked about his memories. "You tend to forget a lot of the bad ones. I just remember the funny ones, and the laughs, the same as everything. I hope I never have to repeat that, actually . . . the rest we tend to sort of put into little boxes, I think. Little boxes in the mind."

Marine Barrie Gilbert was one of the lucky ones who escaped from the nightmarish world of snow, wet, cold and darkness which was the reality of the Falklands war, while Britain rejoiced in the summer time. The memories of some of the men and women who took part in one of history's more unlikely events are still fresh and real. They are recounted in *The Falklands Experience* on BBC television tonight.

Gilbert's reflections are by no means unique, and only one or two of the men who spoke to reporter Brian Hanrahan confessed to enjoying the "buzz" of action.

Major-General Sir Jeremy Moore, who led the British land forces, saw the height of his professional career when the Argentine forces surrendered to him. "This is the room, that's the table," said the general, revisiting the unremarkable historic site. He presented the surrender document to his enemy. "He signed it, I signed it, and there we were — the war was over and we all had tea."

Captain Michael Barrow of HMS Glamorgan, which was hit by an Exocet missile which killed many sailors, said: "It was a fear of being attacked, rather than the actual attack, which gripped most people. Once the attacks were on, or we were doing something to the enemy, then you forgot fear. It's the waiting for fear, and it was perhaps the waiting by people deep down on the ship, who felt the fear more than any others."

Like so many others, Commodore Michael Clapp could not put his loved ones out of his mind. His cabin was decorated with family photographs.

A para recalls moving towards Darwin, where the British troops were heavily outnumbered. General Moore's belief that "the man who wins an early battle establishes a moral superiority" was not enjoined by the fighting men. "I was shit scared, basically, we had to do attacks," said the paratrooper.

Another para recalled the "large thudding sound" as his leg was blown off. "I thought I was all right. I didn't feel any immediate pain, and then I looked down and I saw the damage to my leg, and then screamed."

'Guardian' 14/6/83

## A lady she can trust

LADY Young's appointment as Minister of State at the Foreign Office — effectively deputy Foreign Secretary — goes a long way to soften the blow of being demoted from the Cabinet, where Mr Whitelaw replaced her as Leader of the Lords.

It is also a further indication of the Prime Minister's wish to have ministers at the FO whom she can trust and who pose no real threat as she prepares to take a closer personal interest in foreign affairs. Lady Young — who was the only other woman in the Cabinet — is a relatively close friend of Mrs Thatcher.

She will take over from Mr Douglas Hurd, a former diplomat and an intellectual heavyweight who was linked in the Foreign Office.

Richard Norton-Taylor

## A living war memorial

On the first anniversary of the Argentinian surrender, the BBC is showing *The Falklands Experience*, which records memories of soldiers who fought in the 'curious little war'. Duncan Campbell reports, and reflects that for some the battle will never be over.

when the surrender was signed and taken to bleak battle grounds. It's as anti-climactic, however, as if a Cup-winning captain was taken round Wembley stadium a few months after the event by Jimmy Hill... "so this is where Smith won a free kick, is it?"

What comes across, of course, is the courage, comradeship and ability to survive even the ghastliest injuries with black humour. Amputees aboard the hospital ship, recalls Nurse Jean Kidd, were offered toy parrots by their mates. But...

People from outside Britain have often expressed astonishment at the way in which we have continued to wage the Second World War on our screens and in

our comics years and years after it was all over. Now we have another war—albeit a "curious little war," as the programme describes it—do we run the risk of loving it to death, too?

In the year since the surrender, we have had more than 20 major documentaries about the Falklands. They range from the "edited highlights" of *Task Force South* to the reflective *Simon's War* from Yorkshire *First Tuesday* series and the four investigative *World In Action* programmes on different aspects of the conflict. In addition, both the BBC and ITN have sent news crews out to the islands the better to report every anniversary, ceremony and arrival of a mobile chip

shop.

One question for television hovers uneasily over *The Falklands Experience*. Here are all these members of the armed forces talking openly, lucidly, about their experiences. Many of the same men will have to serve in Northern Ireland and will experience the same cold fear. While our cameras enjoy unimpeded access to military hearts and minds, Ireland remains a shady, uncomfortable subject.

At the end of *The Falklands Experience*, marine Barry Gilbert says that there are some Falklands' memories he can talk about "but the rest we tend to put in little boxes, the little boxes of the mind." We do, we do.



Soldiers of the Falklands War: BBC reporter with the Task Force, Brian Hanrahan (left), remembers: 9.25, BBC1

### BBC1



#### Looking Good, Feeling Fit (7.10-7.40)

Today startling admissions (or self-justification?) from king of chat, Russell Harty (above), who claims to have a shyness problem. His advice for fellow sufferers is: "There's no rulebook, you can't take a pill... you have to get out, if necessary walk on your own - which I'm slightly frightened of doing." And there's more of the behind-the-scenes stuff from Sarah Kennedy who offers a stitch-by-stitch account of fashion design as experienced by Bruce Oldfield. Not for feminists as he says "The trouble with some girls is you can't tell whether they're coming or going... A woman should have a waist, hips and a bust." The lucky victim of his attentions is model Marie Helvin.

**Sorry! (8.30-9.00)** Dynastic intrigue enters the funny world of Timothy, the mother-pecked librarian (Ronnie Corbett), in the shape of rich Aunt Esme (Sheila Raynor).

**The Falklands Experience (9.25-10.25)** See feature, left.

**People and Power (10.25-11.05)** Tonight's programme looks at the men behind the politicians - those voluntary or full-time agents who organise political campaigns.

### BBC2

**Royal Ascot (2.15-4.35)** The "Royal" was inserted by Queen Anne in 1711 when she ordered a meeting to be held on the Berkshire heath; and much as gypsies flock to Epsom Downs for the Derby, the gentry commandeer Ascot. Situated six miles from Windsor, it is the monarch's local track and at lunchtime on each of the four days the Queen and other assorted royals proceed in horse-drawn carriages up the racecourse. The racing is dominated by the sartorial stakes. This reaches its peak on Wednesday, Ladies Day, when the crowd swells to 65,000 and couturiers and milliners, rather than jockeys, have a field day. On the track the race programme is an entertaining blend of tricky handicaps and sub-classic cup races with the major races at 3.45pm each day. The premier race, Wednesday's Gold Cup, is over two and half miles and regarded as the most important long distance event in the English season.

**Marlon Brando Season: Mutiny on the Bounty (7.40-10.30)** See Films, pages 6 and 7.

### ITV

**A Plus (2.00-2.30)** except Granada The first of three programmes investigating 21 years of design and art direction awards, drawing on past winners to illustrate the trends. Today, film director Alan Parker, who made *Fame* and *Midnight Express*, recalls his early work in advertising commercials.

**The Gaffer (9.30-10.00)** Tonight the episode postponed because of the General Election has gaffer Moffat (Bill Maynard) as aspiring mayor in *Council of War*. Could Saatchi and Saatchi do anything with him?

**Sir Robert Mayer: A Debt Repaid (10.30-11.30)** Despite the somewhat memorial quality of this tribute to the great musical philanthropist, this is far from an obituary: Sir Robert has just celebrated 104 remarkable years, many of which have been spent in serving the musical needs of his adopted country. The son of a rich Jewish industrialist in Germany he came to Britain at the age of 17 and divided his time between the metal business, in which he was shrewd and successful, and music, which he sought to make accessible for everyone, particularly the young. This year sees the 60th season of the famous Robert Mayer concerts for children which were initiated at the Central Hall, Westminster, but soon spread to the provinces and to the underprivileged: "I preach rebellion. Why should your children be deprived of a divine gift just because they're poor?" Defined by narrator Bernard Levin as "the man who never wasted a second", this luminary today receives tributes from Isaac Stern, Kiri Te Kanawa and Colin Davis.

### CHANNEL 4

**Back to the Roots (6.00-6.30)** The potent symbolism of plants may well have diminished since the advent of over-the-counter drugs, but there is a return to herbal remedies for some of our ills. Richard Mabey looks at current interests and reminds us of the connotations of poppies and mistletoe.

**First, You Cry (9.00-10.50)** See Films, pages 6 and 7.

**Eastern Eye (10.50-11.40)** In 1971 Idi Amin expelled 65,000 Ugandan Asians, 40,000 of whom, as British passport holders, came to settle in this country. Compensation for loss of businesses and property worth over £200 million has never been paid to the exiles - a problem ignored by successive British governments. *Eastern Eye* scrutinises recent legislation in Uganda which apparently offers a solution to the problem but in reality has helped only the very rich, leaving the vast majority of forced emigrés no better off. Plus an interview with the Foreign Office minister who will voice the new Government's attitude to Ugandan Asians.



D. Telegraph 13/6/83

## Low-key liberation event as Falkland granite is delayed

By PATRICK WATTS in Port Stanley

CELEBRATIONS to mark the first anniversary of the liberation of the Falklands from Argentina are expected to be low-key.

Tomorrow marks the day when British forces compelled the surrender of the occupiers who invaded the islands 10 weeks earlier.

Highlight of the anniversary was to have been the unveiling of the Liberation Monument in the centre of Stanley in honour of all those British people who died during the conflict.

But the large sections of granite from the Merrivale quarry in Devon will not have arrived in time. The ship carrying them was diverted to Gibraltar by engine trouble.

It is now likely to be several months before the monument is ready. A representative of the British dependants' group who visited the Falklands in April is expected to travel there for the unveiling.

### Bronze Britannia

The monument, which will have a bronze Britannia at the head of the column, is being paid for by local subscription, and during the past month many shepherds have travelled to Stanley from outlying farms

to give their services free, in preparing the site.

The main event tomorrow will be a thanksgiving service in Christchurch cathedral. Half the seats in the small church will be allocated to the military and half to the civilian population.

The service is to be broadcast throughout the islands with loudspeakers erected outside the church in expectation of a large attendance.

The acting Civil Commissioner, Mr Dick Baker, will host an official anniversary party at Government House after the service.

He will also read one of the Lessons at the church, as will the Military Commissioner, Maj-Gen. Keith Spacie.

The music during the thanksgiving service will be supplied by the local organist and the band of the Royal Irish Rangers, from which a piper will play the lament. Unlike traditional ceremonies of this kind, the last post and reveille will not be played.

The general feeling in the Falklands is that although this is a time for rejoicing, the memory of those who died to liberate the islands looms too greatly to make it a festive occasion.

## Details of Cabinet moves

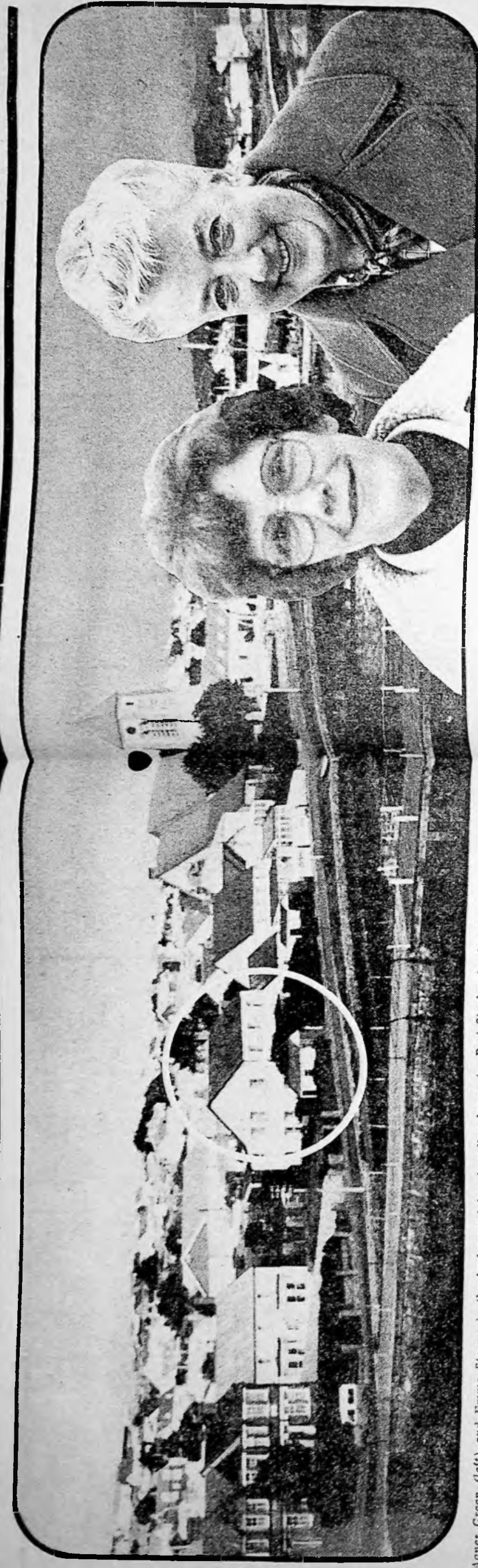
The new Cabinet, in order of seniority, with salaries and previous holders of posts in brackets, is:

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| PRIME MINISTER, First Lord of the Treasury, Minister for the Civil Service |         |
| Mrs Thatcher   | £32,800 |
| LORD PRESIDENT of the Council, Leader of the Lords                         |         |
| Mr Whitelaw (Baroness Young)   | £28,950 |
| LORD CHANCELLOR  |         |
| Lord Hailsham  | £32,500 |
| FOREIGN and Commonwealth Secretary   |         |
| Sir Geoffrey Howe (Mr Pym)   | £28,950 |
| HOME SECRETARY   |         |
| Leon Brittan (Mr Whitelaw)   | £28,950 |
| CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer  |         |
| Nigel Lawson (Sir Geoffrey Howe)   | £28,950 |
| EDUCATION SECRETARY  |         |
| Sir Keith Joseph   | £28,950 |
| NORTHERN IRELAND Secretary   |         |
| Mr Prior   | £28,950 |
| ENERGY SECRETARY   |         |
| Peter Walker (Mr Lawson)   | £28,950 |
| DEFENCE SECRETARY  |         |
| Mr Heseltine   | £28,950 |
| SECRETARY for Scotland   |         |
| George Younger   | £28,950 |
| SECRETARY for Wales  |         |
| Nicholas Edwards   | £28,950 |
| ENVIRONMENT Secretary  |         |
| Patrick Jenkin (Tom King)  | £28,950 |
| LORD PRIVY SEAL  |         |
| John Biffen (Baroness Young)   | £28,950 |
| (Mr Biffen continues as Leader of the Commons).                            |         |
| SECRETARY for Social Services  |         |
| Norman Fowler  | £28,950 |
| EMPLOYMENT Secretary   |         |
| Mr Tebbit  | £28,950 |
| SECRETARY for Trade and Industry   |         |
| Cecil Parkinson (Lord Cockfield, Trade; Mr Jenkin, Industry)               | £28,950 |
| CHANCELLOR of the Duchy of Lancaster                                       |         |
| Lord Cockfield (Mr Parkinson)  | £28,950 |
| TRANSPORT Secretary  |         |
| Tom King (Mr Howell)   | £28,950 |
| AGRICULTURE Minister   |         |
| Michael Jopling (Mr Walker)  | £28,950 |
| CHIEF SECRETARY to the Treasury  |         |
| Peter Rees (Mr Brittan)  | £28,950 |

In addition to their Cabinet salaries, Ministers who sit in the Commons are entitled to a Parliamentary allowance of £8,460. Mrs Thatcher, though entitled to £32,800 a year, draws only the same salary as the rest of her Cabinet. Mr Parkinson has not drawn his Cabinet salary.

The new Government chief whip, Mr John Wakeham, will receive £21,450, plus the Parliamentary allowance.





Agnes Green (left) and Emma Steen: in the background her boarding house in Port Stanley is ringed

# The sweet sorrows

BITTINGLY, the Post Office in Port Stanley is one of the capital's larger buildings: a cavernous, high-roofed place dominated by hosts of restant boxes for messages between people who do not expect to meet in the flesh for some time. Into it one day, in the Falklands summer which has recently passed, walked Mrs Agnes Green, aged 55, of Gosport, Hampshire. She carried a post box home bringing her husband Jimmy and their two grown-up children Cheryl and Patrick up to date on her short visit to the islands. From among all slim, rather shy, grey-haired women walked over and said: "I don't know whether you'll remember me. I made your wedding dress in 1948."

Emma Steen, aged 62, and Agnes were close friends in Stanley. Agnes was married and expecting her second child when she met Jimmy, a Falklander whose brother Los Hilday was now a customs and Excise Officer — was engaged to Jimmy, a young lead-glass seaman stationed out there on

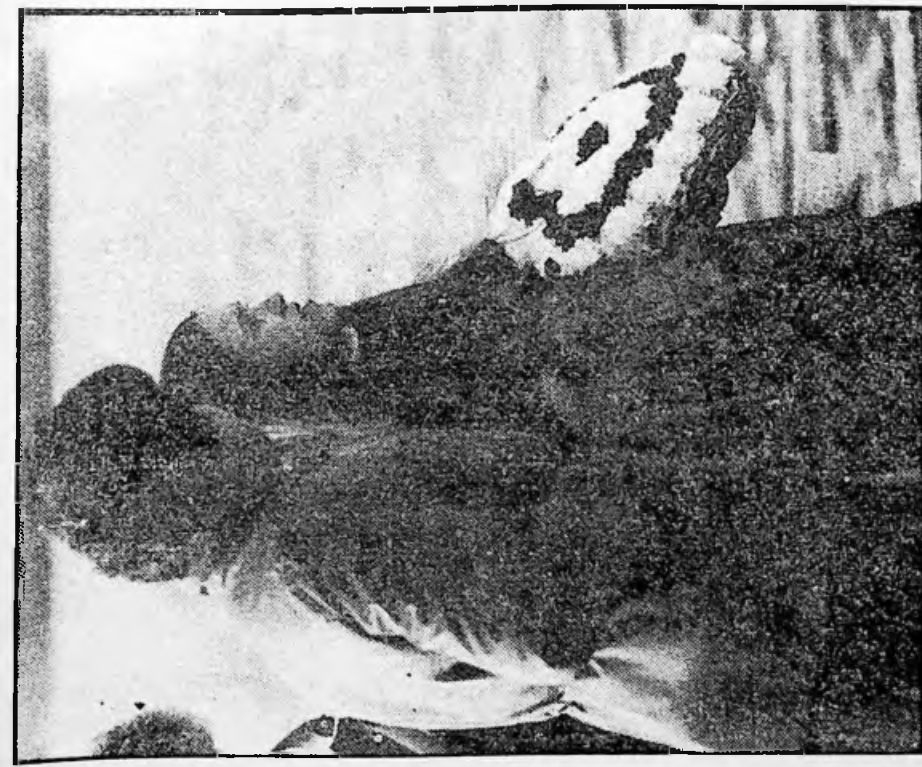
the HMS Sultan. They had met at a dance. It was Emma, the older, more experienced girl, who not only ordered the wedding dress material from Uruguay but organised Agnes through the immigration which she found she needed to board ship and embark on married life in England.

Like many people separated by immigration, they had kept in touch only by hearsay. They had not met since 1948. Agnes was in Stanley and her husband Les was in the Falklands. Agnes was now 87 and 83 years old. Although the parents had been to the UK to see her a few times, Agnes had not been back to the Falklands since 1948. This summer — after the invasion — the two elderly people pressed her very hard to come. She, although missing her UK family, came because she thought there might not be too many more times left.

In May, Mrs Green sailed back to Jimmy, Cheryl and Patrick and said goodbye again to Bill, Mabel, Les, Emma and others. Which is what, the unplumbed, salt,

strange sea" (the Matthew Arnold phrase borrowed pretentiously by John Fowles to end his novel *The French Lieutenant's Woman*) means in the lives of many ordinary people who live and work in seaports but especially in a seaport far from a mainland. In the Falklands, you say, "I'll see you again, you don't say goodbye because you sense that goodbye might be all too true. When Agnes left, her parents settled into their warm back kitchen in Ross Road and Emma into her boarding house 300 yards away, with abandoned Argentine golshes still sitting under the front porch and the Dinky toys left by Argentine boy conscripts still lying in her yard beside the relics of the British Paras who superseded them in her house after the liberation.

EMMA STEEN was my landlady for almost two and a half months in the Falklands. I could not have wished for a better one or for a more decent introduction to



## Bill of health

WHEN Bill Hinds arrived four months ago, almost all the recent statistics in his life had been bad. He was 51 years old and had been out of work in the UK 20 months, in spite of having worked his way from furnaceman to health and safety officer of Chloride. His wife had left him after a business failure.

I travelled to the Falklands with him by ship. Privately he is a quiet, formidable capable man. But in company he held himself like a lot of long-term unemployed, as though physically apologising for his existence. The job he was going to, as camp shipper for the Falkland Islands Company, was the first he had been offered in 20 months. The startling pay was £3,750 a year, compared with the £13,000 he sought on his curriculum vitae at the start of his search for work.

His manner changed gradually

but markedly as I saw him around the streets of Stanley over the next few weeks. He stopped being afraid to let grey hairs show on his head, and grew a grey moustache. He began to walk, and look, like a man of some substance again. Predictably he was a success at work, although he had to cope with maths for the first time since he was 14 years old. He made friends easily. Within three weeks he had decided to settle in the Falklands at least until retirement age and to bring out and marry his fiancée Margaret.

"I'm on top of the world here and I won't change my mind," he said by phone. "I've lost about a stone in weight and I seem to be thriving." The only slight friction arose when I asked a friend of his whether there would be any point in an unemployed pipe-fitter/welder friend of mine looking for work in the Falklands. "Oh, no," said the friend with all the going in that line in his spare time and I do the rest. There's no room for anyone else." In an 1,800 population the jobs market is limited.

ordinary life there, far from the dwindling magic circles of Government House or expatriate dining groups, harmless and well-intended as most of these are. "I am glad because it has been working a lot of us for some time, the thought of other people's children living out on the hills," she said when I mentioned that Argentine war dead were being buried in a consecrated cemetery by Britain.

Her first Falklands ancestor, a Scotsman, arrived as a shepherd in about 1860. One of her grandmothers was a Ryan from County Cork. Scots endurance, Irish empathy: it proved a happy mixture. With her children grown up by 1970, she opened a restaurant in Jubilee Villas, built up a cookery reputation which had tourists and sailors queuing in the corridors and bought the house next door as a boarding house which she runs with her granddaughters Kerena and Vanda and her grandson John.

On the day she had her first new, post-invasion armchairs deli-

vered for the sitting room, I came in early from work and discovered her testing one of them. "Caught you," I said and felt ashamed because she had sat down for a moment in the middle of the afternoon and had immediately fallen asleep. She has a permanently tired face. Even at her comparatively modest rates, she could have made a lot of money by accommodating the many expense-account officials who have begged for accommodation in Stanley during this year's high season.

She hasn't because the 40-50 Paras who crumbed the place while she was away in Camp during hostilities were replaced by the 15 Navy and Army divers at the basic Forces rate of £1.50 a day. When the question came up, she said: "I am not in the business of throwing people out." And it was the Forces who told me that not Emma. Just afterwards I paid her a month's full rate. It bought her less than a month's heating oil.

On the morning I left she

ripped out some pages from a letter pad and gave them to me. Unexpectedly, it was her Occupation diary. "The morning of the invasion was watched with unreality, like watching a film and later as she saw through her back kitchen window the unforeseen, unbelievable hundreds of Argentine troops pour from the jetty, Philomel Hill. "I'm glad of the responsibility. Thinking of others helps one to face whatever comes."

But "having a boarding house puts one in a very awkward position." (She would have had to take money from invaders). So the family fled to Green Patch in the countryside. Emma took charge of drilling seven children to dive for cover if they were bombed or strafed. When an Argentine bomber jettisoned its load in Green Patch harbour "with a terrifying bang," she was "the only one still on my feet — the only one to disrobe myself." She wrote with amusement on "another scary morning" they all awoke to



## Shuttered lens-men of the Force

SOME of the best pictures of the Falklands have been taken by Forces photographers whose work is published anonymously. These two were photographed by Sergeant Chris Young of the

Royal Army Ordnance Corps during the British next of kin visit in April. Left: a widow is helped towards the rail to cast a wreath into the sea for the service for those with no graves but the sea in Falkland Sound. Above: a naval family walk away from this service, the boy trying to cheer the woman up, the man looking back, all three of them wearing the badge of the frigate Ardent which was sunk in the conflict with the loss of 24 lives.

## Mainland drive on an island salary

STAN CHELCHOWSKI'S parents come from the Russian border of Poland. The gales of refugee life drove them first into Russian Labour camps, to Persia and India, then to a camp at St Mawgan in Cornwall, where they met and married. The winds of the postwar world sent Stan first to Marlborough grammar school, then to Swinton Tech, and now to the Falklands, where he is the first post-conflict immigrant.

He applied to become the Falkland Island Company's accountant — the only qualified working before the invasion. On invasion morning, he thought Argentina and sent the company a telegram: "My thoughts are with you. I'm still interested in the job." That clinched it. He was shipped in to start work the day General Jeremy Moore left. Now 31, he is a hard-working, reforming idealist, still in his time of hope, full of mainland drive.

"I've been so busy I haven't even had time to look at my own vapour trail, let alone be lonely."

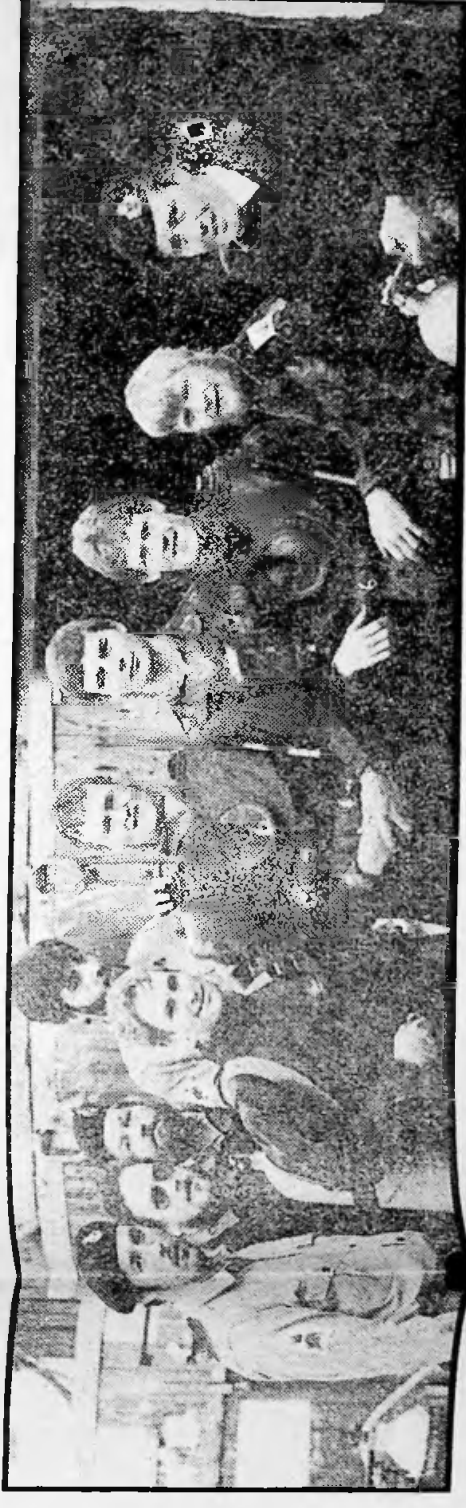
he says. "In Britain I was locked into commuting. Things have worked out amazingly well for me." Yet — and it's a point which will matter for many of the later, post-Blackstone immigrants who follow him to the Falklands — he hasn't yet entirely come to terms with earning (at £5,500 a year, with few pay rise prospects) half as much in an old-fashioned place as he could in the UK.

"I felt I'd stepped back 30 years when I came here," he said. "The Falklands are a sort of fault in time. Now — with the increased population — the changes necessary to produce an efficient Falkland Island Company would have to be rushed through in such a fashion that they would overwhelm the present staff. That's not an indictment of the company. It's mainly the effect of being a backwater economy for so long. The problem is wrenching a backwater island into the twentieth century."

What happened to Stan, with all his aspirations for himself and his compatriots over the next two or three years will be something of a guide to whether the Falklands have a future.

## Heroes of the deep

Argentine rehearsal service. His Petty Officer Diver Steve Stevens, nicknamed it from his room for me, while he was away. Unfortunately Colin needed the tie for a ceremonial occasion before I could return it. But — having been in the same class at school as the Argentine art critic Waldemar Januszcak — Colin is inured to the ways of journalists. Steve's tour of duty ended before the picture was taken. Left to right are his replacement Spike Speys, Chief Petty Officer Ginge Ekild, Leading Diver Pete Dowden, Able Diver Adam Wheeler, Leading Diver Vic Anderson, Stores Assistant Taff Sprudd, Able Diver Jack McKirdy, Able Diver Richard Whitmarsh and Leading Diver Ginge Graton.



THE DIVERS with whom I lodged worked on 24 hour call. They cleared ammunition from the wrecked Ardent and Andreole; recovered parts for a board of inquiry into a Harrier sea crash; lifted eight 11-ton dump trucks which fell into Stanley Harbour from a Mexfloat, were indispensable to the portable cabin building programme and are now back in operation, scraped themselves



'Guardian'  
13/6/83

# The struggle for the Falklands Factor

Richard Norton-Taylor looks at an election issue which all parties officially ignored, but which inevitably came to the fore.

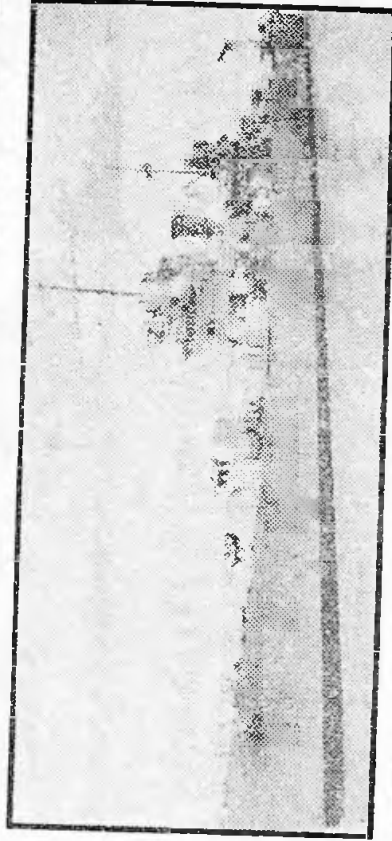
ALTHOUGH the Falklands war dramatically transformed Mrs Thatcher's standing in the opinion polls, the official attitude of all the main parties in the election campaign was that to mention the Government's handling of the war was tantamount to shouting in church: distasteful, however much they disagreed with the preacher.

Both Mr Neil Kinnock and Mr Tam Dalyell — the most persistent critic of the war, now MP for the new seat of Linlithgow — argued that the war should be an election issue if only because it revealed so much about Mrs Thatcher's judgment and style of government.

And on the Tory side, despite the protestations of Mr Cecil Parkinson, the party chairman, the Falklands factor was seized on by scores of Conservative candidates in their election addresses. Indeed, they were encouraged to do so by Conservative Central Office.

In the event, the person who almost succeeded in making the Falklands war an election issue was not a politician at all, but a housewife and part-time teacher of the Prime Minister's generation.

One of the few occasions when Mrs Thatcher appeared rattled during the election campaign was when she was questioned on a BBC National



*The General Belgrano*

wide programme about the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser the General Belgrano, by Mrs Diana Gould.

Mrs Gould is not a member of any political party. She is a mother of four, and one of her sons is in the Merchant Navy.

She feels very deeply about the war. And says she felt physically sick listening to what she describes as "the hounds of war" during the emergency debate in the Commons on April 3 last year. Twelve months later, a free paper Town and Country, came through the letter-box at her home in Cirencester. A letter in that paper stated that the Belgrano was heading for the British task force.

Mrs Gould, a former

meteorological officer in the Wrens who read geography at Cambridge and is married to a former Fleet Air Arm officer, was angry.

She immediately wrote to Mr Dalyell, whose criticism of the Government handling of the war she had read about in the Guardian. He advised her to read his speeches in Hansard, the official Commons report, in her local library. Mrs Gould duly did so, and looked up the Belgrano's equipment and maximum speed in Jane's Fighting Ships.

This made her suspicious of Mrs Thatcher's claim — repeated in answer to Mrs Gould's first questions on the May 24 Nationwide programme — that the Belgrano

posed an immediate threat to the task force.

Mrs Gould, armed with figures, persisted with her questioning.

In a letter to the Sunday Times yesterday, Mrs Gould argued that the Belgrano, which had been followed by the nuclear-powered submarine Conqueror for 30 hours, was at least 10 hours' sailing time from the task force.

Unanswered questions now centre on the timing of Mrs Thatcher's decision to sink the cruiser when new Peruvian peace plans were on the table.

The Peruvian President, Fernando Belaunde, has said that he informed the then US Secretary of State, Mr Alexander Haig — in Washington having talks with the

Mr Dalyell made clear yesterday that he intends to pursue the matter in the new Parliament. Speaking in West Lothian, he also said that one of the reasons Mrs Thatcher wanted to get rid of Mr Pym as Foreign Secretary was that he questioned the sense of a Fortress Falklands policy.

The Government is certain to come under growing international pressure to negotiate with Argentina, but it is also certain to face the new demands for an inquiry into the sinking of the Belgrano.

Mr Kinnock was the first senior politician in the election campaign to demand such an inquiry, although the Liberal leader, Mr David Steel, also said that he would support such a move once the election was over.

Mr Kinnock made his statement on June 1, having discussed the matter the previous weekend with Mr Dalyell. Although he did not inform the Labour election campaign committee of his intention, he did mention it informally to Mr Denis Healey.

It was Mr Healey's remark on June 1 that Mrs Thatcher gloried in slaughter which drowned Mr Kinnock's statement which he said had been sparked off by Mrs Gould's questions.

Foreign Secretary Mr Francis Pym — about his optimism that Argentina would accept the plan four hours before the Belgrano was sunk.

Mr Pym has acknowledged that he was not consulted about the decision to sink the cruiser.

Asked whether Mr Pym relayed the message on to the inner Cabinet at Chequers, the Foreign Office points to a statement by Mr Cranley Onslow, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, during the last session of the old Parliament on May 13.

Mr Onslow said the peace plan had not been "endorsed" by Mr Pym and had not been "formally" conveyed to London for consideration.



# SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

JUNE 12, 1983

**THE £1 MILLION  
GIRL FROM  
THE END OF THE  
EARTH**

DIPLOMA COOKERY COURSE  
**EXAM WEEK**



# SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

**S**imon Winchester, who writes our cover story about the painter of the Falkland Islanders (page 30), was on the last Argentine civil airline flight into the islands last year, three days before the invasion. That same flight, on its way back to its base in Patagonia, carried Britain's last diplomatic bag out – a bag which contained a small package bound for Buckingham Palace, and within it one young American's hopes and prayers. The package contained his sketches for the island's 150th anniversary postage stamps, sketches that had to be approved by the Queen, the colony's Head of State. But the painter, Duffy Sheridan, didn't hear the verdict for four months. The Argentine invasion, and the subsequent war, set such matters as philately very much to one side. But then, a year ago this week,



Self portrait by Duffy Sheridan

the British recaptured the islands. The Palace approved the designs and the stamps were printed.

Tomorrow, an exhibition of his work opens in London with more than 20 portraits and landscapes. "I want the British people to see what the islanders are really like, so they can understand them a little more," says Sheridan. "I hope my paintings will show the islanders as human beings, who are grateful for what was done last summer."

The pictures which appear on page 36 of former Cambridge Footlights players are, to coin a phrase of some of its recent products, something

completely different, showing Cecil Beaton and Lord Killanin, among others, beautifully dressed in drag. Robert Hewison, theatre critic for *The Sunday Times*, who has just written a book about the club, was in fact at Oxford, where he was a leading light with the Experimental Theatre Club.

Cover: Falklands Carnival Queen, 16-year-old Anya Smith, by Duffy Sheridan

## MAIN ARTICLES

**Killed by care:** are elephants in Kenya's Tsavo park being poached to extinction? A new book by a legendary game ranger pins the blame for their decline not on poachers but on the very policies designed to preserve them. **Page 16**

**Lombino a.k.a. McBain:** in the second of our series, Melvyn Bragg Meets the Storytellers, crime writer Ed McBain talks about his work and his novels set in the 87th Precinct. On page 26 we publish an extract from his latest, *Ice*. **Page 23**

**This defiant breed:** portraits of Falkland islanders by an American artist who has lived and worked there for the past five years. See left. **Page 30**

**Varsity drag:** on the centenary of the Cambridge Footlights Club, Robert Hewison looks back at the fame and fortunes of this nursery for comic talent. See left. **Page 36**

## REGULAR FEATURES

**Relative Values:** Storm and calm. Yachtswoman Clare Francis and her sister Anne talk about each other. **Page 9**

**A Life in the Day of:** former farceur Brian Rix. **Page 54**

**View:** the programmes to watch out for on radio and television this week. **Pull-out guide**

## LOOK

**The Sunday Times Complete Cookery Course:** it's exam time this week, and the chance to earn a diploma at the end of the first part of the course. **Page 46**

**Best of the baby sitters:** eight high chairs are toddler-tested for looks, price and practicability. **Page 50**



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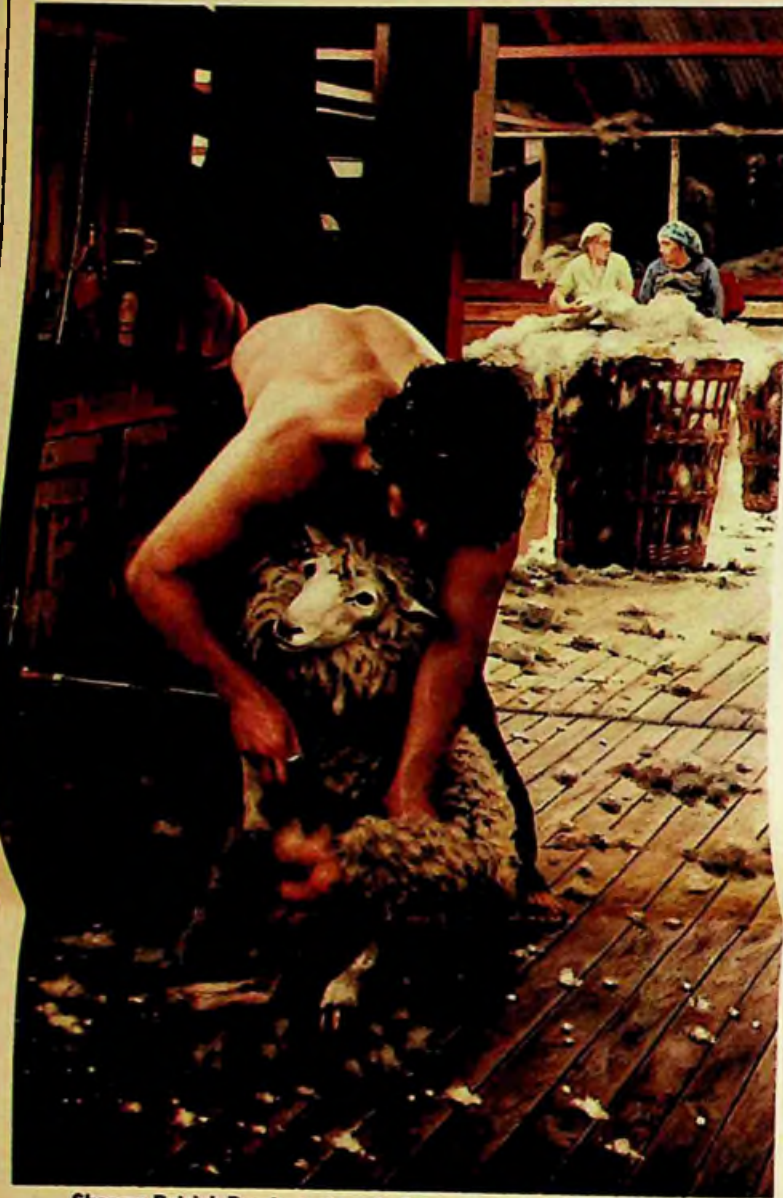


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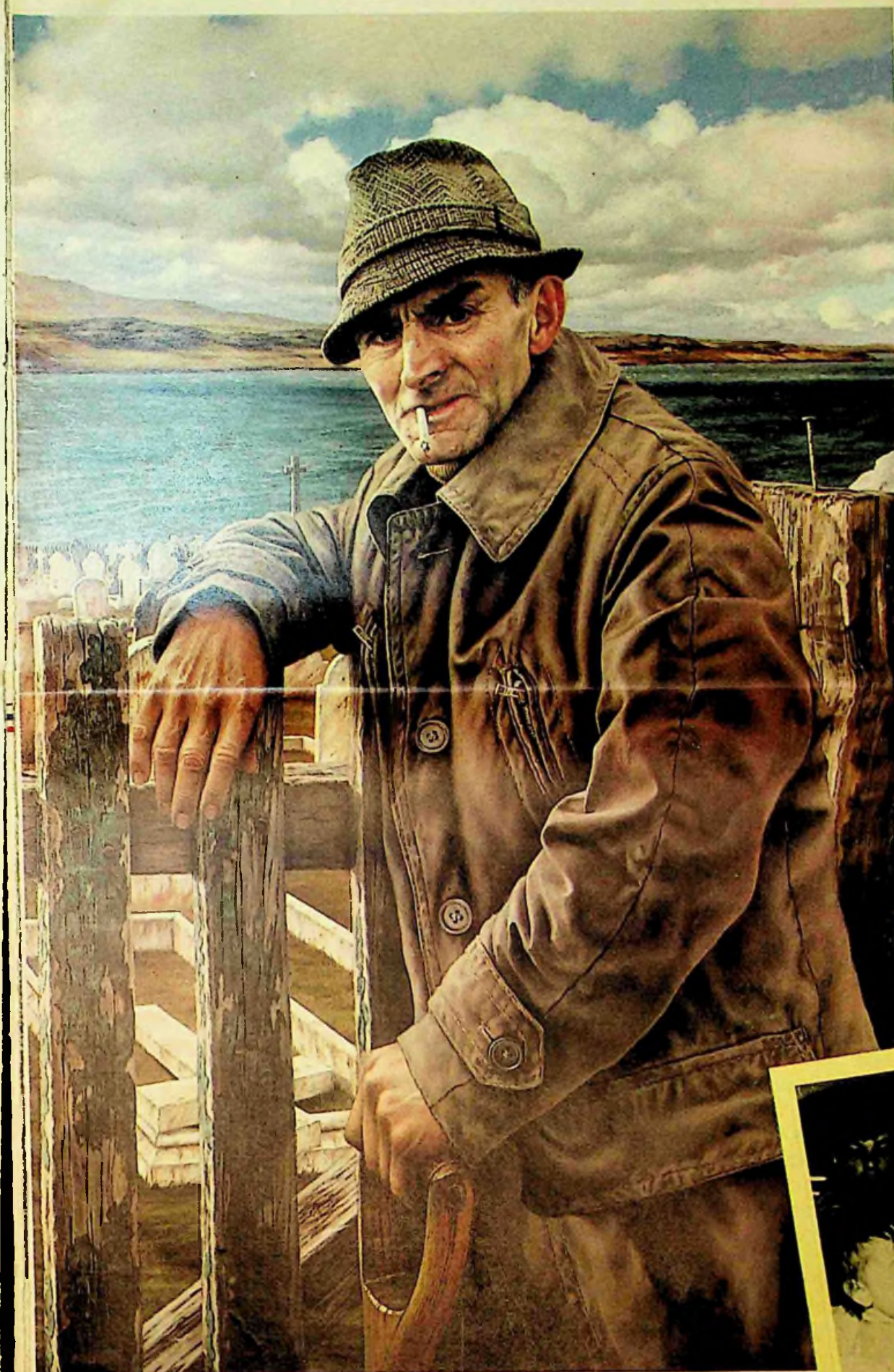
Shearer Patrick Berntsen at work. Between them he and his partner Richard Short (overleaf) shear 700 sheep a day during the Falklands season



A shepherd's house on West Falkland, isolated even by the standards of these isolated islands. The nearest neighbour is miles away in the settlement of Hill Cove, and a man may spend a year here without seeing anybody



One of the great unsung heroes of Stanley: Jim Browning, the "honey bucket man", who emptied the town's night soil into the municipal septic tank. Now there is a sewage plant, and he is retired



Duffy Sheridan's portrait of Angus Jaffray, the caretaker of the cemetery at Port Stanley, where he is also the darts champion at the Globe Bar. Right, Sheridan's wife Jeanne and his small son Maxwell are greeted by the victorious General Moore

# THIS DEFIANT BREED

The Falklands Islanders, all 1800 of them, cost the British taxpayer about £1 million each to protect and defend from another attack by Argentina. And yet we know very little about them as individuals, and about their hopes and fears for the future. Now we have this opportunity to take a closer look. *Duffy Sheridan is an American who has lived in Port Stanley for the past seven years (his family are seen below greeting the triumphant General Moore just a year ago this week). He has produced more than 20 paintings of the islands and their people, to go on show in London tomorrow*





**E**arly on a Monday morning, exactly a year ago, Duffy Sheridan arrived at Stanley's West Store with another carload of islanders terrified by the night-long shelling. No one had had a wink of sleep. The whole town reeked of cordite fumes. Long lines of weary Argentine troops were tramping disconsolately towards the airport, falling back from their broken defences.

Suddenly the tall, elegant figure of Carlos Bloomer-Reeve appeared at the door of the tiny supermarket. He was the Argentine's civil commissioner – a well-liked, English-speaking diplomat who had been brought out from the embassy in Bonn to manage the conquered islands. He had been to Stanley before. Everyone knew him and, within limits, the islanders trusted him. When they saw him at the door, a sudden hush fell on the room.

The diplomat beckoned to the store manager, Harry Milne. "Señor Milne," he said, his voice low. "It's all over. We are surrendering. I come to say goodbye."

Duffy Sheridan heard, and for a second the whole world stopped. "We knew it was coming. We had waited for weeks. We knew it would end some day and the British would come back. And this was it. I'll never be able to tell you how heavy it was. The whole store was silent - and yet everyone was terribly excited. We were free again. It was incredible. And that man told us with such dignity, too. I'll never forget it."

Later that day General Moore came to town, to sign the surrender document and to greet the people his troops had so courageously freed. Duffy's wife Jeanne was there, holding her small son Maxwell and with her 11-year-old, Eli, to see him. Jeremy Moore, acting the triumphant politician rather than the professional soldier, tickled Maxwell under the chin. A camera clicked, a flashbulb popped. The moment was captured for ever, and went round the world: "Happy Stanley residents celebrate their liberation."

There is a certain irony in the Sheridan family's appearance in that photograph, since they are not, in the strict sense, Falklands islanders at all, but Americans. Moreover, they are not of doughty Church of England or Methodist stock either, like most of the island residents. They are members of the Baha'i faith, and they came to Stanley seven years ago for the specific reason that the lonely, windy Falkland islands seemed an ideal place for quiet contemplation, peace and tranquillity.

John Duffy Sheridan is a Californian. He is 35, the son of a painter, >>>>>>>



**Richard Short, expert sheep-shearer, who travels the world shearing on contract wherever sheep are found. In Sheridan's painting he is seen blunting the tines of his shearing comb, which would otherwise cut the surprisingly delicate skin of the sheep**



**Duncan Bains, who went to the Falklands from Essex in 1977 and now leads a lonely life as a navy "on the camp" near Goose Green**



**Stan Kryszczak, a Pole, resident of Stanley since just after the Second World War, a proud British subject**



brought up in the town of Alameda, near San Francisco. Like so many of his generation, he broke away from the mainstream rigours of the upwardly mobile life and took off for the mountains of the High Sierra, to paint. He met Jeanne and they became interested in the gentle simplicity of the Baha'is, followers of the 19th-century Iranian prophet Baha'Ullah - a man who urged the creation of a world religion for social uplift and peace.

Baha'i settlements were being nurtured all over the globe, and the Sheridans decided to move away from America to help one of them. Trinidad seemed a good idea. They asked the Baha'i Center in Chicago for advice. "Sure, great idea," the Center said. "But have you ever thought about the Falkland Islands?"

There were eight Baha'is in Stanley then, mostly Americans. A ninth would mean the group could become a formal Assembly. Duffy and Jeanne decided to go. They flew to Buenos Aires, travelled down to the Patagonian port of Comodoro Rivadavia and took the weekly flight to Port Stanley. It was April 15, 1976.

"I stepped out of the plane and

damn near got blown off my feet," Duffy recalls. "I've never experienced wind like that. But right from the start I knew we'd like it. We got a place to stay, and I took a job as a carpenter. But as I got to know the people and got to travel around the islands a bit, I found I just wanted to paint. So that's what I did."

At first, the Falklands' isolation - the very loneliness the Sheridans had sought - made painting well nigh impossible for him. There were no supplies, no paints, no good paper or canvas. He painted on tablecloths and sheets. Then he found an agent in London: supplies began to trickle in. He started to travel relentlessly across the islands, spending days and weeks in remote shepherds' houses out on "the camp", trying to capture the essence of the islands. He began to sell his pictures - some to islanders, some to the occasional tourists whose cruise ships called at Stanley harbour. "I made a living. Not a very good one, maybe - but we live economically down in the islands. We were very happy."

The Baha'i community flourished, too. A few more foreigners came to Stanley, and a number of islanders

found the simple, unassuming ways of the Baha'i attractive, and joined. They, like the Sheridans, had to give up drink, coffee and tea; and they had to abandon politics, and promise to work with whatever government ruled the islands. "That didn't seem a problem then. I guess we didn't expect anything to happen."

But of course, on April 2 last year the aircraft carrier Ventecincuo de Mayo and its attendant destroyers brought the Argentine invasion force and, suddenly, everything changed. The Sheridans stayed put in Stanley, sheltering in bunkers by night and, by day, painting road signs. "We didn't co-operate with the Argentines. But we didn't oppose them."

"It's not part of our faith. If they had been cruel to the islanders we might have been instructed by our centre in Haifa to begin opposing them. But for those three months we just let it ride."

They had a second son by now, born in April 1981. "He spent his first birthday sheltering in the bunker at Sparrowhawk House. It was an incredible time, for all of us."

When the war was over and life began to return to some semblance of

normality, Duffy Sheridan began to paint again. He had already painted the designs for the Colony's 150th anniversary postage stamp issue: his drawings had been in the last diplomatic bag to leave Stanley before the invasion, and his first news after the war was that Buckingham Palace had liked them and that they would be the basis for the issue, which came out last January.

Once that was over, the British Baha'i Centre asked him to paint a series, showing islanders and their island home. An exhibition was arranged at the Festival Hall: it opens tomorrow, with more than 22 of this young American's remarkable pictures of a people about whom, despite the brief and bloody war, we know and understand too little.

In my own two visits to the islands I have not, I must admit, been terribly impressed by the Falklanders. I have criticised their willingness to accept all the aid on offer from the British government without a trace of initiative and flexibility in response, their lack of energy and zeal. I wrote last summer of their gloomy resentment at having to put up with the newly resident British soldiery, and



The Falklanders depend on the sea and especially on the vessels that bring in all the necessities of civilisation. Mike Robson, gazing over San Carlos Water, skippers their own little cargo ship the Monsunen

of their continuing dark suspicions of Britain's long-term intentions towards the colony.

But a few weeks ago, on Ascension Island, I met and talked to an islander, a farmer named Tim Miller from the remote West Falkland settlement of Dunnose Head, who was flying to London for an opera-

tion. A Harrier had dropped fragmentation bombs near his farm, trying to dislodge an Argentine position, and he had been blinded and taken shrapnel in his arm. But he was cheerful and optimistic. He was happy that British soldiers were posted out in the camp. He was not at all resentful that his life had been

so drastically altered by the war. "Sure, I don't have 3D vision now," he said, "but that seems a small price to pay for our freedom."

Duffy Sheridan reflects this view: "You find out what the real Falklanders are like when you go out with the shepherds in the camp. They may spend weeks not seeing another

human being, or, if they're in a tiny community, it'll be the same few people day in, day out, for months. The fact that they keep cheerful, that they keep these communities harmonious, seems a small human triumph to me. Sure they're quiet and taciturn. Sure they're unsophisticated. They don't know much about foreign policy or military strategy. But they're not as stubborn as you may think. They know they'll have to come some way towards a compromise one day. They are realistic about their future, and they accept that life is going to have to change.

"They are a very remarkable, very interesting people. You'll never meet anyone with a greater love of the good, solid earth. They're good people; good citizens. I hope my pictures manage to show a little of that."

Jeanne and Duffy Sheridan take the exhibition to New York next month, and then they go back to Port Stanley. "We may move out into the camp one day, away from the town. But we'll stay on the islands. No doubt at all. They are very special, very wonderful; the islanders are like no one else in the world."

Simon Winchester

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Observer' 12/6/83

# Peru disputes British account of Belgrano

by ARTHUR GAVSHON

PERU'S former Foreign Minister last week joined his US and Argentine counterparts in claiming that a promising Peruvian-American peace plan was 'destroyed' by the sinking of the cruiser General Belgrano.

Dr Javier Arias Stella also disputed some aspects of an official British account of what happened when four key governments engaged in last-ditch exchanges to avert all-out war over the Falklands in early May, 1982. In particular, he contradicted a statement by Foreign Secretary Francis Pym that Peruvians had given no indication that a treaty had been drawn up.

Arias Stella's assessment appeared to be closer to those given to *The Observer* by former US Secretary of State Alexander Haig and by Argentina's former Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez.

At about noon Argentine time on Sunday 2 May, Argentina's President Leopoldo Galtieri advised Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry that Argentina was ready to accept the peace plan subject only to the formal confirmation of his Military Committee at a meeting seven hours later.

Belaúnde at once informed Haig who, that morning in Washington, was deep in consultation with Pym. But four hours later the Belgrano was torpedoed by HMS Conqueror with a loss of 368 lives.

In Argentina, said Arias Stella, this news 'destroyed everything.'

Arias Stella, now Peru's permanent delegate to the United Nations in New York, was asked in a telephone

interview if the peace plan had been in substantive form and capable of producing an immediate ceasefire.

Pym is on record as saying the new plan, although 'promising as a basis for further work,' required 'more time and more work' to be completed. He transmitted its full text to London more than three hours after the attack on the Belgrano, he has said.

Arias Stella replied: 'I most thoroughly disagree that our seven-point peace proposal was at all vague or general or not ready to be put into effect at once. It was the result of very long negotiations, mainly with Haig whom we took to be speaking for Britain. We thought that we'd worked out a completely practical proposal which had a fair and balanced text completely consistent with Security Council Resolution 502 [which called for an Argentine withdrawal from the Falklands and negotiations on the dispute].'

Haig told *The Observer* nine days ago the plan was a simplified version of one that had been formulated during the period of his mediation efforts which ended on 30 April. He said that although some difficult paragraphs remained to be settled 'we did think we had a formulation that provided hope that a settlement could be reached.'

Haig's statement broadly confirmed what Costa Méndez earlier had said to Desmond Rice, a former Royal Dutch Shell Company manager in Argentina, when they discussed the linkage between the attack on the Belgrano and the collapse of the peace plan. The Argentine then said that two unsettled paragraphs were of

'minor importance' and would be 'easy to solve.'

Pym has said that 'if the Peruvians had prepared a treaty for signature on the evening of 2 May they certainly gave us no indication of this in Lima or in London.' Not so, said Arias Stella.

'President Belaúnde had constant and direct phone contact with Haig and kept him fully informed. We knew that Pym was in Washington. We understood that their contact was so close that whatever Haig accepted was alright with Pym — and that Pym passed it on at once to London.'

Arias Stella emphasised that Britain's Ambassador in Lima, Charles Wallace, was kept very fully informed at all times. Belaúnde, additionally, went on television with an announcement that peace was imminent.

The ambassador said the sinking of the Belgrano had 'without doubt' also sunk the peace initiative. 'I can give you no more graphic a confirmation of that than by repeating Costa Méndez's words next morning on 3 May.'

'He rang to thank us for our help. He said at the meeting of the Argentine Military Committee at 1900 hours (Argentine time) in Buenos Aires on 2 May the agreement was already at the last stage with only two points of minor importance left, which would have been easy to solve on the spot, when an admiral burst in with the news that the Belgrano had been sunk.'

It was Haig himself, Rice learnt in Buenos Aires, who passed word of the Belgrano's sinking to President Belaúnde about two hours after the event. 'Haig was very moved,' Belaúnde later recalled.

'Observer' 12 June 1983

# Beagle war came near

from JIMMY BURNS in Buenos Aires

ALMOST exactly a year after General Mario Benjamín Menéndez surrendered his troops at Port Stanley, Argentina has pulled back from the brink of another war—but only just.

The junta is now trying to project an image of peace and order after reports of an incident in which jet fighters were sent to the border with Chile to repel an 'invasion.' Details of the incident were leaked by Argentine journalist Iglesias Rouco who predicted the invasion of the Falklands.

Diplomatic sources confirm that on 25 May at least two squadrons of planes left the southern bases of San Julian and Rio Gallegos for the Chilean border to repel Chilean invasion forces. According to one report, a further group of fighter planes initially headed towards the Falklands in the

belief that the British were involved in a joint operation. In Ushuaia, the local population was put on yellow alert for an air raid.

Argentine planes were scrambled after a border radar picked up a group of aircraft approaching from the Chilean side. A clash was averted by minutes after a radar operator contacted the Chileans and established that it had been a false alarm.

The Argentine squadrons were turned back, and the air raid warning in Ushuaia was lifted after a last-minute intervention by Brigadier August Hughes and Admiral Ruben Franco, the junta's Air Force and Navy chiefs.

The confused chain of events last month — on Argentina's National Day—began when an Argentine helicopter belonging to the Governor of Tierra del Fuego, Admiral Suárez del

Cerro, crash-landed inside the Chilean border after encountering bad weather. Almost simultaneously a Chilean Air Force Canberra crashed near the border after mechanical failure.

The incident followed weeks of tension between the two countries because of Argentina's reluctance to accept results of a papal mediation over the long-standing territorial dispute in the Beagle Channel.

The Pope's representatives proposed that the disputed islands of Lennox, Picton and Nueva be granted to Chile and that a sea of peace, offering joint exploration rights, be created in the South Atlantic around Cape Horn. Argentina has so far rejected the proposal on the grounds that it extends Chile's strategic presence into Argentine waters.



pause is very important,' he said, 'and the timing of the pause. Lloyd George was a master of the pause. And of the gesture. He showed me once how you should not say, "There is the man who betrayed England!" and then point your arm and finger at the man. You should *first* point arm and finger, and then after a few seconds say, "There... is the man who betrayed England!"' But though the gesture is useful, the pause is always important.'

There was a great assembly in Hall for the dinner. Before coffee was served there was silence for the Master of Balliol, Anthony Kenny. His speech included a tribute to the incomparable Mac. Macmillan rose to reply. He searched for his words slowly, always with success, and lulled his listeners with his singular air of melancholy assertion and lugubrious comment on the far side of humour. Then he paused and looked

round. Good stuff, I thought; he was gaining increased attention. But after his pause he did not continue his speech, but went on pausing. He looked to left and right, as one bewildered. I became alarmed. Was he overdoing it? Still he paused. Perhaps he had really lost his way? Was he ill, was he dying, would he faint and fall? I looked down (for I was sitting at High Table) at the four long rows of diners at the tables in the Hall, all of them riveted by this high form of oratory. And still he paused. Never have I beheld such concentrated attention bent upon a speaker. Yet still he speechless stood. Wave upon wave of vast concern was wafted from the hushed assembly, as he looked this way and that as if groping for a word. Then, quite simply, and seemingly at ease, he continued with his speech. I was relieved. But it had made my evening. This was the Pause Made Perfect.

surrounding its despatch prevented the normal military assessments from being presented to cabinet. Not until the second week of April did ministers cross Whitehall to the defence ministry to receive a full briefing on risk. They came out thoroughly demoralised.

The full-sized aircraft carrier was able to launch reconnaissance, air attack and air combat missions with planes more powerful than anything available to the task force. The Argentinians had an Exocet-armed battle cruiser, plus six Exocet destroyers and frigates. They had Sea Dart ship-to-air missiles and two lethal Type 209 German-built submarines. More important than all this, they were within a day's sailing of home ports and enjoyed land-based air cover. Not surprisingly, the Royal Air Force felt the Navy had taken leave of its senses in careering off to the South Atlantic. The army staff were hardly more confident. The predicted Harrier and ship losses, not to mention the likelihood of a defended landing, defied every rule of military strategy.

Added to this was the fact that Admiral Woodward had only the haziest battle plan. The Argentine navy and air force had to be neutralised before any landing could be commenced. To achieve this meant luring enemy ships and planes out to the limit of their endurance and then eliminating them. The plan was highly fanciful (and failed). But given the resources at his disposal, what else could Woodward have done?

By the time of the 2 May meeting at Chequers, the war cabinet's mood was therefore tentative in the extreme. The whole voyage south had been plagued by arguments back and forth between Woodward, the war cabinet and the Foreign Office over rules of engagement. These had been progressively extended from covering pure self-defence, to defence against surveillance (including Boeing reconnaissance), to the maritime exclusion zone, to a 'defence area' round task force operations and finally to virtually the whole South Atlantic. The defence area was declared on 23 April, a week before the Belgrano attack, and was fully comprehended in Buenos Aires.

Britain had three nuclear submarines in the South Atlantic at the time. Already *Spartan* had located a minelayer off Port Stanley and been told not to sink it. *Splendid* had later located the enemy's powerful Type 42 destroyer group outside the exclusion zone but was detailed to disengage and go in search of the carrier group (which she failed to find). *Conqueror's* 1 May location of the third main enemy group, the *Belgrano* plus two Type 42s, was first greeted with disappointment that it was not the carrier. What should Woodward do? Having broken off from the first enemy group and not found the second, he could hardly be told merely to play cat and mouse with the third, and risk it counter-attacking *Conqueror* into the bargain.

Much has since been made of a signal which the Argentine navy says it sent on 1 May recalling all its three battle groups to

## The truth about the Belgrano

### Simon Jenkins

Sooner or later someone's self-control had to give. All parties had struggled to keep the Falklands out of the election campaign, but as Labour's desperation mounted, Neil Kinnock and Denis Healey could clearly bear it no longer.

Mr Healey's messy intervention, in which he said he was accusing Mrs Thatcher of glorying in the slaughter of South Georgia (where there was none), was simply daft. Mr Kinnock's was more deliberate. Like a tired entertainer confronting a groaning audience, he grabbed desperately at the sinking of the *Belgrano*, relying on Mrs Thatcher's patent discomfiture on the subject earlier in the campaign to get him by. The gambit fell flat. Or almost flat. Hindsight clearly makes lousy politics, but it does no service to history either. Just enough doubt remains about this one incident of the Falklands war to let speculation run free. Why does a nervous twitch come over ministers at any mention of the *Belgrano*? Why do they seem defensive, as if still holding back?

A year of investigative journalism into the *Belgrano* affair has produced few new facts and obscured many others. What it has not clarified is the state of mind of the British ministers who actually took the Chequers decision to attack the *Belgrano* at lunchtime on 2 May 1982. To understand this we must not rehearse the now well-known results of the sinking but go back to its cause — and to the yawning gulf which at that time separated the public's vision of the impending South Atlantic campaign from that of senior ministers.

The public's vision was wholly conditioned by the previous week's victory on South Georgia: the 'appetiser' to be followed by the 'big match' and the 'walkover', in Ad-

miral Woodward's reported words. Mrs Thatcher had then demanded we 'rejoice, just rejoice' on the steps of Downing Street. It was a much misconstrued phrase. She had in fact been reflecting her own personal and overwhelming relief at the outcome of the mission, which her war cabinet had ordered against some naval advice and which had almost ended in total disaster. To the public, however, this was unknown. The war now offered the spectacle of a continuous triumph in which the only shortcoming was the apparent unworthiness of the enemy.

To put it mildly, this was how it appeared to the war cabinet. To counter Argentine aggression, they had almost recklessly sent the first flotilla south from Ascension Island, under-armed to meet an enemy which, in any logistical equation, was more than a match for it. The political context



port. In the first place, not a word now uttered by the Argentine navy on its performance during the war should be believed. It is contorted with guilt and frantic to salvage some domestic reputation from the shambles of its cowardice. That said, such a signal, if sent, would have been the one sensible decision made by Admiral Anaya in the whole war. His best tactic by far was to withdraw his ships to various bases as the British entered the exclusion zone and make random sallies towards the task force at night or in fog. Three British submarines could not possibly patrol every inlet of the Argentine coast. It is the view of most naval experts that such a tactic, allied to regular air attacks, would have been devastating to the task force and could well have won Argentina the war. Anaya and his propagandists now know this.

In other words, irrespective of the *Belgrano's* course or destination on 2 May, it would have been militarily irresponsible not to have put out of action so substantial a part of the enemy's arsenal. The *Belgrano* also carried sophisticated directional equipment for guiding air attacks on to the task force. The lack of this was subsequently a bitter bone of contention between the Argentine air force and navy.

By the time the *Belgrano* was sunk, Britain was already engaged in a sea battle with Argentina. An air attack had narrowly missed *Glamorgan* and more attacks, including from the carrier, were expected by the hour. A torpedo against an Argentine cruiser was hardly an appreciable escalation of a bomb attack against a British destroyer. The British fleet was at this time in really appalling danger, with the odds against eventual success — though hidden from the British public — an ever-present concern to the war cabinet. Within the month, all five of Woodward's most sophisticated Sea Dart-Sea Wolf air defence ships (*Coventry*, *Sheffield*, *Glasgow*, *Brilliant*, *Broadsword*) were sunk or out of action. And this was after the removal of the entire enemy surface fleet from the scene following the *Belgrano* sinking. Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues were hardly likely to increase those odds by rejecting the fleet commander's request for an engagement at the start of the campaign.

These considerations totally overwhelmed all others in the collective mind of the war cabinet. With hindsight, the weekend of 1 May can seem like no more than the cruel prelude to an ultimately one-sided encounter. It did not seem so at the time. Ministers may stand charged with the recklessness of the whole adventure. They were certainly foolish in the bravura they encouraged in the popular media when caution and an awareness of risk might have been more prudent. It was undeniably unfortunate that the *Belgrano* attack took place outside the total exclusion zone and was followed rather than preceded by a new geographical zone off the Argentine coast. But this was a presentational rather than substantive point. The action was covered by the 23 April defence area declaration. If,

after that declaration, the Argentine fleet really thought it could cruise outside the TEZ (and launch attacks into it) with impunity, it was foolish. The sinking was militarily justified. All those involved in the decision regarded it afterwards as one of the 'least difficult we had to take'.

Militarily justified perhaps, but what of diplomacy? Was this not a limited conflict, not total war? What of the Peruvian peace plan? What of the accusation that the *Belgrano* was sunk deliberately to sabotage Francis Pym's negotiations in New York?

All wars are catalogues of coincidence and none more so than the Falklands. The fact that on 2 May yet another of General Haig's peace plans (disguised in Peruvian clothes) had reached a fruitful moment and that Francis Pym was in conclave with Perez de Cuellar was inevitably a gift to every conspiracy theorist. It sent Tam Dalyell MP into paroxysms and Paul Foot scurrying all the way to Lima, both to fall victim to a mendacity from Buenos Aires which might have put less partisan souls on their guard.

Mr Pym's dinner with de Cuellar in New York was purely exploratory and is really irrelevant. No UN peace effort had yet been mounted and there was no reason to impede Woodward's operations in the hope of one. Nonetheless, it is patently true that the *Belgrano* sinking pre-empted the first post-Haig initiative of Belaunde Terry (president of Peru). Galtieri told Belaunde on the Sunday night that there was no way he could proceed. He and Costa Mendes have both

since declared that they had accepted the Peruvian plan and would have signed it. But such statements are meaningless. The junta at the time was wholly under the control of Admiral Anaya whose all-powerful navy council had not approved the plan — and had rejected a remarkably similar one the weekend before. Anaya remained convinced throughout that Argentina would win. It was nothing new that Galtieri and Costa Mendes were for a settlement — they had also accepted Haig's various plans. Anaya was the obstacle.

After the sinking, the British war cabinet was privately horrified at the loss of life from *Conqueror's* two torpedoes. The size of the ship had led them to expect only a crippling, with a modest casualty rate. John Nott was patently shocked when told of the scale of disaster in the middle of the next day's press conference. The war cabinet's enthusiasm for peace undoubtedly increased as a result and was only reinforced by the swift revenge raid on the *Sheffield*.

The opportunity for a Falklands settlement was probably never greater than in the week following the *Belgrano* affair. Both sides had suffered shattering traumas. Indeed Anaya might have been thought a convert to peace, with his contribution to the war now apparently at an end. Still he held out, opposing the resurrected Peruvian plan which Mrs Thatcher herself pushed through an emergency meeting of her full cabinet on 5 May. Had Anaya picked up this plan, the war would have ended, Britain would have suffered at least partial humiliation and

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Buenos Aires might have seen its flag flying, in some form, over Port Stanley. That Mrs Thatcher herself sponsored this plan in cabinet is the true measure of her reaction to the *Belgrano* and *Sheffield*: she and her colleagues were for the first time having serious doubts over whether they could win militarily at all.

Governments rarely make their best or most considered decisions in the heat of war. But that is no reason for history to cloud these decisions with myth. The *Belgrano* was attacked because the British

war cabinet was coming near to running scared. It had no impact on the likelihood of peace, except possibly to enhance it. But the sinking had a dramatic impact on the course of the war. Had it not occurred and the enemy fleet not been terrified back to port, the unmentionable might have happened. Mrs Thatcher's Falklands gamble might have failed. It was the turning point of the war.

*Simon Jenkins is political editor of The Economist and co-author with Max Hastings of The Battle for the Falklands.*

## Belgrano bores

Paul Johnson

**T**his lacklustre election has produced many new varieties of tedium. One is the leaked 'secret' report, which turns out on examination not to be secret at all, nor to bear the political construction placed on it. Another is that odious *New Society*-type word 'caring', worse even than 'compassionate' and 'supportive'; every time David Steel uses it he sinks another point or two in my personal poll. I hope too, that now the election is over, Roy Hattersley (who has had a good campaign on the whole) will drop using the word 'message' in a statistical context: it ill becomes a man with literary pretensions.

But the biggest bore of all is the *Belgrano* Bore. And, my goodness, there are a lot of them in the media. The *Belgrano* business is a classic example of old-style CP agitprop. Don't state a general case: make it concrete, personalise it. Thus, over the decades, we have had Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, *libérez Henri Martin!*, the Scottsboro Boys and, most successful of all, *Guernica*, which Stalin's propaganda machine used to distract attention from his massacre and torture of the anarchists in Catalonia. The Left feel they cannot fight Mrs Thatcher successfully on the main issues of the Falklands War, so they have constructed an extraordinary mythology about the *Belgrano*. According to this, Thatcher, who desperately wanted a war in the Falklands, partly because she likes war anyway but chiefly because she needed one to boost her desperately sagging political popularity and keep herself in office, was terrified that the 'Peruvian Peace Plan' would lead to a negotiated settlement. So she broke her own rules of engagement and ordered the *Belgrano* to be sunk, though at the time it was returning to harbour intending to take no further part in the affair. Thus, at a stroke, she torpedoed not only the cruiser but the peace talks too and so got her war — and her political dividends.

It does not matter that every single element in this fantasy is false, and has been shown to be false over and over again. Nor does it matter that the loss of life in the

*Belgrano* was largely due to the behaviour of its escorts who turned tail and left their comrades to drown. What matters to the *Belgrano* Bore is the power and magic of the myth itself, which 'proves' Mrs Thatcher is wicked. *Belgrano* Bores were very active at the Tory press conferences last week, brandishing 'facts' and 'disclosures' from such unimpeachable sources as Senor Costa Mendes, Argentina's Ribbentrop.

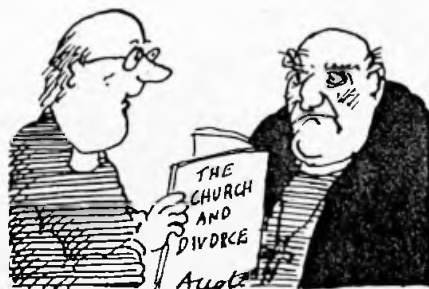
Some innocent foreigners, who do not understand the glutinous opacity of the British fringe-Left mind, believe the matter can be settled by producing documents. A dim American told Mrs Thatcher that, since many journalists were becoming fed up with *Belgrano* questions (me: '*Hear, hear!*'), she should end the controversy by printing something or other. A talkative German, whom Mrs T rather likes, as he is an excellent comic feed, wanted her to publish 'admiralty papers'. But she knows, as well as anyone familiar with agitprop, that such a concession would merely serve as a platform on which the *Belgrano* Bores would build further monuments of mendacity and self-deception.

Not that she has shirked battle with them. She took more questions on this than on any other topic, and banged them back across the court with ferocious top-spin. Pursuing her consistent tactic of never bringing up the Falklands herself, but returning charges with interest if the Opposition

make them, she knows quite well that the overwhelming majority of British people (including most journalists) welcomed the sinking of the cruiser, because it persuaded the rest of the Argentine fleet to stay in harbour for the duration and thus saved many lives. All this is incomprehensible to the *Belgrano* Bores, who cannot be made to understand that most of us do not hate our country or wish it to be humiliated and defeated. So they plod doggedly on and doubtless will be raising the issue twenty years from now, until the word '*Belgrano*' loses its evocative spell and joins such defunct emotive phrases as '*Marconi*', '*Groundnuts*', '*Collusion*' and '*Bank Rate Leak*'.

The BBC, needless to say, houses a good many *Belgrano* Bores in its seething entrails, and it would be interesting to know how many thousands of pounds of the licence-payer's money has been spent by the British Broadcasting Corporation in the pursuit of this anti-British propaganda vendetta. *Newsnight*, for whom the sinister Costa Mendes is a kind of folk hero, was at it again last week, much to the indignation of David Owen. Tory complaints against the BBC are mounting, and I sympathise with them. Cecil Parkinson was furious about the composition of the audience in last week's *Question Time*. The problem with this programme, on which I have appeared once or twice and dislike intensely, is not Robin Day, who conducts things, as always, as fairly as possible, but the way in which the studio audience is selected. It is not drawn from the general public, as the viewer might suppose, but from a variety of activist groups. Thus, though political 'balance' in a theoretical sense may be preserved, the mob in the studio is thoroughly unrepresentative, composed as it is largely of zealots, fanatics, obsessives, windbags and cranks. It is in complete contrast to the *Any Questions* audiences on the radio, who are much closer to cross-sections of the people. Indeed, if the British as a nation were like the *Question Time* crowd, one would want to blow one's brains out.

However, useless to protest to the BBC about the behaviour of *Newsnight*, *Question Time* or indeed some of the news bulletins, which had a strong resemblance to Labour Party Political Broadcasts. To make a protest assumes that someone is in control, and nobody is in control of the BBC. In practice, Alasdair Milne can no more determine the output of such programmes, or even influence them to any real extent, than I can. His title of 'Editor-in-Chief', which he has in addition to Director-General, is misleading. The Corporation is far too big, diffuse and composed of private empires and principalities (it is, typically, holding two rival election-night parties), to be 'edited' by any one man. It must be broken up. Now that the election is over, I shall be returning to the problem of what to do about Britain's £3,000 million-a-year Public Sector Culture Industry, of which the BBC is only a part.



'Well, it will get them into church at least twice in a lifetime.'

# Argentina in search of a saviour

11MKS 10 SUNE 83

Buenos Aires

Argentina's electoral campaign started long before Britain's and is still going on. The party political battle started rolling in July last year in the midst of the trauma of defeat in the Falklands and the collapse of General Leopoldo Galtieri's military regime. Under the transitional presidency of General Reynaldo Bignone elections are due on October 30 and a new civilian government is to be sworn in at the end of January, 1984.

The importance of this campaign is obvious. At stake is whether Argentina can overcome the vicious cycle of instability that has plagued the country. The new administration's policy will also be crucial in the future of Anglo-Argentine relations and the Falklands dispute. And in a Latin American continent crushed by a massive foreign debt burden it may herald new approaches to the continuing economic crisis.

There are four main electoral groups in the country: the Peronists, the Radicals, the centre-right, and the left. After seven years of military rule, each has experienced a series of internal changes.

This electoral race is different for a number of reasons: the sheer magnitude of the political, economic, social, and even moral crisis in Argentina is unprecedented; the great father figures of Argentine politics - charismatic *caudillos* such as General Peron and Señor Ricardo Balbin of the Radical Party - are dead; and the country's electorate of 17.9 million people includes an estimated 4.5 million first-time voters brought up in the stifling atmosphere of military rule.

The Peronists remain the most likely to win, because they are the mass party *par excellence*. In the four elections in which they were allowed to participate freely they romped home with convincing

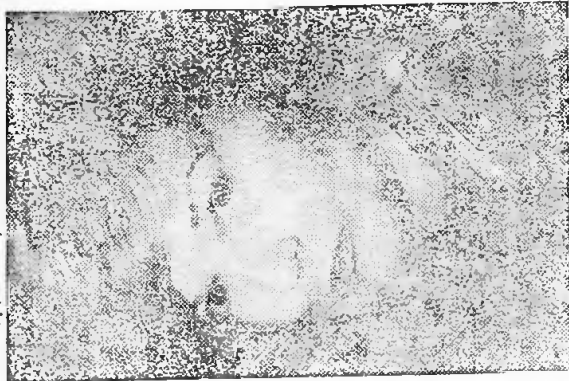
majorities. The key political question for a movement which has harboured figures from the extreme right to the extreme left, is what kind of Peronism? At the moment there are four main Peronist candidates for presidential nomination, and one crucial question living in exile in Madrid: the general's widow and former president, Isabel.

Two of the candidates, Señor Angel Robledo and Señor Raul Mera, describe themselves as "anti-verticalists". Verticalism in Peronist jargon means absolute respect for the dictates of the leader. Both insist that the movement must now begin to function on the basis of internal democracy.

Señor Robledo defines himself as a moderate, and has the support of the so-called "soft" wing of the Peronist labour movement. Señor Antonio Cafiero, who is informally supported by the harder-line trade unionists, is more of a verticalist, although he too insists on the value of internal democracy. Finally, perhaps the strongest candidate is Señor Italo Luder, a former Senate leader and provisional president who has deliberately kept clear of hard and fast alliances to be able to present himself as the symbol of unity.

The Peronist party congress is due to meet in August. Unlike the Radical Party, selection of the candidate is indirect, and congress delegates are not theoretically bound by mandates. This increases the chance of some last-minute horse-trading. A key figure in this is Señor Lorenzo Miguel, an engineering workers' trade union leader on the right who has always tried to place himself at the centre of the union political machine. Señora Isabel Peron, or just "La Señora", is also a key elector.

While most of the Peronist candidates are not willing to say so



Isabel Peron: which candidate will receive her blessing?

publicly, all hope for La Señora's blessing. As the political heir to Peron her endorsement is vitally important. One sector of the movement has begun to campaign for her to stand for nomination and few of the other candidates would relish speaking out against her. They hope, instead, that she will settle for something like the presidency of the party.

The Radicals, of course, would benefit from major disagreements among the Peronists, and from the continuing rise of Señor Miguel, who is widely distrusted even within Peronist ranks.

The Radicals will hold elections this month to decide who will be their presidential candidate. Señor Raul Alfonsín, leader of the "renovation and change" sector of the party, is tipped to win by a small margin against Señor Fernando de la Rúa, a representative of the more

conservative party machine. Señor Alfonsín is a left of centre figure who is close to European social democratic thinking.

Left-wing parties are not expected to do particularly well in the polls, but are worth watching. The Argentine Communist Party in particular is growing in strength, and has modified its traditional anti-Peronist line, while other small Trotskyist groupings are beginning to make an important impact in the union movement.

Argentina's centre-right parties, fragmented and weak, have never been able to break out of the political ghetto they fell into after the rise of Peronism. Right-wing governments have always been military ones, and have been almost universally condemned at the end of their administrations, so right-wing politicians have never had a good image. The strongest figure among them is Señor Francisco Manrique of the Federal Party.

The best forecast at the moment is that the Peronists will win, perhaps with Señor Luder at their head, and with fewer votes than in 1973. Should Señora Isabel be their candidate, they will lose votes to the Radicals. With Señor Alfonsín at the head of the Radicals, they look like obtaining a good second place.

One vital subject is, of course, the Falklands. Señor Leopoldo Tettamanti, a former foreign ministry official in the last Peronist administration, started the ball rolling by suggesting Argentina could sign a formal cessation of hostilities in return for British troop withdrawal. Señor Miguel rapidly issued a statement saying that Tettamanti did not represent party policy on the issue. But the advantage of the move to democracy is that the issue is at least being publicly discussed.

Andrew Thompson

Times 10/6/83

"D Mail" 9/6/83

### Vocal hero

I WAS toying with the idea of voting Labour until Denis Healey's attack on Mrs Thatcher over the Belgrano affair. Would he have preferred the Hermes or Invincible to have been sunk instead?

When a country goes to war the aim is to finish it as quickly as possible by killing as many of the enemy as possible.

Forty years ago I and others in my regiment were decorated for doing just that. Wasn't it lucky for us that Messrs. Foot, Healey, and Kinnock,

were not in charge—we might have ended up in front of a firing squad instead!

E. SHEPHERD,  
Lower Largo, Fife.

Mail 9/6



'Guardian' 9/6/83

## A blunt reminder of Fitzroy

By John Ezard

AFTER the tender Anglican services during their visit to Falklands graves last spring, 70 relatives of the 50 victims of the Fitzroy disaster were given a blunter message in a small whitewashed church in London yesterday.

"Time is not a healer," the Reverend Wynn Lewis, pastor of the Kensington Elim Temple, told them in a memorial address on the first anniversary of the day bombs hit the landing ships Sir Galahad and Sir Tristram carrying Welsh Guards. It led to the worst British losses of the campaign.

Several relatives became so distressed yesterday that they had to hurry from the church when a Welsh lament was sung after the roll of honour had been read aloud. Mr Lewis, brother-in-law of one of the fathers, told them: "I doubt whether the pictures of your lost ones will have faded from your minds in 20, 30 or 40 years' time."

He spoke of "young lives catapulted into eternity—sons, husbands, fathers, wasted on official business."

He said afterwards, "I wasn't supporting Neil Kinnock. I meant wasted only in the sense that they had so much of their lives before them."

Most relatives travelled from Wales acutely disappointed that the service was not being held in the Welsh Guards chapel. The Defence Ministry said that a memorial plaque in the chapel was not ready.

They also came in a mood of—at best—melancholy tolerance for the remarks of Labour politicians about the Falklands deaths. "I am not politically motivated towards Labour and I do not think the Falklands should be allowed to come into party politics," said Mr John Nicholson, South Wales regional officer for the Falklands Families Association.

"But if someone had made the same remark to me as they did to Neil Kinnock, in the heat of the moment I might have made the same retort."

Another hereaved father, Mr Des Keoghane, said, "Neil Kinnock, who is a Welshman, should be ashamed of himself. He should not have dragged it into politics—particularly at this time."

After the ceremony some of the relatives went on to lay wreaths at the Welsh Guards chapel and to deliver a letter for Mrs Thatcher asking for a national memorial in Wales.

'Guardian' 9/6/83

## Brazilian military arms Honduras

From Bernardo Kucinski  
in Sao Paulo, Brazil

Brazil has been supplying Honduras with arms in a secret operation which began six months ago when the American-supported rebel incursions into Nicaragua were already being prepared.

About 1,000 Brazilian-made sub-machine guns ordered then are now being delivered to the Honduran army. The deal attracted attention because it marked a clear departure from established policy of not selling arms to Central American countries.

The delivery consists of about 1,000 9mm sub-machine guns produced by the Taurus company.

It is understood that Foreign Office advice that the deal be not completed was ignored by the National Security Council. Brazil's military leadership has in recent months taken over from the Foreign Minister, Mr Saraiva Guerreiro, the transaction of foreign policy.

And it was the Air Force Minister, Brigadier Delio Jardim, who placed obstacles in the way of an agreement between Brazil and Libya on the issue of the four Libyan arms planes impounded by Brazil. The result was that the Libyans threatened to cancel about \$2 billion worth of arms orders. The Libyan plane will now fly back with the arms, exactly as demanded by Colonel Gadhafi.

## Rights worker tells of Chile arrests

By Patrick Keatley

Chile's political prisoners have risen from 174 in April to at least 220, according to a British civil rights worker who was expelled from Santiago.

Mr Jon Barnes, secretary of the Chile Committee for Human Rights, said in London yesterday that a wave of

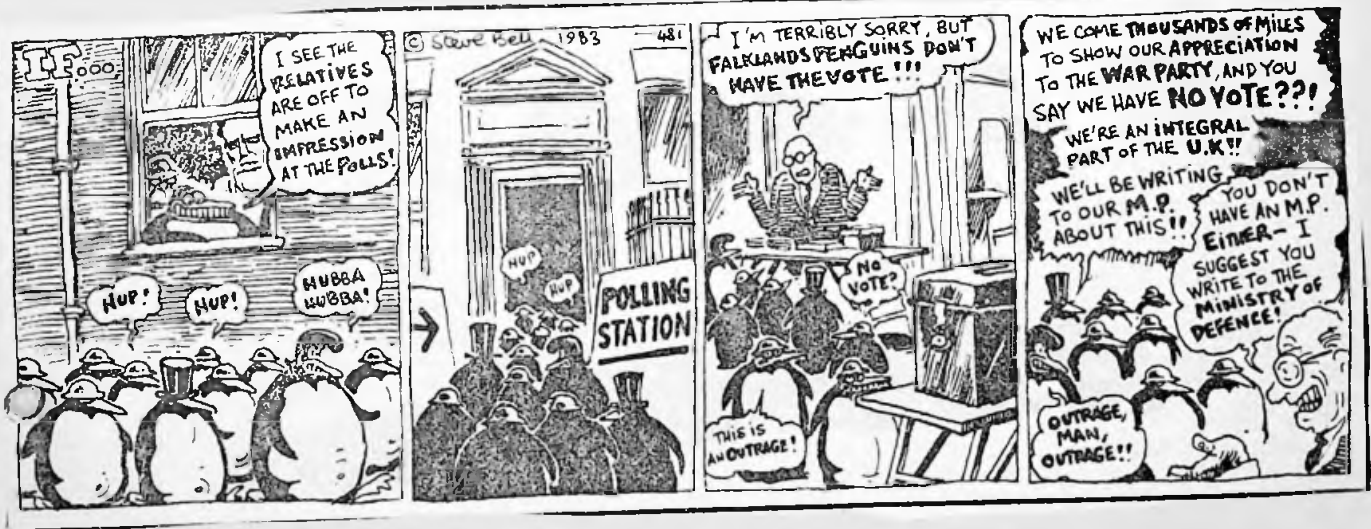
arrests in May had led to several dozen Chileans being detained.

He found himself charged with "shouting political slogans." Yesterday he vigorously denied this charge.

"I went to Chile on a tourist visa, to make contact with human rights organisations, the

churches, trade union groups and so on," he said. "On May 1, I was arrested by the Chilean secret police while watching, as a passive observer, a demonstration in the centre of Santiago. I had been in no way a participant. I was arrested by men in civilian dress, who refused to identify themselves.

'Guardian' 9/6/83



Daily Mirror 9 June 1983

### **Falkland tribute upsets relatives**

FAMILIES of Welsh Guardsmen killed in the Falklands were upset yesterday on the first anniversary of the attack on the Sir Galahad at Bluff Cove.

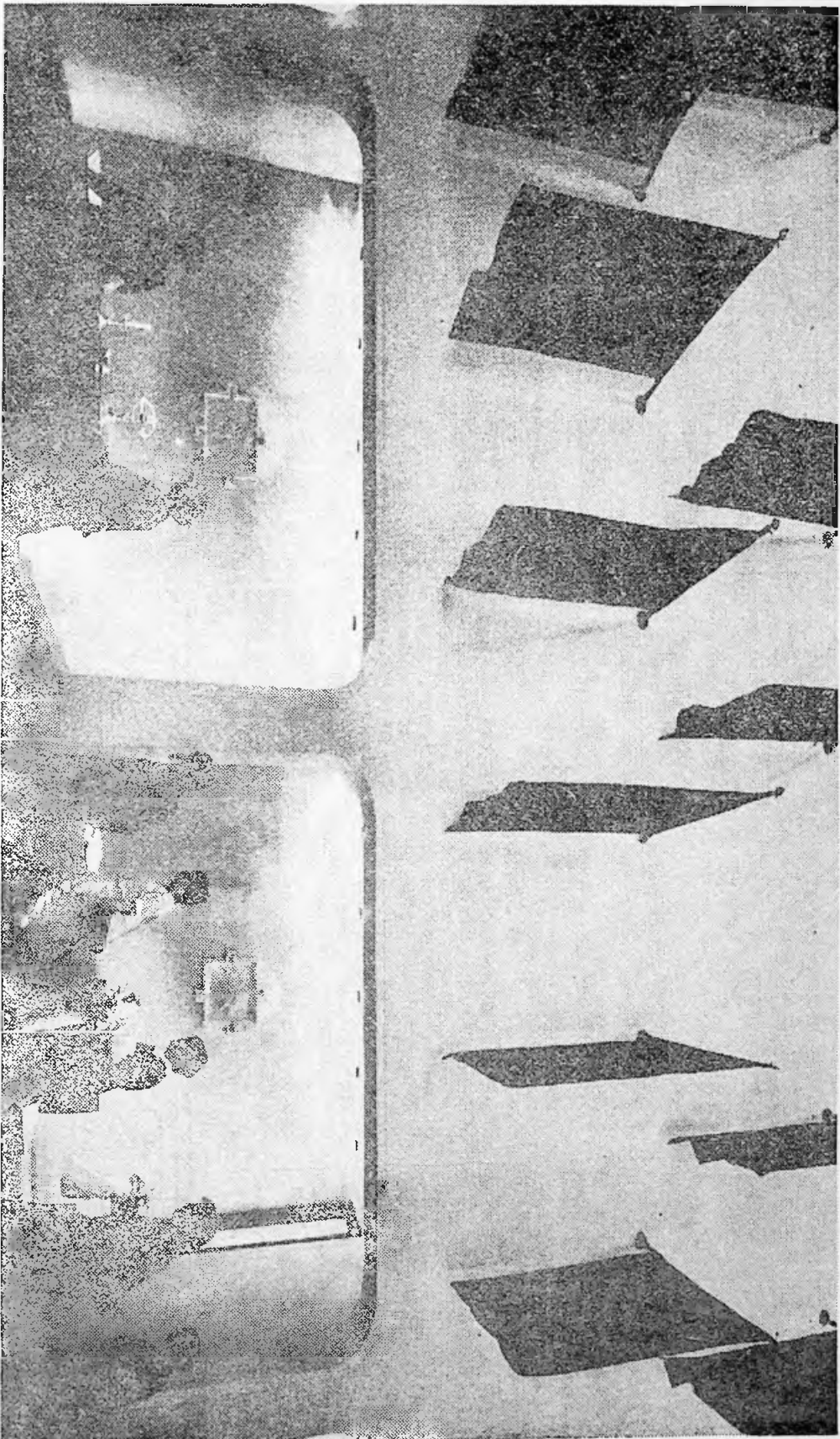
Seventy relatives were not allowed to hold a service in the Welsh Guards chapel in London.

They were told that a memorial plaque was not ready for dedication and they had to switch the service to Notting Hill.



'The Times' 9 June 1983

## Relatives gather to remember Bluff Cove tragedy



Relatives of soldiers killed a year ago yesterday on the Sir Galahad landing at Bluff Cove in the Falklands lining up to lay wreaths at the Welsh Guards Chapel in London yesterday.

The families were said to be "still very sad and bitter" that they were not holding a memorial service at the chapel but at the Kensington Temple, Notting Hill.

The Ministry of Defence said that they could not use the chapel because a memorial plaque there was not yet ready for dedication.

Mr John Nicholson, who organized the service, said: "I would think a year is plenty of time. In some of our parish churches it took only weeks to get memorial plaques."

Some of the relatives went on to Downing Street after the ceremony to deliver a letter to Mrs Margaret Thatcher. Others went to the chapel to lay a wreath.

"They want a national memorial in Wales and I am quite in favour of that", Mr Nicholson, South Wales

regional official of the Falklands Families Association, said.

Mr Nicholson, of Bridgend, Mid-Glamorgan, lost a son, Gareth, aged 19, on Sir Galahad. He said:

"When we attended the cathedral service at St Paul's last year a promise was made at a lunch given afterwards that this year a service would be held at the guards' chapel. However, that has not taken place, so we decided to go ahead and have our own service."

Asked how families felt about not knowing why their sons and fathers

had been so easily bombed by Argentine planes, Mr Nicholson said: "We are all still very sad and very bitter about what happened."

The families brought a wreath of flowers shaped in the form of a leek, the crest of the Welsh Guards, to the service. A roll of honour of the 39 First Battalion Welsh Guards and three Special Air Service Regiment soldiers who died was read out by the Rev Wynn Lewis, Mr Nicholson's brother-in-law.

Photograph: Brian Harris

'Daily Mail' 9 June 1983



Falkland Sound — Voces de Malvinas. Edited by Louise Page. Royal Court Theatre Upstairs.

IF Denis Healey and Neil Kinnock are in the election dog-house for their impetuous Falklands heresies, then the Royal Court's eve-of-poll offering must certainly induce a call among the Prime Minister's more apoplectic supporters for a swift return of burning at the stake.

There is hardly a good word to be heard on our victory over the Argentinians from start to finish. Yet for all its deliberate partisan appeal, the words uttered are all, mercifully, and remarkably free of the politician's taint.

They are, all of them, factual accounts from interested parties, and even allowing for the ominous

## The moving story of one hero's war

absence of any equally impartial voice speaking up on behalf of the Government, they make powerful theatre in their own right.

It is impossible, for example, to hear Lieutenant David Tinker (no relation, alas) writing home vivid accounts of his growing disenchantment with the wisdom of the encounter not to know something of the human face of war.

Lieutenant Tinker was the very

stuff of which English heroes are made. A young man with deep Christian beliefs and quiet cultural values, he was, you can tell from these moving letters, everything that Mrs Thatcher herself would embrace as best about young British manhood.

He died in action on the Glamorgan. And Julian Wadham brings out his open, often naive personality so subtly that the news

of his death at the age of 25 seems almost a personal loss.

The fact that he wrote home to his father, Professor Hugh Tinker, a swingeing indictment of the Government's handling of events cannot be put alongside the election jibes of Messrs Healey and Kinnock. It was one man's first hand view and it cost him his life.

The rest of the evening is given over to a random forum culled from in-depth interviews.

These are the composite parts of the whole. And where Max Stafford-Clark triumphs in welding them into a complete picture is in letting us see them as rounded, flawed human beings each with a story to tell, take it or leave it.

And that is what, ultimately, raises the theatre above the soap-box and the hustings.



# A clear day and a sitting target

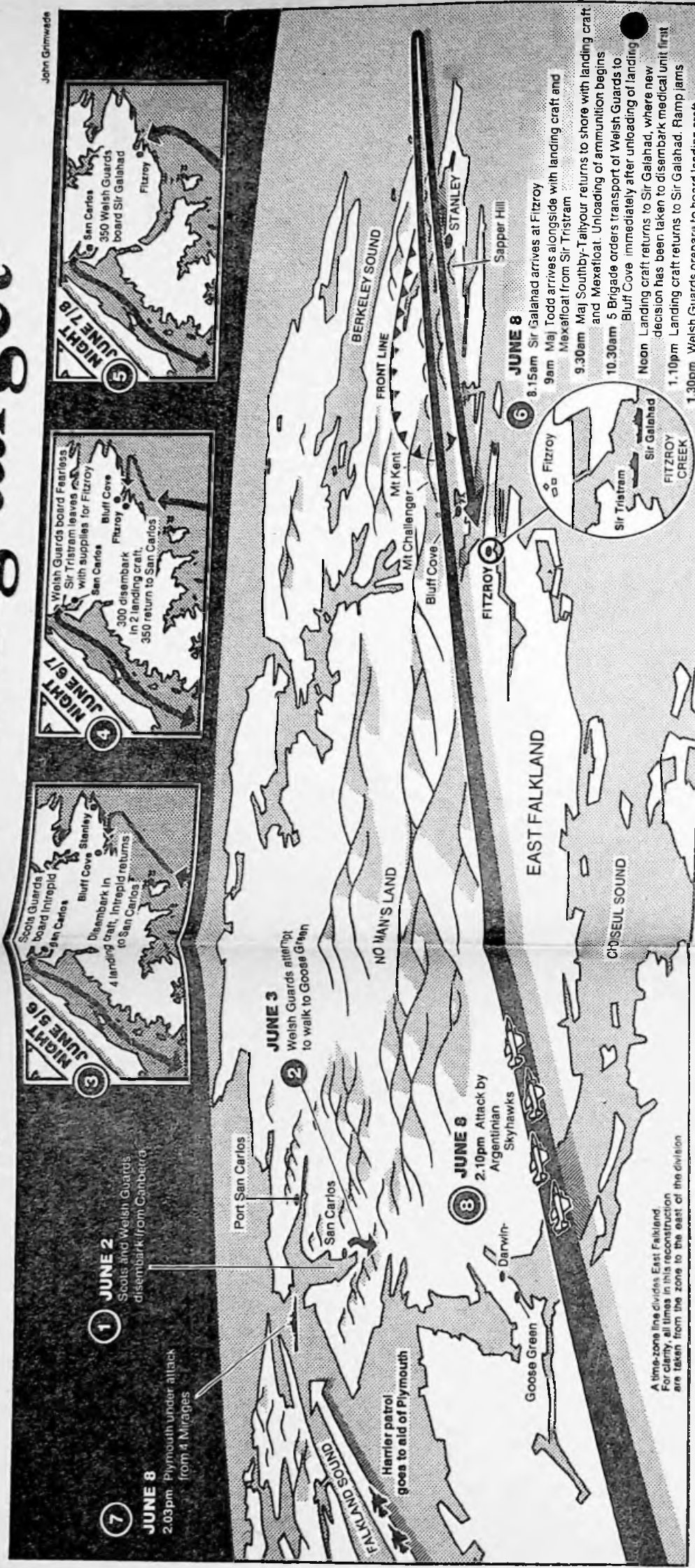
The Welsh Guards' tragedy at Fitzroy,

one of the most shocking episodes of the Falklands war,

was the subject of a naval board of inquiry whose findings were never made public.

Jenny Rathbone reconstructs the tangle of conflicting priorities which

fatally exposed them a year ago today



In the waters off the small settlement of Fitzroy, during the afternoon of Tuesday, June 8, 1982, British forces sustained their worst casualties of the Falklands war. On a single ship, the Sir Galahad, 48 men were killed. Three times that number were wounded, many of them horribly burnt. It was the last day on which Argentina launched serious air attacks against British forces, and less than a week before the final surrender at Port Stanley.

Sir Galahad had arrived at Fitzroy bay that morning, laden with 350 Welsh Guards and their equipment. She had sat for six hours in broad daylight, in full view of the Argentines occupying the hills between Fitzroy and Port Stanley. Her sister ship Sir Tristram had been anchored 200 yards away since before dawn the previous day, unloading her cargo of ammunition.

The men and machinery on these two logistical landing ships (LSLs) were urgently required to enable the long-awaited, two-battle advance on Port Stanley to begin. Sending them by sea was the quickest way of getting them to the front line.

The risks involved had been the subject of continuous debate between London and the command off the Falkland Islands over the previous five days. In particular, it had been decided that it was too dangerous to risk a capital assault ship (Intrepid or Fearless) in taking troops to the front. The more expendable LSLs, however, could be used - even though they had no significant defences.

But, unforeseen by the planners, the dangers to Sir Galahad and the Welsh Guards were to multiply in the hours before the ship sailed into Fitzroy bay. The previous day, Monday, June 7 - as was later revealed by signals intelligence - the Argentines were observing posts overlooking Fitzroy bay, noting the arrival of Sir Tristram and anticipating a troop landing, had sent a message to the mainland requesting an air strike. The Argentine air force was given more than 24 hours to plan and carry out the attack. It was to do so with devastating effect.

The origin of the tragedy goes back to May 25, when the container ship Atlantic Conveyor was hit by an Exocet missile. Three giant Chinook helicopters were lost with the ship, virtually eliminating the airborne troop-carrying capacity of the British task force. Commodore Michael Clapp, the naval officer in charge of the amphibious landing which began on May 21, wanted to postpone any advance out of the San Carlos bridgehead until the losses of the Atlantic Conveyor could be replaced. He was overruled by his superiors in London: the political and military imperatives were to get on with the war.

The author is a researcher for Granada Television's World in Action programme

When the Welsh and Scots Guards disembarked from the Canberra at San Carlos on Wednesday, June 2, Major General Jeremy Moore, the land forces commander, decided that no helicopters could be made available to bring them forward to the front line; they were stretched supplying the troops already situated on the high ground. The Guards were stuck at San Carlos, but their arrival gave their brigade commander, Brigadier Tony Wilson, the back-up to accelerate movement on the southern route. Having ascertained that no Argentines were occupying the settlements of Fitzroy and Bluff Cove, Wilson commandeered the sole surviving Chinook helicopter on the island to airlift 154 men of 2 Para from Goose Green to within 15 miles of Port Stanley.

Moore's staff were forced to reorganize the movement of helicopters to ensure that 2 Para were reinforced with enough firepower to resist an enemy counter-attack. But as soon as an adequate defensive position had been established, the helicopters reverted to their previous tasks. This left 5 Brigade's command structure and communications vehicles scattered between San Carlos, Darwin and Fitzroy; and the two Guards battalions - 5 Brigade's essential infantry component - still stuck at San Carlos.

On June 3, the Welsh Guards tried to walk to Darwin. But when the light tractor and Sno-cat vehicles carrying their heavy equipment broke down after three miles, the plan was abandoned. An initial plan for both Guards battalions to sail round to Bluff Cove under cover of darkness on the assault ship Intrepid and two LSLs and unload throughout the following day, protected by the Navy's guns, was vetoed by a signal from Admiral Sir John Fieldhouse, Commander in Chief in London. Mrs Thatcher was under pressure to move to the negotiating table and the loss of another major warship could seriously undermine her resolution to push on for a military victory. Intrepid was not to be exposed to a daylight air attack.

The Welsh Guards were sent back to their original camp at San Carlos to await fresh instructions. Under a revised plan, the Scots Guards were taken half-way to Bluff Cove on Intrepid and completed the journey on the ship's four large landing craft. They were guided there by Major Ewen Southby-Tailyour, a landing craft and Falklands expert.

On the evening of June 6, the Welsh Guards were loaded on to Fearless, Moore's command ship. Fearless's captain, Jeremy Larkin, argued that with his ship's superior engine speed, and by leaving San Carlos before nightfall, he could halve the distance the Welsh Guards would have to travel by landing craft to complete their journey. But two of Fearless's four landing craft had to be left behind at

rather than the troops had become the priority. On board Fearless that day, Brigadier Wilson's priority was to establish an advance dressing station at Fitzroy, and to build up his brigade headquarters and maintenance area there.

Moore's staff, for their part, wanted to make Fitzroy the main maintenance and supply area for both 3 Brigade and 5 Brigade in the forthcoming push on Stanley. With this purpose in view, the Rapier were uppermost in their minds. Much less attention seems to have been paid by the planners to the Welsh Guards and the field ambulance unit. Contradictory orders were given to the Master of Sir Galahad and to the senior officer commanding the troops.

The Master, Captain Phil Roberts, was told by Major Guy Yeoman of Clapp's staff to go initially to Bluff Cove and to offload the Welsh Guards. He was then to sail the rest of his cargo back round to Fitzroy, all under cover of darkness. Maj Sayle was told by Col Baxter of General Moore's staff to transfer his Welsh Guards from Fearless to Sir Galahad, which would be sailing to Fitzroy. Sayle was given no new orders, either on board Fearless or subsequently on Sir Galahad, that would have altered those given to him by his commanding officer the previous night before they were separated.

Lt Col Rickett had told him to bring the men and their equipment to Bluff Cove by sea as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the medical unit due to sail on Sir Galahad had not been told the ship's schedule. Lieutenant Colonel John Roberts, commanding officer of the 16th Field Ambulance, had been given his orders over an insecure beach net, capable of being listened to by the enemy. It took the field ambulance seven hours after receiving their orders to start coming on board - long after the Welsh Guards had been embarked.

The LSL in question was Sir Galahad, which had returned empty to San Carlos on the morning of June 7 and was already earmarked to take an army medical team to Fitzroy. It was decided that the ship would sail south of the island that night, taking the Welsh Guards with her.

Once the decision had been made, however, it was clear that the supplies

and were ready to sail. So Sir Galahad set off for Fitzroy, with less than nine hours of darkness ahead of her.

At Fitzroy, 5 Brigade's staff had received no information about Sir Galahad's movements. Sir Tristram had arrived unannounced before dawn on June 7 and Major Todd, having deposited his 300 Welsh Guards at Bluff Cove, had crossed to Fitzroy with his two landing craft to supervise her unloading. He had six landing craft at his disposal, plus a Mexefloat pontoon. Whatever message was sent from Fearless at San Carlos on June 7 concerning the rest of the Welsh Guards being sent south on Sir Galahad, there is no evidence that it arrived either at the brigade headquarters at Darwin or forward at Fitzroy. In ignorance, 5 Brigade at Fitzroy relinquished five of the six landing craft overnight: four sailed to rejoin their mother-ship, Intrepid, the fifth was despatched to Goose Green.

Only one person at Fitzroy was expecting Sir Galahad when she arrived there at 8.15 on the morning of June 8. Just before she arrived, Maj. Todd, on board Sir Tristram, had read a signal that had come in overnight on the ship's teleprinter. It gave Sir Galahad's revised departure and arrival time. At that stage, a single landing craft and a Mexefloat pontoon were moored alongside Sir Tristram, waiting for the tide to change.

Todd gathered them together and crossed over to Sir Galahad, now anchored 200 yards away, to start grappling with the new and difficult situation. It was a beautiful clear day; they could see, and be seen, for miles. Boarding Sir Galahad through the stern gate, Todd invited the commanding officers of the two Welsh Guards rifle companies on board, Sayle and Major Charles Bremner, to take their men ashore immediately at Fitzroy. This, of course, contradicted their expectation, which was to be taken directly to Bluff Cove by sea without separating their men from their equipment. They requested to be taken there without delay.

Maj Southby-Tailyour, who had also crossed to Sir Galahad from Sir Tristram, joined the discussion on the tank deck. He indicated that it was too dangerous to send the landing craft or the LSL itself to Bluff Cove in daylight, and advised the officers to take their men ashore at Fitzroy. But the frustrated Welsh Guards officers were determined not to allow their men to become a low priority once again.

There were no direct communications between the LSL and 5 Brigade headquarters at Fitzroy settlement, a 20-minute walk from the beach. So Southby-Tailyour was despatched there to seek new orders, leaving the landing craft and the Mexefloat at the beach to begin offloading their pallets of ammunition, more than an hour after the ship had anchored.

The senior staff officer at Fitzroy was Major Barney Rolfe-Smith. His

superiors were all assembled on board Fearless (again anchored in the relative safety of San Carlos Water), for Moore's all-day council of war. Sir Galahad was not uppermost in their minds.

Rolfe-Smith initially greeted Southby-Tailyour's message with disbelief. He thought that most of the Welsh Guards had already landed at Bluff Cove that night before. After an hour's deliberation, he decided that they should disembark first. As soon as the landing craft had unloaded its ammunition, it was to take the Welsh Guards to Bluff Cove - in daylight.

After midday, nearly four hours after Sir Galahad's arrival, the landing craft finished unloading and went back empty to the ship. In the meantime, however, Lt Col Roberts had succeeded in getting 5 Brigade's fresh decision altered. It was now agreed that his advance medical unit of 12 men and nine vehicles should get off first - before the Guards.

After depositing the medicals on Fitzroy beach, there was a further delay: the landing craft was sent round to the jetty at Fitzroy settlement to take on rations and fuel destined for Bluff Cove. Finally, five hours after Sir Galahad's arrival, it returned to the ship to take off the first load of Welsh Guards - but as the landing craft approached the stern gate of Sir Galahad, its ramp jammed.

Forty miles away at San Carlos, a first wave of Argentine aircraft swooped down to attack HMS Plym. The single pair of Harriers patrolling the islands south of Falkland Sound were summoned in response to Plymouth's call for help. No such defences were available to Sir Galahad: no frigates in the area, no Harriers airborne, no Rapier operational. No Blowpipe troops deployed. Poor communications delayed receipt of the original air raid warning at Fitzroy by 12 minutes, and there was no direct link to pass the message on to the ships anchored in the bay. At 2.10pm, four Argentine Skyhawks attacked Sir Galahad and Sir Tristram. Sir Galahad was hit four times. One unexploded bomb passed clean through the ship's hull. Another exploded in the midst of the Welsh Guards' mortar platoon, assembled in a confined space on the tank deck. Most of them were killed. After the initial shock, the survivors groped around in the darkness and smoke to find escape hatches, with ammunition exploding all around them.

Forty-eight men died on board Sir Galahad, 38 of them Welsh Guards. Two more died on board Sir Tristram. More than 150 were wounded. Only the heroism of the helicopter crews who flew into the black smoke to rescue the wounded, of the doctors who saved lives and of the soldiers, medics and crew who did what they could to rescue comrades trapped in the wreckage, smoke and flames, did something to save the day.



Lt Col John Roberts (above) requested priority for his medical team. Maj Ewen Southby-Tailyour (below) had no authority to take control



Maj Guy Sayle (above) and Maj Charles Bremner (below), in charge of the Guards on Sir Galahad, insisted on direct transportation to Bluff Cove



Maj Gen Jeremy Moore (above) and Commodore Michael Clapp (below) were like Wilson, oblivious to the problem being created at Fitzroy by poor liaison



Using the arrival of his infantry as a springboard for 2 Para's advance, Brigadier Tony Wilson left the Guards' later movements to others as he joined the council of war on board Fearless



'Guardian' 8/6/83

## Falklands freeze move

From Jeremy Morgan  
in Buenos Aires

Argentina has inched towards lifting economic sanctions against Britain, allowing the partial removal of the freeze on British assets imposed at the height of last year's war in the Falklands.

A new law published in the official Gazette empowers the special commissions which have overseen British companies operating in Argentina to suspend the year-long ban on the sale or transfer of their assets.

President Reynaldo Bignone was also given the right at

some future date to repeal the ban, which applies to all property in Argentina belonging to the Crown UK companies or British citizens without permanent residence rights.

Independent observers, however, linked the Argentine move to the latest round of talks between top-level government officials and leading bank creditors in New York over a proposed \$1.5 billion five-year loan.

Dr Fritz Leutweiler, president of the Bank for International Settlements, said that a \$500 million bridging loan for Argentina had expired last month without being touched.



'Times' 8/6/83

TIMES 8-6-83

## WAR OF WORDS OF WAR

It is exceedingly provoking for Labour candidates in this campaign that the apparently impregnable ascendancy of the Prime Minister should be traceable to a war of which many of them for one reason or another disapproved. The Conservatives have made an electioneering virtue of abstaining from what they had no need to do - thrust that chapter in the life of the government and nation in front of the electorate. The Falklands expedition is there, a large political fact, fresh in the memory, working like leaven in the Tory loaf. The only way, in fact, in which the Conservatives might have thrown away some of that advantage was by making an exhibition of it. Some of the party's candidates have been making more of it in their constituency campaigns than others, but no Conservative campaigner with access to a nation-wide public address system has sought to stir those anyway active memories.

The war itself was equally plainly out of bounds to the opposition parties. There might have been something to be made, though little has been made, of future policy towards

the islands and towards Argentina; but the campaign itself, as ground from which to assault the Government or the Prime Minister in particular, was as mine-strewn as the environs of Stanley after liberation.

The Alliance has been scrupulously prudent. So was Labour until Mr Kinnock and Mr Healey blundered in. Mr Kinnock's first reference was to the sinking of the Belgrano. That was in reasonably measured terms and detonated no explosion. But as an election thrust it was worse than useless. There are sharp questions to be answered about that episode, but they are not the sort that get an answer on the hustings. As it was, his sally merely reminded people of the naval action in the South Atlantic, a general cause of pride; and as for the Belgrano: she was at sea, was she not, hostilities had opened, she was escorted, she was a potential threat to the seaborne expeditionary force... for most people, including most of those whose vote Mr Kinnock might hope to attract, that is reason enough for the sinking, no matter about speculation that another course might have

averted a war that was briefly fought and brilliantly won.

Mr Healey's "she gloried in slaughter" and Mr Kinnock's "guts on the ground" are cries of exasperation of a different order, a wish to wound. Neither Mr Healey's half withdrawal nor Mr Kinnock's laboured explanation to the relatives of the dead that he meant no offence to them, exclusively to Mrs Thatcher, can efface the effect of their exuberance. And the effect is to contribute to the catalogue of self-inflicted injuries that have disabled the Labour Party for this election.

For most British people then and even more in retrospect, once the Falklands were seized by Argentina it was necessary to fight for their recovery; the expedition brought glory on the armed services and credit on the Government that mounted it; the whole episode, suffused by victory, reflected well on Britain in resolution and execution. That national experience as much as anything has put the Prime Minister beyond the reach of her political adversaries in this election, and it persists to smother those who would wound her on account of it.

Guardian 8/6/83

## Argentine coalition calls for Chile peace pact

Buenos Aires: A coalition representing broad sections of the Argentine electorate has called for the signing of a non-aggression pact with Chile.

Tension between the two countries has risen in recent weeks in a dispute over the sovereignty of three islands at the southern tip of the continent.

In a communique, the "multiparty" urged the military government of President Bignone and that of General Pinochet in Chile to formally promise "to peacefully and amicably resolve all territorial disputes which exist or might arise . . . and to abstain now and forever from recurring,

directly or indirectly, to any form of threat or use of force and from adopting any measure that could alter the harmony of (bilateral) relations."

The document was signed by representatives of the Peronist, Radical, Developmentalist, Intransigent and Christian Democratic parties.

Argentina and Chile nearly went to war in 1978 over the three islands in the Beagle Channel. Pope John Paul attempted to mediate in the conflict in January, 1979, but his proposal for a solution of the dispute, issued in December, 1980, though acceptable to Chile, ran into objections from the Argentine government.—AP.

D. Telegraph 7 June '83

#### MRS PROTEST

at delay

Mothers of men who served in the Falklands have asked the Ministry of Defence why their sons have not yet received campaign medals.

Mrs Lily Holden, 53, whose 25-year-old son, Stephen, is a marine in 40 Commando, said: "The medals mean a lot to the families. We feel we have waited long enough."

A Ministry of Defence spokesman said several thousand Servicemen out of the 28,000 who took part in the campaign were still waiting for a medal.

'Times' 7 June 1983

**Falkland stamps  
on show**

TIME \$ 7 Jun 83

Sir Rex Hunt, the civil commissioner of the Falkland Islands, emphasized the importance of stamps and stamp collecting for the financial future of the islands when he officially opened an exhibition of the island's stamps and postal history, yesterday at Stanley Gibbons Gallery, in the Strand.

Stamps are the island's second largest industry, after sheep farming. The exhibition is open throughout June, admission free.



E. Standard 7 June '83

**IN BRIEF**

**BUENOS AIRES:** Argentina has lifted financial sanctions imposed on British companies and residents in Argentina at the height of the Falklands conflict.

The government said the restrictions were being lifted "taking into consideration the general interest and equal treatment accorded the Argentine republic" by Britain.

'Guardian' 7/6/83

# Kinnock's gibe reopens row over Falklands

By Anne McHardy and  
Richard Norton-Taylor

Mr Neil Kinnock re-opened the row over the Falklands war last night when he told a Television South audience that it was a pity soldiers had to die to prove that Mrs Thatcher had guts.

Mr Kinnock, Labour's spokesman on education brought boos and protests when he said that until the Falklands war Mrs Thatcher was "the most loathed prime minister in modern history."

Someone in the audience shouted that Mrs Thatcher had "showed guts." Mr Kinnock replied: "It's a pity others had to leave theirs on the ground at Goose Green to prove it."

He said that he did not wish to detract from Mrs Thatcher's ability to lead the country over a short period but arrogance should not be mistaken for strength, he said.

His remarks earned instant condemnation from the Defence Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine, who called him the "self-appointed king of gutter politics." Mr Heseltine said that Mr Denis Healey, the Labour deputy leader had led the way for Mr Kinnock last week when he spoke of Mrs Thatcher glorying in slaughter.

Dr David Owen, the deputy leader of the SDP, said: "When will the Labour Party learn that all these remarks do is remind everyone of the appalling spectacle of their

internal division over the Falklands provided during the crisis?"

In an acrimonious debate with Mr Healey on Channel 4 TV, he said: "I think Mr Kinnock should withdraw these intemperate remarks. If they stay on the record for many more hours they will do the same damage that Mr Healey's remarks did."

"The country should not have to wait 24 hours for a halfhearted retraction as we had to do in the case of Mr Healey."

"All this does is to remind the electorate how divided and vacillating the Labour party was on the Falklands crisis, how unfit they are to govern, and unfit to be the official opposition."

Last night Mr Kinnock was unrepentant. Speaking from his constituency he said: "If the Prime Minister owes any part of her reputation to her conduct of the Falklands invasion and subsequent war no one should be surprised if reference to that is made either in the course of an election or at any other time."

A new book on the Falklands war — the second by Mr Tam Dalyell, Labour candidate for West Lothian, has raised new questions about the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the Argentine cruiser, the Belgrano.

In Thatcher's Torpedo, which is published today, Mr Dalyell asks why — if the cruiser was no immediate threat to the task force — Mrs Thatcher's inner cabinet made no attempt to contact Mr Pym, the Foreign Secretary, before the decision to sink the Belgrano was taken. Mr Pym was in Washington having talks with Mr Alexander Haig the US Secretary of State.

Mr Pym acknowledged recently that he was not consulted. Mr Dalyell argues that it was "inconceivable" that neither Mr Pym, nor Mr Charles Wallace, the British ambassador in Lima who was in close touch with Peruvian attempts to negotiate a peace, had not kept London informed of the talks' progress.



Mr Neil Kinnock: later  
attacked for his remark

# Signs honouring Falklands dead are torn down



Mr Alan Newbury removing the Cardiff street signs bearing the name of his son Stephen, who was killed in the Falklands.

By GERALD BARTLETT

**S**TREET signs bearing the name of a Welsh Guardsman killed in the Falklands last year have been torn down by his angry father because of "callous" criticism and objections from local families.

The families, living in Stephen Newbury Close, Llanishen, Cardiff, say they want the old name, Oakridge Village Estate, back again because the soldier's name is causing confusion and lost letters.

They have petitioned Cardiff City Council protesting about "maladministration" and lack of consultation about changes of five estate roads to commemorate men killed at Bluff Cove.

Residents say the street name plates are not fitting memorials anyway, and they want all the Falklands names removed.

Mr Alan Newbury became so incensed by the wrangling that he drove into Stephen Newbury Close, ripped the street signs out of their concrete bases and took them home in his truck.

He said: "They can stay here in my garage until the residents and the council agree what to do. I am not letting people play politics with my son's name."

## Councillors meet

Members of the council's Environmental Services Committee meet today to discuss the petition and decide whether or not to prosecute Mr Newbury for removal of the street signs. It is understood that he will be asked to return the signs and that no further action will be taken.

The council's Chief Executive, Mr Harold Crippin, said: "We understand the residents' objections, not to a Falklands memorial, but to confusion over changing established addresses, which will be discussed today."

The petition organiser, Mrs Jane Hughes, of Stephen Newbury Close, said: "The council have been very insensitive. This is not the way to remember the soldiers who died in the Falklands."

A Welsh Guardsman added: "I am not a soldier, but I am proud to live in a street named after someone who made the sacrifice that my son made."

"I may be prosecuted for removing the signs, but it is a risk."

D. Telegraph 6 June '83

## FALKLAND CLAMP ON RAF DOGS

By PATRICK WATTS  
in Port Stanley

NINE guard dogs which arrived in the Falklands last month to be used by the Royal Air Force to patrol Stanley airport have been put in quarantine for a month.

Mr Steve Whitley, veterinary officer of the Falklands government, decided to enforce the regulations on the importation of animals when the team arrived on May 17.

"The risk of allowing imported dogs to mix freely with other dogs is too great, without the proper quarantine period," said Mr Whitley.

In addition the RAF dogs will have to be dosed every six weeks against Hydatid, a disease discovered nearly 20 years ago in the Falklands.

Mr Whitley also said that the dogs' handlers would also need to apply to the local Post Office for a licence.



'Times' 6/6/83

# The world tunes in for BBC results

TIMES  
6 June 83

By Kenneth Gosling

The world is taking a keen interest in our elections - especially the countries of Latin-America.

Normal programmes from Bush House, headquarters of the BBC external services, on Thursday night have been cancelled so that the latest results can be transmitted.

Four countries, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia and Mexico, have asked for special reports and dozens of radio stations will be picking up and broadcasting BBC reports.

The number of listeners is difficult to estimate - the BBC occasionally carries out surveys in individual countries but these are expensive. It estimates the external services have about 100 million regular listeners.

A survey in seven urban areas of Argentina, including Buenos Aires where about half the population lives, showed that among nearly 10 million adults, 190,000 were regular listeners.

But assuming a less regular listening pattern, this could reach 700,000.

Mr Alberto Palaus, head of the BBC's Latin-America service, told me: "What became abundantly clear last year, at the time of the Falklands conflict, is that we have a very sizeable audience indeed in Latin America which can be estimated in millions. This absolutely exploded with the Falklands and many more stations have now got into the habit of rebroadcasting our programmes".

Mr Palaus said the interest was so much greater this year because Mrs Thatcher was a leading figure in Latin America - "I am not saying she is loved but there is a new dimension because the main figure involved has stepped into the realms of mythology".

The Latin-American service has eight nationalities on its staff and four Colombians, Chileans, Mexicans and Argentines, will take part in the election night programmes, along with commentators and analysts.

A number of services will have extra time allotted, the Foreign Office permitting. These services include Bengali and Tamil and Portuguese to Brazil.

West Germany, too, has taken a special interest in the election. The BBC's German service will broadcast for an extra six hours on election night and for two hours extra on Friday.

In response to a request from radio in the American sector of Berlin (RIAS), the BBC's programme will be relayed live early Friday morning.

Mr Hermann Schroeder, head of the service, said: "For the first time, and this has been written about in our press, there is a third force to be reckoned with in British politics and for three weeks we have been looking at the issues, including the ethnic factor and the north-south division in Britain.

"We believe we have a regular audience in the Federal Republic - that is watching at least once a week - of 1.3 million. We will be putting out the state of the parties every half-hour through the night. I cannot imagine a British audience staying up to hear the German election results".

The English-language World Service will be broadcasting from a new special events studio at Bush House, used last weekend for the first time to relay *Saturday Special*, the sports programme.

Many of the BBC's services have arranged for correspondents to report reactions to the results especially from Latin America and Argentina.

FROM STEVEN BORTH, GRAY AND CO, WASH  
MAY 18, 1983

-- OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS --

JUNE 5-6, 1983  
SHERATON-CARLTON HOTEL

SUNDAY, JUNE 5

6:30 P.M. - REGISTRATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SEMINAR MATERIALS. CRYSTAL ROOM (COCKTAILS WILL BE SERVED.)

7:30 P.M. - DINNER

8:30 P.M. - WELCOMING REMARKS BY DR. RICARDO ZINN -- PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN CONE PUBLISHING AND ADVISORY SERVICES. INTRODUCTION OF THOMAS ENDERS BY AMBASSADOR ESTEBAN TAKACS, FORMER ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES AND SPECIAL ADVISOR TO SOUTHERN CONE PUBLISHING AND ADVISORY SERVICES.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS THOMAS ENDERS FOLLOWED BY A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.

MONDAY, JUNE 6

8:00 A.M. - CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST, COSMOS CLUB AUDITORIUM

9:00 A.M. - INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY DR. RICARDO ZINN. MODERATOR, GEORGE AGREE - PRESIDENT, AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION.

9:10 - NOON (MORNING SESSION)

-- NICHOLAS ARDITO BARLETTA, REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENT FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, THE WORLD BANK 'INTERNATIONAL DEBT AND THE WORLD BANK'.

-- PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS, SENIOR FELLOW, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, 'THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL BORROWING'.

-- CARLOS CABALLO, ARGENTINE ECONOMIST, INSTITUTO TORCUATO DE TELLA, 'OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES'.

-- PHILIP E. COLDWELL, PRESIDENT, COLDWELL FINANCIAL CONSULTING, FORMER MEMBER, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, 'U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS AS SEEN FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR'.

Reply via RCA. call 212

Reply via RCA. call 212-248-7000

CA. call 212-248-7000  
call 212-248-7000

12:15 P.M. - LUNCH, CHESAPEAKE ROOM OF THE RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL

1:00 P.M. - AMBASSADOR ESTERAN TAKACS INTRODUCES AMBASSADOR ORFILA. KEYNOTE LUNCHEON ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ALEJANDRO ORFILA FOLLOWED BY A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.

2:00 P.M. - AFTERNOON SESSION (COSMOS CLUB AUDITORIUM) INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY LAURENCE LEVINE, ESQ., PARTNER, WALSH AND LEVINE, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF SOUTHERN CONE PUBLISHING AND ADVISORY SERVICES.

MODERATOR, WENCESLAO RUNGE, PRESIDENT OF WORSA, PRESIDENT FUNDACION DE HEMISFERO, AND PRESIDENT OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY CLUB IN ARGENTINA.

2:15 - 5:30 P.M.

-- RICHARD V. ALLEN, PRESIDENT, THE RICHARD ALLEN COMPANY AND FORMER ASSISTANT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS ADVISOR, 'WESTERN HEMISPHERIC SECURITY - A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE'

*Another lobbyist.  
Sacked by Reagan*

-- NATALIO BOTANA, ARGENTINE POLITICAL STUDIES EXPERT, 'RECENT TRENDS IN ARGENTINE POLITICS'

-- MARK FALCOFF, SENIOR FELLOW AT THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, 'POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS'

-- ARNALDO MUSICH, FORMER ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, 'CURRENT ATTITUDES IN U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS'.

6:00-7:30 P.M.

RECEPTION (WITH MEMBERS OF THE NEWS MEDIA) CHANDELIER ROOM OF THE SHERATON - CARLTON HOTEL.

7:30 P.M. DINNER (CRYSTAL ROOM OF THE SHERATON-CARLTON)

8:30 P.M. - DR. RICARDO ZINN -- CONCLUDING REMARKS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE EVENING'S KEYNOTE SPEAKER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS, RICHARD MCCORMACK. A BRIEF QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD WILL FOLLOW.

Reply via RCA

Reply via RCA call 212-248-7000

CA call 212-248-7000

'Sunday Express' 5 June '83

### A visitor to Britain?

Osvoldo Destefanis, the organiser of the thwarted trip to the Argentine war graves in the Falklands, has applied for a visa to enter Britain.

The Foreign Office will not consider his application until after the election, and even then a response could take weeks. Last night a spokesman for Mr Michael Foot denied that any arrangements had been made for the Labour leader to meet Mr Destefanis.



'Sunday Express' 5 June '83

## TOUGH LIFE AHEAD FOR FALKLANDS BARBER

THE working life of a hairdresser is not generally associated with anything more muscular than dusting down the customer.

And most hairdressers starting their first job look forward to comfort and small talk about the weather and the Test match.

Not so Simon Hodges, an 18-year-old from Bristol.

For very soon he is to fly out to cut the hair of British soldiers in the Falklands.

When they advertised for a hairdresser the NAAFI said they were looking for a skilled man with a sense of adventure.

Simon, who trained at a London hairdressing school, is now being taught something about the rigours of winter life in the Falklands at the NAAFI training centre at Claygate, Surrey.

And when he is ready he will fly out to join the troops for a six-month tour.

While the styles will probably be less than exacting Simon will certainly earn his £110 a week all found.

He will have to wear a uniform and to travel between the 10 bases on the islands either over very rocky roads or by helicopter.

Added the NAAFI spokesman: "Simon will be one of two barbers on the islands and he may be expected to have to cut as many as 50 heads of hair a day.

"Mind you I imagine most of them will just be plain short back and sides."

'Mail on Sunday' 5/6/83

## Falklands visit plea

THE man who tried to take grieving Argentinian parents to see their soldier-sons' graves on the Falklands was last night trying to visit Britain.

Beunos Aires businessman Osvaldo Desteфанis was in Paris attempting to get a visa to see Mrs Thatcher.

He has been refused one by the British Embassy in Beunos Aires.

Mr Desteфанis organised a boat-load of parents to the islands in May, even though Britain refused him permission to land. The Argentinian government diverted the boat at sea away from the Falklands.

'Guardian' 3/6/83

Sir, — I am sorry, but the Belgrano is the stuff of this campaign (cf. Leader, June 3).

Consider the latest official apologia: the cruiser and her escorts were admittedly steaming towards home — the most likely inference is that they had been recalled because a settlement was about to be reached — but they might have turned round and, because the destroyers were carrying Exocets, they might have done serious damage to the task force.

It was the ancient cruiser, not the dangerous destroyers, that the submarine was ordered to attack; but the urgent point is this: by the same logic of pre-emption, Mrs Thatcher will press her nuclear button whenever her military advisers deem that the Russians may be going to press theirs. And then night will come. — Yours faithfully,

C. C. Wrigley.  
37 Highdown Road,  
Lewes, E Sussex.

Sir, — It is rather late in the day for Cyril Townsend, the Tory Candidate for Bexleyheath, to disagree with Mrs Thatcher over the Falklands (Guardian, May 7).

The odd idea that the Falkland Islanders should have an absolute veto over any proposals about the future of those isles has cost the lives of 250 British and more than 1,000 Argentinian servicemen. The British taxpayer will be paying nearly £3 billion for the war and defence of the Falklands by 1986.

Mr Townsend had ample opportunity to express his view before the task force was dispatched. Your readers will remember that there were very, very few of any political party who had the courage to speak out — in the country and in the Commons — against the terrible

venture. Mr Townsend was not one of them. He now says that "we will have to have further negotiations over the Falklands." With whom? Argentina of course.

Mrs Thatcher took a calculated decision, soon after the task force was sent about whether to stop the mission and abruptly end her political career, or to carry on and cause the deaths of 1,250 people. She chose the latter.

After she gave Mr Francis Pym his ticking off, it is interesting that now Mr Townsend has joined the growing lobby in the Tory Party pressing for negotiations over the Falklands. There is obviously a huge row going on behind the scenes among various factions in the Tory Party.

What a pity it is that the public do not know more about it. But of course Mrs Thatcher, who makes Tory policy, would not allow it. —

Andy Erlam.  
(Labour Candidate, Bexleyheath),  
Bexleyheath, Kent.

# How the Tories put the Falklands on the election agenda

'Guardian' 3/6/83

Sir, — Your Political Editor writes (June 3) that the Labour Party, in the shape of Denis Healey and Neil Kinnock, was responsible for the "gratuitous introduction of the Falklands war into the election campaign." This is misleading, to say the least.

The Falklands war is mentioned no less than three times in the Conservative election manifesto: the first time on the second page of the manifesto proper, set next to the assertion that "over the past four years, this country has recaptured much of her old pride." What is more, Margaret Thatcher, in her first speech of the election campaign, at Perth on May 13, boasted that "we all walk a little taller" after the Falklands victory. That looks to me very much like glorying in war, as well as exploiting it for electoral purposes.

Nor are Neil Kinnock and Tam Dalyell the first to raise the issue of the sinking of the Belgrano in this election. To her own evident dismay, Mrs Thatcher was closely questioned about it on Nationwide on May 24.

I think there are many people who very much resent Mrs Thatcher's bragging about the Falklands war. They resent it because they remember that her government was largely to blame for allowing the Argentinian

occupation to happen in the first place; while many have an uneasy suspicion that the war and "slaughter" were unnecessary, and could have been avoided by a government and a Prime Minister less set on achieving a military "solution."

The sad thing is that Labour has been unable to counter the Tory boasting simply because at the time its leaders went along with Mrs Thatcher's war, and hardly uttered a murmur of criticism. That is the fundamental reason why Mr Healey's phrase boomeranged. It was too late to challenge the chauvinist and bellicose consensus which Labour itself helped to create last year.

Yours sincerely,  
Anthony Arblaster,  
Sheffield.

would have been terrible if she had had to announce the sinking of a British aircraft carrier with the consequent dreadful loss of life. But her defence spokesman did indeed have to give us the news of the loss of the Sheffield two days after the Belgrano had been sunk.

Mr Heseltine has stated that the Belgrano was within six hours' sailing time of the British fleet. But the Daily Telegraph reports (May 23) that our nearest task-force ship was 300 miles north-east of the Falklands.

The Belgrano's maximum speed when commissioned in 1938 was 32.5 knots, therefore an estimated speed of 30 knots in 1982 would probably be on the high side. In six hours, therefore, it could just have covered 180 miles.

The Telegraph article says that the Belgrano was patrolling at 10 knots between the Burdwood Bank and Terra del Fuego; a bearing of 280 degrees would be consistent with it having turned on the westward leg of its patrol. Can someone explain how at the time it was being shadowed by the Conqueror — when, incidentally, a peace plan was being discussed — it could have been an imminent threat to our ships?

Diana S. Gould,  
11 Queen Elizabeth Road,  
Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

Sir, — Both you and sundry pseudo-intellectuals appear to think that Mrs Diana Gould's question to the Prime Minister in connection with the sinking of the Belgrano had considerable merit. Surely it is the military junta in Argentina which should be asked what exactly

the Belgrano's purpose was in being at sea with two destroyers at that particular time. Whether or not she was on course for the Falklands at the moment of sinking, or moving away, has no relevance. At the time we were involved in a shooting war.

Some academics and pseudo-intellectuals, and yourself, seem conveniently to overlook the simple fact that a military dictatorship instigated armed aggression against a small, peace-minded population in the fond hope of buoying up a decaying administration.

R. E. Killparick,  
98 Chalcraft Lane,  
Bognor Regis, W Sussex.

Sir, — After colossal sums spent on vessels like the Conqueror, am I really to believe they can lose track of old buckets like the General Belgrano? What hope of tracking Soviet subs?

Your suggestion that this matter be left until after the election just isn't good enough. — Yours sincerely,  
H. Bode.

94 Westwood Road,  
Leek, Staffordshire.

Sir, — The latest "facts" that we have been allowed to know serve only to obscure further the issue of the sinking of the Belgrano.

Mrs Thatcher has said it



'Guardian'  
3/6/83

# The Binns, Belgrano and magnificent obsessions

## Michael White

As the General Belgrano roar raged on over the airways yesterday a crumpled middle-aged man sporting a blue woolly pullover could be observed listening intently to the World at One in a pub car park a few miles west of Edinburgh.

He took the Prime Minister's scorn calmly enough, making only to correct the fact. He listened sympathetically to the expert interviewees, adding no more than the odd "Yes," "No," "Good and one good, good, good." Only the intervention of a non-expert witness — Mr Heseltine — provoked him to indignation: "Not true," "Liar" and "Ask Pym."

When it was over the man returned to his haddock and chips, his half of shandy and his canvass cards. "I think it is best that I say nothing today," said Mr Tam Dalyell. Experienced Dalyell-watchers will doubt this last

utterance, and they will be right. The Labour candidate for Linlithgow (formerly West Lothian minus some good wards) and the man chiefly responsible for the Belgrano row continued to speak on the subject with passion and in great detail for half an hour.

Even canvassers loyal enough to knock on doors for Tam on a grey wet Thursday — real Falklands weather — began to glaze over after a while. "So I asked the oceanographers at the National Maritime Museum what was the shallowest depth of the Burdwood Bank — 25 fathoms. You do realise, Robina, that is 150ft?" Robina realised. Another Government discrepancy exposed by tenacious Tam.

It is sometimes said that it was Mr Dalyell's tenacious opposition to Scottish devolution which brought down the Callaghan Government in 1979, and that the least he can do now is to bring down this one. Tam hotly denies the charge. But for his ability to talk and talk against

the Bill, the Government might have collapsed sooner than 1979. Tam is a great talker — in the Commons, on the doorstep, on the phone. The Queensferry housewife who outtalked him about her housing problem yesterday is a woman of rare talent.

The Tories believe that patriotic voters are going to punish Tam for his Falklands campaign just as they rewarded him in 1979 with a 20,000 majority (previously 2,000) over the SNP's Billy Wolfe. "A lot of soldiers' wives around here have been instructed by their husbands not to vote for Tam," the Tory candidate, Mr Colin Jones, tells the Guardian. (It is his first campaign.) "Tam Dalyell has done quite a lot of harm," the FO Minister Mr Douglas Hurd tells Radio Forth as he helps Mr Jones canvass Queensferry.

Nobody in Queensferry yesterday raised the Falklands affair spontaneously and Labour said that Tam is a fantastic local MP (197 Saturday surgeries since 1979 alone!). But he expects to be

punished, perhaps less for the Falklands than for his views on foxhunting (against) and vivisection (in favour).

Let us hope the voters do not overdo the punishment. Mr Jones is an accountant turned lecturer and the Commons has plenty of those talents. Whereas Tam is senior partner in the Awkward Squad and Labour's last Old Etonian. He must be saved for the nation, like his ancestral home. How many constituencies boast posters in shop windows reading: "Visit To The Binns — Home of Tam Dalyell MP. Admission 80p (OAPs and Children 50p)"?

Mr Dalyell does not use his Charles II baronetcy. He is Citizen Tam, sending his children to the local comprehensive and loyally supporting the party manifesto. But watching him canvass Queensferry yesterday — in sight of both Forth Bridges — it is impossible to forget that we are observing a patrician at work on what he calls "Operation Shoe-leather." For one thing his

booming laugh can be heard all the way to Edinburgh along with cries of "Heck," "Cheerio" and the more egalitarian "Cheers." "Let's put a Falklands leaflet in every home here. They might read it," he says brightly.

When opportunity arises Mr Dalyell enjoys a serious chat and always has a story. "Michael, come over here, what this man is saying is music to my ears." (The need for public investment.) "Michael, this lady is concerned about kidney dialysis." (Another of his great causes: keep a tight hold on your kidneys when Tam is about).

It might be patronising, but Tam is too directly honest. "I think you have a case. If I did not I would tell you," he informs the loquacious housewife who wants out of her council flat. It might sound merely opportunist, except that Tam is hardly an ambitious career politician in the normal sense. It might be pompous except that Tam's obsessions — there are so many of them



Tam Dalyell: "Best I say nothing today"

— are redeemed by a magnificent absurdity, at least part of the time. Who can forget the turtles of Aldabra affair? Everyone knows that Black Tam Dalyell, founder of the dynasty, after being captured at the Battle of Worcester (1654) and escaping from the Tower of London (Red Tam is especially proud of this

this) served the Tsar and founded the Scots Greys — the family regiment in which (as everyone also knows) the present tenant of The Binns did his National Service as a private.

Why so? I asked suspiciously. It seems that some armoured cars were lost on Salisbury Plain and Tam got the blame. "I was thrown off the officer cadet training course," the candidate confesses. Mrs Thatcher must be told immediately.

Down the hill by a street called The Loan (the Argentine loan?) Mr Hurd is approaching bemused voters with the less than arresting introduction: "I'm Douglas Hurd and this is Colin Jones. . . ." Hurd is not yet a household name in these parts.

Up the hill Tam has lost two canvassers. He does not usually use his loudspeaker (preferring conversation), but an emergency is an emergency. He drives around shouting: "Peter and Anne." Queensferry is unperturbed: it must be Tam's latest good cause.

'The Guardian' 3/6/83

## The Belgrano question that shook Mrs T...

Sir.—Is Mrs Diana Gould of Bristol to feature regularly in Guardian leaders (26 and 30 May)? Or can we expect a succession of sundry individuals to similarly merit your approbation for performing functions more properly executed by practising journalists?

There has been no lack of press conferences at which the Prime Minister might have been (could yet be) subjected to a thorough examination on the Belgrano issue. No doubt the news media had access to at least as much information as Mrs G. (though not as much as Mrs T.)

Still, as you point out in your leader (May 26), the Belgrano incident is hardly an election issue. This is perfectly understandable since it merely involves the integrity of a decision that led to the

immediate deaths of 360 Argentines; some hundreds more on both sides in subsequent military action; the millions necessary to finance that action; the billions that will be necessary to sustain the Falklands garrison in the coming years.

Far better if such maverick issues do not sidetrack the electorate from the smooth process of re-electing the present government and its leader—Yours etc,

J. McCaughley,  
London NW1.

Sir, — Not enough has been made of Mrs Thatcher's interview on Nationwide. When a questioner asked her why the General Belgrano had been sunk while steaming away from the Falklands, she at first denied that this was true, saying the ship had

not been steaming away from the islands, quite categorically. Next, the questioner quoted the exact course, just North of West. Astonishingly, the Prime Minister neither repeated nor withdrew her previous statement, nor challenged the questioner's description of the course.

It seems to me incredible that any Prime Minister could be unaware of the best available facts. We therefore have to conclude that she deliberately lied in the hope of not being challenged. She was, however, caught out, and as far as I could see, has no answer, either to the main charge of sinking the ship, its sailors, and the Peruvian peace plan without good reason.

Peter T. Garratt,  
London Road,  
Brighton.

'The Guardian' 3/6/83

'Belgrano'

## Alliance leaders join in attack over accusations

By Will Bennett

ALLIANCE leaders yesterday joined the attack on Mr Denis Healey's accusations about Mrs Thatcher and the Falklands. The SDP deputy leader, Dr David Owen saying that Labour's deputy leader was indulging in "the politics of the abattoir," and the Liberal leader, Mr David Steel, saying that Labour's leaders "had taken leave of their senses."

Dr Owen said that the real issue was the islands' future and hinted that British sovereignty might have to be conceded as part of an agreement with Argentina.

"Mr Healey has spent a good deal of this election in the gutter and to talk of Mrs Thatcher glorying in slaughter is to move on from the gutter," he told BBC Radio Four's Today programme.

"It really is the politics of the abattoir and I believe it needs to be decisively condemned. There are criticisms to be made of Mrs Thatcher on the Falklands. I think many people in this country feel that the handling of the actual war was well done, but I think there are still deep questions to ask as to why that invasion was ever allowed to happen.

"My own feeling is that she has handled the peace extremely badly. There is

certainly no magnanimity in victory out of Mrs Thatcher's and we are landing ourselves into a very serious long-term situation."

On Mr Neil Kinnock's call for a public inquiry into the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser, General Belgrano, Dr Owen said: "There is a sense of unease about the Belgrano and I think probably the Prime Minister would be wise to say now that she would not oppose an inquiry."

"But one thing I do say is I don't see any profit to anyone in making the Belgrano an issue in the election."

"What I think is the real issue for this election is the future, and it is on this issue that Mrs Thatcher is also most vulnerable."

"She never seems to me to understand that people who went down to the southern Atlantic risked their lives to resist aggression."

"They did not go down there in order to ensure that the Union Jack flew in perpetuity over the Falkland Islands."

Mr Steel said of Mr Healey and Mr Kinnock: "I think they have taken leave of their senses. The attack last night by Mr Healey was quite extraordinary."

"I suppose it just demonstrates the panic in the Labour ranks."

'The Guardian' 3/6/83

## PM seizes her chance to defend sinking

By Martin Linton

THE PRIME Minister gave a chilly reply yesterday to Mr Denis Healey's accusation against her over the Falklands, telling the daily press conference: "I think it's gone beyond all bounds of public or political decency and has given offence to many people. Beyond that, I don't think it's worth discussing."

But she seized the opportunity to respond to her critics over the sinking of the General Belgrano and to stress the "acute" danger that the Argentine ship posed to the British task force before it was torpedoed on May 2.

"We've lived through this and I think it utterly astonishing," she told the journalists who questioned her, "that your only allegation against me is that I changed the rules of engagement with the consent of the War Cabinet to enable a ship which was a danger to our task force to be sunk."

"The danger of that whole navy to our landing force was acute," she said, and in a phrase that she repeated four times during the press conference, she added: "I can only say that I am very sorry, very relieved that I am not being asked why the Invincible or the Hermes were torpedoed or attacked by the Exocet missiles covering the Belgrano at that time."

At first she was reluctant to depart from the official answer given by Mr Peter Blaker in Parliament last year which confirmed, among other things, that the Belgrano had been sailing away from the Falklands when it was sunk.

She stressed that the Belgrano had been changing course throughout the day before she was hit. "I'm saying that you may have a ship making many changes of course, but she is still a danger to our ships," she said.

But when a journalist

pressed her on the point that the Belgrano would have needed six hours to sail within striking distance of the task force, she exploded in anger: "Only six hours' sailing time! Six hours is a danger. A submarine finds a ship and loses her again. We only found that aircraft carrier twice and lost her again. The idea that you can just shadow her the whole time is just ridiculous. In six hours' sailing time you might never find her again."

"I don't think you have any idea what it was like day by day having been in charge of making rules of engagement."

Later on Thames Television's TV Eye programme, Mrs Thatcher told her interviewer, Alastair Burnet: "You have the luxury of knowing it came out all right. I had the anxiety of wondering how we can protect our people."

"We did not hear that there were Peruvian proposals until after the Belgrano was attacked. They were just a few sketchy proposals. They did not reach London until after the attack." She said the Government had gone on negotiating for a fortnight after the sinking.

The Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym, gave a longer response to Mr Healey's remarks describing them as "the most abusive, the most disgraceful, the most unforgivable allegation that I have ever heard in any election."

He added that "anyone who lived through these agonising days of the Falklands War knows how much anguish and anxiety the Prime Minister experienced and suffered."

● Mr Nicanor Costa Mendez, the Argentine foreign minister during the conflict claimed last night that the Belgrano had been on a direct course for its home port for nine hours when it was sunk. This claim, made in BBC Newsnight programme was denied by the Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym.



'The Guardian' 3/6/83

## Healey regrets word he used in taunt over Falklands campaign

By Ian Aitken,  
Political Editor

The Labour party ran into serious electoral trouble last night as a result of its gratuitous introduction of the Falklands war into the election campaign. A deluge of condemnation descended on the party yesterday, emanating from a wide range of politicians from the Prime Minister to senior Alliance spokesmen.

The main target was Mr Denis Healey, deputy leader of the Opposition, whose accusation that the Prime Minister was glorying in the Falklands slaughter produced the maximum offence. But a subsidiary target was Mr Neil Kinnock, who made the original suggestion that there should be an inquiry into the Government decision to sink the Argentine cruiser the General Belgrano.

Even Mr Healey appeared to recognise that he had blundered. He conceded on BBC TV's Question Time that he regretted his use of the word slaughter, and would have preferred to have used the more neutral word conflict.

But he insisted that he had been talking about the mood created by Mrs Thatcher's instruction to reporters on the doorstep of 10 Downing Street that they should "rejoice, rejoice" at the success of the British task force.

Mr Cecil Parkinson, the Tory Party chairman, and a member of the Falklands war cabinet, was also on the programme but refused to sit next to Mr Healey on the platform. He accepted



Protagonists — Thatcher and Healey

his retraction with something less than total gratitude, and said: "He has been laundering his remarks extremely carefully."

Mr Parkinson added: "We did not bring the Falklands war into the election campaign — Mr Healey did. And he did so in a contemptible fashion."

Mr Healey stood by his accusation that the Prime Minister had been hypocritical in sanctioning loans to Argentina. He said there was a worrying contrast between Mrs Thatcher's public posture, and the fact that she had authorised loans of \$260 million to the Argentine dictatorship.

"I accused Mrs Thatcher of hypocrisy, and I think it is very difficult to find any other word to describe her behaviour on this particular matter," he said.

Mrs Thatcher was clearly

upset by Mr Healey's allegation when she faced her morning election press conference yesterday. Her Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym, opened the batting with a gentlemanly defence of his colleague.

Mrs Thatcher went a stage further. She said that Mr Healey's claim had gone beyond the bounds of public or private decency. She insisted more than once that she had suffered much in reaching some of the unpleasant decisions involved in the Falklands campaign.

The puzzling feature of the whole affair yesterday was why Mr Healey and Mr Kinnock chose to introduce a subject which was unlikely to attract any new votes to Labour, and was much more likely to lose them. The Falklands factor, though it had remained part of the backdrop of the election campaign, has scarcely been mentioned by either side up to now.

The Tories have been well aware that, as a subliminal election issue, the Falklands factor was likely to help them. But they were equally aware that they could not possibly bring it openly into the campaign without risking exactly what Mr Healey has now alleged — that the Prime Minister was cashing in on the war for electoral purposes.

That is why they went to considerable extremes to avoid anything which might have justified such an accusation. And that is why they are delighted

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'The Guardian' 3/6/83

From Bob Rodwell  
in Paris.

RAF TRANSPORT aircraft supplying the Falklands garrison are being refuelled at a Brazilian staging post, it emerged at the Paris air show yesterday.

A Ministry of Defence spokesman in London later confirmed a claim by an authoritative Brazilian source that RAF C-130 Hercules transports are staging through a Brazilian airfield, obviating the need for extremely expensive in-flight refuelling on the 4,000-mile haul between Ascension Island and the Falklands.

Since the Argentine surrender in Port Stanley almost a year ago, Britain has been making diplomatic efforts to obtain staging rights in either Brazil or Uruguay.

When Mrs Thatcher flew to the Falklands earlier this year she faced the gruelling 14-hour flight from Ascension with in-flight refuelling.

The Brazilian source said that it was common knowledge among the aviation community in Brazil that two or three RAF Hercules a day were being refuelled at an airfield, which he did not name, in the province of Rio Grande del Sul. He implied that such flights had been going on for some time.

The MoD spokesman said that refuelling was taking place but added: "There is no regular arrangement. They are on an ad hoc basis. We give the Brazilian Air Force reciprocal rights to stage through Britain."

He said in-flight refuelling still remained necessary "but occasionally it is possible to arrange for a Falklands flight to use a Brazilian airfield instead."

This is bound to infuriate the Argentines. Unconfirmed reports suggest that some RAF transports were refuelled in Brazil during last year's hostilities, despite Brazil's support for Argentina's claim to the disputed islands.

The only RAF aircraft known to have landed in Brazil at that time was an armed Vulcan bomber, which made an emergency landing after it had to abort in-flight refuelling. The Brazilians allowed it to leave after confiscating its weapons.

There are commercial reasons why Brazil's military government may now consider it politic to meet Britain's pressing need for transit facilities. A Brazilian aircraft, Embraer Tucano, is one of three favoured runners in a forthcoming competition for a new RAF basic trainer aircraft and there is a big order for at least 140 aircraft at stake.

The MoD is now likely to be pressing through the Foreign Office for the agreement to be extended to the RAF's VC-10 jets.

## Hercules refuel in Brazil

D. Telegraph 3 June 1983

Continued from P1

By IAN GLOVER-JAMES

## *Telegraph* 3/6/83 **'Boadicea' attack**

German firm sold to Argentina in recent months have British engines."

Mr Healey said Labour was critical of Mrs Thatcher's handling of the Falklands crisis, both before and since the fighting. The theme is familiar in Mr Healey's election campaign but the language has a new edge.

"What we have always criticised is, first, her failure to warn General Galtieri in time that we would react to an invasion in the way we did, and leave it to President Reagan to warn him — and I understand that President Reagan did not even ring Galtieri until after the troops had landed.

"She has been quite incapable of explaining why she was so extraordinarily feckless and remiss in preventing the war taking place in the first place.

"Secondly—I think she has deliberately exploited the pride of the British people and the superb professionalism of our three Armed Services for her personal advantage.

"Mrs Thatcher has taken more ships from the Royal Navy than Galtieri sank and had General Galtieri waited a few months before invading the Falklands the carrier *Invincible* which I ordered as Defence Secretary, would not have been British property any longer and so the core of the Task Force would not have existed. We would not have been able to react at all."

Did this mean the Falklands was now an election issue, more than a year after the conflict?

"Oh no. I've made this criticism of Mrs Thatcher's hypocrisy on many occasions," said Mr Healey.

"I pointed out that the

'Resolute Approach' slogan was designed by advertising men to enable her to exploit the Falklands issue without actually referring to it."

Mr Healey was asked if he had not gone "over the top" in his Birmingham attack.

"I think she was a bit over the top when she came out of No. 10 Downing Street and embarrassed her Foreign Secretary and Defence Secretary by shouting 'Rejoice, rejoice,'" he said, referring to Mrs Thatcher's jubilation at the recapture of South Georgia last year.

The deputy Labour leader was pressed on his charge that Britain was funding and arming the Buenos Aires government. Would Labour halt all such deals involving non-elected governments?

"No, of course not," said Mr Healey. "We would not do that but the difference is that the Argentine government, which Mrs Thatcher is always reminding us, is still in a state of war with Britain and is regularly threatening to use its armed forces to attack the British forces in the Falkland Islands."

**STUMPING** the election trail yesterday, Mr Healey persistently refused to make the retraction of his "gloried in slaughter" remark that he offered on television last night.

Instead, he called the Prime Minister a "Boadicea of the South Atlantic" who had been "feckless and remiss" in preventing the conflict and "nauseatingly hypocritical" in later exploiting it.

"If that is slanderous, no doubt she will take some action about it," said a cheerful Mr Healey in Derby.

Commenting on the criticism of his previous day's attack, he said: "It is not surprising that Mrs Thatcher's supporters, or poisonous acolytes as the Foreign Secretary is said to have called them, have reacted strongly to a justified accusation against her."

But politicians were not the only people to show their distaste for his attack on Mrs Thatcher.

### **Apricots thrown**

As he toured East Midlands Labour marginals two apricots were hurled at him in Derby, they missed: and he was heckled in Ilkeston market place by a stallholder, Mr Ben Hanlon, whose son is in the Navy.

Mr Hanlon asserted that it took a woman like Mrs Thatcher to run Britain, and awaited Mr Healey's response.

"Of course it does," replied Mr Healey agreeably. "It takes a woman to run the Tory party. It takes a woman to run a Tory government. That's because there isn't a man among the lot of them."

When asked if he regretted his remarks during a speech at Birmingham on Wednesday night, Mr Healey said: "No I don't."

"I was making the point that Mrs Thatcher showed nauseating hypocrisy by wrapping herself in the Union Jack and exploiting the sacrifices of our Servicemen in the Falklands for purely personal, party purposes; and at the same time allowing 30 British banks to lend \$260 million to the Argentine dictators which she knew were spending money on weapons to kill our soldiers, sailors and airmen."

"Two warships which a

Continued on Back P, Col 3

D. Telegraph 3/6/83

## Pym's message came afterwards

By DAVID ADAMSON  
Diplomatic Correspondent

**DESPITE** the frequent accusations made against Mrs Thatcher and her Falklands war inner Cabinet, there is no evidence they knew of the Peruvian peace plan at the time of the Belgrano sinking.

The Foreign Office position, as stated by Lord Belstead in the Lords on May 12, is that the first mention of the plan was contained in a message sent by Mr Pym, Foreign Secretary, from Washington on May 2 last year.

The message was received in London at 10.15 p.m., more than three hours after the torpedo attack on the Belgrano by the nuclear submarine Conqueror.

### Inquiry call

Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour's Shadow Education Secretary, has called for a public inquiry into the sinking. He and other Labour accusers are implying that Ministers are lying and that the Belgrano was sunk to ensure that Argentina rejected the Peruvian plan.

Their undocumented claim is that Mr Pym was aware of details of the plan well before

the sinking and communicated the details to London.

The Foreign Secretary answered the allegations on May 20 when, in a letter to the DAILY MIRROR, he dealt with two articles written by Mr Paul Foot, a nephew of Mr Michael Foot.

Mr Pym's timetable was as follows: arrival in Washington on the evening of Saturday May 1 followed on Sunday morning by a two-hour talk with Mr Haig, then American Secretary of State, at which he was told that the Americans and Peruvians were discussing "a new possible basis for progress towards a diplomatic solution."

The letter makes it clear that Mr Pym had not flown to Washington to discuss peace proposals but to review the situation following Argentina's rejection of Mr Haig's plan.

Mr Pym pointed out to Mr Haig that the Peruvian plan was not very different from the one Argentina had just found unacceptable. According to the Foreign Secretary, Mr Haig agreed that "more time and more detailed work" was necessary.

The two men had lunch together and spoke on the telephone before Mr Pym flew to New York that evening. The position remained that Mr Haig

agreed "further clarification of his ideas" was necessary.

Mr Pym said in the letter that it was only after the telephone conversation that he was in a position to report to London.

In New York that night, Mr Pym had dinner with Mr Perez de Cuellar, United Nations secretary-general, and Sir Anthony Parsons, Britain's United Nations Ambassador. Neither had heard before dining with Mr Pym of the Peruvian plan.

### Buenos Aires origin

The story that Argentina was about to accept the Peruvian plan when Conqueror's torpedoes sank it together with the Belgrano appears to have originated in Buenos Aires.

According to one Argentine Foreign Ministry account, Senor Costa Mendez, Foreign Minister, believed on May 2 that the plan was acceptable.

But even if Senor Costa Mendez did favour the plan, that would not have guaranteed approval by the junta.

By early May the Foreign Minister's credibility as a man of influence was at a low ebb. It was recognised that what he said and what the generals did, or did not do, were two very different things.

## GAMBLE FOR VOTES

By NICHOLAS COMFORT  
Political Staff

**MR HEALEY'S** attack on the Prime Minister over the Falklands was based on the calculation that public approval of her conduct was worth six per cent. to the Tories at the polls.

He decided that Labour's fortunes were so critical that it was worth the gamble of trying to discredit Mrs Thatcher's Falklands policy in the eyes of the electorate.

Mr Foot and members of the Shadow Cabinet are understood to have had no advance warning of his attack and were taken aback to see him delivering it in extravagant terms on Wednesday night's television news bulletins.

But by yesterday morning shock and scepticism had turned to a belief that Mr Healey should stick to his guns, both because of the damage the party would suffer if he backed away from his assertions and because of the outside chance that they might strike a chord in the country.

Mr Healey's intervention, unscripted but clearly premeditated, was compared by one party source with "lobbing a bomb up in the air and hoping it comes down on someone else."

## Banks to lend junta £100m

By ANNE SEGALL

**BRITISH** banks are committed to lending the Argentine government around £100 million in new money this year as part of the international financial rescue package launched under International Monetary Fund auspices last December.

Only £50 million has been paid so far.

The rescue package was aimed at preventing a collapse of the Argentine economy. Other international banks are subscribing £900 million in new money.

### Official backing

British banks have made no secret of their involvement in the Argentine lending both before and since the Falklands conflict.

They have received the official backing of the Bank of England and the Prime Minister.

New loans are being made to protect the existing position of bankers and avoid an Argentine default which could destabilise

the entire world financial system.

Before the Falklands war, Argentina was a popular borrower on the Eurocurrency markets. It received a total of around £22 billion from international banks, with British banks contributing around £2½ billion.

On Dec. 20, Mrs Thatcher countered public hostility to the loans by arguing in the Commons that "these loans are not for arms purchase but are to help Argentina to continue paying its debts, many of which are owed to residents of this country."

She also pointed out that financial sanctions between Britain and Argentina imposed during the Falklands war had been lifted in September. It would therefore be inconsistent for British banks to block a solution to Argentina's debt crisis.



D. Telegraph 3/6/83

# Woodward won Cabinet backing

By DESMOND WETTERN  
Naval Correspondent

THE sinking of the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano on May 2 last year resulted from a request from Rear Admiral "Sandy" Woodward, the Task Force Commander, to be allowed to attack the cruiser which, he believed, posed a threat to British ships.

His signal asking for permission to attack outside the 200-mile total exclusion zone around the Falklands arrived at the Fleet headquarters at Northwood late on May 1 or early on May 2.

After new "rules of engagement" had been drawn up in the Ministry of Defence, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Terence Lewin, Chief of the Defence Staff, and Adml Sir John Fieldhouse, C-in-C Fleet, left for Chequers on Sunday morning, May 2, to obtain the formal approval of the Prime Minister.

Adml Woodward in his signal admitted that he was worried because British nuclear submarines had lost touch with the main Argentine fleet, centred round the carrier Veinticinco de Mayo.

He was therefore anxious to eliminate at least one threat to the Task Force posed by the Belgrano.

British intelligence at that time believed that the Belgrano was possibly equipped with 26-mile range Exocet anti-ship missiles. So, certainly, were her two escorting destroyers.

According to an Argentine account, the cruiser's task was to patrol a 200-mile long line between Staten Island, at the



eastern end of Tierra del Fuego and the Burdwood Bank to the south of the Falklands, to prevent any British attack on the Rio Grande air base in Tierra del Fuego and reinforcements reaching the British Task Force from the Pacific.

At the time she was torpedoed, 4 p.m. local time (9 p.m. BST), the Belgrano had covered the outward leg of her patrol line and had turned to resume her course towards Staten Island at 10 knots less than a third of her maximum speed, which hardly equates with subsequent reports that she was hurrying home to the Ushuaia base.

The point at which the cruiser was torpedoed was approximately 180 miles from that at which, two days later, the destroyer Sheffield was hit.

According to the Argentines the cruiser sank 45 minutes after being torpedoed at 55deg 18mins S., 61deg 47mins W. whilst the Sheffield was attacked two days later at 52deg 48mins S. and 57deg 40mins W., about 380 miles or about 15 hours' steaming from the Rio Grande air base in Tierra del Fuego.

There was little doubt in the mind of Adml Woodward that the Belgrano would have been sunk or crippled in a surface action with British warships.

But this would have meant putting the Invincible in jeopardy. This was a risk that he could not take, since the loss or incapacitating of one of his two carriers would have put the entire plan to recapture the Falklands in grave doubt.

One senior Defence Ministry planner said: "Admiral Woodward may have overestimated the threat posed by the Argentine navy but he has also been criticised for underestimating that posed by their air force—he was a loser either way."

Nearly 370 Argentine sailors died when the nuclear submarine Conqueror torpedoed the Belgrano.

At 11.30 p.m. on May 1 Rear Adml Juan Lombardo, the Argentine fleet commander, learned from a carrier-borne Tracker aircraft that a British force of a large ship, probably the carrier Hermes, and six others were at a distance of 300 miles from his force to the north-east of the Falklands.

He ordered an air attack to be launched at dawn next day, at about 6 a.m. (11 a.m. in London). But there was insufficient wind to get the heavily laden Argentine Skyhawk fighter-bombers airborne with sufficient fuel to reach the British ships, and later that day the Argentine ships were defeated by two British Sea Harriers.

The Argentine ships were only ordered to withdraw to the safety of coastal waters on May 4, some 36 hours after the Belgrano had been sunk.

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# THATCHER RELIVES ANGUISH OVER FALKLANDS

By PETER PRYKE

**F**OR a few minutes yesterday, Mrs Thatcher appeared to relive her anguish during the most dangerous days of the Falklands campaign when the Task Force's fate was in the balance.

It was prompted by prolonged and persistent questioning by journalists about her motives in ordering the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser General Belgrano.

Labour critics had suggested that she had ordered the sinking to foil peace negotiations then being carried on by Mr Pym, Foreign Secretary.

fact that the Belgrano had made many changes of course on the day she was sunk.

The Argentinian cruiser, in concert with ships to the north, was a threat to the British fleet at a time when the danger to the landing force was acute, she said.

Speaking slowly, and with emotion, Mrs Thatcher said that they had "no idea what it was like, day after day," making decisions on military matters, such as rules of engagement.

"I am sorry we lived through this, and I find it utterly astonishing that the only allegation against me is I changed the rules of engagement to enable a ship which was a danger to our Task Force to be sunk."

She rejected an inquiry into the circumstances of the sinking, and insisted repeatedly that the torpedoing had been crucial in saving the lives of British soldiers and sailors.

## Pym's testimony

"I cannot stress more strongly that I am greatly relieved that the question you are asking me today is not how is it that one of our aircraft carriers was sunk," she said.

Mr Pym, sitting next to the Prime Minister, recent differences forgotten, bore personal testimony to the stress she had endured during the war.

Condemning Mr Healey's charge that Mrs Thatcher "glories in slaughter," he said: "It contains the most abusive, most disgraceful, most unforgivable allegations I have ever heard in any election."

## Great grief

"Then my goodness me there would have been not only an inquiry, but grief on a scale we have not contemplated."

"Anyone who lived through the agonising days of the Falklands war, and I was one of them, knows how much anguish and anxiety the Prime Minister experienced and suffered."

In addition, it would not have been possible to go on with the operation.

Mr Healey's attack, accusing her of exploiting the sacrifices of British servicemen in the Falklands had hurt her, she acknowledged.

"Mr Steel called it jingoism. Mr Healey's remarks are beyond the pale."

"It is quite offensive to me in the sense it will have hurt many people in this country. I think it has gone beyond all bounds of public and political decency and given offence to many many people."

Mr Pym flatly denied that the sinking of the Belgrano had taken place at a moment when he was on the brink of agreement on peace proposals put forward by the Peruvian Government.

"Beyond that I do not think it is worth replying."

This suggestion has been put forward by some Labour MPs to back their theory that Mrs Thatcher had given the order as part of a plot to strengthen her own position in the Conservative party and weaken Mr Pym's.

Much of the questioning at the Press conference concerned allegations that Mrs Thatcher had broken the rules of engagement, in that the Belgrano had been outside the 200 mile exclusion zone and "sailing away."

"What happened on that day was that there was the beginning of the outline of a possible future basis for negotiations, which Mr Haig (representing the United States Government) put to me," Mr Pym said.

Mrs Thatcher refused to publish documents detailing the Naval intelligence on which she had made her decision. But she laid heavy emphasis on the

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# Relatives' protests flood party HQs

By BRIAN SILK

MR HEALEY'S attack on Mrs Thatcher provoked an angry reaction yesterday among relatives of Falklands casualties, with Mrs Sara Jones, widow of Col "H" V.C. describing it as "despicable and cheap."

It even earned Mr Healey a mild rebuke from his wife, who said: "I wouldn't have used those words myself. What I would have said that she thrives on conflict." This advice Mr Healey apparently followed on television last night.

Relatives of men killed or injured in the Falklands conflict were among those who telephoned Labour party headquarters in London to complain about Mr Healey.

And Mrs Jones, whose husband was killed at the battle of Goose Green, described Mr Healey's remarks as "extremely hurtful for a lot of people."

"For many of us it is just a year since our loved ones died in the Falklands war and for Mr Healey to try to use something like this, at a time like this, to make a political point really stinks."

"When politicians of Mr Healey's standing have to use people in this way it brings electioneering to unknown depths."

## 'Right decision'

Mrs Jill Swallow, whose son Andrew, a Navy cook, was killed on the destroyer HMS Sheffield, also rebuked Mr Healey.

Mrs Swallow—a Liberal supporter—of Bembridge, Isle of Wight, said: "It's easy for him to look back and try to blame someone for the lives that were lost."

"But even though I lost a son, I am convinced that Mrs Thatcher took the right decision and he is absolutely wrong."

## 'Unworthy ploy'

Prof. Hugh Tinker, Professor of Politics at the University of Lancaster and a former Liberal parliamentary candidate, whose son, Lt David Tinker, was a naval officer killed in the campaign, said he was "amazed" that Mr Healey had introduced the issue at this stage of the election.

"To just throw it in and make it a personal issue of Mrs Thatcher's own attitude does not

seem to me to be a worthy way of introducing the subject into the election," he said.

Conservative Central Office said that it received at least 61 calls about Mr Healey, all but one of which expressed anger at his remarks.

"One old soldier said that he had intended voting Labour, but not now. A woman whose son was in the Falklands felt that his life could have been lost if the Belgrano had not gone down," said a spokesman.

A Labour party spokesman said "dozens" of telephone calls had been made to its headquarters.

The balance was comfortably in favour of Mr Healey but some callers who had relatives or friends killed or injured were "obviously appalled."

Mrs Edna Healey was asked about her husband's outburst when she appeared on the BBC television programme "Breakfast Time." He had spoken "in rather a colourful way," she said.

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## SINKING INQUIRY RULED OUT

By NICHOLAS COMFORT  
Political Staff

THE Prime Minister firmly ruled out last night an inquiry into the sinking of the Argentine cruiser, General Belgrano, insisting that there was "absolutely no need to have one."

Her reply to the call from Mr Neil Kinnock, Shadow Education Secretary, for a public investigation, was given during an interview on Thames Television's "TV Eye" programme.

Mrs Thatcher told her interviewer, Alistair Burnet: "You had the luxury of knowing that we came through all right."

"I had the anxiety of protecting our people on Hermes and Invincible, our air cover and the people on the vessels going down there."

During the interview she made no reference to Wednesday night's attack on her attitude to the Falklands by Mr Denis Healey, Deputy Labour leader, nor was she questioned on the subject.

### Plan 'sketchy'

But she justified the sinking of the Belgrano and insisted that the Peruvian "peace plan" which critics say she destroyed by the sinking, did not reach London until afterwards and in any case was only "sketchy."

Mrs Thatcher added that the Government had continued to negotiate for a fortnight afterwards, but that she had never really believed that the Argentine junta would withdraw the forces it had poured on to the islands.

Explaining why the submarine Conqueror had been ordered to torpedo the Argentine cruiser, she said: "The advice was that this was a danger to our ships, particularly the whole of our carrier group."

### BRAZIL FUEL STOP

RAF Hercules aircraft supplying the Falklands are being refuelled in Brazil, the Ministry of Defence confirmed last night. This cuts out expensive in-flight refuelling between Ascension and the Falklands.



D. Telegraph 3/6/83

'Tone it down' call by Foot

# HEALEY BOWS TO STORM

Telegraph  
3/6/83

## 'Glorying in slaughter' phrase retracted

By JAMES WIGHTMAN Political Correspondent

**I**N the face of a barrage of criticism, Mr Healey, Labour's deputy leader, last night backed down over his accusation that the Prime Minister was "glorying in slaughter" in her reaction to the Falklands victory.

He said that he regretted using the word "slaughter" and added that he should have used the phrase "glories in conflict."

Mr Healey made his retreat on the BBC television programme "Question Time" at the end of a day during which he had declared himself unrepentant about his speech.

There were reports last night that Mr Healey had decided to dilute his language after a telephone call from Mr Foot, Labour leader, and expressions of concern by colleagues that his rhetoric could be pushing the party nearer to election disaster.

Mr Healey made his unexpected remarks last night after being asked by Sir Robin Day, the programme presenter, if he now regretted using the word "slaughter" which Sir Robin said had "resulted in the angriest and bitterest 24 hours of this election."

He said: "I used the word slaughter. It was not a prepared remark. I was thinking of her rather surprising remarks in front of the television cameras when she left the door of No. 10 and shouted "Rejoice. Rejoice."

Mr Healey was referring to Mrs Thatcher's jubilation after hearing news that British troops had retaken South Georgia last year without casualties.

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*Thatcher re-lives anguish  
— P11; Other election  
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Continued from P1

By JAMES WIGHTMAN

## First to condemn

Mr Healey continued: "But, of course, what I really meant was her appetite for conflict which is in some ways an admirable thing in British domestic politics but can be a very, very dangerous thing in international affairs."

The Conservative party chairman, Mr Parkinson, who had been the first to condemn Mr Healey's speech the night before, said on the programme after listening to his retraction: "I welcome it as far as it went."

Mr Parkinson, who arrived too late for the pre-programme dinner and had refused to sit next to Mr Healey on the platform said that the reason Mrs Thatcher had said Britain should rejoice was because South Georgia had been recaptured without the loss of British Servicemen.

He added: "Not by design, not because we had any order, but by unspoken understanding we have not exploited the Falkland conflict."

"We did not bring the subject into the election. Mr Healey did. And he brought it in in a contemptible fashion."

News of Mr Healey's change of phraseology was given to Mrs Thatcher last night. She made no immediate comment but earlier in the day, at the Tory morning Press conference, she had described Mr Healey's original attack as "beyond all bounds of public and political decency."

"It has given offence to many, many people in this country and beyond that I do not think it is worth discussing."

## Final nail

During last night's programme, Mr Healey rejected the suggestion that his speech had put the final nail in Labour's coffin to the advantage of the Alliance.

He stood by his basic attack on Mrs Thatcher whom he charges with basking in Falklands' glory while permitting British finance and military equipment to be supplied to Buenos Aires.

"I accuse Mrs Thatcher of hypocrisy and I think it is very difficult to find any other word to describe her behaviour on this particular matter," said Mr Healey.

"I do not think it was a descent into gutter politics."

Mr Healey's climbdown was seen by Conservatives as another example of the varying voices coming from the Labour leadership on principal issues of the campaign.

His controversial speech on the Falklands followed the confusion which he caused over the party's nuclear defence policy by suggesting, apparently contrary to the party's mani-

# Healey backs down

festo, that the Polaris independent nuclear deterrent should be retained if Russia did not make concessions in disarmament negotiations.

## Similar attack

Despite the widespread criticism of his speech, Mr Healey had spent yesterday continuing his attack on the Prime Minister in political language similarly strong to his speech in Birmingham on Wednesday night believing that his tactics could yet save Labour from electoral disaster.

"If it is slanderous, then she'll sue me," he said on a campaign tour in Derby. "I don't fear that. I don't fear anything."

There is no question of the Prime Minister taking legal action against Mr Healey. She was furious when she heard the contents of his speech on Wednesday night, but along with other senior Conservatives she believes that his extreme words will alienate more voters than they attract.

The leaders of the SDP-Liberal Alliance also believed that Mr Healey had cost Labour more votes, hopefully to their advantage.

Dr Owen, deputy SDP leader, called Mr Healey's outburst "the politics of the abattoir." Mr Steel, Liberal leader, said that Labour had "taken leave of their senses."

Mr Pym, Foreign Secretary, sitting beside the Prime Minister at the Tory Press conference, started a succession of statements from Ministers counter-attacking Mr Healey when he said the speech had contained "the most abusive, disgraceful and unforgivable allegations I have ever heard in any election."

Mr Foot neither endorsed nor condemned Mr Healey's speech when he was asked for his reaction at Labour's morning Press conference.

He said: "What has given rise to the strong expressions on this subject is the response over the last day or two of some of the people who have come back from the Falklands."

"It was 'very infuriating' for people who had fought for their country to come back to Britain and find themselves on the dole," he added.

"It gives rise also to strong feelings when we are in fact lending money to a regime which she denounced so strongly," said Mr Foot, picking up one of Mr Healey's criticisms of the Prime Minister.

Mr Healey had accused Mrs Thatcher of "stupefying hypocrisy" in continuing to condemn Argentina over the Falklands invasion but allowing British banks to loan money to the Buenos Aires dictatorship.

## Foot did

## not know

It was said by one of Mr Foot's aides later that the leader had not had advance notice of Mr Healey's plan to include the Falklands attack in a speech on law and order. He did not approve of the deputy's language, it was stated.

The possibility of using such tactics had not been discussed by the party's campaign committee, which meets every morning. Mr Healey attends the meetings when he is in London.

Mr Foot and other colleagues had refrained from introducing the Falklands war into the election campaign because they believed that any criticism of Mrs Thatcher could be interpreted by Labour supporters as also applying to the Task Force which recovered the islands from occupation.

In that context, Mr Healey's use of the word "slaughter" was seen by Labour colleagues to have been particularly ill-chosen.

But there was no open condemnation of Mr Healey from Labour politicians, some praising him publicly.

In contrast to the fear that Mr Healey had blundered was the hope that perhaps he would tap a source of electoral resentment about Mrs Thatcher's conduct during and since the Falklands campaign.

Where others shied away from a subject on which most politicians agreed the Prime Minister was unassailable, Mr Healey tried to undermine Mrs Thatcher's image as the heroine of the Falklands.

But the question at the heart

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Continued on Back P, Col 5

of the election campaign last night was whether he had lost any capital to be made out of the banks issue through the language in which he attacked the Prime Minister.

Mr Healey's speech, reported in later editions of THE DAILY TELEGRAPH yesterday, had the look of a last gamble for victory. It also highlighted again the lack of control by Mr Foot of his deputy and the divisions in the campaign committees about tactics.

If Labour loses, and Mr Healey's speech is partly blamed, his prospects of succeeding Mr Foot as leader will diminish accordingly.

Mr Foot, who is 69, looked weary at yesterday's Press conference and seemed uncertain of whether Mr Healey's speech was to the party's advantage or not.

He also declined to go as far as Mr Kinnock, Shadow Education Secretary, who had called the day before for a public inquiry into the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser, General Belgrano, by a British submarine during the Falklands conflict.

In his speech, Mr Healey had said of the Prime Minister: "She decided she would wrap herself in a Union Jack, exploit the success of our soldiers, sailors and airmen in the Falkland Islands for purely personal party advantage and hope to get away with it."

"It was not a very creditable approach even from the word 'go' because this Prime Minister, who glories in slaughter, who has taken advantage of the superb professionalism of our Armed Forces in the Falkland Islands, is, at this very moment, lending the military dictatorship in Buenos Aires millions of pounds to buy weapons, made in Britain, to kill British Servicemen—and that is an act of stupefying hypocrisy."

## **Belgrano**

### **account**

Later in the "Question Time" programme last night Mr Parkinson gave a full account of the sinking of the Argentine cruiser Belgrano.

He was answering a questioner who asked why the vessel had been attacked when there was still a chance of peace in the conflict.

Mr Parkinson said: "I was a member of the war cabinet and I had access to all the facts. I was a party to the decision on the Belgrano, I'm one of the very few people in this country who actually knows what happened."

"It was very simple. The Belgrano and two destroyers were steaming just outside the exclusion zone. They were within six hours' steaming of our aircraft carriers."

"If we had lost one of our aircraft carriers the whole mission would have been a total disaster and hundreds and hundreds of British lives would have been put at risk."

"Our submarine found the Belgrano and we were asked for permission to sink it because it was a threat to our carriers."

"And he did sink it. As a result our carriers survived. Then the Argentine Navy went back into port and never came out. And hundreds of lives that might otherwise have been lost were not."

'Times' 3 June 1983

## THE FALKLANDS FACTOR

There are many reasons why it would have been better to have left the Falklands war out of the election campaign. The first is that the legacy which led to that war was a bipartisan one. True, the final miscalculation lay with Mrs Thatcher's government, but both Labour and Tory governments before her had tilled the seedbed of future misadventure. The second, as a consequence of the first, is that both governments suffer from the paradox that, though Britain has been in a shooting match with Argentina, she has supplied and continues to supply finance and military equipment to that country.

The ships, missiles and helicopters which Argentina used against British forces were all sold to her under Labour governments, as were the turbine engines now being installed in German frigates destined for Argentina. Over the same period the junta has and is receiving international financial help from banking consortia which include British banks, and which thus have always enabled the generals to relieve their indebtedness while continuing to buy even more arms on the open market. Mr Healey's accusations of hypocrisy thus come ill from a former Labour Defence Secretary and Chancellor.

The third reason is that lessons learnt in war – be they operational or political – are best acted on after patient enquiry and analysis, rather than through bombastic exchanges on the hustings. The fourth is that the armed forces who risked (and lost) their lives in the service of their country and in defence of the Falklands, are still at a state of readiness against any recurrence of the risk. That dedication can only be cheapened by the spectacle of its being exploited at home, either to the advantage of the government or as a political weapon with which to berate it. With all his experience Mr Healey knew this, and should thus have known better than to indulge in the coarse intervention for which he was rightly

criticised yesterday. Sadly it has always been an aspect of Mr Healey's political character that, in spite of (or maybe because of) his superior intellect, he has felt it necessary to present himself as the common man by calculated coarseness and other unnecessary vulgarity. So he introduced the Falklands factor in the crudest way he could.

The election issue therefore is sovereignty, not whether it should be negotiated, but how it might be transferred. You either have sovereignty and defend it, or you give it away. Negotiations in those circumstances are merely about the conditions and arrangements for the inhabitants of the territory to be transferred.

The government's principle is that sovereignty is not negotiable and not transferrable, and that, while the Argentines remain belligerent, the cost of defending such a proposition – several hundred million pounds per year – is something which just has to be borne. The Opposition Parties can contest that proposition – as

### Belgrano sinking

*From Mr S. S. Garson*

Sir, As one who has followed the Falklands Islands conflict closely, I really am amazed when I read (May 31) of Mr Brownjohn's worry over the sinking of the Belgrano. Has he forgotten we were at war with Argentina (aren't we still?) following their aggression and their intention to sink our ship – being so far away from our base. It was for the Admiral of the Fleet at the Falklands to decide whether to sink the Belgrano, and it is my opinion that he was aware there was imminent danger of the Belgrano sinking our ships even outside the exclusion zone. HM Government was correct in taking the Admiral's advice; and the Junta in BA were not surprised, only shocked, for they believed their Belgrano would demolish our fleet within or without the exclusion zone.

Yours faithfully,  
S. S. GARSON,  
17 Lichfield Gardens,  
Richmond,  
Surrey.

TINES

3 JUN 83

Dr Owen has done – but only on the basis of the question: should we defend the Falklands, even at that price, or should we prepare to give them away?

There remains the question of the Belgrano. One of the reasons why this question will not go away is that all those people who opposed the Falklands operation last year still have a vested interest in finding retrospective evidence to vindicate opinions which have otherwise been hopelessly vitiated by events. They believe that the sinking of the Belgrano is one such event. They hope that the facts will provide grounds for suggesting that Mrs Thatcher was always determined to go to war, in disregard of any apparent proposals for peace.

The Argentine Junta refuses to announce any formal cessation of hostilities. British troops are therefore still at risk in defending the Falklands. As long as a state of suspended hostilities obtains, the only Falklands factor which should legitimately enter the election is the issue of principle for the future. That issue is not whether or not there should be negotiations with Argentina, because of course there should. There is much to discuss in the search for a more tolerable *modus vivendi* in the South Atlantic. But if that can only be done by making a prior commitment to negotiate sovereignty, then nothing will be discussed.



'Times' 3 June 1983

armed with Exocets, capable of destroying a war ship at up to 40 miles range.

Argentina had been warned previously that British warships would act in self defence on the high seas, and would automatically attack any Argentine ship within the stated exclusion zone round the Falklands. The general self-defence provision was not applicable to nuclear submarines except in circumstances of a submarine-to-submarine encounter. So when the Captain of HMS Conqueror discovered the Belgrano force advancing towards British ships he had to seek specific permission to have the rules changed before he could engage the cruiser.

That permission was sought from the war Cabinet and was granted. Operationally speaking the risk of not granting it would have been to allow Belgrano and its attendant Exocets loose among the Task Force. British ships had already been bombed and they had no permanent reconnaissance capability since the Harrier aircraft had to act as air defence against bombers.

Operationally speaking only overriding diplomatic reasons would have justified placing the British shipping - frigates, carriers, even Canberra - in such jeopardy from an Exocet-armed force. The fact that Belgrano was sailing westward at the time is totally immaterial. Has anybody bothered to ask which way HMS Sheffield's bows were pointing when she went down, or any of the other British warships which were sunk? It takes a mere 30 seconds to alter course, as Belgrano had done many times before she was sunk.

In those circumstances the hypothetical possibility that the Junta might change character and genuinely embrace a peace proposal - against all previous evidence - could not have been seriously entertained by the British War Cabinet without exposing the Task Force, and therefore Britain's whole ability, if necessary, to recapture the Falklands, to a quite unacceptable risk.

There are demands for an enquiry. It is a measure of this country's fortunate insulation from most warlike activity for more than a generation that the sinking of a hostile ship - during hostilities - should remain the subject of persistent demands for an enquiry. Can one imagine what a long procession of enquiries would have occurred after 1945 if such had been the attitude then? The loss of all British warships has indeed been followed by painstaking and painful naval enquiries so that lessons can be learnt for the future. But quite rightly the result of those enquiries has remained at the technical level and has not become the subject of political pressures exercised in a different context at the expense of the surviving professionals who still have to carry on with their dangerous tasks in the South Atlantic.

Yesterday the Prime Minister once again rejected such an enquiry. The charge against her is that she deliberately changed the naval rules of engagement to sink both the Belgrano and the possibility that the Junta would accept the Peruvian peace proposals subsequently endorsed by the British Cabinet. What are the operational and political facts?

First the British were already aware from Mr Alexander Haig that it was virtually impossible to engage the Junta in any serious discussion. They also knew that while General Galtieri was ostensibly considering the Peruvian proposals, the Argentine navy was fully at sea advancing on the British Task Force from three directions. One of those thrusts consisted of the Belgrano and two destroyers

However it was not these rational and strategic considerations which lay behind Mr Healey's attack. It was an intention to portray the Prime Minister, by association, as a person whose bloodthirsty and callous approach to the Falklands was to be found in her attitude to unemployment, health, welfare, and the deterrent. That goes far beyond the tactics of "whose finger on the trigger" - a previous Labour ploy. It goes beyond the suggestion that the Prime Minister's style of leadership is more suited to winning a war than enhancing the peace. Those are legitimate questions to raise in an election where the quality of political leadership on offer is widely accepted as being even more important than the range of policies put forward; but this is not the way to raise them. It goes far beyond all reasonable standards of political debate, and in so doing, it goes too far.

Times 3 June 1983

## Hero's widow condemns speech

Mrs Sara Jones, widow of Colonel "H", VC, said yesterday that Mr Denis Healey's conduct in speaking about the Falklands conflict was "despicable and cheap".

She said: "For many of us it is just a year since our loved ones died in the Falklands war and for Mr Healey to try to use something like this, at a time like this, to make a political point really stinks."

"It was extremely hurtful for a lot of people for him to say what he did and it was totally unnecessary." But she said she did not blame the Labour Party.

"Some families like my own have just had their anniversary and others will come over the next couple of weeks. This is just opening up the wound when people are desperately

trying to get over their loss," she said.

"When politicians of Mr Healey's standing have to use people in this way it brings electioneering to unknown depths."

To suggest Mrs Thatcher was glorying in slaughter was "making her out to be an absolute ogre and I do not believe she is that".

Mrs Jones added: "If this is the way Mr Healey wants to play then I really think he should get out of politics and into something else . . . Why is it that politicians don't ever think about people's feelings but just about scoring political points?"

② Mrs Jill Swallow, whose son Andrew died when HMS

Sheffield was lost in the Falklands attacked Mr Healey for being "absolutely wrong", in criticizing Mrs Thatcher.

She said: "I was annoyed by his outburst because Mrs Thatcher was right in the action she took and I agreed with her."

③ Professor Hugh Tinker, the father of Lt David Tinker who was killed in the Falklands, said he was "amazed" that Mr Healey had introduced the issue at this stage of the election the Press Association reports.

Professor Tinker, whose son's letters home have been published, said: "To just throw it in and make it a personal issue of Mrs Thatcher's own attitude does not seem to me to be a worthy way of introducing the subject into the election."

TIMES 3 JUN 83

'D. Mail' 2 June 1983

# MAGGIE GLORIES IN SLAUGHTER

By ROBIN OAKLEY

## LABOUR'S Deputy Leader Denis Healey last night accused Mrs Thatcher of glorying in slaughter and exploiting for her personal gain the sacrifices of British forces in the Falklands war.

It was a coldly calculated attack indicative of Labour's growing desperation at their dismal showing in the election campaign. But on

such an emotive issue as the Falklands it could rebound badly.

The attack produced from Tory chairman Cecil Parkinson the angry reply: 'This must take the prize for the most contemptible statement of the campaign.'

And Foreign Secretary Mr Francis Pym said: 'Mr Healey must be out of his mind.'

Mr Healey, speaking at Selly Oak, Birmingham, accused Mrs Thatcher of trying to avoid the issues and fight on the personality created for her by advertising men.

He said: 'She decided that she'd wrap herself in the Union Jack, exploit the sacrifices of our soldiers, sailors and airmen in the Falklands for purely personal party advantage and hope to get away with it.'

### 'Hypocrisy'

He talked of 'this Prime Minister who glories in slaughter, who has taken advantage of the superb professionalism of our armed forces in the Falklands' and declared that Mrs Thatcher was 'at this very moment lending the military dictatorship in Buenos Aires millions of pounds to buy weapons, including weapons made in Britain.'

'This is an act of stupefying hypocrisy'.

Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour's shadow education minister also attacked the Conservatives yesterday over the sinking of the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano.

It is a measure of Labour's desperation that its senior figures have now decided to risk all on attacking the Prime Minister over the Falklands. For it was the Falklands issue which turned her position in the polls from one of Britain's most unpopular Prime Ministers to that of a national heroine.

Mr Healey will have difficulty in sustaining his charges. The Tory election campaign has been care-

Turn to Page 2, Col. 2

## Healey's attack on Maggie

Continued from Page One

ful not to make overt political capital from the Falklands. The Tory manifesto contained only brief references to the subject and it has not figured largely in campaign speeches by Ministers.

Mr Francis Pym confirmed last night that the only British money going to the Argentine is via Britain's contribution to the International Monetary Fund, which has lent money to Argentina to stave off a world banking crisis which could have followed the collapse of

Argentina's economy.

In the Belgrano attack, Mr Kinnock called for an inquiry to establish, beyond doubt, that orders to sink the Argentine warship — with a loss of 368 lives — were despatched only after all hopes of a negotiated settlement were completely exhausted.

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'Times' 2 June 1982

## Kinnock demands Belgrano inquiry

TIMES 2 JUN 82

Mr Michael Hesletine, Secretary of State for Defence, yesterday accused Mr Neill Kinnock, a member of Labour's Shadow Cabinet, of playing "the dictator's game" by calling for a full and impartial investigation into the sinking of the General Belgrano.

Mr Kinnock yesterday raised the suspicion that Mrs Thatcher and her war cabinet had decided to sink the Argentine cruiser in order to destroy a Peruvian peace initiative in the early stage of the Falklands war.

He is the first Labour front-bencher to lend his support to this view. He said his doubts about the sinking had been aroused by anomalies in government explanations.

The Belgrano was torpedoed by the submarine HMS Conqueror at 2.57pm local time on Sunday, May 2, with the loss of 368 lives. As reported in *The Times* on December 8, the cruiser had been sunk well south of the total exclusion zone, while on a course for her home port of Ushuaia.

It had also been revealed in Common replies that the cruiser and her escorts had changed course many times

during the day and were 200 miles from elements of the Task Force, and that it would have taken five to six hours to reach striking distance.

But in a Commons statement on May 4, two days after the incident, Mr John Nott, then Secretary of State for Defence, told MPs that the Argentine ships were "closing on elements of our task force", which were "only hours away".

It has since emerged that the Conqueror had been shadowing the Belgrano and the two destroyers for more than 30 hours.

Mr Kinnock demanded yesterday: "Why did the war cabinet refrain from ordering the Conqueror to attack the Belgrano for over 30 hours and then give the order when the cruiser was on course for its home port?"

"The most feasible answer appears to be that the British Government sought war when peace was still at least possible, a peace which would have involved complete Argentine withdrawal followed by a negotiated political settlement".

He added: "The case for an immediate enquiry is paramount."



The Belgrano goes down - taking a hope of peace with her, the Government's critics claim.

D. Telegraph 2 June 1983

Telegraph 2/6/83

# FALKLANDS OUTBURST BY HEALEY

## Thatcher 'glorying in slaughter'

By JAMES WIGHTMAN Political Correspondent

THE election campaign took its most bitter turn last night when Mr Healey made the Falklands a new issue and ~~renewed~~ the Prime Minister of "glorying in slaughter."

He also accused her of "stupefying hypocrisy" in continuing to condemn Argentina over the Falklands invasion but allowing British banks to loan money to the Buenos Aires dictatorship.

The money could be used to buy British weapons "to kill British Servicemen" in the Falklands, he charged.

Mr Healey also declared that the Prime Minister had "wrapped herself up in the Union Jack" to make personal political capital out of the sacrifices of British Servicemen in the Falklands.

Mr Healey tried to undermine the increased electoral support which Mrs Thatcher has enjoyed since her leadership of the campaign to recapture the Falklands last year.

The Conservatives immediately saw his charges, made in a speech in Birmingham, as indicating Labour's desperation to try to avoid disaster in the election on June 9.

Mr Healey launched his attack even though Mr Foot and other prominent Labour politicians have been remarkably quiet about the Falklands so far.

Their fear has been that, by criticising the Prime Minister they might lose support of Labour voters who admired the skill and courage of the Task Force which recaptured the Falklands. But Mr Healey did not hold back last night.

### Call for inquiry

His speech came shortly after Mr Kinnock, Labour's Shadow Education Secretary, had called for a public inquiry into the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser General Belgrano by a British submarine.

Earlier Mrs Thatcher and other Ministers began aiming more election campaign ammunition towards the Liberals and SDP yesterday as Alliance leaders claimed that they had possibly overtaken Labour in second place.

The Tories also intensified campaigning in marginal constituencies, particularly those where Liberals were runners-up to Conservatives in the 1979 election.

Conservative Central Office warned Tory candidates that their lead in the marginals was much smaller than the polls showed nationally.



In April last year, Pamela Dixon, a British journalist, journeyed to the Falkland Islands with her husband, John, who had been invited out there to help set up an exhibition of stamps.

Neither of them dreamed they would find themselves caught up in the trauma of the Argentinian Invasion.

Happily, a year later, they returned to the Falklands to help celebrate the 150th anniversary of British occupation.

In this remarkable account, Pamela shares not only memories of the dark days of war, but also the sheer joy of freedom regained.

ON June 14, the schools on the Falklands were closed for a holiday. It was Liberation Day, the anniversary of the Argentinian surrender, the day the British marched back into Stanley after the strangest and most traumatic time in the islands' history.

There were memories for all of us — mixed feelings, too. Thankfulness for the outcome, regret that it had to happen at all, abiding sorrow for those who lost loved ones . . .

I'll never forget the invasion of the Falklands, or the next day when I was turned out of the islands. My last view of Port Stanley was from the back of an Argentine truck. I still remember the sick feeling of despair.

For nearly a year I wondered about the people I'd had to leave so abruptly. I remember the willing hands helping with my suitcases while the men with guns looked on. I remembered the islanders already having to joke about carrying white flags, while the tanks filled the streets . . .

Now I've been back, and this time to the week-long party when the Falklands really celebrated their hard-won freedom — the celebrations for the 150th anniversary of British occupation.

Before the conflict, the islanders had only a handful of visitors throughout the year. Since the war they've been under constant scrutiny by the world's Press and television.

But the 150th anniversary was their own occasion — a big family binge, in fact! Even the soldiers stationed there kept in the background. They turned up only when invited — but, needless to say, there were plenty of invitations!



ABOVE RIGHT: Sir Rex and Lady Hunt on the saluting dais with Major-General David Thorne at the opening of the celebrations.

ABOVE: The Falklanders in untypically zany mood. They really let their hair down during this no-holds-barred raft race. Apparently the idea was to row or paddle from the Victory Memorial along to the harbour — but some ingenious aids, like cunningly-concealed outboard motors, were discovered!

RIGHT: Two pretty island girls add a touch of glamour to the fun.



## A Special Report By PAMELA DIXON

(with photographs taken by her husband John).







The celebrations were planned long before the invasion, and during those dark days it sometimes looked as if the "150th" might never happen. On my return, I was once again able to joke and talk to the people I had left behind, to get a glimpse of the inevitable scars that the trauma of the occupation has left upon them, too.

The children, just like kids everywhere, remember the excitement of the war. At San Carlos, Michele Short told me about the morning in May when the British came back to the islands.

Michele is 12, and her father, Pat Short, is the station manager of the settlement.

"My brother came in and woke me up—it was about three in the morning. We could hear all the noise of the ships and the trucks coming ashore and then a soldier knocked at the door and told my dad, 'We're British.'"

Michele pulled a face when I asked her about the Argentines.

"They didn't have enough food and they made my dad shoot sheep for them. They used to come round with a gun and point and he knew

what would happen if he didn't do what they wanted."

I stood above the frail-looking pier where the first British troops had come ashore. Then Michele showed me to the track leading down to the cemetery where the Union Jack flies proudly. Apart from the sounds of children playing back at the settlement, all was peace and calm.

Out across the bay we could see the white shapes of the portable housing where the troops are building a new headquarters.

Out in the "camp"—all the land outside Stanley—the way of life has altered very little, apart from the presence of the soldiers at some of the settlements and the helicopters continually flying men and supplies round the islands.

Any Falkland child will tell you now that a Harrier goes "Wheee . . ." and a Phantom goes "Grrrr . . ." while the big Chinooks go "Whacka, whacka, whacka . . ."

Stanley has changed, of course. It swarms with servicemen, the roads are potholed beyond imagining, and where once a walk down Ross Road meant seeing three or four vehicles at the most, I found myself shouting above the noise of a constant stream of trucks.

Here, the headmaster, Derek Evans, told me that the occupation had affected the children far less than the adults.

"Their imagination runs on guns and weapons and so on. They don't think of the long-term possibility of anyone actually getting killed. For them it was just interesting—a chance to see jet fighters and tanks and helicopters they'd never set eyes on before."

Derek, who left Sunderland for the Falklands 19 years ago, said, "The old people suffered a lot, and it disturbed the women more than the men. Their thoughts were about their children, and about dying . . . It had a more fundamental effect on them."

In any emergency there are people who come to the fore through courage, daring, or just cool nerve. Bob and Janet Macleod, from Goose Green, became something of a symbol

*Continued on Page 18.*

# HAPPY ANNIVERSARY! THE FALKLANDS AT PLAY

It's a year since peace was restored to the Falklands. No doubt the islanders' celebrations will be in full swing. But here we look back to an earlier festive occasion when the Falklanders — and their friends — threw the biggest party ever to mark their 150th Anniversary.



*My WEEKLY  
2/6/83*



# GETTING BACK TO NORMAL...

of the Falklands spirit during the days of the occupation.

Bob is the radio ham who strove to keep one step ahead of the Argentines. Janet is the girl who helped the Royal Marines to free the tangled propellers of the Merchant ship Monsunen, urgently needed towards the end of the fighting to ferry men and supplies.

Janet received fan letters from all over the world, particularly from children. She and Bob told me modestly that their exploits have been exaggerated, but there can be no doubts about their courage and resourcefulness.

From the Friday of the invasion, Bob sent out vital information for several days until the Argentines took over his set. After that he still managed to use a paratrooper's set for a while in secret, and after the liberation he transmitted endless reassuring messages to U.K. "hams" enquiring anxiously about relatives.

But, Bob and Janet said, their chief memories are of the 29 days they spent shut up in the Community Centre with the rest of the people of Goose Green. The 113 residents had no warning — they were simply told that they had been called together for a meeting.

But Bob and Janet had already put together a "get-away kit" in old army rucksacks — spare clothes and food and first-aid items, with sleeping bags strapped on top.

I thought how frightening I had found the invasion itself, but this was nothing compared with those long days and nights of captivity.

"We were quite prepared to walk to wherever the British troops were," Janet told me. "Lots of people put the children into pyjamas at night, but we slept dressed in case we were moved out in a hurry."

"The Argies often got angry — they just couldn't understand how we could laugh and joke as the Harriers came over and the battle heated up."

After the war, Bob and Janet went to England for a while, but now they're back at Goose Green. "Radio Bob" is back on the air with his own gear, but he says he has to keep changing frequencies as the Argentines still try to jam him.

"I'll always be a naughty boy to them," he told me with a grin.

My own adventure — getting caught in the invasion — was insignificant compared to what followed. But there was one story in which I did play a small part . . .

Liberation Day means celebrating freedom, and at the time of the invasion there was one girl who made her own daring bid for freedom, a bid which might have gone badly wrong.

Yes, I was glad to see Kim Robertson again at the dances in Stanley, because I had helped to smuggle her out! I couldn't help thinking how different she looked, relaxed and happy and far from the tension of April 3, 1982.

The Argentines flew some 60 reporters and photographers to Stanley on the day after the invasion, and in the evening they turned the British Press out and flew us back to the mainland on the returning plane.

Tired, cold and dispirited, I was waiting in the crowd for the trucks to come. Then Kim appeared, taut and nervous and lugging a large suitcase. Born on the islands, she'd come back for a working holiday and found herself trapped.

The rest of her family were in Australia, so



**FAR LEFT (Main picture):** Back to school for the Falkland children. The headmaster, Derek Evans, seen here taking a class, believes that the Argentine occupation affected the youngsters far less than the adults.

**FAR LEFT (Small picture):** Bob and Janet Macleod at Goose Green. Bob is the radio ham who courageously strove to keep one step ahead of the Argentines. Janet has received fan letters from all over the world since helping the Royal Marines to free the tangled propellers of a merchant ship.

**ABOVE:** A riot of colour. The gardens bright with bedding plants once more.

**LEFT:** Sir Rex and Lady Hunt in the conservatory at Government House.

**BELOW:** The grave of Colonel H. Jones, in the British War Cemetery, San Carlos.

she intended to try to get out by posing as a journalist.

It was risky — her blonde good looks would attract attention, and if she was turned away at the airfield, she would be alone with the invaders and miles from the town.

But seeing her determination, I whispered, "Stay with me, look as if you're working with me. And if the guards start checking the list, we'll mill around in the crowd. Let's hope we're lucky."

We were. In the confusion, name checking was perfunctory. Moving ahead of the man with the list, we got on board. The Argentine reporters could have given Kim away — they knew who she was. They looked at us pointedly, but then said nothing. Chain smoking on the plane, her hands still trembling slightly, Kim knew that she'd got away with it.

Perhaps it's hard to settle to office work after an episode like that. Happily tucking in at the barbecue, Kim told me, "I've been helping with the sheep shearing, travelling round the settlements."

It's hard work and involves long hours, appealing to an adventurous spirit — but I doubt if Kim will ever have an adventure to equal that night when she flew out to freedom.

For the week of the 150th, Stanley, already full, was bursting at the seams as visitors from the camp poured in by any means they could find. Transport round the islands is a big headache.

With no roads outside Stanley and their domestic aircraft wrecked in the fighting, islanders have been dependent on the army to fly them around on essential business. A sleeping bag is vital and a bed in Stanley is a prize indeed!

But one civil aircraft was back in service at last. The army helped as best they could, and no Land-Rover was too ancient for the rough tracks which had been signposted away from

the remaining minefields for obvious reasons.

I even met some islanders who had turned the wheel full circle and come in on horseback, just as they would have travelled those 150 years ago.

Celebration week was due to end with a big fireworks display, but, true to form, the Falkland weather didn't co-operate. The display was postponed twice and finally took place in a drizzle, with most of us watching from upstairs windows.

It was time to leave the islands again, but I had one more call to make before I went home — and a promise to keep. I had two photographs to deliver to Allison and Mike Bleaney.

When they were taken the year before, none of us had any idea that Allison's name would soon be flashed round the world as the heroine of the Argentine surrender.

On the day of the invasion she was the first civilian to go out under the white flag — making her way to the hospital with her family so that

she could help with the Argentine wounded.

When I ventured out later, I met the little band burning, Allison carrying baby Emma in a sling, Mike with two-year-old Daniel on his shoulders carrying their white flag — a pillowcase on a broomstick. They made a very British picture, one I was delighted to capture on film.

Mike, a Londonder, grinned and said, "Send us a copy of the photograph when you get back."

When the British drew close and were attacking from the hills overlooking Stanley, Scottish-born Dr Allison emerged as a heroine. The British thought, wrongly, that all the civilians were safely gathered together in the cathedral area.

While the shells were landing on the town, Allison ran backwards and forwards to the Argentine communications area and, in her own words, "kept on at them" until they let her use the radio to warn the advancing troops that

## ...But Not Forgetting



the civilians were, in fact, still scattered throughout the town.

By radio, she also arranged the first talks between the Argentines and the British which led to the surrender.

When the news broke three days later, I excitedly phoned Scotland to talk to Allison's mother, Mrs Isobel Baird.

"Oh," she exclaimed, "that sounds just like Allison! How I would have worried if I'd known what she'd been up to!"

And so I called again at the Bleaney's house, where we'd sat and chatted only two nights before the invasion. I handed over the photographs and Allison laughed, and agreed that that had been "quite a day."

Yes, the roads in Stanley are potholed and the town still carries scars. But Allison, Chief Medical Officer at the hospital, remembers it covered in mud after the surrender. She says that she and Mike are staying on.

That exploit under shellfire, which earned her the O.B.E., took place on June 14. Without her, Liberation Day might not be celebrated quite so soon.

This time I left the Falklands on the S.S. Uganda. The Red Cross flag, memento of her days as a hospital ship, is displayed with pride outside the music room which was turned into an operating theatre during the conflict.

On board were the members of the Royal Engineers band, who had been playing at the "150th." And this time my chief memory of the journey home is of the night they gave a concert.

It was hot, and I stood out on deck under the southern stars. The sea churned against the side of the ship and the soldiers sang "My Way," "We Are Sailing . . ." and . . . "Land Of Hope And Glory." □



'Daily Telegraph' 2 June 1983

# STORM FOLLOWS KINNOCK CALL FOR BELGRANO INQUIRY

By **NICHOLAS COMFORT** Political Staff

**A**N election storm broke out last night over a call by Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour's Shadow Education Secretary, for a public inquiry into the sinking of the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano during the Falklands conflict.

Mr Kinnock, who supported the sending of the Falklands Task Force, said that he was seeking to make an election issue of the Prime Minister's "judgment and credibility," and not of the war itself.

Mr Heseltine, Defence Secretary, described his charges as a "disgraceful misrepresentation" of the Government's efforts to reach a peaceful settlement, adding: "It is contemptible that Kinnock plays the dictators' game."

The Belgrano was sunk on the orders of the War Cabinet on May 2 last year by the submarine Conqueror with the loss of 368 lives.

Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues have insisted that the action was necessary because, although the ship was outside the Total Exclusion Zone, it posed a threat to British lives.

Mr Tam Dalyell, Labour MP for West Lothian in the last Parliament, maintains that official explanations are contradictory and that the sinking was ordered to torpedo a Peruvian peace plan which was near fruition.

Labour strategists note the fervour with which the Belgrano question has been pursued by elements within the party, but realise that Mr Kinnock is sailing into dangerous and uncharted waters.

It was stressed last night that his call for an inquiry was a "freelance" effort which was not discussed in advance either with Mr Foot or, substantively, with the party campaign committee.

## Peace talks

He said he had seen "inconsistency" in the Government's account of events surrounding the torpedo attack by the Conqueror ever since Sir John Nott, then Defence Secretary, had described them to the Commons.

But his "whole perception of the importance of the talks which were going on between the Peruvians and the Americans" had been changed by the knowledge that the submarine had been following the cruiser for 30 hours when it received its new orders.

Mrs Thatcher has strongly denied that those orders were issued to prevent a peace plan emerging.

## Course for home

Mr Kinnock asked: "Why did the War Cabinet refrain from ordering the Conqueror to attack the Belgrano for over 30 hours and then give the order when the cruiser was on course for its home port?"

"The most feasible answer to this central question appears to be that the British Government sought war when peace was still at least possible."

"Since the Prime Minister and her Government have drawn credit from their conduct of the Falklands conflict, they should be eager to demonstrate that their orders were not given before all prospect of negotiated peace on acceptable terms was absolutely exhausted."

Mr Heseltine responded: "It is disgraceful that Neil Kinnock should misrepresent the events surrounding the prospect of peace before the re-occupation of the Falklands by British troops."

"No government tried harder to persuade the Argentinians to get off the islands they had illegally occupied."

"The world remembers the repeated attempts, not only by Britain but by friends of this country and by the United States, to find an honourable settlement that respected the wishes of the islanders."

"Every one of those attempts failed because the Argentinians were determined to maintain their illegal occupation. Even now they refuse to admit that hostilities have come to an end."

# Falkland attack on Thatcher by Healey

By our Political Editor

Mr Denis Healey, Labour's belligerent deputy leader, last night flung the Falklands war into the election campaign as a personal issue about the nature and character of the Prime Minister.

He accused Mrs Thatcher of "glorying in slaughter" and "wrapping herself in the Union Jack."

Mr Healey's onslaught followed a demand from Mr Neil Kinnock for a full and detailed public inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the Argentinean cruiser, the General Belgrano, in May 1982.

Though Mr Kinnock did not accuse Mrs Thatcher of ordering the sinking to avert a Falklands peace settlement, he claimed that the circumstances were sufficiently puzzling to

## Healey onslaught on Thatcher over Falkland war

Continued from page one

to buy weapons, including weapons made in Britain, to kill British servicemen with, and that is an act of stupefying hypocrisy."

Mr Healey's speech drew a special statement from Mr Cecil Parkinson, the chairman of the Conservative Party, who said: "This must win the prize for the most contemptible statement of the election campaign."

Mr Kinnock's call, which was made in a public statement appears to have taken Labour Party headquarters as well as his shadow cabinet colleagues entirely by surprise. By no means all of them are enthusiastic about the idea.

Without consulting several of the party's leading campaign managers, Mr Kinnock issued a statement raising detailed questions about the circumstances in which the so-called war cabinet under Mrs Thatcher issued the order to sink the Belgrano, resulting in the loss of nearly 400 Argentine lives.

The statement was not issued through the normal channels of Labour Party headquarters. But it was meticulous in its effort to avoid any scare allegation that the Prime Minister or her aides had ordered the sinking of the Belgrano in order to stymie peace negotiations.

Instead, Mr Kinnock went out of his way to say that the case for an inquiry rested on the fact that many of the statements made about the circumstances of the sinking were "at the very least, inconsistent and, at worst, seriously wrong."

Mr Kinnock went on to invoke the confrontation of the BBC Nationwide television programme 10 days ago, in which the Prime Minister was clearly

rattled by persistent and well-informed questioning from a Mrs Diana Gould on the subject of the Belgrano affair. Mrs Gould showed almost as much dedication to the subject as Labour MP Mr Tam Dalyell has in the House of Commons.

Mr Kinnock insisted yesterday that many people who witnessed the Nationwide exchanges would now want a more convincing answer to Mrs Gould's question than those offered by Mrs Thatcher. It was neither unfair, nor irresponsible, and not even partisan to call on the Prime Minister to start such an inquiry immediately.

The demand for an inquiry is by no means confined to the Labour Party. Mr David Steel, the Liberal leader, made it clear last weekend that he was ready to support such a call, although he was careful to insist that he would do so only after the election campaign was over.

But he clearly shared Mr Kinnock's view of the Prime Minister's suggestion that those who doubted her word on the matter should wait until the relevant documents were published after the statutory 30 years.

Mr Michael Heseltine, the man who took over as Defence Secretary from Sir John Nott after the Falklands war was well over, rushed out a denunciatory statement last night about Mr Kinnock's call.

He insisted that Britain and other countries had tried to find an honourable solution which met the wishes of the islanders. They had all failed. Mr Heseltine also insisted that Argentina was still refusing to admit that hostilities had come to an end. He added: "It is contemptible that Kinnock plays the dictators' game."



Mr Neil Kinnock —  
avoided scare allegation

just an investigation.

The introduction of the Falklands issue into the campaign startled Conservative leaders. They have consistently believed that Labour would prefer to ignore the subject because it was an obvious Tory vote-winner.

But it is clear that Labour campaign managers now reject this analysis, and believe that they can pin on Mrs Thatcher a bellicose and belligerent attitude.

Mr Healey's attack was made in a speech at Selly Oak, Birmingham. He said that the Prime Minister had tried to ignore "all the issues which dominate everybody's minds in Britain and fight on her personality." And it was not her real personality but one invented by advertising men, Mr Healey said.

He went on: "She is wrapping herself in a Union Jack and exploiting the services of our soldiers, sailors, and airmen and hoping to get away with it."

"This Prime Minister who glories in slaughter; who has taken advantage of the superb professionalism of our armed forces in the Falkland Islands, is at this very moment lending the military dictatorship in Buenos Aires millions of pounds

Turn to back page, col. 1

'The Guardian' 2 June 1983



Times 2 June '83

## Falklands veteran embarrasses Thatcher

From Philip Webster  
Political Reporter  
Elgin

The Falklands War, one of the prime factors behind Mrs Margaret Thatcher's personal popularity, caused her an embarrassing dilemma in Scotland yesterday.

Her trip to a weaving mill in Elgin, in the marginal Moray constituency in the Grampians, was dominated by a one-man protest from an unemployed Falklands veteran.

Mr Steven Sherrett, aged 34, a sergeant in the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards, stood outside the premises of James Johnston and Co with a banner proclaiming: "Unemployed Falklands hero (the word hero was crossed out) veteran requires job. Apply here. Gis a job, Prime Minister."

He, rather than Mrs Thatcher's walk around the factory became the main focus of media attention. Mr Sherrett, who is married with three children, said that he had fought in the battle of Tumbledown Mountain and saw action throughout the campaign. He left the Army in April after 12 years' service.

Mr Sherrett told reporters: "I can't find a job. It is not for want of trying. I have applied for jobs as a social worker, sales rep, van driver and security guard. All I want to do is work. I am completely disillusioned".

Mrs Thatcher was faced with the dilemma of whether to talk to him and her aides conferred anxiously while she looked round the mill. In the end, her staff took details from the man but she decided against speaking to him.

As she came out of the press conference before leaving the factory, she waved to the crowd where he was standing and said: "We are very late".

The previous evening the Prime Minister had received a hostile reception from demonstrators in a crowd of about 1,000 outside the Station Hotel in Inverness, where she had flown after her speech at a rally in Edinburgh. An egg was thrown which hit a journalist.

Yesterday she concentrated her brief visit on the marginal constituencies of Moray and Inverness, Nairn and Lochaber. The Tories hope to win the latter from Mr Russell Johnston, the Liberal. He had a majority of more than 4,000 at the last election, but new boundaries have removed Liberal Isle of Skye and added Tory Nairn.

In Moray, they will be defending Mr Alex Pollock's 1979 majority of 422 votes from a strong Scottish National Party challenge. The seat has had part of the once Nationalist Banffshire added and Mr Hamish Watt, the former SNP MP, is regarded as one of the SNP's best hopes.

'Herald Tribune' 2 June 1983

## **Four Zeros Cut From the Peso By Argentina**

*United Press International*

BUENOS AIRES — The government chopped four zeros off the national currency Wednesday, causing most Argentines to lose their millionaire status overnight.

Eight years of triple-digit inflation have pushed prices so high that Argentina's national mint had to keep printing bills with more and more zeros, including a 1-million-peso note introduced 18 months ago. It was worth about \$12 early this week.

The replacement of the "legal peso" with the "Argentine peso" coincided with a two-day bank holiday, Tuesday and Wednesday, designed to allow financial institutions to prepare for the transition.

For a month, banks and businesses will accept both the old and new bills, and most shopkeepers planned to post both old and new prices.

To minimize confusion, the government decided to print the new replacement bills in the same colors as each old bill — pink for a 100 pesos (formerly 1 million), green for 50 pesos (formerly 500,000), and gray for 10 pesos (formerly 100,000).

The lowly 5,000-peso note becomes an Argentine 50-centavo coin.

'Times' 2 June 1983

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TIMES 2 JUN 83  
**General Belgrano:  
the post-mortem**

*From Mr Michael Nicholson,*

Sir, Re the sinking of the General Belgrano. For the record: in a briefing aboard HMS Hermes, the then Task Force Commander, Admiral Sandy Woodward, told me and other correspondents and I quote from my notes at the time: "There's a cruiser nosing around the TEZ (Total Exclusion Zone) and I'm going to bloody its nose".

This briefing took place three days before the Belgrano was chased and sunk by HMS Conqueror.

On a more general point, rather pertinent and worth repeating in this rights and wrongs post-mortem. We had upwards of 10,000 soldiers at sea at that time. Very few of them had ever spent any time on ships, certainly none in the kind of seas we were experiencing then in the South Atlantic. We were approaching winter and they were being tossed around in ships that were badly equipped to carry them. It was obvious to all of us down there, that as the weather worsened there had to be a limit to how long we could stay before it was necessary to return to Ascension Island to recover. The longer the men were kept at sea the less their fighting effectiveness. It was simply a matter of time and it was not with us. We knew it. And so must Sir John Fieldhouse, Commander-in-Chief, have advised the Prime Minister.

The Junta were well aware of it too and who is to say that General Galtieri wasn't simply using Mr Haig, Costa Mendes and the Peruvians tactically? Because, for the Task Force to have turned back to Ascension to recuperate while the various peace plans were examined, would most certainly have taken the momentum out of the British military initiative and British public support.

The Prime Minister surely would not have risked that?

Yours faithfully,  
MICHAEL NICHOLSON,  
21 Bushwood Road,  
Kew,  
Surrey.  
May 31.

Times 2 June 1983

## Coalite profits rise

Times 2 JUN 83 By Jeremy Warner

Coalite, the fuel production and distribution group which is also the owner of the Falkland Islands Company, yesterday reported a £3.48m increase in pretax profits to £27.34m for the year to the end of last March.

The Falklands Islands Company, which dominates the economy of the dependency, managed to improve its contribution to the results despite the disruption of the Argentinian invasion.

Coalite is attempting to develop the company away from its heavy dependence on sheep farming. It has begun

### Coalite Group

Year to 31.3.83  
Pretax profit £27.34m (£23.86m)  
Stated earnings 18.26p (18.20)  
Turnover £415.93m (£406.87m)  
Net interim dividend 3.5p making 5.05p (4.53p)

negotiations with unnamed British, foreign and Falkland islander interests to begin deep sea fishing in waters that are rich in hake and squid.

Meanwhile a short list of six families out of several hundred applicants has been drawn up to go to the Falklands to make use of company land in activities other than sheep farming.



The Times 1/6/82

FROM STEVEN WORTH, [GRAY AND CO, WASH] MAY 18, 1983

Argentine lobbyists in U.S.

-- OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS --

JUNE 5-6, 1983  
SHERATON-CARLTON HOTEL

SUNDAY, JUNE 5

6:30 P.M. - REGISTRATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SEMINAR MATERIALS. CRYSTAL ROOM (COCKTAILS WILL BE SERVED.)

7:30 P.M. - DINNER

8:30 P.M. - WELCOMING REMARKS BY DR. RICARDO ZINN -- PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN CONE PUBLISHING AND ADVISORY SERVICES. INTRODUCTION OF [THOMAS ENDERS] BY AMBASSADOR ESTERAN TAKACS, FORMER ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES AND SPECIAL ADVISOR TO SOUTHERN CONE PUBLISHING AND ADVISORY SERVICES.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS THOMAS ENDERS FOLLOWED BY A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.

MONDAY, JUNE 6

8:00 A.M. - CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST, COSMOS CLUB AUDITORIUM

9:00 A.M. - INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY DR. RICARDO ZINN. MODERATOR, GEORGE AGREE - PRESIDENT, AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION.

9:10 - NOON (MORNING SESSION)

-- NICHOLAS ARDITO BARLETTA, REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENT FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, THE WORLD BANK 'INTERNATIONAL DEBT AND THE WORLD BANK'.

-- PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS, SENIOR FELLOW, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, 'THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL BORROWING'.

-- CARLOS CABALLO, ARGENTINE ECONOMIST, INSTITUTO TORCUATO DE TELLA, 'OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES'.

-- PHILIP E. COLDWELL, PRESIDENT, COLDWELL FINANCIAL CONSULTING, FORMER MEMBER, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, 'U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS AS SEEN FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR'.

RCA Global Telegram

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RCA

Reply via RC

Reply via RCA, call 212-248-7000

call 212-248-7000

12:15 P.M. - LUNCH, CHESAPEAKE ROOM OF THE RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL

1:00 P.M. - AMBASSADOR ESTERAN TAKACS INTRODUCES AMBASSADOR ORFILA. KEYNOTE LUNCHEON ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ALEJANDRO ORFILA FOLLOWED BY A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.

2:00 P.M. - AFTERNOON SESSION (COSMOS CLUB AUDITORIUM) INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY LAURENCE LEVINE, ESQ., PARTNER, WALSH AND LEVINE, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF SOUTHERN CONE PUBLISHING AND ADVISORY SERVICES.

MODERATOR, WENCESLAO RUNGE, PRESIDENT OF WOBISA, PRESIDENT FUNDACION DE HEMISFERO, AND PRESIDENT OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY CLUB IN ARGENTINA.

2:15 - 5:30 P.M.

-- RICHARD V. ALLEN, PRESIDENT, THE RICHARD ALLEN COMPANY AND FORMER ASSISTANT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS ADVISOR, 'WESTERN HEMISPHERIC SECURITY - A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE'

*Argentinian lobbyist.  
Sacked by Reagan*

-- NATALIO BOTANA, ARGENTINE POLITICAL STUDIES EXPERT, 'RECENT TRENDS IN ARGENTINE POLITICS'

-- MARK FALCOFF, SENIOR FELLOW AT THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, 'POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS'

-- ARNALDO MUSICH, FORMER ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, 'CURRENT ATTITUDES IN U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS'.

6:00-7:30 P.M.

RECEPTION (WITH MEMBERS OF THE NEWS MEDIA) CHANDELIER ROOM OF THE SHERATON - CARLTON HOTEL.

7:30 P.M. DINNER (CRYSTAL ROOM OF THE SHERATON-CARLTON)

8:30 P.M. - DR. RICARDO ZINN -- CONCLUDING REMARKS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE EVENING'S KEYNOTE SPEAKER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS, RICHARD MCCORMACK. A BRIEF QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD WILL FOLLOW.

Global Telegram

Global Telegram

Global Telegram

Reply via RCA

Reply via RCA, call 212-248-7000

CA, call 212-248-7000

The Times 1/6/83

### **Galtieri shame**

General Galtieri, the former President of Argentina, is to be sanctioned by a military tribunal for a serious breach of honour, according to military sources

Page 6

'The Times' 1/6/83

## Galtieri's honour put on trial

From Andrew Thompson  
Buenos Aires

General Galtieri, the former Argentine President, is to be sanctioned by a military tribunal for a serious lack of honour, according to military sources.

The general, who was released at the end of last week after completing a 45-day prison sentence imposed by General Cristo Nicolaidis, the present army commander, had been called before an honour tribunal formed at the request of General Mario Menéndez, the Argentine Governor of the Falkland Islands, during the invasion last year, and three other senior generals. These officers held that General Galtieri had acted dishonourably by criticizing them in a public interview.

The honour tribunal, presided over by retired General Eleodoro Sancho Lahoz has not made its ruling public. Nevertheless, the military sources say that the verdict, that General Galtieri is guilty of a serious lack of honour, is virtually a foregone conclusion.

He was charged under disciplinary procedures contained in decree 1180/83, which was published in the official bulletin on May 24, after his arrest had been ordered. This says that honour tribunals can pass three types of sentence: a sanction for a light lack of honour, a sanction for a serious lack of honour, and disqualification for a most serious lack of honour.

If the tribunal's intermediate sentence against the general is confirmed, under another clause of the decree, the army commander, has the right either to harden or to soften the ruling. The accused also has the right to appeal within 48 hours. The decree also establishes that any officer sanctioned by an honour tribunal cannot be pardoned until 10 years after the ruling. Other military sources, meanwhile, say that the inter-forces commission investigating the conduct of the South Atlantic war, is gradually winding up its work.

The junta will also decide whether the commissions report will be made public.