

'Times' 31 May 1983

TIMES 31 MAY '83

Sinking of the General Belgrano

From Mr Alan Brownjohn

Sir. As the allegations and explanations multiply, the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the General Belgrano on Sunday, May 2, 1982 become, if anything, the more inscrutable. They also become more worrying in their wider implications.

In the Commons on May 12 this year the persistent Mr Tam Dalyell elicited statements about the time at which the Peruvian peace proposals in front of Mr Francis Pym and Mr Al Haig in Washington became known in London. The Prime Minister stated during questions that the proposals did not reach London until after the attack on the Belgrano. Mr Cranley Onslow said in the adjournment debate that they arrived at 11.15 that Sunday evening.

It is not possible to question these assurances. But the context in which the war cabinet, meeting at the Chequers that day, took the decision to sink the Belgrano is another matter. The Foreign Secretary had travelled to Washington post haste only the day before. At some point, certainly, the Belgrano might (as Mrs Thatcher asserts) have presented a real threat. What is questionable is whether the Belgrano, outside the exclusion zone and sailing away from it, presented such a threat in the very short time - a matter of hours - during which Mr Pym's consultations were coming to a head.

The war cabinet seems not to have been concerned to wait upon the outcome of negotiations which - whatever their outcome - were extremely unlikely to last until the Belgrano actually became a threat. It is hard to reconcile its decision to sink the Belgrano with Mr Pym's statement in Washington on Saturday, May 1 (after air and sea attacks on the Falklands) that "No further military action is envisaged at the moment, except to keep the exclusion zone secure." 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.

It might be argued that to wait upon the possibility of an agreement might have been to wait for ever. But in this case it would not have been for ever. It could hardly have been more than 24 hours. Are we to suppose that no member of the war cabinet counselled even these few hours of caution while the Conqueror continued to pursue the Belgrano and Mr Pym continued to pursue a settlement?

Posterity would honour the moral courage of any who admitted now that some of them did. But posterity would not rate highly either the peaceful intentions, or the foresight, of a war cabinet whose actions ruined the chance of Mr Pym's negotiations succeeding before the progress of his efforts had been examined.

But suppose further - and here the wider implications become frightening indeed - that on another occasion the situation was not that of a relatively small conflict (albeit one to be fought with dreadful new resources of weapons technology) starting in a remote southern ocean, but an impending full-scale nuclear war involving a small country whose nuclear arsenal rendered it a prime, wholly indefensible target?

Suppose that the horror could only be averted by delicate negotiations far away, in the same or some other foreign capital? And that such negotiations were to be conducted by ministers and ambassadors who, for some reason, were not fully and swiftly in contact - and perhaps not in concert - with the intentions of a war cabinet in London? Sometimes the unimaginable becomes only too easy to imagine.

Yours sincerely,
ALAN BROWNJOHN,
2 Belsize Park, NW3.
May 21.

Falkland 'Ark' plan needs cash

By Our Agriculture
Correspondent

Plans to send a "Noah's Ark" shipload of animals and birds from Britain to the Falkland Islands in July are putting a serious strain on the Falklands Appeal fund which has raised £640,000 to help the islanders recover from the Argentine invasion.

The project to send hundreds of animals and birds, ranging from pedigree bulls to budgerigars, to the Falklands to replace farm livestock and pets killed during the conflict, has attracted widespread interest among animal lovers worldwide since it was disclosed in *The Sunday Telegraph* last week.

Donations to the Falklands Appeal should be sent to its London address: Orchard House, 14 Great Smith Street, London SW1.

Falklands policy 'offers no future'

PRESENT British policy towards the Falkland Islands, however necessary in the short term, offers no prospect of a stable future for the islands, according to a draft report prepared for the Commons all-party foreign affairs committee.

"Not only are its material and political costs burdensome, but the policy itself is reactive and inflexible and carries with it unfortunate implications for the wider conduct of foreign policy, both now and for the future," it says.

The report warns that the more long-term costs are reduced (for example, by providing an airfield for long-haul jets) the more Britain may become committed perpetually to maintaining the status quo.

The report remains in draft form, with discussions halted by the dissolution of Parliament, but it was drawn up after hours of talks in the committee of six Tories, including the chairman, Sir Anthony Kershaw, and five Labour MPs.

It recognises that, because of Argentina's continuing bellicosity, there is no immediate prospect for any change in Britain's political stance

Richard Norton-Taylor reveals the details of a report compiled by an all-party group of MPs, chaired by Sir Anthony Kershaw (right)

or financial commitment to the islands. However, the report says that this should not obscure the need to consider a long-term future for the islands at reduced financial and diplomatic cost to Britain.

The MPs have agonised over the available options, partly because they knew that they were treading in emotive waters with widespread policy implications. The report is directed at an overseas audience as much as at the Commons.

It suggests that the real choice is not between "Forthress Falklands" and a lease-back arrangement with Argentina, but between doing nothing and doing something.

It says that lease-back "probably represents the most promising long-term solution to the dispute" although it adds that for this to be even remotely acceptable to the islanders it would

need to span several generations.

During discussions, Tory and Labour MPs on the committee became increasingly attracted to some form of United Nations trusteeship, which they believe could be coupled with effective internal self-government.

"Under such an arrangement, provision could be made for the UK to exercise a veto over any change in the status of the islands," says the report.

The report rejects the option of integrating the Falklands with Britain, mainly because it would evade the whole question of sovereignty. This is also one reason why the committee dismisses a proposal to extend the Antarctic Treaty to include the Falklands and their dependencies.

The report, which was drawn up after the commit-

channel S4C, earlier this week, the report criticises the role of the Falkland Islands Company, wholly owned by the British-based Coalite group, which owns 43 per cent of land in the islands.

The company's control, not only over land but also over other aspects of the Falklands economy, "is both anarchistic and a serious inhibition to the development of a confident, independent, and self-reliant community in the Falklands" it says.

The Government's decision to reject some of Lord Shackleton's plans for economic reform and compulsory land purchase created a serious risk that only the poorest-quality land would be made available. This, says the report, would be "disastrous."

It concludes by saying that Britain should tell the UN secretary-general, Mr Perez de Cuellar, that it is willing to accept his good offices and resume negotiations with Argentina when its government formally renounces the use of force. Britain is also urged to invite a UN delegation to visit the islands.



tee had visited the Falklands, sharply criticises the colonial administration of the islands, though the Government has since introduced changes.

It says that the administration has been "neither conducive to the development of a thriving and independent economy, nor appropriate in the light of the Government's commitment to the principle of self-determination."

First disclosed in a current affairs programme on the Welsh language television

'Guardian' 27/5/83

'Guardian' 27/5/83

Falklands attack

A CONSERVATIVE member of the Commons foreign affairs committee, whose Falklands report has been delayed by the election, yesterday criticised Mrs Thatcher's attitude. Back page; Report details, page 4.

Tory candidate attacks Thatcher over Falklands

By Richard Norton-Taylor

The Prime Minister's attitude to the Falkland Islands was criticised yesterday by a Conservative member of the all-party Commons foreign affairs committee, whose report on the islands has been delayed by the election.

Mr Cyril Townsend, the Tory candidate for Bexley, said that he disagreed with Mrs Thatcher's view that the wishes of the islanders should be paramount. Parliament should have the final say.

"It is obvious to me and most people who have studied the matter that economic, political and diplomatic pressures are going to build up. In due course we will have to have further negotiations over the Falklands," Mr Townsend said.

He said that a lease-back arrangement with Argentina was still "a runner," but that some

'No future,' page 4

form of trusteeship within the United Nations framework appeared to offer the best prospect.

The committee's report sharply criticises the islands' colonial administration and the dominant role of the Falklands Islands Company, which owns more than 40 per cent of the land. It says that the Government's present policy offers no prospect of a stable future for the islands.

The draft report adds that British policy "runs the danger of delivering the initiative to Argentina," argues that the present deadlock is working to Argentina's advantage and says that Buenos Aires believes that its own refusal to acknowledge the end of hostilities is a major bargaining card.

The draft report acknowledges that direct negotiations between Argentina and Britain must be conditional on Buenos Aires's renunciation of force.

But one purpose of the report—and this is why the decision not to publish even a short version has irritated members from both sides—is to open up a serious debate about the islands' future.

The Foreign Office has made little secret of its anxiety to break the deadlock, but earlier this week, after being chided by the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym, said that the question of sovereignty was "simply not on the agenda."

The Commons committee insists that the issue cannot be evaded, and for this reason it has rejected integrating the Falklands with Britain or extending the Antarctic Treaty to cover the Falklands.

John Ezzard adds: The latest British newsletter of the Falkland Islands Association, which was being distributed from its Westminster headquarters yesterday, contains a detailed map of the probably site for a new strategic airport, capable of taking long-range, wide-bodies jets, at March Ridge, south of Port Stanley.

The letter says that the contract will be awarded next month and adds that the project will include housing for 2,100 RAF and construction staff.

The Guardian revealed in March that the Cabinet had decided to go ahead with the airport, which is regarded as a pointer to Britain's commitment.

The Commons foreign affairs committee's report refers to the airport as a hypothetical project, and is also out of date about delays in repairing roads around Stanley and to reforms to the islands' system of government.

Staff at the Falkland Government's office in London yesterday noted that references to the islands' sovereignty in the draft report were heavily qualified, and not included in the final recommendations.

Guardian 26/5/83

Inquiry calls for leaseback solution

Continued from page one
a thriving and independent economy, nor appropriate in the light of the Government's commitment to the principle of self-determination."

The report says that Argentina's claims to the Falklands have been weakened by its invasion last year, but it questions Britain's claims to sovereignty, especially those based on historical events.

Sir Anthony said last night that he believed that many of

the draft proposals, including that on leaseback, would have been voted down by the full committee. However, that view is not shared by his colleagues. Mr George Foulkes, former Labour MP for South Ayrshire, and a member of the committee, said that a majority would have voted for the proposals partly on cost grounds. He said that Britain should start talks on leaseback with financial compensation for islanders who did not want to stay.

The draft report also says that Britain should also declare that it would never deploy nuclear weapons in the South Atlantic.

The report concludes: "Active discussion of the possible options should be encouraged, particularly in the Falkland Islands themselves. A programme of public education on the subject should be pursued by the United Kingdom and Falklands Governments."

'Times' 26/5/83

Falklands

report

THE TIMES
MAY 'fixed'

26 1983 From Tim Jones
Cardiff

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Mr George Foulkes, a member of the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee inquiring into the future of British policy on the Falklands, claimed last night Mrs Margaret Thatcher had "fixed it" so their report would not appear before the general election.

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The second draft of the report confirms that the committee, as revealed last month by *The Times*, believe the government policy of "Fortress Falklands" does not offer a stable future for the islands.

Speaking on a Welsh language television programme, Mr George Foulkes, a Labour candidate, claimed that at Mrs Thatcher's instigation Conservative members filibustered the proceeding to delay publication.

Extracts from the second draft of the report were published on the programme despite a warning that such disclosures have been regarded as breaches of privilege.

'Times' 26/5/83

Argentines renew plea for visit to war graves

From Andrew Thompson
Buenos Aires

Señor Osvaldo Destefanis, president of the Centre of Volunteers for the Motherland, is planning a European tour within the next two weeks to try to gather international support for a second attempt to take relatives of dead Argentine servicemen to visit their graves on the Falkland Islands.

Señor Destefanis plans to visit Spain, France and Italy and intends to seek audiences with the Pope, President Pertini of Italy, King Juan Carlos of Spain, and representatives of the French Government, to convince them of the humanitarian nature of his project. He will also try to obtain a visa for Britain to persuade the British authorities to let the visit go ahead.

The first attempt to visit the war graves at the beginning of May, failed after the International Red Cross announced that it was withdrawing from the project. The Centre of Volunteers was said to have failed to meet the conditions placed by the British.

Despite this lack of agreement, some 50 relatives, led by Señor Destefanis, and a small group of journalists left Buenos Aires on board the Argentine ship Lago Lacar. After sailing out into the South Atlantic near the Patagonian coast, the ship eventually returned to its home port.

'Guardian'

26/5/83

Falklands inquiry calls for leaseback solution

Guardian 26/5/83

By Richard Norton-Taylor

Britain will be confronted with substantial diplomatic, military, and economic problems over the Falklands unless it achieves a negotiated settlement with Argentina, according to a confidential draft report on the future of the islands drawn up for the all-party Commons Foreign Affairs Committee.

It says that the option of a leaseback arrangement with Argentina is the "most elegant solution," since it combines the principle of British administration with the principle of notional Argentine sovereignty.

The report — drawn up in the name of the chairman, Sir Anthony Kershaw, Tory MP for Stroud in the last Parliament — also states that the Government should formally indicate to the United Nations that it would accept its good offices to help prepare negotiations. But talks should be conditional on the renunciation of the use of force by Argentina.

These are the main conclusions of the report by the Commons committee, which was due to have published its findings next month. An attempt by the Labour and some Conservative members of the committee to agree to speed

Peronists 'would negotiate,' page 8

up the publication was blocked by other Tory members after Mrs Thatcher called the general election.

The draft — which Labour members insist represents a consensus in the all-party committee — was discussed last night on the Welsh language television programme, S4C. It is certain to infuriate Mrs Thatcher, who has insisted that she will not negotiate on the question of sovereignty over the Falklands.

But it is likely to be welcomed privately by the Foreign Office, which has always argued that there is no alternative to reopening talks with Argentina sooner or later.

The draft report expresses serious concern about the cost of maintaining a policy of "Fortress Falklands." The Commons defence committee, which is also horrified by the sums involved, has been told by the Ministry of Defence that the cost of keeping the Falklands British will amount to £1,800 million over the next three years. However, most committee members believe this to be far too optimistic.

The report drawn up for the foreign affairs committee sharply criticises the nature of the colonial administration of the Falklands, which it describes as being "neither conducive to the development of

Turn to back page, col. 4

D. Telegraph 25/5/82

FALKLANDS DOCK

The Government is to pay £7 million for a floating dock to be towed from Hawaii to the Falklands. It is owned by C. H. Bailey of Cardiff.

'Guardian' 24/5/83

Argentine flood threat

RISING floodwaters in northern Argentina are threatening to put entire cities under water.

The Government has issued warnings to the 220,000 inhabitants of the city of Resistencia, capital of Chaco province, under threat from the swollen Parana River. Authorities have begun evacuating about 3,000 children from the city and further north, officials said about half of the city of Formosa's 115,000 inhabitants had been made homeless. — Reuter.

Bishop and Argentina

From Mr D. P. B. Turner
THE TIMES 24 MAY

Sir, I would like to comment on what you report (May 13) the Bishop of Liverpool to have said on his return from a recent visit to Argentina. Apart from the usual platitudes about great sadness in Argentina over the conflict (what about the great sadness of our own bereaved relatives and wounded servicemen?) you report the Bishop to have said: "They felt that Britain, as the more powerful nation, had reacted with unnecessary force."

There is nothing whatsoever in your report to indicate that the Bishop countered this argument by stating the clear truth, which is that Britain withheld such force as was used until every conceivable avenue to a possible negotiated settlement had been totally exhausted and that when the decision to use force was made it was kept to a minimum, almost to a degree that could have left our own Servicemen unnecessarily vulnerable.

In the absence of anything to

suggest such an obvious reply was given, the clear implication is that the Bishop is sympathetic with the Argentinians' view.

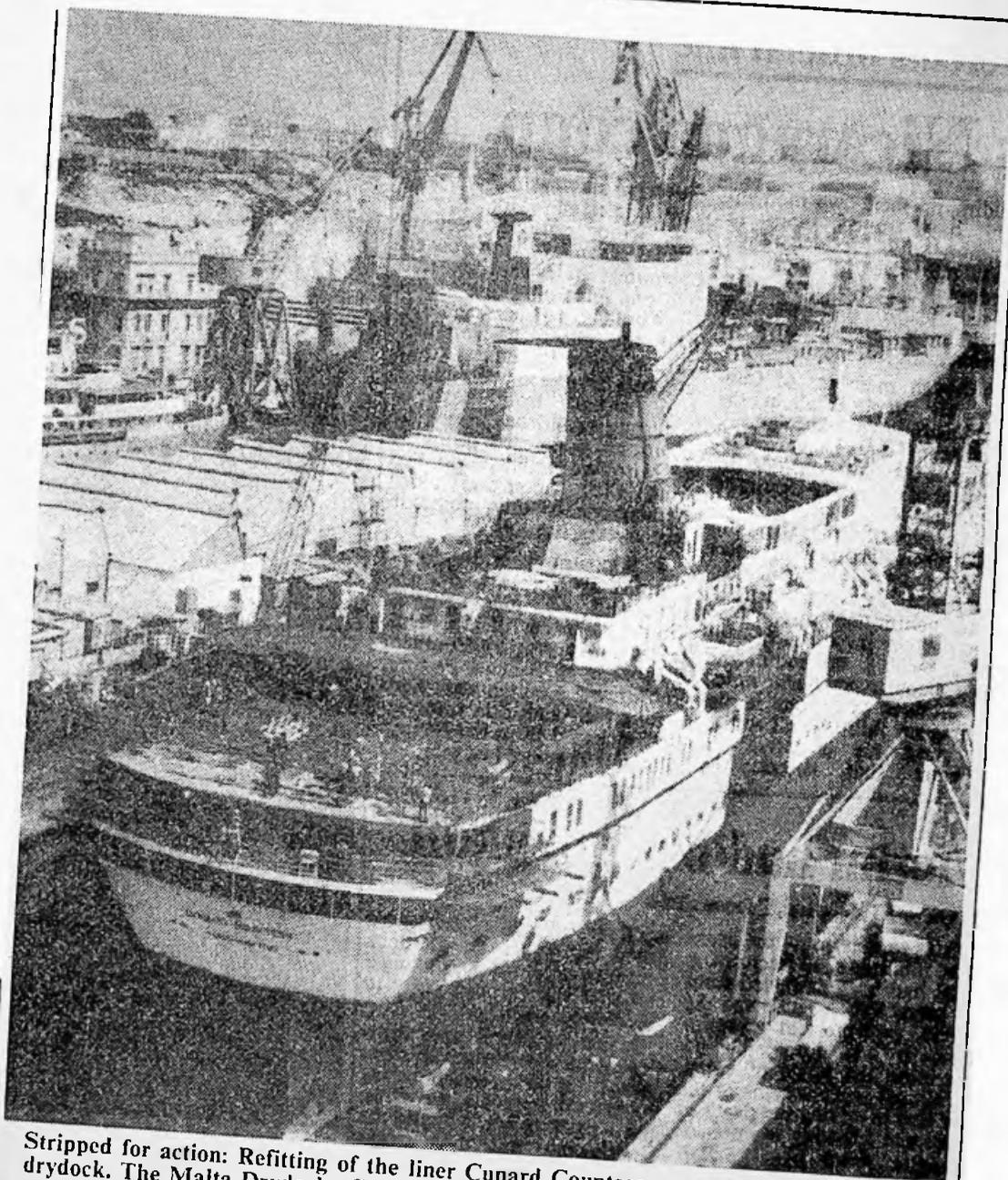
Does the Bishop, therefore, really think the Argentinians would have given up the Falkland Islands without the use of force? Does he think we should have sent in such a smaller force as would probably have been defeated (which of course the Argentinians would have liked)? Or does he think we should have abrogated our clear duty to the islanders by leaving them in Argentinian hands?

When leading churchmen of high standing comment to the press on matters of such importance surely they have a duty to make their own opinions clear and not attempt either to fudge the issue with weasel words or to occupy both sides of the fence.

Yours faithfully,
D. P. B. TURNER,
As from: 14 Beachview Crescent,
Wembury,
South Devon.
May 14.

D. Telegraph 27/5/83

THE TIMES TUESDAY MAY 24 1983



Stripped for action: Refitting of the liner Cunard Countess proceeds apace in a Malta drydock. The Malta Drydocks Corporation, who beat other shipyards for the work, are contracted to meet an early June deadline.

THATCHER DENIES PYM RIFT

By JAMES WIGHTMAN
Political Correspondent

THE Prime Minister yesterday denied as "totally and utterly untrue" a report that Mr Pym had told her he would leave the Government if she removed him as Foreign Secretary after the General Election.

Mrs Thatcher said in an interview on independent local radio: "Mr Pym has had no such conversation or communication with me, and he is very distressed indeed at that totally false report."

Her remarks followed a telephone call from the Foreign Secretary after he had read the report.

Opposition 'desperate'

On the same programme, the Prime Minister also denied that she had "slapped down" Mr Pym when she had interrupted an answer he was giving at a Conservative press conference last week to make clear that there was no question of negotiating on Falklands sovereignty.

She and Mr Pym both believe that the amount of capital which Opposition parties are trying to make out of "Thatcher and Pym in rift" claims, indicates a

Continued on Back P, Col 5

Rift denied

By JAMES WIGHTMAN

Continued from Page One

desperation over more important election issues.

Mr Pym would like to continue as Foreign Secretary and is not showing any interest in suggestions that he should become the next Speaker of the Commons.

He and the Prime Minister have had an uneasy relationship before and since he succeeded Lord Carrington who resigned as Foreign Secretary over the Falklands. There has been speculation that Sir Geoffrey Howe might become Foreign Secretary if, as some friends believe, he fancies a change after four years as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Prime Minister also said yesterday that she would not give any consideration to reshaping the Cabinet until the election was "well and truly in the bag."

Asked about the implications of an election defeat for her leadership, Mrs Thatcher indicated that she would expect to be challenged. "My name would have to be put forward again in any competition for party leader and I would see that there was such a competition," she said.

Some interesting
references to the
Falklands
EMS



Britannia's choice

The late Tony Crosland used to say that British foreign policy had been reduced to "fish and bloody Rhodesia". Britain is out of Rhodesia and into an EEC fish policy. Yet foreign policy will loom larger on June 9th than in any British election since the Gladstone-Disraeli duel of 1880.

For good reason. The Labour party wants to make Britain a non-nuclear power during the next parliament, to remove American nuclear bases, and to pull Britain out of the EEC. Labour has previously flirted with some of these policies in opposition and then dropped them in government. But never before has it campaigned on such a combination of policies; never before has it been led by a convinced unilateral disarmament and anti-European; never before has the party's left been so strong. This time Britain's voters have a real choice.

The core: defence and Europe

The opinion polls put defence as the second biggest issue in the election, after unemployment. Handled skilfully, this could pull votes the Tories' way, even though for many people "defence" means mainly a confused worry about nuclear weapons. But Mrs Thatcher's handling of the defence issue is open to criticism.

Her decision to go for Trident as the replacement for Britain's present Polaris nuclear force will make it harder for a Tory government to put more money into non-nuclear defence. Trident will cost between £8 billion and £10 billion. Before the Falklands war, the Tories were preparing to make large cuts in the navy to help foot this bill. Many of these cuts have since been postponed, but the day of reckoning cannot be put off for ever. A cruise missile force could cost under £2 billion. This would provide Britain with an adequate deterrent without gobbling up too much money.

There is also the cost of Mrs Thatcher's Fortress Falklands policy, now running at £400m a year. She is right to make it clear that she will not abandon the Falklands. But both of the opposition parties seem likelier to open negotiations about the islands' future which could lead to a result well short of "abandonment". Mrs Thatcher's present unwillingness to consider negotiations offers little hope of an understanding with Argentina and a heavy defence bill for years ahead.

Labour's defence policy is worse. It has offered to include Polaris in the Geneva missile-cutting negotiations, but this means nothing: Labour intends to scrap Polaris anyway, and the Russians are hardly likely to offer anything in return for that. Labour's refusal to countenance the deployment of American cruise missiles in Britain would give the Russians less incentive to negotiate seriously at Geneva. Labour also wants to remove all American nuclear bases in Britain and to reduce defence spending to the average share of gnp spent on defence by other Nato countries. This is a policy for weakening Britain, making western Europe less secure, and simultaneously earning the suspicion of the United States.

At first sight, the Social Democratic-Liberal alliance seems to favour the sort of defence policy often recommended in this newspaper. The alliance would not buy Trident, but neither would it abandon nuclear weapons. It would hang on to Britain's Polaris missiles and it would agree to deploy American cruise missiles if it thought they were necessary. This still leaves two problems. First, it will not be practical to keep Polaris in service beyond the early 1990s and, if Britain is to have a replacement, a choice has to be made soon. Second, the alliance has not promised to deploy cruise missiles if the Geneva talks fail. It merely says it would wait and see, as the nervous Dutch are doing. This would be an incentive to the Russians to drag out the talks as long as possible.

The alliance's views on nuclear policy are less firm than they seem. Many Liberal activists are unilateral disarmers, and Mr David Steel himself might drift that way as Polaris grows too old. If the election put the alliance into a position to form a coalition with Labour, it would probably yield too much ground. A coalition between the alliance and the Conservatives would be sounder—but nobody voting for the alliance knows which coalition it would make.

Few Britons feel as passionately about the European community as they did in the great debate of the early 1970s, because both the benefits and the costs of EEC membership have been smaller than most people expected. The fact remains that, after 10 years of membership, British industry has become geared to a European market.

Since 1973, the value of British exports to the rest of



the EEC has risen by 496%, against a rise of only 309% to the rest of the world. Britain now exports nearly twice as much to the EEC as to the United States, Japan and the Commonwealth combined. Any party worried about the de-industrialisation of Britain cannot lightly discard the market in which British manufacturing industry sells two fifths of its exports. British membership of the EEC is also one reason why nearly half of all American direct investment in the EEC has come to Britain in the past five years. A recent survey of 263 American electronics companies based in Britain found that three quarters of them thought Britain would be less suitable as a base if it left the EEC.

A left-behind Labour or Margaret de Gaulle?

Labour would find it more difficult to pull out of the EEC than its policymakers imagine (see page 68). But Mr Michael Foot believes in withdrawal; Mr Harold Wilson in 1974 did not.

Britain outside the EEC would be much less influential in the rest of the world, including in precisely the things a Labour government ought to want. In foreign policy a left-wing voter should be keen on such things as more liberal western importing from poorer countries like India, slightly left-of-Reagan policies towards the International Monetary Fund, and more measured American reactions in unexpected crisis points in the third world. In alliance with Mr Mitterrand a Labour government inside the EEC might push European policy gently left enough to influence the United States in these matters.

A Labour government outside the EEC will impose its own import controls against the Indias, be a heavy borrower from the IMF of money that should be going, plus good advice, to the Brazils, and be so isolated that it can propagate its views in the north-south debate with all the clout of a wet cabbage.

Of course, the EEC has its warts, not least its absurd agricultural policy and its cockeyed budget. But Mrs Thatcher has cut Britain's budget bill by three quarters in the past three years. Now that the community is running out of money, there is a good chance of a reform of its finances that will make Britain's bill permanently smaller. Mrs Thatcher has made this prospect more likely by cosying up to West Germany's Mr Helmut Kohl. The Anglo-German link is now almost as strong as the Franco-German one. The main criticism of the Conservatives in this field is that they have diverted wasteful EEC spending in agriculture to the shires of Britain, rather than trying to stop the waste altogether. The EEC's butter mountain is close to a record height partly because British farmers are churning out 30% more butter this year than last.

The Social Democratic-Liberal alliance is firmly pro-EEC and has some adventurous ideas for developing the community. They include full British participation in the European Monetary System (which would please our distinguished special correspondent on pages 25-28, ex-President Giscard d'Estaing), more majority voting (as the West Germans and Italians are now demanding), and more control by the European parliament over the EEC commission. Full marks for pious inten-

tions, but piety could not survive a coalition with Labour.

Mrs Thatcher's victory in the Falklands has given her lots of votes, a respite and an opportunity. The votes are deserved because any other government would have been more hesitant. The respite is valuable because, if General Galtieri had succeeded, other dictators could have moved across other disputed frontiers round the world: the Guatemalas are no longer so likely to invade the Belizes. The opportunity is for a Tory government, buoyed by Britain's post-Falklands confidence, to put more effort into the defence of wider western interests outside Europe. The main place needing that extra effort is the Middle East. Yet Mrs Thatcher has been oddly hesitant about this; there are only 99 British soldiers with the multinational force in Lebanon.

This may be because Mrs Thatcher is still a bit of a Gaullist. She has drawn some wrong lessons from the Falklands, notably about being hard as a rock on Gibraltar. Since Britain has said that it will veto Spanish membership of the EEC if the Gibraltar issue is not resolved, and since Mr Felipe Gonzalez wants to link Spain's membership of the EEC with a decision about Spain's staying in Nato, the Thatcher line could do a lot of damage.

The Falklands victory should have made the Conservatives into confident internationalists. There is a danger that it will encourage them to become nervous jingoists. To avoid that danger Mrs Thatcher needs a clearer-minded foreign secretary than Mr Francis Pym.

Healey is not enough

The best that can be said for Labour is that Mr Denis Healey, who would probably be foreign secretary in a Foot government, feels horribly trapped by most of his party's policy. But even Houdini-Healey could not escape from it. Labour would earn the hostility of Europe (by pulling out of the EEC), of the United States (by disarming unilaterally and throwing out its bases), and of the third world (by going protectionist). No major party in British history has ever campaigned on such isolationist policies. By its left wing's willingness to condone Irish terrorism, a Labour government would harden Protestant opposition to any tentative steps towards a confederal Ireland. A Labour Britain in 1983-88 would shrink into a little England on all the issues where broader international vision is required.

A government of Social Democrats and Liberals would be greatly preferable to that. Under Mr Roy Jenkins (who is one of the few British politicians respected in both Europe and Washington) and one of the young Davids at the foreign office (but rather Owen than Steel, for Owen has a better understanding of the world than when he last did the job), an alliance government could look the world in the eye. But the alliance is as likely to form the next government as a Shetland pony is to win the Derby, and the hope that the alliance might make respectable a coalition with Labour seems hardly worth the risk. On foreign policy the finger points, with only a wobble or two, to the Conservatives.

Doubt on Argentine change of regime

Guardian' 23/5/83

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

The increasing discomfort of Argentina's military regime over the grim legacy of the "dirty war" during the 1970s has prompted renewed doubts over the promised return to democracy early next year.

Amid fears that Argentina may instead be poised for a return to the killings and kidnappings of that era, human rights groups have staged their biggest demonstration since the armed forces seized power over seven years ago.

About 40,000 people turned out for the march on Friday to protest against the "final document" issued last month by the ruling military Junta, in which it was claimed most of those who disappeared during what is officially described as a struggle against subversion had died.

The march was the strongest sign so far of the slowly growing public support for the consistent campaign by human rights activists for a full explanation of the "dirty war."

Independent observers say that the military's humiliating inability to get its view accepted among the politicians and the public could persuade a majority in the armed forces to abandon the planned transition back to civilian rule.

Amid growing doubts that the politicians will lend tacit support to the regime's plans to declare an amnesty absolving those responsible for "excesses" during the conflict, the authorities' attempts to manage the human rights issue appear increasingly clumsy.

Hours before the march, the Junta released another statement claiming that a leading leftwing Peronist politician was closely linked to active members of the Montoneros terrorist group.

The accusation levelled against Mr Vicente Saadi, leader of the Intransigent Peronists, the leftwing branch of Argentina's biggest political movement, was accompanied by allegations of a plot by the Montoneros to assassinate prominent rightwing Peronist labour leaders.

But the Junta's allegations seem likely to rebound. Mr Saadi last week accused unknown army officers of responsibility for the disappearance and murder of an Intransigent Peronist activist who police claim was killed in a shootout outside the capital on May 14.

'Guardian' 23/5/82

Chilean unionists in court

Santiago: Organisers of a day of national protest against Chile's military government appear in court today and any decision to gaoil them is likely to bring a swift response from a new organisation of opposition unions.

The 10 leaders of the copper workers union, which headed the protest on May 11, have been called to appear before the magistrate investigating government charges under the internal security laws.

The copper workers and four other unions announced the formation of a Workers National Command (CNT) aiming to restore democracy to Chile and claiming to represent almost all or organised labour in the country.

Another meeting has been set for tomorrow morning and union officials said the outcome of today's court appearance could provoke further protests against the 10-year-old government of President Augusto Pinochet. — Reuter.

'Financial Times' 23/5/83

Fears voiced of crackdown by Argentine military

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

PROMINENT Argentine politicians have voiced fears of a military crackdown amid growing controversy over human rights.

The military junta on Friday night issued a document alleging that members of the leading opposition party, the Peronists, and human rights activists, were organising a fresh outbreak of terrorist violence.

The junta also said it had uncovered plans to assassinate several trade union leaders and Sr Angel Robledo, a leader of the moderate faction of the Peronist Party.

The warning, which coincided with the country's biggest human rights demonstration, was a departure from the

cautious public profile favoured by President Reynaldo Bignone and was reminiscent of the language used to justify the repression of political activity following the military takeover in 1976.

It drew a sceptical response from several political leaders. Sr Antonio Cafiero, a former Peronist Economy Minister, claimed that sectors of the armed forces were looking for an excuse to provoke a coup.

Friday's human rights demonstration, to protest against last month's official document on the "disappeared," was led by Sr Adolfo Perez Esquivel, the Nobel Peace prizewinner, and leaders of the country's eight human rights organisations.

'Times' 23/5/83

**Livestock to
be shipped
to Falklands**

A cargo of hundreds of animals and birds, ranging from farm livestock to budgerigars, is to be shipped to the Falkland Islands in July. Our Agriculture Correspondent writes.

The shipment is being arranged by the Falklands appeal fund and the Crown Agents and is intended to help the islanders to rebuild their economy after the losses suffered during the Argentine invasion.

The cost of the project is about £125,000, out of £640,000 so far raised by the fund. Many of the animals have been given by farmers and breed societies.

During the Argentine occupation many animals were killed for food by troops,

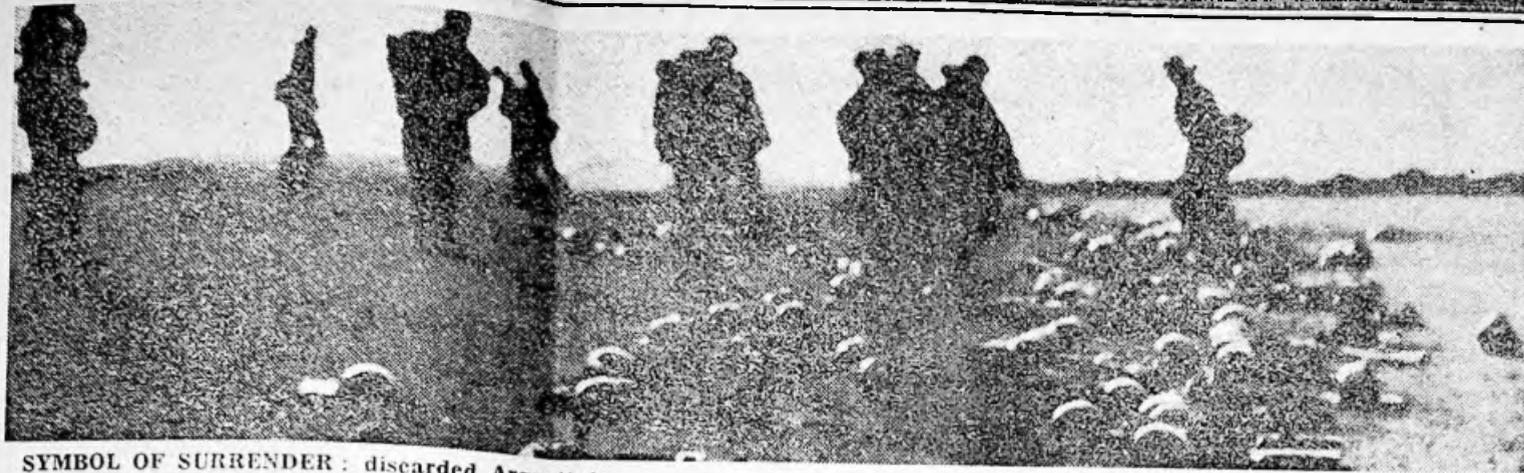
'Daily Telegraph' ²³ ~~23~~/5/83

ANIMAL SHIPMENT

A shipload of animals is to sail from Britain to the Falklands in July to replace livestock killed during the Argentine occupation. The £125,000 project is one of the first large ventures mounted by the Falklands Appeal Fund.

Thomas Crandall
East End of the Island
1983/05/23

A year ago
the Paras
prepared for
battle...



SYMBOL OF SURRENDER: discarded Argentinean weapons provide a vivid reminder of the Goose Green victory a year ago.

'Standard'
23/5/83



Pictures by MICK LUKEY

A world away from guns of Goose Green

RELAXING in the park... a soldier savours a quiet moment with his family.

But for this soldier, the time and place hold a poignant significance.

A year ago this week, Corporal Alan Chapman and his colleagues of the 2nd Battalion the Parachute Regiment were preparing to attack Goose Green—an operation which turned into the first major battle of the Falklands War and climaxed in a famous victory for the heavily outnumbered Paras.

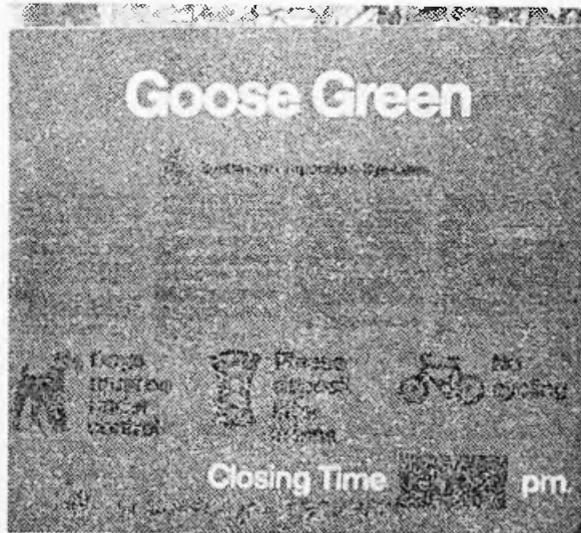
The Paras survived Pucara attacks and several clashes with enemy patrols before reaching Argentinean defences at Goose Green when Lt Col Herbert Jones ordered a daylight assault on their machine-gun positions.

The Paras lost 17 men in the operation, including Colonel Jones, posthumously awarded the VC for his heroism.

The peacefulness of Goose Green park in East Dulwich offers starkly-contrasting surroundings in which to mark the anniversary of Alan's proudest military moment. But it brings the memories flooding back.

As Alan strolled through the park with his wife Lesley and year-old daughter Michelle, born while he was sailing to war, he said: "It doesn't seem like a year since we were out there fighting."

On hand with his camera in the park as he was to capture the moment of surrender at Goose Green was Private Mick Lukey, of Hounslow, he said: "I am very proud to have been associated with the brave men who went out there." Then the two pals went off for a pint in a nearby pub.



CLOSER TO HOME: the other Goose Green.

GRIFF RHYS JONES
RETURNS TO
CHARLEY'S
AUNT
TONIGHT
'A VIRTUOSO'

The black-hole run from Wideawake to Puffin

The cost of defending the Falklands continues to mount. SIMON WINCHESTER reports from Ascension Island on the daily air bridge to Port Stanley.

AT 3am every morning in the air force shanty-town on Ascension Island known as Concertina City, 15 alarm-clocks shatter the silence. Fifteen bone-weary men clamber out of their sleeping-bags and stumble into the hot darkness, to shower and shave and take an unwanted breakfast.

By sunset five of them will have reached Port Stanley. They will have driven the full 3,500 miles of the fragile, dangerous and extraordinarily expensive communications link between Wideawake Airfield, Ascension, and Puffin Airfield, East Falkland, known commonly as "the bridge" - the Falkland Islands Air Bridge.

Ascension Island, the moon-like Atlantic island that played so vital a role in last summer's brief war, is still the lynchpin of today's Falklands defences. The Ministry of Defence, with as little public notice as possible, is pouring millions of pounds into Ascension, making permanent what was once a jerry-built transit camp.

As much as £38 million will be spent there by the end of next year. Much of this sum will be buried, far from scrutiny, in the overall estimates for the new Falklands airfield. A contractor employing 300 men is already hard at work building the first phase of the Ascension Island project, the so-called Three Boats air base. A second phase begins in December.

Ostensibly the principal role of the base is as the northern end of the air bridge. But as both the Falkland Islands and Ascension come to assume a greater role in the West's strategic defences, with long-range South Atlantic radar systems and strengthened runways being constructed on both, so the current high cost is being regarded as an acceptable and reasonable investment.



Recovery time: Ascot 8117's crew relax after 13 hours over the South Atlantic

engine? Turning No 3.) With a roar and belch of smoke the engines are cranked up.

One by one the squat green planes edge out on to the runway holding-point. The checks go on, page after page. It is now 0655; the Bridge is an hour late. Tanker No 1 begins to roll. Fifty knots, 60, 70, 80 - suddenly there is a roar and the plane lurches. "She's aborted!" someone cries. A fire tender screams out of the hanger.

The tanker returns to the runway head where her two sister craft wait. She realigns herself, and starts again. "Sorry," the pilot radios. "Duff warning light!"

Next time he makes it, and soars off into the lightning southern sky. Five minutes later the next tanker heads off in pursuit, aiming for the first rendezvous, where Tanker One will pass fuel to the second so that it, in turn, can fuel the freighter. Ten minutes for radio checks, and then Howard Chandler guns his four Allison engines and lumbers up into the yellow sky. A brief, triumphant radio message: "The Bridge is up!"

By now, after a year of practice, the crews can almost refuel blindfolded. It is a dangerous business, and even the oldest hands feel sure there will, one day, be a disaster. Both planes climb to 20,000 ft, the freighter edges in behind and below the tanker. A long hose is run out from the tanker's stern. It has a feathery "basket" on the end, rather like a shuttlecock. The job of the freighter pilot is to manoeuvre his 60 tons of steel and petrol so that a long tube above his head connects with the basket.

will have a range of more than 1,000 miles, and yet Argentine Patagonia is but 200 miles away. The Falklands are starting to assume a more global defence role. "Diego Garcia South" was how one air force man privately described them, referring to the Americans' big island base in the Indian Ocean.

"It clearly has a strategic use, not just a tactical function," said a civil source on the island. "That seems to be one long-term role for the Falklands - an allied staging-post that everyone can regard as absolutely secure."

As colonies, the Falklands and Ascension can seem like twin

Black Holes, swallowing money as fast as it can be printed. As strategic bases, the costs seem more forgivable.

Two hours after landing, Ascot 8117 was turned around. Redesignated Ascot 8118 she was up and on her way to Wideawake before her engines were even cool. And all the talk of costs, strategic interests and cargo priorities was of no concern to Chandler's crew any more. They were already asleep in the floating Hilton in Stanley harbour, due back on the bridge, northbound, the next day. If this was the Falklands Islands, they were too tired to care.



"Up a bit. Forward ten. Down five. Right three. Fine. Easy. Steady ahead. Mated!" The tube clunks home. The two aircraft begin a long dive, to keep the fuel line paid out, and as the switches are pulled, 15 tons of kerosene course from the tanks into the wings of Ascot 8117.

It takes 28 very tense minutes until, with a dribble of post-coital liquid falling to sea, the planes break away. The tanker turns back, "Goodbye, boys - good landing!" Ascot 8117 is alone, fully-laden, a big albatross over the southern seas.

There's nothing to do except drive, and wait. The loadmaster brews up: braised steak, coffee, butterscotch. Someone puts Bryan Ferry tape on the intercom. "Thirteen hours of boredom punctuated by 20 minutes of terror", someone describes the trip. "Three-quarters of a million quid a trip, if you work it out", says someone else. (The RAF disputes the figure, but it is probably not much less. It depends how it is computed.) "And all for 2,000 sheep-shaggers!" says a young airman.

"There are all sorts of hidden costs to this, you know," pipes up another man. "Take the Belfast freighters that do the UK-Ascension run. They belong to a private firm now. The RAF sold them the Belfasts - a hundred thousand quid each. Now we have to charter them back, and you know what we get charged? Eighty thousand per trip! Crazy!"

But then Puffin Control comes on the air. Weather is good. Just a bit of low evening cloud. Ascot 8117 reaches "the gate", the perimeter of the Phantoms fighters' defence field. Soon she's at the "top of the drop", and her nose dips. A thin layer of cloud, and then, lying glittering in the evening sunshine. The Falkland Islands. Cape Pembroke lighthouse to port, ships riding at anchor in the harbour ahead. Finally, with darkness falling fast, the Hercules bumps on to the runway. Forty tons of cargo, vital for the forces defending the islands, have made it from England.

And what cargo? "They try to keep it Priority One stuff only," said a man in Movements. "The most urgent they call AOG - meaning vitally needed to get an Aircraft Off the Ground. I opened an AOG box the other day, and what do you think it had inside? A bloody fan for some army officer's desk! There's a lot of abuse. But even then - is it worth the cost?"

To some RAF men the huge new radar dome rising on Mount Kent - Project Zeus - is one answer to that question. It

But at 0300 hours on Ascension, nothing seems acceptable and reasonable. The aircrews are still groggy with sleep: over breakfast in the tents of Wideawake's field kitchen, they sit in groups of five, silent, their faces grey with fatigue.

There are three crews of five. One, captained on this particular morning by the understandably lugubrious Flt Lt Howard Chandler, for the Hercules freighter that will trundle all the 3,500 miles down to Puffin Airfield, 14 hours away if all goes well: and two for the two tanker planes that must give the freighter fuel in mid-air to take it that far.

By four, the night still dark, hot and windy, Howard Chandler leads his men to a Portakabin (soon to be replaced) for the briefing. Seven flights are due to leave that day, for various destinations. It used to be one a week: on Easter Day last year 502 planes came and went, and Wideawake was briefly Busiest Field in the World, better than Chicago O'Hare.

This morning, given the tailwinds, the Stanley freighter - number Ascot 8117 - will need 31 tons of fuel, enough to take her to Stanley and, if the weather proves impossible, bring her back to Ascension non-stop. Half is aboard her now: the rest is in the tankers which, like Ascot 8117, are waiting on the pan, ready to go. Weather on route is fine. Montevideo, Rio, Porto Allegre (for emergency diversion) are clear. Rendezvous point free of cloud up to 30,000ft. It is 0530 hours.

A radio squawks. Small problem with the Hercules gyrocompasses. "Handle like eggs", it says on their sides. There's a 40-minute delay before thumbs-up.

The three crews climb up into the bellies of the beasts. Over the intercoms, the long litanies of Hercules starting checks begin. (Altimeter? Set, compared. Ramp and door? Closed. Parking brake? On. No 3



Round-the-world sailing granny is shipwrecked

ANGELA HERBERT, the Cornish grandmother who set off with two men to sail around the world, is stranded in Brazil after a dramatic escape when heavy seas drove their 32ft yacht Reveller on to sand banks.

She and her remaining companion, Mr Charles Crawshaw—the other man, Tony Lawson, had pulled out in the Falklands—struggled ashore through pounding surf to a remote beach.

They struggled across a deserted road and after hours of waiting waved down a lorry.

On board were three Brazilians, none of whom spoke English, and while her friend guarded the damaged craft, 50-year-old Mrs Herbert went off with them on a 25-mile journey to the nearest town to fetch help.

Mrs Herbert's husband, Billy, 67, is flying from London today to see her.

They plan to meet at St Lucia in the Windward Islands before Mr Herbert returns home and his wife continues her voyage with Mr Crawshaw, a 55-year-old farmer.

Mishap

Before he left, Mr Herbert said: "I want to see for myself that she is all right. But for this mishap they would have reached St Lucia by now. I arranged this trip a long time ago so that we could meet.

"But of course she will be going back to the Reveller. Nothing will stop Angela completing this voyage.

"I was never perturbed about her going off with two other men. She is old enough to look after herself.

Why, when they were going through the Red Sea they were all badly affected by heat rashes. They were all naked in the boat together. They could not bear any clothes touching them.

"Of course it has been lonely without her. But I have never had the slightest doubt that she would eventually be back.

"Angela is determined to complete the voyage. We have a daughter Judith who sailed round the world in 1977. Angela has this great ambition to do herself what Judith did."

Mr Herbert, licensee of a pub at Perranarworthal, near

Sunday Express Reporter

Falmouth, has kept in touch with his wife since she set out on the voyage 18 months ago from Falmouth. He has flown to Gibraltar, Palma, Tel Aviv and Singapore to be with her.

"It has cost me a lot more than £5,000 to see her," he said.

Mrs Herbert and Mr Crawshaw, from Norden, near Rochdale, who is the yacht owner, are supervising repairs at Rio Grande.

Over the phone she said: "There was some trouble with the self-steering gear. We were trying to keep fairly near the coast and then we suddenly started bumping along the sand.

"The Reveller stayed upright. But then it started to get very rough and we got pounded.

"Then one big wave knocked us right over. Finally the boat got stuck about 30 yards out and we managed to scramble ashore."

The Reveller was taken by lorry to Rio Grande.

"We have to wait for our insurers in London to settle the salvage bill. It is around £10,000. But it is all agreed and should be through within a couple of days," she said.

Mrs Herbert, Mr Crawshaw and Mr Lawson, who is also a farmer in Lancashire, sailed through the Mediterranean, across the Indian Ocean and on to Colombo, Singapore and Australia before rounding the Horn.

Mrs Herbert is using the voyage to publicise a charity appeal in aid of local hospital. So far the appeal has reached £30,000.

20th century

Noah's Ark

to sail for

Falklands

Telegraph
22/5/83

By DAVID BROWN Agriculture Correspondent

A 20th CENTURY "Noah's Ark" carrying hundreds of animals and birds, from pedigree bulls to budgerigars, will sail for the Falkland Islands in July to replace farm livestock and pets which were killed during the Argentine invasion.

They will be distributed to farm settlements and individual households in the islands. Many of the cows on board will be pregnant so that they can give birth to their calves in the Falklands spring.

Arrangements for the voyage, which will take cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, horses, ponies, dogs and cats, are being completed in London by the Falklands Appeal Fund and by the Crown Agents, who will handle the shipment. Details have been disclosed exclusively to *The Sunday Telegraph*.

Huge Losses

The voyage is one of the first big projects by the Falklands Appeal Fund which was set up to help the islanders rebuild their lives in the face of substantial losses of property suffered in the conflict.

The fund has raised £640,000 in donations from Britain and abroad and about £125,000 will be spent to rejuvenate the animal population.

Sheep, cattle and poultry were killed for food by Argentine troops and horses were killed by artillery fire.

Major-General Alan Mills, director of the appeal, said: "The fund will be paying for many of the animals but many more have been donated by breed societies and farmers in Britain.

"Two farmers on the Falklands lost all their cattle and these will be replaced. We expect farmers to reimburse the fund with any compensation for their lost animals which they receive from the Government.

"Vets and stockmen will travel with the animals. The only thing we cannot send

Continued on Back Page, Col 3

Noah's Ark

Telegraph 22/5/83
Continued from Page 1

is poultry because they are considered unlikely to survive the extremes of crossing the equator. So we will be flying out eggs in incubators instead.

"Not only will animals be replaced, the opportunity is being taken to improve the variety of animals there. Goats will be soon on the islands for the first time. People have asked for children's ponies and other pets and those will be sent."

The Rare Breeds Survival Trust is celebrating its 10th anniversary by giving a Shetland bull and six pregnant cows.

Shetland cattle, originally brought to Britain by the Vikings, are among the rarest in the country. But they thrive on poor quality land to produce milk and beef and are considered ideal for the Falklands conditions.

Farmers in Kent have donated 50 Romney sheep and the Romney Sheep Society has given 50 more.

Some 29 Welsh and Scottish collies have been requested by the islanders to help look after the 600,000 sheep in the islands. A Cocker spaniel is also going.

Welsh Black, Galloway and Ayrshire cattle, all hardy breeds, will be in the consignment, together with three pigs and three goats. The goats will form the basis of a herd to provide milk at a remote farmstead.

Rare Exmoor ponies, together with Welsh Mountain ponies and Shetland ponies will be sent. There will also be Welsh Cobs, horses which may be used by local shepherds, and a pure-bred Arab stallion and mare.

Six budgerigars will also go, together with an undisclosed number of cats, simply to brighten up a few Falklands sitting rooms.

Complicated quarantine arrangements have been waived. All the livestock will be thoroughly checked by vets before leaving Britain and will be released immediately to the new owners, on arrival. The Crown Agents are negotiating special low freight rates to help the venture, but any extra donations from the public would be warmly received.

20th century

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'Sunday
Telegraph'
22/5/83

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'Financial Times' 21/5/83

Financial Times Saturday May 21 1983

Governor optimistic on talks over Hong Kong's future

BY ROBERT COTTRELL IN HONG KONG

SIR EDWARD YOUDE, Governor of Hong Kong, yesterday offered an optimistic view of the talks between Britain and China over the territory's future, saying that they were "moving in the right direction."

He added that he would "certainly be looking for progress in 1983," and implied he expected to be going to Peking this year to take part in further talks.

Sir Edward's remarks, made in a broadcast interview marking his first anniversary in office, are the most substantial news Hong Kong has so far heard about the confidential talks.

They are likely to reinforce local belief that, after months of apparently occasional and procedural meetings, Britain and China are drawing closer to substantive discussion of how the status of Hong Kong will be resolved when Britain's lease over most of the colony expires in 1997.

Sir Edward said he could not put a likely date on any settlement, and counselled patience to the people of Hong Kong. He said their views were being taken fully into account, and that Britain's aim was a "settlement acceptable to China, the UK and the people of Hong Kong."

The British position would not be affected by the general election.

Some analysts believe progress in the talks over Hong Kong's future lies in defusing the symbolic importance of sovereignty over the territory, effectively by acknowledging an eventual reversion of sovereignty to China.

This could clear the way for discussions on how best in

Hong Kong banks raised the local prime lending rate two percentage point to 13.5 per cent yesterday in a bid to shore up the sinking local currency writes Robert Cottrell. The Hong Kong dollar breached the psychologically-important level of HK\$7 to the U.S. dollar—a record low—on Wednesday and fell further on Thursday before recovering strongly yesterday to HK\$6.94 in local trading and HK\$6.90 in London.

Dealers attributed yesterday's recovery to some early government intervention, coupled with firming local expectations of an increase in interest rates.

practice to achieve the declared joint Sino-British aim, the preservation of Hong Kong's "stability and prosperity."

China has said it wants Hong Kong people to manage their own affairs under Chinese sovereignty. Britain is thought to want satisfactory guarantees that such autonomy would not in the long term be undermined by Peking.

● In London, Lord Maclehoze, who was governor from 1971 to 1982, warned of the problem of convincing the world of international finance and investment that any agreed package would last.

"I think that if the anxiety of Hong Kong people and investors is to be removed, some way must be found to assure them that acceptable new arrangements, once made, will not be interfered with," he said in a lecture in London.

'Daily Telegraph' 20/5/83

FALKLANDS PLAN
20/5/83
BY COMMUNISTS

By Our Political Staff

Britain should support United Nations discussions over the future of the Falklands and be prepared to negotiate over their sovereignty, says the Communist party manifesto published yesterday. But negotiations "would also take into account the interests of the islanders."

'Globe and Laurel'
 (R. Marines Meg
 bi-monthly)
 March/April '83

Yomp Up St Helena

On leaving Lagos, we crossed the line at 0° longitude and all the detachment received an invitation to King Neptune's court. Very kind of him we all thought. I wonder if he does a good curry?
 Our next stop was St Helena where we anchored from 2-5 February. The island gave us an opportunity for a leg stretch and we highailed it ashore for a guided Yomp. We thought we had seen it all on the Rock Race but the guide's first move was to lead up Jacob's Ladder

that they should call in an expert from African Explosives and Chemical Industry in Capetown to undertake the disposal in slow time. We considered this advisable as there was a lot of nitroglycerine on the floor!

Our passage to Port Stanley included our second spell of roughers and we arrived in time to watch the 150th Anniversary Parade. The detachment Sergeant Major took part in the parade as the DL for the Ship's Guard. Those Royal Marines not on watch attended the parade in Blues and several islanders commented how good it was to see Royal Marines back in Port Stanley. At the official cocktail party, the OCRM was able to handover to HE the Civil Commissioner, Sir Rex Hunt, a silver salver given to the islanders by the Dorset Branch of the Royal Marines Association in commemoration of the links between Port Stanley and the amphibious arms of the Corps from Poole which were so strongly forged during 1982.

We have just come to the end of the Celebrations week during which we have been anchored in Port Stanley harbour and conducting Operation *Awkward* defensive measures. We now head south for the Ice, which all of us have been looking forward to and once again, we can hear the cry of 'Ice Patrolmen Walk on Water'!

Presentations North and South



Left: Moe Gary Spalding receives the trophy for the fastest runner in HMS *Endurance's* 'Top of the Rock' race on 10 January from the CO Capt C. L. MacGregor.



Right: Capt I. W. Grant presents an inscribed silver salver on behalf of the Dorset Branch of the Royal Marines Association to the Civil Commissioner of the Falkland Islands, Sir Rex Hunt. (see also page 120).

which is 699 steps from Jamestown to the top of Ladder Hill where the old barracks are situated. By sheer coincidence, the Captain — Capt C. L. Macgregor RN was sightseeing at the top and proceeded to record our sweaty, panting arrival on celluloid. Good Morning, Sir! From there, we moved on up to High Knoll Fort which is 584 metres above sea-level. On the return route we stopped at Francis Plain to yell encouragement at the ship's cricket team for 10 minutes, before returning to the ship. The detachment provided a good half of both the 7.62mm and the 0.22 inch shooting teams and honour was satisfied all round with the results of the shooting being:

	HMS <i>Endurance</i>	St Helena	HPS
7.62 mm	251	267	400
0.22 inch	510	383	800

Should any other detachments call at the island, the range at Ladder Hill goes up to 600m and is excellent for GPMG and LMG shoots. Before leaving, Mnes Barlow and Asquith gave a roping demonstration from one of the ship's Wasp helicopters into the seaboard before a large crowd on Jamestown seafont.

Footing It on Tristan da Cunha

From St Helena, we headed south to Tristan da Cunha and en route fired a night anti-aircraft shoot using both 20mm Oerlikons and 5 GPMG/LMGs. Our visit to Tristan was sadly only for one day but we were fortunate to have good boating weather. The island is normally accessible by boat only on some 60 days a year. The 300 islanders entertained the ship's company at a Settlement dance which proved to be really good fun. Everyone from the five year olds upwards turned up and the grandmothers all sit round the edge nursing the babies whilst the parents shake a wicked hoof or two. It was good to see such a natural friendly atmosphere.

During the visit, the OCRM and Marine (AE3) Stowe accompanied the local Public Works Department Officer to inspect some 350kg of sweating Dynagel explosives which was stored in a magazine built on the 1961 lava flow. Unfortunately the rock is still warm and the black stone traps the heat. As the ship was only there for 24 hours, we were unable to commence disposing of the explosives but were able to give the Administrator a comprehensive report on how to go about their disposal. Since the island has no-one trained in explosives, we advised

Adrian

An annual sub. for 'Globe & Laurel' would be \$4-80.

I shall ask a friendly Marine to pass on his copy to us in future.

Lynda

19/5/83

On 13 Dec we finally completed the Memento Fund and presented Royal Marines Poole with what we consider to be a lasting set of mementoes to the recognition of Op Corporate. In the company of the Mayor of Poole and other distinguished guests Gen Barton, our President unveiled a Purbeck Stone plaque in the entrance to Mountbatten Hall, and presented to the Commanding Officer three pictures commissioned by the branch, all in some way depicting the events that took place down South. They can be seen in the Sergeants' Mess, Landing Craft Coy, and SBS Coy. Also on its way by courtesy of HMS Endurance is a silver salver that is to be presented to the Civil Commissioner on behalf of the branch. (Editor's Note — see page 93)

It is hoped to produce a limited edition of the main painting of, 'Landing Craft in San Carlos Water', the details of which can be found in the Central Office notes. The picture has been acclaimed by all who have seen it and we consider it is a recognition of the work done by the Landing Craft Branch. Would it not be too ambitious to hope that every RMA Branch might purchase this print?

Branch happenings continue to flourish with very good monthly meetings, and we still have the regular attendance by Mr Morris, the first secretary of the Branch. Our Christmas Draw again was a sell-out and dancing until the late hours after a buffet does not seem to harm us yet. To Norman Parry and our very smooth MC Dave Guests we convey our thanks.

Capt Ian Grant, OCRM of HMS 'Endurance', accepts an engraved commemorative salver from Maj Gen Billy Barton on behalf of the RMA Dorset Branch for presentation to the people of the Falklands Islands. This was subsequently delivered, see page 87.



Globe and Laurel
March/April '83

**From Flanders to the Falklands—
help us help them all**

**Raise funds
for Today's Royal
British Legion**

48 PALL MALL, LONDON SW1Y 5JY
A Registered Charity

More For South Atlantic Fund

(photo Yorkshire Weekly)



The sale of Falkland Islands commemorative mug (top right) which were advertised in the October issue have helped the Peter Jones Collection of Wakefield to donate £3,000 to the South Atlantic Fund. A contribution from every sale was made to the Fund and our photograph shows the cheque being handed over by Peter Jones.



(photo Paul Francis, Manchester)

Ed and Claire Pearson, who run Greenall Whitley's Goshawk Inn at Mouldsworth, near Chester, raised £1,000 for the South Atlantic Fund. Their son Cpl Phil Pearson, 40 Cdo, was married 1 1/2 hours before he sailed for the South Atlantic. At the handing over of the giant cheque were Mr and Mrs Pearson, their daughter in law Ann, Lt John Davis, who was injured during the campaign, Lt Col Tim Courtenay and sales director Derek Bell.

Falklands Memento



CGRM is presented with a sculpture conceived by Mr Michael Sutty (left), depicting Royal Marines raising the Union Flag at San Carlos. This sculpture is now in the Commando Forces Officers' Mess.

19 May 1983

DAVID MOTT reports on the second day of the Gothenburg conference attended by delegates from 49 nations

'Sunken' boxship scheme for Port Stanley harbour

A STRONG hint that Britain might use a "sunken" containership to improve port facilities at Port Stanley was given yesterday by Colonel John Pitt, of the Ministry of Defence.

He told the defence section of the conference that to speed up discharging and cut down on the "enormous" demurrage charges, a special vessel had been adapted which could be ballasted down to rest on the harbour bed.

It was connected to the shore by a floating road causeway.

Col Pitt said this concept dispensed with the heavy cost and long time scale involved in the construction of a port and associated facilities.

At the same time, the ship could provide storage facilities and workshops and the military potential

was "clearly considerable", he said. It is known that Sea Containers conceived and presented such an idea earlier this year.

But since then more than 30 companies have presented their plans to the British Government including a number of variations on this basic theme.

Another British speaker told the conference of his plans for a roll-on, roll-off/lift-on, lift-off containership, equally suited to both commercial use and military operation.

Mr Jack Brown, marine adviser to the Schats Davits Group, UK, conceived the idea two and a half years ago. Dubbed "Teuromax", the vessel would have a total TEU capacity of about 900.

Of this, 550 TEU would be stacked by crane derricks on the

weather deck and the rest arranged for ro-ro stowage at main deck and tank top levels.

But, said Mr Brown, there was one problem for the ship in her military role.

The vessel would not have the passenger certificate requirements for hull sub-division and to include transverse bulkheads would render her almost useless as a ro-ro ship for commercial trading.

The problem was overcome by the use of catamaran modules which could be rested on the weatherdeck or in cradles.

In addition to providing accommodation and related facilities, the modules could also be used as float-off liferafts, survival craft, harbour ferries or landing craft.

Mr Brown forecast that some of the defence features of Teuromax would be paid for by defence budgets.

'Guardian' 19/5/83

Critical Falklands report 'blocked'

By Richard Norton-Taylor

Conservative backbenchers adopted delaying tactics in the final week of Parliament to prevent publication of a report on the Falklands which would have embarrassed the Government, Mr George Foulkes, a Labour member of the Commons foreign affairs committee, said yesterday.

A draft report reflecting a consensus of the all-party committee that the policy of Fortress Falklands was untenable in anything but the short term was drawn up before Mrs Thatcher

announced the date of the general election. But there is no constitutional bar—as other Commons select committees this week have proved—preventing the publication of the Falklands report even after Parliament was dissolved.

The members of the foreign affairs committee are also understood to have been approaching a consensus in favour of some form of lease-back arrangement with Argentina, possibly allowing for compensation to enable those islanders who found this solution unacceptable to resettle.

In a later meeting of the committee during the last week of Parliament — after Mrs Thatcher had called the election — a suggestion by some Tory members that consideration of the report should stop was rejected.

Faced with the prospect of a report, three Tories Mr Eldon Griffiths, Mr Robert Banks and Mr Ivan Lawrence — adopted filibustering tactics, introducing new amendments Mr Foulkes said. But after two days it was decided by mutual consent to abandon the attempt to complete the report.

Mary Helen Spooner in Santiago

Chilean protest

The Pinochet regime has two

'Financial Times' 19/5/83
uncomfortable options, reports

Echoes of Allende in nationwide

THE NATIONWIDE protests which rocked Chile last week have left General Augusto Pinochet's Government at a crossroads. His regime is faced with the uncomfortable option of either increasing repression, which would further worsen the country's image, or sharply modifying its economic and social policies, which might add to the air of political uncertainty.

There are signs that Chilean officials are seriously considering the first option. Following disturbances in the wake of the funeral of a young taxi driver killed during last Wednesday's demonstrations, the regime mounted a massive military operation in at least five Santiago working-class neighbourhoods early on Saturday morning.

Thousands of men and teenage boys were hustled into football fields for questioning and identity checks, in a round-up which recalled some of the mass arrests during Chile's 1973 coup d'etat.

The authorities also ordered an opposition radio station, Radio Co-operative, to halt indefinitely its news programmes. A statement by the Government communications agency Dinaco's charged that

the radio station had contributed to an "artificial climate of agitation and public effervescence" in its coverage of last week's protests.

Earlier this month Chilean newspapers received discreet telephone calls from Government officials recommending them not to publish the text of a statement from the Coppermine Workers' Confederation, which had spearheaded the May 11 protests. The suppressed communique announced that the Confederation was withdrawing its earlier call for a national strike, because of implied threats of violence and the presence of army tanks in the mining centres.

This week, 10 of the Confederation's leaders were charged with violation of Chile's state security law, which carries penalties ranging from 541 days to five years' internal exile or deportation.

The state copper corporation, Codelco, at the behest of the Chilean Interior Ministry, is seeking the removal of 16 mine-workers' leaders from their trade union posts, charging that they violated the labour code in organising the protest.

The authorities have released two detectives implicated in

THE FRENCH ambassador to Chile, M Leon Bouvier, has been recalled to Paris for consultations following a Cabinet meeting in which last week's arrests of more than 300 people in Chile were discussed, AP reports from Paris.

In a statement to the National Assembly, M Claude Cheysson, the Foreign Minister, indicated that France might take further measures within a few days. He denounced "the increasing number of round-ups and arbitrary arrests"

The French protest follows the publication yesterday of a report by Amnesty International accusing the Chilean regime of systematic torture.



General Augusto Pinochet

the fatal shooting of a 15-year-old boy during the protests, citing lack of evidence. But 317 people arrested are to be prosecuted in the criminal courts.

The regime also moved recently to prohibit three representatives of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the well-

known Argentine human rights group, from entering Chile. The women had been invited to Santiago by a Chilean organisation of relatives of the disappeared.

Human rights groups in Chile have expressed concern about the appearance late last year of a new security squad. The

squad is reportedly made up of men in civilian dress bearing bludgeons who have attacked demonstrators, journalists and passers-by in full view of the police during attempted protests last December and on May Day this year.

Chilean officials have denied all knowledge of such a group and Gen Cesar Mendoza a junta member, and Carabinero Commander, charged that photographs of squad members appearing in the Chilean Press were falsified montages.

Gen Montero, who acts as Gen Pinochet's strong man, recently commented that Chile's economic crisis had caused the Government to lose popularity among many of its former supporters. This decline in support among the conservative middle and upper classes dates back to the regime's unexpected decision last June to devalue the Chilean peso, after three years' fixed exchange rate and repeated official denials that such a move was under consideration.

"Many Chileans first saw this Government's role as halting Marxism. Then it was to make Chile prosperous," a banker in Santiago commented, "But now

the government seems to have lost its purpose."

Ultimately the Government's stability depends not on its popularity, but on the support of the Chilean military, which shows little sign of abandoning Gen Pinochet at this stage.

The recent surge of protest has been accompanied however by just enough violence to convince many of the armed forces that a threat to Chile's internal security persists. In the port city of Valparaiso last weekend a bomb exploded in front of a police station, injuring 11 people, including three children.

During last week's protests residents of many Santiago neighbourhoods banged pots and kitchen utensils together in a demonstration similar to protests by upper and middle class housewives outraged by the food rationing of the Socialist Allende Government overthrow in 1973.

The noise of the pots and pans was heard again this week in Santiago, when the mine-workers' leaders appeared in court. It was an unpleasant reminder for the Pinochet regime that the forces which eventually helped overthrow its predecessor 10 years ago may now have changed sides.

'Financial Times' 19/5/83

From 'Tony Party Manifesto'

Our wider role

In a troubled world, Britain is increasingly respected because we stand up for our own interests. But we are also respected because we stand up for the cause of freedom and the spread of prosperity throughout the world.

We resisted unprovoked aggression in the Falkland Islands, when the loyal support of our friends throughout the world reminded us of our common heritage of freedom. We will continue to uphold the principles for which we fought.

We shall continue to give our full support to the Commonwealth and to play an active and constructive part at the United Nations.

And we have acted so that people might live in freedom and justice. The bravery, skill and determination with which Britain's task force recaptured the Falklands reverberated around the world. Many small nations gave thanks for that stand; and our allies in the North Atlantic are heartened by what Britain achieved in the South Atlantic.

Over the past four years, this country has recaptured much of her old pride. We now have a bright future.

'Times' 19/5/83

Shoot-out on Argentine highway revives fears of new 'dirty war'

From Andrew Thompson, Buenos Aires

An announcement by Argentine police that two men were killed in a shoot-out last Saturday has been met with incredulity and protest by the country's political parties and human rights organizations. There are growing fears that the cycle of violence known as the "dirty war" in the 1970s is beginning again.

According to the Buenos Aires provincial police force, Señor Osvaldo Augustin Cambiaso and Señor Eduardo Daniel Pereira Rossi, driving a car on the Pan American Highway outside Buenos Aires, tried to escape when challenged by a routine patrol. They were chased and, when cornered, opened fire. In the subsequent gun fight, both were killed.

The police claim that Señor Cambiaso had a record of left-wing activism and had been in prison. Señor Pereira was described as a member of the Montoneros guerrilla organization.

This version of events has been rejected by most political parties and human rights groups. Señor Cambiaso and another unidentified man had been kidnapped on Saturday morning in Rosario, in the nearby province of Santa Fe. His family, and witnesses, said that heavily-armed men in civilian clothes, driving a green station wagon without number plates, had seized both men in a coffee house in Rosario.

After news of the abduction, a campaign was launched to save Señor Cambiaso's life. The family of the kidnapped man, a left-wing Peronist, filed a habeas corpus writ. Newspapers covered the incident, giving it front-page treatment.

On Monday President Rey-

naldo Bignone, questioned by journalists, said: "I can guarantee that the security services are not involved in this matter." But the statement by the Buenos Aires police force on Tuesday, giving the time of the shoot-out as Saturday afternoon, showed it had occurred two days before the President's statements.

Among the other contradictory aspects of the affair, is the fact that the habeas corpus petition was turned down on Tuesday, for lack of information, almost at the same time as the police were issuing their version of events.

Señor Vicente Leonidas Saadi, leader of the left-wing Peronist grouping known as Intransigence and Mobilization, said on Tuesday night that "it was not a shoot-out. This is a straightforward assassination". Señor Saadi and other political and human rights leaders tried to express their protests to officials at the Interior Ministry late on Tuesday night, but were not granted an audience.

At an improvised press conference, they said both men "were kidnapped on Saturday in Rosario by members of the Army, and were shot dead immediately. Later, they took the bodies to Buenos Aires province. They were taken so as to fake a shoot-out, to escape responsibility for the killings. The bodies were under the control of an officer from the Tigre regional police force whose surname is Alcantara, and a sub-officer known as Patty. Both these men now appear to be under arrest."

The Argentine Permanent Human Rights Assembly said: "This was murder, carried out by parapolice or paramilitary groups".

The human rights groups and political parties have called on all those who wish to express their protests at the death of Señor Cambiaso to join a demonstration tomorrow, called by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo to protest about human rights violation.

'Times' 19/5/83

France condemns Chile

Paris (Reuter) - France yesterday recalled its Ambassador to Chile and condemned what it termed violations of human rights after demonstrations there against the right-wing military leadership of President Augusto Pinochet.

M Claude Cheysson, the External Relations Minister, told the National Assembly that M Leon Bouvier, the ambassador, had been recalled to Paris.

M Cheysson was quoted by French radio as saying: "General Pinochet is a curse on his

people". Earlier, an official spokesman said that the French Government was outraged by events in Chile.

Chilean soldiers and police arrested more than 300 people last week after demonstrations which analysts have seen as the most serious anti-government protest in 10 years of military rule by General Pinochet. A week ago two youths were shot dead during protests.

Last year France suspended delivery of 29 tanks because of an embargo on arms exports to Chile.

'Times' 19/5/83

And now, General Menendez writes . . .



We have not heard a single word from General Galtieri since he last wrote an advice column for us and, though we are naturally anxious about his wellbeing, we are even more anxious that our problem corner should continue. Accordingly we are very grateful to his old friend, General Menendez, for taking over just this once.

General Menendez, as you all remember, fought throughout the Falklands War and was privileged to be present at the signing of the victory document. All yours, General!

Have you got any inside information on General Galtieri's whereabouts, General? We're all very worried about him. - Tim H., Paddington.

General Menendez writes: He is well and fine. He is just disappeared, that is all. As you know, there has been a lot of controversy in Argentina recently about people who have disappeared for ever, and are said to be dead. We now realize that this could be interpreted as undemocratic, and we are introducing a new system: to disappear people for a while.

There was a lot of fuss in England, General, about the relations between the media and the Ministry of Defence during the late war. What were things like on the Argentine side? - Nick B., Portsmouth.

General Menendez writes: We had very little trouble with the press or TV, but then we rarely do. The British took journalists with them at enormous expense, so that they could file stories which were largely fictitious or propaganda. We found it much cheaper to leave

MOREOVER Miles Kingdon

our journalists at home in Buenos Aires, to do the same thing.

We were very puzzled that no pictures of the war appeared on British television for two months, and for a while we were worried that the task force had gone somewhere else by mistake. You used quite a lot of Argentine war footage, of course; I don't think you ever realized that it was all taken from old Argentine war films.

I am told that most of the TV coverage of the war in Britain took the form of retired generals saying what they would do, from which we learnt a lot, incidentally.

On a lighter note, what do you reckon to the Derby v. Fulham match? Should it have been replayed? - Malcolm MacD., London.

General Menendez writes: The one that ended 78 seconds short? It seems obvious to me. Both sides should meet again. But only for 78 seconds!

Do you approve of these new yellow clamps that the London police are putting on cars? - A Diplomat, London.

General Menendez writes: Excellent, excellent. The Argentine Army has been experimenting with these for quite a while and we hope to use them in the next war.

I don't quite see how you'll be able to creep up and immobilize enemy vehicles with yellow clamps. - Mark B, London.

General Menendez writes: Actually, the idea is to put them on our own tanks and carriers, to prevent a retreat.

What did you think of the Hitler Diaries fiasco? - Frank G., London.

General Menendez writes: My friend, if only I had been consulted in time, I could have prevented all this. After all, I have seen the genuine diaries.

As you know, or perhaps do not know, Señor Hitler was a resident in a country not far from mine for many years, and some military types would sometimes drop in and pass the time of day with one who, after all, had had much more experience of fighting than any of us. He often used to say that the British could be beaten, but the BBC never, and we all knew it was up with us at Port Stanley when we

saw Max Hastings being sent in to interview us.

However, I digress. We always urged Señor Hitler to publish his diaries. His answer was simple: I did not write any. Our answer was simple: Well, write some. And eventually he did, and in 1977 he sent them to the biggest Buenos Aires newspaper. But unfortunately his memory was going and he did not have proper reference works, so the newspaper was not satisfied. In fact, they sent them back saying they were a fake. This, I think, broke his heart and he died not long after.

(Some general or other will be back soon to answer more queries.)

'The Times' 19/5/83

Belgrano attacker tells of fireball

By a Staff Reporter

Commander Christopher Wreford-Brown, captain of the Conquerer which sank the General Belgrano, later regretted the loss of life but would not hesitate to launch such an attack again if he had to, according to a book on the Falklands conflict published today.

The commander describes the sinking of the Argentine warship in *Our Falklands War*, written by Geoffrey Underwood and based on first-hand accounts of the task force. The Belgrano was sunk with the loss of more than 300 lives on May 2 last year.

The commander was at the periscope of his submarine as two torpedoes hit the cruiser. He said: "I saw one hit midship. I saw a fireball. I saw a cloud of dirty smoke as the second torpedo hit".

The crew of the submarine cheered at the sound of the explosion and the Conquerer moved away at speed to avoid any depth charge attacks from the cruiser's destroyer escorts. The ships searched the area where the submarine had been for a short time.

Commander Wreford-Brown said: "Afterwards I had a certain amount of regret about the loss of life. I did not know the numbers involved, but one presumed it was considerable.

We had countered the threat the General Belgrano offered to our task force and the loss of life they could have caused us.

"Now I feel we did just what we were invited to do and I would have no hesitation in doing it again".

"It is a fact of life that if you want to go to war you must expect losses", the commander said.

Describing the run-up to the attack he said the Conquerer had located the Belgrano on May 1 and followed her for more than 30 hours, reporting to London that she had been found. The submarine remained several miles to the stern of the cruiser, deep below her.

The instructions from London were to attack if the ship went inside the total exclusion zone but on May 2 the rules for engagement were changed. Commander Wreford-Brown said: "She was 20 to 30 miles outside the zone and in everyone's eyes posed a threat to the task group".

The submarine increased speed approaching the cruiser on the port side. It fired a salvo of three torpedoes at 1,400 yards.

Our Falklands War, by Geoffrey Underwood (Maritime Books, £3.95).

LAINING

'Construction News'
19/5/82

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1983

LEADING FALKLAND RACE

THE prestigious contract for a £150 million airport in the Falklands may go to the John Laing/Mowlem/ARC consortium.

The group has been called in for detailed consultations with the Property Services Agency and is hopeful of an award early next month.

But because of the one-off nature of the job the other contenders, Costain/Tarmac and Wimpey/Taylor Woodrow, are still maintaining project teams in case they are called in. Privately, however, both groups see the Laing bid as likely to succeed barring any tender complications.

The PSA has to make a quick award if it is to enable the successful contractor to take advantage of the relatively mild weather available in the southern summer, which starts in September/October. If such a start is delayed, work could slip many months behind schedule.

But the PSA could soon find itself coming under pressure from its political masters.

The June 9 general election makes the airport contract a real hot potato. No-one is sure how the government views an award before then or what could happen afterwards if Labour comes to office. But the urgent need to start work on time is seen as something that the government cannot afford to ignore and could prevent any delay.

Costs of the project have soared from the original

estimates of £35 million made by Lord Shackleton in his report to the government last year.

The main reason for the escalation is understood to be the high defence element in the job. Plans include a 2,590 m long runway, fuel storage tanks, hangars, a control tower, terminal buildings and substantial infrastructure works.

The successful contractor will face a mammoth logistical task which will involve shipping and a considerable amount of plant over a six-month period. And reaching the site itself is likely to be difficult. A shortlist of two sites, one at March Ridge and the other at Stanley, is understood to have been drawn up. The greenfields site at March Ridge is thought to be preferred. This would involve using landing craft to transport plant near to the site which would then have to be moved over the difficult boggy terrain.

Waiting

Since the PSA induced seven construction firms to form three consortia for the scheme in autumn 1982 the development has proceeded in fits and starts. Firms were kept waiting for nearly six months, then came the call to fly to the Falklands in March for site visits.

It was then thought that design and build bids would have to be in by the autumn. Then firms were told bids had to be in by May with an award in July or August. Once again the PSA accelerated the programme and now it is likely that an award will be made before the general election.

International Herald Tribune 18/5/83

BOOKS

ATLAS OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

By Richard Natkeil. 254 pp. \$29.95
Facts on File, 460 Park Avenue South,
New York, N. Y. 10016.

Reviewed by Matthew Stevenson.

“**A**TLAS of the 20th Century,” is a superb collection of maps illustrating military campaigns. In the pages explaining D-Day, for example, the landing beaches — Utah, Omaha, Gold, Juno and Sword — are marked clearly, as is the progress of all divisions involved that day. Subsequent maps diagram Germany’s effort to push the Allies back into the sea, which failed, and the great sweeping engagement of Patton’s Third Army toward Le Mans. The detail reaches to the regimental level — which unit took which town — and this precision is present in the explanations from the Boer War to the Falklands. In all, there are 166 entries.

The author, Richard Natkeil, is head of the cartographic department of The Economist, and for the past 15 years he has studied the campaigns of the two world wars. In the “Atlas of the 20th Century,” he has told a history of the century in maps, mostly military, and written short, eloquent summaries of the battles. Of the western front at the end of 1916, he writes: “Around the Somme, where British casualties had amounted to no less than 1 percent of the entire British population, the western front had been pushed forward for just about six miles over an 18-mile length.”

Maps show the state of affairs at a precise moment in time, but they also hint at the future. The page showing the effects of the Treaty of Versailles speaks volumes for all that it explains about the origins of World War II. The partition of Palestine, explained in three maps, makes it clear why the violence continues today.

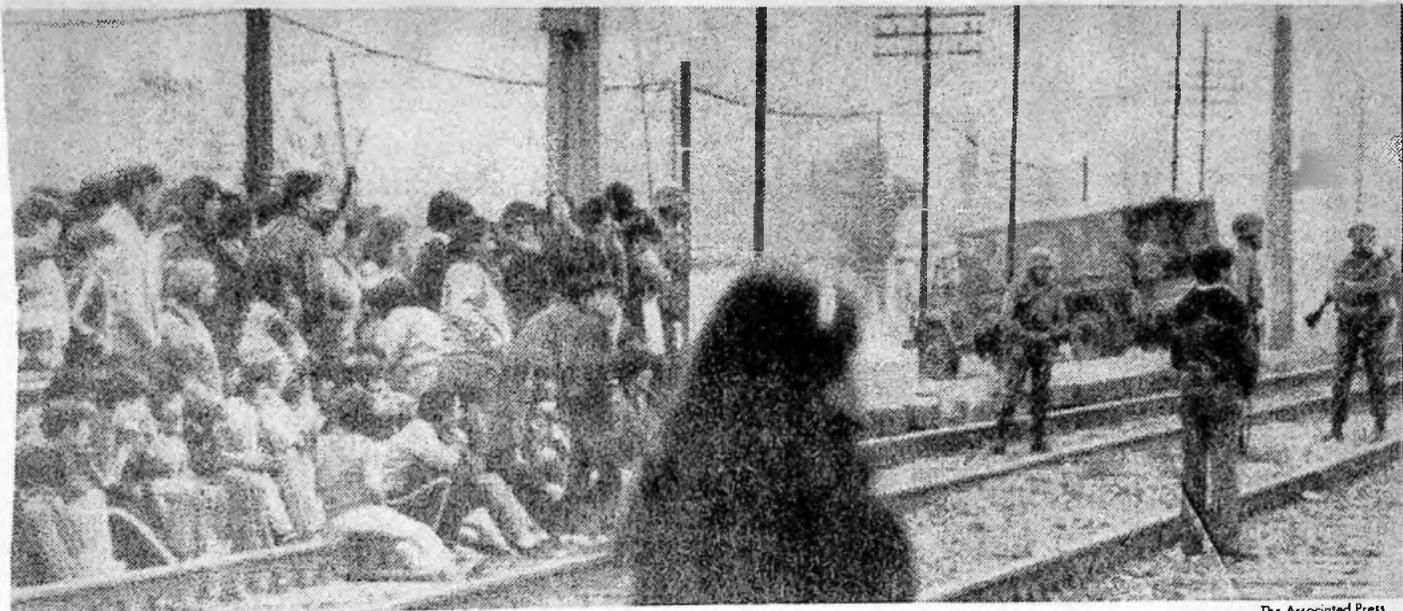
Having all these maps in one collection lets the reader make connections between campaigns separated by thousands of miles and decades of time. For example: the fight between Britain and Argentina for control of Falkland Sound was a tactical repeat of that between the Japanese and the U.S. Navy for “The Slot” off Guadalcanal; and the Japanese attack on the Russian squadron off Port Arthur in 1904 can be understood as a dress rehearsal for Pearl Harbor.

Spliced between the maps and text are well-chosen photographs that further distinguish the atlas. The explanation of the Battle of Jutland succeeds, in part, because of the photograph showing a squadron of German battleships in formation. Another photograph, from the first battle of Ypres, shows the 2nd Battalion, of the Warwickshire Regiment, commuting to the front lines in London buses, thus adding irony and poignancy to Natkeil’s observation that “trench warfare meant that the war had become a conflict between industries as well as between soldiers.”

If the atlas has a flaw — either as a reference work or as an illustrated history — it is the few omissions that cannot be helped in a work of this magnitude. Peleliu, one of the major battles in the Pacific campaign against the Japanese, escapes Natkeil’s attention. Similarly, at least for American readers, the war in Vietnam is given cursory treatment in three maps: one excellent description of Dien Bien Phu; another of the Tet offensive that serves to summarize most of the fighting; and one of the fall of Saigon. This would have been the place to attempt an understanding of American strategy, but apparently even in history the war in Vietnam defies the clear lines of explanation that allow Natkeil to explain El Alamein or Mao’s Long March.

Nevertheless, the atlas is a triumph of clarity and detail. It can make sense of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the siege of Stalingrad, and the Second Balkan War in 1913. Thus it ought to be of equal delight to admirals, armchair strategists, high school students and anyone else for whom history is a collage of maps.

Matthew Stevenson is an associate editor of Harper’s magazine. He wrote this review for The Washington Post.



The Associated Press

Chileans waited near a railroad station in Santiago Saturday for word of relatives rounded up by soldiers as possible suspects in protests against the military government of Augusto Pinochet. About 2,000 men and youths were seized.

Soldiers in Santiago Seal Off 2 Suburbs; 2,000 Rounded Up

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SANTIAGO — Soldiers and military police sealed off two working class suburbs of Santiago and rounded up more than 2,000 men and teen-agers in a search for militants said to have provoked anti-government demonstrations last week, according to residents of the area.

The roundups Saturday came after Chile's Roman Catholic Church, saying it "cannot remain indifferent" to mass protests against rightist military rule, urged Friday the government of President Augusto Pinochet to reconcile itself with its critics.

The search began shortly before 3 A.M., when dozens of army trucks arrived carrying soldiers who cordoned off the streets in the poor south-side neighborhoods of João Goulart and La Victoria, residents said.

Two hours later, security police detectives using megaphones called out all the male inhabitants over the age of 14, rounding up more than 2,000, residents said.

The men were lined up in the street and then taken to local football grounds, where detectives checked their documents and then released those not considered suspects, residents said.

More than 130 men were arrested and taken away from the grounds in trucks before the search ended shortly before midday, a local parish priest said.

Santiago's military authorities said the search was "to detect and arrest anti-social elements and requisition arms and explosives that are used against innocent citizens."

The military roundup occurred in two suburbs where violent clashes took place between inhabitants and anti-riot police Wednesday night, at the end of a day of

national protests in which two persons died and more than 350 were arrested.

The day of what were to have been peaceful protests, called by opposition labor unions, was the first nationwide demonstration of discontent in 10 years of military rule.

Violence flared again in La Victoria Thursday night following the funeral of a 21-year-old taxi driver who was shot Wednesday on the doorstep of his house when anti-riot police moved in to disperse groups of demonstrators.

Monsignor Francisco Fresno, a conservative whose recent appointment as archbishop of Santiago was welcomed by the military government, said Friday the church supported "active nonviolence" and "urgent dialogue" in the search for solutions. His comments were in reaction to Wednesday's protests.

"The church cannot remain indifferent to such a large manifestation of the country's social crisis," Archbishop Fresno said.

Chile's largest newspaper, *El Mercurio*, said the horn-honking, pot-banging and street marches Wednesday were "the most serious challenge the government has faced."

The newspaper, which had welcomed General Pinochet's 1973 overthrow of President Salvador Allende, called for attempts to achieve "an indispensable consensus."

Hermogenes Pérez de Arce, a former congressman of the conservative National Party, called on the government to consider how it might have provoked the demonstrations, which he called "an expression of discontent among the most important sectors of public opinion."

International

Herald

Tribune

16/5/83

'Sunday Times' 15/5/83

KALEIDOSCOPE

Cool millions for a drink

WATER USED by British forces in the Falklands costs the taxpayer about 5 pence a pint to deliver, according to estimates based on current shipping charter rates. The total bill for transporting fresh water by tanker from Southampton to the islands since the sending of the taskforce last year is now well over £2,500,000.

The water is needed because the Falklands are without lakes or reservoirs to conserve the 30in of rain that falls there every year. Supplies from the sole desalination plant at Port Stanley - built to serve only 1,500 inhabitants - have been reduced by damage to pipes caused by heavy military traffic.

Official details of the water bill are at present known only to the Ministry of Defence. The dissolution of Parliament left unanswered a Commons question by the Labour MP Tam Dalyell (West Lothian) to Michael Heseltine, defence secretary, about government contracts for supplying water to the 4,000 troops in the Falklands.

It is known that the 33,000-ton Canadian Pacific tanker Fort Toronto sailed on April 19 last year carrying 6 million gallons of fresh water. She dropped anchor off Port Stanley to serve as a permanent reservoir.

Shipping charterers estimate the charges for such a vessel as not less than £6,500 a day. Together with the charter rates for at least three other vessels permanently involved in replenishing the Fort Toronto, the total for the 13 months since the operation began is now well in excess of £2,500,000.

Patrick Forman

'New Statesman' 13/5/83



Why she sank the Belgrano



FALKLANDS

How the peace was torpedoed

A year ago this month a ceasefire was on the point of being signed with Argentina.
Paul Foot reports on why it went wrong

DID MRS THATCHER order the sinking of the aged Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*, on Sunday 2 May last year, in order to scupper a peace settlement which had been hammered out between Lima, Peru and Washington over the previous weekend and which was on the point of being signed? For several months, Tam Dalyell, the Labour MP for West Lothian, has been making this astonishing charge against the Prime Minister. His view is that she deliberately gave the order to sink the cruiser at a time when an honourable peace settlement was almost secured — one which could have prevented the subsequent bloodshed of the Falklands campaign.

The charge has been met in the main with faintly amused disdain. Tam Dalyell, it is pointed out, is an eccentric with weird views on many subjects. But whenever a specific reply has been given to any of his questions, the mystery surrounding the sinking of the *Belgrano* has deepened. The 45-year-old cruiser was not 'closing on the Task Force', as Defence Minister John Nott told the House of Commons at the time. It was heading away from the Falklands and was at least 350 miles from the nearest task force surface ship. The range of its guns was 13 miles. Even its missiles would hardly have reached into the 'exclusion zone' established round the islands. After spending four days in Lima and talking to Dr Javier Arias Stella, Peru's Foreign Minister at the time, the picture I got strongly confirms Dalyell's charge.

Thursday 29 April The Organisation of American States, the alliance which binds North and South America, met to consider the Falklands crisis. It passed a motion proposed by Peru which called for a ceasefire and a peace on the basis of recognising Argentina's sovereignty over the Falklands. Several countries, including the United States, abstained.

Friday 30 April United States Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that his efforts to get a peace settlement between Britain and Argentina had failed. He had tried to reach an agreement on the basis of United Nations Resolution 502 — which called for Argentine withdrawal followed by negotiations. His stumbling block was that the British would sign nothing which did not include immediate Argentine withdrawal from the Falklands and the Argentines would not withdraw unless their rights to the islands were sanctioned. It seemed a hopeless impasse.

Haig declared, moreover, that the United States supported Britain in the conflict, and would assist economically and militarily. This statement was greeted with fury in Peru, which has close ties with Argentina.

Saturday 1 May The British forces attacked Argentine positions on the Falklands by sea and air. The barrage included a hail of cluster bombs. The Argentines admitted to 56 dead. There were probably many more.

In Lima, that evening, the ageing President Belaunde Terry and his Foreign Minister, Dr Arias Stella, held urgent talks. They decided to intervene to seek a settlement. Belaunde rang Washington and spoke at length to Haig, offering to act as broker in new peace negotiations. Haig leapt at the suggestion. He had not given up hope of a last-minute compromise. Moreover, he was about to welcome the British Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, who was flying into Washington that evening. In the frenzied negotiations over the next two days, the Peruvians 'acted' for the Argentinians and Alexander Haig for the British.

At once, Haig told Belaunde that any new proposals, if they were to have the slightest chance of succeeding, must move a long way from what had been previously rejected. He suggested (to satisfy the main Argentine objection) that no position on sovereignty should be adopted, but that a treaty should recognise the 'conflicting claims' of both countries; and (to reassure the British) a separate clause to sanction the 'points of view and interests' of the islanders.

If these two clauses could be agreed on both sides, he thought that a peace was possible on the basis of an instant ceasefire, withdrawal of all forces, an interim administration of the Falklands that involved neither Argentines nor British, and a 'contact group' of four countries — then suggested as the US, Peru, West Germany and Brazil — to supervise the withdrawal and the negotiations. The last point was that

President Belaunde (centre), Dr Arias Stella, Foreign Minister, and Manuel Ulloa, Prime Minister (left), at the Lima press conference — 4.45 pm (local time) 2 May 1982



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0030:''' URGENT FALKLANDS-BELAUNDE:

LIMA, MAY 2, REUTER -- PERUVIAN PRESIDENT FERNANDO BELAUNDE TERRY SAID TODAY THAT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND BRITAIN WERE UNDER WAY AND THAT BOTH COUNTRIES HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE +TO CEASE HOSTILITIES+.

HE WAS SPEAKING AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HERE ON EFFORTS TO END THE FIGHTING BETWEEN BRITAIN AND ARGENTINA OVER THE DISPUTED FALKLAND ISLANDS.

0045:FALKLANDS-BELAUNDE 2 LIMA:

PRESIDENT BELAUNDE SAID THAT BOTH PARTIES WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT PEACE PROPOSALS SET OUT BY SECRETARY OF STATE ALEXANDER HAIG WHO CONDUCTED A PEACE SHUTTLE MISSION BETWEEN LONDON AND BUENOS AIRES BEFORE FIGHTING BROKE OUT.

THE PRESIDENT SAID HE COULD NOT GO INTO FURTHER DETAILS BUT ADDED: +NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDER WAY AND IN A SHORT WHILE TOTAL PEACE CAN BE ESTABLISHED IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND THERE IS A WILL ON BOTH SIDES TO CEASE HOSTILITIES.+

0054:FALKLANDS-BELAUNDE 3 LIMA:

AS PRESIDENT BELAUNDE MADE HIS ANNOUNCEMENT ARGENTINA'S RULING MILITARY JUNTA WAS MEETING IN BUENOS AIRES TO DISCUSS THE FALKLANDS CRISIS.

0109:FALKLANDS-BELAUNDE 3A LIMA:

IN LONDON, A SPOKESMAN FOR PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER'S OFFICE SAID HE KNEW NOTHING OF THE REPORTED NEGOTIATIONS OR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE.

0123:FALKLANDS-BELAUNDE 4 LIMA:

PRESIDENT BELAUNDE SAID ARGENTINA AND BRITAIN WERE STUDYING A SEVEN-POINT PEACE PLAN DRAWN UP BY MR HAIG.

HE SAID THAT AT PRESENT GENERAL GALTIERI WAS DISCUSSING THIS WITH ARGENTINE LEADERS, ADDING: +IF THIS EFFORT FAILS IT WILL BE A TRAGEDY FOR LATIN AMERICA AND PERHAPS FOR THE WORLD.+

0158:''' SNAP:

LONDON, MAY 3, REUTER -- A BRITISH SUBMARINE TORPEDOED THE ARGENTINE CRUISER GENERAL BELGRANO IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC LAST NIGHT, THE BRITISH DEFENCE MINISTRY SAID TODAY. THE CRUISER WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SEVERELY DAMAGED, THE MINISTRY SAID.
REUTER BJC/WS

Reuter reports in the early hours of 3 May 1982. All times are GMT

agreement would have to be reached by 30 April 1983.

The seven-point plan was not agreed with Haig until nearly midnight. At once Belaunde phoned the Argentine dictator Leopold Galtieri. Galtieri was delighted with the new initiative. The day's attacks on the Falklands had frightened him and his high command. They were now facing a humiliating defeat. He assured the Peruvian President that the new proposals satisfied him. Would they not remove the British from the Falklands without any more shots being fired? And did they not at least accept that Argentina had a claim to sovereignty? He would talk to his high command in the morning, he promised; but he was hopeful.

Sunday 2 May That optimism was increased

New Statesman 13 May 1983

considerably when Galtieri phoned Belaunde in the early morning. The high command, he said, was almost unanimous in approving the terms, though there were a number of small points to be negotiated.

Throughout that morning, Belaunde negotiated these points in calls to Washington and to Buenos Aires. In Washington, General Haig was in close touch with Francis Pym (he was probably in the same room for most of the time - certainly the two men had lunch together). In Buenos Aires, Galtieri kept open his hot line to the junta's hard man, navy chief Admiral Anaya.

The proposals were amended. 'Points of view and wishes' of the islanders was changed to 'needs and aspirations'. The membership of the contact group was left open, though it was suggested that Canada

might come in for the US and Venezuela for Peru.

By noon, an agreement seemed secure. A final draft of a treaty was prepared by officials who had been at work in the 18th century Torre Tagli mansion (the headquarters of the Peruvian Foreign Office) since the early hours. It was drawn up for signature by the British and Argentine Ambassadors in Lima. The ceremony, it was confidently expected, would take place that night.

General Galtieri, who had given the go-ahead for these preparations, made it clear that he must first get the approval of his official junta meeting, scheduled for 5pm that afternoon. But, he insisted, the agreement of the junta was a formality.

This is confirmed by the *Sunday Times* Insight book on the Falklands war, which quotes a 'senior official' of the Argentinian Foreign Ministry as saying, 'I was in the room when Foreign Secretary Costa Mendes came in and said: "We have an agreement. We can accept this". Everybody was very excited.'

Once the junta meeting started in Buenos Aires, President Belaunde decided to hold his weekly press conference, which had been long delayed. At 4.45pm, he went in front of the cameras with his Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to tell the world that a settlement was at hand 'this very night'. All three men made it quite plain that a settlement was imminent.

Very soon after the press conference, these high hopes were dashed. News came in of the sinking of the *Belgrano* some three and a half hours earlier (it was sunk at about 4pm Argentine time, 2pm Lima time). Communications were slow, since the cruiser's signalling systems were destroyed and its escorts and the submarine wanted to protect their positions.

An admiral stormed into the junta meeting in Buenos Aires shouting the news. Many junta members had sons and nephews on the *Belgrano*. The method of its sinking and the huge loss of life completely changed the mood of the meeting. Although they went on formally discussing the proposals, all hope of a settlement was dead. The State Department was the first to convey the bad news to the Presidential palace in Lima.

At 6.30pm, Foreign Minister Arias Stella received the Ambassadors of Britain (Mr Charles Wallace) and Argentina (Mr Louis Sanchez Mareno). Perhaps they came to sign the treaty. They were told the bad news and left.

Soon after midnight, after a seven-hour meeting, the junta formally rejected the Peruvian peace proposals, specifically mentioning the *Belgrano* sinking as the cause.

DURING THE NEXT FEW days, the Peruvian President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister all explained to the Peruvian Parliament that peace had been in their grasp, only to be sunk with the *Belgrano*. All three endorsed the unequivocal view of the Prime Minister, Mr Manuel Ulloa Elias: 'Argentine rejection of the Belaunde peace proposals was due to the fact that Argentina

had been attacked with the torpedoing of the *Belgrano* at the very moment that Peru was trying to find a dignified way out of the contest.' (Quoted in *El Observador*, Lima, 5 May 1982.)

Ulloa also strongly rejected the widely held view that the Belaunde proposals were just a re-hash of Haig's earlier efforts - 'Haig in a poncho'. On the contrary, he said, the package was very different both from the Haig proposals, which failed because they leant too far to the British, and from the OAS resolution of 29 April, which leant too far to Argentina. In the Belaunde proposals, unlike both the Haig and the OAS, an immediate Argentine withdrawal was matched by the temporary removal of British administration from Port Stanley; and the matter of sovereignty was left entirely neutral.

The Belaunde proposals, it is safe to conclude, were taken seriously by both sides. They were drawn up into a treaty which was expected to be signed. And they were put to flight by the sinking of the *Belgrano*.

Senor Arias Stella, who is a fellow of the Royal Society of Pathologists in London and has no anti-British feeling, generously ascribes the *Belgrano* sinking to military accident. He told me that he and all his colleagues had assumed that some hothead submarine commander had let fly at the cruiser without any idea of the state of negotiations in Lima, Buenos Aires and Washington.

This has been indignantly denied by the submarine commander himself. He insists he received clear orders to sink the cruiser.

Nor have Tory Ministers been slow to claim their part in the action. Margaret Thatcher told the House of Commons on 4 May last year: 'With regard to that particular event [the sinking of the *Belgrano*] and all events other than the mere tactical ones in the South Atlantic, the task force clearly is and was under political control.'

A few minutes later, Nott, the Defence Secretary, was asked by Willie Hamilton: 'Will the Minister confirm . . . that the decision to launch the torpedoes was a political decision - in other words, it was made either by the Prime Minister or by the Rt Hon gentleman, or by both together? Or was it made by an admiral on the spot?' Nott replied, rather evasively: 'The overall political control remains with the government.'

There the matter rested until last October, when a mysterious leak to the newspapers (printed in all of them) 'revealed' that the decision to sink the *Belgrano* had been taken by the 'war cabinet' (minus Pym) in pre-lunch discussions with the service chiefs on 2 May.

This version comes out in *The Battle for the Falklands* by Simon Jenkins and Max Hastings as follows: 'Sir Terence Lewin went to the war cabinet meeting at Chequers on the morning of Sunday 2 May to request permission under the rules of engagement to sink the *General Belgrano* some 40 miles South West of the total exclusion zone.' After some discussion the book goes on: 'No Minister demurred. The order was issued before lunch.'

One difficulty about this is that the

cruiser was not actually sunk until about eight hours afterwards (between 3 and 4pm Argentine time - 8 and 9pm GMT). Even given the difficulties of contact with a submerged submarine, this does seem a huge time gap.

Another problem is that the war cabinet meeting with the defence chiefs was not just a discussion about the *Belgrano*. It was, as reported in the newspapers on 4 May, a full-scale assessment of the state of the war, which went on for four hours.

At any rate, the direct responsibility of Thatcher, Whitelaw, Nott and Parkinson for the *Belgrano* sinking has never been denied. The question then arises: how much did they know of the progress of the Peruvian peace talks?

THE SEVEN-POINT PLAN had been agreed between Haig and Belaunde the previous night (in Britain, the early hours of the morning). Was it conveyed to Chequers that night? Did the war cabinet meeting not have before it 'the latest from Francis in Washington'? Even if they did not, they knew that Pym had gone to Washington in a last bid for peace. However hopeless such a mission seemed in the eyes of the hawks in the war cabinet (and by all accounts they were all hawks, except Pym), they knew that the armed forces could not be seen to cut the ground from under the Foreign Secretary's feet.

On arrival in Washington the previous evening, Mr Pym gave an impromptu press conference. He explained that the attacks on the Falklands that day had been intended to concentrate the Argentines' minds on a peaceful settlement. He went on: 'No further military action is envisaged at the moment, except to keep the exclusion zone secure.' (*Times*, 2 May 1982.) This pledge was kept - right up until the sinking of the *Belgrano*.

At the very least, then, the Cabinet that Sunday morning knew that Pym was trying for peace and that a period of calm was vital if he was to be seen to be trying. That is the background, apparently, in which they gave the order to attack a ship on the high seas, with a complement of 1,000 men, when it was outside the war zone they themselves had designated.

As the afternoon and evening went on, however, Mrs Thatcher and those Ministers who stayed in contact can have been left in no doubt as to the progress of the Peruvian peace talks. By noon US time, 5pm GMT, after all, the seven-point plan had been agreed between Belaunde, Haig and Galtieri. Even before he sat down to lunch with Haig, Francis Pym must have known about this, and expressed his own agreement. He must, too, have conveyed it back to Chequers. If the order to sink had in fact been given at lunchtime, there was still time to countermand the order, or to try to countermand it. For the *Belgrano* was not sunk until three hours later.

The British government does not deny that it was prepared to accept the Belaunde proposals. The Official Foreign Office document, 'The Falklands Islands: Negotiations for a Peaceful Settlement', published on 20 May last year, says: 'The next stage of the negotiations was on proposals originally advanced by President Belaunde of Peru and modified in consultations between him and the United States Secretary of State . . . Britain was willing to accept the final version of these proposals for an interim agreement, but Argentina rejected it.' The document does not point out that Argentina rejected it under the most savage provocation imaginable; namely, the sinking of the *Belgrano*.

If the interim agreement had come into force, what would have happened? All forces would have withdrawn. A thousand lives (and several thousand million pounds) would have been saved. The British forces would have left the Falklands for the time being. Some sort of settlement respecting the needs and aspirations of the islanders would probably have been reached. Not everyone would have been satisfied, but at least the Falkland Islands would have had a future as a place where people lived and worked, not as a military bunker.

The only organisation seriously undermined by the settlement would have been the British Conservative Party. Its press and its right wing had been let off the leash. Only war and conquest would have satisfied them. For the Iron Lady, donning the ill-fitting garments of peace and compromise, the future would have been bleak indeed.

Tam Dalyell's questions stand up well to the facts. They were not even asked by the Franks Report. Franks and his colleagues stopped at the Argentine invasion. If they had asked why the war was allowed to start; in particular, who gave the order to sink the *Belgrano*; when; above all, why - then I doubt whether Margaret Thatcher would have read their conclusions to the House of Commons with such gusto. For the sinking of the *General Belgrano* was, at best, a crass blunder, based on false information, which made a laughing stock of Pym's negotiations. At worst, it was, as Tam Dalyell suggests, a desperate fling to force the other side back from a peace treaty which could have sunk the Tory leadership.

Paul Foot writes a weekly page for the Daily Mirror.

New Statesman

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'Times' 17/5/83

Pinochet follows Allende's economic path

With a public and private sector debt totalling \$18 billion (£12 billion), unemployment at 32 per cent and half of the country's industries bankrupt, Chile is facing an economic crisis. In this second and final article, our foreign staff analyse the problem confronting General Pinochet after nearly 10 years in power.

After several years of record economic growth during the late 1970s, recession has struck Chile with a speed which has bewildered both the government and workers.

Between 1977 and 1981, thanks largely to the monetarist boom engineered by President Pinochet, the economy grew at an average annual rate of 7.3 per cent. In 1982, however, the economy shrank by 14 per cent.

The net result has been a tripling of unemployment to an average of 22 per cent in the past three months in the greater Santiago area, while those lucky enough to keep their jobs have seen their real income fall by 27 per cent since the introduction of a wages freeze and cuts in August 1981.

In retrospect the suddenness of the crisis is not entirely unexpected. During General Pinochet's 10 years there have been few incentives to save or invest. In the 1960s, for example, 22 per cent of the country's production was

ploughed back in new investment. By contrast, the country invested only 15 per cent of its production during the 1970s. During these decades there was a substantial drop in savings.

In addition, much of the boom of the late 1970s was financed by overseas borrowing. Of the 18,000 million dollars Chile now owes only 5,000 million are the result of public sector borrowing. The remainder has been amassed in the private sector. In 1973, before the military coup against the late President Salvador Allende, public sector borrowing totalled a more respectable 4,500 million dollars.

The government has responded to the crisis by swallowing its pride and reverting to some of the interventionist tactics employed by its predecessor. They include the introduction of strict government controls over the banking system and foreign exchange restrictions.

Nevertheless, some of the other policies used during the time of President Allende can no longer be introduced.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), which has given its full backing to Chile's efforts to overcome its debt problems, will not allow General Pinochet to reintroduce the high tariff

barriers favoured by his predecessor.

Nor will the IMF allow the Chilean authorities to use the funds it is willing to supply for big increases in public expenditure. Virtually all the money now coming into the country is being used to pay off the huge debts incurred financing the boom of the late 1970s.



The government's main contribution towards helping the unemployed is an emergency public works programme which provides jobs for some 470,000 people, or nearly 13 per cent of the work force. Most are women working more than 27 hours a week for a monthly pay of \$27 plus \$5.50 for each child under eight years old. A new smaller programme for heads of households offers \$110 a month.

But such schemes have failed to silence the increasing number of critics. Most business, trade unions and farm leaders are

united in demanding yet more state aid and intervention in the economy. As many increasingly violent demonstrations this month have illustrated only too clearly, opponents of the regime are becoming more and more bold in voicing their views.

The government's answer to its critics is to insist that any economic recovery must take place within the broad free-market principles it has espoused during the past decade.

The economic model taken originally from Professor Milton Friedman by Chile's "Chicago boys" has not failed, General Sergio Perez Hormazabal, Minister of National Planning, told a recent meeting of Chilean business leaders. "We are in a process in which everyone has to sacrifice," he added.

But it is still difficult to see how the government can reactivate the economy in the short term without revitalizing Chilean industry. If unemployment continues to grow and unrest spreads, General Pinochet may be put in a position where his critics can no longer be silenced by fears of imprisonment, torture or exile.

The only solution then might be a change of government able to introduce new economic policies.

'Times' 17/5/83

TIMES
17/5

Soldiers buy own kit

Soldiers are buying survival equipment with their own money because they consider it is better than Army equipment, it was claimed yesterday (Rodney Cowton writes).

Mr John Boston, of Survival Aids, of Penrith, said that soldiers, including members of the Parachute Regiment, had been buying a wide range of equipment, including sleeping and bivouac bags.

The Ministry of Defence

said that all three services continually tested, and when necessary upgraded, their equipment. However, soldiers had always bought additional equipment if they thought they could find something that was a bit better than the standard issue.

As reported in *The Times* on March 2, the experience of the Falklands conflict has given added impetus to efforts to improve equipment for soldiers

"Gunner" May 1983

"GUNNER" MAY 1983

Presentation of Java Trophy to Fitzroy and Bluff Cove Settlements



As a result of the friendship and the generosity of the inhabitants of Fitzroy and Bluff Cove Settlements, the managers of 137 (Java) Field Battery RA, during their tour in the Falkland Islands, the Battery has presented the Java Trophy to Mr Ron Binney, the Settlement Manager of Fitzroy. The trophy is a silver plated elephant, the Battery insignia, which will be competed for annually in the Darwin Sports Festival. The presentation of the trophy was made by Lt Col D H C Creswell, the Commanding Officer 40 Field Regiment, of



The Java Trophy

which 137 Battery is a part, when he was visiting the Islands early in February 1983. The inscription on the trophy reads: Presented by the Battery Commander and all ranks 137 (Java) Battery Royal Artillery in appreciation of the kindness shown by the people of Fitzroy and Bluff Cove during our tour 21 July 1982-27 November 1982.

Back Cover: SSgt Trevor Smyth, 58 (Eyre's) Air Defence Battery RA, attempts to befriend a Red Backed Hawk, one of the most impressive birds found in the Falklands, at San Carlos. Photograph by WO2 K R Richardson.

Acknowledgements: N E H Litchfield, PACE, PR HQ BAOR, PR HQ UKLF Mobile Team (York), Bdr M A Fall, Bdr G H Morris and Unit Correspondents.

'Gunner'
May 1983



Gunner

FOOT FUEL FOR TORY OFFENSIVE

Call for talks on Falklands

By JAMES WIGHTMAN *Political Correspondent*

CONSERVATIVE election tacticians believed last night that Mr Foot had given them ammunition yesterday with remarks about Russia's nuclear policies and Falklands' sovereignty.

The remarks likely to be seized on by Tory campaigners are that:

Russia "had some things on which they talk sense" about disarmament and did not want to "secure nuclear superiority over the Americans"; and a Labour Government would be prepared to negotiate for a settlement different to Mrs Thatcher's declared "Fortress Falklands" policy.

Mr Foot made the remarks in the BBC's World This Weekend radio programme.

Some Labour politicians were disappointed with Mr Foot's performance on the programme despite his claim that the party would win the election on June 9.

He declared that Labour would use "the spirit of Darlington" — where the party won the last Parliamentary by-election — to overturn the large Tory lead in the public opinion polls.

"What I mean by that," said Mr Foot, "is that our party workers, our Labour party supporters and sympathisers, changed the whole atmosphere of Darlington, and that is what they are going to do in the country at large.

"If we carry that out, it will be a very different result than is being shown by the polls now."

Different solution

On the Falklands, Mr Foot said that Mrs Thatcher's policy as she defined it — "Fortress Falklands" — was "not a possible one."

Asked if a Labour Government would negotiate on sovereignty, Mr Foot replied: "No. We would be prepared to negotiate the possibility of how we could find a different solution to the problem to the one that won't work in the end."

Asked again if he would negotiate on sovereignty, Mr Foot replied: "We would be prepared to negotiate in order to get a peaceful solution in the matter, but it takes time and you know you can't start immediately."

Mr Foot said that he would want the matter again discussed in the framework of the United Nations and other Latin American countries.

The interview concluded with the interviewer remarking that Mr Foot was in for three hard weeks, and the Labour leader replying: "Yes, but victorious."

Argentines see Falklands film

Argentina's State-owned TV network last night broadcast, for the first time, a lengthy account of last year's Falklands War.

The film "Malvinas War in the South Atlantic" included BBC battle scene clips and Argentine television interviews with servicemen and officers on the front.—Reuter.



Families in Santiago, Chile, wait by a railway line to learn the fate of relatives seized in police raids.

Santiago police round up workers

Santiago: Up to 200 people were arrested in a police operation in poor neighbourhoods of Santiago at the weekend, witnesses said.

Police said the sweep was aimed at finding arms used against them in street violence this week.

There was no official comment yesterday on the operation. Witnesses said that police had checked the papers of thousands of men in at least three neighbourhoods south of Santiago, rounding up hundreds on a football field.

The operation followed a night of street violence on Friday, two days after a day of protest against the military Government of President Pinochet, in which two people died.

Most of those arrested were reported to be people with arrest warrants already out against them or with criminal records.

The demonstrations, broken up by police using teargas and water-cannon, came after the funeral of the victims of Wednesday's violence — a 15-year-old boy shot dead by detectives and a young taxi driver who relatives said was shot by police.

Diplomats and commentators have described the incidents as the most serious in the 10 years since President Pinochet came to power in a coup.

Newspapers quoted unofficial sources as saying that arms had been found at one house, including automatic weapons and handguns. A statement from the military commanders of the area said the sweep was intended to discover arms and explosives and arrest "anti-social elements."

In the country's main port of Valparaiso three of the 11 people wounded in a bomb attack on the headquarters of police detectives on Friday night were reported still in a serious condition. The three include a 13-year-old boy.

No one has claimed responsibility for the attack.

The Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, Monsenor Jorge Hourton, yesterday condemned as arbitrary gagging the Government's closure on Friday of Chile's leading independent radio news station, Radio Cooperativa, and said that there was a clamour from all sectors for a return to democracy. — Reuter.

'Guardian' 16/5/83

Argentine rerun of Falklands conflict

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

The Argentine public has caught its first glimpse of what the Falklands war was really like, in a weekend television programme that drew heavily on British documentary film to illustrate the battle.

Broadcast on one of the State television network's secondary channels, the 2½-hour programme was clearly made and shown with official approval, since it worked hard to maintain some of the propaganda ploys used during the war.

Concentrating hard on successes, particularly the damage inflicted on the British Fleet by Argentine pilots using French-made Exocet missiles, the film referred to the enemy as the "colonialist" or "imperialist" forces.

The programme repeated the military regime's unproved wartime claim that the British destroyer, HMS Sheffield, went to the bottom of the South Atlantic carrying nuclear weapons. It also resurrected the now embarrassingly uncritical reactions of several prominent civilian politicians when they first learnt that the Falklands had been occupied on April 2 last year.

Vivid footage shot by BBC and ITN crews during the war drew gasps from some Argentine viewers, particularly a scene of a British soldier whose leg had been blown off at the knee.

The programme's depiction of Argentine troops disembarking on a surprisingly flat Falklands well after dawn was less convincing, since it is known that the first occupation forces arrived in the middle of the night, and perhaps even as early as late on April 1.

Interviews with former Argentine forces in the war included one navy officer who vowed that "the only professional ambition in my life" was to help retake the islands or, if he was unable, to send his sons. The programme skipped over the surrender at Port Stanley in a matter of seconds. The absence of any attempt to document how British troops were again walking in the streets of the Falklands capital after heavy emphasis on the difficulties of British landings prompted one Argentine viewer to complain: "They have explained everything we already knew, and not what we want to know. How did we lose?"

Pinochet's big state sell-off backfires

Immediately after the coup which overthrew the left-wing administration of President Salvador Allende in 1973, General Pinochet no less than an economic revolution. Using the theories espoused by Professor Milton Friedman and some bright young Chilean disciples from the University of Chicago, the new president set about dismantling the various state controls. They had been blamed for a daunting inflation rate of 600 per cent and drastic food shortages.

Under the late President Allende and indeed previous administrations, much of the economy was run by the state. As long ago as 1939 the Corporación de Fomento (Corfo) had been established to foster the country's transformation into a modern industrial power.

By 1970 some 300 businesses were owned by Corfo and during President Allende's three years in power a further 100 or so companies were taken over by the central government.

In his enthusiasm for privatization of the country's industrial base, President Pinochet had sold off more than 400 ailing state-owned companies so that by 1980, only 42 remained under state control and half of these were up for sale.

The swift disposal of so many businesses when the economy was beginning to slow down and interest rates were high meant that few were in a position to buy. This resulted inevitably in a small handful of people owning a majority of the country's sources of production.

Police have launched a big sweep through working-class districts near Santiago, where violent disturbances broke out on Friday. Weekend reports said more than 100 people were detained. The unrest came after the funerals of a young taxi driver and a boy of 15 shot on Wednesday after anti-government protests.

A week earlier, police clashed with workers and students making an illegal protest march through the centre of Santiago.

On May Day, during a similar demonstration, 10 people were injured and 100 arrested in clashes between protesters and assailants, in civilian clothes, wielding clubs. Police did not intervene.

These incidents illustrate the growing sense of frustration felt by ordinary Chileans about the dramatically worsening economic and human rights situation. In the first of two articles, our foreign staff trace the background to the latest unrest.



In the field of overseas commerce, President Pinochet stood for opening the economy up to the competition of international trade.

Import tariffs totalling some 94 per cent under the previous administration were dismantled and replaced by customs duty of 10 per cent on all articles including food staples such as wheat and luxury goods such as whisky.

In addition, various incentives were introduced to encourage the setting up of foreign banks in Chile while local banks, which had been nationalized under the Allende Government were returned to

private hands. Interest rates were determined by free market forces and restrictions on the free movement of capital overseas were completely abolished.

In 1976, Chile withdrew from the Andean Pact, one of whose goals was to offer preferential treatment for goods produced in its six member states.

Finally, agricultural reforms initiated by President Allende and his predecessor, President Eduardo Frei, came to an abrupt end under General Pinochet. About 30 per cent of Chile's agricultural land was returned to its original owners, 20 per cent was auctioned off among non-farming sectors and only 30 per cent remained in the hands of the small-time farmers who had benefited from the reform programme.

Before 1973 the latter had been able to take advantage of special credit and technical assistance arrangements run by the state. But after the military

coup, the small farmer found himself without funds to finance future plantings. Inevitably many were forced to sell off their land.

Other sectors of the economy, too, suffered from the dismantling of the state system. The social security system was turned over to private sponsorship.

The first signs of the current economic crisis were not really felt, however, until after 1975 when reductions in customs tariffs began to bite. Gradually, demand for national products started to drop in the face of stiff competition.

Chilean industries began to fall apart. Businessmen became importers and in some cases simply closed down their factories. Easy access to credit and a huge demand for imported goods led to more indebtedness by many Chileans. Savings were no longer invested; exports fell and imports rose.

Alarm bells finally rang for the administration in May 1981, when the sugar-refining company, Crav, became insolvent because of speculative manoeuvres by its owners. The company had contracted debts totalling more than \$300m and had twice used the same guarantees to back up borrowing. The insolvency affected a large section of the country's banking system.

Ironically, the Government subsequently had to intervene by enacting new banning owners of banks from also owning companies which benefited from extended loans.

Next: Coping with the Crisis

'Keep Falklands out of election'

Sir John Nott, the former Secretary of State for Defence, said yesterday that it would be deplorable if the Falklands war figured in the general election campaign.

His appeal is apparently directed as much to his former Cabinet colleagues, including Mrs Thatcher, not to make political capital out of the British victory, as to members

of the Opposition who attacked the Government's handling of the Falklands issue.

Sir John, photographed at his farm in Cornwall, told *The Times* in his first interview since he left Mrs Thatcher's Cabinet: "The Falklands has happened and it was a success but I would not want it to figure in the general election campaign."

He said it had contributed importantly to the restoration of self-confidence in Britain, which was already well under way when the Falklands crisis began, but that the loss of life that resulted was a tragedy and should not become a party political issue during the election campaign. Photograph: David Brenchley.

Full interview, page 4

Chile round-up

More than 100 arrests have been made in Chile after last week's violence prompted by growing frustration over the free-enterprise policies of President Pinochet

Front Page



The Dow family at their holiday home near Windsor

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH MAY 15, 1983

Family start Falklands farm

By DAVID BROWN, Agriculture Correspondent

A REDUNDANT farm manager, his wife and three children are preparing to start a 200-acre farm on the Falkland Islands this year to provide fresh vegetables for the garrison and civilian population.

It will be the first new farming enterprise on the islands since the conflict with Argentina.

Mr Colin Dow, a farmer with 18 years' experience, and his wife Joan have decided to put everything they own into setting up the farm between Port Stanley and Goose Green.

In line with recommendations in the Shackleton Report they are buying the land from the Coalite company, the islands biggest landowner.

Tunnel home

The family, who are living in their holiday caravan at Winkfield, near Windsor, before flying to the Falklands in September, plan to grow potatoes, cabbages, sprouts and cauliflower, and will cultivate the land from scratch.

Until their house is built they intend to camp inside one of the 80ft-long and 7ft-high polythene tunnels which they will use to grow the vegetables, sheltered from the extremes of weather in the south Atlantic.

British farm equipment manufacturers are helping the venture by either giving machinery or substantial discounts. The Dows have also bought some secondhand machinery which would be regarded as obsolete on British farms, but which is simple to maintain and repair.

Mr Dow said: "Many people may think we are mad, but we regard this as the chance of a lifetime. I was made redundant two years ago and I have been looking for somewhere to start on my own.

"I have worked on farms on the Isles of Mull and other Scottish islands so I am no stranger to harsh conditions.

"I believe there is a good future to be had in the Falklands. The Ministry of Defence

will be prepared to buy our vegetables if we can provide regular supplies of the required quality. It is up to us to prove it can be done.

"We thought of taking the caravan out with us until I build our timber-framed house there. But it may be too expensive to ship it out.

"We all enjoy camping and we have a lot of equipment, so it should not be too hard to live in the polythene tunnel for a while.

"We are determined to be independent and not to be a burden on the islanders until we get established."

Sunday Telegraph 15/5/83

OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT writes: A decision on tenders to build a second airport for the Falklands costing several hundred million pounds is expected to be among the first taken by the new Government after the election. Tenders which are believed to be in the region of £300 million have already arrived in London.

Minister chosen

OUR CHURCHES CORRESPONDENT writes: A Baptist Minister from Essex is leaving Britain in November to start a three-year term as minister of the United Free Church of the Falklands. Plans to make such an appointment were reported exclusively in the *Sunday Telegraph* earlier this year.

The Rev Colin Frampton, aged 44, decided to apply for the job after seeing a special edition of BBC TV's "Songs of Praise" broadcast from the Falkland Islands last year.

Mr Frampton, minister of Eastwood Baptist Church near Southend, was trained at Spurgeons College, London, founded by the famous Baptist preacher C H Spurgeon, who was also responsible for establishing the Free Church Tabernacle in Port Stanley in 1887.

Mr Frampton's salary, and travelling costs for him and his wife Maureen, will be paid from a £50,000 fund raised in Britain and Port Stanley by friends and supporters.

'Observer' 15/5/83

The Iron Duke joins the wets

Conor Cruise
O'Brien

'I HAVE perused the papers respecting the Falklands Islands. It is not at all clear to me that we have ever possessed the sovereignty of these Islands' — the Duke of Wellington, 25 July 1829.

If the Duke had expressed that view a year ago, Mrs Thatcher would have treated him as a hopeless wet. Perhaps it's lucky for all concerned that the Duke passed away some time before.

Dr Peter J. Beck, in an article in the valuable special post-Falklands issue of *Millennium*, the LSE's *Journal of International Studies* (Vol 12 No. 1 : Spring 1983) appears to demonstrate conclusively that Mr Francis Pym, the Foreign Secretary, was seriously misleading the House and the public when he stated — a year ago come Tuesday next — 'The sovereignty question is at the heart of the issue . . . we are not in any doubt about our title to the Falkland Islands and have never been' (Hansard column 25 ; 17 May 1982).

What, never?

Dr Beck, tiresome man, has been digging in the Foreign Office papers in the public record office at Kew and he now comes up with stuff like the following:

'We cannot easily make out a good claim, and we have very wisely done everything to avoid discussing the matter with Argentina' (Ronald Campbell, assistant secretary in the American dept of the Foreign Office ; July 1911).

'I freely admit that my attitude has changed since I wrote to you on 5 October. This has been caused by the Foreign Office memorandum. I had assumed that our right to the Falkland Islands was unassailable. This is very far from being the case.' (Sir Malcolm Robertson, British ambassador in Buenos Aires ; 15 December, 1927. The memorandum in question was a historical one prepared by the Foreign Office's assistant librarian in December 1910, the centenary year of the independence of Argentina).

'The difficulty of our position is that our seizure of the Falkland Islands in 1833 was so arbitrary a procedure as judged by the ideology of the present day . . . (that it would prove) . . . not easy to explain our position without showing ourselves up as international bandits' (John Troutbeck, head of the American dept ; October 1936).

So the Foreign Secretary's 'we are not in any doubt . . . and have never been,' does seem to have been pitching it a bit strong.

The Foreign Office did resolve, to some extent, its quite considerable doubts in 1946, at the United Nations. At that time the Foreign Office research dept decided that the fact that 'Great Britain has been in formal possession and effective occupation of the Falkland Islands since 1833' provided a sound basis for a British title, even though that possession and occupation were based on an 'initial act of aggression': 'The British occupation of 1833 was, at this (that ?) time, an act of unjustifiable aggression which has now acquired the backing of prescription.'

Actually, that one seems to me fair enough. The right of any lot of people to be anywhere rests ultimately on prescription. The right of the Argentines themselves to be in Argentina could not be defended, in any contemporary assembly, except on the basis of prescription. And as far as Argentina's southern provinces are concerned, it seems that the Argentines have not been in 'effective occupation' of those for as long as Britain has been in the Falklands. They occupied those lands, in the 1880s, by what they themselves called 'the conquest of the desert.' For 'desert' read 'Indians.' As Guillermo Makin writes (also in *Millennium*) 'Military efficiency, technological superiority, alcohol, disease and compromise [sic] made "the conquest of the desert" a success.'

The 'anti-colonial' credentials of the

Argentines are not particularly impressive, as many Third World leaders saw quite well, last year. The long dispute between Britain and Argentina over the Falklands was not between 'colonialist' and 'anti-colonialist' positions. It was about the protocol which should determine priorities as between European colonisers. Britain may have been in breach of that protocol, in 1833, and this disturbed the Foreign Office's sense of propriety.

Something may now be made of the fact that Mrs Thatcher's Government does seem to have deceived the public, a bit, about the sovereignty question, which Mr Pym himself said was at 'the heart of the issue.'

Mrs Thatcher's opponents would be unwise, I think, to make much, or indeed anything, out of that one. The public were not deceived on the basics of the war, which is all most of any public cares about. They knew that the Argentines had seized a British-populated territory, which had been British for 150 years. They approved, most of them, of not letting the Argentines get away with that. They are likely to go right on approving even when they learn that Britain's case is not as immaculate and unassailable as the Foreign Office publicly proclaimed it to be. The majority who supported the war are not likely to be too hard on the Government for proclaiming things which may have helped the war effort, even if those things, when closely examined, turn out not to be quite true.

Certainly, the minority which opposed the war will be interested in the views of the people I have quoted, from the Duke down to Mr Troutbeck. But there are two reasons for not playing to the gallery of that minority. The first reason is that people like that will vote for Mrs Thatcher's opponents anyway, having nowhere else to go. The second is that a minority is a minority: a relevant consideration at the present time.

How the peace was torpedoed

A 1982 report that Mrs Thatcher's Government was on the point of taking a step which would have ended the Falkland Islands conflict.

Soothing style

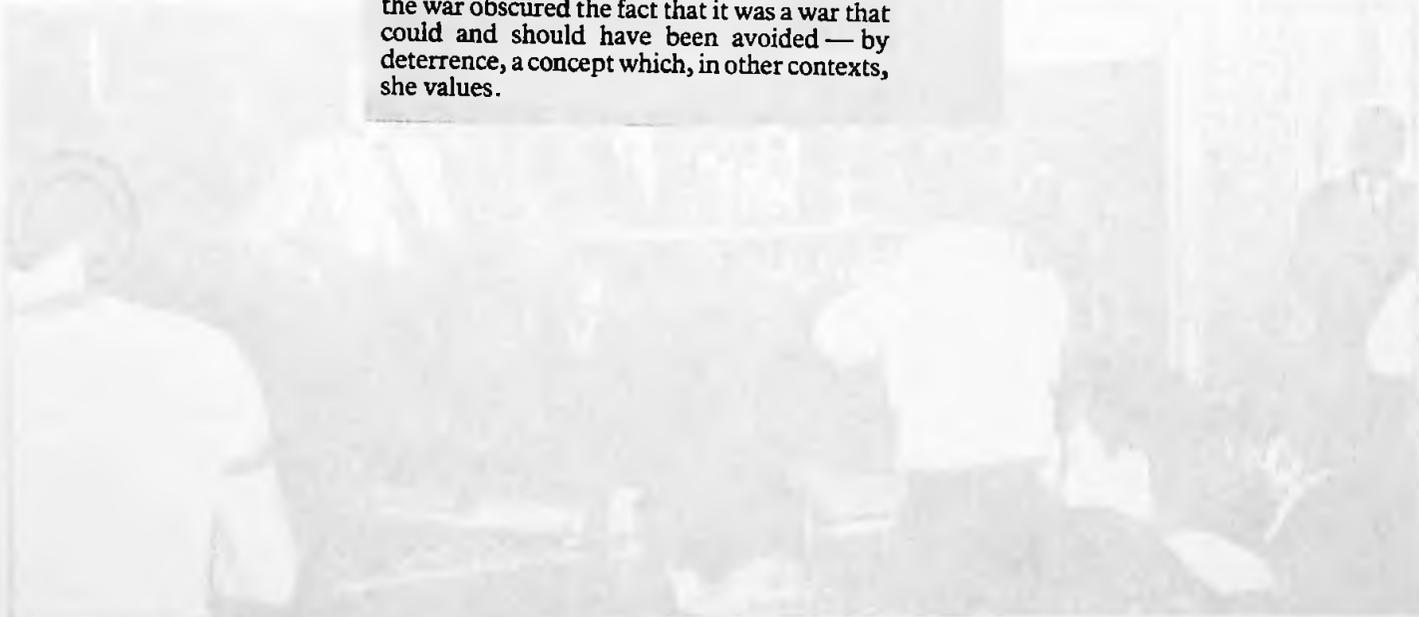
It is a good example of life's unfairness that Mrs Thatcher should benefit from the Falklands factor. For the Falklands was itself the result of failures and inconsistencies for which Mrs Thatcher is ultimately responsible. Lord Carrington was right to resign. The Foreign Office had failed to dissipate the junta's impression that it would be allowed to get away with a *fait accompli*, and may have contributed to creating that impression.

But Sir John Nott should have resigned as well. The general trend of his defence policy — which was quite inconsistent with the action that Britain actually took when the showdown came — combined with the recall of HMS Endurance, and the soothing style of British diplomacy, suggested to the Argentines that they could help themselves with impunity.

So Sir John should have gone, but then, if both Lord Carrington and Sir John had resigned, people would have been looking thoughtfully, would they not, at the lady who had appointed both these gentlemen?

If Mrs Thatcher's Government had been seen to fail as it did in fact fail — in both of the great relevant departments of state — then it might be thought that the head of that Government should herself resign. And that thought.

Mrs Thatcher, of course, then rose brilliantly to the disastrous occasion which the incompetence of her own Government had created. She saw what had to be done, and went through with it, while the Opposition dithered and back-tracked. The style of her *conduct* of the war obscured the fact that it was a war that could and should have been avoided — by deterrence, a concept which, in other contexts, she values.



D. Telegraph 14/5/83

Yesterday in Parliament

THATCHER WAR ROLE ATTACKED

By ANTHONY LOOCH
Parliamentary Staff

THE last debate in the Commons yesterday ended on a sharp note of acrimony over the sinking of Argentina's warship the General Belgrano, and the Prime Minister's role in the Falklands conflict.

For the second time in 24 hours, Mr TAM DALYELL (Lab., West Lothian) succeeded in initiating an adjournment debate about the sinking of the Argentine cruiser.

The Labour MP has constantly criticised the sinking, which took place outside the British-imposed "exclusion zone" around the Falklands.

Yesterday he accused Mrs Thatcher of "wicked" and "disgraceful" conduct during the conflict.

'Dreadful episode'

Mr Dalyell said: "I believe the good name of Britain has been besmirched, and when history comes to be written, the sinking of the Belgrano will be seen as a dreadful episode in our history.

"I am outraged that she should have got away with it for so long. From February last year she has been wicked on the whole Falklands' issue, and the Belgrano is but the tip of the iceberg of infamy.

"She says the Belgrano was sunk for military reasons, and the threat was real, but I dispute that. She says news of the Peruvian peace proposals did not reach London until after that attack. That begs many questions about her relationship with her Foreign Secretary," he said.

Mr CRANLEY ONSLOW, Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Minister, said that the General Belgrano was sunk because she posed a threat to the British forces, and the Peruvian peace proposals only reached London three hours after the attack.

"It is my personal belief that the way Mr Dalyell has chosen to pursue this wholly disgraceful vendetta against the Prime Minister comes perilously close to a gross abuse of the procedures of this house," Mr Onslow said.

The house rose at 1.31 p.m.

FUTURE POLICY Falklands report

OUR POLITICAL STAFF writes: The Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs has decided not to consider a draft report on future policy towards the Falklands which was believed to place more weight on the need for Britain to open negotiations with Argentina than Ministers would have liked.

Instead, it is to publish all the written evidence submitted to it, and turn the whole question over to a new committee to be empanelled after the election.

F.T.
MAY 14

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and POLITICS

Dalyell 'vendetta' over Belgrano condemned

BY IVOR OWEN

ALLEGATIONS by Mr Tam Dalyell (Lab, West Lothian) that the Prime Minister ordered the sinking of the Argentine cruiser, Belgrano, when she knew agreement was near on peace proposals initiated by the Peruvian Government, were rejected in the Commons yesterday, by Mr Cranley Onslow, Foreign Office Minister of State.

Thus reverberations from the most dominant event in Mrs Thatcher's four years of office continued until the stage was set for the dissolution of parliament and the formal opening of the general election campaign.

Mr Onslow accused Mr Dalyell of pursuing a "wholly disgraceful vendetta" against the Prime Minister in a manner which came perilously close to an abuse of the procedures of the House.

The Minister ended the final debate in the Commons by reiterating the Prime Minister's earlier statement in which she dismissed Mr Dalyell's allegations as "utterly ridiculous" and insisted that the Belgrano was sunk for military reasons.

He emphasised that news of the Peruvian peace proposals did not reach London until after the Belgrano had been attacked by the submarine Conqueror.

Mr Dalyell, the most persistent critic of the Government's handling of the Falklands crisis, contended that an interim agreement had been reached and approved in outline by Mr Francis Pym, the Foreign Secretary, who at the time the War Cabinet approved the attack on the Belgrano was in Washington maintaining close contact with Mr Alexander Haig, the then U.S. Secretary of State.

Mr Dalyell asserted: "What is quite clear is that no other British Prime Minister since Churchill and probably not even Churchill would have acted in the way in which this Prime Minister acted on many occasions throughout the crisis."

He claimed that Mrs Thatcher had been guilty of "disgraceful personal conduct" and forecast that the sinking of the Belgrano, would come to be seen as a disgraceful episode in Britain's history.

Had the agreement been approved, he said, Argentina would have withdrawn its forces from the Falklands and, in that event, the threat would not have been to the British task force but to the Prime Minister.

Mr Dalyell suggested that, when the history of the Falklands conflict came to be written, the complexities of the internal politics of the Conserva-

tive Party would be revealed, showing that at one stage Mr Pym had consulted Mr Edward Heath about the action taken by the Prime Minister.

"I believe that Mr Heath and the Foreign Secretary would have done the right thing by this country," he said.

Mr Onslow said he hoped that when the next parliament was elected Mr Dalyell would have had time to "come closer to his senses" and drop his stated intention to pursue the matter further.

Mr Onslow stressed that the first communication giving an outline of the Peruvian proposals reached London three hours after the attack on the Belgrano. They had not been the subject of any telephonic communications between London and Mr Pym.

Mr Onslow also maintained that there had been no such thing as an interim agreement on the Peruvian proposals. They had not been endorsed by Mr Pym and had not been submitted to the Argentine and British Governments for endorsement.

Mr Onslow questioned the "quality" of Mr Dalyell's motives and attacked him for failing to take account of the fact that the Belgrano had been sunk because it was a threat to the British task force.

'Times' 14/5/83

MPs agree on Falklands report

At an all-day session on Thursday the Commons Defence Committee reached unanimous agreement on its report on the defence of the Falkland Islands. It will be published after the Commons reconvenes.

An agreement was crucial before the dissolution yesterday

CORRECTION

Mr John Stokes, who until yesterday was Conservative MP for Halesowen and Stourbridge, was incorrectly described as a Labour MP in yesterday's Parliamentary report.

A MY
FINISH

'Guardian' 14/5/83

Preserving both the Falklands and Malvinas

Sir, — May I ask your readers to consider which of the following statements are true?

In the Falklands campaign, General Moore "was fighting for the islanders while the Argies were fighting for the islands";

The wishes of the Falkland islanders to live in rugged, isolated conditions are paramount;

There are acres of undeve-

loped Falklands-like land in the Outer Hebrides.

It would save billions of pounds on maintaining Fortress Falklands by spending mere millions on moving the islanders, — lock-stock-sheep-and-barrel — with first class accommodation in the QE II — to a new home in the North.

If all these statements are found to be true, here is a simple, effective, and per-

manent solution to the Falklands question.

The title "Falklands" would be needed for the new settlements, so the old islands — stripped of everything except the mines — would need a new name. After what has happened there, a nuance of evil might be appropriate. "Malvinas" perhaps? — Yours etc..

(Prof) Geoffrey Matthews.
Bexleyheath, Kent.

Falklands report delay aids PM

By Colin Brown

THE PRIME Minister will escape the embarrassment of her "Fortress Falklands" policy being criticised by an important all-party committee of MPs before the general election campaign is over.

The Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the Commons announced yesterday that it had been unable to produce a final report on the Falklands because of the dissolution of Parliament.

The draft report said that the Fortress Falkland policy was untenable and it caused a furore when it was leaked. The Times newspaper was referred to a Commons committee of privileges for leaking the report although the chairman, veteran Tory backbencher, Sir Anthony Kershaw, MP for Stroud, said it was accurate.

It is understood that the findings — which could have been useful ammunition for Mrs Thatcher's opponents in the campaign — will be published in part, but this is likely to be after June 9.

The committee which was dissolved with Parliament said MPs in the next parliament should give urgent consideration to the evidence they had collected on Britain's foreign policy on the Falklands.

Mr Tam Dalyell, the Labour MP for West Lothian, pursued his attack on the Prime Minister over the Falklands through to the last word in Parliament yesterday. He seized the opportunity of an adjournment debate — the second in 24 hours — to accuse Mrs Thatcher of ordering the sinking of the Argentine war ship, the Belgrano, to wreck peace proposals put forward by the President of Peru.

He said: "All that is in me is outraged by the fact that the Prime Minister should have got away with it for so long. She has been wicked on the whole Falklands issue. The Belgrano is but the tip of the iceberg of infamy. This is a very personalised situation."

The Foreign Minister, Mr Cranley Onslow, denied the allegations. He told Mr Dalyell his "disgraceful vendetta" against the Prime Minister was becoming perilously close to an abuse of the Commons. He added: "When you say you will do it in the next Parliament, I hope the intervening weeks will give you time to come closer to your own senses."

'Times' 13 May 1983



On the road: Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Herbert waving goodbye to staff as he left the Royal Navy's Fleet Headquarters at Northwood in a Model T Ford. Sir Peter, who directed submar-

ine operations in the Falklands conflict, is being promoted admiral and becomes Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff (Personnel and Logistics) next month. He was yesterday relieved

as Flag Officer Submarines by Rear-Admiral Sir John (Sandy) Woodward, who was commander of the Falklands Task Force.

(Photograph: John Voos).

Galtieri throws spanner in Army's legal works

From Andrew Thompson
Buenos Aires

General Leopoldo Galtieri, the former Argentine President now serving a 45-day prison sentence, has questioned the authority of an Army court of honour set up to judge his conduct, according to informed sources.

Together with a spate of new

disciplinary arrests of retired military officers, this development has further complicated the workings of the military legal system.

General Galtieri was arrested on April 12, after giving an interview in which he criticized senior senior military officers for leading the coup against him in June last year, and attacked the performance of General

Mario Menendez, governor of the Falkland Islands during the Argentine occupation.

The court of honour, chaired by retired General Eliodoro Sánchez Lahoz, was set up to determine whether the former President's statements constituted an attack on the good name of the officers mentioned. General Galtieri is refusing to accept its authority

The General's prison term expires on May 27, but he faces another challenge from the inter-forces commission investigating the political and military conduct of the war with Britain.

This commission, chaired by retired General Benjamin Rattenbach, is widely believed to be preparing a report critical of the members of the junta which took Argentina into war.

TIMES 13 MAY

'Times' 13 May 1983



Bishop Sheppard being greeted by his wife at Manchester airport yesterday.

STANES MAY 13

Two sides to Falklands case, bishop says

The Bishop of Liverpool, the Right Reverend David Sheppard, arrived in Britain from Argentina yesterday and issued a warning that it would be foolish not to accept that both sides had a case over the Falklands.

He said his two-week tour had underlined the "enormous difficulties" involved in reaching a peaceful settlement over the sovereignty of the islands. But the bishop said there was a "great sadness" in Argentina over the conflict with Britain and many Argentinians were critical of their country's use of force in the islands last year.

The bishop said some people in Argentina had spoken of the British Government's long delays in offering a settlement. They felt that had provoked their government's action.

He told a press conference at Ringway airport, Manchester: "Whatever one's feelings with regard to the lawlessness of that action, I could not fail to realize the strength of feelings of people of British descent and others, both in Argentina and other parts of Latin America.

"They felt that Britain, as the more powerful nation, had reacted with unnecessary force", he said. His visit had made him feel the urgency of the two nations finding a peaceful settlement.

The bishop's visit was part of a South American tour to represent the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, at the amalgamation of the five South American dioceses of the Anglican Church into the new province of the southern zone.

'Times' 11/5/83

Action replay

In an aggressive bit of public relations, the Ministry of Defence is financing two 25-minute supporting feature films about the Falklands war, at a cost of £140,000. They should be in the cinemas by the end of the year. One recreates a raid by the Mountain Arctic Warfare Cadre on a shepherd's hut, in which five Argentines were killed and seven wounded. Captain Rod Boswell, who led the real raid, said the film was "a dreadful idea" but he was ordered to cooperate and to make it as authentic as possible. The other film is fictional, and tells the story of a Harrier pilot who ejects and is hidden by an islander. It is directed by Roy Baird, who also produced The Who's *Quadrophenia* and was yesterday unavailable for comment, ensconced on HMS *Illustrious* somewhere off Newcastle.

TIMES 11 MAY 83

Junta behind refusal of Argentine visa

THE decision to refuse Dr. Philip Morgan, General Secretary of the British Council of Churches, an entry visa to Argentina earlier this month was taken by the junta itself, according to informed Argentinian sources.

The refusal, which came just as Dr. Morgan was about to begin his visit, came from "the highest authority." But he denied a suggestion that it was unwise of him to have proceeded without first having secured a visa.

"The central purpose of the visit was fulfilled. The chief loss was the inability to visit Argentina and visit Church leaders there," he said at BCC headquarters in London on Thursday of last week following his return from Montevideo. "I went on the understanding that there was a visa just around the corner."

Dr. Morgan believed that he had been refused a visa for two reasons. Firstly, he said, it was at a time

when British families were visiting war graves on the Falklands. "It was not perhaps the most opportune moment." Secondly, there was the constant criticism by the Argentinian Council of Churches, who were to be his hosts, of the junta's military action in the Falklands.

In the event Dr. Morgan went to Montevideo, where he met Argentinian Church leaders, and together they made plans for a meeting of representatives from Britain and Argentina to take place in Rio de Janeiro in June. He rejected a suggestion that such a meeting would simply be "more talk about talk." It would, he said, attempt to identify questions requiring answers and to put these in some order of priority.

During his ten-day stay in South America the General Secretary stayed both in hotels and with churchpeople.

Dr. Morgan, now in Rome with a delegation of British Church leaders for talks with Vatican officials, said he hoped to report to the Pope on events in South America.

Guests from S. America

LIVERPOOL'S clergy have been left with much to think about following the month-long visit by fifteen South American guests who flew home last weekend.

The party, led by the Right Rev. Omar Ortiz, Assistant Bishop in the diocese of Paraguay, included six other clergymen, four of whom were accompanied by their wives. Together they represented the Anglican Churches in Paraguay, Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Argentina.

Before leaving they shared their impressions of Church life with a lay representative group of clergy and laity from the host diocese. Their report, which was full of appreciation for their warm welcome, left their hosts with a number of questions to ponder—not least of which was: "Why are there so few working-class accents among bishops and clergy?"

Partnership

During their visit the South Americans stayed with local families, attended a conference at Swanwick and shared in the recent Liverpool Diocesan Clergy Conference at Blackpool, when they were joined by six members of the Canadian diocese of Niagara.

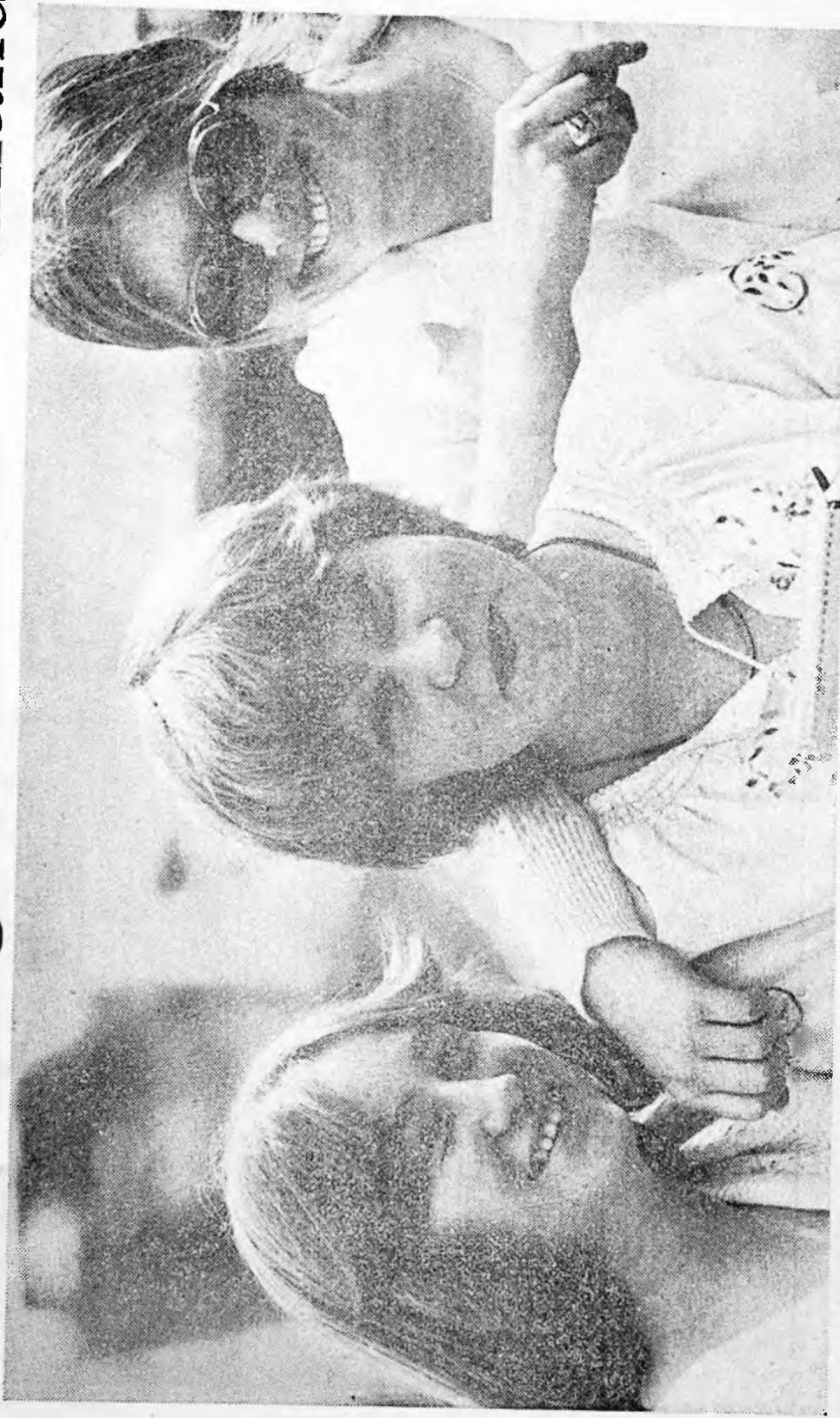
The purpose of the visit, arranged before the Falklands crisis began, was to strengthen the partnership links between Liverpool, Niagara and the Churches of the new Province of the Southern Cone.

Seven of the visitors were Argentinians. They had, they said, been warmly received, had felt very welcome and had not encountered any words of criticism about the Falklands conflict.

The report, taken away to be translated into English, will soon be circulated to all Liverpool parishes.

The Standard' 10/5/83

Take three girls from the Falklands



LONG-DISTANCE LESSONS: Alison Thom, left, Natalie McPhee and Shelley Livermore, who aim to advance the secretarial art in the Kingdom-Falkland Islands Trust, which hopes they will be the first of many such students.

by Julie Fairhead
THREE girls from the Falklands have come to London to be turned into super secretaries. They are on a £1000 course mastering the latest in office technology, including word processors and electronic memory typewriters, as well as learning shorthand. Shelley Livermore, 24, Natalie McPhee, 17, and Alison Thom, 18, have been sent to Britain by the

United Kingdom-Falkland Islands Trust, which hopes they will be the first of many such students. All the girls work for the Falkland Islands Government—Alison in the education department, Natalie in the secretariat and Shelley in the medical department. They are being taught the latest office techniques in a six-months course at the Pitman College in Southampton Row, which has recently undergone a £250,000 facelift.

The college's Miss Freda Hulse, who organised the trip, said: "The Falkland Government is considering providing them at least with electronic typewriters when they go back. Obviously they're not going to spend thousands of pounds on word processors but memory typewriters will certainly improve efficiency. Alison and Natalie have close relatives in Britain, but Shelley has not—and is particularly missing her six-year-old son Damien.

"He is being well cared for at home, but I'm longing to see him again," she said. "Unfortunately I can't speak to him on the phone, as he is on a west farm, and there is no link." But all the girls are looking forward to touring London, seeing the countryside—and finding some peace. Alison said: "It's much noisier at home, especially at night, when the Phantoms and Harriers are out on patrol."

Standard Picture: MIKE LAWN
the secretarial art in the

ARGENTINE EXOCET CLAIM

By MARY SPECK
in Buenos Aires

THE Argentine Armed Forces have successfully landed Exocet-carrying fighter planes on their Navy's aircraft carrier, a newspaper in Bahia Blanca reported yesterday.

Argentina now "possesses a great air Navy attack force surpassed in this part of the world only by the United States," said the columnist, Jorge Nunez Paladin, of the newspaper LA NUEVA PROVINCIA.

Paladin said the combination of the aircraft carrier 25 de Mayo and the Super Etendard jets was "without doubt" superior to Britain's Invincible-Sea Harrier combination because of the "superiority of conventional take-off aeroplanes to vertical take-off planes."

During the Falklands conflict last year jets carrying Exocet missiles had difficulty in reaching the British fleet from mainland bases, but managed to sink several ships.

Argentina's only aircraft carrier is based in Puerto Belgrano, near Bahia Blanca, about 400 miles from Buenos Aires.

MORE VULNERABLE Carrier disadvantage

OUR AIR CORRESPONDENT writes: British forces in the south Atlantic will be unperturbed by the report that Argentina's Navy is now able to operate Super Etendards, which were bought as replacements for carrier-borne Skyhawks, on the Argentine carrier.

When operated from the mainland, the Exocet-carrying Super Etendards could not be attacked on the ground. While sea operations will improve their range, they will become more vulnerable to attack.

If the Argentine carrier should make one hostile move, she could be attacked and sunk at sea by submarines or from the air by Harpoon anti-ship missiles carried by R A F Nimrods.

'Guardian' 10/5/83

£4m for Hong Kong students

By our Education Correspondent

A joint fund of up to £4 million is to be provided by the British and Hong Kong governments to help Hong Kong students studying in Britain to pay their fees.

The scheme, still subject to the approval of the finance committee of the Legislative Council in Hong Kong, is planned to be introduced in the next academic year.

A Hong Kong government

spokesman said yesterday that Britain had agreed to provide up to £1.9 million. The Hong Kong government would match this, and the commitment for the following two years would be reviewed in the light of costs in the first year.

If the fund proves too small to meet demand, students will receive part of the subsidy in grant and the rest as a loan. About 1,000 students on first degree and equivalent courses are expected to benefit from

the subsidy, which will be means-tested.

Hong Kong had pressed Britain for help when the British Government introduced full cost fees for overseas students three years ago.

Numbers of students from Hong Kong studying in Britain have dropped considerably since then. Applications dropped by 40 per cent when the full-cost fees were introduced and students switched to cheaper American universities.

AT LAST an allegation about the Falklands campaign which has even Tam Dalyell thinking twice. It concerns an extraordinary rumour circulating on the Tory side of the fast-dissolving Commons about events just a year ago, after the Sheffield was sunk.

"What do we do if we lose a major asset?" asked a chief of staff referring, in their native patois, to Invincible, Hermes or Canberra.

"We need to know that we can withdraw in good order." Back from the War Cabinet ("We do not know the meaning of the word 'defeat'") came (so the rumour goes) the order that a Polaris sub should be sent south of Ascension Island. If the worst came to the worst it should be ready to nuke Cordoba — the Aldershot of the South Atlantic.

Pure fantasy and quite untrue, so most MPs agree. Even Tam, the most assiduous of war critics, is cautious. He dropped a hint about nuclear subs in yesterday's energy question time, but it was all too conscious that people might be out to set him up. As a compromise he penned a piece for this week's Tribune floating the rumour, but prefacing it with cautionary tales of black propaganda. Meanwhile, he continues to press for a Dardanelles-style inquiry into the sinking of the Belgrano which, the theory goes, not only sank the Peruvian peace plan, but sank the peace candidate for No. 10 if a settlement was reached, Mr Pym.

Alan Rusbridger

Security v freedom to report: the debate reopens

TUES 10 MAY 83

A Falkland factor Israel has taken to heart

Jerusalem

David Kimche, director general of Israel's Foreign Ministry: "My attitude towards Britain's handling of media coverage of the Falklands campaign was one of envy that they could get away with it".

Anonymous naval commander with the Falklands task force speaking to Michael Nicholson of ITN: "If I had my way, we would tell people nothing until the war is over. After that, we would tell them who won".

Last year's bloody war in Lebanon, the sixth Arab-Israeli confrontation, and Britain's battle against Argentina in the South Atlantic had little in common apart from the fact that months after the dust of battle has settled, the role of television and the press in both conflicts is still the subject of fierce controversy.

While the Israelis feel bitterly that distorted TV coverage of their invasion of Lebanon and subsequent siege of West Beirut has done, in the words of Dr Kimche, "irreparable damage to the country", British and international journalists are still fuming at the way reporting of the Falklands war was manipulated and restricted by the government.

If it were just another case of hurt journalistic pride over the Falklands, or another example of Israeli paranoia about external criticism of the Lebanese invasion, the issues would be of only limited interest to the world at large. But there are strong indications that the experience of the two main wars of 1982 may yet set a precedent for the way in which the media is treated, and behaves, in future conflicts in Europe, the Middle East and further afield. In Israel, there is unstinted official admiration for the way in which the Thatcher government severely limited access to the fighting, yet won a generally favourable world press for its efforts on the battlefield.

The twin issues were subjected to joint scrutiny last week when journalists and academics from 22 countries gathered in the neutral surroundings of the Jerusalem Hilton to take part in the first "international workshop on the media in wars and their aftermaths", with specific reference to the fighting in the Falklands, Lebanon and Vietnam.

The jealousy of the Israelis towards Britain (hedged with frequent tut-tutting references that to have such limitations on the



Above, the aftermath of an Israeli air attack on Lebanon - the kind of picture that many Israeli officials would like to suppress. Below, one of the few Falklands pictures that British service chiefs were happy to see published - the Argentine surrender



"freedom of expression" would not be permitted in Israel) was demonstrated in a forceful video presentation compiled by Mr Ya'acov Levy, a senior member of the propaganda arm of the Foreign Ministry.

Mr Levy had acquired film on the surrender of Port Stanley and on the Israeli armoured push northwards to Beirut made within a few weeks of each other by the same reporter, Tom Fenton of America's CBS network. Shown back to back, they reinforced Israel's repeated claim that it was hard done by.

Because of the deliberate prohibition on live film from the South Atlantic, much of the Falklands report consisted of animated graphics and references to the "cour-

age" and "precision" of the British attack: the only film showed Argentine prisoners being tended solicitously by their British captors. By contrast, the film of Lebanon - all shot on the spot by courageous CBS cameramen - portrayed bewildered civilians, blindfolded Palestinian prisoners huddled pathetically in the blazing heat and spoke of the Israeli Army leaving behind "a trail of death and destruction".

Dr Kimche, a former Mossad agent, spoke passionately of the alleged distortion of the TV coverage of the Lebanon war. He saw three main causes: the professional need for "action shots", the political bias of many of those working for international TV companies, and a fear of Palestinian

reprisals against colleagues then based in besieged Beirut.

Dr Kimche disclosed - to the obvious concern of the Israeli-based correspondents present - that the Israeli Government was now asking itself "some very painful questions", primarily whether Israel should in future try to limit "this damage and act like the British in the Falklands, by shutting the place off to journalists and saying: 'To hell with democratic values'".

The enormous imbalance between the comparatively mild restrictions imposed by the Israelis on reporting the war in Lebanon and those enforced by the British was backed up by the personal experiences of the senior journalists present.

Michael Nicholson, the award-winning ITN reporter, spoke eloquently about how his Ministry of Defence "minder" had informed him pointedly that it was his task to do a "1940 propaganda job" and of the hostility displayed towards British reporters travelling with the task force once it became clear they were prepared to report the bad as well as the good news.

He explained that it was a deliberate attempt by the British authorities to muzzle news film rather than the daunting technical difficulties which had meant that some of his despatches had taken longer to reach London than the 20-day time gap between Russell filing his account of the charge of the Light Brigade and its reaching *The Times*.

All of this was apparently sweet music to the ears of Israeli officials. It reminded me painfully of the way in which Britain's attitude towards press coverage of the Falklands war has effectively castrated any protest a British war correspondent may make about his or her treatment at the hands of a foreign government. When I complained last June to an Israeli major about the complete lack of access to the front line, he merely laughed and remarked - with some justification: "Just how near do you think Mrs Thatcher would have let an Israeli reporter get to the fighting in the Falklands?"

Christopher Walker

Catholic Herald 6/5/83

Liverpool bishops meet in Peru

ARCHBISHOP Derek Worlock of Liverpool is due to hear what effect the Falklands conflict has had on Anglicans in Argentina when he meets his counterpart Dr David Sheppard, the Anglican Bishop of Liverpool, this week.

The two church leaders will not be meeting on home ground but in Lima, Peru. Dr Sheppard has just been to Argentina to inaugurate a new Anglican province of the Southern Cone of South America. While he was in Buenos Aires tension was high and death threats were made against British nationals, after the refusal to allow relatives of Argentine war dead to visit graves on the Falklands.

Archbishop Worlock is on a three-week tour of Latin America to visit six priests from Liverpool who are working as missionaries.

Archbishop Worlock paid tribute to the Pope's reconciliation attempts during his visit to Britain a year ago during the Falklands War. He was speaking to the Friends of the Holy Father at their Annual General Meeting, before his departure.

• The Vatican's semi-official newspaper, the *Osservatore Romano* has said the Argentine government's ruling that thousands of people who disappeared in the 1970s are dead raises a "severe objection which surges from the human conscience."



Roy HATTERSLEY

"The Sun set even insensitive teeth on edge with its reference to 'Argies'."

Funeral March

Of course, the pictures told the best story and the moving pictures told the most moving story of all—men openly weeping, women trying to hold back their tears and, most poignant of all, calm children who will not understand for another ten years where their fathers have gone or why (when they were barely more than babes-in-arms) they were taken to a desolate cluster of islands in the South Atlantic. I suspect that for almost a full week the whole nation watched television news and looked at the pictures in its morning papers with an intensity of feeling that neither *News at Ten* nor the *Daily Telegraph* usually engenders. The only possible argument concerned which emotion was most appropriate.

The Sun inevitably plumped for pride. So did the *Mail on Sunday*; "Pride in the men who paid the ultimate sacrifice for the sake of freedom." But not a single article tried to pretend that the glory out-weighed the grief. In the *Sunday Express*, John Beattie's simple account of the relatives' arrival at San Carlos eschewed the hurrahs of Empire until almost the last paragraph. When the reporters stuck to description, the stories reflected the courage and dignity of the mourners. *The Sun* set even insensitive teeth on edge with its reference to "Argies" and its characteristically crass by-line: "Sun girl joins pilgrimage." But "Philippa Kennedy, the wife of a Para major" had only to write "from the cemetery in San Carlos" that "all thirty residents turned up" at the memorial service to convey the feeling of gratitude which the islanders have towards the men who died.

Of course, Mrs Sara Jones, wife of the Commanding Officer of the Parachute Regiment's Second Battalion (Sara to *The Sun*), was the focus of most attention. But Mrs Jones possesses a serene facility to

retain her dignity despite every assault on it by the popular Press. What *The Times* called a "sad pilgrimage" was her idea and she demanded the right to visit the Falklands in the classical language of catharsis—an opportunity to find the comfort that comes from a formal ending and the peace which follows the acceptance of death. That hope was the principal purpose of the visit. It was best served by those journalists who abandoned purple prose and just described what they saw and heard.

It was not a proper occasion for Rupert Brooke derivatives. For Brooke was the most romantic, and therefore the worst, of the First World War poets. Nobody in his right mind believes that dying brings young men dearer gifts than gold. So, for my part, I could have done without Philippa Kennedy's "very British corner of a far-flung field". In *The Times* Alan Hamilton built in the allusion even more clumsily. "Few foreign fields forever England are so far from home." At least no one sank to the poetic depths which Peter McKay plumbed in the *Daily Express* during the actual campaign. He quoted extensively from Wilfred Owen's *Anthem for Doomed Youth* as if it was a call to arms, not condemnation of war.

But Alan Hamilton's "gem-clear water of San Carlos" and his "frowning hills" which "doffed their caps of mist" was exactly the sort of language which should not be used for occasions which are intrinsically noble. A "Staff Reporter" in the same newspaper five days earlier had the good sense to let the events and the participants tell their own story. "We will never get over it, never in our lives. He was a wonderful, hard-working, cheerful fellow." is a heroically prosaic tribute. There is nothing that needs to be added to one sentence in John Beattie's *Sunday Express* despatch. "Private Mark Holman-Smith was just 19 years old when he died."

Mrs Margaret Thatcher's public relations people did, however, think that a few footnotes were needed. The Chief of the Defence Staff, Field-Marshal Sir Edwin Bramall, was flown out with a message for the mourners from the Prime Minister. And as the families approached San Carlos Water, television newscasters dutifully reported a piece of information passed on to them by sources close to Number 10 Downing Street. The blackened hulk of Sir Galahad,

Punch (contd) 20/5/83

► Roy HATTERSLEY

in which so many Welsh Guardsmen died, had been removed from painful sight on the express orders of Mrs Thatcher herself. To the enormous credit of our national newspapers, they made very little reference to either intrusion.

Why indeed should anyone choose to repeat information provided by the Downing Street press office when there were so many better things to write? I offer only one example: Patrick Watts of the *Daily Telegraph*.

Twenty-month-old Jonathan Sweet, who will one day know that his Welsh Guardsman father ... lost his life at Fitzroy ... held the hand of his German-born mother Eve Marie. She clasped hands with her Welsh mother-in-law, who in turn clung to her husband ... After a while the lure of the Marine band drummer's kit proved too much for little Jonathan. He climbed onto the drummers' stool and banged away ... His grandfather moved to stop him—but then checked. For the first time the hope of the living re-asserted itself on a day devoted to the memory of the dead. It was not, of course, an occasion for the reporting of dissenting opinions, not least because amongst the five hundred mourners there was a desperate and understandable determination to believe that *The Sun* was right to assert that "They did NOT die in vain." But Mr Watts did his duty by the truth and quoted "23-year-old Debbie Price from Portsmouth", describing her (some people will think irrelevantly) as "an avowed supporter of CND". She was also the sister of a man who lost his life on the Atlantic Conveyor. She was "angry".

It was, as I said, an occasion which engendered an unusual intensity of feeling. In the end there was still the question of which emotion was most appropriate. ☪

ADRIAN

You may be interested to see that Geoffrey Jackson reviews South American books for the 'Catholic Herald'. I don't think the reviews themselves are of any great interest.

Lynda
9/5/83

THREE quite different Latin American novels all at once are manna from above for one who knows and loves the marvellous sub-continent, its people, and its literature, so long under-rated here. Admittedly one of the three, John Hopkins' *The Flight Of The Pelican*, is written in English by an anglicized American, yet with a regional authenticity worthy of Paul Theroux's *Mosquito Coast*.

The other two, Mario Vargas Llosa's *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter* and Ciro Alegria's *Broad and Alien is the World*, are translations, and admirable ones too. Yet once having read Vargas in the original Spanish — e.g. his earlier masterpiece *The City and the Dogs* — translation comes as a barrier, however tenuous. A pity, for Vargas's Spanish merits a translation up to the standard achieved for the great Colombian novelist Garcia Marquez. A "weirdo" of genius, Garcia can give conviction to total grotesques even in translation.

Vargas's characters are only intermittently grotesque, as and when his distorting mirror of the Peruvian bourgeoisie chooses so to capture them. The realism of their urban setting self-evidently draws on autobiography, though the characters themselves, off-beat and often indeed grotesque, are

revulsion soon transformed into a consuming adolescent passion, rather touchingly conveyed behind a studied mutual casualness. A long and gladiatorial courtship leads, despite the age-gap of a dozen years, to a runaway and highly uncanonical marriage, surprisingly successful for a few years till summarily disposed of in a brief closing chapter; so too is the bride, turned in for a later model and heard of no more.

The "scriptwriter" of the title is another predestined cast-off, a true grotesque harnessing a splendid voice and monstrous imaginative force to endless radio soap-opera, in which his dwarfish person is no impediment till television comes to spoil his market. He and an array of lesser grotesques surface, vanish and reappear in a tapestry of separate episodes blending to make the chapters of a single novel. The one constant of the story is the city itself, Lima and its society, both crumbling, disorientated, shifting. Vargas portrays them with love and exasperation.

Not quite a revolutionary, he must surely be equally obnoxious to Latin American extremism of both right and left. For this placid impartiality I can only marvel at him, as too for his humour, compassion and brilliantly evocative writing. Less so however for an

Conversely they form the whole of Alegria's book, and are increasingly a cult theme both in Spanish and English. *Broad and Alien is the World*, now republished in extended form, was written over forty years ago, and Alegria, who died in 1967, was a pioneer in this Amerindian genre.

Social injustices virtually equating with genocide were not then a fashionable theme, so Alegria had to write his version of them in exile. Racism, anachronistic land-tenure systems, political brutality — the past failures and present fumbblings of the churches — all these merge into the unacceptable face of economic development. This book foreshadows much that is happening up and down Latin America today. It also presents an honest if by now somewhat stylized picture of a great continent and its largely oppressed indigenous masses, also a painfully authentic gloss on the new approach there of, for example, our own Benedictines.

John Hopkins' *The Flight of the Pelican* is a very different cup of tea, not Andean but tropical, not Amerindian but Afro-American. Its shiftless New England hero stubbornly tracks down his errant father after twenty five lost years, gone classically native and literally shackled up with a statuesque and sinister black lady in the swamps behind Puerto Guzano — "Grub Harbour".

Books

Manna from the Andes and tropics

Aunt Julia And the Scriptwriter by Mario Vargas Llosa (Faber £7.95)

Broad And Alien Is The World by Ciro Alegria (Merlin £4.80)

The Flight Of The Pelican by John Hopkins (Chatto & Windus £8.50).

THREE quite different Latin American novels all at once are manna from above for one who knows and loves the marvellous sub-continent, its people, and its literature, so long under-rated here. Admittedly one of the three, John Hopkins' *The Flight Of The Pelican*, is written in English by an anglicized American, yet with a regional authenticity worthy of Paul Theroux's *Mosquito Coast*.

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Vargas's characters are only intermittently grotesque, as and when his distorting mirror of the Peruvian bourgeoisie chooses so to capture them. The realism of their urban setting self-evidently draws on autobiography, though the characters themselves, off-beat and often indeed grotesque, are

presumably composites, drawn equally from memory and imagination. The narrator too — Marito, occasionally Varguitas — speaks with the author's name.

Aunt Julia, an aunt-by-marriage of *louche* antecedents, inspires in him an initial revulsion soon transformed into a consuming adolescent passion, rather touchingly conveyed behind a studied mutual casualness. A long and gladiatorial courtship leads, despite the age-gap of a dozen years, to a runaway and highly uncanonical marriage, surprisingly successful for a few years till summarily disposed of in a brief closing chapter; so too is the bride, turned in for a later model and heard of no more.

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undertone of amiable despair, surely not the sole true voice of a city which gives us Saints Rose of Lima and Martin de Porres, plus that genius of hilarity, their compatriot Michael Bentine.

The Indians of the High Andes appear barely peripherally in Vargas's novel. Conversely they form the whole of Alegria's book, and are increasingly a cult theme both in Spanish and English. *Broad and Alien is the World*, now republished in extended form, was written over forty years ago, and Alegria, who died in 1967, was a pioneer in this Amerindian genre.

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C. Herald / contd.
6/5/83

Such shanty-ports stagnate in creeks and estuaries all over Latin America. Its wildlife and its night-life, its vermin, human and animal, pullulate in nightmarish squalor, and most of its population are freaks or cripples, physical or emotional. Yet this saga of filial love-hate is by no means a heartless tale, and indeed at times is very funny.

Hopkins' "Puerto Guzano" is a company-town, one of those horrors which have passed like a three-dimensional filthy picture from one multinational to another, from the hands of the Banana Company to those of the Oil Company. More than a stereotype, it tells us little about South America, but much about North America. Only at one dire moment does its anti-hero humanize into imploring a companion to "say a prayer for me". To which one can only add "Amen".

Geoffrey Jackson

LETTERS

Palestinian refugees

SIR—All those concerned at the plight of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon will agree with your emphasis on the continued fear and insecurity felt by the refugees (April 16th). There is another important point.

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are the only group among the world's refugees who cannot benefit from the body of international law which derives from the 1950 Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This statute and the later convention and protocol specifically exclude Palestinians in the Middle East who are being assisted by Unrwa. However, Unrwa itself is mandated only to provide material assistance and not protection.

Recently the British Refugee Council expressed grave concern to the UN secretary-general that Palestinian refugees are denied such protection. We would urge UN member governments to ensure that this situation is remedied as rapidly as possible.

MARTIN BARBER
London British Refugee Council

The Falklands forces

SIR—Mr Bill Luxton, writing from the privileged position of a Falklands executive councillor and from the security of his own unspoiled station on West Falk-

land as a sheepowner, refutes your report that Britain's superb armed forces are "making life miserable" for the islanders (Letters, April 23rd).

Britain's armed forces are indeed incomparable in the role they have played in the Falklands, but it is an unenviable role thrust upon them by political ineptitude on all sides.

They are trying to defend islands which had a crumbling infrastructure and knife-edged economy, which has in no way been improved over the past year. Only one family has emigrated to the islands of the 3,000 reported as wishing to do so, and the Falkland Islands government has no clear idea of how to deal with such arrivals. Undisturbed societies of 150 years' standing take very hardly to unprecedented disturbances.

For a majority of islanders "the military" has become a pejorative term. The twice-weekly deliveries of mutton in Stanley ceased after generations because the abattoir had been condemned by the military. The children's age-old tradition of sledging down the superb sledge runs formed by Stanley's streets was stopped by the military as being dangerous. The much publicised fish-and-chip van (with one still to come) can only be regularly patronised by the military because they have a spending power far and above that of Falkland islanders. Even church life is affected. The governor has become a "civil commissioner" because, of course, there is a military commissioner, too.

Doubtless the authorities are well aware of all this—but the problems do exist and the feelings of some islanders must inevitably be ambivalent as a result.

GERALD SMITH
Chaplain, Falkland Islands, 1975-1979
Halifax

SIR—On June 19th last year, in an editorial entitled "At the end of the day", you argued that the Falklands war might serve as a "sort of cultural revolution" to the "younger generation". The difference between post- and pre-Falklands heroes you summed up as follows: "Colonel 'H' Jones, killed; General Jeremy Moore, alive, both men a bit more handsome and heroic than Mr David Bowie."

This week in the charts the

aforsaid Mr David Bowie has the best-selling single record in Britain and the best-selling long-playing record. You must feel very disappointed.

London IAN H. BIRCHALL

America's election

SIR—As an elected official long involved in the Democratic party's presidential selection process, I would like to mention a reform to shorten the length of presidential campaigns (April 2nd).

The procedure for selecting the delegates to the four-yearly Democratic national convention should be established on the basis of six regional elections, spaced at three-week intervals from February to June of the election year. The Democratic party in each state could decide whether to select delegates by primary or caucus, thus maintaining local control over an important facet of the process.

Regional primaries would help eliminate the chaotic peregrinations of candidates whose campaign stops are now too often staged solely for the media. By staying in a region for an extended period of time addressing issues and concerns of a constituency of several states, political debate would be more focused and detailed, more substantive and two-way. Voters would be given more of an opportunity to view presidential aspirants at a number of political occasions, perhaps even see them personally, rather than through a 30-second condensed version on the national news or a few paragraphs in the papers. This system would benefit both those seeking votes and those casting them by making candidates more accountable for their positions, while at the same time giving the public a clearer picture of the individuals hoping to take up residence at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Boston, MICHAEL JOSEPH CONNOLLY
Massachusetts Secretary of State

Good old EEC hat

SIR—In your issue of April 16th you commented on a report about the future of the European community recently published by Chatham House and four other institutes of international affairs in different European countries. Whilst showing some interest in the sections dealing with security problems, you dismissed the chapters on economic and social matters as "old hat".

As one of the authors of this

report, may I say that I think you are right. Necessarily right, I would say. All current questions of economic and social policy are old hat. But if one forgets to take care of one's old hat and if no magic new hat is available, one goes without cover and gets wet. If one wants to have a community with a common market, one must do what is necessary to make it function and to consolidate it, whether that is boring or not. There is not much scope for inventing a non-round wheel.

In picking out the report's proposals for a durable solution of the vexed problem of the British budget contribution as the only item in the economic section which interests you, you seem to accept the sad level to which the European debate has been reduced. I am amazed that your paper has nothing to say, for example, about the British position vis-à-vis the European Monetary System or about other points on which the United Kingdom could contribute to a better functioning of the community it is part of.

The Hague,
Netherlands EDMUND WELLENSTEIN

Gandhi

SIR—Your India correspondent states that the film "Gandhi" is only "a modest commercial success" in India (April 23rd). The reverse is true. Over 10m people have already bought a ticket to see the film. Furthermore, as we are following a regional pattern of distribution, we still have more than one half of the total market to exploit.

Box-office successes run for long periods of time. The initial public showing of "Gandhi" took place in Bombay, where in its 15th week the film is running to full houses. By now the previous all-time hit from the west has been outgrossed several times over.

DANIELE BEVILACQUA
Bombay Columbia Pictures

Turbans to daggers

SIR—I would like to compliment you on your article (April 19th) but point out a few inaccuracies. Among the Sikhs there are no castes; the Jats are those of farming background. The demand for Khalistan is supported not only by Sant Bhindranwale but by a growing number of professional men. This demand is partially due to discrimination against Sikhs within the Punjab.

You correctly point out that Mrs Indira Gandhi is bending

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'Guardian' 9/5/83

PM may escape Falklands upset

By Richard Norton Taylor

Mrs Thatcher is likely to avoid the embarrassment of the publication of two all party Commons reports on the Falklands if she decides to call an election next month.

The Commons Defence Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee are drawing up two separate reports on the future of the islands. Despite some differences of view among the MPs involved, both are expected to remind the Government that it cannot hold to its present policy for long.

Both reports were due to

have been published this month.

Conservative members of the committees, who are only too well aware that the reports could provide an initiative for the Government's critics, are in no hurry to publish them.

The Prime Minister made it clear during an interview on the BBC's World This Weekend programme yesterday that she is loth to discuss the future of the Falklands. She again insisted that sovereignty over the islands was not negotiable.

However, while the majority of the Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee acknowledge that there is no alternative to a policy of Fortress Falklands for the immediate future, they believe that it is not a valid policy in the medium, let alone the long term.

Their report is certain to recommend to the Government that it must consider alternative solutions, including negotiations with Argentina in the framework of the United Nations.

The Commons Defence Committee meanwhile, is far from happy about the costs involved in defending the Falklands.

Guardian 9/5/83

Chile in financial rescue meeting

By Peter Rodgers, Financial Correspondent

Chile is to meet its bankers today in London to discuss the rescue operation now under way for the country's finances.

This is expected to include a bridging loan of up to \$500 million, half from commercial bankers and the rest from the United States Government: \$1.3 billion in additional medium-term bank loans; \$200 million in restoration of short-term loans to Chilean banks, and a \$600 million IMF loan.

Meanwhile, in New York today Brazil's bankers mount a crucial meeting to discuss progress in reinstating a so far failed part of a financial package agreed earlier this year, the restoration of interbank credit lines.

The Chilean Finance Minister, Mr Carlos Caceres, will see 150 bankers from more than 100 banks in London to brief them on Chilean developments.

Mr Caceres is likely to be pressed on Chile's provisions for renegotiating private sector debts, which have led to assurances that the State will guarantee private bank debt, though it has drawn the line at a state guarantee of private corporate debt.

The US authorities have indicated that they will give \$194 million in trade guarantees this year, and the IMF has agreed the loan package, subject to the commercial banks coming to an arrangement with Chile.

A telex from the IMF managing director, Mr Jacques de Larosiere, asked for written answers by June 15. The assurances about treatment of private debt are critical to commercial banks' decisions to make new medium-term loans.

Mr Caceres is expected to discuss projections of a \$3.8 billion capital outflow from Chile this year, together with a \$1.3 billion trade deficit, making a total of \$5.1 billion. With an inflow of \$3.8 billion, including the IMF funds, a restoration of short-term bank loans and trade debts, plus some minor direct investment, the country will still be \$1.3 billion short, and this will have to come in the shape of new loans.

The meeting in London, where Midnad Bank takes the lead role for Britain in Chilean negotiations, is not expected to take decisions, but instead will give the Chileans an opportunity to persuade the wider group of creditors to go along with the plans hammered out with the advisory committee.

Brazil's New York meeting will tackle the problem of restoring short-term loans from private banks to \$7.5 billion, the total agreed in the rescue deal. So far it has fallen \$1.5 billion short, threatening the whole rescue, mainly because smaller banks — particularly in the US — have backed out.

A meeting last month in London agreed to try and encourage banks to come into line, but this has produced little result.

'D. Telegraph

Monday

9/5/83

ARGENTINE ATOM BOMB 'UNLIKELY'

By Our Washington Staff

Press reports that Argentina is preparing to explode a nuclear device as a warning to Britain and to Argentina's neighbours were described by officials in Washington last night as "exceedingly unlikely."

According to recent intelligence assessments in Washington, Argentina is believed to be still a few years off producing enough plutonium for a bomb.

D. Telegraph 9/5/83



Cpl Ian Bailey, of the 3rd Para, wearing the Military Medal he won in the Falklands when he married Miss Tracy Bumstead, a cashier, in Winchester at the weekend. Cpl Bailey was wounded while fighting alongside Sgt Ian McKay, who was awarded the VC posthumously.

'Times' 9/5/83

US fears Argentina will test nuclear device to impress neighbours

From Nicholas Ashford, Washington

There is growing concern in Washington that the military junta in Buenos Aires is pressing ahead with plans to explode a nuclear device as a political gesture which would be both a warning to Britain over the Falkland Islands as well as a demonstration to the world (and in particular its immediate neighbours) of Argentina's military potential.

American officials, diplomats and independent analysts are almost unanimous in their belief that Argentina has the technological ability to produce such a device. Argentina is the Latin American leader in nuclear technology and one of the most advanced countries in the Third World in nuclear power development.

They disagree, however, on how soon this could take place. Some believe it could happen before the elections in Argentina this October. Others, however, maintain that Argentina's lack of the necessary nuclear weapons-grade materials - in this case plutonium - mean that a nuclear detonation is still a year or two away.

Although Argentina has consistently disclaimed its intention to acquire nuclear weapons it has also refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty

and has yet to ratify the nuclear-free zone treaty for Latin America (known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco) which contains a no-nuclear weapons pledge.

Argentina also asserts its rights to develop "peaceful" nuclear explosives which, from an American point of view, are virtually the same as nuclear weapons.

According to Mr Larry Burns, a Latin American specialist and director of the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs, the junta is pressing for a nuclear explosion before the October elections. "They want to do this for political reasons before they hand over to the civilians", he said.

An explosion would not only help to restore the prestige of the military after their disastrous performance during the Falklands War but would, he added, serve as a "warning shot" to the British to resume negotiations over the disputed islands.

It would also serve notice on Argentina's rivals - notably Brazil (a nuclear competitor) and Chile (with which it has a border dispute) - that the setback caused by its defeat over the Falklands is only temporary.

Mr Burns cites as evidence of Argentina's nuclear intentions the high priority which the junta continues to give to the country's nuclear power programme despite the huge cost of the Falklands conflict.

He also points to a recent statement by Admiral Castro Madero, head of Argentina's National Atomic Energy Agency, and the only naval officer to retain a senior post after the Navy resigned from the junta after the conflict last summer.

Asked about Argentina's capacity to make weapons, he replied: "We have the nuclear science and technology... its application is a political decision."

This assessment of Argentina's nuclear capability has been confirmed by a recent report by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, which stated that it could probably test a nuclear explosive by the mid-1980s although it is unlikely to have a nuclear arsenal until the 1990s.

US officials maintain that they see no cause for alarm about nuclear developments in Argentina. "No one is ringing alarm bells here at the moment", one said. However the US continues to be concerned about Argentina's refusal to sign the non-proliferation treaty, which is taken as a sign that Argentina wants to leave itself the option of developing nuclear weapons later.

It is also possible that some weapons-grade material may have been diverted from the Atucha reactor without IAEA detection.

Whether Argentina eventually goes ahead with a nuclear explosion will depend on the political will of the present or future government in Buenos Aires. In reaching such a decision the Government will have to decide between the effect such a blast would have on national pride and the impact it would have on its relations with the US and Latin America.

One thing is certain: If Argentina explodes a nuclear device, Brazil will redouble its efforts to do the same and Latin America will be heading towards a nuclear arms race.

'Times' 9/5/83

Relatives return chanting anti-British slogans

Buenos Aires (Reuter)-A ship carrying about 50 relatives of Argentine servicemen killed in the Falklands conflict with Britain has returned here after a week-long trip to the South Atlantic.

About 200 people waving Argentine flags chanted anti-British slogans as the 8,000-ton converted cargo ship Lago Lacar docked on Saturday.

Señor Osvaldo Destefanis, who organized the trip, told a press conference on board the ship that it had been a success, despite its failure to reach the Falklands for a visit to war graves.

The visit was banned by Britain. Shortly before the ship sailed last Saturday, the Argentine Government announced it was diverting it to

an official remembrance ceremony off the southern coast of Argentina.

Señor Ramon Pizarro, father of an Argentine paratrooper killed in the 10-week conflict last year, said the relatives would try again to reach the islands.

"We'll keep trying all our lives. It is very expensive to charter a ship and we are all poor, but we shall keep trying."

⊗ Amnesty plan: The Government plans to grant an amnesty to members of the security forces for crimes committed during anti-guerrilla operations in the 1970s, a government newspaper said. Some ex-guerrillas would also benefit.



Corporal Ian Bailey and Miss Tracy Bumstead, who were married on Saturday. Corporal Bailey was shot alongside Sergeant Ian McKay, VC, on Mount Longdon in the final days of the Falklands fighting.

After the wedding Mrs Bailey, said she had once thought she would never see her fiancé alive again.

Corporal Bailey was seriously wounded minutes before Sergeant McKay, of the 3rd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment, died taking an Argentine trench single-handed.

Bullets went through his hip, hand and neck and he was put on the critical list.

Corporal Bailey, aged 23, wore the Military Medal he was awarded for his valour on June 11 last, with campaign medals for the South Atlantic and Northern Ireland.

Best man at the ceremony at St John's Church, Winchester, was Corporal Graham Heaton, who lost a leg in the same action. Colour Sergeant Brian Faulkner, who was mentioned in dispatches for his part in the battle, was among the guests.

'Times' 9 May 1983



Celtic vigil: Relatives of 39 Welsh guardsmen who died in the Falklands conflict were invited at the weekend to visit this memorial, a Celtic Cross mounted on a plinth at Gelli Quarry, near Gelligaer, Glamorgan, where Mr Des Wilkins, a stonemason, is seen completing his work. The memorial will be sent out to be erected at Fitzroy Cove, where the troopship Sir Galahad was attacked
(Photograph: Chris Gregory)

Death-squad secrets revealed

ARGENTINA

Isabel Hilton interviews an ex-policeman who saw the terror in action

A FORMER member of Argentina's police force, which is widely blamed for the disappearance of between 10,000 and 30,000 people, emerged from hiding last week to disclose to The Sunday Times details of his government's programme in the Seventies to "physically eliminate unpatriotic subversives".

Roberto Pelegrino Fernandez, 32, agreed to see me in Madrid in a week that has seen vigorous protests from the Vatican and the Italian and Spanish governments against the Argentine junta's failure to produce an adequate report on the fate of the "disappeared ones".

He is the first member of Argentina's security forces with detailed knowledge of the torture and repression during the so-called "dirty war" of the Seventies to denounce publicly the military dictatorship.

According to Fernandez, a former bodyguard to General Harguindeguy, the interior minister, the small terror squads formed within the police force eventually became part of the deadly Triple A - the Argentine Anti-communist Alliance.

The theory of the repression, says Fernandez, was devised by a group of leading generals. They included Viola and Videla, both later to become presidents, and Luciano Menendez, uncle of the commander in the Falklands campaign.

The armed forces declared that a state of war existed against an internal enemy, and that that enemy had to be eliminated in the interests of national security. The doctrine was approved by the entire high command.

Fernandez began to understand the nature of the battle plan at a series of meetings of military officers in April 1976. General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri was among those present. "They defined who was subversive, and in practice it could simply be anyone who did not subscribe to their ideas of God, family and fatherland. At the same time, they planned a generalised terror for the whole population in order to eliminate support for the guerrillas."

The repression, Fernandez says, involved all three armed forces, the police force, and SIDE the state intelligence service. Four task forces were

organised and reported directly to the military high command. "The high command knew exactly who was being eliminated. Every day, SIDE produced a report about five pages long marked 'Strictly secret and confidential' which went to senior officers, to the secretaries of state, the president, the ministry of the interior. It was one of my duties to take the envelope containing this report to the minister. The report described the operations carried out, the place of detention, the task force involved, and so on. On the outside of the report was the instruction, Destroy after reading."

According to Fernandez, there were more than 60 secret detention camps and torture centres where the "disappeared" were taken. "One was built to house pregnant women and women who had just given birth. From there, the newborn babies were taken away by a subcommissionaire, Walter Acosta, and I don't know what happened to them." The mothers have never been seen again.

"There were three incidents which convinced me that I couldn't go on in the police," he says. "The first was the kidnapping of Lucia Cullen." On June 22, 1976, the interior ministry received an anonymous telephone call informing it that in the tiolet of the Blason coffeeshop in Buenos Aires they would find a note with details of "someone connected to a subversive organisation". They went to the coffeeshop and found the name Lucia Cullen.

Fernandez describes the raid on her house that followed: "I arrived at the house after midnight, and saw them taking away a young woman of about 25. I was told to go and inform the minister of the interior where she was being taken, and as I was leaving, I saw the sergeant loading a television set and other things into a private car - presumably the property of the victim."

Much later that night, Fernandez says, he was ordered to accompany his superior officer to one of the secret prisons. "In one building, an ordinary chalet, we were taken down to the basement. The entrance was down some wooden steps under a trap-door covered by a rug. In the basement, there was a bed with no mattress, and I saw Lucia Cullen tied to it hand and foot, completely naked. Two police officers were torturing her with the electric prod. She was completely destroyed."

The prisoners, Fernandez learnt, were eventually given a lethal injection and cremated in

a nearby crematorium. Lucia Cullen was never seen again, nor was a journalist friend of hers, Ernesto Fossati, who tried to discover what had happened to her.

"Apart from the horror of what had happened," Fernandez says, "the whole thing was riddled with corruption. People got rich on the things they stole from the victims' houses. They also began to kidnap people, particularly rich Jews, for ransom."

The other two cases which

decided Fernandez to leave were the disappearance of a lawyer who had taught him in secondary school, and the death supposedly in a road accident of the bishop of La Rioja in August 1976. "I knew the lawyer, and I knew that he had never been subversive. He was a passionate democrat. When I asked about him, I was told not to ask questions. Two days after the bishop was killed, the papers he had been carrying on the day of his death turned up in the ministry of the interior."

Although the systematic kidnappings and torture became common knowledge, the names of those who took part were strictly guarded, first by a widespread use of aliases and more importantly by what Fernandez calls the "blood pact". "The blood pact was General Menendez's idea initially," he says. "The idea was that each one of the high command should personally take part in executions, so that they were all implicated and nobody would talk."

S. Times 8/5/83

Thousands parade through Buenos Aires demanding information about relatives who disappeared; on right, Roberto Fernandez, who is telling what happened



Sunday Times 8/5/83

I SHARE Dora Choi's concern (Letters, last week) about the status of the citizens of Hong Kong under the new Nationality Act, but have no doubt that the size of the problem will ensure that it receives plentiful publicity in Britain and will produce a strong parliamentary lobby before the expiry of the British lease in 1997.

But what of the unfortunate people of that infinitely smaller but thoroughly deserving dependent territory, St. Helena, who receive no publicity and have no real parliamentary lobby?

Here is a colony, peopled not with millions of potential immigrants to this country, but with a mere 5,500, whose case for full citizenship seems to me indisputable.

The Hong Kongers, whether native to the colony or fugitives from mainland China, are by and large Chinese by culture, language, ancestry and upbringing, and Hong Kong was unarguably a Chinese territory until the British acquired it in 1842.

St. Helena was unpopulated

LETTERS

200 GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON WC1X 8EZ

Don't deny that the Saints are British

until the East India Company peopled it in the 16th century first with British settlers, then with Malaysians, Chinese and Indians, together with Africans who were either sold into, or freed from, slavery there.

Last came the Boers, taken there as British prisoners, who chose to settle on the island after the Boer War.

Today the island (which I first visited 40 years ago) presents the perfect example of a multi-racial society at peace with itself. But the people regard themselves as unequivocally British and their language, culture, laws, upbringing and way of life are an obvious proof of this.

Furthermore, they are fervently patriotic, as they showed in the Falklands campaign. When their only regular ship on the UK run, the St. Helena, was requisitioned for Falklands duty, the Saints crew volunteered to go with her - and are still in fact in service there.

The Saints are proud of their record, over many years, of peaceful integration into British society. They have a special



tradition, being industrious and honest, of working in domestic service here.

Small wonder that they resent the way the rights and privileges bestowed on the island by the Royal Charter of 1673 have been eroded by successive Acts of Parliament to the point where their British passports are now virtually meaningless.

In fact, they have fewer rights than some of the ethnic minorities who, for purely family considerations, are

allowed to enter and work in this country.

Of course the future of the Hong Kongers will provide a massive headache for any British government, and the "floodgates" argument is a very real one. But the population of St. Helena is so small, and the numbers wishing to emigrate here are so minute, that it seems absurd to impose the floodgates argument upon this particular colony.

If justice is to be done, each dependent territory should be treated on its merits. Half the Falklanders, for instance, were already automatically entitled to British citizenship; in any case they were victims of brutal aggression.

As for Gibraltar, the issue of full citizenship will evaporate when Spain joins the Community and all its citizens, by virtue of the Treaty of Rome, will have the right to enter and work in this country, and vice versa.

Michael Croft
Director
National Youth Theatre
London NW1

'Observer' 8/5/83

Reunion for survivors

SURVIVORS of HMS Sheffield, the first British ship to be lost during the Falklands fighting, were reunited last night to mark the anniversary of its sinking. Twenty men died after the ship was hit by an Exocet missile.

Last night 500 people, including survivors, families and friends gathered at HMS Nelson, a shore base at Portsmouth, for the private reunion.

Among the few who were unable to attend was the commanding officer of the Sheffield, Captain Sam Salt, who is on his way to the Falklands on board his new ship, HMS Southampton.

'Standard' 6/5/83

'How the hard lessons of the Falklands have changed
'Now - a 5th Sth in the Admirals' locker'
Britain's defence thinking'

A YEAR ago this week the Falklands crisis suddenly turned into a war with the sinking of the Belgrano and the Sheffield.

The man who gave the orders that led to the subsequent victory, Admiral Sir John Fieldhouse, has since moved from his bunker in the suburb of Northwood to Whitehall, from where he controls the Royal Navy as First Sea Lord. Inevitably, therefore, he, his recent experience, and his ideas are having a profound effect upon British defence policy.

In recent weeks visitors have remarked to Fieldhouse that the Falklands victory was magnificent, but it was not the sort of war that could ever happen again.

He has replied that, a year ago, if he himself had even hinted that such a war might have to be fought he would have been laughed out of court. Out of this spectacular demonstration that, in planning defence, the unexpected is always to be expected has grown the doctrine of The Fifth Pillar.

A year ago, there were only four pillars. In the two decades between the appointment of Denis Healey as Defence Minister, and his abandoning of the big aircraft carriers and the East of Suez role, and that of John Nott and his planned run-down of the Navy, there were four pillars of British defence policy. These were the nuclear deterrent; home defence; the NATO central front in Europe; and the North Atlantic.

The admirals' tales of the unexpected were not believed then; not until this time last year. Then, as Admiral Fieldhouse put it to me, "The South Atlantic campaign opened eyes to the need to look after our interests outside the NATO area and do so by exploiting the asset we possess—the knowledge we still have of conducting operations at long range and at short notice. There was a danger that by concentrating solely upon Europe we might develop another Maginot Line, which could be outflanked at sea."

For support in this theory, the First Sea Lord turns to his opposite number in Moscow, Admiral Gorshkov, the architect of the Soviet Navy.

Framed beside his desk in the Ministry of Defence are the Russian's words: "Soviet sea power, merely a minor defensive arm in 1953, has become the optimum means to defeat the Imperialist enemy and the most important element in the Soviet arsenal to prepare the way for a Communist world."

It is to counter this that Fieldhouse is convinced of the need for a fifth pillar of defence: the capacity to meet and deflect a threat to British, as well as NATO, interests anywhere in the world. And it is becoming clear that now he is far from alone in the belief; Mrs

by TOM POCOCK

Thatcher shares it and the Chief of the Defence Staff, Field-Marshal Sir Edwin Bramall—long regarded as a conventional Rhine Army soldier—has ordered studies into global contingencies.

The Falklands war was, according to some, a close-run thing; just how close is a matter of debate among the senior officers involved. All are agreed that, however, had the Nott cuts been implemented, Britain would have become impotent in this field by the mid-1980s.

But not only were the cuts cancelled; the policy has been reversed. Even before Port Stanley fell, the lessons of the campaign were being studied and papers being written on the shape of the future fleet which would become the mainstay of the fifth pillar.

In this the Navy had the support of its old rival in tussles over the defence budget, the RAF. The Falklands war caught the RAF less prepared than either of the other two Services, because they had become more wholly committed to a European role.

Daunting

Now the air marshals can again exercise their imaginations globally, planning the future use of islands like Ascension and Diego Garcia as they had been when Denis Healey told them to think only about Europe, as Britain would never again have to conduct operations outside it without allies.

It is the Navy that is undertaking the most sweeping reappraisal. This ranges from small details such as the advantage of cotton over Terylene shirts, because the latter can melt, to the daunting prospect that the most sophisticated weaponry developed by our allies—even by ourselves—might be used against us.

The loss of the Sheffield on May 4 last year demonstrated that because the Russians did not have sea-skimming missiles like Exocet, it did not follow that we need not worry about them. So the build of future warships is being re-thought.

It was not aluminium superstructures that proved so vulnerable to fire, as reported last year. The need is more to protect the sides as well as the decks of ships and to re-site fuel-tanks, and other particularly sensitive parts of a ship's anatomy.

The most dangerous single short-coming of the Falklands task force was the lack of airborne early-warning radar. As a stop-gap therefore, search radar designed for the RAF's long-range Nimrods is being fitted into Sea King helicopters.

As always, the admirals want

more ships but there is no campaign to resurrect the big carriers, like the Ark Royal, which would have made the South Atlantic victory so much more certain.

Indeed, hopes and expectations are concentrated in the opposite direction. There is not even call to build a fourth carrier of the Invincible class, those three vital ships that were built in the teeth of opposition of politicians, the Treasury and the RAF.

Instead, it is being suggested, the Fleet Air Arm needs cheap, simple carriers, like the "Woolworth" carriers of the Second World War—three would be enough.

It is now recognised that the present elaborate destroyers and frigates are, in effect, what light cruisers were 30 years ago, so their usual tasks could be adequately performed by smaller, cheaper ships.

The Navy would, of course, like to increase its present force of 15

nuclear-powered fleet submarines, like the Conqueror, which sank the Belgrano. But, even more, it wants additional conventional, diesel-powered submarines, which are now being built at the rate of only one a year but which are economical and invaluable as underwater sentries in both the NATO and the fifth pillar role.

What of the cost? With the Trident missile-submarines on order, could the Navy even afford to build such comparatively unsophisticated warships? The admirals believe they can.

Under the threat of the Nott economies, the planners became so nervous that they over-estimated future costs and inflation has, in defence terms, been reduced. So the Navy and the ships it needs are cheaper than expected.

As a strut of the fifth pillar, the Falklands and all future defence commitments depend upon what they are supposed to protect; in their case, not only the kelpers and British sovereignty.

The long-term planners in the Ministry of Defence worry about these things: like the fact that the bulk of the world's known stock of rare, precious, high-technology materials—like uranium, plutonium and titanium—happen to be in the Soviet Union or southern Africa.

In the case of the Falklands, it is the probable mineral resources, including oil, that lie under the sea and ice of Antarctica. The future of the region and the final allocation of exploitation rights is to be decided during the coming decade.

If Britain hopes to remain a contender, the Falklands would be, in the words of one planner, "absolutely priceless".

So the question that Admiral Fieldhouse, the victor of the Falklands, will now constantly have to ask his political master—and mistress—is: "What do we want? What do we need to protect?"

D. Telegraph 4 May 1983



Argentiniens attending a Mass for their Falklands war dead on the deck of the cargo ship Lago Lacar off the southern coast of Argentina.
Report—Back Page.

D. Telegraph 4 May 1983

SHIPS 'DEPRIVED OF ARMAMENTS BY COST-CUTTING'

By **DESMOND WETTERN**, Naval Correspondent

GOVERNMENT cost-cutting and Treasury interference into the technical aspects of warships' designs has meant that often ships have been completed lacking the armament they were originally designed to have, according to one of the Royal Navy's senior ship designers.

In a book published to mark the centenary of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors, Mr David Brown says that Sea Dart missile destroyers like the Sheffield and Coventry, lost off the Falklands, had their armament restricted because their size was reduced and there was

no margin in their design to allow for modernisations. He also admits that a claim by the designers that there were not enough staff to work on planning new frigates in the 1960s led to a division of responsibility between the Ministry and the shipbuilders which "was not a success" in designing the Type-21 frigates, two of which, the Antelope and Ardent, were also lost in the Falklands.

In the Falklands campaign many ships had hurriedly to

be fitted with electronic counter measures to jam enemy aircraft and missile radars and "a good deal of gear" had to be ordered from America, often by telephone or Telex.

For some 10 years the designers have been producing plans for a variety of cheap lightweight frigates but in many instances it would have been necessary to reduce accommodation standards to a point where the crew would have had to live ashore in barracks every time the ship was in port to allow the array of weapons required to be fitted and none was ordered.

Yard stays closed

He points out that size has very little to do with a ship's cost since the hull and other parts of the structure account for only about 10 per cent of the building price while the bulk of the expense is absorbed by weapons and electronics and short "fat" hulls would be no less expensive than longer, leaner ones.

The Government has rejected any plan to reopen Cammell Laird's nuclear submarine building plant, closed in 1971, to allow the construction of nuclear hunter-killer submarines to continue while Vickers' shipyard at Barrow is building the four Trident missile submarines, starting in 1986.

When the four Polaris submarines were building in the 1960s both shipyards were involved to ensure there was not too great a disruption of the hunter-killer programme.

("A Century of Naval Construction—the History of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors" by D. K. Brown, RCNC, Conway Maritime Press, £20).

D. Telegraph 4 May 1983

'CONFIDENCE' OVER ISLANDS GARRISON

The Government is confident that the Falklands garrison could defend the islands against any hit-and-run attack by Argentina. MPs were told yesterday. The assurance, given by Mr Peter Blaker, Armed Forces Minister of State, came against the background of persistent reports that Argentina may be planning such a raid to mark its Independence Day on May 25.

Mr Blaker told Mr Pat Duffy, Opposition spokesman, who raised the matter: "I am satisfied in general with the capability of the garrison to deter and if necessary to defend the Falkland Islands." Mr Duffy also asked about early warning defence facilities and the radar facilities of both Phantoms and Harriers.

Mr Blaker told him: "We have both ship-based and land-based airborne early warning. I am satisfied that they are adequate at the moment, but we do intend, when we can, to improve the land-based radar." 11/5/83

MP's DAUGHTER ON DRUG CHARGE

Nicola Freud, daughter of Mr Clement Freud, MP, appeared at South Western magistrates' court yesterday charged with supplying drugs including cocaine, and offering to supply, and possession of cannabis resin.

Freud, 51, a housewife, of Battersea High Street, London, was allowed unconditional bail and was committed to Croydon Crown Court for trial. Reporting restrictions were not lifted.

3 May 1983

Grief ship presses on ^{3/5/83 Standard}

BUENOS AIRES, Tuesday. RELATIVES of Argentinian servicemen killed in the Falklands stayed at sea today, hoping to visit war graves on the islands despite a British ban and orders to return to the mainland.

A reporter aboard the 8000-

ton freighter *Lago Lacar*, carrying 47 relatives, said by radio that the ship would remain in the South Atlantic for 48 hours. He said the relatives still hoped they would be allowed to visit the graves at Port Darwin.

Naval sources said the freighter's skipper had instructions to go no further than yesterday's official remember-

ance service at sea for the 312 who went down on the *General Belgrano* and was supposed to turn around immediately and head back to Buenos Aires.

Oswaldo Destefanis, the man trying to organise the Falklands visit, has been told in a telephone link from London that there is no change in British policy on the issue.

EXCLUSIVO

Habla Galtieri sobre la guerra

Fueron tres conversaciones, en días diferentes, en su propia casa del barrio de Belgrano. Siempre hubo testigos: desde un civil hasta un militar en actividad en ciertas ocasiones, también otro periodista profesional a quien invitamos debido a la importancia del entrevistado y al tenor de los diálogos. Con Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, ex comandante en jefe del Ejército y ex presidente de la Nación, convinimos un acuerdo tácito: las partes guardaríamos reserva sobre estas conversaciones hasta que él decidiera romper el silencio. Afirmó entonces que por nuestro intermedio haría público, en su momento, su pensamiento y el balance de todo lo acontecido durante la guerra por las Malvinas. Pero Galtieri alteró su promesa y publicó un libro, rompiendo además el compromiso que hablamos asumido con él. Es esa libertad lo que permite que las tres conversaciones ahora tomen forma periodística y, al vez, cierto valor histórico.

Juan Bautista Yofre

29 de julio de 1982

—Sabe, general, muchos sostienen —y yo también— que hay dos Galtieri. Uno, antes del 2 de abril de 1982; otro muy distinto después de esa fecha. Al primero lo observé yo mismo cuando pasó por Washington, en 1981, donde circunstancialmente vivía. Ese Galtieri era una persona fervorosamente partidaria de un acercamiento incondicional e irrestricto con Estados Unidos. El nuevo Galtieri ya es muy conocido para que lo recuerde. ¿Qué significaba aquello, qué pasó para que usted cambia-

—Es así. Yo esta política de coincidencia con Estados Unidos la inicié en 1980. La otra nace como consecuencia del enfrentamiento por las Malvinas. Porque Estados Unidos no mantiene una posición de equilibrio, de equidistancia, entre la Argentina y Gran Bretaña.

—A partir de esa relación que usted mismo reconoce, sorprende que usted nunca hablara con los norteamericanos sobre Malvinas. ¿No puede ser que haya habido un guiño en su última visita a Washington?

—Yo no podía contarles a los norteamericanos qué era lo que haría en Malvinas. Me habrían

parado. Yo confiaba en que ellos conservarían una equidistancia de posiciones. Con ello no le digo que, en nuestras hipótesis de "capacidades de Inteligencia" —como se las denomina—, no especulamos con ello. Pero, como le digo, no esperaba que ellos asumieran luego la posición que tomaron.

—¿Pero no ocurrió que hubo un mensaje camuflado, por ejemplo, del general Miguel Mallean Gil (entonces agregado militar argentino en EE.UU.) o del general Vernon Walters (asesor del Departamento de Estado y frecuente visitante de la Argentina)?

—No, no existió ningún mensaje. Tampoco nada que se le parezca. A Mallean lo saqué de la brigada en Corrientes, donde él había estado tan solo un año, para mandarlo a Estados Unidos aprovechando sus buenos contactos y antecedentes en ese país. Yo, a lo que jugué fue a la alternativa de la no intervención de Estados Unidos. De allí que, en una conversación con Costa Méndez, una vez desatada la guerra, le dije: "Se da cuenta doctor, se me quemaron los papeles. Yo lo traje a usted al gabinete para hacer una cosa y salimos".

(Continúa en la página SIGUIENTE)

(Visto de la página ANTERIOR)
haciendo otra totalmente diferente".

—Entonces, ¿tampoco pudo existir una falla de apreciación por parte del embajador Ortiz de Rozas en Londres sobre cuál sería la reacción británica?

—Con Ortiz de Rozas conversamos en dos o tres oportunidades. Me transmitió dos inquietudes que recuerdo. Una, que los ingleses recién estarían dispuestos a conversar seriamente sobre la soberanía alrededor del año 2000. El otro tema fue que, cuando le planteé la posibilidad de una invasión (aunque yo todavía no sabía la fecha porque esta charla data de febrero, cuando lo llamé para que se hiciera cargo de la negociación del Beagle), me dijo: "Hay que evitar que, durante la invasión, no se le tuerza siquiera un tobillo a un inglés. Que no muera nadie". De ahí, entonces, que estuvimos a punto de dar la orden de invadir con las armas descargadas.

—No entendemos cómo, si para principios de marzo, usted y los otros dos comandantes ya pensaban ocupar las islas, el canciller Costa Méndez —en su visita al Brasil— sostiene que "la Argentina no pertenece al Tercer Mundo". ¿Ustedes no contaban con la necesidad de ese apoyo, del bloque No Alineado, en Naciones Unidas?

—No se pensó en una reacción tan intempestiva como la que observó el Reino Unido. Cuando las cosas comenzaron a cambiar, yo estaba de acuerdo en aceptar ayuda de donde viniera. Por ejemplo, de Libia. Kadafi me mandó de regalo cuatro o cinco Boeings repletos de material. ¿Usted se imagina lo que valía eso? Me hablaron de enviar una misión a Irán, pero no tuve tiempo. Era difícil ir por caminos "normales", hubiera sido detectada.

(Mientras se conversaba, a las 19.45, suena el teléfono y su hijo lo llama; si bien el aparato se encuentra en un lugar apartado del living, se escucha cuando dice: "Hola Bignone". Luego, el hijo cierra la puerta. Al regresar, comenta: "Era Bignone". Le preguntamos: "¿Está muy contento?, ¿le ofreció la embajada de España?")

—¿Estábamos con los libros? —retoma—. Hubo que retribuirles con un regalo y les mandamos aviones con frutas y verdura fresca, que ellos no tienen.

Luego, me entero por una persona que conoce a Kadafi, que él todas las mañanas acostumbra a cabalgar. Pienso que era importante mandarle dos caballos criollos —me hubiera gustado más mandarle un reloj de oro— y le ordeno a uno de mis secretarios que se encargue de elegir unos muy lindos en Remonta y Veterinaria. Como esto se

tramita días antes de la caída de Puerto Argentino, el operativo queda inconcluso. Por eso ahora me llamó Bignone, quería saber sobre el asunto.

—A su juicio, no fueron excesivamente triunfalistas los comunicados que emitía el Estado Mayor Conjunto?

—Es cierto, coincido, mi mujer me lo hizo notar. Yo mismo quedé sorprendido cuando recibí la noticia de la caída de Puerto Argentino. Yo imaginaba que se podía luchar más. No que íbamos a triunfar; si que opondríamos mayor resistencia.

Le diré una cosa: luego de San Carlos pensé en relevar del cargo al general Menéndez. No lo hice porque quería evitar que cundiese el pánico, que se resquebrajara el frente de operaciones.

Todavía, creo, estábamos en condiciones de ofrecer pelea, de movilizar la Nación en forma total. Del otro lado de las islas, en el continente, había esperando 50 mil soldados, el Ejército estaba entero. La Fuerza Aérea había recuperado sus aparatos perdidos: 10 Mirage mandó Perú (los vendió, claro), otros 22 estaban en camino desde Israel; eran los Dagger Mirage. Y esa misma Fuerza me informó que tenía dotación de pilotos disponible. Y la Armada, prácticamente, estaba intacta. Solo había perdido un submarino en las Georgias que, junto al acorazado "Belgrano", eran piezas de museo.

—¿Qué pasó entonces con los submarinos, por qué no actuaron?

—Como dije, uno se perdió en las Georgias. El otro no saltó de la base de Mar del Plata. Lo hicieron sumergir en la base para que pareciera que estaba en camino hacia la zona de conflicto. Los otros dos eran los buenos, los más nuevos. Uno de ellos se enfrentó con la flota, pero sus torpedos no explotaron. Los torpedos alemanes se accionaban mediante un mecanismo conocido como de hilo gulado, pero una vez disparados parece que el hilo se cortaba y salían dirigidos para cualquier lado. El otro, en vista de esa situación, retornó a Puerto Belgrano para estudiar por qué no explotaban. Cuando eso estaba en vías de solucionarse, la guerra terminó.

Seguramente esto estará siendo investigado en la Fuerza, lo mismo que el operativo del comando británico en Isla Borbón, donde perdimos en tierra el Pucará.

—A su juicio, ¿cuál fue el comportamiento de las otras dos fuerzas?

—Los pilotos de la Fuerza Aérea hicieron proezas, más de lo que se podía pensar. El arma carecía de aviones de reconocimiento de largo alcance. Lo mismo sucedía con los bombarderos de largo alcance: solo teníamos ocho Canberra. La Armada tenía un proble-

ma semejante, carecía de aviones de reconocimiento y provisión en el aire.

—¿Por qué, ya que esto era clave, no hubo un esfuerzo complementario para impedir el desembarco británico?

—Salvo las acciones que se realizaban contra la flota carecíamos de "techo aéreo" para darle apoyo a nuestras tropas. El día del desembarco en San Carlos pedí una urgente reunión de la Junta Militar. Le pregunté a Lami Dozo: "¿Qué esperan?". Me contestó que no había blancos de reconocimiento. Le dije que salieran los aviones y bombardearan lo que encontraran. Me dijo que eso no era tan fácil, ya que de acuerdo al objetivo a bombardear se establecía el tipo de "provisión" del armamento del avión de combate. Por esta razón, Lami Dozo viajó al Sur en ese momento. Pero esa no es la única pregunta que, todavía, no puedo explicar. Tampoco puedo explicarme por qué no accionaron contra el enemigo antes de la caída de Puerto Argentino.

—Pero esto solo no fue la causa de la derrota...

—No, claro, hubo muchas causas. Faltaron helicópteros y muchas otras cosas. Ellos tuvieron movilidad y nosotros no.

—¿Es cierto que muchos soldados carecían de la preparación necesaria para ir a la guerra?

—Con la excusa del paro decretado por Ubaldo y Lorenzo Miguel el 30 de marzo hice suspender el licenciamiento de la clase '82. Pero no sé cuál era el estado de preparación de los soldados que iban al frente. Eso era responsabilidad de los oficiales que me seguían en el mando.

—¿Qué pasó luego de la caída de Puerto Argentino?, ¿usted lo designó a Nicolalde, cuando renunció?

—Yo no renuncié, me pidieron la renuncia como comandante y presidente. Cuando trascendió lo que había ocurrido en Puerto Argentino comenzó a patentizarse un descontento en los altos mandos. Decían que yo había actuado solo en la guerra, que no había escuchado a nadie, que nadie me había asesorado, etcétera. Yo pedí una reunión y ordené que cada general de división me transmitiera sus inquietudes a través de un documento que debía contener apreciaciones de carácter político-institucional.

—Se dijo, entre generales, que a usted nadie lo echó, que ellos no le pidieron la renuncia. ¿Es así?

—Nadie puede decir eso, quienes encabezaron el movimiento para alejarme fueron Calvi, Reaton y Varela Ortiz. Tal era mi decisión de no renunciar que hice preparar una entrevista con cuatro periodistas de Presidencia, a quienes les

dije que yo no era de aquellos que abandonan el barco cuando éste se hunde.

Ante estos acontecimientos, yo tenía dos alternativas. Una, aceptar el pedido de renuncia e irme, como hice. La otra, provocar el descabezamiento de la cúpula del Ejército, a través de algunos llamados a los generales de brigada que me respondían, con mando y con "fierros". No lo hice, porque temí desatar una convulsión. Pero eso es historia antigua.

—Una pregunta previa a estos acontecimientos: ¿Por qué, el 11 de abril (al día siguiente de la concentración en Plaza de Mayo) usted no formó un gabinete con representantes de las grandes mayorías?

—Eso es lo que iba a hacer. Por eso afirmé en mi último discurso que "habría que cambiar todo aquello que hiciera falta". Pero, no tuve tiempo. No podía relevar a todo el gabinete en plena guerra, crear una crisis. Pensaba hacerlo, eso sí.

De allí que le dije a los dirigentes sindicales, cuando me reuní con ellos en la Presidencia —para despedirlos porque se iban a Ginebra, a la reunión de la OIT— que a la vuelta los recibiría de 9 a 13 horas, en mangas de camisa, para escucharlos y considerar, dentro del contexto de la sociedad, sus aspiraciones. También les dije que al final de la reunión comeríamos unos sandwiches. Yo tenía las banderas de los políticos; no les habría dejado ni una.

—Mucha gente piensa que mientras se peleaba en las islas, el equipo económico continuaba sus gestiones en el exterior como si nada pasara.

—Usted recordará que, en aquellos días, yo tenía dos o más reuniones de Junta Militar, reuniones con mandos, etcétera. No podía, no tenía tiempo suficiente para ocuparme de los demás temas. A varios ministros pasaba días sin verlos.

—Esto viene a relación de aquello que dijo Jorge Triaca. O sea: Ahora que se ocuparon las Malvinas, hay que ocupar también el Ministerio de Economía.

—No tuve tiempo. ¿Cuál fue el rol de Roberto Alemann durante la guerra?

—Roberto Alemann hizo de todo durante el conflicto. Todos los días me traían propuestas para controlar la economía, "cerrar la canilla". Creo que todavía hoy tendría cerrada la economía. Demostró una lealtad permanente. Además, es una persona honesta.

—¿Cuándo va a decirle algo al país; no cree que alguien espera que usted hable públicamente?

—He leído declaraciones de Mario Benjamin Menéndez. Le voy a decir a Nicolalde que si no ha-

... yo empiezo a hacer declaraciones. Todo esto es increíble. Si San Martín hubiera dado por finalizada la campaña por la derrota de Cancha Rayada, no hubiera existido la Campaña Libertadora. Lo mismo sucedió con la caída de Puerto Argentino. Menéndez vuelve y dice que la guerra ha terminado.

—¿Y los norteamericanos qué harían de aplicarse esa política suya?

—Mire, si yo no hubiera hecho nada, todavía estaría en la Casa Rosada gobernando. Yo era el ni-

fu llamado de los norteamericanos. Pero, ¿cuánto más hubiéramos tenido que esperar para negociar la soberanía en las Malvinas, otros 149 años?

—¿No cree usted, contemplando la situación actual, que hubiera sido conveniente aceptar la última propuesta que trajo Haig?

—¿Se podría aceptar en aquel momento, con la gente en la calle, con el pueblo esperando una solución definitiva? Hay que trasladarse a esos días para darse cuenta.

11 de agosto de 1982

—¿Está trabajando en algo ahora?

—Estoy trabajando en la recolección y armado de todos los materiales que guardan relación con el hecho de Malvinas. De este ordenamiento forman parte todo tipo de documentos, entre secretos y clasificados, diplomáticos, militares, conversaciones grabadas con presidentes, etcétera. En este trabajo están colaborando algunos funcionarios que tuvieron relación directa con Malvinas, entre otros Costa Méndez y el almirante Moya (habla llamado por este motivo mientras conversábamos).

—¿Cuándo se planeó la ocupación?

—El planeamiento de la operación se ordenó en secreto, dentro del mayor secreto, sin conocerse con precisión la fecha a ponerse en ejecución. En esa reunión participaron Vaquero, Lombardo y Plessl. A diferencia de otros "juegos operativos" (yo hablé de la "mesa de arena" y del ejercicio permanente de planificación de operaciones), les dije que tomaran todos los recaudos pues ésta sería una "operación que se llevaría a cabo". Plessl me preguntó cuánto tiempo les daba para armar la operación. Yo respondí que calcularan la toma de Malvinas, para alrededor de julio.

—¿Qué hizo que se adelantara la invasión?

—El incidente de Gritvyken.

—Pero ese incidente ¿no estuvo preparado? ¿No iban en el grupo de civiles algunos militares?

—No, tan solo iban uno o dos hombres de Marina.

—¿Cuándo recuerda usted que se estableció la fecha de la ocupación, el día "D"?

—La fecha se estableció una semana antes. Pero, de que se concretara la operación dependía de un montón de factores (el tiempo, entre otros). Tanto podía realizarse el 1º, el 2º o el 3º. La operación se realizó como estaba prevista todo funcionó a la perfección, como un mecanismo de relojería.

—¿Qué opinión le me-

recleron las propuestas de paz?

—Las propuestas de paz que se manejaron durante el conflicto siempre contuvieron cláusulas "nebulosas", todas exigían el retiro argentino de las islas y la contemplación de los "deseos" de los habitantes, no de sus "intereses". Nosotros, en todas estas gestiones, continuamente cedimos y cedimos.

—¿No se contempló en algún momento una reunión, un encuentro, entre usted y la señora Thatcher?

—Los presidentes Belaúnde Terry (Perú) y Turbay Ayala (Colombia) en diferentes momentos se ofrecieron para actuar como puente entre nosotros dos. También se estudió la posibilidad de un encuentro en México o en Suiza, pero siempre que venía una respuesta de Londres sobre esto, era con inconvenientes. Luego, quince días antes de la caída de Puerto Argentino, aproximadamente, la señora Thatcher resuelve cortar todo.

—¿Cómo era la relación en la Junta Militar? ¿Era cierto el papel de Lami Dozo como moderador?

—La relación con los otros dos comandantes era fluida, todo se aprobaba por consenso.

—¿Qué opina del artículo del "Sunday Times" que dice que Anaya vetó toda posibilidad de retirarse de las islas el 29 de abril. O sea, unas horas antes de que Haig expresara públicamente su apoyo a Inglaterra?

—El hecho no es precisamente así, pero se nota que ellos han pescado algo en el aire. Sucede que en reunión de Junta —y luego de prevenirles que no me pegaran por lo que iba a decir, ya que ellos sabían que yo era imaginativo y a veces un poco irreflexivo— propuse un proyecto de declaración a Naciones Unidas que dijera, aproximadamente, que en un lapso de sesenta días la Argentina retiraría sus tropas hacia el continente, de una manera escalonada, progresivamente. A ello, también se agregaba que se espe-



raba de parte del gobierno inglés una contrapartida semejante, retiro de la flota y el compromiso de entablar negociaciones diplomáticas.

Todos los presentes (también estaban Costa Méndez y el almirante Suárez del Cerro) coincidieron en que no había margen político interno para ejecutar esto. Todas las encuestas que recibimos nos indicaban el estado de euforia que se vivía en la población.

—¿Por qué eligió a Menéndez?

—Fue elegido por sus buenos antecedentes. Tenía a tres o cuatro generales en la lista. Pero, en reunión de Junta Militar lo propuse, y se aceptó. Yo lo había tenido bajo mi mando en el Litoral y se había desempeñado bien. Pero, claro, como dicen los italianos, una "cosa es morir y otra es parlarse de morir". A mí Menéndez me decepcionó y se lo dije. Eso está grabado. Inclusive, tengo una copia de un radiograma donde consta todo esto.

—Al final, tenía la sensación de que cada día que pasaba Menéndez se hundía cinco centímetros más.

—A su juicio, ¿en qué se equivocó Menéndez?

—Pensó en todo momento que el ataque británico vendría del mar. Solo en el último instante advierte que la ofensiva venía por tierra. Pero ya era tarde. Manda a oponerse al enemigo al 5 de Infantería, al que aplastan.

—Cuando estuve en Malvinas, en abril, tengo la sensación de que él no se movía en el terreno. Yo pido inspeccionar el te-

rreno, incluso en helicóptero, y durante el recorrido noto que Menéndez no estaba perfectamente al tanto de lo que estaba ocurriendo. Como dije, mi pensamiento final sobre su desempeño consta en un radiograma que le envié. El general Jofre, según todas las referencias que tengo, fue el que mejor desempeño tuvo en el terreno.

—Usted dijo que lo había sorprendido la rendición de Puerto Argentino, ¿por qué?

—A mí me sorprende la comunicación que me hace el general García, telefónicamente, de la rendición de Puerto Argentino. García, el lunes 14 a la mañana, había hablado con Menéndez por teléfono y éste le comunicaba la rendición. Precisamente, cuatro días antes, yo había conversado personalmente con el general Daher y los coroneles Cerro y Cáceres, a quienes hice venir de la isla. Les pregunté si necesitaban más material, municiones, hombres, etc. Respondieron que no, que lo único que necesitaban eran diez mil borregales y ropa interior (calzoncillos largos) para que se hiciera una muda de ropa.

—Se habla mucho de golpes en preparación, ¿cómo ve usted ese tema?

—Hay muchos rumores y pocos hechos. Lo que sucede es que los generales de división, con la decisión de echarme, han roto la disciplina militar. Es muy peligroso. Le han quitado la escalera al pintor y éste se ha quedado en el aire. Pero, a mí entender, hay mucha gente con inquietudes. Claro que, primero, hay

que establecer lo que se quiere, los objetivos, las banderas, las soluciones. Esto es prioritario de cualquier intento de toma del poder. Y esto es muy difícil.

—¿Cómo se desarrolló la crisis que provocó su caída?

—El lunes 14 tengo una reunión con los generales de división, donde no se plantean problemas mayores. Solo se crea una discusión cuando el general Calvi plantea el tema de la no consulta a los generales, de que yo había procedido por mi cuenta. Le respondo que, si es así y no está de acuerdo, ya sabe lo que tiene que hacer. Lo siguieron en el planteo Reston y Varela Ortíz. Entonces, los tres piden el retiro.

Cuando termina la reunión, los tres solicitan una entrevista conmigo por separado. Los recibí por orden de antigüedad. El primero fue Reston. Entró diciendo: "¿Me invita con un whisky?". En la conversación, tanto él como los otros luego, me dicen que la discusión era el resultado de los nervios que se vivían, que no había que darle mayor trascendencia. Yo respondo que es posible que así sea, que todos estábamos cansados por el esfuerzo que realizábamos. Acordé con los tres que nos olvidaríamos del pedido de pase a retiro. Sin embargo, yo me pregunté: ¿Cómo harán mañana para presentarse otra vez frente a todos los generales?

Le tengo que consignar que, previamente, el lunes, había citado a todos los generales de división para mantener una conversación el miércoles. En esta reunión, solicito para el jueves que cada general me presente un documento que contenga su pensamiento sobre el estado de la situación general, institucional, internacional y económica. O sea, les doy trabajo para que no piensen en otra cosa. En esa reunión, no obstante, se plantea el tema del arreglo con Washington, como una forma de solucionar el conflicto. Es Reston quien hace más hincapié en esto.

Culmina la reunión acordándose un nuevo encuentro para el jueves siguiente, y retorno al tercer piso. Desde mi despacho llamo por el intercomunicador al general Vaquero al quinto piso, y su ayudante me responde que está reunido con los generales del Estado Mayor. Entonces subo a

reunirme con ellos. Además de Vaquero, estaban presentes Wehner, Sotera, Espósito, Podestá, Tacchi y el reemplazante de Menéndez en la Jefatura III, Mellé. La reunión se inicia a la una de la madrugada y termina a las tres y media. Al poco rato empieza una serie de planteos sobre los apoyos que estábamos recibiendo de países o mandatarios que, directa o indirectamente, habían ayudado a la subversión (Cuba y Libia, por ejemplo). En la reunión con los generales de división me habían dicho que, me gustara o no, se debía "arreglar" con Estados Unidos. A los altos mandos tampoco les había gustado que yo lo hubiera mandado a Costa Méndez a La Habana.

Para cerrar la reunión, a las tres y media, les dije a los generales de brigada: Para continuar en el mando, yo necesito el respaldo expreso de la fuerza. A mi juicio, era necesario tomar una serie de medidas de trascendencia y, por lo tanto, se requería contar con el respaldo unificado de todo el Ejército. Después, me voy a dormir.

En verdad, antes paso por la Casa de Gobierno y aviso que "mañana vengo al mediodía". Me dirijo a Campo de Mayo.

Vaquero, a la mañana siguiente, me viene a ver. Me dice: "Los generales te piden el retiro del Ejército y la renuncia a la Presidencia". No sé qué pasó entre esa madrugada y el mediodía. Seguro que habrán hablado con algunos retirados.

—¿Nadie, en esos momentos, le acercó su lealtad?

—Sí, hasta antes de este último episodio. Hubo quien llamó a Lucy (la esposa) para expresarle su lealtad incommovible. Mejor no le digo el nombre.

—¿Nicolaides era la persona que usted había pensado para sucederle?

—No, pero permítame guardar este secreto. Yo pensaba saltar de la promoción '76 a la '77.

—¿No pensó en esos momentos impedir su promoción?

—Podría hacer dos cosas: intentar desplazar la cúpula y respaldarme en los generales del interior o no agravar la situación y retirarme. Opté por lo último. Quizás mi error haya consistido en haber reclamado el respaldo de los generales que tenía en Buenos Aires para continuar mi gestión.

aparecer avalando con su presencia en Gran Bretaña la posición de la señora Thatcher. Es allí, en ese momento, que Juan Pablo II decide venir a Buenos Aires. El no podía aparecer, con su viaje a Londres, dando la sensación que se hallaba lejos espiritualmente de la Argentina y de América latina.

—¿Cuál fue para usted la posición de la Iglesia argentina durante la guerra?

—La Iglesia se encontraba espiritualmente, ideológicamente, de acuerdo con el Gobierno.

—¿El Papa trató con usted el tema de Malvinas?

—No, no hizo ninguna referencia. Solo conversé conmigo, en la corta entrevista que mantuvimos en el aeropuerto, el tema del Beagle, pues éste era su problema. Me pidió que aceleráramos una respuesta. Yo dije que era cuestión de sentarnos en una mesa con los chilenos y no levantarnos hasta que se produjera una "fumata".

Es evidente que su presencia, en los momentos trascendentales (viernes y sábado previos a la caída de Puerto Argentino) nos perjudicó.

—¿Usted tuvo conversaciones con funcionarios norteamericanos al margen de la mediación de Haig?

—Sí, me veía con el embajador Schlaudeman y algunas otras personas que tenían contactos fluidos con el Departamento de Estado.

—¿Usted era amigo de Vernon Walters, se vio con él?

—Bueno, amigo no precisamente. Tenía buenas relaciones con él.

—¿Sabía que él estuvo cinco días antes de su derrocamiento en la Argentina?

—No, no sabía. Por lo menos, conmigo no pidió audiencia.

—¿Usted esperaba el apoyo de algún país en el Consejo de Seguridad, a través de un veto?

—No, con total certeza. Si calculábamos que alguno nos podía ayudar, imagínese que no podíamos saberlo ya que todo el operativo fue realizado en el mayor secreto.

—¿A usted le envió un memorándum Costa Méndez el domingo anterior a la operación, comunicándole que no se tenía la certeza de cuál sería la posición norteamericana?

—No recuerdo el memorándum. Si le puedo decir que si hubiéramos tenido la certeza de que Estados Unidos iba a tomar la posición que finalmente adoptó, no hubiéramos invadido. ¿Cómo íbamos a imaginarnos una guerra (pues USA con la posición que asume prácticamente nos declara la guerra) con el arsenal más poderoso de la tierra?

—¿Usted tuvo palabras fuertes con Haig?

—En la última reunión

discutimos con firmeza. Yo, varias veces, le dije —adelante de testigos— que si ellos nos garantizaban, a través de un documento firmado por Reagan y por él, que Inglaterra nos devolvería la soberanía en un plazo prudencial, nos retirábamos. Nunca quiso firmar tal compromiso. El solo quería que cumpliéramos la Resolución 502.

—¿Qué le ofrecían los soviéticos mientras tanto?

—En nuestras conversaciones, nos ofrecían todo tipo de apoyo político. Calculo que si el enfrentamiento hubiera continuado, habrían ofrecido "otro" tipo de ayuda más amplia.

—¿Quién estableció el enlace con los países árabes? ¿Villalon, Jorge Antonio?

—Ninguno de los dos. No puedo dar nombres.

—¿Acaso Orfilla no estuvo en esas gestiones?

—Bueno, a través de él se tomaron algunos contactos.

—Aparte de lo conversado, ¿usted recibió alguna otra oferta de mediación?

—Hablé unas tres veces con Belaunde Terry, otras con Turbay Ayala y en otra oportunidad se presentó la posibilidad de que el general Carlos Cardá (hoy subsecretario del Ministerio del Interior) viajara al exterior.

—¿Cómo es eso?

—Cardá conocía a una persona de la intimidad del rey Juan Carlos. A través de esa persona se pensó que podía realizarse una gestión mediadora. Por eso lo mandé una semana a Madrid, e inclusive el rey envió una carta a Reagan. Pero, España en esos momentos estaba entrando en la OTAN o al Mercado Común Europeo y no podía asumir ninguna posición decidida.

—¿No le pareció un error la entrevista que le concedió a Oriana Fallaci?

—Sí, no estaba en las mejores condiciones. Me encontraba muy cansado, con muchas horas sin dormir. Me la metió Balthérrez.

—La derrota, ¿afectó materialmente a las Fuerzas Armadas?

—El poder de combate de las Fuerzas Armadas está intacto. Solo están derrotadas políticamente. El Ejército está en fuerza, la Armada no ha perdido nada —salvo el "Belgrano" y un submarino viejo— y ha conseguido reponer su material con la entrega de los 8 Super Etendart y los misiles Exocet que entregará Francia. La Fuerza Aérea repuso la mayor parte de los aviones derribados. Solo están afectadas políticamente, nada más.

—¿Qué le ocurre cuando sale a la calle?

En verdad, algo poco. Nadie, en la calle, me ha recriminado nada. Me saludan o me ignoran, pero nadie me ha dicho nada violento.

18 de agosto de 1982

—¿Cómo se concertó la visita del Papa?

—Como recordarán, Juan Pablo II tenía previsto —desde antes de la invasión— una visita a Gran Bretaña. Da la casualidad que la misma se realiza justo cuando nos encontramos en pléno

enfrentamiento. A mí, personalmente, me cae mal que él no postergue el viaje. Entonces, por aquellos días, es llamado al Vaticano el cardenal Primatesta, quien lleva la inquietud de la Iglesia argentina en el sentido de que el Papa no podía

Friday 6 May '83

Chile cool on requests for RAF landings

By Henry Stanhope, Diplomatic Correspondent

The British Government has twice asked Chile for permission to use its territory as a stopover for aircraft flying to the Falkland Islands, according to Señor Miguel Schweitzer, the Chilean Foreign Minister.

It seems however that the Government in Santiago held out no hope of ending the need for the costly refuelling of RAF aircraft during the flight to and from Port Stanley.

Señor Schweitzer told a news conference in Santiago that his Government preferred to maintain its position of strict neutrality.

Mr Cranley Onslow, Minister of State at the Foreign Office denied making any such request, while in Santiago himself last week.

Meanwhile the Foreign Office last night continued to deny the suggestion that hopes of an early end to the Falklands War were dashed when the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano was torpedoed.

Mr Tam Dalyell, Labour MP for West Lothian, has accused Mrs Thatcher of ordering the sinking in order to "ditch" an agreement with Argentina.

'Church Times' 6/5/83

LIVERPOOL'S BISHOPS IN S. AMERICA

THE Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, the Most Rev. Derek Worlock, left London on Monday for a three-week journey through Latin America, where he was due to team up with his Merseyside Anglican partner, the Right Rev. David Sheppard, in Lima, Peru.

Bishop Sheppard left on April 15 to attend the inauguration of the new province of the Southern Cone and to spend a month in South America strengthening links with the dioceses there.

After Archbishop Worlock's scheduled arrival in Lima on Wednesday, the two Church leaders were planning to go together to visit shanty towns on the perimeter, including Villa El Salvador and Comas—to show their solidarity with the poor.

D. Telegraph 6/5/83

'Off the shelf' harbour may be towed out

By JOHN PETTY Shipping Correspondent

PLANS to build a harbour in Britain and tow it to the Falklands, within five months to meet Government needs, have been drawn up by a British consortium.

"The new port would be a spin-off from work done in the North Sea oil and gas industry," said a spokesman for the consortium. "Everything needed is available virtually 'off the shelf' here in Britain."

It would use standard-sized barges, 300ft long and 90ft wide. They would be fitted with port equipment and taken to the Falklands where they would be linked together to form a harbour. A special mooring system has been devised to cope with "the unique bottom conditions in Stanley bay."

The barges would be arranged in a T-shape. The top of the "T" would provide the main

berthing, cargo handling, warehousing and maintenance areas. The stem of the "T" would link to the shore via a dual-carriage-way bridge. It would also include a helicopter landing pad and offices and living accommodation.

Floating hotel

The consortium includes United Towing, of Hull, whose tugs had considerable use in the Falklands as part of the task force. Another member is North Venture Shipping Agencies, already partnering United Towing in building a floating hotel for the Falklands.

Also in the consortium, along with a merchant bank, is Scruttons, Britain's biggest privately-owned cargo handling firm. The consortium is holding talks with British Shipbuilders on which yards could carry out the job.

D. Telegraph 6/5/83

ROWS MAR S. ATLANTIC VOYAGE

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS
in Buenos Aires

WHAT began as an attempt to embarrass Britain seems to have rebounded fiercely on Senor Osvaldo Destefanis.

His South Atlantic voyage to honour Argentina's Falklands war dead is ending in an undignified slanging match with the atmosphere on board the cargo ship, Lago Lacar, unpleasantly tense, according to reports reaching Buenos Aires; and his behaviour of the last few days has been strongly criticised by the Argentine Press.

As the Lago Lacar, 8,500 tons, steamed northwards towards the capital yesterday, details emerged of public rows between Senor Destefanis on one side and, on the other, relatives of war dead, members of the ship's crew, and journalists on board.

Worth-while ceremony

Things started turning sour for the self-styled president of the Centre for Volunteers for the Fatherland soon after the ceremony last Monday marking the anniversary of the sinking of the cruiser General Belgrano.

By common consent, the mass at sea and the dropping of wreaths into the South Atlantic were a moving and worthwhile occasion for the 49 Argentine relatives on board the Lago Lacar.

But instead of returning then to Buenos Aires the ship sailed to Puerto Madryn, 900 miles south of the capital.

There, Argentine journalists reported, disenchantment quickly set in among the relatives, who could not see the point of remaining at sea while Senor Destefanis made much-publicised telephone calls to Downing Street and the Vatican, supposedly to ask for permission to sail to the Falklands.

Disgusted relatives

Senor Destefanis then wanted the relatives to tour Puerto Madryn in a kind of triumphal procession, but the relatives, some of them openly disgusted at the way they were being used, refused to leave the ship.

The Argentine journalists with the party attempted to report the ill-feeling on board but, to their anger, Senor Destefanis insisted on censoring their reports before these were radioed ashore.

By Tuesday night most of the passengers were urging Captain Jorge Bernasconi to return home; but one man, Jose-Maria Bustinza, took the opposite view and tried to organise a mutiny to force the ship to head for the Falklands.

He was put ashore by the captain, but Senor Destefanis's problems were not over.

Spoke to 'footman'

He proudly announced he had finally got through to the Vatican and had spoken to a "footman" who had promised to give a message to the Pope. Hoots of derision greeted this, and amid angry exchanges Senor Destefanis accused the Argentine journalists on board of being "heretics."

Commenting on the voyage, the Argentine news agency Telam said: "Having already far surpassed the absurd, Senor Destefanis has been adopting attitudes verging on delirium."

U.S. PRAISE FOR 'BRITISH BULLDOG' FALKLANDS ACTION

By ROBIN GEDYE

THE Falkland Islands campaign, conducted with classic British grim professionalism, struck an important blow for peace and freedom throughout the world, Mr Edwin Meese, Counsellor to President Reagan said last night.

Delivering the Lord Mountbatten Memorial Lecture at Cambridge University, he said Americans took vicarious pride in the campaign which proved a great "lift" for United States morale.

"Two many Westerners, particularly Americans, had begun to wonder silently if we had lost the capacity to react firmly and forcibly to unlawful aggression.

"One Western nation, the United Kingdom, responded swiftly with a quiet, grim professionalism which made us all walk a little taller, our shoulders a little farther back, with an admiring eye on the Union Jack.

"Americans took vicarious pride in witnessing the classic application of British air, sea and amphibious power, backed by a dazzling display of flawless logistics expertise under maximum time and distance restraints.

"The British bulldog waded in, took his punishment, and ended the affair in no uncertain terms, just as generations of British fighting men have always performed the duty England expected of them.

"Lord Mountbatten would have loved it."

Challenges to Nato

Mr Meese, who has had private talks with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Pym, Foreign Secretary, said that Nato was facing fresh and unique challenges from "a generation that has never known the horrors of a world war."

Russia was engrossed in establishing the "fourth major leadership cadre in its history" and appeared dedicated to the perpetuation of its bureaucracy.

"The campaign to preserve and strengthen democratic institutions must take on (an) urgent character, for otherwise Western lethargy and the opposition of totalitarian systems will ensure the demise of democratic civilisation," he declared.

Fundamental to avoiding international conflicts was the need to initiate consultations and coherence between governments.

Parallel paths

"The Nato allies have consistently pursued two parallel paths with regard to European security: the deployment of military strength when the European balance of power is threatened by the Warsaw pact, and the pursuit of negotiations to reduce the threat of the use of force on the European continent.

"The United States is negotiating in Geneva to eliminate an entire new class of weapons from the face of the earth.

"Since the end of the mid-1970's, the Soviet Union has been deploying an intermediate-range nuclear missile, the SS-20, at a rate of one a week. They now have 351 of these missiles, each tipped with three highly accurate warheads capable of destroying cities in Western Europe, Asia and the Middle East.

"Nato has no comparable weapon, nor did Nato in any way provoke this new, unprecedented escalation.

"On the contrary, while the Soviets were deploying their new SS-20s, we were removing a thousand nuclear warheads from shorter range missiles and taking them out of Europe altogether."

'Redress the balance'

"It is essential to the security of Western Europe that we redress the strategic balance," Mr Meese said.

He hoped the Soviet Union understood America's emphasis on the ultimate goal of removing an entire class of nuclear weapons and that an interim agreement should not simply be a pause before another crescendo in the arms race.

"If they are willing to negotiate in the same spirit as ourselves we can reduce the supply of nuclear arms and lessen the danger of nuclear war," Mr Meese added.

D. Telegraph 6/5/83

CRACKED DECKS FOUND IN SIX FRIGATES

By Our Naval Correspondent

All six of the Royal Navy's 2,800 ton Type 21 frigates are to be called in from operational service for repairs to cracks on their upper decks. The cost is estimated at £250,000 per ship.

The hairline cracks in the aluminium superstructures were discovered in an investigation by Lloyds Register early in 1982. The light hulls flex in a heavy sea, causing the cracks.

Work on HMS Arrow is nearly complete at Devonport dockyard. Amazon has now been recalled, and Active, Ambuscade, Alacrity and Avenger will be brought back as naval dockyard schedules permit.

'Construction News'

Work being
started by
Argentinians

£100m Falklands airport

BIDS were returned earlier this week to client the Property Services Agency by the three UK consortia tendering for the £100 million Falklands Islands airport. Now, the three, Costain/Tarmac, Wimpey/Taylor Woodrow, and Laing/Mowlem/ARC expect to be called by the PSA once it has sifted through the mass of tender documents.

'Times'

6/5/83

Rome envoy recalled by Argentina

From Our Own Correspondent
Rome

Argentina has recalled its Ambassador to Italy amid the deepening crisis between the two countries over the hundreds of Italians among the thousands of "disappeared ones" declared dead by the Argentine Government last week.

The Argentine Embassy said that Señor Rodolfo Luchetta had been recalled "indefinitely" for consultations on the crisis.

The Italian Foreign Ministry said no decision had been taken on a possible recall of Signor Sergio Kociancich, the Italian Ambassador in Buenos Aires.

A memorandum from Signor Kociancich asking for information about the fate of 407 Italians and people of Italian descent has been roughly rejected by the Argentine Foreign Ministry and called "unacceptable and such as to represent interference in the internal affairs of Argentina".

The sharp increase in tension came after a scathing attack at the weekend by President Pertini on Argentina's military regime.

● **THE HAGUE:** A former Argentine police official has claimed that some civilians who disappeared during Argentina's "dirty war" are still in government-run concentration camps, and that the political disappearances are continuing, AP reports.

"The Argentine military junta still keeps political prisoners in secret", Señor Rodolfo Fernandez said, contradicting the junta's "final document on the war against subversion and terrorism" issued last week.

TIMES 6 MAY

Guardian 6/5/83

Six Falklands frigates show hairline cracks

By Anne McHardy

Two of the Royal Navy's six remaining Type 21 frigates are being repaired at Devonport dockyard because of cracks in the aluminium superstructure.

The other four also show signs of similar problems and will be reinforced, the Navy confirmed last night.

Work is almost finished on HMS Arrow, brought back from the South Atlantic when cracks began to let in water, and HMS Amazon has just arrived in dry dock. She was due to be refitted in August but the Navy decided to bring her home four months early from duty in the North Atlantic.

Hairline cracks have been seen running right along the vessels on the upper decks. The Navy stressed last night that the steel hulls were not affected and that—although they also contained aluminium — the Type 22

frigates had not shown the same flaws.

The use of aluminium in both Type 21 and Type 22 frigates has caused considerable controversy, and the problems were shown up dramatically during the Falklands campaign. Two Type 21s—HMS Ardent and HMS Antelope—were lost, and also two Type 22s—HMS Coventry and HMS Sheffield.

Aluminium has the advantage of being half the weight of steel plate, which is an advantage for the biggest warships. But it melts at 700 degrees centigrade, unlike steel which does not melt until 1500.

Two of the other Type 21s have also been involved in recent accidents at sea, it was reported yesterday. HMS Ambuscade was in collision with the American cruiser, USS Dale, in the Indian Ocean on April 27.

On May 4 a Lynx helicopter from HMS Avenger ditched on routine patrol in the Gulf of Oman

1 1
The 'Times' 5 May 1983

TIMES 5/5 **Falklands offer stands**

Over the Falklands, are we mishandling the question of the relatives of the Argentine dead by appearing to deny them the chance to visit the graves?

We have not denied the relatives of the Argentine dead the opportunity to visit the graves. We asked the International Red Cross to organize and supervise such a visit. They were not able to do so and also

you know they washed their hands of Destefanis.

They said the terms and conditions under which he wanted to make the visit would compromise their neutrality. Our offer of a visit of the close relatives of the Argentine dead to visit the Falklands, under the auspices of the International Red Cross, and supervised by them, still stands.

TIMES 5/5 **Argentine trip ends in anger**

The ship carrying relatives of Argentine servicemen killed in the Falklands conflict headed back to Buenos Aires amid reports of anger on board over the failure to visit war graves on the islands.

One Argentine journalist called the trip a "catastrophe", and reports spoke of growing confrontation between the relatives and Señor Destefanis, the organizer, and friction between the ship's crew and accompanying journalists.



Homage at sea: The bereaved Argentine relatives attending Mass on board the Lago Lacar, off southern Argentina

Why they lost

The lack of helicopters, long-range artillery and night-fighting experience lost Argentina the Falklands, according to a senior Argentine officer. General Menendez was right not to counter-attack. Page 14.

The Argentine Government had said the ship would be allowed to take part in an official remembrance ceremony for the war dead at the spot where a British submarine sank the cruiser General Belgrano on May 2 last year, with the loss of 321 lives.

The ceremony took place on Monday, but the Lago Lacar did not reach the site. Instead, it held a separate wreath-laying ceremony off the coast near Puerto Madryn.

London: At least five British warships are steaming for the Falklands to strengthen the Royal Navy's presence before Argentina's national day on May 25, Henry Stanhope writes. The Ministry of Defence is taking no chances, in case the Buenos Aires junta decides to attempt a hit-and-run attack.

Continued on back page, col 6

Argentine relatives held up by storms

Buenos Aires (Reuter) - A ship carrying relatives of Argentine servicemen killed in last year's Falklands conflict sheltered yesterday from storms in a southern port, with families still hoping to be allowed to visit the islands.

Señor Osvaldo Destefanis, organizer of the planned trip, said by radio telephone that the cargo ship Lago Lacar was lying in the bay just off Puerto Madryn, 850 miles south of here.

He said he was still trying to speak directly to Mrs Margaret Thatcher to ask her to lift a ban on the 50 relatives visiting the island cemetery.

He was also trying to telephone the Pope to ask him to intercede with the British Government. If the appeals failed within the next 48 hours, the Lago Lacar would return to Buenos Aires.

Señor Destefanis contacted 10 Downing Street on Monday, but was diverted to the Foreign Office.

In Buenos Aires, naval sources said the military Government's own ban on the visit remained in force. It was imposed last week on the grounds that an attempt to land might put Argentine lives at risk.

The sources said that although the Lago Lacar was forbidden to approach the Falklands so long as Britain maintained its ban, the Argentine Government had no objection to those on board continuing their efforts to get the ban lifted. The Government considered these actions well-intentioned.

Señor Destefanis said rough seas had prevented the relatives on board the ship from practising a shore landing in a craft specially brought for the purpose.

4/5/83

Argentines' ship takes shelter

TIMES

Continued from page 1

4/MAY

Among the reinforcement squadron is the Type-42 destroyer Southampton whose captain "Sam" Salt, was in command of her sister ship Sheffield which was destroyed by an Argentine missile a year ago today.

The others are said to be the Type-42 Birmingham, which like Southampton, is armed with Sea Dart long-range anti-aircraft missiles; the Type-22 frigates Broadsword and Brilliant, with their Sea Wolf anti-missile missiles and the old Rothesay-class frigate Fal-mouth.

The ships sailed unannounced last week, accompanied by vessels of the Royal Fleet Auxiliary and almost certainly by a nuclear-powered submarine.

Officially, they are going to relieve an equal number of similar ships, which have come to the end of their tour of duty in the South Atlantic, under the normal pattern of replacement. But the latter are expected to remain on station for a while before returning, so that the Navy will have additional forces on hand.

It means that, for a short time, the Navy should have its strongest presence in the area since last summer.

The RAF has a squadron of Phantoms and a number of Harrier aircraft on the islands,

Vatican rebuke, page 6

Why Argentina lost, page 14

Leading article, page 15

D. Mail 3/5/83

Falklands force

THE Royal Navy is sending its biggest force since last autumn to the Falklands for May 25 -- Argentine independence day. Britain has dispatched five destroyers and frigates armed with air defence missiles in case Argentina tries hit-and-run raids.

Argentine plea to the Pope

BUENOS AIRES: Relations of Argentina's war dead appealed to the Pope yesterday to help them visit the Falklands.

They were on board the freighter Lago Lacar which last night held a ceremony to mark the first anniversary of the sinking of the Belgrano in the South Atlantic.

£15m on Falkland work

By Peter Wilson-Smith, Banking Correspondent

The Crown Agents is handling £15m of work for the Falkland Islands, one of its oldest clients, to help towards repairing war damage and reconstruction.

Originally set up to act as purchasing agent in this country for Britain's old colonies, the Crown Agents have handled more than 200 orders worth £7.23m for prefab houses and equipment in the Falklands and is also working on a £5.5m contract to repair roads in the islands.

Sir Sidney Eburne, senior Crown Agent, said yesterday that the Agents would also be carrying out studies on the power and water systems.

The annual report of the Crown Agents, published yesterday, shows a drop in the surplus before interest and tax from £2.28m in 1981 to £1.24m last year. After paying £1.28m interest on loan capital to the

Government, there was a pretax loss of £39,000.

Under the Crown Agents Act, the body has to break even taking one year with another. Although revenue reserves have fallen from £3.8m to £2.4m, this was partly due to a once-off £1m payment to the Government from revenue reserve.

At the end of the year the Crown Agents debt to the Government has been reduced to just over £20m.

In recent years the Crown Agents, which lost more than £200m in the mid-1970s through ill-advised property deals, have been substantially reorganized and now operate in a more commercial fashion.

Traditionally, much of its work has been related to United Kingdom aid or has been funded by governments or public bodies in the developing countries, for whom the Crown Agents provide technical advice

and training and act as a procurement agent.

With a larger proportion of Britain's overseas aid being channelled through multilateral agencies and with developing countries increasingly short of cash, the Crown Agents have directed attention to marketing their services and administering programmes for multilateral agencies.

About 70 per cent of the orders placed by the Crown Agents still go to companies in Britain. However, of last year's total procurement of £140m, about £52m was related to United Kingdom aid, about £50m was funded directly by customers and the rest related to assistance from multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and other bodies.

The reorganization of the Crown Agents over the past three years has led to a big reduction in staff from 2,200 to about 1,300.

D. Telegraph 3/5/83

Watery substitute

SIR—Surely one of our strengths which sets us apart from other races is that we do not alter place names after conflict. (Mr Colin Davis, April 27). One can walk round Mecklenburgh Square, or down Munster Road and happily take a drink at the Duke of Brunswick or Duchess of Teck. San Carlos Water lies enshrined in the nation's memory along with Passchendaele and Arnheim. Saint Charles Water would indeed be a watery substitute.

HUGH BRYANT
Egham, Surrey.

D. Telegraph 3/5/83

BELGRANO

By ~~TONY~~ ALLEN-MILLS

Continued from Page One

spot where the former World War II cruiser sank.

On land, a special mass at the Stella Maris military chapel in Buenos Aires, was attended by Belgrano officers who survived the controversial sinking 30 miles outside what was then a 200-mile war zone.

Admiral Ruben Franco, commander-in-chief of the Argentinian navy, said in a message to his men that the sacrifice of the Belgrano's crew would not be in vain.

"Our homage includes the firm promise to dedicate to them our triumph on the day of final victory. That is our goal; we shall not falter in achieving it," he said.

On board the Lago Lacar, relatives of the dead were still hoping yesterday that Britain might relent and allow the ship to visit war graves on the islands.

Two-day wait

Senor Osvaldo Destefanis, organiser of the voyage, said the ship would remain in the South Atlantic for two days to see if international pressure might alter the British position.

It is not clear exactly what Senor Destefanis plans to do during his undoubtedly thankful two-day wait. But observers in Buenos Aires doubt he will try to run the British blockade of the islands.

Before leaving on Saturday he said the Lago Lacar would not get closer than 200 miles to the Falklands—50 miles outside the British exclusion zone.

Meanwhile the Argentine air force has been holding its own anniversary ceremonies marking the first aerial attack against the British Task Force last year.

Brig. Gen. Augusto Huges told senior officers that the air force's first action had caused the British fleet a "heavy loss" despite the losses of three Mirage war planes, a Canberra and a Pucara.

With scant regard for historical fact, Gen. Huges claimed that during the May 1 attack last year, air force planes had sunk a frigate, seriously damaged two more, crippled an assault boat, shot down two Harrier jump jets, destroyed several helicopters and damaged the aircraft carrier, Hermes.

D. T. G. 3/5/83
BELGRANO'S

312 DEAD

REMEMBERED

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS
in Buenos Aires

THE cargo ship Lago Lacar, 8,500 tons, carrying relatives of Argentina's war dead, hove to in the South Atlantic yesterday for a ceremony commemorating the loss of the cruiser General Belgrano, torpedoed by the British submarine on May 2 last year.

A trumpeter sounded a mournful salute as giant wreaths of carnations and orchids were lowered into the sea.

Wreaths from the air

Among the 49 grieving relatives on board were several who had lost husbands, brothers or sons when the Belgrano went down with the loss of 312 lives.

The Lago Lacar's engines stopped about 700 miles south of Buenos Aires, far to the north of the Falklands exclusion zone.

In a separate ceremony to the south west of the islands, an Argentine warship and a Hercules transport plane dropped military wreaths at the exact

Continued on Back P, Col 8

Air-defence role

FALKLANDS BUILD-UP BY ROYAL NAVY

Hit-and-run raid by Junta feared

THE Royal Navy is assembling its biggest concentration of forces in the South Atlantic since last autumn in case Argentina marks its independence day, May 25, with an attack on the Falklands.

Five destroyers and frigates—accompanied, it is thought, by a nuclear-powered submarine—are on their way to the South Atlantic to reinforce the warships already there.

One of the Navy's present tasks is to keep watch on the cargo ship *Lago Lacar*, which hove to well outside the exclusion zone yesterday as relatives of Argentina's war dead aboard the ship commemorated the 312 victims of the sinking of the *Gen. Belgrano* on May 2 last year.

Meanwhile, President Pertini of Italy has sent a strongly worded telegram to Buenos Aires protesting about the "blood-chilling cynicism" with which the junta announced that up to 30,000 "disappeared" opponents of the régime were dead. More than 300 Italian citizens living in Argentina were among the victims of purges by the country's armed forces in the mid-1970s.

Pertini's protest



By DESMOND WETTERN Naval Correspondent

THE biggest force of Royal Navy ships seen in the South Atlantic since last autumn will be concentrated off the Falklands within the next three weeks as a precaution against any attempt by the Argentines

to make a move against the islands on May 25, Argentina's independence day.

Most of the ships are armed with air-defence missiles.

Late last month the *Sea Dart* missile destroyers *Birmingham* and *Southampton*; the *Sea Wolf* anti-missile missile frigates *Broadsword* and *Brilliant*; the anti-submarine frigate *Falmouth* and supporting Royal Fleet Auxiliary tankers and stores ships sailed from Portsmouth and Plymouth.

'Sub with them'

A nuclear-powered hunter-killer submarine is thought to be accompanying them.

It is expected that the *Sea Dart* missile destroyer *Cardiff*, a sister ship of the *Birmingham*, and the frigates *Active*, *Penelope* and *Achilles*, will remain on station for some time after May 25 rather than returning home as soon as the five relieving ships arrive from Britain later this month.

The Navy is keeping a close watch on the merchant ship, *Lago Lacar*, 8,500 tons, carrying relatives of Argentine dead, which was yesterday hove to well outside the Falklands exclusion zone.

It may be used to test British reactions to any move by the Argentine armed forces against the Falklands.

The possibility of an Argentine hit-and-run raid on the islands to mark independence day is seen as the main threat.

Battle experience

Apart from the *Falmouth*, which was re-commissioned for service last summer — having been paid off to await scrapping or sale — the other four warships which sailed last month were involved in last year's conflict.

The *Southampton* is commanded by Captain "Sam" Salt, who was captain of the destroyer *Sheffield* when she was sunk by an Exocet missile.

Argentine mourners set sail

From Andrew Thompson, Montevideo

An Argentine Navy ship, an Air Force plane and the merchant ship *Lago Lacar* were due to converge yesterday in the South Atlantic at the site where the cruiser *General Belgrano* was torpedoed and sunk by a British submarine a year ago.

The ship and aircraft will pay homage to the Argentine dead in last year's Falklands war, representing the armed forces as a whole. The *Lago Lacar*, chartered by the private group the Centre for Volunteers for the Motherland, will do the same and will then proceed to navigate along the perimeter of Britain's protected zone.

The *Lago Lacar* is carrying about 50 relatives of the Argentine war dead and is laden with flowers to be thrown into the sea in a memorial ceremony today.

President Reynaldo Bignone and the ruling military junta have banned any memorial act for Argentine war dead other than that planned by the armed forces at the spot where the *General Belgrano* was torpedoed.

Señor Osvaldo Destefanis, who was on board the *Lago Lacar* when she left, told a press conference the relatives

would attend the ceremony at the point in the South Atlantic where the *Belgrano* sank with the loss of 321 lives on May 2 last year.

Royal Navy warships are continuing to patrol the 150-mile exclusion zone round the islands, in case Señor Destefanis suddenly tries to carry out

his original threat to make a run for shore.

● **ASUNCION:** Mr Cransley Onslow, the Foreign Office Minister of State, said yesterday that Britain would like tension reduced in the South Atlantic but it must defend the people of the Falklands against aggression, Reuter reports.

During his five-hour stay in Asuncion, at the end of a Latin American tour, Mr Onslow met Señor Alberto Nogues, the Paraguayan Foreign Minister,

● **LONDON:** Mr Francis Pym, the Foreign Secretary, is to be questioned in the Commons about the disappearance of thousands of Argentines during the "dirty war" in the late 1970s, and in particular about two British subjects who vanished in the purge, the Press Association reports.

Sir Bernard Braine, Conservative MP for Essex south-east, said yesterday he would be asking Mr Pym: "What fresh action he proposes to take to establish the fate of Mr Walter Nelson Fleury and Dr Douglas Gillie Whitehead, both United Kingdom citizens, who were among the thousands of disappeared persons."



Señor Destefanis, on the ship's gangway.



Family tributes: Relatives of the Argentine war dead place flowers on the *Lago Lacar* to be cast into the South Atlantic.

'Times' approx 1/5/83

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

It is exactly a year since the sinking of HMS Sheffield followed closely on that of the Argentine cruiser Belgrano. There is now again naval manoeuvring in the South Atlantic. The Argentine fleet is exercising at sea, though well clear of the exclusion zone. The cargo ship chartered by a group of bereaved Argentine families is cruising somewhere off the islands, while still threatening to intrude itself into Falklands waters against the wishes of the British authorities. Another five warships are leaving Britain to replace those on station, with the changeover conveniently timed to ensure a maximum naval presence in the South Atlantic on May 25th, Argentina's National Independence Day. In the current state of play, that date could easily be used as an occasion for an official - or even an unofficial - attempt to provide some headline-gathering harassment of the British forces.

There are two separate, though related, issues here. The first is the lesser one: how to respond to the question of the bereaved families, since beneath the Argentine propaganda ploys there is a genuine humanitarian issue which has, after all, been met fully with regard to British widows and their families. Death in battle is a great unifier. Is there any reason why legitimate grief should need a passport?

However the answer to that question has to take account of the fact that normal courtesies are in suspense, entirely on account of the refusal by the Argentine Junta to declare a formal cessation of hostilities. Until they do Britain is right to insist that the Argentine mourners cannot make independent forays to the cemetery where their loved ones lie. These matters either have to be dealt with customarily through the Red Cross, or else solely by the British. Perhaps now that the British mourners have been to the Falklands and have returned, the British Government should offer direct assistance to Argen-

tina's mourners. It could propose to send a cargo ship from the Fleet train to ferry *bona fide* mourners from Argentina to the Falklands, and back. In that way - at relatively little cost to the British taxpayer - the humanitarian point would be met, and the logistics of an Argentine presence on the Falklands, as well as the danger of that presence upsetting the Falklanders, would both be kept firmly under British control.

Behind the politics of grief, however, lies a larger perspective, characterized by the spectacle of two rival fleets lurking in waters where they were lately in a shooting war. There is unfinished business in the South Atlantic. All the signs suggest that it will remain unfinished for a long time yet.

First there is the fact that Argentina is still in the midst of a profound political crisis, which shows no sign of abatement. While it lasts there can be no question of any reliable conversation - let alone negotiation - with Buenos Aires. Argentina is still awaiting its own equivalent of a Franks Report, though that is not likely to provide more than a temporary patch over the deep wounds which lie on a society lacerated in every limb. The armed forces are split, the Church is split, political factions form and reform, smelling power, though still far removed from its reality. So Argentina domestically is thoroughly ill-prepared to tackle any questions concerning the future of the South Atlantic, whose murky and indefinite wastes were illuminated so brightly by the fireworks of the Falklands war.

Nevertheless some political voices in Britain can still be heard insisting that the Fortress Falklands option cannot last, and that negotiations must soon begin with Buenos Aires. This view is echoed, though less persistently, at the United Nations. In South American capitals it recurs, though with neither much conviction nor follow through. Sir Anthony

Parsons, who led the British delegation at the United Nations last summer, writing in the Chatham House Quarterly "International Affairs" has noted

"the difference between the attitudes of many states as expressed in their capitals, compared to their public positions as stated before the eyes of the world in New York. On the Latin American side, so far as I know, little or no hostility was manifested towards Britain in the majority of Latin American capitals. This contrasted strongly with the flood of rhetoric which poured out in the Security Council."

Mr Cranley Onslow, on his recent tour of South American capitals, would have encountered the same phenomenon, and drawn his own conclusions.

The question of sovereignty is not negotiable. The Argentines have a way of referring to negotiations which conceal the fact that what they really mean is a British concession on the principle and a negotiation thereafter to decide the method of hand-over. If sovereignty is disputed it should be resolved, not by force, but by resort to the international court. In their hearts, members of the United Nations know that, yet somehow in their rhetoric they seem to forget it. It will be the only way Argentina will be able to persuade Britain to discuss the question of sovereignty.

Meanwhile the possibilities of developing the resources of the South Atlantic, and maintaining some kind of naval security in the region remain uncharted. That is sad, but not too serious. The question of Antarctica does not anyway come up for review for some years, and ideas about South Atlantic security - involving Brazil, Argentina and South Africa as the core - have been around for many years without any coherent shape emerging from their conversations. In the long run there is no alternative for Britain but to exercise quiet resolution and patience until a reliable and stable Argentine government emerges from that country's long night of sorrow.

'Observer' 1/5/83

Guatemala ready to give up Belize claim

from HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY in Washington

GUATEMALA is prepared to give up its claim to sovereignty over Belize, the former British colony granted independence in 1981 but still defended by a British garrison against the threat of Guatemalan invasion.

According to a senior aide of General Efraim Rios Montt, the Guatemalan President, the claim would be surrendered in exchange for guaranteed access to the Caribbean and rights of transit for Guatemalan civilians on the main road from the border to the port of Belize City. Guatemala hopes the dispute can be buried in the next 12 months.

During years of wrangling about the claim, which dates from the days of the Spanish Empire, Guatemala has insisted



Belize should cede a piece of land in its southern district of Toledo as the price for recognition of its sovereignty.

Guatemala has claimed free access to the Caribbean through waters which belong legally to Belize and Honduras and could in theory be closed to Guatemalan vessels. Guatemala has also demanded the right to ship goods to and from its remote, under-populated northern province of Peten through Belize City.

The reason for this change of

heart is the Guatemalan Government's realisation that its unwillingness to recognise its neighbour, a member of the United Nations recognised by virtually every other country in the world, has isolated it at a time of growing crisis in Central America.

Despite its public protests against the presence of British 'occupation forces' — 1,800 troops with air and naval support—in Belize, the Guatemalan generals are content to see the British garrison remain as a guarantee that Belizean territory will not become a haven for Guatemalan left-wing insurgents.

The Reagan administration is also keen to build up a US military presence in Belize and has been having talks with the government of George Price about the possible moving of a US military jungle training school to Belize from Panama.

Observer May 1

S. Telegraph 1 May 1983

Falklands concord possible

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

ARGENTINA'S decision to stop a ship carrying relatives of war dead towards the Falklands offers fresh hope that a formal end to hostilities in the South Atlantic may be in sight. Latin American diplomats were forecasting last night that the door might now be opening towards a compromise between Mrs Thatcher's Government and the Argentine leadership. But this may not be likely for several months yet, particularly as the Prime Minister may be on the verge of announcing a General Election.

Whitehall was relieved and happy yesterday at the decision by the junta on Friday to stop the mourners from attempting their voyage.

It was also being pointed out in London and South American capitals that the Argentine gesture followed a penitent declaration in Buenos Aires admitting that Government security forces had committed errors over the treatment of political insurgents in the past.

Human rights groups have estimated that between 20,000 and 30,000 Argentines disappeared in the 1970s, and the Junta now says that those not in exile or hiding must now be considered dead.

Western observers believe that the statement on the "disappeared one," together with the intervention on the mourners' ship, represent the most hopeful signs to come out of Buenos Aires for months.

The developments are also a clear indication that the Junta may be taking a less belligerent line over the Falklands.

S. Telegraph, 1 May 1983

Mourners leave for mid-ocean ceremony

A DISPIRITED band of grieving Argentine families boarded a cargoship in Buenos Aires yesterday to begin a six-day voyage into mid-Atlantic to pay homage to Falklands war dead.

A military ban on the ship's original plan to challenge the Royal Navy off the islands did not prevent the Lago Lacar, 8,500 tons, from sailing exactly as scheduled. Led by Senor Osvaldo Destefanis, the relatives are now intending to sail southwards, well clear of the exclusion zone.

Tomorrow at 5 pm they will throw wreaths into the sea in a ceremony marking the anniversary of the sinking of the cruiser General Belgrano on May 2 last year.

Top speed

The recently refurbished ship, which has a top speed of 17 knots, will not reach the exact spot where the Belgrano sank in time. But the ceremony will be held wherever the ship is at 5 pm, probably well to the north of the exclusion zone.

As preparations for sailing were concluded beneath gathering storm clouds yesterday, it

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS
in Buenos Aires

emerged that the government's surprise intervention had been solely intended to avoid a mid-Atlantic clash with the British.

The first relatives of war dead arrived on the quayside in a borrowed city bus escorted by police. Most of them were from poor families, many from the rural north. All were clutching elderly suitcases and, in contrast, brand new anoraks.

Senora Manuela Ludena, 42, from a village near Cordoba, said her son Jorge Daniel, 18, had died in the battle for Goose Green.

"I don't know where his body is. I don't know if he's buried in that cemetery. They've told me nothing," she said. "Even though we won't reach the islands, I shall spend the voyage praying for him."

Cesar Omar Campos, a burly farm labourer from Salta, lost his brother on the General Belgrano. "I wanted to be present on this voyage. I cannot tell you why, there's a feeling inside me that told me to go, to

offer homage to my brother," he said.

Few of the relatives seemed put out by the change of plan, as they had not really expected to reach the Falklands anyway. The government's decision to honour the dead of the General Belgrano came too late for the passenger list to be altered substantially, so only a handful of relatives of dead sailors were on board.

Islanders relieved

Reports from the Falklands said the islanders were relieved that the visit by the relatives of Argentine war dead had been banned by their own government.

Assistant Civil Commissioner Reg Williams said that they accepted that relatives should visit the graves, but only on terms agreed between Britain, the Falklands Government, and the International Red Cross.

It was not clear yesterday what had prompted the military's decision. There was speculation that Britain had offered the possibility of a later large-scale visit to the Islands by several hundred relatives, using a neutral ship.

British reaction—Back Page