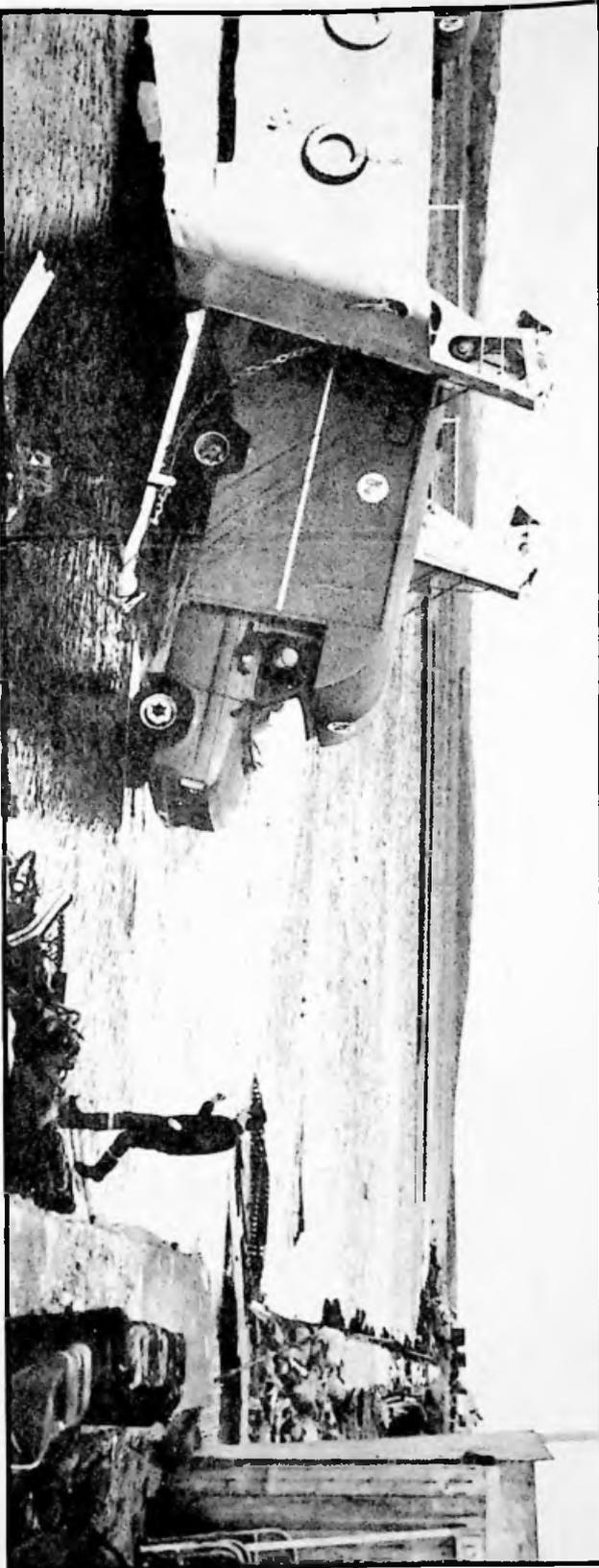


MOTOR TRANSPORT 30.11.83



**WELCOME VANS:**  
Coming ashore on the desolate Falkland Islands near Port Stanley are two NAAFI mobile canteens, equipped with ovens, hot water supply, and a rear serving-hatch. The vans are Ford Transit 190s, with Wadham Stringer Victory bodies. The Portsmouth firm has been supplying the NAAFI for ten years.

McMillan-Scott Associates *Public Affairs*

11 Whitehall London SW1A 2BZ Telephone 01-930 6135

THE TIMES

30.11.83

## News in summary

### Exocet hit by Sea Wolf

Two of the next three type 22 frigates are to be named after the Sheffield and Coventry, which were sunk last year by Exocet missiles during the Falklands campaign, Mr John Lee, the Under Secretary of State for Defence Procurement, told the Commons on Monday.

An Exocet was shot down for the first time by a ship-launched Sea Wolf missile at maximum range in a trial last week, Mr Lee announced. The firing will be shown on television soon.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

30.11.83



Former Argentine leader Gen. Galtieri leaving the Buenos Aires offices of the Supreme Armed Forces Council where a panel of officers found him "grossly negligent and incompetent" in his handling of the Falklands conflict and recommended that he be formally charged with serious violations of the military code.

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Diver beat danger to reach secrets

# Navy's hero of the deep

THE courage of Navy diver Michael Harrison was rewarded today when he received the Queen's Gallantry Medal at Buckingham Palace.

The 33-year-old Petty Officer won the medal after taking part in "possibly the most dangerous task ever undertaken by a Royal Navy diving team."

He was one of a team of divers who set out to recover secret documents and equipment from HMS Coventry and other ships which sank north of the Falklands during the South Atlantic campaign last year.

Harrison and his colleagues were searching the wreckage of the Coventry in depths of more than 300 feet.

They went down in a diving bell and remained connected to it while searching for the secret documents in the sunken ships.

The citation with the award states: "Though working in extremely unpleasant, hazardous and dark conditions, and despite becoming entangled on two separate occasions with hanging debris, Harrison persevered with the task, putting himself at grave personal risk."

## Secrets

"Throughout the operation he showed the very finest example of skill and courage to his colleagues which inspired a notable success in what was possibly the most dangerous task ever undertaken by a Royal Navy diving team."

"His outstanding professionalism, bravery and total disregard for his own safety were in the highest traditions of the Service."

The Royal Navy has been reluctant to reveal the nature of the material recovered but it is thought to have included top secret code books and cryptographic equipment.

by Marion Ellis

MICHAEL HARRISON:  
"put himself at grave risk."



Daily Mail  
30th November 1983

## Junta rebels 'taken on death flight'

ZURICH: A former Argentine policeman charged with kidnapping told a court yesterday that he took part in numerous executions of Argentine political prisoners.

A hundred and fifty of them were pushed from a plane over the open sea.

Luis Alberto Martinez said there was always 'great confusion'.

'Once, three Argentine Army sergeants were accidentally thrown into the sea, too,' he said.

He and four others are on trial for the 1981 kidnapping of a banker.

## The media message of a Falklands cover-up

Sir, — Lord Avebury is right (Guardian, November 11): during the Falklands war, the Government did indeed suppress documents relating to British sovereignty over the islands.

That was predictable, but what's more surprising is the role the British media played in colluding in this censorship, for copies of the papers in question were available to them at the time. They were in the possession of a well-known archivist, Dr Peter Beck who repeatedly tried to get the BBC and Fleet Street — including the Guardian — to show an interest. He was unsuccessful.

We have a copy of an internal memorandum from the then editor of the Sunday Times, Frank Giles, to a reporter who had been in touch with Dr Beck: "The time to publish this stuff is after the fighting has stopped . . . I am by no means killing the idea, but I don't want it to surface at the moment." The story was subsequently buried on an inside page, after the war was over.

Our programme, broadcast on January 7, detailed the way the British media allowed themselves to be manipulated by the Government in their coverage of the Falklands war. During the programme, we showed the

documents to which Lord Avebury refers, documents which demonstrate beyond doubt that, historically, the Foreign Office has always had serious reservations about the British claims to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands.

Media reaction? Scarcely a ripple. The fact that your correspondent, Julia Langdon, still seems to think the papers aren't available bears eloquent testimony to the efficiency of the cover-up, by both the Government and the media. — Yours faithfully,

Steve Hewlett.

Barry Flynn.

The Friday Alternative,  
London W14.

## Some wounds don't bleed

War is a calamity. Mental breakdown is a tragedy. If mental breakdown is caused by war, one might think that such a double

sorrow would arouse our readiest sympathies and charitable impulses. The reality, however, is rather different, as Polly Toynbee revealed in these pages a few days ago. In the aftermath of the Falklands campaign, members of the Task Force whose minds have been affected by the war and who have been invalidated out of the armed forces as a result have not received any money from the South Atlantic Fund. Money from this fund has gone to no-one on the grounds of psychiatric disability, even though many such cases are still being treated. Surgeon Commander Morgan O'Connell, a naval psychiatrist who was sent out with the Task Force, has talked about the psychiatric disorders arising from the war. One man, a Fleet Chief Petty Officer who had been in the navy for 22 years, was described by the surgeon commander as suffering from "reactive psychosis." The essence of this disorder was a conflict of ideology and a loss of touch with reality because this officer felt the war should never have happened.

During the war he was ferried by helicopter from ship to ship wherever his specialist skills were needed, and although he himself did not come under fire all the ships he was on were in constant danger and he knew many of the men who were killed. When he returned home he suffered a nervous breakdown and was invalidated out of the navy with the DHSS stating that his condition was attributable to service.

The Fund, however, was not convinced. Their attitude seemed to be that nervous breakdown could be caused by anything and the link with the war was even more tenuous when the officer concerned had not even come under fire himself. This seems a remarkably ignorant and insensitive approach. One does not have to be under fire to fall victim to the intense psychological pressures of war. As the Surgeon Commander commented, men in the armed forces have to be indoctrinated in order to fight. In other words, they have to believe that there is an overwhelming case for taking life, and that such a course is right because there is no alternative. They have to believe that they are fighting a just war.

It was not clear, however, that the Falklands campaign was such a war. At home, there was an intense debate about the necessity for conflict, with some people firmly of the view that it was an issue which could have been solved differently. Such doubts, quite obviously, affected some members of the armed forces as well.

Ironically, this problem is directly attributable to the armed forces, success in raising the calibre of its recruits. They pride themselves on attracting people with high intelligence and good qualifications. But if the armed forces attract thinkers it isn't surprising that they then think carefully about the morality of their actions and fail to succumb to the necessary indoctrination. Moreover, the ethos of the armed forces has — thankfully — become a touch removed from a psyched-up battle stations level. Prolonged peace has meant that the armed forces can encourage recruits to join up to show the flag and see the world, rather than expect to rush off immediately and start killing people. When a real war happens, as with the Falklands campaign, it is difficult to change psychological gear. And the sheer terror of the situation should not be underestimated. It is hard to imagine anything more terrifying, for example, than acting as a decoy to attract Exocet missiles away from the major battleships. Small ships literally offered themselves as targets, putting on all their radios and drawing maximum attention to themselves with the sole purpose of causing the Exocets to hit them rather than the Hermes or Invincible. Just because, by supreme good fortune, the decoy ships were not actually hit does not mean that those on board would not have been wholly terrified and possibly unable to cope with the fight.

Mental breakdowns, arising from such situations may not be as visible as physical injuries, but they are nevertheless as real and as terrible. They all amount to the casualties of war. To deny them is to deny the reality of war — brutal, terrible, the destroyer of minds as well as bodies. The assumption that war is inherently glorious, that within it physical injuries equal heroism but mental frailty equals inglorious cowardice was surely shot to smithereens as long ago as the battle of the Somme. For some, however, it seems that this dreadful lesson has not yet sunk in.

DAILY TELEGRAPH  
29 11 83

### FALKLAND MIGRANTS

By Our Political Staff

Since June last year, 35 Falklanders have emigrated from the islands while 40 have gone there with the intention of settling permanently, Mr Ray Whitney, Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, said yesterday

### WHALES KILL THEMSELVES IN FALKLANDS

By Our Port Stanley Correspondent

More than 100 pilot whales have "committed suicide" in the west Falklands seemingly by following their leader on to sand beaches and then being unable to return to the water.

Local pilots who have flown over the beach on Saunders Island have said that already there are signs that many of the whales have reached an advanced stage of decomposition.

There seems no known reason why the whales should simply give up life, but there have been several instances of it in the past in the Falklands.

### DOGS ARRIVE IN FALKLANDS

By Our Port Stanley Correspondent

The latest batch of British dogs has arrived in the Falklands. Thirty Welsh collies and a Jack Russell terrier are the latest canine immigrants.

Although a variety of animals was transported to the Falklands in a "Noah's Ark" voyage recently, dogs were not included. Some arrived in another vessel.

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# COMMONWEALTH URGES U.S. AND RUSSIA TO TALK

By **DAVID ADAMSON** *Diplomatic Correspondent  
in Panaji, Goa*

**C**OMMONWEALTH leaders called on the Soviet Union and the United States yesterday to work for the resumption of a "genuine political dialogue" that would ease tensions.

The "Goa Declaration on International Security" came at the end of an unusually hard-working weekend "retreat" for the leaders. They appealed to the Superpowers to "summon up a political vision of a world in which their nations can live in peace."

It was essential to any enlargement of East-West understanding that contacts should be increased at a variety of levels.

The Commonwealth leaders said they believed their governments could make a practical contribution by encouraging the Superpowers and by themselves promoting a larger measure of international understanding than existed at present.

British sources expressed satisfaction with the declaration, which they called a "major achievement."

## Response to Trudeau

The document is largely a response to the initiative of the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Trudeau, to provide a new dimension of political will to East-West relations.

His efforts are welcomed, although his central proposal—a meeting of the five nuclear-weapon States—gets only an oblique commendation. The declaration talks of supporting his efforts to "restore active political contact and communication" between the five states.

The Commonwealth leaders' anxieties over the weakening role of the United Nations in international affairs are expressed in a paragraph pledging their support for the principles of the United Nations Charter: There is, in our view, an urgent need to consider what practical steps can be taken to strengthen the United Nations system and to improve its capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Charter.

The British delegation was particularly pleased by the

declaration's endorsement of Mrs Thatcher's proposal that there should be an urgent study of the security problems of small states in the light of what happened in Grenada.

The leaders said they were concerned over the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs:

## Grenada statement

It is expected that the Commonwealth leaders will release a statement on Grenada following the renewal of the summit conference in Delhi today.

The statement is expected to say that the Caribbean countries are united in their willingness to provide a policing force to replace the Americans in Grenada if a future Government in the island requests it.

The draft avoids any condemnation of the Americans for their intervention and appears to end the rift between the Caribbean countries.

Other developments have included the setting-up of a Commonwealth group at Heads of Government level which will seek a solution to the Cyprus crisis. The leaders involved are Mr Hawke (Australia), Mr Forbes Burnham (Guyana), Mrs Gandhi (India), Mr Kaunda (Zambia) and Mr Shagari (Nigeria). They are to hold their first meeting today.

Mr Trudeau was due to fly to Peking last night for talks on his proposal for a meeting of the five nuclear weapons States (the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China). He returns to Delhi tomorrow when he will see Mrs Gandhi, the conference chairman.

## ARGENTINE STOWAWAY IN FALKLANDS

By Our Port Stanley  
Correspondent

Senor Osvaldo Destefanis, the Argentine who tried to arrange a trip by Argentine war dependents to the Falklands in April, has arrived at Port Stanley as a stowaway.

But his only glimpse of the Falklands was through the porthole of his locked cabin, guarded by police, on board the Swedish-American cruise ship Linblad Explorer.

Tight security is being kept to prevent Senor Destefanis getting ashore. The authorities want to avoid the embarrassment of having to arrest him as an illegal immigrant.

## Falklands wives

The Ministry of Defence has ordered work to start on nine married quarters near Port Stanley so senior defence personnel serving in the Falklands for a year or more can take their wives with them.

# LETTERS

## Argentina and Britain

SIR—Argentina's new government is not the illegal bully whose nose Britain bloodied last year, nor is it the Peronist party, which has frightened the foreign office for years. The new government represents the strengths and values which make Argentina potentially the strongest and richest country in Latin America and a pivotal country in progress towards regional integration and co-operation.

There is now an area of common ground shared by Mrs Thatcher and President-elect Alfonsín and the two electorates they represent. That common ground is the same principle over which Britain went to war last year. If Mrs Thatcher can act quickly, she could show that she does after all have a magnanimous and humane side, she could reduce the defence budget and she could turn victory in last year's war to Britain's commercial advantage throughout Latin America.

All Mrs Thatcher need do is to offer to talk directly to the new Argentine government about the problem they have in common. Neither country would benefit from the intervention of, nor do they need, the United States or the United Nations. Both countries have rejected the use of force. Britain by having the courage to meet force with force,

Argentina by having the courage to vote against it. The remaining problem is to find an agreed solution in the best interests of the Falkland Islanders, the Argentine people and the British electorate. Technicalities and preconceptions should not obscure that common aim. Mrs Thatcher has established the principle that aggression should not pay. She would be less than consistent if she also established the principle that non-aggression does not pay either.

Buenos Aires R. T. HERBERT

SIR—Your opinion (November 5th) that Argentina's victorious Radical party is centre-right apparently differs from the views of the Argentines themselves. Replies to the question "How do you rate the new government?" in a recent opinion poll were as follows:

Right-wing	12%
Centre-right	12%
Centre-left	56%
Left-wing	1%
Don't know	19%

Is it a case of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing?

Montevideo,  
Uruguay W. A. LOADER

SIR—Sir Nicholas Henderson's contribution to the Falklands debate (November 12th) may turn out to be another case of the endless English fascination with self. He holds that fruitful negotiations would be "a result not of conciliatory forces but of direct and heavy military pressure. To come to a verdict on this subject it is necessary to bear in mind the military scene as it looked in London. . .".

Why were other political scenes not considered worthy of consideration?

The second and less pardonable manifestation might constitute a misjudgment by a diplomat who has served in Latin countries. Why are there so many derogatory references to "Latinos" and to the Latin lobby? The dismissiveness towards the Organisation of American States is simply unbelievable. A short British list of items is a "plan" while a lengthier and more detailed Peruvian list is grudgingly a "proposal".

Was there a genuine British

desire to negotiate when a mutual withdrawal of forces would inevitably leave British forces in Britain (where they belong, not in America) and Argentine forces in Argentina? Did Sir Nicholas expect Argentine troops to go elsewhere? The truth, I suspect, is that Sir Nicholas did a good job—it was an easy one—of pretending to the world that Britain was willing to negotiate and that the Argentine military were rigid.

On October 21, 1983, President F. Belaunde Terry of Peru told Tam Dalyell, MP, and me in Lima during a private audience, that the Argentine military had virtually accepted his plan, which he held to be different to the failed Haig initiative. The president also maintained that after the sinking of the *Sheffield*, Britain noticeably cooled towards negotiations in the United Nations. Is the UN to be stigmatised, along with the OAS, as an organisation of lesser breeds?

Unless negotiations are set up in the reasonably close future and on the substance and origin of the conflict, ie, sovereignty and the future, the British establishment, as guilty as Galtieri of the war, may well be responsible for continued and unnecessary tension between two countries that, as *The Economist* has rightly suggested, ought to begin to talk and solve the problem.

Cambridge GUILLERMO A. MAKIN

SIR—Allowing what Sir Nicholas Henderson wrote about the sinking of the *Belgrano*, the fact is that the veteran Argentine cruiser was fitted with antiquated second world war guns and could not have been a serious military threat.

We will have to wait 30 years to learn the full details leading up to the sinking, and, presumably, for the true motives.

As a master mariner myself, I have heard seafarers talk of the sinking as an act of piracy. That may not be true but it definitely "was not cricket".

FREDERICK JONES

Bury St Edmunds

# A Falklands window



Opened by Mr Alfonsín's election, not to be let slide shut again

Mrs Margaret Thatcher has been given a new chance to steer the Falklands deadlock towards negotiation. She now faces a democratic government in Buenos Aires composed of men electorally strong enough to compromise. She still has a measure of world sympathy, if not support, as was shown by the high abstention rate in this month's United Nations vote. She has not yet begun the big construction work on the £200m-plus Port Stanley airfield, and not much of the Falklands' military and development bill has yet fallen due for payment.

With every month that passes, these advantages will diminish. Argentina will be strengthened by growing American irritation with British immobility and by the now inevitable resumption of American arms sales to Argentina. The existing doubts in Britain will expand. This is the time to make it clear that Britain is not simply sitting on its victorious pride.

The present British position is that there can be no talks of any sort with Argentina until it has formally ended "hostilities", and that such talks anyway cannot be about sovereignty. The Argentine position, in so far as it can be divined from President-elect Raul Alfonsín's statements, is that he will not formally end hostilities without some sort of agreement with Britain. He may be thinking of a cessation of work on the airport, a reduction in the maritime exclusion zone

around the islands, and some revival of the former communications agreements. But Mr Alfonsín has let it be known that he will not contemplate a resumption of the abortive 1965 negotiating process unless the issue of sovereignty is firmly on the agenda. It is this that Mrs Thatcher has emphatically rejected.

The Fortress Falklands policy may have seemed inevitable in the euphoria after last year's victory. But the British parliament is now showing signs of restiveness, as the British treasury goes on bleeding. Two select committees and a group of backbenchers have questioned whether the policy is workable. None of them is proposing that the principles on which the war was fought—of territorial integrity and self-determination—should be abandoned. They are saying that there can be no normality for the Falklanders except in friendship with Argentina, that such a return to friendship is postponed by the present policy, and that the sooner a deal is struck with Buenos Aires the better for the islanders and for Britain.

One basis for such a deal has been on the agenda since the mid-1970s: leaseback. The difficulty with leaseback in the past has been how long the lease should run—Britain has rightly felt it should offer full security to the existing generation of islanders—and how to ensure that the Falklands administration will be

unmistakably British during that period. The new airport might make the British commitment more credible. The trouble is that a lease acceptable to Britain would be a hard pill to swallow for an Argentina which feels that time, geography and probably world opinion are on its side. That is why Mr Alfonsín is

adamant that sovereignty must be an issue.

None of this will be easy for Mrs Thatcher. But winning the Falklands war—which is not yet won—was always going to be difficult. At present she risks the charge she used to level at others: of buying her way out of a tough decision with taxpayers' cash.

# Argentina to get \$500m aid

By Peter Rodgers,  
Financial Correspondent

Argentina is expected to get a \$500 million cash injection by next Wednesday from British and other banks, in a rushed deal which it is hoped will pre-empt any attempt by the new civilian government to fundamentally renegotiate terms with foreign creditors.

The arrangement, put together late on Wednesday night at the headquarters of Citibank in New York, is also designed to allow the Argentinians to catch up with some of the overdue interest payments, otherwise American banks will be forced by their auditors to make huge and damaging loan write-offs at the year end.

Some banks have had reservations about handing over the \$500 million by the end of this month, because the new civilian government does not take over from the military until December 10. The money will also have to be paid over before a series of rescheduling

deals with Argentine public sector bodies is signed, which until now has been a condition of payment.

The \$500 million is part of a \$1.5 billion medium-term loan first mooted over a year ago but continually delayed. Argentina has indicated that it wants better terms from the banks next year but has been ambiguous about whether it will try and change the terms of the present loan. Argentine central banks officials at the Citibank meeting in New York were suggesting however that they have agreed the proposal to go ahead next week.

So far 90 per cent of the several hundred banks involved have agreed to payment by next Wednesday, and the leading banks are now trying to whip the rest into line.

Yesterday telexes went out from Citibank and from the steering group of banks organising the loan.

The Citibank telex said that Argentina will be drawing \$500

million by or on November 30. It said banks were asked to waive two loan conditions — that interest on bank debt should be up to date and that public-sector reschedulings should be "in place" by December 15. The new economy minister, Mr Bernardo Grinspun, has indicated that he wants to revise some of the terms of the rescheduling and it now looks as if signature could be delayed past the year end.

A second telex from the steering group confirmed that with the new government coming in on December 10, it would be impossible to finish the rescheduling deals by December 15, which had been the original target date.

The \$500 million will be instantly recycled to the banks to repay a bridging loan and interest arrears to the end of September, and possibly into October. The British banks, led by Lloyds, appear to be in favour of this scheme.

# Future minister appeals for prompt Argentina loan

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES AND PETER MONTAGNON IN LONDON

SR. BERNARDO GRINSPUN, who is to take over as economy minister in Argentina's new government, yesterday made a strong appeal to international banks to go ahead with a \$500m (£333m) loan drawing on November 30.

"I think it would be a great pity if the loan was delayed," he said in an interview. "I want to make it quite clear that once we are in government, we will make every effort to reach an agreement with the banks because we don't want anyone to go bankrupt. We shall work with good faith and warmth towards a solution of Argentina's debt problems."

His plea coincided with a telex from leading creditor banks to all Argentina's bank lenders asking them to agree to the drawing on November 30. The money will be used to repay an earlier short-term loan and

to reduce Argentina's debt arrears, currently estimated at over \$500m.

A handful of creditor banks have yet to agree to the drawing, mainly because of the debt service arrears and because Argentina has yet to sign rescheduling agreements worth \$6bn for about 30 of its public sector agencies. Despite this, the Argentine request to draw a first \$500m instalment of its \$1.5bn loan agreed earlier this year "continues to merit support," the telex said.

Such a drawing can only go ahead if all creditor banks agree. Some bankers were worried yesterday that time may now be too short for the drawing to be made on November 30. If so, it would have to be postponed for a third time.

Sr Grinspun hinted that the Radical Party Government which takes office on December

10 would be aiming for a major rescheduling package. Formal negotiations with the International Monetary Fund would start "within days" of it being sworn in.

But he said he would not interfere with the signing of rescheduling agreements worked out by the outgoing Administration. "Once we are in power, we shall honour all our debt obligations, as long as they are in accordance with Argentine law," he stressed.

New estimates suggest Argentina faces repayment of principal totalling \$14bn on its \$40bn foreign debt next year. Interest payments will come to \$5bn, he said. Assuming a trade surplus of \$3bn, down from previous estimates of \$4bn, this means Argentina will need more than the \$1bn in new loans originally planned for next year.

25.11.83

### FALKLAND DEATH OF RAF PILOT

Sqn Ldr Richard Langworthy, 48, who was awarded a D.F.C. in the Falklands honours list for flying No 18 Squadron's only Chinook helicopter to survive the sinking of the container ship Atlantic Conveyor, has died suddenly while serving in the Falklands.

The Ministry of Defence spokesman said yesterday that he died of "natural causes" last week and that his body was being flown home to Odiham, Hampshire. He leaves his wife, Jean, and two sons.

Other Obituaries — P16

### NAAFI GIRLS NEEDED FOR FALKLANDS

Uniformed Naafi girls are needed for the first time since the 1939-45 war for duty in the Falklands.

Initially 12 volunteers aged between 18 and 40 are sought for enrolment into the Women's Royal Army Corps Expeditionary Force Institutes (EFI). They will undergo a short period of training at Wingham, Surrey, before being posted to work in Naafi clubs in the Port Stanley area.

Candidates should write to Major R. Randerson, OC, RAOC, EFI, Wingham, Oaken Lane, Claygate, Esher, Surrey.

### Dry spell

THE MAKINGS of a row are brewing in the Falklands over the NAAFI's refusal to distribute Everard's locally made "Penguin Ale" to servicemen on remoter parts of the islands which other draught beers cannot reach.

The NAAFI claims that the beer, which comes in containers akin to wine boxes, is harder to transport and no cheaper than canned beers shipped-in duty and freight-free.

But, deprived of the drinking capa-

city of some 4,000 servicemen, the £150,000 Everard brewery, which opened in February, is producing no more than 20 barrels a month, 140 less than its capacity.

A "disappointed" Anthony Morse, managing director of Everard, is flying out in February to start a "hearts and minds operation" by wooing troops into the two Stanley pubs to "tickle up their palates." "If the NAAFI had done what we hoped, we'd have been bursting at the seams," he said at the brewery's Leicester headquarters yesterday.

### PUPS FOR FALKLANDS

Thirty sheepdog pups are due in the Falklands soon. The 27 Welsh and three Scottish collies are intended to take new blood to the islands'

GUARDIAN 25.11.83



## In-House briefing

MR JOHN STANLEY, the defence minister, will be hit by broadsides from both Opposition and Tory benches on Monday in a Commons debate on the Navy. Bulwarks of Tory defence policy, such as Sir Patrick Wall and the sacked Navy minister, Mr Keith Speed will be seeking reassurances that relinquishing the Nato commitment to increase defence spending by 3 per cent a year from 1986 will not herald further cuts in the Fleet.

Labour's former Navy minister, Mr Patrick Duffy, will be challenging Mr Stanley from the front bench to explain how the Government intends to meet its over-stretched commitments to Fortress Falklands, the rapid deployment force, Nato and BOAR at a time when the navy is being streamlined (i.e. cut) under the strategy inherited from Sir John Nott.

### Stowaway

AN Argentine stowaway on a cruise ship to the Falkland Islands will be treated as an illegal immigrant if he tries to set foot on the island, the Civil Commissioner, Sir Rex Hunt, said in Port Stanley yesterday. Osvaldo Deste-fanis, who tried to visit Argentine war graves on the islands last April, was discovered aboard the Lindblad Explorer on Monday. — Reuter.

**'BRITISH BASTARDS' JIBE STARTS A STORM**

# Outrage at TV Falklands film

## Shocker

Stunned MPs hit

at betrayal

By MICHAEL EVANS and PETER HITCHENS  
FURIOUS Tory MPs last night denounced a Channel 4 TV film which attacks Britain's role in the Falklands War.

The MPs called for action to end the growing Left-wing bias on our TV screens.

DAILY EXPRESS

25.11.83

The documentary, made by an Argentinian film crew, will be shown on Channel 4 on December 5.

The film, *Malvinas*, a story of betrayals, includes an interview with Left-wing former Labour MP Mr Tony Benn.

At one point the British are described by an Argentinian soldier as "pirates, colonialists and bastards."

An unnamed Coventry trades unionist—the destroyer *Coventry* was sunk in the Falklands war—describes Britain as "suffering under a tyranny."

### Unbalanced

Historian and anti-nuclear campaigner E. P. Thompson joins in the attack by saying that both Mrs Thatcher and Argentine war leader General Galtieri went to war "to increase their credibility" at home.

Only voices backing Britain's Falklands policy in the film are senior Tory backbencher Sir Anthony Buck and an ex-Chief of the Defence Staff, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Hill-Norton.

Sir Anthony said last night: "If the film is as unbalanced as it sounds I shall be raising the matter in the Commons."

Another Tory, Stirling MP Michael Forsyth, hit out at the Independent Broadcasting Authority for "failing in its obligations" in approving the film.

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## ARMS FOR LATIN AMERICA

The Prime Minister recently warned the United States that a resumption of arms sales to Argentina, before a formal cessation of hostilities, would be strongly resented in Britain. The Americans have now riposted by expressing concern about possible British arms sales to Chile, on the grounds that such sales, by increasing tensions in the Beagle Channel, may hinder Dr Alfonsín's new government in its task of reforming and reducing the Argentine armed forces, and that Chile has a repressive regime.

Arms sales invite posturing, and these exchanges are unconvincing. The Prime Minister must be aware, first, that Dr Alfonsín is not in the buying vein; furthermore, that if he were, he has many alternative suppliers apart from the Americans, some of them in Europe; last, that, as Mrs Kirkpatrick has stated, it is unlikely that Washington, which has voted for a resumption of Anglo-Argentine negotiations, will long maintain an ineffective embargo against an elected government in Buenos Aires.

Mr Reagan must be aware that jets and destroyers have little to

do with repression, that this hasty concern for General Pinochet's record is implausible, and that Britain has for long supplied arms to Chile. This fact is well known in Argentina, and it is doubtful whether the sale of 12 Jaguars, some Sea Eagle missiles and HMS Antrim would deflect the Argentine government from its chosen diplomatic courses.

Sovereign nations buy arms. Contrary to popular belief, most Latin American governments are proportionately low spenders on defence. If Chile chooses to buy this equipment, despite the straits in which her economy finds itself, that is by and large a Chilean affair. Dr Alfonsín may reduce Argentina's military budget, but he is not going to reduce it to nothing. The current North Atlantic fuss about arms for the South should be reduced to its proper proportions: the Anglo-Saxons should abandon their unrealistic poses of tutelage.

That done, there is still cause for comment. Given the British government's attitude to Latin American indebtedness, it is contradictory that this country should encourage the purchase

of arms by Chile, the country with the highest per capita debt in the region, while refusing export credit guarantees to Brazil. The contradiction will be noted abroad, even if it escaped notice here.

It is also true that in the wake of the Falklands War it is easy to represent conventional arms sales as symbolic gestures, and that it is naive to suppose that this does not apply when Britain is the seller.

The Prime Minister is better known in Latin America than any British leader since Churchill. The episode that made her so famous – and she has her admirers as well as her detractors there – also exposed the inadequacies of successive British governments in their Latin American policies. The Prime Minister will not be hurried, and should not be, into ill-timed gestures, but British policy should not be allowed to slip back into the sort of unimaginative righteous torpor that this current trans-Atlantic argument suggests. What is worrying about it is not so much its content, but the suspicion that no one is thinking hard enough about anything else.

### Falklands fishing limit

## Britain holds back on 200-mile zone

By William Norris

The ocean around the Falkland Islands is full of fish. The hake and the blue whiting, to name but two species, are there in abundance. And yet, in spite of urgings by Lord Shackleton, and the Falklands Legislative Council, Britain has yet to declare a 200-mile fishing zone. It relies instead on the old three mile limit, based on the effective range of a nineteenth century cannon.

As a result the area is fished freely, though not intensively, by Poles, Russians, Spaniards, and West Germans.

There is no indigenous fishing industry on the Falklands, mainly because the islanders apparently prefer mutton. In any case, as Lord Shackleton pointed out in his report of September, 1982, a single 50-60ft fishing boat would need to sell £3,500 worth of fish every week locally, to

cover its operating costs; even allowing for the demands of the garrison, that did not, to him, seem a practical proposition.

The declaration of a 200-mile zone, already adopted worldwide by most fishing nations, involves no great legal problem. All that is required is a proclamation by the Falkland Islands' Government, followed by legislation.

The snag is that under present circumstances, permission for the proclamation is needed from the British Secretary of State, and it has not been forthcoming.

Asked the question "why not?" in view of the islanders' expressed wish for a 200-mile limit, which would at least bring them licence fees from foreign factory ships, plus the chance to preserve stocks, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office is reti-

All its spokesman will say is that the matter is "under active consideration". It has been that way for some time. Pressed further, the spokesman referred to the statement by Mr Cranley Onslow in the Commons on December 22, 1982. In that, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs claimed that the main problem was the cost of establishing a policing arrangement.

He did not wish to see destroyers and frigates deflected from their primary role of maintaining an exclusion zone around the islands.

Mr Onslow assured the House that: "We shall continue to study this question".

There are problems in harvesting the Falklands fish, one of which, though academic at present, is that Argentina has already claimed a 200-mile zone around the islands, as it has

around its own coast 478 miles away.

More serious difficulties arise because hake keeps less well than cod, and supplies of blue whiting are more readily available in the Western Approaches, and the Falklands lack any fish processing plant. The last point is another of those still under consideration.

No direct British participation in the Falklands fishing industry appears to be envisaged. Britain's fleet is equipped for closer fishing grounds, and heavy capital investment would be needed for effective exploitation. A trial scheme mooted by Lord Shackleton does not appear to have aroused interest.

Mr David Taylor, the new chief executive of the Falklands, is due to take up his post on Tuesday. The vexed question of fishing limits is expected to be one of his main priorities.

### Galtieri blamed for war

An official Argentine inquiry into the Falklands war said former President Leopoldo Galtieri should face a charge carrying the death penalty at his court martial. Page 5

# Galtieri 'could face death penalty over Falklands blunder'

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA'S former President, Gen Leopoldo Galtieri, and the former navy chief, Admiral Jorge Anaya, could face the death penalty, if a court martial follows the recommendations of an official investigation into the Falklands war. Fourteen other officers could face prison sentences of between three and 10 years.

The court martial is not expected to end until the middle of next year, by which time the issue of the Falklands war could well be in the hands of the democratically-elected parliament.

But the leak of the full details of the investigation to the mass circulation magazine *Siete Dias* yesterday—less than a week after they were declared a military secret—has provoked a major stir within the armed forces, to the apparent satisfaction of the Radical Party which will be sworn into government on December 10.

In its list of the diplomatic, logistical and strategic blunders both before and after the April 2, 1982 invasion of the islands, the inquiry expands on a memo written by one of the investigators, and first leaked last August.

It concentrates the blame on Gen Galtieri and Admiral Anaya for pursuing a war with Britain largely for domestic political reasons and without the necessary diplomatic support or military preparation.

The investigation says the South Georgia incident should never have been used by the former junta as a pretext for an invasion at a time when the conscript army and much of the fleet was "poorly trained and lacking vital equipment."

Sr Nicanor Costa Mendez, the former Foreign Minister, is accused of having misjudged both British and U.S. reaction. The third member of the original junta, the Air Force commander, Brig Lami Doza, faces lighter criticism as he was not one of the main instigators of the invasion and

because of the generally competent performance of his pilots.

Among the officers, Gen Mario Benjamin Menendez is blamed as having failed adequately to deploy his troops around Port Stanley and having demoralised the conscript army which finally capitulated to the British.

Significantly, among the junior officers specially singled out is Capt Alfredo Astiz, commander of Argentine troops in South Georgia. Astiz, who is implicitly accused of having surrendered without major resistance, is already facing the prospect of a further trial in connection with major human rights issues following the 1976 coup.

Military officials said yesterday that the outgoing junta had ordered an immediate investigation into the circumstances of the leak amid reports that those responsible could have been a group of junior officers and that the magazine may have paid large sums for its "scoop."

President-elect Raul Alfonsín, while having no direct connection with the publication of the report, is reliably understood to have broadly backed a public airing of the military's past mistakes.

The Radical leader believes that far from providing a destabilising move, the chronicle of blunders by the present regime will broaden public support for his ambitious plan for military reform.

The leak concided yesterday with renewed reports that the Radicals are planning sweeping changes in the current military command.

They are also said to be planning a gradual phasing-out of obligatory military service, and a major rationalisation of the military industrial complex, *Fabricaciones Militares*, as part of a strategy of de-politicising the armed forces and making them more efficient professionally.

## Commentary



**Geoffrey  
Smith**

New York  
Is there any serious international pressure on Britain to negotiate with Argentina over the future of the Falklands? For the second year running, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution last week calling for talks between the two countries on the sovereignty of the island. Once again, it offered no reasonable basis for negotiations, referring only to the interest and not the wishes of the Falklanders.

But UN resolutions often require a degree of delicate interpretation. So before the vote was taken, I talked here to the representatives of a number of countries. They were in many instances the same people with whom I had discussed this question a year ago when essentially the same resolution was passed.

I was able to judge if there had been any change in the diplomatic atmosphere in the meantime. I have also subsequently discovered the American attitude in Washington.

If one were simply to go by the voting figures in the General Assembly, one might conclude that nothing had changed from last year. There were 87 votes for the resolution compared with 90 last year; nine votes against, compared with 12, and 54 rather than 52 abstentions.

This was encouraging for Britain. A UN resolution that is passed with so many abstentions loses much of its force. The outcome was even better than might have been expected because there had been some speculation that France and Italy might this year have voted for the resolution. But once again, they abstained.

Yet it is not quite the same as last year. The issue itself arouses less excitement. There will nearly always be a majority at the United Nations in favour of negotiations, any negotiations anywhere. But whereas, the Falklands were last year regarded as a major international question - though even then there was no expectation that there would be early action on the call for negotiations - by now, it has been overtaken by other crises.

## No cause for British alarm

There will, however, soon be some new moves by the United States which may cause some anxiety in London. A strong delegation is expected to be sent from Washington to the inauguration of the new Argentine President, and the embargo on arms sales to Argentina is likely to be lifted.

I believe it would be a mistake for British opinion to become alarmed by these developments. The United States is not about to provide supplies for a new invasion of the Falklands. There will still be careful controls through certification of the type of arms sold to Argentina.

The lifting of the embargo will be essentially symbolic, and a further gesture of friendliness towards the new democratic regime.

Gestures of friendliness can be taken too far. For concessions of substance to be made in the hope of making Argentine democracy more secure might encourage the Argentines to imagine that they would get away with anything. For Britain to be expected to behave as if Argentine democracy was already secure, would be even worse.

But I found a more widespread appreciation than I had expected at the United Nations that Argentine democracy has as yet, no deep roots.

In due course, Britain will be expected to reopen a dialogue with Argentina. But there is no good reason to resist that idea, provided that the right conditions for talks are established.

If Argentina were no longer to regard itself as being in a state of hostilities with Britain, would simply need to avoid a commitment to negotiating over the sovereignty of the islands as the climax to such a dialogue.

Limited Discussions of this nature, with no obligation to touch the question of sovereignty, would not meet the requirements of the UN resolution. But that would not matter. International opinion and British interest would alike be satisfied by the formerelligerents simply talking.

THE TIMES

24.11.83

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## Argentine generals risk death for bungling

From Jeremy Morgan,  
in Buenos Aires

Four Argentine military leaders including the former president, General Leopoldo Galtieri, could face the death penalty or life imprisonment for their part in last year's adventure in the Falklands.

The punishments are the maximum carried by charges under military justice recommended in a report prepared by a commission of six retired senior officers appointed a year ago to investigate the war.

The report is being considered by the Armed Forces Supreme Council, the highest level of Argentina's military hierarchy, and levels accusations at 16 top officers, two more than previously thought.

The council's "summary" proceedings could yet lead to formal court martial, after which the Council would send its decision to the President-elect, Dr Raul Alfonsin, who will become commander in chief of the armed forces when he assumes power on December 10.

General Benjamin Rattenbach also said Admiral Jorge Anaya head of the navy at the time of the invasion and a member of General Galtieri's ruling military junta, should face charges carrying the same maximum penalty.

Admiral Anaya, said to have been a keen advocate of the ill-fated invasion plot, supported General Galtieri in a palace coup which toppled General Roberto Viola.

The third member of the junta, Brigadier Basilio Lami Dozo, the head of the air force, was not let into the conspiracy until January, 1982. The commission recommended he serve a long prison term.

Although Argentina's Falklands military governor and commander, General Mario Menendez, was not threatened with execution, the commission said he should face charges under eight articles of the military code of justice, which together implied greater responsibility for the defeat than even General Galtieri.

DAILY  
TELEGRAPH  
24.11.83

## 200-MILE ZONE FOR FISHING SOUGHT

By Our Port Stanley  
Correspondent

Falkland Islands councillors have called on the British Government to take steps to impose a 200-mile fishing zone around the Falklands.

Mr Tim Blake, who represents people in West Falklands, condemned the British Government for repeatedly refusing to take notice of previous calls for a 200-mile zone, during a meeting of the Legislative Council.

The only revenue gained by the Falklands from vast quantities of fish which are being caught by Polish, Russian and other countries' trawlers is the harbour dues from the Poles who transfer their catches in the Falklands.

THE  
TIMES  
24.11.83

## Galtieri may face death for war role

From Douglas Tweedale  
Buenos Aires

Former President Leopoldo Galtieri and Admiral Jorge Anaya, his navy commander could receive the death penalty for their actions in the Falklands war if a military court convicts them.

Two army colonels could also receive the death penalty.

Brigadier Basilio Lami Dozo, the former air force commander, faces a possible long prison term, while the report recommends that Seor Nicanor Costa Mendez, the former Foreign Minister be tried for his failure to provide proper advice during the war.

The Rattenbach report, named the general who chaired the nine-month investigation, is the military's definitive study of the war and concludes that defeat was due to poor planning, diplomatic errors, lack of preparedness and incompetence.

Daily Mail  
24.11.83

## Galtieri may die

FORMER Argentinian President Leopoldo Galtieri should receive a long jail term or the death penalty for bungling the Falklands war with Britain, says a secret military commission's report leaked to a magazine in Buenos Aires.

The report, which was obtained by the magazine, says that Galtieri was "grossly negligent" in his handling of the war. It also criticises his failure to secure a ceasefire before the British landed on the islands. The report says that Galtieri's actions led to the deaths of many Argentine soldiers and the capture of the islands. It also criticises his failure to secure a ceasefire before the British landed on the islands. The report says that Galtieri's actions led to the deaths of many Argentine soldiers and the capture of the islands.

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# THE FALKLANDS

SUSAN CROSLAND★ flew to Stanley for Harpers & Queen and talked to the Islanders about their present and future

★ PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRAHAM BOUND

'Good morning, ladies and gentlemen,' says our RAF captain. Soldiers in my area glance at me. 'You are flying in a VC-10 with Squadron 10 to Dakar and Ascension. Please retain your boarding passes, as you will need them on reboarding the aircraft.' 'I've already misplaced mine,' I say to the sergeant beside me. 'It doesn't matter. You're the only lady passenger. They're bound to remember you.'

Dawn has already broken at Brize Norton when I begin the first half of the 8,000 miles to the Falklands, courtesy of the Ministry of Defence. The second half will be in the RAF's C-130 Hercules (groan): it alone can carry passengers and make the steep landing that Stanley's runway requires. A soldier's life is to be mine for the next two days in the air.

Do paras keep fit on carbohydrates? Our lunch-boxes hold: sausage roll, pork pie, shortcake biscuits, fruit-cake, cream crackers, cheese spread, crisps, Milky Way, one stick of Wrigley's spearmint chewing gum. Dakar, in Senegal, is on the

westernmost edge of Africa's bulge, just north of the equator. While the VC-10 is refuelled, all passengers stand outside it by a deep ditch separating concrete runway from parched earth spreading flat as far as the eye can see. The mid-afternoon wet heat is unspeakable. Miniature herons stand on their tall legs on the other side of the ditch, tweetering to one another.

An hour after the VC-10 crosses the equator, Ascension Island appears on the navigator's radar screen. When the British fretted lest some soul rescue Napoleon from his mid-Atlantic exile on St Helena, they put a garrison on the volcanic ash which forms Ascension. 'There's an embarrassing mountain halfway along the runway,' the captain says. As we home in on the ribbon of double lights, the ground controller speaks: 'Flight 2128: could you slow down your approach? Donkeys are on the runway.' Ten seconds later he speaks again: 'Donkeys have moved to the south side of the runway.' Twenty seconds after that, skimming four feet over the 'mountain', we

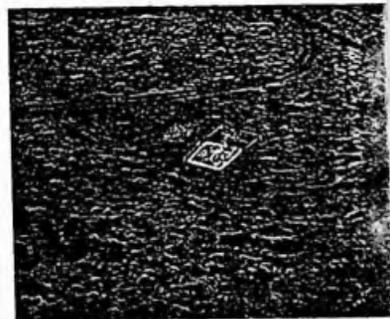
touch down.

Commercial airlines also can use Ascension, but their passengers must make the rest of the journey by boat, taking ten days. We are the privileged exception: we enter a hut to be briefed by a young blond Peter Jay in tropical khaki gear. 'Madam, you will be driven to bungalow 9 in Georgetown. You will be collected at 4 am. The rest of you will while away the hours in nearby huts or tents. When I call your name, you need only groan or sigh, so long as you make some sound and I know you are here.'

At 5.20 we climb through the door near the front of the dimly lit bucket which will be our home for the next thirteen hours. The load master tells me to go in last so that I will be 'more comfortable', ie, at the end of one of two benches that line our side of the Hercules' belly, separated by stanchions and webbing from the two benches of torture along the other side - 60 humans wedged box and cox, knees pressed against the others' bench, comforted only by the layers of padded camouflage worn by 59 of

us. The sixtieth prepares for the soon-to-be-zero temperature by inserting herself in a borrowed sleeping bag which the soldier wedged opposite then zips up, while the one wedged beside me straps me to our shared bench of pain. 'This is impossible.' I say to myself, oral communication with others having ended when the engines roar into action and the plane's metal shell begins its thirteen hours of vibration against our backbones.

Three feet away, fixed halfway up a partition, is a white metal container above which is stencilled: URINAL USE ONLY NOT TO BE USED FOR SLOPS. That's all very well for them. I must swing hand over hand, boot over boot along stanchions and webbing.



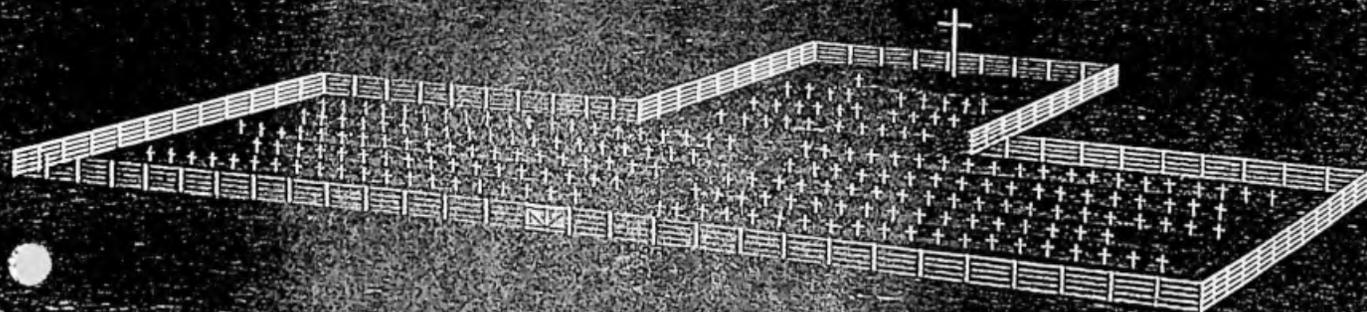
Left: Susan Crosland at Goose Green with the CO, Lieut-Col Christopher Wolverson. The pilot is Captain Mitchell. Above: memorial to the Welsh Guards at Fitzroy



endangering 29 fellow passengers as I climb above them to the back where an extraordinary seat is placed, curtains flapping round it held closed by the nearest soldier.

The load master indicates I can climb on to the flight-deck to watch one of two mid-air refuellings from a tanker plane. I crouch at the left shoulder of the squadron leader, who is piloting by hand and foot, sweat running down his face despite the cold as he slowly closes the gap between us and the tanker ahead. Under the tanker's tail a small flap opens, extruding 50 feet of hose with a milky white anemone mouth, 15 inches across, at its tip. From the nose of our plane a steel shaft extends itself. The gap keeps closing until our shaft drives into the open anemone and we're locked together. The

# NOW



The Argentine military cemetery with its 280 crosses so far (bodies are still being found) is cut into a hill so that it cannot be seen from Darwin

fuelling begins. Ten minutes later the anemone turns slightly, shifting itself, and we separate. Poignant. The two planes diverge, the tanker to return to Ascension, we to continue the 'airbridge' to the Falklands.

From the flight-deck, I look down on a large empty island, a cluster of houses - Port Stanley - laid out in ascending rows on one side of a harbour. A couple of miles outside the town is Stanley airport, crowded with Phantom and Harrier jets, ringed by Rapier anti-aircraft missiles. We stagger from the Hercules into afternoon sunlight and a cold dry wind. When winter draws near in England, spring begins in the Falklands.

Lying 400 miles off Argentina at the bottom tip of South America, the Falklands is the greatest graveyard of ships in the world - hundreds of hulks on the shore and under the water, ships that failed to get around Cape Horn. There are no native land mammals. There are no native trees. Made up of moorland scored with stone runs and streams, the two large islands and 200 small ones together are less than the size of Wales. Two hundred years ago Britons began to settle here. Fifty years later British administration of the colony began.

Port Stanley, on East Falkland, is where the action is. It has 700 inhabitants (plus most of the 4,000 military now engaged in

defending the islands, a job done by 42 Royal Marines until April Fool's Day last year). The other 1,100 Islanders live in the settlements - called 'camp' - ranching sheep whose forebears came from Uruguay. Interlinking roads are non-existent, so the rare travel between communities is by light aircraft, Land-Rover, Honda or horse.

What binds these people to their largely barren islands? Love of peaceful solitude. Regard for self-reliance. A passionate attachment to the stark beauty of the place.

The road from Stanley airport to the town is ruptured by military transport grinding back and forth. As fast as the surface is repaired it is torn open afresh. Peat bogs from which Islanders cut the fuel to heat their homes are surrounded by military debris. The common is strung with barbed wire bearing little placards coloured green, blue or red. Eighty horses used to graze there. Some were removed by their owners. Others stepped on mines.

The wire with its coloured tags laces miles of land around Stanley and all the beaches that were best for playtime. Green means: 'These areas have been exhaustively checked by the Royal Engineers and are believed to be safe.' Blue: 'There is no evidence at all that these areas

contain minefields or booby traps. However, they may contain unexploded bombs, ammunition, missiles, etc.' Red: 'These areas are known to contain mines or booby traps. DO NOT ENTER.'

The Royal Engineers repeatedly issue revised maps of these colours. Even so, no one is meant to go walking alone. On the day I arrive, three civilians are hiking in a blue area. Two find themselves standing among mines. They freeze. The third hiker goes for help: a helicopter lifts his companions out of the mines.

Before the war, the supply boat from Britain arrived every three months. Today there are some 20 warships and merchant ships anchored in the harbour. Above them tower three astounding vessels: called 'coastels', they are barges stacked with metal containers, each coastel housing, feeding, entertaining 930 British servicemen (and several servicewomen). Stanley's frightful housing shortage has been eased, if far from cured, by the advent of the coastels a few months ago.

Stanley proper is enchanting. It reminds me of seaside villages in northernmost New England. Painted with mostly primary colours, some pastels, the walls of the houses are clapboard or tin, the roofs made of corrugated tin. The houses are built along streets that run parallel to the harbour, each street higher up

the hill so that the glass front porches can catch the sun. Most of the shrapnel damage has now been repaired.

I stay at the Upland Goose, the only hotel. (Had I wanted to stay with a family, I could have done. Islanders are friendly, hospitable, humorous. They take their time assessing you, but they keep their door open while doing so.) Though English is the language spoken by all Islanders, the hotel's signs about payment and so on are printed in Spanish as well.

Nanette and Desmond King and their three daughters run the Upland Goose. It sleeps 31. Business was good before the war when tourists came via Argentina. This week there are only eight guests here, all on business. Mrs King serves us at our tables as well as helping in the kitchen, with the laundry, with everything else. Married to an Englishman, she is a kelper - as those born in the Falklands call themselves, after the seaweed that surrounds their islands. Even the richest kelpers are accustomed to hard work: it is part of the self-reliance ethos (like ranchers in New Zealand or midwest USA). Mrs King belongs to one of the old-established families who came here in 1842.

'There were ten or eleven families who owned the land. All but one still own the land. Primogeniture was practised, the siblings usually



The big house at Hill Cove settlement, West Falkland - a 146,000-acre sheep farm. Right: the Anglican cathedral at Port Stanley. The congregation usually numbers about 30, half of them soldiers



given small shares.' When the landowner gets too old to do the strenuous work, he retires with his wife into Stanley, and the son takes over, or a manager if the son doesn't want to farm. There is a sharp social divide between employers and employees. In the upper tier are the Islander landowners - plus the top expatriates: managers of the Falkland Island Company (far the biggest owner and employer of all), senior civil servants, doctors. In the lower tier are the other Islanders. But there are not the differences of accent that classify the English. Although the upper tier still have gin and tonics 'after church' (few go to church), 7 o'clock drinks during the week, call in at the Colony Club, the barrier between them and the lower tier has begun to crumble slowly. 'A lot of it stems from the Governor,' Mrs King says. 'Instead of that tight little list he used to entertain, he has widened it. And that attitude goes right through the community. People stopped changing for dinner when they dined at Government House - and sometimes with each other - nearly ten years ago. It was a bit of a fag dressing up. But it's a pity it has gone.' She takes the lid off a tin can, delicately extracts a packet of tobacco and gracefully rolls a cigarette. Islanders smoke a lot. Since the war, Sir Rex Hunt has been called Civil Commissioner, as he now shares duties with the commander of the British forces on the island. 'But people still call him Governor. And though he is easy-going, they don't take liberties.' Islanders know everything about everyone else. Marriage between relations is common. Stanley's telephone book looks like a toy book. The locals seldom bother

asking the only operator for a number. 'I went out for dinner - on my motorcycle - with the Governor,' says Monsignor Spraggon, the urbane jovial priest who has been there for years, recently taking leave for a papal audience in Rome. 'Soon after I arrived at Government House, the telephone rang. It was for me. The person had just picked up the telephone and said: "Get me Monsignor."' 'I like the way of life, knowing everyone. But if you're looking for privacy, it is out. No no no.' Does the lack of privacy compel the Islanders to be puritanical? 'No. They're conservative, but they're liberal in their outlook.' 'We're fairly loose,' says Graham Bound, who is with Monsignor and me. Graham is the young editor of *Penguin News*, the Falklands' only newspaper, a photostatted weekly. 'We have a high divorce rate, a lot of alcoholism.' Neither he nor Monsignor can think of any current divorcée, women being so outnumbered that they quickly remarry. Graham knows several women who have been married three, four, five times. There are no prostitutes as such: instead there are a couple of married women who are promiscuous. There is none of

England's overt homosexuality. Graham and I keep our anoraks on while visiting Monsignor in his new house. Its construction began two years ago. He is still waiting for a heating system, not to mention a chimney. The man building the house has never made a chimney before; he is a councillor and was chief of police until four years ago; he is an excellent plumber. 'It's a colony of handymen,' says Monsignor. Why does it take so long for these handymen to complete a fairly simple house? Primarily the time it takes for the materials to be shipped from England. Also the kelper temperament. 'There's a certain amount of apathy,' says Monsignor, 'brought about because people here have never known want, hunger, or seen it. There is no unemployment. People haven't had to make the effort that they have to do in the big outside world. They're not lazy, but they don't kill themselves: it isn't necessary.' While some mores begin to change at Stanley, others remain set by isolation and self-reliance. There is no bakery, no hairdresser, no dry-cleaner. Nor is there a bank. A bank was meant to open in July 1983, but in October, when I go to its site, all I see is a hole in the ground. Meanwhile transactions continue in cash. If money is sent outside the community, it goes by postal order - though exchange of cheques is possible among employers who have bank accounts in Britain. Stanley's four policemen and 27 military police work together. Islanders' crime consists of drunkenness and petty thieving, and they are astonished by the bloody mayhem that ensues when off-duty Royal Marines encounter off-duty Yorkshire squaddies.

There are three pubs in Stanley. The butcher's van calls round the streets twice a week. The one department store, owned of course by the Falkland Island Company, is in two adjacent rooms. The clothes section has about four dozen dresses, a choice of two styles of gloves. The videos are sold out. Ordinary television cannot reach the Falklands, but they've had video for about two years. 'We order ten or twelve on each boat,' says the woman behind the counter. 'We get four boats a year.' In the food and drink section, I ask the young woman at the only till if I can see the Black List. A doctor called in to deal with a drink problem can march a man to the magistrate and say: 'I want him put on the Black List.' Using a very old law, the police put him on it. They circulate the list to the three pubs, four stores, the Upland Goose. Six or twelve months is written by the name, during which time the person cannot buy alcohol. I see on the up-to-date Black List that there are two women among some 20 names. 'Local characters buy drink and sell it at an inflated price to the people on the Black List,' says Graham Bound. 'That's also a crime, so if they're caught, they're fined heavily.' There is no fresh milk in Stanley. There was a dairy, and privately owned cows grazed on the common. The Argentines ate the cows. Unfortunately they ate the bull as well. There is no fresh fruit. That stopped last year when all transport from Argentina was banned. But when summertime comes, most Stanley families will have berry fruits as well as vegetables from the gardens at the back of each house. Chickens abound. The people are patently well-fed and healthy.

Brian Paul with his wife Sonia and daughters Michelle and Tanya and engraving ashtrays made from shell cases. He has done 2,000 for soldiers



down: because distances are small, because half the roads are being churned by heavy military vehicles or are blocked for repair. The people who complain loudest about the military presence are the British expatriates who came here for the quiet stress-free, noise-free village atmosphere but never committed themselves as settlers. 'I feel really resentful,' says one of them, 'like a child whose toy is taken away.'

John Fowler and his wife are simply sad. It was their house that was hit by British shells in the final days of the war, killing Mrs Whitley, leaving shrapnel in the Fowlers. After twelve years in the Falklands, he has just resigned from being superintendent of education and is returning with his family to Britain.

Some of the young Islanders actually like the outside interest brought by the forces' presence: 'Social life has zipped up enormously.'

F Sandra and Brian Paul, this outside stimulation will soon cut two ways. They have daughters, thirteen and fifteen years old. Sandra is an Islander who married a Marine and left the Falklands, got divorced, met Brian in Devon where he was a builder. Together they returned to Stanley. She is a self-taught artist, specialising in exquisite water-colours of birds and small fauna.

Using timber from Denmark and Poland transported via England, he is rebuilding the interior of their house. A pretty wooden banister and beautifully finished treads rise out of the sitting-room. Soldiers come and go, collecting heavy, handsome brass ashtrays that Brian has engraved for them. When the Queen's Own Highlanders were ready to move last year, he bought their engraving machine. The artillery

reckon that in the last 36 hours of the war they fired 12,000 shells into Stanley while the Argentines fired out. Two thousand of the shell cases have now been through Brian's workshop, converted into ashtrays.

Sandra attends a yoga class taught by a sergeant in his free time. The problem, she says, lies ahead, when the girls are a year or so older. 'The incredible ratio - about 200 men to one girl - is exciting for the girls, worrying for the parents. It's a horrific problem.'

The junior school in Stanley is staffed by seven teachers, the senior school by eight. Travelling teachers fly to the settlements for one week in four. Some of the camp children are sent to school in Stanley, staying with relations or in the hostel. Most of the upper-tier children go abroad when they are eleven - to schools in England, Uruguay or (until the war) Argentina. Any child wanting A-levels and higher education goes abroad. Not all return to their island homes.

Charles Keenleyside is a technician with Cable and Wireless. After his schooling in Stanley, he went on a training programme in England and met his Cornish wife, Noreen. He has just finished installing the central heating unit - to be fed with peat - that he ordered from Britain. The sitting-room is decorated with oatmeal colours - sofa from Habitat, cane chairs, stripped and polished Welsh dresser. 'Outsiders think because there's no regular newspaper here, no television, that Islanders don't know anything. People here regularly listen to the news and are well-informed. But when I meet expatriates, they're surprised I'm a local. They expect me to be a bit backward. When they find I'm articulate, they assume I must have gone to school in Britain. I

think it's hilarious. The expatriates would deny they have that attitude. But they have.'

Expats (as they are usually called) are paid twice as much as Islanders for doing exactly the same job. As ordinary Islanders grow aware of their own worth, bitterness mounts. 'It's not jealousy,' says Graham Bound. 'It's a subtle thing - the distinction made between those people and us. Some of the expats think it's a little ridiculous and unjust, but the Government doesn't seem to want to recognise it.'

The resentment is compounded by the patronising attitude of many expats, who cultivate coffee mornings and dinner parties among themselves, occasionally tossing in the token Islander.

The new 'strategic' airfield is being built by contract labour, shipped from Britain and paid immensely high wages. Islanders apply for the jobs and are turned down. 'It may pain Sir Rex Hunt to do it,' says one of the British technicians under contract, 'but he encourages contractors not to employ Falkland Islanders: it would wreck the island's economy.'

So we're back where we began: the interests of the large land-owners remain central. The high-quality wool that they ship to Bradford is the Falklands' only trade. (Lord Shackleton's proposals for development have yet to get off the drawing-board.) As there is no unemployment, there is no spare labour. If Islanders go to work at the airfield, who will gather and shear the sheep?

Until recently, Falkland Island Government councillors had a vested interest in the land-owners. They still have, though less so as the old colonial ways break down. There are no political parties, but a few 'radical' councillors are beginning to flex their muscles.

And the trade union - there is only one - is getting better organised. A key figure is Terry Betts, who has made the transition from blue to white-collar job and wants more people to be able to do the same. 'The camp manager can influence the entire work-force: he can intimidate, dismiss, cut your fringe benefits. Only in the last decade has the employee stopped calling the manager's eldest son: "Mr John", "Mr Peter". The union must involve itself more in housing, land reform.' David Barton - a brother-in-law of Mrs King - owns Teal Inlet. 'We are criticised for operating the patriarchal system,' he says, 'but most of the older people in camp prefer it. The younger ones do not. They are more independent. Twenty years ago I did income tax for 90 per cent of my workers. Now I do none. To a certain extent, a lot of them are capable of doing this now.'

I climb into a helicopter - courtesy of MoD - to fly to a settlement on West Falkland. Skimming low over East Falkland, we skirt the water where *Sir Galahad* and *Sir Tristram* were hit. On a slope outside Fitzroy is the memorial to the Welsh Guards. Empty ammunition boxes lie on the beach. The helicopter turns west over moorland pock-marked with puddles, intersected with straight fences needed to gather the sheep. The sheep look like slugs, until they suddenly put out legs as they run from the helicopter's down-draught. Upland geese graze. West Falkland's cliffs rise directly from the sea. We fly over armed soldiers running between ridges, others crawling on their stomachs, moving in on an isolated farmhouse 'where six Argentines are holding a shepherd as hostage'. The military exercise is make-believe, though the train-

Charles Keenleyside is amused that the expats expect him to be stupid



Sir Rex Hunt has done away with black tie at Government House



Councillor John Cheek will leave if Argentina gains any control



Mgr Spraggon with soldiers. 'If you're looking for privacy, it is out'





*Traditional Stanley houses are made of clapboard or tin in bright colours*



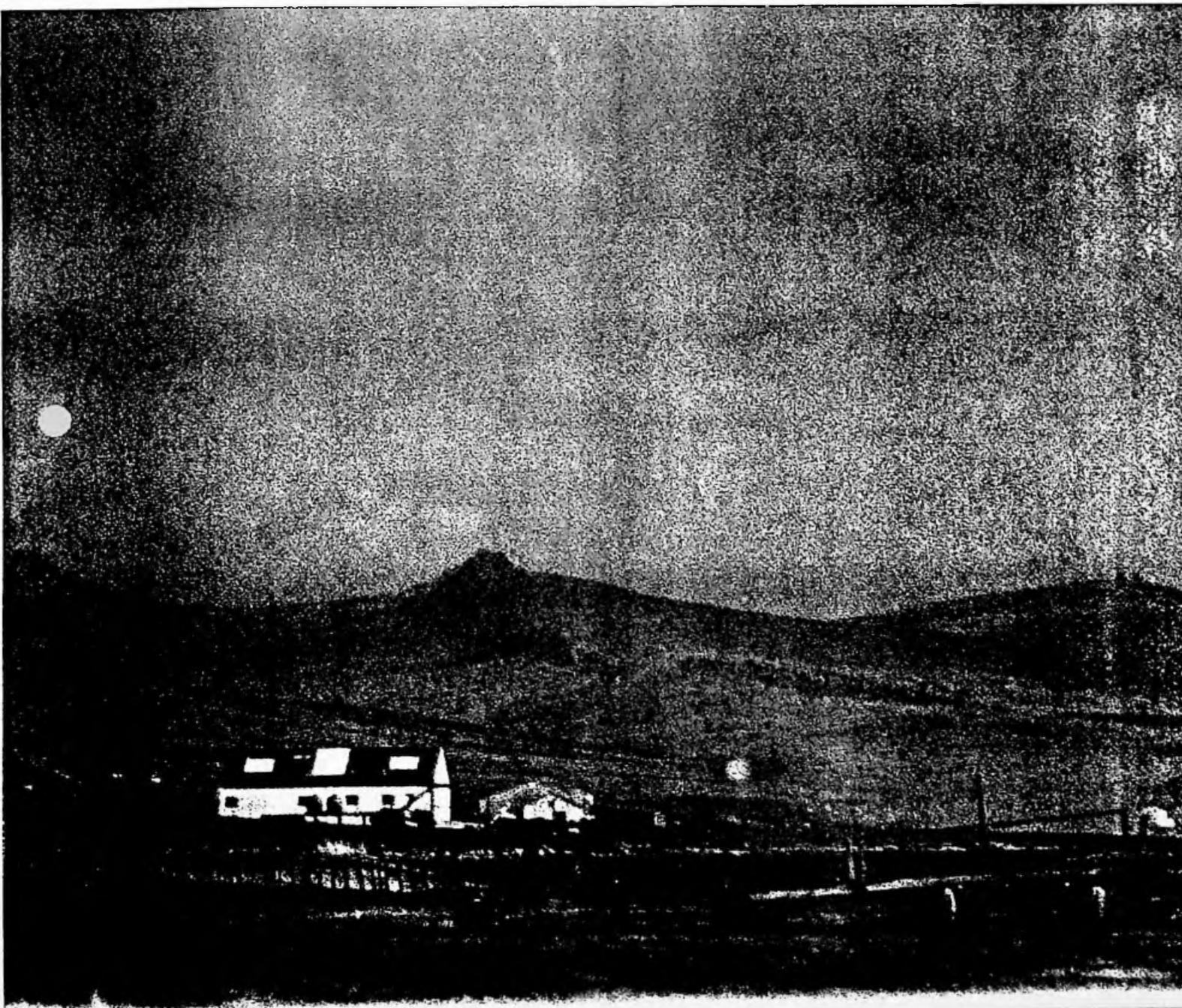
*New houses, timber prefabs from Sweden, paid for by H.M. Government*

ing is real enough: two days later three British soldiers are badly wounded in a similar exercise; two weeks after that a jet fighter crashes, killing its crew. We look down on Hill Cove settlement, cream-coloured houses with red roofs, 'the big house' much bigger than the rest. Begun in 1868, the settlement is managed by Tim and Sally Blake, members of old families. They're known as generous em-

ployers who have a family atmosphere about their farm. She walks out to greet our helicopter - friendly open face, red hair (most Islanders have dark hair), blue-green sweater that matches her eyes, blue trousers, Sloane Ranger black shoes with gold bar, hands worn by hard work. She smokes a lot. Like all owner/manager's wives, she keeps open house for travellers. Staying in some of the

seven bedrooms are the flying doctor and his family; an ecologist; an MoD man. Sally Blake does the cooking and serves meals at the big kitchen table - cloth napkins, silver. The dining-room with its Victorian furniture is used currently as an office. Like all owner/managers, Tim Blake works alongside his employees gathering sheep for lamb-marking, shearing and so on. The farm covers 146,000 acres. Today

an acre sells at between £10 and £20, including stock. Sally Blake says that the shepherds earn £2,500 only, but their houses, food, etc are all thrown in. 'They are self-sufficient, so they can afford to buy their own videos. They compete with each other, take pride in the number of lambs they can produce on "their" land.' Once a year one of the five West Falkland settlements is host to



the other four, when they get together for a week to eat, drink, have rodeos and races.

Goose Green settlement is owned by an absentee landlord, the Falkland Island Company. The manager is moving to another camp: his wife polishes the iron range for her successor. The married employees' houses are nicely kept. The bunk-house for single men is utterly grim.

Nearby is the headquarters of the King's Own Royal Border Regiment's 1st Battalion. In the middle of mud, prepackaged huts are linked by wooden-slatted walks, a wire preventing you from tramping where an optimist is trying to grow grass. The major keeps in touch with the settlement manager and makes sure relations between the two camps are as smooth as possible. For instance, a limited number of soldiers go at one time to the settlement's store.

Between Goose Green and Darwin we fly low over the ridge where the Argentines held the high ground and 2 Para were attacking

from below. Colonel H ran around the base of the ridge to lead the way up a gully and attack from that side. He was shot from the adjacent ridge. Gorse grows in the gully. A small cross stands where it overlooks Goose Green on one side, Darwin on the other. It was put there by the local people.

The Argentine cemetery has 280 crosses so far. (Another body was found recently - a captain who probably had ejected from a crashing plane.) The cemetery is cut into a hill so that it cannot be seen from Goose Green and Darwin. Colonel H is buried with thirteen other British at San Carlos; the local people tend the cemetery.

Falkland Islanders are caught up in a tangle of emotions. They prefer the presence of the military to the return of the Argentines: 'I'd feel deeply humiliated and helpless at seeing the Argentines come swaggering in. It would scotch any aspirations we have.' They have a profound mistrust of the Foreign Office. They are



Travelling doctor's sons at Hill Cove

uncertain of what is Mrs Thatcher's interest in them. They no longer think that Britain has a moral obligation to protect their colony at all costs: they can see the British taxpayer's point of view, that £1 million per Islander per year is a lot. They think about it constantly. Before the war they were not costing Britain money. All they were asking for - and still are asking for - was development of light industry in the

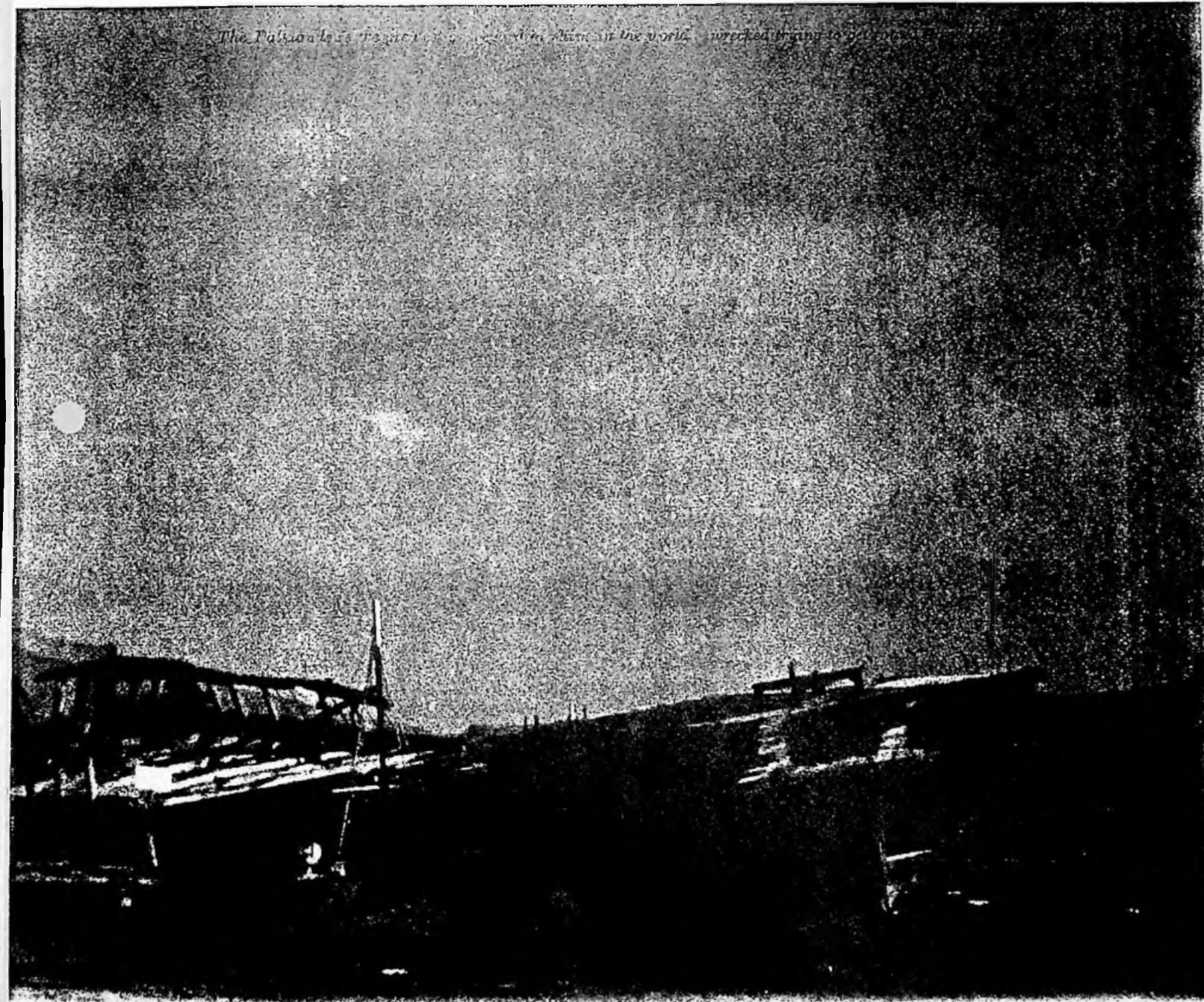
Falkland islands.

They know that to the Argentines 'negotiation' means transfer of sovereignty. Even if some sort of lease-back was assured, the vast majority would opt for being taken out of here - to Britain, New Zealand. How much would they expect to be paid for repatriation? There's no consensus, but the trade unionist, Terry Betts, says: 'All I'd want is a similar job, similar house, similar cash in the bank, my children in school. I would not expect more than what I have.'

Yet they keep on hoping that someone somewhere will negotiate something so that they can work and live more or less as they have done. 'It's an extraordinarily magnetic place for us - not a logical thing at all. There's an astonishing amount of physical freedom, even with the minefields here. Any place you go is close to the sea: empty, remote, stark. That appeals to me as an individual.'

Once you've been there, it's hard to get it out of your mind. L

The Falkland Islands, a remote and desolate place in the world, wrecked during the war.



# Storm over Para killed by our shells

By JOHN KAY

**A PARATROOPER** was killed in the Falklands by British shells, the author of a new book claims.

The allegation is made by former Para commander Major General John Frost.

General Frost, 71, who was not in the Falklands, names the dead soldier as 19-year-old Private David Parr of Oulton Broad, Suffolk.

## Bullet

He says Private Parr was killed only days after a miracle escape . . . when an Argy bullet was deflected by his belt and lodged harmlessly in his navel.

The General claims British gunners misdirected their fire during Two Para's advance on Port Stanley—and Private Parr died instantly when shells ploughed into his group.

Last night Private Parr's family accused the Ministry of Defence of a "cover-up."

They said they were only told exactly how he was killed just before

## FURY OVER DEAD PARA

Continued from Page One

the book was due out. His brother Chris, 25, said: "We were first informed he had died of wounds from Argentine artillery fire."

But the Ministry denied lying—and accused Gen Frost of distressing the family.

A spokesman said: "It is impossible to say categorically whether Argentine or British shells killed this soldier." Gen Frost said: "I was told the story by some people—but in the heat of battle no one can be sure exactly what happened."

The Sun Says—Page 6

# THE SUN SAYS

## WHY TELL

## US THIS

## TRAGIC LIE?

**FOR 17 months the parents of Private David Parr, who was killed in the Falklands, were made to live with an official lie.**

They were told that their 19-year-old son had died as a result of enemy action.

In fact, he was the victim of a tragic mistake. He was killed by British shell-fire. The truth is revealed, only now, in

a book written by a former paratroop commander Major General John Frost. What was achieved by the long subterfuge?

Fighting armies are made up of fallible human beings. In the confusion and the stress of battle, it is inevitable that errors will be made.

**When a mistake occurs, the families**

**of the casualties, and the whole public, must be told.**

Not to pass judgment or to seek scape-goats. But because they are entitled to know the truth.

*Private Parr's parents must now go through a further ordeal.*

Having come to terms with one story of his death, they are now asked to accept a different version.

And yet, even today, the Defence Ministry is unrepentant.

The only regret expressed by a ministry spokesman is that the true version of the soldier's death has come out.

He asks: "What purpose has been served?"

Truth has been served. The right to know has been vindicated.

**And in the armoury of a free people that is more precious than whole divisions.**

# YOU ROTTEN LOT!

By ANTHONY SMITH  
and RAMSAY SMITH

ANGRY MPs last night slammed the Ministry of Defence's heartless decision to ban free Christmas phone calls for troops in the Falklands.

Labour Party chairman Eric Heffer said of yesterday's Star exclusive:

"The Ministry has taken a penny-pinching, miserable and Scrooge-like attitude to our troops.

"It's amazing that when they are fighting and laying down their lives, they are praised to the hilt.

"When the fighting stops the sacrifice is all too quickly forgotten, and the petty-minded bureaucrats take control again.

"I can well understand that the lads on the Falklands are absolutely seething — and they are right."

## Repaid

Mr. Heffer added: "I think all Servicemen abroad should be allowed one free call to their loved ones over Christmas or New Year."

The Star's Joe Ashton weighed in: "Mrs Thatcher owes her election victory to the soldiers in the Falklands. It's time she repaid them.

"The least she could do is allow them one free phone call—which,

**MPs slam**

**Whitehall**

**over free**

**phones ban**

I understand, could be as little as £4 a man."

Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine will face a barrage of criticism over the decision.

Last year the Falklands troops had free Christmas phone calls paid for by the South Atlantic Fund.

But yesterday a Fund spokesman said: "It's really nothing to do with us now."

The Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen's Families Association also admitted they would not help.

A spokesman for the Falklands Government Office in London said:

"We would like to help, but we just don't have that sort of money.

# Trawler invasion nets a fortune

By CHRISTOPHER WHITE



Sir Rex Hunt

COMMUNISTS are reaping rich profits from the Falkland Islands, while British taxpayers foot a multi-million bill to keep a garrison and facilities there.

Within sight of Port Stanley, a Polish fishing fleet is netting huge hauls of squid and halibut from waters not yet covered by a fishing limit.

The Poles are said to be eagerly awaiting the opening of the islands' new airport—being built by Britain—so they can replace their trawler crews, who are flooding world markets with their fish.

The Poles and a Spanish fleet, barred from EEC waters because they are not members of the Common Market, have hit such rich stocks of fish they are causing a glut.

Unable to compete, British trawlermen are involved in secret negotiations to persuade the Foreign Office to introduce a 200-mile limit to control fishing that will allow them to go into partnership with Japanese or Polish fleets.

It could mean offering the Communists, as well as the Spanish and Japanese, facilities on the Falklands so they can fish under licence.

The Foreign Office confirmed yesterday that the question of an economic 200 mile limit—recommended in the Shackleton report to Parliament in September, 1982—is under 'active consideration.'

## Delay

It also confirmed that negotiations are taking place between the Falklands Government, the Coalite Group, which owns large parts of the islands, and a Japanese fishing company, Taiyo.

In Hull, where Sir Rex Hunt, the islands' civil administrator, has had talks with trawler companies, a spokesman for one large firm said: 'The British Government's delay in announcing a 200-mile limit has allowed the Communists and the Spanish to steal a march on us.'

'We know there are rich fishing grounds off the islands, but if foreign companies are allowed to exploit them unchecked, great damage could be done.'

## Something fishy?

APART from the sheep, the Falklands have one prime exploitable asset: fish. Communist trawlers from Poland are already doing the exploiting. But no benefit is accruing to the beleaguered economy of those barren islands.

Why? Because—although the Shackleton Report recommended the imposition of a 200-mile fishing limit round the Falklands—no action has yet been taken.

'We are aware that a Polish fleet is operating there at the moment,' says a languid spokesman from the Foreign Office.

Aware—Yes. Active—No.

Those superior gentlemen at the F.O. may be able to relish the difference between Scampi Provençale and Sole Bonne Femme.

But there is only one word to describe their capacity for acting decisively in defence of British interests: Codswallop.

Daily Mail  
23.11.83

## Anger at Para secret

THE family of a young soldier killed in the battle for Port Stanley have been officially informed that he died because British shells fell short of their intended target and landed on his position.

Officers from the Parachute Regiment were forced to reveal the details of the death of 19-year-old Private David Parr, of Oulton Broad, Suffolk, following publication of a new book on the war.

### Names

The book, *Two Para, the Battalion at War*, by Major General John Frost, has infuriated Defence Ministry officials by revealing the names of people involved in detailed incidents.

At the time Private Parr's family were simply told that their son had been killed 'by artillery fire'.

*Home for VC—Page NINE*

## Falklands fishing threat . . . and a row over VC

### Paras fail to get Col H's medal

By JON RYAN

PRESENTATION of the VC won by Falklands Para hero Lt-Col 'H' Jones to an Army museum started a row last night.

The medal, awarded posthumously, was handed over to the National Army Museum in London by his widow, Mrs Sara Jones, together with other medals from his army career.

But the Airborne Forces Museum at Aldershot feels the rightful place for the VC is in its own highly-prized collection. Colonel H was commanding officer of the Second Battalion Parachute Regiment.

A replica set of Colonel H's medals has been on dis-

play at Aldershot for just under a year while the original VC was held in a bank vault until a decision was made about its future.

Last week, the Paras learned the VC would be going to London.

The assistant curator of the Airborne Forces Museum, Tom Sitch, said yesterday: 'I am rather surprised and disappointed. I feel that the rightful home is in Aldershot although one must respect Mrs Jones' wishes.'

The National Army Museum explained Mrs Jones had met their director, Mr William Reid, and toured the building. 'She thought the museum was the most suitable place for the medal,' said a spokesman. 'It is a prized possession



Col. 'H' Jones

# Paratrooper killed by British shelling

By John Witherow

7

A paratrooper whose parents thought he had been killed by the Argentines died under British shellfire on the last day of the Falklands conflict.

The Ministry of Defence was forced some weeks ago to tell the family of Private David Parr, aged 19, the truth because of the publication of a book on the role of the 2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment, by one of its most distinguished former commanders, Major-General John Frost.

Major-General Frost, who led



Private Parr: Died on last day

the defence of the road bridge at Arnhem in 1944, said last night he was sorry he had included details of Private Parr's death.

As a retired officer he said that he was under no obligation to show his manuscript to the Army, although he had intended to allow commanders of 2 Para to see it, but they had been on service in Belize.

In *2 Para Falklands*, the general says that Private Parr, of Oulton Broad, near Lowestoft, narrowly escaped death when a bullet lodged in his navel, but was killed instantly by British shellfire during the assault on Wireless Ridge.

The book, angered the ministry by revealing the name of the medical sergeant who as an act of mercy shot a mortally wounded Argentine.

It also disclosed that Major Chris Keeble, who led the attack on Goose Green after Colonel 'H' Jones, VC, was killed, had drawn a pistol to persuade a Royal Marine to ferry paratroopers to another part of the island.

*2 Para Falklands* (Buchan and Enright, £7.95).

The Times  
23.11.83

The Guardian  
23.11.83

## Government 'suppressed Falklands documents'

By Julia Langdon,  
Political Correspondent

The Liberal peer, Lord Avebury, last night accused the Government of attempting to suppress a set of public documents because they cast doubt on Britain's territorial claim to the Falkland Islands.

The documents, relating to Britain's sovereignty over the islands, were removed from the Public Records Office by Foreign Office officials when the Falklands war began and have never been returned.

Ministers have so far refused to give details of how many papers were taken, and have not allowed access to inspect the unclassified documents at the Foreign Office.

Lord Avebury said: "I believe that the documents throw serious doubt on Britain's claim on sovereignty."

Lord Avebury will raise this issue at question time in the Lords next week. He intends to ask the Government for a new initiative to normalise relations with Argentina.

He said last night that when the documents were removed

from the Public Records Office, it was stated that they were required to help assess the situation in the South Atlantic.

There was no longer any explanation why the Government should need to keep the documents secret, Lord Avebury said, unless it was trying to prevent people knowing what the arguments were on sovereignty.

One suggestion is that the papers examine the territorial claim over the Falklands in the early 19th century, before British interests were involved.

Lord Avebury said that the British claim could merely be based on the length of occupation of the islands.

The Liberal peer will suggest in the Lords that the election of a democratic government, under President Alfonsin, has provided an ideal opportunity for a settlement with Argentina.

Lord Avebury has met the new president on several occasions, and said "I believe that he is a man with whom we can negotiate."

The Guardian  
23.11.83

## Falklands stowaway

The organisers of a frustrated pilgrimage to Argentine war graves on the Falkland islands last April has been discovered as a stowaway on a cruise ship bound for the colony.

Mr Osvaldo Destafanis, aged 41, was found yesterday on the Swedish-registered Lindblad Explorer which was due to dock at New Island, a small island off West Falkland, today and arrive in Port Stanley on Friday. Mr Destafanis will not be allowed ashore at any stage, the owners' spokesman, Mr Nigel Lingard, said.

"I guess we're stuck with him for a long, long time."

The Foreign Office said yesterday that conditions for an Argentine next of kin visit provided for close relatives only.

— Reuter.

Daily Mail  
23.11.83

# Tinge of sadness as Happy Hermes is welcomed home

By AMIT ROY

**THE** Royal Navy's very special warship came home yesterday from what was probably her last operational voyage.

Hermes, the oldest and largest ship in the Service, steamed slowly into Portsmouth after ten weeks on exercises in the Mediterranean.

The 29,500-ton carrier, the flagship in the Falklands war, flew a 750ft paying-off pennant as families of the 1,800 crew cheered her into harbour.

The enormous length of red-and-white bunting had to be held aloft by a string of weather balloons.

Traditionally the pennant should be as long as the ship with extra feet added for years of service, but the result would have been so long it would have taken a tug following astern to support it.

The homecoming was both a sad and joyful occasion for the ship—'Happy Hermes' to the crew—that was launched 30 years ago and commissioned in 1959.

Now her future is uncertain. Rear-Admiral Richard Fitch, flag officer 3rd flotilla and a former captain of the carrier, said: 'It has yet to be decided if she will be sold or scrapped. 'She is in remarkably good

shape and I hope she will see more service.

'She has always been known as Happy Hermes and holds a very special place in the Navy's affections and in the country's affections.'

She will sail shortly for Devonport for three months' maintenance. She will then return to Portsmouth and will remain in harbour as a training ship ready for emergency duty at 30 days' notice. In 1985, when the new Ark Royal comes into service, she will be paid off and either sold or scrapped.

Despite rumours, there is no offer from the Australian or any other navy to buy her.

## Stowaways from Argentina

TWO Argentine stowaways have been found aboard the American luxury cruiser *Litlablad Explorer*, which is expected in the Falklands today.

They are believed to have boarded in Montevideo and will be kept under guard until the ship arrives in Chile next month.

One of the stowaways, Osvaldo Destefanis, is thought to be the man who last April tried to organise a trip to the Falklands for relatives of Argentine soldiers who died there.

## Globe yotter : with Neil

**ACTION-hungry** Falkland hero Major Ewen Southby-Tailyour, whose knowledge of the Islands was a deciding factor in the campaign, is planning 'the ultimate voyage.'

He is aiming to circumnavigate the globe the hard way, ignoring what he considers the soft option of rounding the Horn in favour of sailing through the icy waters

of the Bering Strait and North-West Passage above the Americas.

'It's the last great sailing challenge,' says Ewen, 41, whose father, General Sir

Norman Tailyour was Commandant of the Royal Marines. It's never been done before. I'm planning a new yacht with a folding mast and retractable keel to enable it to be winched across ice floes in the Arctic regions.

'I don't know why I do these things, I'll never get promotion.'

# Falklands airport will cut islands' defence costs

By **GRAHAM PATERSON** Political Staff

Daily Telegraph  
23.11.83

**T**HE cost of garrisoning the Falklands will be slashed when the new airport on the islands is operating, ministers believe.

It will enable troops to be flown in at little more than 36 hours' notice.

And instead of the need for several thousand troops to be stationed there, a small garrison would be able to defend the islands against any aggression until reinforcements arrived.

The newly re-organised 5 Airborne Brigade, which has been re-equipped to go almost anywhere in the world, is seen by the Government as playing a major part in this strategy.

## Military training

A fall in the £600 million a year cost of defending the islands would ease the strain on the defence budget and ensure that financial pressures would not induce future Governments to abandon the Falkland islanders.

Defence ministers accept that the five-month posting to the islands is unpopular in the Army, but they feel that the islands hold immense possibilities for military training once troops can be airlifted to the Falklands relatively cheaply and quickly.

The reorganisation of the Army's "out of area" activities has been undertaken in the

light of the Falklands experience.

Apart from providing instant reinforcements in the Falklands and other British bases overseas, 5 Brigade can be used to rescue British citizens trapped by civil unrest overseas. Ministers believe it will give the Government far greater flexibility and strength in dealing with distant crises than it had before.

## Sophisticated equipment

Using specially "stretched" Hercules aircraft and backed up by sophisticated equipment the Government will be able to send up to 1,000 Paras to trouble-stricken countries within hours.

Ministers believe that it will prove far more effective than the American forces used to invade Grenada last month.

The new force follows concern in Whitehall about the long time lag before forces could be mobilised. The Government has been particularly concerned that in fast-moving world events, where the lives of Britons could be at stake, military preparations can lag by days or even weeks.

The Paras will be backed by a sophisticated technical force of sappers, medics, communication engineers and demolition experts

## TIMELY GIFT FOR FALKLANDS

### TOWN HALL

By Our Port Stanley  
Correspondent

A clock bought with cash donated by the 550 British dependants who visited war graves in the Falklands last April will be unveiled by Sir Rex Hunt, the Falklands Civil Commissioner, in Port Stanley's town hall tonight.

The dependants had a collection before "Cunard Countess" sailed from the Falklands and handed the money to Sir Rex asking him to use it to the benefit of the population.

A clock has been bought from James Ritchie and Son of Edinburgh, costing well over £200 and has been mounted in the hall which is used as a council chamber, dance hall and cinema.

### One for the pot

A STORY to gladden the hearts of practical jokers has reached me, belatedly, from the Falklands where during the battle many Argentine soldiers were told (and many believed) that the British killed and ate their prisoners.

At the end an Argentine prisoner, in hospital with a paratrooper on one side and a Royal Marine on the other, was found by a nursing sister cowering under his blankets.

When the sister enquired why he was hiding the Argentine explained, with some difficulty, his fear of cannibalism. The conversation was overheard by the two British soldiers who, at lunchtime, pulled up their chairs either side of the hapless prisoner and laid their knives and forks on his shaking body. At which point he passed out.

## STOWAWAY FOR FALKLANDS

By Our Port Stanley  
Correspondent

The Argentinian who tried to organise a trip by Argentina war dependants to the Falklands in April, Osvaldo Destefans, has been discovered as a stowaway on board the Linblad Explorer, Swedish-American cruise ship due in Port Stanley tomorrow morning.

Incoming President must tread carefully writes Jimmy Burns in Buenos Aires

## Radicals prepare to take on Argentina's military

AFTER the euphoria of their election win last month Argentina's Radicals, led by Sr Raul Alfonsin are looking ruffled by the prospect of government—like men who have covered distances across a wide open field only to get entangled in the bushes of an overgrown forest.

Nowhere is this more deeply felt than among the group of Alfonsin aides charged with the particularly thorny issue of military reform.

The armed forces have dominated the destiny of Argentina for most of the country's history. In the last 50 years, only two elected presidents have managed to survive their term in office without being thrown out by a military coup, and both of them happened to be generals. In the seven years since the last military coup in 1976, Argentina has become one of the most militarised societies in the world.

"We must make sure that the armed forces leave government, but also that they never return," Sr Alfonsin proclaimed before the election. The convincing majority won by the Radicals, coupled with the low prestige of the still deeply-divided military, gives such rhetoric a degree of credibility. Within days of his election, Sr Alfonsin felt assured enough to receive three of the highest-ranking officers, including General Mario Piotti, army general secretary, in a donkey jacket and bare feet.

But despite public shows of

confidence, Radicals are tackling the military problem with great caution, reflecting the difficulties of finding a solution which will not backfire on the democratic system which Sr Alfonsin is hoping to consolidate.

"We may have the votes, but the military's still got the arms. We are like Davids taking on Goliath," one Radical confessed last week.

Argentina has developed an extremely top heavy command structure. At the top is the all-powerful Junta of service chiefs with a supporting cast of over a hundred generals, admirals and brigadiers, and over a thousand retired and middle ranking officers who have manoeuvred their way into every area of society. Over the past seven years officers have controlled every major state company (including banks), directed the television networks, and even programmed the national ballet.

The state security police, with thousands of agents, has developed into a virtual state within the state, with arbitrary powers of control and repression, and independent sources of income, including private "detective" services offered at huge cost to civilian businesses.

The Radicals propose to scrap the Junta and invoke the incoming President's constitutional right to be sole commander of the armed forces. Beneath Sr Alfonsin there will be a greatly reinforced civilian Ministry of

Defence with powers of control over promotions, troop deployments and military budgets.

While there is general agreement that officers should be removed from any strictly non-military job, Sr Alfonsin has yet to decide whether to send the entire military high command into forced retirement or to opt instead for rather more minor surgery, concentrating on cutting back new promotions.

The Radicals have, however, publicly promised a major shake-out of the security forces, which they hold responsible for many of the human rights violations committed in recent years.

Army, naval and airforce intelligence, which have developed into virtually autonomous entities, are expected to have their budgets sharply cut and their activities controlled by the President working through a civilian Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry will also take full charge of the police force, which is currently run by an army general.

As part of the incoming Government's plans to make the armed forces more professional, the number of troops is expected to be eventually cut by about 100,000 men. The armed forces at present are made up of 90,000 conscripts and 70,000 professionals.

The Radicals may also reduce the one-year obligatory military



Sr Alfonsin (right), in donkey jacket and bare feet, greets Gen. Piotti

service for all 18-year-old males. The system has failed to mould the conscript army into an effective fighting force, as was only too clearly demonstrated during the Falklands War.

Of the 12 months of national service, only three are actually devoted to any military drill. For the rest of the time conscripts are assigned to an officer and ordered to carry out menial tasks.

Other "perks" enjoyed by senior officers include duty free goods, preferential mortgages, heavily subsidised supermarket chains, and luxurious sports clubs, a division general, of which there are 10, earns as much as a Cabinet minister and remains on full pay once retired, and the salaries down the military hierarchy have in recent years been considerably more inflation-proofed than those of many other Argentine

professionals. The Radicals aim to reduce many of the more excessive perks. But the main cost-cutting is expected to focus on arms spending and the military's wasteful involvement in Argentine industry and much of its infrastructure.

The Radicals have publicly announced their intention of reducing defence spending from 5 per cent of GDP to 2 per cent, its lowest level in more than 15 years. Radical officials, however, privately admit that the achievement of such a target will depend on defusing traditional areas of territorial tension such as the Beagle Channel and the Falklands which have been used by the outgoing military authorities as the justification for an estimated \$10bn (£6.84bn) worth of arms purchases in the past seven years.

Standard  
22.11.83

## Lynxes grounded by fault warning

by Roger Bray

THE Army's Lynx helicopters have been grounded after a warning that part of the rotor assembly could be faulty.

The Westland helicopter company which makes Westland 30s and Lynx, said today that both aircraft could be dangerous.

The alert follows an incident in California earlier this month in which a Westland 30 operated by the commuter airline Airspur made a forced landing.

Two passengers were injured when the helicopter hit power lines on the way down.

An investigation found that part of the system which controlled the pitch of the aircraft's tail rotor was faulty.

After consultation with the Civil Aviation Authority, Westland sent out warnings to operators of the eight 30s in service, including three being flown over the North Sea by British Airways Helicopters.

The Army and Navy, which operates the Lynx, has ordered that they should remain on the ground unless flying is "operationally essential," until a solution can be found.

Standard  
22.11.83

## No free calls from Falklands

BRITISH troops serving in the Falklands will have no free telephone calls home this Christmas.

Last Christmas, the South Atlantic Fund provided £100,000 for the 7000 men serving in the Falklands and on ships in the South Atlantic to make one free three-minute call to relatives in Britain.

But this year the 4000 troops which make up the Falklands garrison will be treated in the same way as other British troops serving overseas. Free calls from the Falklands could lead to demands from other British troops in places like Hongkong and Belize.

Cost of a telephone call from the Falklands to Britain is £5 for three minutes.

# Next steps in the Falklands

FINANCIAL  
TIMES

22.11.83

THE DEBATE in the UN on the Falklands last week was a set piece exchange with Britain and Argentina sticking to well known positions. This was to be expected, since Argentina is still in a transitional phase from a military regime to the installation early next month of President Raul Alfonsin and his Radical Government.

Yet there was a note of complacency about the way Britain emerged from the debate, encouraged by the fact that the voting line-up was virtually unchanged from the previous year when it was held in the heated aftermath of the Falklands conflict.

## *Solid majority*

It would be a pity if such attitudes persist since an opportunity has been presented to both sides to begin the long and difficult process of re-establishing a dialogue. The incoming Argentine President courageously opposed the invasion and he now has the authority of a solid majority vote in a democratic election behind him. Britain could expect neither now, nor in the future, a better man in office.

Britain, and one might as well say the Prime Minister since it is Number Ten that is making policy, is insisting that no move can be made until Argentina formally declares an end to hostilities. The Argentines have not done so partly through pride and partly in the belief that a fortress Falklands policy will eventually become unpopular in Britain, as well as expensive. They also claim that despite Britain's unilateral end to hostilities, certain activities—especially the construction of a new runway near Port Stanley—constitute continued belligerency.

Both sides could take the view that the problem is so intractable that it is best left for the time being. If this course is followed, Britain rather than Argentina has more to lose. For the Argentines the only concern is the continued denial of sovereignty. Britain meanwhile faces the financial cost, almost £700m next year, of sustaining a credible defence of the islands.

And it is not just defence costs. Mrs Thatcher was already embarrassed in September when she had to permit British banks to take part in debt refinancing agreements with Argentina. This issue will resurface again early in the new year. More emotive is the U.S. administration's intention to resume arms shipments to the new Argentine government. There is little doubt that arms sales will soon take place, starting with spares, whether or not Argentina formally ends its state of hostilities with Britain. These arms sales will be uncomfortable for Mrs Thatcher to digest.

Meanwhile, Britain cannot rely indefinitely on its allies to support its Falklands policy once Argentina possesses a democratically installed government.

Thus, although the first move should be made by Argentina, it has less incentive than Britain to do so. In addition, Sr Alfonsin is going to be handicapped by a highly nationalistic electorate united in Argentina's claim to the Falklands. The war reinforced this sentiment, rather than diminished it. Anything perceived as a Falklands sell-out could cause Sr Alfonsin's downfall, and so endanger the country's democracy. Mrs Thatcher, on the other hand, has an infinitely stronger domestic position, and it is always easier for the victor to take the initiative.

The initiative can be taken by Britain in two ways—behind-the-scenes diplomacy or a public gesture; or a combination of the two. The obvious gesture is to remove the 150-mile protection zone round the islands. This is an irritant to the Argentines since their fishing vessels can theoretically gain permission to enter but refrain from doing so since this constitutes recognition of British sovereignty. Britain has already unilaterally shifted from imposing a 200-mile exclusion zone to the current position.

Diplomatic contacts will have to start through intermediaries since there are no formal links. Both the U.S. and Peru have acted as go-betweens in the past, and Peru is understood to be once again ready to help. Using the Americans would have the additional value of dampening controversy over arms supplies. Perhaps only U.S. involvement would persuade the Argentines of the value of talks which would see Britain almost certainly begin by putting the issue of sovereignty on one side.

## *Last resort*

Such diplomatic contacts will be fraught with mutual inhibition and cannot realistically begin until Sr Alfonsin has assumed office. However, Sr Alfonsin could signal his good intentions in his inaugural address, or shortly after, by publicly renouncing the use of force in the settlement of disputes. Specific mention of the Falklands is not necessary since this message would be aimed as much at Chile and the Beagle Channel dispute. The latter is going to be his first foreign policy initiative.

It will be difficult for Britain to take the first step if Sr Alfonsin remains silent on the issue. However, there is in the last resort the compelling reality that no satisfactory solution to the future of the islands and their inhabitants can be achieved without the involvement and co-operation of Argentina.

SUNDAY EXPRESS

20.11.83

S. EXPRESS 20/11  
**Falklands non-stop**

AN RAF Nimrod reconnaissance aircraft yesterday completed the first non-stop trip between the Falklands and the UK in 18½ hours. The plane, which landed at RAF Kinloss, Scotland, was refuelled in mid-air three times during the 8,832-mile flight.

THE TIMES

22.11.83



**Beach bull:** Private Stuart Bell and Private David Murray, of the King's Own Royal Border Regiment, come face to face with a bull elephant seal, near Grytviken, South Georgia, off the Falklands. The seal can grow to 18ft in length and weigh up to three tonnes. The soldiers, both from Carlisle, are there on a two-month tour of duty.

McMillan-Scott Associates *Public Affairs*

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## Tory MPs in campaign for an alternative to Fortress Falklands

By Philip Webster, Political Reporter

Several Conservative MPs are involved in a move to set up a new forum of politicians from all parties, academics and businessmen aimed at promoting a peaceful settlement of the Falkland Islands dispute between Britain and Argentina.

Delicate discussions are taking place at Westminster about the group, expected to be called the South Atlantic Committee, which it is hoped will be formed by Christmas. Foreign Office ministers have been made aware of the initiative.

Its leaders recognize that they are on sensitive ground and do not expect a warm response for their plans from the Prime Minister, who has repeatedly expressed the view that there is no option to the Fortress Falklands policy.

Mr Cyril Townsend, Conservative MP for Bexleyheath, and Mr George Foulkes, Labour MP for Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley, who are the key figures behind the move, both served on the all-party Com-

mons select committee on foreign affairs which, though its report was never officially published, earlier this year questioned the long-term viability of a Fortress Falklands policy. It concluded that the government should not turn its back on talks with Argentina.

Neither has been reappointed to the committee, whose membership was fixed last week; Mr Foulds would not have been able to serve as he had recently been appointed to Labour's front bench as a spokesman on Europe.

The initiative has support already from the Liberal and Social Democratic parties. One of the academic members is likely to be Dr Walter Little, a specialist on Latin-American affairs, who was the chief adviser to the select committee in its inquiry on the Falklands.

Several leading companies, whose business has suffered from the loss of normal relations with Argentina, have expressed an interest in being

represented on the group. Funds for its operation are being raised, and it is hoped to employ a full-time secretary-organizer. Peers and churchmen are also expected to serve.

The venture began during the summer after Mr Townsend, Mr Foulkes and Dr Little, met Argentine academics and officials, along with a panel of American academics, at the University of Maryland, near Washington, and are understood to have established common ground on the need to restore good relations.

Mr Foulkes said that the aim was to encourage people towards thinking about a negotiated settlement to the Falklands problem; the alternative was the building up of Fortress Falklands.

● Port Stanley (Reuter) - A Royal Air Force pilot died yesterday when his Harrier crashed on a routine flight over the Falkland Islands, a military spokesman said. The jump jet went down in Lafonia, in the south of East Falkland Island.

## US 'free to sell Argentina arms'

By Penny Chorlton

The United States no longer has any reason for refusing to sell arms to Argentina, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, said yesterday.

Interviewed in Channel 4's Face the Press, she said that the US would never sell arms to a country with whom Britain was at war.

But, she pointed out, the original ban on arms sales to Argentina was because of "the absence of democratic process and consistent human rights

violation." If there was substantial improvement on those scores then sales might be resumed.

"Britain I think is our closest ally in the world probably," she said, adding: "As families, as with friends, one doesn't agree about everything."

For Britain to be offended about the prospects of the US selling arms to Argentina was no different than for the US to be upset about British reaction to its recent operation in Grenada.

She said: "Britain hurts our

feelings from time to time by its official policies, certainly they did by their criticism of our decision with regard to Grenada, where we think we were wholly right."

Asked about British fears of the United States acting unilaterally over the use of cruise missiles, she said that the US would abide by the rules of Nato over consultations following the deployment of the missiles in Europe and Grenada had not altered that in any way.

Grenada grinds to near standstill, page 6

### Harrier pilot killed in Falklands

THE pilot of an RAF Harrier fighter was killed when it crashed on Saturday in the Falkland Islands.

Flying Officer Byron Clew, of Ayr, who was single, was on a low-level exercise when he went down in good weather at Bone Hill, south of Goose Green.

**Pride at home, alarm abroad**

**Argentina claims it has joined nuclear club**

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

Argentina's claim that it can produce enriched uranium, used as a fuel for nuclear reactors and a key element in nuclear weapons, has been greeted here with pride and scepticism, but has caused alarm abroad.

In a press conference late on Friday, the head of Argentina's Atomic Energy Commission announced that his country has become the eighth in the world (after the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, China, France, Holland and West Germany) to achieve independence in all phases of the nuclear fuel cycle.

Vice-Admiral Carlos Castro Madero said scientists, working without foreign assistance at secret plants in the southern province of Rio Negro since 1978, have mastered the technology necessary to produce enriched uranium.

Newspapers greeted the news with banner headlines, and President-elect Señor Alfonsín emphasized that when he takes office on December 10, he will "exercise close control over all aspects of our nuclear programme to ensure that it is used only for peaceful aims".

Argentina has long been suspected of wanting to develop a nuclear weapon by the international community because of its refusal to ratify the Tlatelolco Treaty, which bans nuclear arms in Latin America.

The President of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr Hans Blix, is arriving in Buenos Aires on what was to have been a routine visit to Argentine nuclear authorities.

Admiral Castro Madero refused to give details of how Argentina was able to produce enriched uranium saying the

**Kirkpatrick pledges arms consultation**

Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, the American Representative at the United Nations, last night said Washington had no grounds for refusing to sell arms to Argentina. But she insisted that America would never sell to a country at war with Britain.

The views of America's allies would be carefully considered before any resumption of arms sales to Argentina, she said on Channel 4's *Face the Press*.

technology was a national secret. The plant is expected to be in full production by 1985 and will produce 20-0/0 enriched fuel. (90-0/0 enriched uranium is needed for weapons-grade material).

Argentina's nuclear programme is considered the most advanced in Latin America.

**UK arms for Chile, Page 7.**

**British readiness to sell arms to Chile regime alarms US**

From Nicholas Ashford, Washington

The Reagan Administration is concerned by reports that Britain is considering the sale of Jaguar jets, air-to-surface missiles and a guided-missile destroyer to the military Government in Chile.

The United States fears that the sale of sophisticated military equipment to General Augusto Pinochet's regime could thwart attempts by the new civilian Government of President-elect Raúl Alfonsín in Argentina, Chile's traditional rival, to institutionalize democratic rule when it takes office formally on December 10.

In particular, it is feared that an arms build-up by Chile, together with the continued British military presence in the Falkland Islands, will make it difficult for President Alfonsín to curb the power of Argentina's military leaders, as he has vowed to do.

The Americans are also upset by the fact that Mrs Margaret Thatcher seems ready to supply offensive weapons to one of the most repressive military regimes in South America while vigorously opposing United States plans to resume arms supplies to the new Government in Buenos Aires.

British officials have maintained their traditional reticence about the arms talks with the Chilean Government. However, Mr John Lee, the Under-Secretary of State for Defence Procurement, confirmed recently in the Commons that negotiations with Chile for the

sale of HMS Antrim "were continuing", although no agreement had yet been reached.

The Antrim is a 6,200-ton guided-missile destroyer which saw service in the Falklands campaign and was deployed off Grenada during last month's US invasion.

According to reports in the United States, put out by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a Washington-based pressure group on Latin America, Britain is negotiating with Chile for the sale of 12 Jaguar fighter-interceptor aircraft and an unspecified number of Sea Eagle air-to-surface missiles. The Jaguars are in the process of being decommissioned by the RAF and replaced by the new Tornado aircraft.

The Anglo-French Jaguar is more sophisticated than any aircraft in the Argentine Air Force except for its French-built Mirages.

The Sea Eagle missiles are comparable to the Exocets which Argentina used to such great effect against British vessels during the Falklands war.

Britain has for long been a leading supplier of arms to Chile. Earlier this year Britain sold 12 aging Hawker Hunters and three Canberras to the Santiago Government. Talks were also held last summer about the possible sale of the aircraft carrier HMS Hermes to Chile, but these proved abortive.

# FO kills Ulster talks

Sunday Times  
20.11.83

by Simon Winchester

A CONFERENCE on the future of Northern Ireland, due to be held in London early next year, has been called off after intense pressure from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Senior Whitehall officials are acutely embarrassed because the conference was planned by the Commonwealth Institute, funded primarily by the Foreign Office itself as a "centre for information". The FO suddenly realised it would have given the clear impression that the British government regards Northern Ireland as principally a colonial problem, rather than merely a domestic one.

The conference was to be one of four for senior policymakers and experts on "future options and choices facing certain Commonwealth countries, associated states or territories". Northern Ireland fits into none of these three categories, yet it was to be included alongside discussions of the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar and Hong Kong.

All four places, a conference organiser said, "were colonial problems that are a legitimate subject of public concern".

The Foreign Office, preoccupied with planning this week's Commonwealth heads of government meeting in New Delhi, did not realise until last week the embarrassing political consequences of lumping the problems of Belfast and Londonderry alongside those of Port Stanley and Kowloon.

"The Northern Ireland Unionists would have gone potty", said a senior diplomat.

The Foreign Office has also put paid to the conferences on Hong Kong and Gibraltar because of the "undue sensitivity" of the problems. But an institute official, Michael Conway, said yesterday: "We hope to get back to these subjects before too long. They are very real problems, after all."

However, the Falkland Islands conference - to which the Foreign Office also took exception - is to go ahead, next Saturday. Conway said: "The officials examined our programme in detail and criticised what they said was a 'lack of balance'. So we have included a couple more speakers who will give the point of view of the islanders themselves and the office has agreed we can go ahead.

"But they weren't very happy. They just had to accept we were too far advanced to cancel."

# REVEALED The spy who knew it all

By MERVYN REES

**HORRIFIED** Intelligence chiefs throughout the West are today acknowledging that the Russians have pulled off their biggest spying coup for decades.

The most sensitive defence secrets — especially Navy ones — of the past 20 years were passed directly to Moscow by one man.

He is Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, one of South Africa's most senior naval officers and, until his arrest, officer commanding the strategically vital Simonstown naval base near Cape Town.

Today The Mail on Sunday can reveal for the first time the incredible damage he did to Western defences.

A senior Intelligence expert told us: 'You can take it that anything of significance in the naval field over the past dozen or so



key centres for Gerhardt

cont..

# WORLD EXCLUSIVE

## Traitor's amazing list of British top secrets that went straight to Moscow

### WORLD EXCLUSIVE: How master spy betrayed Falklands Task Force

# Treachery that cost British sailors' lives

From Page 1, Column 1  
years, he knew about. You can also take it that he passed it all on. He was at least as effective as Philby ... and perhaps even more so.

Gerhardt's treachery may have been responsible for the deaths of dozens of British sailors on HMS Coventry and HMS Sheffield.

He used daily intelligence reports from a South African Government listening post to send the position of our Falklands Task Force back to Moscow.

The information was immediately relayed to Buenos Aires, allowing the Argentine

fighters to home in on the fleet.

He also passed on details of the Royal Navy's Seacat and surface-to-air missiles, fire and weapon control systems and torpedo development, in which Britain leads the world.

### Sensitive

And he was the first man to relay top-secret information to Moscow on the deadly French Exocet.

But one of the biggest fears of British Intelligence is that in a brilliantly-executed operation he managed to compromise our

Polaris nuclear deterrent programme for years to come.

As a naval attache at the South African Embassy in London, he placed advertisements in British newspapers seeking Royal Navy technicians and civilian specialists to join the South African Navy, which was then building a submarine fleet.

More than 1,800 men who applied. Many were in sensitive posts with access to top secret equipment and documents, but Gerhardt concentrated his efforts on those involved with Polaris.

Some of the men ap-

peared during their interviews with Gerhardt to be disenchanted with the Royal Navy, short of money — or both.

Gerhardt passed on more than 100 names to his controllers at the Moscow headquarters of the GRU, the military equivalent of the KGB.

### Devastating

MIS is now faced with the frightening possibility that some of them were approached by the Russians and that there are undiscovered agents in the Polaris programme.

An intelligence man said:

'It was as if Yuri Andropov had come to Britain and put an advertisement in the papers saying "Spy wanted — must have access to Polaris." It was a brilliant and potentially devastating operation.'

Gerhardt, who was arrested in New York in January, is now on trial, in secret, for treason in South Africa with his second wife Ruth, who acted as his courier for 13 years. If they are convicted they face the death penalty.

In a statement issued after the first editions of The Mail on Sunday were published last night, the Ministry of Defence admitted that it has 'been in contact with the South African authorities.'

A spokesman said: 'In the early 1960s, the UK sold South Africa a number of frigates which were heavily equipped with a range of weaponry. A number of South African officers, including Gerhardt, underwent training in the UK, during which time he would have had regular access to information on the major systems.'

But the Ministry did not believe Gerhardt had access to classified information during the Falklands.

may be partly responsible for the sinking of the Coventry, the Sheffield and our other losses in the Falklands conflict.

His last important task before his arrest in January was to report the daily position of our Task Force in the Falklands war.

He had access to intelligence printouts from Silvermine and was in a unique position to be Moscow's 'eyes and ears' in the Falklands. And his information, sent each evening to Moscow, was relayed immediately to Buenos Aires.

There was also Soviet satellite surveillance of our South Atlantic fleet but Gerhardt

Daily Mail  
19.11.83

## Galtieri will face trial over defeat

THREE members of the Argentine junta that started the Falklands war against Britain are to be court-martialled, among them ousted president Leopoldo Galtieri.

The charge: leading their country to defeat.

General Galtieri, Army commander-in-chief until his downfall, will be tried in secret with the former Navy and Air Force chiefs, Jorge Anaya and Basilio Lami Dozo.

Galtieri has already served a 60-day prison sentence for the comments he made about

the handling of the conflict, blaming everyone but himself. Now he seems certain to face another.

All three will appear before the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces but no date was given.

Yesterday's announcement was made by their successors who themselves will be handing over next month to the recently elected civilian government.

But the incoming administration know the the Services—particularly the Army—still disapprove of civilians holding power.

Daily Mail  
21.11.83



JEANE KIRKPATRICK

## U.S. 'ready to sell arms to Argentina'

ONE of President Reagan's top advisers said last night that there was now no reason to keep the U.S. arms embargo on Argentina.

Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's outspoken Ambassador at the United Nations, said the ban had hinged on the lack of democracy in Buenos Aires, and violation of human rights.

'Under American policy, not in the case of Argentina but any country whatsoever, if there is a substantial improvement on these scores, then certification might be granted.'

But she promised in a Channel 4 television interview that British views would be taken account of.

News that the U.S. is prepared to end the arms embargo will confirm Mrs Thatcher's fears of a possible build-up of planes

Daily Mail  
21.11.83

## MP to ask for navy spy probe

By HARVEY ELLIOTT,  
Defence Correspondent

AN MP is to press for an inquiry into the case of a South African Navy chief who in 20 years is said to have passed NATO defence secrets to Russia.

Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, commanding officer of the Simonstown naval base and a former attaché in London, is on trial in secret in South Africa.

Now Labour MP Ted Leadbitter, whose Commons campaign led to the exposure of spy Anthony Blunt, is to ask Mrs Thatcher for a full statement about the latest scandal.

He is backed by Tory MP Kenneth Warren, who wants the Security Commission called in.

Security services in Britain, America and Europe are compiling a joint 'damage assessment report' following Gerhardt's reported confession.

The extent of Gerhardt's treachery was revealed yesterday by The Mail on Sunday. sailors to sign on in the

But one of the claims—that during the Falklands war Gerhardt sent the positions of Royal Navy ships in the South Atlantic to Moscow, who in turn relayed them to the Argentines — was denied by the Defence Ministry.

The bulk of Gerhardt's espionage, it is believed, went on in the late 1950s and 1960s, when he was based for some time in London. During one such a tour of duty he advertised for British ex-South African Navy — then passed their names to the Russians.

### Contact

One man questioned by Intelligence over his friendship with Gerhardt is ex-Royal Navy Lieut. Commander Brian Mosdell, 45, who is now a solicitor.

Mr Mosdell, of Tavistock, Devon, said: 'I can't imagine why I should have been named as a contact. I met Gerhardt several times, but I certainly had no idea about any spy activities.'

# LET'S PLAY THE ARGIES!

**ENGLAND soccer chiefs are considering an astonishing plan to play Argentina.**

They want to arrange a friendly match just 17 months after the bloody conflict in the Falklands.

Because the two countries are still officially at war the match in Buenos Aires would be behind enemy lines.

Last night Argentina's newly-elected President Rahl Alfonsin

By **BOB DRISCOLL**  
and **NEIL WALLIS**

called an emergency Cabinet meeting to discuss the plan.

And in Britain one angry MP said the proposed match was comparable "to playing Germany before the Nazis capitulated."

Plans for an England tour next spring were being made only hours after the team slumped out of the European championships on Wednesday night.

The FA's powerful International Committee are hoping to meet before Christmas to finalise arrangements.

And the two venues at the top of the list are Brazil and, amazingly, Argentina.

Committee chairman Dick Wragg said: "We have outstanding fixtures still to play in Brazil and Argentina. If it can be worked out it is very possible we shall play there."

He added: "Obviously there would be a great many political problems."

Last night Tim Brinton, Tory MP for Gravesham, said: "I cannot see such an international would be acceptable unless the diplomatic situation improved dramatically."

"Maybe they should consider sending the soccer thugs rather than the team."

Senior Tory MP Sir Bernard

## From Page One

Braine said: "It's disgraceful of the soccer authorities to contemplate a tour of this kind."

"The Argentine Government has not yet ended hostilities nor explained the fate of thousands of people—including Britons—who disappeared under the rule of a brutal dictatorship."

"People would have been outraged if we had played Germany at football before the Nazis capitulated. This is no different."

Mr Michael Fallon, Conservative MP for Darlington, said: "There should be no sporting contact at all until Argentina declares that the war is over."

"They should also cease all the acts of aggression, such as flying near the Falklands, which is keeping our garrison at full stretch."

But another Tory MP, John Carlisle, said he would support a tour.

"I believe sport must stay out of politics and since hostilities are not now taking place between Britain and

Argentina I would fully support them," he said. If the FA were prepared to go to South America they should also consider visiting South Africa, he added.

The proposed match looks like running into trouble in Argentina too. One military source there said: "Many of the top ranks of our armed forces would regard this as an unacceptable insult to our gallant forces."

And former admiral Fernando Millia, once a close friend of disgraced Junta boss General Galtieri, warned: "There are many Right-wing groups who won't take this lying down."

"This could lead to an extremely volatile, and possibly dangerous situation — not least for the English team."

Bishop Cutts, the English head of the Anglican Church in Argentina, said: "It could be a marvellous move towards reconciliation."

"But, to be honest, I'm not sure how the ordinary Argentinian in the street will receive it."

"I can see big problems if the Government allows it."

## FA plan amazing trip by England

# Falklands bomb disposal work too dangerous

## THE ARMY

The Royal Engineers ordnance and explosive disposal team in the Falklands have removed two million potentially dangerous items from the battlefields there, but a halt has been called for a time to any further minefield clearance because of the dangers, Mr John Stanley, Minister of State for the Armed Forces, said.

Opening a Commons debate on the army, Mr Stanley said that he had found it in good heart and shape, outstandingly expert and professional. They were fortunate to have an army of exceptional calibre.

The present Government had ensured that a career in all three Services was more attractive and satisfying than it had been four years ago.

The Government's considered judgment was that present force levels on the central front must be maintained in accordance with the Brussels Treaty. They could not afford to do otherwise because the forward defence of West Germany was that of the United Kingdom.

It was intended not merely to maintain BAOR at its present strength but to make improvements to equipment and operational capabilities.

Anti-armour defence had improved significantly and infantry mobility would be improved by the introduction of the Saxon wheeled carrier for which the production

orders for the first 50 had been placed with GKN Sankey.

The infantry's new light assault rifle with a calibre of 5.56 mm would be significantly lighter than its predecessor.

He would maintain that the present prospective readiness was much greater than it had been four years ago. That had been achieved only by the higher priority given to defence.

In the Falklands there had been military consolidation and a major improvement in living and working conditions. Nowhere else could the army carry out major exercises with the navy and air force with live firing by all three Services.

The personal danger to which the ordnance and explosive removal teams who had removed two million potentially dangerous items was self-evident. They had not got the complete answer to the plastic mine and that was one main reason why it would not be responsible to try to continue the minefield clearance programme at present.

Some MPs had expressed doubt about whether there should be a British contingent in Beirut. If there had been no multi-national force there would have been no chance of a cease fire in Beirut at all, there would have been no opening for negotiations in Geneva and by now Lebanon might be on the way to ceasing to be an independent state. The price paid was the risk to the multi-national force and the Government was actually aware of that risk.

# Nato 3% target growth to be abandoned

By Rodney Cowton.  
Defence Correspondent

## DEFENCE

Britain will abandon its target of achieving a real growth of 3 per cent a year in defence spending from 1986-87.

That was confirmed by Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for Defence, who said that he had not argued for the existing commitment which ends in 1985-86 to be extended.

Britain had made a major effort to meet the spending target set by Nato. It would have been irresponsible to argue for the target to be continued indefinitely, Mr Heseltine said. If spending on the Falkland Islands was included, by the spring of 1985 defence spending would have risen by 21 per cent compared with 1978-79. If Falklands spending was excluded, the growth would be 16 per cent.

Mr Heseltine said that defence spending in the next financial year would rise by 3.5 per cent in real terms, although the Treasury puts the figure at "some 3 per cent", and would rise again by 3 per cent in 1985-86.

The Ministry of Defence seems to have secured about £400m less than it wanted for

next year, although as a proportion of total planned public spending its share has changed minimally, 13.45 per cent on the basis of yesterday's forecasts, as against 13.68 per cent in the Public Expenditure White Paper published last February.

Mr Heseltine is thought to have argued for an increase of £200 to £300m above last February's plans. After allowing for various technical factors, he has emerged with £168m less than those plans envisaged.

He described that shortfall, equivalent to 1 per cent on a budget of £17bn, as being an extension of the £250m cuts which were imposed by the Chancellor in July for the current financial year.

In return, the Treasury has made concessions. It certainly wanted to cut defence spending by more than the £168m and it has also agreed that should inflation be higher than the assumed rates of 3 per cent for pay and 5 per cent for other expenditure then a "reconciliation" of the defence budget with the higher inflation rates would be made.

THE TIMES

18.11.83

## UN vote on Falklands disappoints Argentina

New York - The new Argentine Government-elect was disappointed by the UN General Assembly's vote on Falklands sovereignty, which failed to send a clear signal of support for negotiations (Zoriana Pysariwsky writes).

The vote on Wednesday night produced 87 in favour of negotiations with 9 against, but the 54 absentions showed the extent to which Britain can exert its influence within the international community.

The entire European Community abstained, while the United States again voted in favour of Argentina.

● Mr Ray Whitney, junior Foreign Office Minister, expressed regret at American backing for the UN resolution, but he claimed that the vote was "certainly a defeat for the Argentines".

## Falkland deal

A dispute which threatened a strike in the Falklands' wool industry, has been settled with an arbitrator's ruling in London that gives the Sheep Owners' Association's employees more than 70 per cent of a pay demand.

## Falklands cards

A week today, November 25, is the latest recommended posting date for Christmas cards and parcels by surface mail to Europe and the Falklands and Ascension Island, as well as BFPOs 630 and 666 and BFPO ships in The South Atlantic.

## Hongkong not freehold like Falklands

Would the wishes of the people of Hongkong be paramount to a greater or lesser degree than those of the people of the Falkland Islands, Mr David Steel, Leader of the Liberal Party (Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale, L) asked the Prime Minister during question time.

Mrs Thatcher: He misses one very fundamental point. The Falkland Islands is freehold; Hongkong is leasehold. By treaty, which of course the opposition might not wish to honour, something like 95 per cent of the land reverts to China in 1997. It is that which is causing the problem in the sense that we believe many of the people of Hongkong wish to preserve the status quo. Nevertheless that treaty does exist.

● It remained Government policy to honour the wishes of the Falkland islanders, Mrs Thatcher, the Prime Minister, said when questioned

# Army stops work on clearance of Falklands mines

By **PETER PRYKE** *Parliamentary Correspondent*

**R**OYAL ENGINEERS had cleared more than two million potentially dangerous items from the Falklands battlefields, in an operation which had come at least to a temporary halt, Mr STANLEY, Armed Forces Minister, said in the Commons last night.

He paid tribute to the courage and efficiency of the men of the Explosives and Ordnance Disposal Unit.

The personal danger to which they had been exposed was self-evident, he said. Since the end of hostilities, one sapper had been killed and three others injured.

The dangers were still very much there and a halt had had to be called for the time being to any further attempts at minefield clearance.

## Plastic mines

Sir ANTHONY BUCK (C., Colchester N.) asked if any answer had been found to plastic mines left "indiscriminately and with great irresponsibility by the Argentines."

Mr STANLEY replied: "We have not got a complete answer to that particular mine, but we are doing some intensive research in that area. It is one of the reasons we have decided not to continue with minefield clearance at the moment."

Speaking in a debate on the Army, Mr Stanley said it had been a year of major improvements in living and working conditions for the Services on the Falklands.

They now lived mainly in complexes of "up market Portakabin accommodation." The food was excellent and the mail efficient and frequent.

Mr KEVIN McNAMARA, a Labour spokesman on defence, asked for further details of the effects of the Services of the cuts imposed by the Chancellor, Mr Lawson.

He said there had been a cut of £250 million, from the original estimate of £17,283 million to be spent in 1984-85. It was important to know exactly where these cuts were going to be.

DAILY  
TELEGRAPH  
18.11.83

## Britain totally rejects U.N. Falkland motion

By **ROBIN GEDYE**

**B**ITAIN totally rejected a United Nations recommendation that she should enter into negotiations with Argentina about sovereignty in the Falkland Islands, the Foreign Office said yesterday.

A statement on behalf of Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, said that far from being a victory for Argentina, the 87-to-nine General Assembly vote in favour of the resolution with 54 abstentions, was a defeat for the Argentines.

"The most important feature of the vote was that 63 countries showed their understanding for our position by declining to support the resolution," the statement said.

### 'No difference'

"We reject the recommendation that we should enter into negotiations with Argentina over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands. The adoption of the resolution will make no difference to our commitment to the people of the Falkland Islands."

The statement called on the incoming civilian Argentine Government to recognise that the Falklanders had the same right to live under the government of their choosing as the people of Argentina.

Mr Ray Whitney, junior Foreign Office Minister, however, said he regretted the backing of the United States for the resolution, which was "not so much a surprise but a matter of some regret."

The countries that joined Britain in voting against the resolution were Belize, Dominica, Gambia, Malawi, New Zealand, Oman, the Solomon Islands, and Sri Lanka.

# 3½pc MORE DEFENCE SPENDING

By Maj-Gen Edward Fursdon  
Defence Correspondent

MR HESELTINE, Defence Secretary, said yesterday that the Government's agreed cash figure of £17,008 million for defence spending in 1984/85 represented a 3½ per cent. real growth over that for 1983/84.

It would also be maintaining the three per cent. Nato target growth commitment for 1985-86, but thereafter, although real growth in defence spending would continue, it would not be on a continuing three per cent scale.

"It was irresponsible," Mr Heseltine said, "to argue defence expenditure regardless—and for it to be immune from the rest of the nation's economy."

Britain was Nato's largest European member defence spender, and it would go into the new 1986 period with a very good defence spending record within Nato.

## Falklands included

The 1984-85 cash figure of £17,008 million announced yesterday represents an increase of £1,292 million, or 8½ per cent. over the 1983-84 cash provision figure of £15,716 million. This real growth in defence spending is a 21 per cent. increase over the 1978-79 figure, if the Falklands expenditure is included.

It is, however, a reduction of £261 million over the original defence expenditure forecast for the year, of which £92 million is attributable to inflation adjustments in pay.

Mr Heseltine said: "My intention is to talk with new emphasis in output terms concerning defence, rather than just talking in cash figure terms."

I see concentration on value for money; competition; cutting back on the less essentials; fixed price contracts; elimination of overlaps and a reduction in overheads."

# A soldier's tale

By Maj-Gen Edward  
Fursdon

2 PARA—Falklands: the Battalion at War. By Major-General John Frost. (Buchan & Enright. £7.95.)

AFTER the scurry of many journalists' accounts, here at last is an excellent story of soldiers, written by a soldier, about the war fought in the Falklands last year. It tells 2 Para's tale, from Aldershot to Port Stanley by way of San Carlos, Goose Green, Bluff Cove and Wireless Ridge.

Maj-Gen. John Frost was uniquely qualified to be the author. First, he commanded 2 Para from 1942 onwards and in September, 1944 parachuted with it into Arnhem where he made airborne history by his redoubtable defence of its road bridge. He therefore knows his Red Berets better than most. Secondly, the Gen.

Frost writes extremely well.

The splendid story is straightforwardly told, pulling no punches, blending the high emotion, the minor as well as the major heroisms, the humour, compassion and sheer courage of the soldiers who fought. It touches upon some of the stresses and strains within the Falklands force. Finally, it includes forthright comment and criticism of equipment, training, certain actions and decisions, and, of course, of Army boots. The result is bound to create much controversy, and open up some old sores perhaps better left to history.

The book expands more revealingly than any predecessor on certain key land events seen through 2 Para's eyes—the landings; the bridgehead; Goose

Green; the famous phone-call incident at Swan Inlet, differently described by the Defence Ministry at the time; the tragedy of Bluff Cove—"undeniably avoidable" it says; and the assault on Stanley which was first entered by 2nd Lieutenant Mark Coe's No. 2 Platoon of Major Dair Farrar-Hockley's A Company.

The many "cock ups" that the fog of war brings are related just as much as the successes. "Who the hell are you?" the Royal Marine Special Boat Section calls out to 2 Para's leading elements landing at Bonner Bay on May 21—"God, we thought you were coming on the 24th."

The battles for Darwin and Goose Green, including the gallant actions and death of Lt.-Col. "H" Jones which won him the Victoria Cross, are described in detail with all their cliff-hanging moments of glory and setback, as is Major Chris Keeble's initiative in arranging the Argentine surrender at Goose Green. Gen. Frost mentions the reactions—both Argentine and British—to the BBC's World Service broadcast, and "the potential for disaster at Goose Green where fire support had often been ineffective."

Having personally "walked the course" of these particular battles a few weeks after the surrender, I can only emphasise the lack of any form of cover except for the two re-entrants of furze, and the seemingly endless successive lines of well-sited defences through which 2 Para had the twin difficulties in the darkness of keeping direction and of fighting.

2 Para lost 18 men in the Falklands and an Army Air Corps pilot and a Royal Engineer Corporal attached to it. It won 36 Honours and Awards—and four more were won by its attached supporting officers and men. This earthy, domestic book about the Battalion just has to be read by anyone involved with the Falklands campaign, whether or not they will agree with all of it.

## CARRINGTON IS 'TIPPED' FOR NATO POST

By Our Political Staff

The Prime Minister fuelled expectations yesterday that Lord Carrington, 64, will soon be appointed secretary-general of Nato when she dropped an uncharacteristically broad hint in the Commons about the former Foreign Secretary's future.

When urged by Mr Peter Tapsell, Conservative MP for East Lindsey, to contribute to world peace by reappointing Lord Carrington to the Foreign Office, she replied: "You will be pleased to hear there is an important international post in mind for him."

## Security post for Palliser

Sir Michael Palliser, 61, former Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Office and head of the Diplomatic Service, has been appointed a member of the Security Commission, Downing Street announced last night. He replaces Lord Greenhill of Harrow, who retired earlier this year.

DAILY  
TELEGRAPH

18.11.83

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

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# FALKLANDS RIP-OFF

## Foreign fleets cashing-in

**FAILURE** by the British government to establish a 200-mile exclusive economic zone around the Falkland Islands is allowing foreign fishing fleets to reap a rich harvest.

Spanish and Polish fishing vessels have discovered huge squid grounds to the north of the islands, as well as massive stocks of blue whiting. Around 80 per cent of the fish is reported to be within the 200-mile zone.

A fleet of 20 Spanish trawlers has taken around 20,000-tonnes of squid. Landings have been so heavy that the Spanish government is being forced to announce a ban on imports.

"The market is swamped with Falklands squid and something had to be done," a Spanish fish trader told *Fishing News* last week.

Spanish trawlers had moved from the grounds off South Africa to the Falklands, which had left Spanish markets desperate for hake. Spanish skippers reported fishing so close to the islands that they could see the lights of Port Stanley.

A large Polish fleet is understood to have taken some 100,000-tonnes of squid and blue whiting from the Falklands area. There have been problems with parasites in the blue whiting, because of the density of the stocks, but it is thought that a bout of sustained heavy fishing would clear out the parasites.

While Britain maintains an expensive military presence in the Falklands, there has been no move to protect the area from foreign fishing fleets, nor any negotiations

### HARRY BARRETT reports

to allow them to fish under licence. Money from a licensed fishery would help offset the huge cost of the military operation. At the same time Britain is importing huge quantities of blue whiting.

A Whitehall spokesman told *Fishing News* this week that there is only a three-mile territorial limit around the islands at present.

The Shackleton report had proposed that a 200-mile zone should be established

Turn to page two

## Rip-off

From page one

and the Foreign Office now has this under consideration. However, the spokesman added that a zone of this size would bring complications.

There would be a requirement to police it and, also, negotiations over the median line with Argentina would be difficult in view of present relations with this country.

The importance which Poland attaches to squid was underlined at the International Seafood Conference held in Vienna last week. Norbert Drazkowski, of the Polish fish export organisation RYBEX, said that one of the recent achievements of the Polish industry had been the wide introduction of new technology for squid tube processing.

"Right now frozen-on-board squid tube is one of our main export items. At this moment we are considering the possibility of installing squid skinning machines on our trawlers to process this product further," he said.

Mr. Drazkowski also revealed that Poland had made a breakthrough in developing machinery for peeling krill, the tiny shrimp-like creature which is in huge abundance in the south Atlantic.

"The taste of krill peeled this way is similar to shrimp," said Mr. Norbert.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Conserving fish in the Falklands

*From Mr Adrian Monk and others*

Sir, The intention of the Manx Government to extend its fisheries limit (*The Times*, November 17) echoes our own desire and need in the Falkland Islands. At present we, too, have a three-mile limit.

It is now essential that a fisheries conservation programme for various species and licensing to provide the islands with revenue is begun. For our part, we are appointing two fisheries inspection officers to monitor our two-year consortium arrangement with the Japanese Taiyo company, but fishing by others must be controlled.

More than 100 trawlers from West Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and eastern Europe are currently fishing the waters within our putative extended fisheries zone. Others are proceeding south to the richest fisheries resource in the world, with huge stocks of hake, blue whiting, cod and crustaceans. However large the stocks, some already need protection.

Around the Dependencies (from which revenue would accrue to Britain itself), some 150 million tonnes of the shrimp-like krill could be harvested annually, according to a series of scientific reports, among which is that of the United Nations development programme.

The last words of the House of Commons Expenditure Committee's 1978 report (HC 356: para 268) on the British fishing industry were "... when arrangements for the Falkland Islands are being considered, the fishing potential of the waters around them must be fully taken into account in any negotiations about their future."

Such negotiations were, of course, broken off by Argentina with the invasion of the islands last year. We cannot anticipate their early resumption. We can anticipate a "Klondike" in the South Atlantic, which in earlier times destroyed our whale, seal and penguin stocks.

It is therefore essential, in the interests of both Britain and the Falkland Islands, that a fisheries protection scheme to match that of our South American neighbours is started forthwith.

Yours faithfully,  
**ADRIAN MONK,**  
**A. BLAKE** (Legislative Councillor, Camp),  
**J. S. CHEEK** (Legislative Councillor, West Stanley),  
 Falkland Islands Government,  
 London Office,  
 29 Tufton Street, SW1.  
 November 17.

### Galtieri junta to be tried for war role

*From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires*

Members of the junta which led Argentina to battle over the Falklands will be tried for their role in that war.

The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces will try former President Leopoldo Galtieri, his navy commander, Admiral Jorge Anaya, and Brigadier Basilio Lamí Dozo, the air force commander, for what the present junta termed "possibly military-criminal responsibilities" in a short communique issued on Thursday night.

The junta reached its decision nearly two months after it received the final report of a military commission, headed by General Benjamin Rattenbach.

General Rattenbach has said the report blames the war on the former junta members. Señor

Nicanor Costa Mendez, the Foreign Minister at the time, Señor Roberto Alemann, the former Economy Minister, and at least 11 other military officers.

Presumably, the other officers will also be court-martialled, although the junta's communiqué mentions only "the highest authorities of the three armed forces". It is unlikely the civilian ministers, who served under General Galtieri, will be tried by a military court.

The junta, due to step down when President elect Raúl Alfonsín takes office on December 10, did not set a date for the trials. It was the first indication that those responsible for starting the war would be tried.

### OAS wants Falklands dialogue

*From Mohsin Ali Washington*

The Organization of American States has unanimously adopted a resolution urging Central American states to negotiate agreements for peace in the region based on principles laid down in September.

The foreign ministers in week-long meetings here have also expressed concern about the lack of progress in resuming negotiations between Britain and Argentina.

Twenty-one countries, including the US, voted for this resolution. Eight Commonwealth Caribbean countries abstained. OAS officials said that those abstaining explained that they were not against negotiations on the sovereignty of the islands but deplored the fact that the resolution did not

mention self-determination.

The OAS urged Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to "devise monitoring and verification mechanisms" to ensure that peace agreements were being fulfilled.

The so-called Contadora Group of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela and the five Central American countries agreed in September to 21 peace principles.

The Central American foreign ministers agreed to consider specific peace treaty proposals for the Contadora group at a meeting in Panama in mid-December.

The Senate-House conference committee on Thursday approved a total of \$24m (£160m), in covert aid to Nicaraguan insurgent forces fighting the Sandinista Government, which is supported by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

There may be clouds in the UN, but the Falklands planners can see a future, writes JOHN EZARD

# On a clear day, you can see Port Stanley

THE ONLY really bad news for John Cheek and Tony Blake last night was that they had to fly all the way back to Port Stanley on a Hercules, an ordeal which is like travelling for 30 hours in a raucously noisy motorway coach without windows. The DC-9 jets which nominally do the deluxe leg of the trip to Ascension were grounded by muck.

Earlier yesterday the Falklands two home-bred roving ambassadors had heard that they had lost a debate in the heavier muck of the United Nations. And, shortly before boarding the Hercules after a stopover in London, they received what might have seemed the unkindest cut of all—the news that the Football Association is considering sending a team to Argentina next June.

Yet their reaction was buoyantly hopeful and amused. "I don't believe in bringing politics into sport anyway," Tony Blake said. "If it helps normalise relations between Britain and Argentina, good luck to the F.A."

The two councillors, both experienced in diplomacy, flew home saying that perhaps for the first time they could see a future taking shape for the islands that could be proof against the worst a non-Thatcherite British government might throw at them in four years. They were cheered that the UN vote to recommend unconditional negotiations was lower than before, despite the changeover to a democratic Argentine government. Several days of lobbying delegates in New York left



John Cheek, left and David Taylor: Development on the way. Pictures by Frank Martin

them feeling there were no seriously dark clouds coming from that direction at least.

The other ingredients in this confidence include development plans which were outlined in Whitehall yesterday in more detail than before: a calculation that within four years the opening of a strategic airport will have sharply reduced publically controversial garrison costs; and an expectation that, with North Sea oil output declining by then, Britain may have begun looking hard at the reserves in their waters. They met a Czech delegate in New York who believed that

the garrison carries nuclear weapons; but he was much more fascinated by the oil, on which he appeared to have figures from Iron Curtain survey ships.

Development was discussed at the first press conference given by the newly appointed, £33,000 a year chief executive of the Falklands Development Corporation. Mr David Taylor, Mr Taylor said that UK Government was urgently considering a request from Port Stanley to declare a 200-mile exclusive economic fishing zone around the island. Sale of licences for a zone

would give the islands an estimated £2 million—£3 million, the biggest boost to their GNP that any source could produce. More than 100 trawlers from West Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and Eastern Europe are now fishing outside the current three-mile zone in waters which contain among the richest stocks of hake, blue whiting, cod and shellfish.

The only revenue the Falklands or British Governments receive at present are harbourage charges, which many trawlers do not pay because they use mother-ships. "We can anticipate a Klondike in

the South Atlantic of the type which in earlier times destroyed our whale, seal and penguin stocks," John Cheek and Tony Blake said in a joint appeal with the Falklands' London representative, Adrian Monk.

Mr Taylor, a Booker McConnell executive on secondment for three years, said, "I would hardly be going out there if I did not have the hope that we can get development going." More significant was his reply when asked if the so far slow pace of development since the invasion and the Shackleton report was

because the Government wanted to minimise the money put into projects which it knew were likely to be eventually handed to Argentina.

Mr Taylor, who beat 60 other applicants for the job and has been talking to the Foreign Office and the Overseas Development Administration since the summer, said, "I can say with absolute honesty that I have seen absolutely no sign of a slowdown for this reason. I get no feeling of any holding back whatsoever. And I would have been very worried if I had thought that there was."

So with that assurance, a rather more categorical one than they have had in the past from Whitehall, the two councillors flew home seeing a prospect that the Falklands might be more of an economic going concern in four years when it is showing the benefit of a total of £31 million development investment.

But they were still suspicious that the islanders have less control over their future than before the war, not more as Mrs Thatcher publicly promised. "We've become fashionable in Whitehall," John Cheek said, "and the result is that every department wants to get involved in every facet of our Government."

Tony Blake said, "We have a lot of people come down to see us, take an academic interest, weigh all the pros and cons and then say 'But how will this affect our relations with Argentina?' Sometimes I wish they'd just get something done."

## Mail Exclusive

# RAF

# grounds

# its

# VC10s

By HARVEY ELLIOTT  
Defence Correspondent

THE RAF's fleet of VC10s has been banned from flying because of a fault in the wingflap control cables.

Engineers discovered a main cable to the ailerons — which control the aircraft in level flight — was badly frayed in several of the planes.

Immediately all the other planes in the 13-strong fleet were ordered to stop flying while checks were made and repairs carried out.

The ban means Britain's long-range, strategic air fleet is now out of commission. Trooping flights to bases overseas are being transferred to Hercules and TriStar aircraft, and the Ministry of Defence has chartered a Boeing 707 from British Midland Airways to fill the gap.

## Widespread

The fault first showed during a routine inspection of a VC10 operating in Germany. It was repaired, then flown back to Britain for more detailed examination.

Engineers at Brize Norton, Oxfordshire, discovered the problem was more widespread than was at first thought. The decision to halt flying was taken earlier this week until modifications have been carried out.

It is the first major fault in the VC10 since it was introduced into RAF service about 15 years ago.

Mrs Thatcher was scheduled to fly in one to India next week but will now almost certainly be switched to another type of plane, probably a TriStar.

Both she and the Queen have extensively used RAF VC10s in the past. The Queen last flew in one when she returned from a State visit to Sweden with Prince Philip last May.

If the aileron control cables had snapped in the air, the pilot could still have made a safe landing by using his wing 'spoilers,' which are linked to the aileron controls.

## Converted

But the fault, which comes soon after an electrical fault forced flying in Tornado strike aircraft to be halted, is particularly embarrassing for the RAF.

On top of its transport fleet, the RAF also operates nine more VC10s which are being converted to tankers for air-to-air refuelling. None of the tankers is affected by the flying ban.

The VC10, one of the fastest transport jets in the world, has become both the prestige VIP aircraft of the RAF and the main trooping transport. It enables 150 troops to be ferried up to 3,700 miles in one hop, at average speeds of 575 mph.

The planes carry a crew of four and normally two air loadmasters and two air stewards. They are operated by No. 10 Squadron at Brize Norton.

Man in the news

# Falklands-bound with a dual role

By Kenneth Gosling

David Taylor has been seeing a lot of people, asking penetrating questions and gaining considerable knowledge of the Falklands since he paid a visit to the islands last summer to help him to decide whether he wanted to take on the combined duties of Falklands chief executive and head of the new development corporation.

He flies out to Port Stanley at the end of the month with a three-year contract in his pocket on secondment from the multinational company Booker McConnell. As well as running the administration under the civil commissioner, Sir Rex Hunt, he will implement a range of projects financed from the £31m grant from the British Government.

Not everyone, however, is happy about Mr Taylor's dual role. Mr Adrian Monk, the Falklands Government representative in London, has had several meetings with him, the last over lunch yesterday.

"I will be quite frank; I have always been slightly worried about combining everything in one man's hands", he said. "He is at the apex of a triangle, with administration on one side, development on the other.

"He will be virtually running the show, almost tending to usurp the position of the civil commissioner. But he is obviously very interested. He is not



David Taylor: "Apex of a triangle."

going out there with a clouded mind or fixed opinions".

Mr Taylor has an impressive track record! He is 50 and single, educated at Clifton and Clare College, Cambridge. In the late 1950s he joined the

overseas Civil Service. He was a district officer in what was then Tanganyika and then acting senior local government officer in the northern region.

He joined Booker McConnell in 1964, monitoring and supervising overseas trading in Africa and the West Indies; from 1976-77 he was chairman and chief executive of Bookers Malawi and then became regional director in both Zambia and Malawi.

In 1980 he was appointed director of a Booker subsidiary, United Rum Merchants.

His Falklands appointment follows the recommendation by Lord Shackleton in his economic study of the islands, that the post should be established.

Mr Taylor is unlikely to be averse to his spartan surroundings. He reads and listens to music a great deal and is described as "rather a good water-colour painter".

## Britain heads for UN Falklands defeat

From Zoriana Pysariwsky, New York

The United Nations General Assembly moved yesterday towards a vote on a resolution calling for negotiations on sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. Britain and Argentina, after presenting their cases, were putting their powers of persuasion and lobbying skills to last-minute use.

The result would not be based entirely on a cool, dispassionate assessment of the evidence, over which Britain and Argentine disagreed on practically every aspect; there were also a number of political trade-offs and much pressure

exerted. Negotiations are, nevertheless, a difficult thing for countries to vote against.

Sir John Thomson, the British representative, presented the Government's case on Tuesday, with a strong denunciation not only of the pronouncements of the Argentine military regime but of its very character. The language of diplomacy was reserved for the civilian Government-elect.

There was no question of Britain agreeing to negotiate on sovereignty over the islands, but Sir John urged the new

Argentine Government to declare a definitive cessation of hostilities, which could pave the way for easing tensions and normalizing relations.

Sir John asked the assembly to remember it was Britain which was the aggrieved party, but it was a foregone conclusion that Argentina would win another victory in the Assembly, where a majority feel that Britain's insistence that Argentina should formally announce a ceasefire and agree to negotiate anything but sovereignty takes away all the cards the Argentines have left.

## THREE LEGS AND NONE TO STAND ON?

Sea fishing disagreements have a way of dragging on and getting rough, even to the point of naval engagement. So it is with a sense of foreboding that one learns of another one in the offing, especially if one learns of it from the lips of Mr Enoch Powell who was expounding the issue to his constituents the other day in terms of conflict, usurpation and constitutional outrage.

The matter arises from a difference of interest between fishermen of the Isle of Man and fishermen of the United Kingdom, notably of Northern Ireland. The Isle of Man is not part of the United Kingdom, nor is it like Grenada a sovereign state. It is a dependency of the Crown, and the Crown, advised by ministers of the United Kingdom, is ultimately responsible for its good government. Its defence and foreign relations, so far as they arise, are the direct responsibility of HMG. For the rest it has almost complete insular self-government.

That broad distinction leaves areas of practical uncertainty. One concerns the domestic application to the island of international obligations incurred by the United Kingdom government on its behalf. Another is when the island's internal arrangements are held to have a detrimental effect on the United Kingdom. Fish enter both those areas of uncertainty.

Not being sovereign the Isle of Man has no sovereign waters. The sea adjacent to it is defined as British and made subject to United Kingdom law in, for instance, the Fishery Limits Act of 1976. A claim by Tynwald to a right to control fishing in its surrounding waters based on an inherent jurisdiction would be unsound. But that is not the end of the matter. Law and custom have conferred on the Manx authorities certain powers to regulate sea fishing, and the question of further devolution is not closed.

Within the three-mile zone, the territorial sea, the island has jurisdiction over the "domestic" aspects of maritime affairs including fishing. The regulatory

power over fishing is analogous to that possessed by the sea fisheries committees in England, joint boards of local authorities, with this important difference: that the Manx government is not a local authority but the government of an ancient feudatory kingdom. It is a difference that can be expected to colour attitudes to the job.

Outside the three-mile and within the twelve-mile limit the Manx authorities have an administrative function in the application of the EEC and United Kingdom fisheries policies. The function is conferred by Order in Council from London and it is performed on something like an agency basis.

The Manx fishing industry is in poor shape. The fleet has run down and fish stocks in the adjacent waters have dwindled in much the same way as they have elsewhere around the British Isles. A Manx commission of inquiry into the industry reported earlier this year. It reckoned that if Manx fisherman took a share of the total catch in the North Irish Sea proportionate to the contribution to the supply of fish made by Manx waters, the value of landings could be raised by a factor of three or four. Moreover the potential could be raised further by more effective conservation measures.

The commission recommended that the Isle of Man government secure full jurisdiction over fisheries to a radius of twelve miles (or better still to the median line between Man and the nearest landfall in all directions). It was further recommended that, control having been secured, a restrictive licensing system in favour of Manx vessels should be introduced that would have the effect of partially or totally excluding United Kingdom vessels from those waters.

The Manx government is now seeking clearance in Whitehall for full jurisdiction, at least in fishery matters, up to twelve miles. Ministers are considering their reply. There is no question yet of arrogation or usurpation

of power. Nor will there be unless the Manx authorities, if refused the request, were to be so unwise as to grab it.

Islanders have a natural tendency to look on the surrounding waters and the fish in them as their own. To the extent that they are dependent on fishing for their livelihood they have some right on their side, and may well attract sympathy from bystanders with no competing interest. Add to that the Manxman's long attachment to autonomy, and Whitehall can expect the claim to be pushed hard.

It is unallowable as it stands. The grant of discriminatory local priority in one part of British waters would be pounced on as a precedent all over the place, with the Shetland Islands at the head of the queue. A greater emphasis on local priority might be no bad thing, but only as part of a policy for general application. To transfer jurisdiction in the twelve-mile zone to the island authorities would leave the United Kingdom government responsible for giving effect to Community policy and rules in those waters without ready means of exercising the responsibility. Nor is it acceptable that Northern Irish and other United Kingdom vessels should be placed in a position where they might be excluded from grounds they have long fished. Customary rights have to be respected. New controls should not extinguish old frequentage.

Man might be given the jurisdiction in form, but so qualified and reserved as to protect the Government's EEC responsibilities, preserve a fair measure of non-discrimination between home vessels in British waters, and do justice to customary rights. Alternatively it might be refused jurisdiction but promised cooperation in measures to revive the Manx fishing industry, particularly conservation measures. Neither alternative would be received with enthusiasm in Douglas. When the Home Secretary goes there towards the end of the month he should be thinking of preparing the ground for a disappointment.

## Irish fight Manx fish limit

By Peter Evans  
Home Affairs Correspondent

Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, is about to walk into a fierce controversy over moves by the Isle of Man to extend its fisheries jurisdiction to 12 miles.

The moves are seen by Ulster fishermen as a threat to their livelihood. They claim support from other fishing interests in the United Kingdom.

Captain John Warnock, one of the founders of the Ulster Sea Fishermen's Association, said yesterday: "If the Isle of Man gets its 12 mile limit this would be a disaster for the 140 boats of the co Down coast. They would exclude us."

Brittan has special responsibilities for the Isle of Man in its complicated constitutional relationship with Britain over fishing rights. He goes to the Isle of Man tomorrow week, and the island's representatives will be out to win his support for what they see as a legitimate attempt to revive the local fishing industry and conserve stocks.

The proposals from Tynwald commission include recommendations that the Manx government should consider buying an inshore patrol boat and that Manx vessels should have priority in the granting of fishing licences, though there might be some licences left for other boats.

Leading article, page 13

## Falklands 'to stay British'

UNITED NATIONS,

Wednesday

BRITAIN has unequivocally rejected calls at the United Nations to resume talks with Argentina on sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.

But the chief British delegate, Sir John Thomson, told the General Assembly that his country was ready to normalise relations with Argentina broken by the war last year.

The Assembly is expected to adopt a resolution, sponsored by Argentina and 19 other Latin American nations, calling for the talks to resume.

The resolution's draft contains no mention of self-determination for the Falklanders, although it says Britain and Argentina should take account of their interests.

Sir John said: "This is not a dispute about empty land. We cannot ignore people who live on it and whose ancestors lived on it. We cannot negotiate behind their backs or over their heads."

However, he welcomed the

election of a civilian government in Argentina and said Britain hoped a new democratic administration would take a different view than the present military rulers.

"Let us hope they will recognise that the Falklanders have the same rights to self-determination as the Argentines," he said.

Sir John said Argentina could not make a special exception to the principle of self-determination in this case, simply because the population of the Falklands was so small.

Argentine Foreign Minister Juan Aguirre Lanari had said that self-determination did not apply to the islands.

The British delegate said it was too early to say how relations would develop between Britain and the new democratic government in Buenos Aires.

"But I can say . . . that for our part we are ready for, indeed eager for, a return to normal relations between our two countries," he said. (Reuter)



## Warships short-handed after post-Falklands rethink

By Defence Correspondent

A THIRD of Britain's destroyers and frigates are putting to sea undermanned because of a shortage of trained crew.

The Government's decision to keep more ships on operational duty following the Falklands war has left the Royal Navy with an embarrassing lack of skilled manpower.

On average the undermanned ships are 10 per cent, short of a full 'war' complement. But in some areas the shortfall is as much as 50 per cent.

Some vessels have had their secondary weapons systems closed down completely to allow the crew to concentrate on one specific task. Others have only one helicopter operating instead of two and a serious shortage of controllers has meant many can no longer run their helicopters around the clock.

In an emergency men based on shore could be drafted in to ensure ships are fully manned. But this would halt training ashore and leave the Navy unable to provide the essential back-up for the fleet.

Although recruiting is improving it will be at least three years before the shortages are made up because of the time needed to train specialists to use the high-technology equipment on today's ships.

The manning crisis stems from cuts announced in 1981 by former Defence Secretary Sir John Nott. He ruled that the Navy should shrink by around 10,000 men by 1986 and a further 10,000 by the end of the decade.

MRS THATCHER has won a major political victory with a new initiative to slash the cost of Fortress Falklands.

A new super-force of 5,000 Paras will enable her to make major cuts in the bill for maintaining the South Atlantic garrison by 1985. It destroys one of the biggest arguments Labour

hoped to use against the Prime Minister in the next general election — that the cost of guarding the Falklands is an impossible drain on the nation's resources.

The new force, announced last week, will allow Mrs Thatcher to reduce the vastly expensive garrison of 3,000 troops and rely on a core of a few hundred troops to maintain day-to-day

defence of the Islands.

Backed by engineers, satellite communications experts, tanks and Gurkhas members of the new 'go-anywhere' brigade could be whisked to the Falklands in Hercules transport planes within 48 hours if needed once the new Port Stanley airstrip opens in 1985.

The huge costs of main-

Several major ships such as Invincible and the assault craft Fearless and Intrepid were deprived and the number of frigates and destroyers was maintained at around 55. As a result, the Navy was faced with a big increase in ships at a time when numbers to crew them were falling sharply.

Now the Admiralty is pressing Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine to decide just how many ships he will keep in their full sea-going role.

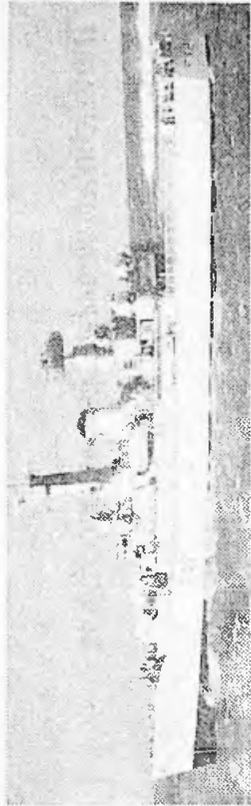
The Admirals are convinced they will be able to find the extra men needed by 1986 provided Government decisions are taken now to enable them to make the necessary plans.

taining a permanent Falklands garrison at present strength need not continue once the runway is operational, a senior minister said last night.

Once the major capital outlay of replacing ships and building the runway are out of the way, the cost of defending the Falklands will shrink to a very small fraction of the defence budget.

Another major political bonus presented by the new force will be the freedom it gives, Mrs Thatcher to take independent action to protect the lives of British subjects anywhere in the world.

After last month's Grenada invasion by U.S. troops, she was determined not to be left in the passenger seat again while a super-power acted without her knowledge or consent.



A LEANDER CLASS FRIGATE . . . SHORT OF MEN

# Manning crisis hits the Navy

Remember the picture that symbolised the Falklands: One Argentine, one Englishman, treated side by side



DAILY MAIL  
EXCLUSIVE:  
Brian James  
reports from  
Buenos Aires

# That 'enemy' today ... and his good friends back here in Brit

THE DAY Private Miguel Garcia became famous all over the world was also the worst day of his life.

A soldier in a defeated army. A prisoner, being taken uncomprehendingly to an unknown fate. Wounded, in great pain. Alone and unable to speak his captor's language, there was no one to convince him he was not about to lose his leg.

It was at this darkest hour that a Royal Navy cameraman took the photograph of the 20-year-old Argentine, lying amid British casualties aboard SS Canberra—a photo published all around the world symbolising the suffering of two nations caused by the junta's mad invasion of the Falklands.

And since that day, millions have wondered 'What was the fate of Miguel Garcia?' In Buenos Aires, I found out.

**M**IGUEL came smiling towards me. The slight limp? He rolled up his trouser leg, inviting me to feel a lump—the Marine bullet which bowled him over at Port San Carlos is still lodged in his thigh.

Yet he had no hesitation in slowly, shyly, talking to me the British 'enemy'. Why feel animosity? he asked. Some of his good friends were British—the pen pals who, moved by his haunted look in that Canberra photograph, wrote to him then and still write now.

Most are women. Many are the wives or mothers of Britons who fought with the Task Force. Some of the younger girls send him photos. Then Miguel beams a huge smile 'They, muy lindo—very beautiful.

But there are no smiles when you take his mind back to the Canberra and what happened after. Miguel Garcia refuses to discuss the war. There are two reasons.

First, he is still a proud and loyal Argentine. He will say nothing that could be construed as a criticism of his country, or used as propaganda. And second, like every other ill-trained, ill-equipped, badly-officered conscript, his memories of the Falklands are bitter. He poured out his story to his elder brother Oscar once. They will never speak of it again.

What was it like when he came to on the Canberra?

'I knew so little. Nothing. Only the pain,' said Miguel. 'My mind kept slipping away. And I wondered, of course, where I was going. Would the British help me? Or kill me? Would I ever see my country again? Or my family?'

'At first, no one could speak Spanish. They tried to be nice. All the British soldiers gave me sweets and cigarettes. Made with the fingers like this ... (thumbs up). Tried to speak my language,' he laughed, and gave a vivid impersonation of British Paras bawling: "OK Miguel, old son, you're going home soono."  
'My fear was that I would lose my leg.



PICTURE: GRAHAM WOOD

They operated twice. I know the doctors on Canberra saved my life. They could do no more. But the fear of my leg was with me very much.

'One day they brought a civilian with good Spanish. Then a senior doctor explained that they dare not take the bullet out. But they would not cut off.'

Gradually the pain went. Miguel began to notice those around him. He asked 'The sailor in the next bed ... Dillon ...

yes. What happens with him? A good man. I would like to meet again.'

Miguel spent 28 days on Canberra. And even before being landed on the Argentine mainland at Porta Madryn, he was already receiving British fanmail.

Meanwhile, his own family were going frantic. They had no word from him since the British landings. Only when the fighting had been over for two weeks were they told by the Argentinian military that

he was believed still alive—but no one knew where.

**W**HEN the wounded started to return, the family began haunting military hospitals. Miguel had been home in Argentina for several days before his brother Oscar, scouring the wards, found him. Miguel

spent two more months in hospital before being sent home. Penniless.

Argentine conscripts get no pay — just 'pocket money', usually swallowed up in 'fines' for lost equipment. He was discharged finally with just 800 pesos—about £37 20 — as total payment for two years military service — which ironically was due to end two days after he set foot in the Falklands — and for his wound.

Life now for Miguel Garcia is very hard.

His home village in Corrientes province is a typical Argentine rural community. Horses are tied in the dusty town square, gauchos in traditional high boots, wide hats and pleated trousers stroll around picking up supplies before heading out into the remote hills ... either on horseback or in modern pick-up trucks.

Miguel's own home is humble. Chickens scurry in and out of the house. If it stands out from the rest it is only because it is

the home of the famous 'ex-combatien' the place where the postman brings letters with foreign stamps.

Before the Falklands war, Miguel worked in a restaurant. It was not what he wanted to do with his life. He had been bright at school, passed exams, but school soon after his 12th birthday because the family could not afford to keep him in education.

'But the restaurant at least was worth



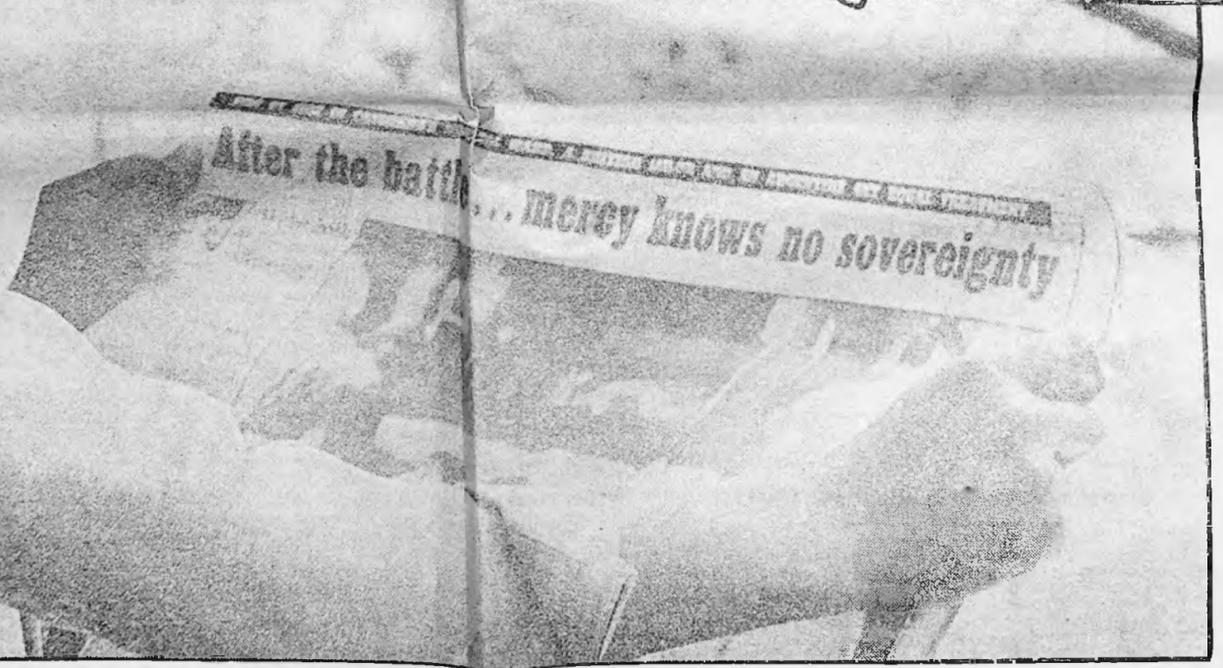
Ex-Private Miguel Garcia looking for the first time at the Daily Mail centre spread that stirred British compassion for both sides in the Falklands. And John Dillon (right), the seaman who lay wounded in the next bed to the young Argentine (inset).

...ure that symbolised the Falklands: One Argentine, one Englishman, treated side by side on the Canberra

# That 'enemy' today ... and his very good friends back here in Britain



PICTURE: GRAHAM WOOD



Ex-Private Miguel Garcia looking for the first time at the Daily Mail centre spread that stirred British compassion for both sides in the Falklands. And John Dillon (right), the seaman who lay wounded in the next bed to the young Argentine (inset).



## The modest hero in the next bed

WHEN the Navy pieced together the stories told by his shipmates, they decided John Dillon was a hero: He was awarded the George Medal for saving the life of a Petty Officer.

'Yes, I remember that Argie,' said Dillon. 'When I came back after having shrapnel taken out of my back, he was lying there. His leg looked a right mess. They were worried about him.

'I tried to cheer him up. Gave him my mags, stuff like that. He seemed a good enough bloke. I am glad he's getting on. I wished at the time I spoke his lingo.

'Me? Well, I had two weeks on Canberra, then off to QE II for a nice cruise home. Then two months' sick leave then back to sea aboard HMS Alacrity. Now I'm onshore, an office job on HMS Dehance at Devonport. All very different to the days of the Falklands.

'The only one I see from those days is the Petty Officer, Chief Enticknap, who I got out of the ship. We don't talk about that either. Just a wave and a smile.

'You say the Argie kid's still got the bullet in him? That's hard luck. I did better. My back used to give me a lot of gyp. Not now, and the burn marks are gone.'

One must eat. And get food for the family,' said Miguel. 'But no one wants a waiter who stumbles when he comes down a step. Or who has too much pain when the weather turns warm. So I have no job.'

Every few weeks Miguel Garcia climbs aboard a bus. And sits there with food and water carefully wrapped by his mother for the 13-hour overnight ride to Buenos Aires. And once more, he waits for hours in a long queue to ask at the military office 'any news of my pension?' And every time, they shake their heads and tell him, try again . . . in a few more weeks.

So back he goes to Corrientes. Passing the time on the trip re-reading the latest letters from faraway British friends. Some in Spanish. Some he has to decipher with the help of friends or his English phrase books.

**B**ACK home there is little to do. I help my mother in the house. Or I go to watch the children play. I love soccer. Here, all men do. But it is not possible for me to play . . . so I cannot bear to watch my friends with the ball.'

And the future? 'Who knows. The pension would help. Or if they could make me fit again so I could work as a man. But they shrug and say the bullet must stay.

'It would be a great happiness to meet the soldiers who took my hand, the doctors and nurses who save my life . . . to thank them. But that is a dream. So will you tell them?'

I said I would gladly carry the message. That Miguel Garcia, the betrayed ex-soldier on whom the world took pity, is alive and well . . . and limping in Corrientes.

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'But the restaurant at least was work.

# Hong Kong solution still elusive as talks break up

From John Gittings in Peking

The sixth round of talks on Hong Kong ended yesterday in Peking with every indication that there is still a wide gulf between the two sides and that the next few months will be critical.

Chinese sources are now suggesting that if an agreement is not reached by September next year, this is likely to impair Sino-British relations in general, which have so far been unaffected.

Both sides still express muted hopes that step-by-step progress can be made. A brief statement repeated the wording of the previous session that useful and constructive talks had been made, and said that it had been agreed to hold a further round on December 7-8, in Peking.

China has already stated that if the September 1984 deadline passes, it will make a unilateral declaration on its "policies and guidelines" for the future. The Chinese insist that Mrs Thatcher agreed with Mr Deng Xiaoping in September, 1982, to settle the matter within two years, and that if the British are still "stubborn" then Peking is quite entitled to take unilateral action.

It is being said that unlike the situation with US-Chinese relations, which have been adversely affected by the Taiwan problem, the question of Hong Kong has not yet imposed any "limitation" upon Sino-British relations.

The British have already made clear their dislike of negotiating under a threat of deadline. This will only be heightened by hints that trade and other relations may suffer.

The Chinese claim that they have made an extremely generous offer in the talks for the virtual political and economic autonomy of Hong Kong—if only Britain will concede its sovereign and administrative rights from the crucial year of 1997 onwards. This

would include complete autonomy for the Hong Kong legal system.

The British, who refuse altogether to discuss the contents of the talks, have not ruled out eventually conceding sovereignty. They say, however, that it must be part of an unacceptable package of arrangements for Hong Kong's future which would have to be submitted to Parliament. The implication is that some form of British administrative presence, or at least, a "link" — the word recently used by Mrs Thatcher—must be retained after 1997.

Both sides betray in their attitudes a streak of arrogance which does not offer any cheer for the people of Hong Kong.

In the British case, this consists of the conviction that the system of unrestrained capitalism, or what is described as the minimum of government interference in the Hong Kong economy, is indubitably the best thing that the Hong Kong people could want.

On the Chinese side, there appears to be no serious effort at the official level to consider that while the British are not very popular in Hong Kong, many people are averse to the restoration of Chinese rule. In the official Peking view, since the Hong Kong people are ethnically Chinese, they simply "ought to" feel patriotic and seek reunification.

Britain's refusal to discuss the actual contents of the talks is based apparently on a feeling that an all-out propaganda war with China will help no one and will probably be won by Peking.

The Chinese say that they have fully explained what they mean by their intention of making Hong Kong a special administrative region as provided for in the Chinese constitution, and that this should be good news. It is said to include the vital provision that the Hong Kong legal system would not only be left alone, but that there would be no provision

for final appeal to the Chinese courts when the present link with the British Privy Council is broken. They also say that no Chinese officials will be sent to Hong Kong.

More in sorrow than in anger, the Chinese complain that those who are now ruling Britain — they mean the Iron Lady — still nourish imperial hopes which were fed by the success of the Falklands War.

Expatriate industrialists in Hong Kong and those Chinese who have become "colonialised" have egged on the British government, in this view, encouraging Mrs Thatcher's big-nation chauvinism from the sidelines.

The British would like to think that this is all bluff and bluster, and it is true that it is laid on with a heavy hand. No one is more aware, it can be argued, of the need for a settlement than the Chinese, both for the sake of their economic stake in Hong Kong, and to pave the way for an eventual settlement with Taiwan.

But confidence, whether misplaced or not, need not be confined to the British. For the Chinese also profess to be absolutely sure that in the end, the Iron Lady will have to give way. The British case, in their view, lacks any basis in international law, in equity, or in reality — a transparent reference to the ease with which the Chinese could take Hong Kong back if they wished to.

Somewhere along the line between now and September 1984, perhaps in the less formal discussions that should take place between each round, the lines of confrontation could be softened and face could be mutually saved — a consideration as important to Mrs Thatcher as to Mr Deng. But if both sides are bluffing, it could be a dangerous game, and if they are not, but hold to principles which the other side denies, then it could be a real disaster.

FINANCIAL  
TIMES  
16.11.83

## Falklands population in decline

More people have left the Falkland Islands since the Falklands War than have settled there, it was disclosed in the Lords yesterday. Lord Lyell, a Government spokesman, said that since June 1982, approximately 29 Britons had arrived in the Falklands with the intention of settling permanently. He said 35 had left.

## Booker executive gets Falklands job

MR DAVID TAYLOR, an executive of Booker McConnell, takes up the new post of chief executive to the Falkland Islands Government on November 29. Lord Shackleton had recommended the establishment of the post in his 1982 economic study of the Falklands.

GUARDIAN  
16.11.83

## Falklands spending

By John Ezard

The appointment of Mr David Taylor, a senior Booker McConnell executive, as development supremo for the Falklands was confirmed yesterday by the Overseas Development Administration.

He will fly out on November 29, as forecast in the Guardian last week.

Mr Taylor, who is 50, will become head of local government and chief executive and executive vice-chairman of the new Falklands Development Corporation, which will oversee the spending of much of the £31 million aid fund agreed by the British Government.

The islands' representative in London, Mr Adrian Monk, said the appointment was bound to speed up emigration of a long waiting-list of people from Britain. The first results of Mr Taylor's work would probably be the funding of a wool mill and an inshore fishery.

But the biggest revenue-earning project would be a deep-sea fishing zone with ships from other countries paying for licences. "Hopefully, the British Government will declare an exclusive fishing zone round the islands quite soon," Mr Monk added.

DAILY  
TELEGRAPH  
16.11.83

## VAGUE WORDS ON HONGKONG TALKS

By Graham Earnshaw  
in Tokyo

The latest round of the Sino-British talks on Hongkong ended yesterday in Peking with a formula announcement that they had been "useful and constructive."

The adjectives used gave no indication as to progress on Hongkong's future. The same words have been used at the end of at least two previous sessions.

The joint communique said the next round of talks would be held on Dec. 7 and 8. The talks have been in progress for more than a year, but Chinese statements indicate little has been achieved so far.

## NEW FALKLANDERS

Lord LYELL, a Government spokesman, said at Question Time in the Lords yesterday that since June last year 29 Britons had arrived in the Falklands with the intention of settling permanently and 35 people had left the islands.

## FALKLANDS CHIEF

By Our Diplomatic Staff

Mr David Taylor, an executive of Booker McConnell, has been appointed chief executive of the Falkland Islands Government, it was announced yesterday. Mr Taylor, 50, will take up his post, recommended in the Shackleton Report, at the end of the month.

## LADY BUXTON

Lady Buxton, who has died in London, aged 61, was the wife of Lord Buxton, Anglia Television's group chief executive. She was Maria, daughter of Sir Henry "Tim" Birkin, a sportsman and motor-racing hero in the 1930s.

A keen traveller and conservationist, she assisted in the flamingo rescue at Lake Magadi, Kenya, in 1965 when 10,000 flamingo chicks became encrusted with soda. In 1968 she went to the Danakil Desert in Ethiopia and travelled along the Rift Valley to Lake Turkana through some of the most hostile and remote deserts in Africa.

Earlier this year she published "Antarctic Diary" an account of her journey in 1982 with her husband on the ice patrol ship Endurance. During the trip they visited their daughter, Cindy, on South Georgia three days before the Argentinian invasion.

# Talks on Hongkong future end in hope

Peking (APF) - Britain and China yesterday wound up their latest round of talks on the future of Hongkong on an encouraging note, with a joint statement saying that they were "useful and constructive". The seventh round will take place here on December 7 and 8, the statement said.

There was no word on the content of the current session which started on Monday, but the phrasing of the statement suggested the talks went off without incident.

Over the summer, joint Sino-British statements released at the end of several rounds of talks simply announced the date of the next meeting, without using the formula "useful and constructive", while China launched a spate of bitter attacks in its press.

The Chinese attacks ended last month with the previous round of talks, also described in a joint statement as "useful and constructive".

Last week, China publicly repeated that it intended to release its "policies and guidelines" on Hongkong some time next year. Most of the colony is due to revert to China in less than 14 years when Britain's 99-year lease on the New Territories area expires.

● **HONGKONG:** *The Wide Angle*, A pro-Peking magazine in Hongkong with reliable Chinese Communist Party connexions, claimed yesterday, that China had drafted three possible administration policies for zone government in Hongkong after 1997 (Richard Hughes writes).

It attributed the information to a local delegate to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

The three alternative proposals are:

1. If cooperation with the British is not satisfactory and the democratic consciousness of the citizens is not fully developed there will be a merger of the Executive and Legislative Councils (Hongkong's existing "Government" and "Parliament") and some of the members will be elected by the people. How the chief administrator is elected would depend on the current situation.

2. If Britain allows Hongkong people to administer the colony in a democratic way, and there is a good democratic atmosphere, there will be a full democratic election.

3. If Britain does not educate Hongkong people to develop democratic consciousness, there will be a consultative process to elect the chief administrator.

## LADY BUXTON OF ALSA

Lady Buxton of Alsa, the wife of Lord Buxton of Alsa, MC, DL, chief executive of the Anglia Group Ltd and of Independent Television News Ltd, died yesterday after a short illness at the age of 61.

She was Pamela Mary, daughter of Sir Henry "Tim" Birkin, 3rd Bt, the legendary sportsman and motor racing hero of the Bentley team in the 1930s.

A keen traveller and conservationist, Lady Buxton made many trips abroad. In 1963 she assisted in the famous flamingo rescue at Lake Magadi in Kenya, when 10,000 flamingo chicks became encrusted with soda. In 1968

she went to the Danakil desert in Ethiopia and travelled along the Rift Valley to Lake Turkana through some of the most hostile and remote desert wilderness in Africa.

Earlier this year she published a book: *Antarctic Diary*, about her most memorable journey to the Antarctic with her husband in 1982, on board HMS *Endurance*. During the trip they visited their daughter, Cindy, who was filming for the television series *Survival*, on South Georgia, three days before the Argentines invaded.

There are four daughters and two sons of her marriage.

## Falklands post

Mr David Taylor, an executive of Booker McConnell, has been appointed to the new post of Chief Executive to the Falklands Islands Government.

## Latin America united against Britain

From Zoriana Pysariwsky, New York

Latin American countries in the United Nations General Assembly have shown strong support for Argentina in its dispute with Britain over the Falklands.

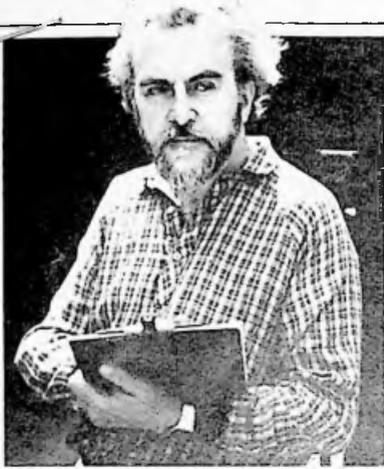
In the first day of the Falklands debate on Monday most Latin American speakers

echoed Argentina in describing Britain's presence in the South Atlantic as a strategic military build-up tied to the interests of Nato.

Countries that were critical of Argentina's invasion of the islands have rallied behind

Argentina since British forces recaptured them. Britain's efforts to court Latin America have largely met with a cool response, and some countries have taken every opportunity to show their displeasure with the United States for taking Britain's side in the war.

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs



# WHITEHALL'S MR MOVIES

The country's most successful producer of film shorts is a civil servant working for the Ministry of Defence. Lee Gullick (left) is the name. 'Firefight' is his latest movie. Report by John Barry

**T**he co-producer of the James Bond movies, "Cubby" Broccoli, was standing on the flight deck of an aircraft carrier with a man from the Ministry of Defence. The carrier had been provided to rescue 007 from the usual last-reel carnage. Said the man from the ministry: "You know, if all this kit is so visual and exciting we could make a short ourselves and you could release it with the Bond film." No doubt mindful of the ministry's goodwill, Broccoli said he thought this was a truly great idea. A film was made. The Bond audience liked it. That was 10 years ago.

Thirty or so films later, today's man from the ministry is a Mr Lee Gullick, and he can lay claim to being the most active film producer in the country. He operates in a tiny Whitehall office off the cobbled courtyard of the Old Admiralty Building, where his title is Head of Defence Promotion & Facilities (Films). He has three films a year going out on general release. In addition three times that number are made each year for showing by the armed forces.

Among the shorts going the rounds on the same bills as films like Goldie Hawn's *Private Benjamin*, the all-conquering *E.T.*, and Brooke Shields' three-hanky snuffler *Endless Love*, are *Nelson's Touch* (about a youngster in the Navy), *Show of Strength* (about the RAF's front-line aircraft), and *Out of China* (about British forces intercepting illegal immigrants in Hong Kong). Apart from high professionalism and a quantity of impressive military hardware all these shorts have one thing in common: a discreet credit at the end reading "Executive Producer, Lee Gullick".

Why is the prolific Mr Gullick seemingly immune to the plight of the rest of the British short-film industry? In getting his films on to our cinema screens he does have an advantage over his commercial rivals. Although his films cost around £70,000 each to make, the Ministry of Defence then gives them to the cinema chains.

As James Bond seems to have been the godfather of this re-

markable propaganda effort, it would have been fitting if the most ambitious Gullick production so far—the film that comes closest to being what he calls "a real movie"—could have gone out with *Octopussy*. It is called *Firefight* and it reconstructs a Marines operation in the Falklands over a year ago. A small squad led by Captain Red Boswell took on a contingent of Argentine special forces occupying the lonely homestead of Top Malo sheep farm in East Falkland. The Marines captured it. In Boswell's laconic slang, "We malleted them". And now, to his intense personal embarrassment, he is the hero of a 25-minute documentary.

In the film, Boswell is played by a professional actor, John Peters—just back in England after eight years' theatre in Canada. Peters even wears Boswell's actual combat kit. "Very strange, like looking at yourself in a mirror," Boswell muses.

The reconstruction is meticulous. Boswell and a squad of Marines spent 10 days on Dartmoor in February re-enacting the whole thing. But, as Boswell says: "Who is going to believe, in this day and age, that soldiers would attack across a billiard-table landscape, in bright sunshine with not a cloud in the sky, and just fix bayonets and charge the last 200 yards?" Boswell himself is clearly puzzled as he recalls it. "The adrenalin really gets into you," he says at last.

Boswell's force on the Falklands was the Marines' Mountain & Arctic Warfare Cadre, one of their specialist units. (Another is the Special Boat Service.) If the balloon ever went up in Europe, the cadre's hunting ground would be north Norway, where they train for months each year. In the Falklands, as our troops and stores were marshalled at San Carlos, the cadre was sent east across the island to spy out the Argentine positions.

On the evening of 30 May, in the centre of the island, one of the cadre's four-man teams spotted a troop of the Argentine's special forces fanning westwards on precisely the same reconnaissance mission. The only

difference was that the Argentines had no idea they had been spotted filing into the abandoned sheep farm at Top Malo House.

The destruction of the Argentine unit next day was a brisk business. Summoned by radio, Boswell and the rest of the cadre—there were only 19 of them—flew forward at first light in a low-level helicopter ride even they found hair-raising. Landing a mile from the farmhouse, they tramped through an icy bog—the temperature, despite the sun, was freezing—and then shot up the farmhouse in a textbook operation. At least, it was textbook until that last mad dash. "I remember roaring with laughter," says Boswell. "I couldn't believe what was happening. Everyone had this wild grin on their faces. And afterwards, I remember, one of the men said: 'Wasn't that a great buzz?'"

The Argentines fought back, wounding three of the Marines. But the surprise and intensity of the attack overwhelmed them: out of their squad of 17, seven were wounded and five killed, among them the commander.

"Congratulations," said their number two, when surrendering to Boswell. "You did a first-class job."

"But where were your sentries?" Boswell asked. He had been really scared lest the Argentines shoot them apart as they landed in the chopper.

The Argentine officer shrugged. "We were told there were no British around," he said.

The fight at Top Malo House—and the surrender over the next 24 hours of the two remaining Argentine special force units who had observed the affair from the prudent safety of distant hillsides—removed the Argentine commanders' eyes and ears. That, and the work of the Special Air Service successfully opened the way for an unimpeded British advance.

To a film-maker, the incident is perfect. Brief and compact; the only battle on the Falklands that

**In Firefight, which re-enacts a Falklands incident, John Peters (right) plays Captain Boswell (left), who led the actual raid on Top Malo House**

was fought wholly by day; bags of action; easy to explain. And it has one other advantage, as Roy Baird, who directed *Firefight*, explains: "It was equal. It was our special forces attacking their special forces. Nobody could accuse us of dramatising an attack on a bunch of 16-year-old conscripts."

Baird worked for years with that master of the extravagant, Ken Russell. He was editor of Russell's *Mahler* and associate producer of *Women in Love*. He produced the film version of *Spring and Port Wine*. And his main preoccupation right now is filming all the movies and TV specials that The Who make. Indeed, he was filming The Who's concert tour in the States last autumn at the same time as



47 ◀ **Whitehall's Mr Movies**  
dirt on our hands and faces was really ingrained."

Otherwise, and with the exception of what he calls "a couple of arty shots", Boswell marks the film high for accuracy: "It's marvellous. It's the first time, to my knowledge, that a film-maker has set out to make, as near as possible, a totally accurate account of a small battle."

But the very ambition and technical bravura of *Firefight* seems likely to provoke debate about Ministry of Defence films in general. For the Ministry, the attractions of the cinema are obvious. Audiences may be declining, but we still went to the movies almost 64 million times last year; and a solid three-quarters of the audience is aged 15 to 34—the recruiting sergeant's likeliest lads.

Not that the films are just recruiting advertisements. As Kevin Christie, deputy managing director of 20th-Century Fox's British operation, says: "They are much more subtle than that". Fox distributed *The Intruders*—a "featurette" about British submarines and Russian spy ships in the North Sea—and Christie thought it was "good of its kind". He has no doubts about the Ministry's objective: "They want to address the public direct, without going through the filter of journalists or television interviewers.



Film climax is Argentines' surrender to Royal Marines force

They want to show what they are doing, and they want to show it in a good light."

The most obvious concern—that these shorts are somehow elbowing other film-makers' work off our screens seems unfounded. There were 83 short films made for commercial showing in Britain last year; the Ministry of Defence released three. And for the half-dozen small film companies that actually make the Ministry's films (the work is all contracted out) the cash is a godsend. "Nobody gets rich doing Ministry of Defence films," says Des Good, the producer of *Firefight*. "But it

is steady work. It pays the overheads. And they are quite prestigious within the industry."

Nor is the fact that the films are sponsored itself unusual. The best guess is that perhaps four out of five shorts are sponsored by somebody.

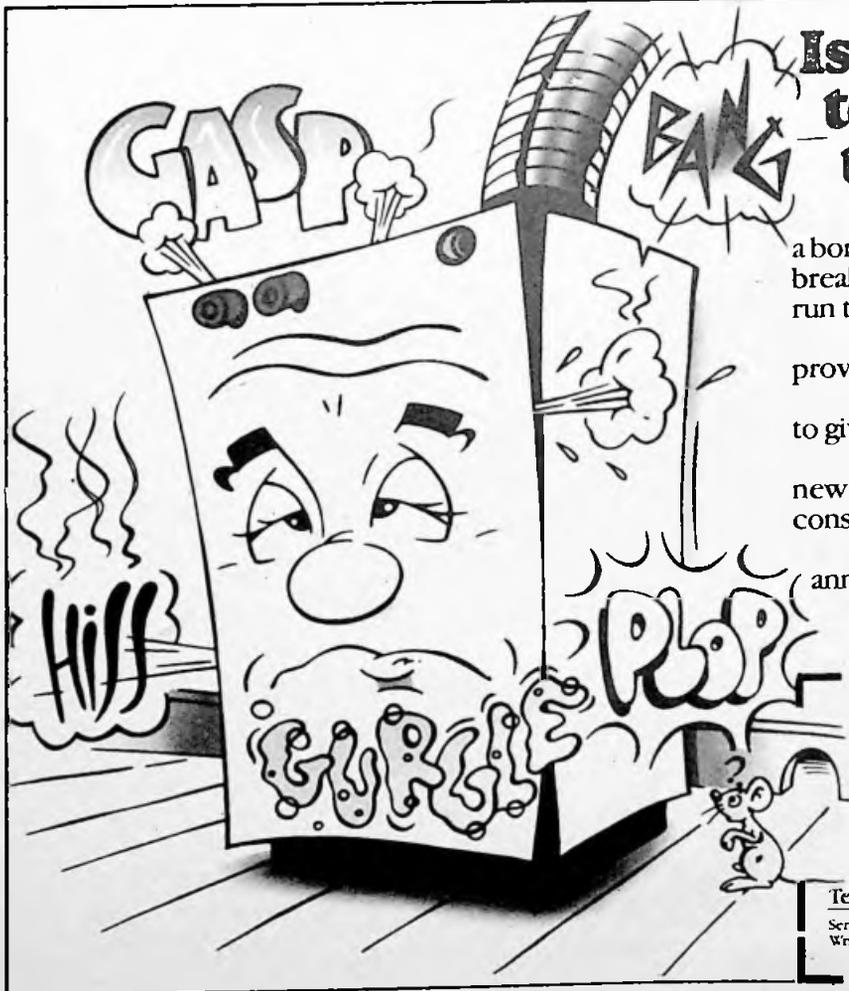
Yet it seems clear that the Ministry shorts do get pride of place on the cinema circuits. Partly, this is because they are well made but the fact that the films are free must also colour the distributors' attitude. Normally, a short film maker might hope to get perhaps three per cent of the box-office takings of the programme the short is in.

Three per cent of the takings of a Bond programme are worth having: by putting out a Ministry of Defence short, the distributors get to keep it all.

What it boils down to is that the British taxpayer, via the public relations slice of the defence budget, makes it profitable for the big cinema chains to show Ministry of Defence films. Good films. Interesting films. No doubt truthful films. With a message that is unexceptionable enough: is anyone against Britain having defences?

And yet, and yet... One man's public relations are another man's propaganda. And not all the films bear the imprint "Made by the Ministry of Defence". Perhaps Kevin Christie had a serious point when he said, jokingly: "Perhaps these films, like cigarette ads, should carry a notice: Warning. Becoming a soldier could seriously damage your health."

To spoil a good story, *Firefight* was not ready in time for distribution with *Octopussy*. Even so, Bond did have martial company. In the absence of *Firefight*, Bond audiences saw two other shorts: *HMS Invincible* and *Above the Best*. One is about the building of Britain's newest aircraft carrier and the other about the Army's helicopter pilots. Executive producer: Lee Gullick.



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SEM/13

NO ONE KNOWS MORE ABOUT GAS CENTRAL HEATING



he was setting up *Firefight*. He savours the oddity of sitting in hotel rooms in Dallas and Los Angeles, writing a film about the Falklands that is to be made on Dartmoor.

For Baird, the attraction of Ministry of Defence shorts is simple: "I like aeroplanes and ships," he says. "I've sailed on *Illustrious* and flown in a Harrier. I get to do all the things I wanted to do as a kid."

Actually, in *Firefight* the hardware is unimpressive. Boswell's men had even left their machine-guns behind. What is striking in the reconstruction is the action sequences. Did the Marines really risk injury in all those bangs? Answer, no. Baird was so taken by the challenge of making the world's smallest war epic that he begged favours from his mates in the industry. So *Firefight* is assuredly the first two-reeler to have bangs by Arthur Bevan, one of the best special-effects men in the business; action sequences organised by Peter Brayham, who does the mayhem for Sam Peckinpah; and stunts by John Tipping, an ex-Marine who has stood in for more of James Bond's feats than he cares to remember.

All of them worked for beer money; and their motivation is



**Top Malo House, rebuilt on Dartmoor, blows up in capture**

interesting. Certainly, they are friends of Roy Baird but, as he explains, there was also a "Falklands factor". "Everyone was proud of what our forces achieved. But I think people still don't realise quite how professional they are. We wanted to show that."

It was this which reconciled Rod Boswell to the project. He and colleagues tape-recorded for Baird hours of reminiscences about the battle; then Boswell ruthlessly red-pencilled the first script Baird produced. "He had everyone using Christian names," Boswell says, in a faintly shocked tone. "And it was

a bit gung-ho." But the final version—settled amicably over a couple of pints—is "virtually 100 per cent authentic," says Boswell, "complete with bad language. It doesn't pull any punches."

With professional dispassion, Boswell still sees inaccuracies: "Physical ones, mainly. The film uses blank ammunition, and that doesn't sound or look like the real thing—no recoil. And nobody looks tired enough. I lost one-and-a-half stone in the campaign, and all of us looked really drawn, knackered. And on Dartmoor we just couldn't seem to make the clothes dirty enough. And in the Falklands, the ▶ 48

Daily Mail  
15.11.83

### Falklands anger

NEW YORK: Argentine Foreign Minister Juan Lanari accused Britain in the UN yesterday of 'massive militarisation' in the Falklands

The Standard  
15.11.83

# Falkland war of words

NEW YORK, Tuesday. FRESH Argentinian demands for negotiations over the Falkland Islands were expected to be rejected by Britain at the United Nations General Assembly today after the two sides had traded insults.

Argentine Foreign Minister Juan Aguirre Lanari and Britain's delegate, Sir John Thomson, clashed over a resolution sponsored by Argentina and 19 other Latin American countries calling for renewed talks on the disputed islands.

The Argentine Minister accused Britain of diplomatic fraud by altering the terms of

negotiations and reneging on a 1967 understanding that the Falklands would go to Argentina, with safeguards for the islanders' interests.

He said Argentina was observing a cease-fire after Britain reclaimed the islands by force in last year's South Atlantic war, but London's demand for a formal declaration ending hostilities was designed to block talks on a settlement.

Sir John, who was expected to tell the Assembly today that the resolution prejudged the issue and took no account of last year's Argentinian invasion, brushed aside Argentinian charges that Britain was conducting a "militaristic and

expansionist policy" involving construction of a huge South Atlantic base.

Sir John, referring to Argentina's short-lived occupation of the Falklands, said it strained credulity when Britain was accused of militarism by a "regime that landed an army of 10,000 men in somebody else's territory and subdued the population which was totally opposed to them."

But the draft, similar to one adopted last year by a vote of 90 to 12, with 52 abstentions, is again expected to be endorsed by an overwhelming majority.

The vote could come either late tonight or tomorrow. Resolutions are non-binding in the General Assembly.

Two Falkland Islands councillors, Mr John Cheek and Mr Tony Blake, appeared as petitioners before the Assembly's decolonisation committee and said they hoped the new Argentinian Government would recognise that the islanders wanted the right to live in peace and security under a Government of their choice.

The Standard  
15.11.83

## Go easy please on Mr Varley



VARLEY: good luck

MR ERIC VARLEY has chosen to leave the Commons. He is going to give up his safe Labour seat at Chesterfield and go to work for Coalite, a company that has interests in the Falkland Islands.

Upon the head of the honourable Mr Varley has descended a storm of childish abuse. Naturally I sympathise with Mr Varley, because I resigned my seat to join London Weekend Television. A decision, may I remark, that I have never had cause to regret.

Some people need to be told, in

appropriately blunt language, that human beings do not belong body and soul to a political party. Such parties exist only to serve the nation, to which they are in every way wholly inferior.

A person is a British citizen. Being Labour, Tory or Alliance is a secondary and less important personal choice.

I say good luck to Mr Varley. He was a wise servant of the State. Decent folk wish him well in his new career.

# Hard line likely on Falklands

from Jane Rosen in New York

The UN General Assembly yesterday opened a two-day debate on the Falklands which is certain to end with the adoption of an Argentine resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations on the sovereignty issue.

The British Government, which strongly opposes the resolution, had hoped that the new civilian regime in Buenos Aires might adopt a more moderate policy than the junta. According to the reports here, however, this is not likely. The Foreign Minister-designate has already declared that Argentine sovereignty over the Falklands is not negotiable.

"They can't take a harder line than that," a British source commented.

As a warm-up to the debate, the Argentine ambassador charged last week that Britain was establishing a military base on the Falklands which is becoming "a dangerous focal point of East-West conflict." This "military escalation" by the "colonial power" is part of a strategy which "flouts Latin America's genuine interest in achieving peace and security."

Yesterday, the Argentine Foreign Minister, Mr Lanari, reiterated those charges, telling the assembly that the "militaristic and expansionist policy of the United Kingdom in the South Atlantic" threatens peace. Argentina's

rights to the Falklands has been "expressly recognised" by the great majority of countries and it is clear that the only way to "decolonise" the islands is to resolve the sovereignty conflict.

Today Britain is to address the assembly. Meanwhile last night two Falkland Islands representatives urged a committee of the assembly to respect the principle of self-determination for the islanders who still oppose integration with Argentina.

The Argentine resolution, which the assembly will take up later today, is almost identical to that which was adopted last year. While it refers in its preamble to a need to take account of the "interests" of the islanders, the operative paragraphs effectively pre-judge the issue by calling on Argentina and Britain to negotiate "the sovereignty dispute" rather than the dispute over self-determination.

Last year, the vote on the resolution was 90 countries in favour, 12 opposed, and 52 abstentions. The US, eager to repair its relations with Latin America, supported the resolution but all of the Europeans except Greece abstained.

This year, however, not only the US but also some of the Europeans are considering supporting the resolution evidently in the hope that the new Argentine Government might eventually be persuaded to moderate its policy.

## New parachute brigade is ready for action

THE TIMES

15.11.83

For the first time since 1977, Britain has an army brigade specifically equipped for parachute operations.

The 5 Infantry Brigade, based at Aldershot, was formally renamed 5 Airborne Brigade by Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for Defence, yesterday. With a total strength of nearly 5,000 men it is Britain's nearest equivalent, although on a much smaller scale, to the American Rapid Deployment Force.

The brigade will have the ability to make an airborne drop of two battalions of the Parachute Regiment, and has had added to it the light tanks of the Blues and Royals, a light gun regiment of the Royal Artillery, and other units. It is Britain's first airborne brigade since the disbandment of 16 Brigade in 1977. It will be the Army's primary force for operations outside Nato

## Argentine hard line at UN angers Britain

From Zoriana Pysariwsky, New York

Argentina yesterday portrayed Britain as a nuclear power bent on consolidating its hold in the South Atlantic with a much wider strategic purpose than mere protection of the Falkland islanders. Speaking as the UN General Assembly opened a debate on the dispute between the two countries, Señor Juan Ramon Aguirre Lanari, the Argentine Foreign Minister, ignored the fact that it was Argentina that resorted to force in the first place. Instead, he dwelled on the early history of the dispute and the dangers of the present with a call on Britain's allies to convince it that the maintenance of "Fortress Falklands" were neither a viable nor a realistic pursuit.

The statement, in tone and substance, departed little from

Argentine pre-election pronouncements. The only reference to the fact that there is a new Government-elect came when Señor Aguirre read an earlier statement by President-elect Raul Alfonsín emphasizing diplomacy as the route toward a Falklands solution.

British officials expressed dismay and disappointment over the harsh tenor of the Argentine statement. Sir John Thomson, the British representative, said that he left it up to the Assembly to decide whether the hard line rhetoric was conducive to reducing tensions in the region.

He hoped that the newly elected Government in Argentina would adopt a more conciliatory attitude

# Prince Andrew describes loneliness and horror of the Falklands

Prince Andrew described yesterday his experiences in the Falklands conflict, including the "horrific" moment when he saw the Atlantic Conveyor destroyed by an Exocet missile.

In an interview with David Frost on TV-am, the prince said that he had felt a certain amount of loneliness between his missions as a Royal Navy helicopter pilot.

"You tend to become a sort of zombie. All you do is eat, sleep and fly. I had an awful lot of time to myself, sitting in my cabin and now and then ducking the odd missile.

"The worst thing was actually the destruction of everything," Prince Andrew said.

"I saw the Atlantic Conveyor hit, and seeing the bits and pieces that rained around... there were splashes in the water about a quarter of a mile away.

"It was an experience I shall never forget. It's still a vivid memory imprinted on my brain. It will be there for a very long time - horrific."

Asked whether his Falklands experience had helped shape his character, the prince replied: "That is a very difficult question to answer. I think being shot at is the most



Prince Andrew: "No candle-lit dinners."

character-forming thing of one's life".

Giving the interview as part of the £50,000 appeal for the restoration of the SS Great Britain, Brunel's first iron ship, Prince Andrew said that one reason he had agreed to become the appeal's patron was because of the ship's link with the Falklands.

The ship, launched in 1843, was damaged rounding Cape Horn in 1886 and limped to harbour in the Falklands where

it remained. It was sold as a hulk and used for storage and towed to Bristol in 1970.

The prince, who is 23, was not asked directly about his personal life, but he acknowledged that there were "a lot of stories" running around. "Dare I say that I deny few."

David Frost raised the subject of intrusion by photographers and suggested that they might destroy "candle-lit atmospheres". Prince Andrew replied that there were "no candle-lit atmospheres" to destroy.

In his own photography, he said he ensured that he did not indulge in the same "hassling" of his family when he took pictures of them.

"It's great fun, and they do get slightly annoyed and complain bitterly that I am getting more and more like a pressman. But I don't do anything intrusive."

Having remarked that loneliness was a theme of his photography, The Prince was asked whether he himself was something of a loner.

"I am a recluse," Prince Andrew replied. "I don't think I am lonely. I try to keep out of people's way and I try to avoid the press."

SUNDAY TIMES  
13.11.83

## Fortress squeeze

**ARGENTINA**  
Isabel Hilton finds Britain  
under Falklands pressure

FEARS of increasing isolation over "fortress Falklands" were growing last week as the United Nations prepared to debate an Argentinian resolution calling for a resumption of negotiation on the islands. After heavy lobbying by both sides, it seems clear that tomorrow's debate will reveal a greater sympathy for Argentina's government than for the previous military regime.

Although Raul Alfonsin has yet to take power, the cabinet he nominated last week offered clues to the likely conduct of the dispute. The man chosen to be foreign minister, Dr Dante Caputo, is regarded as extremely

close to Alfonsin. He has close links with European social democratic parties and the new government is expected to consolidate these ties with a view to putting pressure on Mrs Thatcher through the EEC. She has said sovereignty cannot be negotiated.

Alfonsin's foreign ministry team have indicated that they do not contemplate a formal cessation of hostilities without some concession by the British, either on the size of the exclusion zone or the building of the Port Stanley airport. In an important modification of Argentina's previous position, the Radicals last week indicated a willingness to negotiate without a guarantee that sovereignty was on the agenda.

*Inside Politics, page 15*

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14.11.83

# Portrait of Prince Andrew as a lonely young man

By CHARLES LAURENCE

PRINCE ANDREW, Naval officer and Falklands veteran, said yesterday in his first television interview that "being shot at is the most character-forming thing in your life."

He was telling David Frost of TV-am about his experiences in the South Atlantic in a conversation that was surprisingly frank at times.

"I would agree that there is a degree of loneliness. You tend to become a sort of zombie. You just eat, sleep and fly.

"I had an awful lot of time to myself, sitting in my cabin, ducking the odd missile . . . you get your moments."

Loneliness emerged as a dominant theme of the interview.

Although the subject of Miss Koo Start, the American film actress, was strictly avoided by prior arrangement with the Palace, the 25-year-old Prince was candid about the difficulties of his private life.

## 'I am a recluse'

"I am a recluse. I don't think I am lonely but I try to stay out of people's way and try to avoid the Press.

"Being a Naval officer and a Prince involves two completely different life-styles and reconciling them can be very hard at times. It is a sort of conscious schizophrenia."

The Press emerged as a principle obstacle in his life.

"I don't elude them on purpose, but on a private run somewhere I take an extremely dim view of them."

Mr Frost suggested boldly that Press attention could readily destroy the atmosphere of a "candle-lit dinner."

Prince Andrew answered with a hint of sadness: "There are not many candle-lit moments to destroy."

## Worst experience

In the Falklands war, the Prince said his "worst" experience had been watching the destruction of the Atlantic Conveyor, sunk by Exocet missiles.

"The worst thing was the destruction, seeing the Atlantic Conveyor hit, seeing the bits and pieces splashing into the water a quarter of a mile away.

"One sees things at moments like that, things you never forget . . . horrific . . . it is still a vivid memory imprinted on my brain."

All this, however, had not changed him outwardly. "I am still fairly lunatic," he said.

Loneliness came up again when the subject turned to the Prince's latest hobby, photography.

"I think the theme of the photographs is loneliness. If you look at them, there is no one there, you can see the loneliness coming out."

# Shadow of threat on Hongkong talks

By GRAHAM EARNSHAW in Tokyo

SINO-BRITISH talks on the future of Hongkong resume in Peking today, overshadowed by a threat by China last week.

China said that it would unilaterally announce its plans for the colony if agreement with Britain was not reached by September next year.

The Chinese statement was a formal reiteration of one made by Wu Xueqian the Chinese Foreign Minister, in Canada last month. But its timing was strange after indications from both sides that the previous round of talks, in late October, had been relatively fruitful.

The British have maintained their silence on the substance of the talks, already in progress for over a year. But there were widespread reports at the time of the last round of talks that Mrs Thatcher had sent a letter to the Chinese leadership softening the British stand on the Hongkong issue.

Britain has previously criticised the Chinese announcement of a deadline on the talks, saying the aim should not be to finish by a certain date, but to come up with the correct solution to the problem.

Daily Mail  
14.11.83

# A Remembrance Day attack on 'scoundrel' Maggie

MRS THATCHER was denounced as a 'scoundrel' and 'evil' over her conduct of the Falklands War in an astonishing Remembrance Day address yesterday.

Labour MP Tam Dalyell, a persistent critic of the Prime Minister's South Atlantic policy, launched his attack in Great St Mary's church in Cambridge.

'In the Falklands War, truth was the first casualty on both sides, and whenever truth takes a back seat mankind suffers,' he said.

'Of all catastrophic slogans, none has led to greater grief than, "My country, right or wrong." And patriotism, pseudo-patriotism rather, has indeed been the refuge of our scoundrel Prime Minister.

'Evil intention pervades the Prime Minister's conduct from an early stage in the Falklands story. Mrs Thatcher claims that the crisis came out of the blue on March 31 last year. No it did not.

'In the first week in March, in her

own handwriting, she was noting across the dispatches of our Ambassador in Buenos Aires that we must have "contingency plans". Those who ask for contingency plans cannot claim that a crisis came out of the blue more than three weeks later.'

The Belgrano was only sunk, he claimed, to destroy any chance of peace when the Peruvians had a plan which would have led to the Argentines withdrawal from the islands.

'Mrs Thatcher ordered Northwood [fleet headquarters in Middlesex] to drown hundreds — it might have been more than 368 — of young men to escalate war and wreck peace.'

Mr Dalyell went on: 'Many disturbing facts have now emerged that British Servicemen — I have nothing but admiration for them — were used or abused by the Prime Minister for her own political purposes.

'On this day we have a duty to the memory of those who were maimed or who did not get back, British or Argentinian, to demand a judicial inquiry into the conduct of the Prime Minister. It is for that reason I have spoken in this way on this Remembrance Sunday.'

Daily Mail  
14.11.83



Benn: support

## Miners to back Benn in vital poll battle

ANTHONY Wedgwood Benn was heading last night for the crucial support of local miners in his bid to return to Parliament as Chesterfield's MP in succession to Eric Varley.

Mr Varley announced on Friday that he would be quitting the seat to become deputy chairman of Coalite.

Derbyshire miners' leader Peter Heathfield described Mr Benn yesterday as 'a friend of the Derbyshire miners.'

He suggested that the pitmen would be prepared to abandon their tradition of picking a miner because a heavyweight candidate would be needed in such a crucially important by-election.

Labour's leadership has been thrown into a tizzy over the surprise by-election, likely to be held next March.

With opinion polls recording a boost for Labour's standing at the expense of the SDP/Liberal Alliance, the last thing the party hierarchy wanted was a by-election featuring Labour's chief Left-Wing bogymen.

Daily Mail  
14.11.83

Memories . . . the Prince recalls the Falklands war

# My most horrifying time—by Andrew

PRINCE ANDREW told yesterday of the loneliness and horror he experienced in battle during the Falklands war.

'The worst thing was actually the destruction of everything,' the Prince, a naval helicopter pilot, said in a TV interview.

The blasting of a British ship, the Atlantic Conveyor, by an enemy missile had affected him deeply. Andrew remembered 'seeing it hit and seeing the bits and pieces that rained around in the water. There were splashes in the water about a quarter of a mile away.'

'That was what I remember. However, if it happened at the time, I

don't know. One sees things at moments like that, and it was an experience I shall never forget.

'It is still a vivid memory imprinted on my brain. I think it will be there for a long time.'

David Frost asked the 23-year-old Prince during the TV-am interview if his experience as a pilot in the war had altered his character.

'I think that, in inverted commas, "being shot at" is the most character forming thing of one's life,' replied Andrew.

But had the Falklands experience changed him? 'Who knows?' he said. 'I have not detected any outward changes at the moment. I am still fairly lunatic—as ever.'

Then Andrew spoke about the loneliness he had felt during the war. 'There is a certain degree of loneliness,' he said. 'If you are in a cabin on your own, you tend to become a sort of zombie in those circumstances, where all you do is eat, sleep and fly.'

The Prince returned to the theme of loneliness, when he talked about his new hobby, photography.

'Is there a theme to your photos?' asked David Frost. 'Dare I say it, the theme in fact is loneliness, for some strange reason,' said Andrew.

'If you look at them all as a package, there is not much there. There is nobody in them.'

Asked if he was a loner, the Prince smiled: 'No, I am a recluse. I don't think I am lonely. I try to keep out of people's way and I try to avoid the Press.'

Of his naval career, Andrew said: 'I live to fly, and I live to fly from the sea. Being in the Navy and being a Prince is two completely different lifestyles and to reconcile one against the other is actually quite difficult sometimes. I have often described it as being a conscious schizophrenic.'

## Amusing

'In the Navy there is a naval life, where I am working with people who are the same seniority as I am. Then for the weekend and various other engagements, life takes on a completely different meaning.'

'Sometimes I laugh at it. For instance, last July I went to the Falkland Island Exhibition. I was there as a Prince to open the Exhibition but also being a naval

officer. It was very difficult to reconcile the two and how you dressed.'

'I dressed, in fact, in a suit, which eased the problem somewhat. All the people there were senior to me. There was my commander-in-chief and my flag officer and naval air commander, who were all taking me round—so it does have its amusing moments.'

'Who says Sir to who in those situations?' asked David Frost. 'I usually call them Sir—much safer!' joked the Prince.

The Prince gave the interview in his role as patron of the £50,000 appeal for the restoration of the SS Great Britain, Brunel's first iron ship. He became patron, partly because of the ship's link with the Falklands. She lay there for more than 80 years after being damaged in 1886.



ANDREW : LONELY

## Dalyell's new query over the Belgrano

By Richard Norton-Taylor.

Mr Tam Dalyell, the Labour MP who has persistently criticised the decision to sink the Argentine cruiser, Belgrano, will today question senior Commons officials about the rules which prevent MPs asking questions about diplomatic exchanges and intelligence matters.

Mr Dalyell, MP for Linlithgow, last night reacted furiously to a long article in the latest issue of the Economist by Sir Nicholas Henderson, British ambassador to Washington at the time of the Falklands war, defending the Government's decision.

Mr Dalyell said that the article had opened a Pandora's Box.

Sir Nicholas says he was first told about the Government's action in a telephone call from Mr Alexander Haig, the then United States Secretary of State. Mr Francis Pym, the then Foreign Secretary, who was in the US at the time, has said he was not consulted about the decision.

In a Remembrance Day address at the University Church of St Mary's in Cambridge, Mr Dalyell said that the Government had acknowledged that the Belgrano was first detected on April 30, two days before it was torpedoed with heavy loss of life. It was being monitored on the morning of May 1 refuelling at sea by the nuclear submarine, Conqueror which was 4,000 yards away.

"At this point the Belgrano was a sitting duck target. Had legitimate self-defence of the task force been the consideration, Conqueror would have been ordered to attack there and then."

Mr Dalyell said that at a meeting he had in Lima last month the Peruvian president, Mr Belaunde Terry, and Dr Manuel Ulloa, former prime minister, were adamant that Mrs Thatcher knew at every stage about the progress of their detailed peace plan, which was being drafted before the Belgrano was sunk.

Sir Nicholas says in his article that the Peruvian plan "could not possibly be described as proposals." He adds that it was only possible to telegraph a report to Whitehall at 10.15 pm London time, 2½ hours after the Belgrano was hit.

# Is there a Falklands policy?

The United Nations, for what it is worth, will this week say once more with feeling that Britain and Argentina should settle the Falklands by negotiation. The worth of such pronouncements, of course, tends to be hailed or derided by governments strictly according to what they believed in the first place. The UN is very important, for example, when it agrees with America about Afghanistan and extraordinarily peripheral when it disagrees on Grenada. Even so, endless nagging votes of no confidence in Whitehall policy bring both embarrassment and aggravation in train. This week the vote will be stronger than ever, because Argentina has a mild, democratic administration taking over the reins. And the weightier the world consensus, naturally, the greater the temptation for allies like Washington to do things that send Mrs Thatcher hairless: like sell arms to Mr Alfonsin. The more weaponry he gets, supposedly, the more we need to spend on our Island Fortress.

Any immediate diplomatic prognosis, therefore, would seem unutterably bleak. Britain snarls at Buenos Aires, the UN, and the Oval Office. The British taxpayer stumps up in ever greater quantities. And nothing happens until, as happens even in democracies run by Mrs Thatcher, the government eventually changes and the already manifest desire of the Labour party, the Liberals and the SDP propels us into talks. But by that time, perhaps, Mr Alfonsin will himself have vanished from the scene and some shadowy general will be frying old fish again. It is all the most costly, self-defeating mess, which leaves the people at the heart of it all — the 1,400 or so indigenous Falklanders — as bemused bystanders or potential victims yet again. It is no good Mrs Thatcher telling them that their long-term future is secure — because her long-term future isn't. True security in the terms they seek it can only come by negotiation, and Mr Alfonsin (as his UN majority will demonstrate) is the best hope of sensible

Defending the decision to sink the cruiser, he says that Britain knew "of an Argentine plan for a co-ordinated attack on the task force to be conducted by aircraft from the mainland, from carrier-based aircraft, and from surface ships equipped with Exocets."

The British Government knew nothing about any new diplomatic initiative when it authorised the sinking, and there was nothing to suggest at the time that Argentina was any more ready to negotiate than it had been before.

negotiation Argentina has thrown up in decades.

But the process does not and cannot start in New York or Buenos Aires. It begins in London and Port Stanley, because it is British policy that blocks any prospect of progress. We may shout from the Foreign Office rooftop that it is impossible to talk whilst Argentina declines a formal end to hostilities, but such a declaration from Alfonsin would be a poker hand tossed away because even then we wouldn't talk about anything that interests him. Last year, it should be remembered, we said we could never bargain with a fascist dictatorship: this year we can never bargain with a democracy. The problem is that we can't bring ourselves to bargain at all: only to plough on with bricks, mortar, and more billions. And yet the paths to an eventual settlement are already clear; were indeed laid down by Mrs Thatcher herself over 15 months ago. Once the traumas of invasion had abated, she said, then we must consult the islanders about their wishes. That was what it had all been about. Such a consultation would come "in around a year." There has not been a whisper of it since, and for a very simple reason. The Falklanders, when they come to be consulted and to vote on their future and the future of their children, can only choose between realistic options. Since an indefinite continuance of the status quo — one option — patently involves all-party acceptance of the cost of defence and support, the business of consultation has to begin at Westminster with the search for abiding consensus. And if it proves not to exist, then the other realistic options have to be put. We are pledged to talk to the islanders; but first, inescapably, we have to begin talking amongst ourselves.

It is the power of symbolism in politics which is too often left out of rational calculations. The Falklands war was full of symbol. Here was an island people - British to the core - invaded by the forces of a Fascist dictatorship. A British Armada sailed from ports which had for centuries witnessed the Royal Navy slipping out on the tide to fight other unseen wars far from home. Against all expectations, certainly in Buenos Aires and most probably elsewhere in the world, these symbols enabled the idea of the operation to be sustained during weeks of diplomacy.

It was a triumph of collective imagination over the uncertainty of the result, and explained why the operation attracted such colossal and cumulative support which was evidence of the national will, though, in its undramatic quality, in vivid contrast to the scenes of hysteria which could be observed in Argentina. That there was something rotten about the state of Argentina, which lay at the heart of the Falklands invasion, was clear to all however much shouting and parading there was.

Symbols were important then, and they are important now in Argentina. A moment of history has arrived with the recent election result which we in Britain should not ignore. There is a danger that the British Government will show a tragic insensitivity if it does not recognize this moment and respond to it.

For the first time since the early 1930s Argentina's political system has a completeness about it based on the possibility of two political parties - the radicals and the Peronists - giving substance to an alternating system of government with civilian control over the military. Hitherto, at least since Peron's arrival in 1946, the choice has lain basically between Peronism and militarism.

We cannot object to a civilian government laying a rival claim to territory to which we believe we have the better title, provided that claim is not pursued by military means. The whole essence of a conversation between governments which share respect for democratic procedures and for the rule of law is that they talk through their differences, easing those which are capable of compromise, and isolating those which are incapable of resolution, so that the residue does not need to become politically intolerable.

At the United Nations today there will be the annual call for negotiations to start between Argentina and the United Kingdom. The experience with the Junta in its pre-war and post-war phases showed that it was not capable of negotiation. However, that should not apply to a civilian administration under Señor Alfonsín whose legitimacy, and therefore freedom of manoeuvre, is much greater.

The Junta was incapable of declaring a cessation of hostilities. Señor Alfonsín has already avowed an intention to settle the dispute peacefully. As long as Argentina remained under military rule Britain has had no option but to carry on the planned defence of the Falkland Islands and the development of institutional government for Falklanders. Of course there is no guarantee that Argentina will remain "coup proof". The military in two or three years may have recovered its morale and its discipline. The Alfonsín government may be unpopular, given the enormous and painful tasks of reconstruction which face it. It is all the more important, therefore, that Britain shows that it is easier to talk to a civilian government about the Falkland Islands than it was or would be with a military one, so that never again can the Argentine military use the Falklands issue as an

argument to legitimize its own claim to power and to discredit a civilian government through apparent lack of patriotism.

That is why Mrs Thatcher is wrong to object to the likely resumption of American arms sales to Argentina. She knows she can rely on Washington not to sell weapons which would gravely alter the balance of power round the Falklands, not least because the Junta has done all the major restocking it could since last year's defeat, with substantial arms deliveries from France, Israel and others. Señor Alfonsín will not wish to indulge the military in more expenditure than is necessary, but it is important for him to be reconciled with Washington, and, in view of the resumption of civilian control over the military, the ending of the American arms embargo would symbolize that reconciliation more effectively than anything else.

What should happen with the Falkland Islands themselves will be discussed in a later article on this page. It does not at this stage affect the immediate British response to the new atmosphere in Buenos Aires, other than in two ways.

First, as a gesture of goodwill to Argentina in recognition of the prospect of an imminent civilian takeover the exclusion zone should be unilaterally reduced to coastal waters. That is a risk, but a small one indeed compared to the other risks which Britain has taken in the South Atlantic.

Secondly, once Señor Alfonsín is installed as President, Britain should invite him to send a representative of his administration to the Falklands to see for himself that the work of reconstruction and the plans for the new airfield do not comprise preparations for a huge South Atlantic base but, on the contrary, are necessary preconditions for an eventual and much

desired reduction in British force levels certainly as long as Argentina fails to recognize a cessation of hostilities and even beyond that given the unpredictable state of recent Argentine history. Indeed the more Argentine's leaders can go to the Falklands the more likely they are to see that the issue itself should not be a central one in relations between our two countries. That kind of contact could also lead to more fruitful discussions about future developments in the Antarctic region as a whole.

At present Britain can do no more than welcome the arrival of civilian rule in Buenos Aires and take steps which should help to consolidate the new-found integrity of Argentine politics. With both Britain and Argentina that should not involve burying the past, but building on its lessons, freely recognized, in a spirit of reconciliation. That is the message Britain should give today to the United Nations, by announcing its readiness to discuss all differences with a democratically inspired Argentine government. Then both countries would start to discover what issues can yield to a spirit of reconciliation and which of the wounds of war will need still further time to heal.

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**Argentina's new foreign minister outlines his policies to Douglas Tweedale**

# The Falklands factor that won't go away

**Buenos Aires**

A political scientist who looks more like a university professor than a polished diplomat, Señor Dante Caputo was virtually unknown in Buenos Aires until he was named by President-elect Raul Alfonsín last week as Argentina's new foreign minister.

Although he will not take office until December 10 - when Sr Alfonsín is sworn in - Sr Caputo and a team of advisers are already formulating policy on such sensitive issues as the future of the Falklands and Argentina's simmering border dispute with Chile.

He said in an interview: "Argentine diplomacy will no longer be the make-up that hides the face of dictatorship. We will use all diplomatic means at our disposal to bring about negotiations to solve the Malvinas dispute. That is a priority."

But, although Sr Alfonsín's government may be more inclined to seek a peaceful solution than its predecessor, Argentina's basic nego-

tiating position will remain the same.

"Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas is not negotiable," Sr Caputo said. "That is the starting point for any negotiation. Regardless of how quickly or slowly talks progress, or what concessions may be made on either side, at no moment will sovereignty be under discussion." Nor, he said, would Sr Alfonsín declare a formal end to hostilities for the time being.

Asked what concessions from Britain might alter this position, Sr Caputo said: "That is something I would rather not go into now." But commercial relations, still under the strain of restrictions imposed during the fighting, would be discussed only as part of the overall problem.

"We are committed to the peaceful settlement of disputes, but that does not mean that we will sit back and accept any attempt to consolidate the colonial situation on the islands."

Sr Caputo's strong stand on the Falkland issue, complemented by a

similarly tough negotiating stand on the Beagle Channel dispute, which has brought Chile and Argentina to the brink of war twice in recent years, has surprised observers here who expected the Radical Party, firmly based in the middle class, to adopt a more compromising approach.

A senior Peronist thought the Radicals were afraid of offending the strong nationalist opinion on the two issues.

Sr Caputo said Argentina wants to accept a mediated solution of the Beagle Channel conflict proposed by the Pope, but only if it meets certain conditions. Chile has accepted the papal solution unconditionally.

The new government, he said, will treat the Falklands and Beagle Channel issues separately from the rest of "a strong, independent diplomacy" aimed at improving Argentina's international image. It would seek a special relationship with western Europe and a "mature and independent" relationship with Washington.

"We shall form a task force aimed at revitalizing the Contadora group's peace proposal for Central America, and we shall not hesitate to condemn interference by the United States in any Latin American country. We shall condemn Soviet intervention with equal force."

Sr Caputo said his government would promote respect for human rights in international bodies. "We must reflect abroad what we are calling for at home, and we have the moral right to do this."

(Under the military government which seized power in 1976, Argentina was virtually ostracised internationally for its violations of human rights. Sr Alfonsín made the investigation of those abuses and the trial of those responsible a principal promise of his campaign for the presidency).

Asked if he thought the US would lift its embargo on weapons sales to Argentina, Sr Caputo replied: "If they want to lift their embargo, they can go ahead and lift it, but buying weapons is not one of our priorities."

## US arms not a priority for Argentina

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires



Señor Caputo: "Lift the curtain of fear"

Argentina's incoming Government will not consider buying arms from America a priority, the Foreign Minister-elect said.

Señor Caputo told *The Times*: "If the United States wants to lift its embargo on arms sales to Argentina, they can go ahead and lift it, but they will be selling a product that is not on our priority list." Señor Caputo regarded the possibility of the ban being lifted as an interesting signal. But, he said: "We would prefer other signals of peace instead."

Señor Raul Alfonsín's government would prefer that Washington lift the curtain of fear that hangs over Central America with the threat of military intervention. "This requirement goes for both the United States and the Soviet Union," Señor Caputo added.

The Reagan Administration is considering lifting the arms embargo as a show of good faith.

Caputo interview, page 10  
Leading article, page 11

BURIED in the public spending budget is an item which, among all the ministerial tussles just completed, passed with little comment. It didn't exist, even as a decimal fraction, when the government's economic plan - the fount of all its wisdom - the medium-term financial strategy - was put together. Nor was it in anyone's mind when the promise was made to jack up the defence budget. But now it is untouchable: a symbol of the government's finest hour - yet also, possibly, of its blindest error.

Garrisoning the Falklands has cost £400m this year. The figures agreed last week allow for some reduction in 1984, but over a three-year period the garrison will cost fully £1,000m, and that leaves out the cost of re-equipping the army, navy and air force after the war.

Behind these colossal sums, passed on the nod, lies a powerful political will, which rests on two propositions. First, it assumes that building and sustaining Fortress Falklands depends on will alone: that, as long as the British are prepared to pay up, the Fortress will exact no other price. Secondly, it supposes that no other policy would be tolerated by the British electorate: that, having given our dead, we expect no lesser investment from the living.

Few mainline politicians are prepared to challenge this analysis. Yet it is strangely unsatisfactory. Looked at with detachment, it could be said to combine the diplomacy of the ivory tower with the psychology of the nursery - and

possibly the economics of the madhouse.

BRITISH willpower is not all that matters. Britain may be prepared to go on paying for the Fortress. Ministers may retain a strong commitment to it. But a stance which says that nothing is negotiable, and which persists in converting a remote island wilderness into a sophisticated military base, is certainly not without costs.

Tomorrow, the UN General Assembly is due to debate the case for negotiations to start between Britain and Argentina. As last year, the resolution will be passed. Britain's unrelenting line will leave her increasingly isolated. European allies will probably be fewer, and the US has already deserted.

This is put in a harsher light by what has happened inside Argentina. The military junta is to be replaced by an elected civilian government, led by a man already pledged against a military solution to the Falklands. No one can be sure of the durability of the Alfonsín cabinet, which takes over on December 10. But if it forswears hostilities, the British posture of stubborn righteousness will cease to be internationally credible. In particular, Mrs Thatcher is almost certainly on a loser if she expects the US - as she very strongly demanded - to maintain the arms embargo.

What we have here, therefore, are the makings of

# Blasphemy on the Falklands



## Inside Politics

by HUGO YOUNG  
Political Editor

the heat of the moment, it expresses something understandable. President Reagan makes it sound like a respectable version of vengeance. After the appalling slaughter of the marines in Beirut, he too pledged that they must not die in vain. So, despatched as a peace-force, they have become in death something close to a *casus belli*.

Britain is well past seeking revenge for the Falklands. But similar emotions are thought to be at large. Political leaders assume that any negotiating concession and any cutback in the military commitment will be viewed as a kind of treachery. Childish though this assumption may seem, it is shared by the opposition parties, which still cannot shake loose from their support for the war itself.

Labour and the SDP have begun to ask a few tentative questions. But I find it remarkable that no party has openly challenged the piling up of such massive defence installations on the islands. It is, after all, territory which was for many years protected from attack by the deterrent effect of a single Antarctic survey ship.

THIS CAUTIOUS assessment of the voters' wishes is expensive. It also lacks much supporting evidence. People certainly wanted to win the war. They always backed our boys, and still do. They don't

want to give the Falklands away. They could be easily stirred to outrage if it appeared that the Falklanders' wishes were being ignored.

But they can be led in the other direction too. Without a glimmer of a sell-out, the prime minister could express her keenness to do business with the new regime in Buenos Aires. She could begin to think and talk about the Falklands not as proof of the bulldog spirit but as an international anomaly.

This, after all, is the truth. The Falklands question is an aberration requiring the talents of a minor statesman to settle. It is not worthwhile for any other power to distort its own priorities by shoring up the British position. Britain may stand still, but the world doesn't.

Two dangers now mingle and loom closer. The defence commitment has become so great that, as well as busting the budget, it may become itself a pretext for staying. Having poured in so much equipment and built such an airport, ministers imply, should they not be manned, protected, used? Don't we actually need a base in the South Atlantic, now that we've built it? Can we risk it getting into any other hands?

This impinges on the diplomacy, and threatens it. The Falklands are becoming inextricably locked into our system. Yet unless we are secretly preparing a change of line, they are on course to become a minus, not a plus, for Britain in the world - and for Mrs Thatcher in Britain.

willing to give an inch. Because it all happened so far away, in a place almost entirely separate from any other part of the globe, she could adopt intransigence with impunity. Falklands economists are a closed subject in her company, like blaspheming in front of a bishop.

The other level of politics concerns the way politicians assume that voters think about war. Death must not be dishonoured. We owe it to the dead, they say, to prove they died for something; in other words, he must never give up.

Much has already been done to make the Falklands worthy of such massive defence Development plans and economic aid have been plentiful. Only last week, a high-level development director was recruited to encourage immigration. This is all of a piece with the fear that any policy for the Falklands which does not fortify it as a British colony would be politically dangerous.

This is a common view of the political effects of war. In

# When UK defied America and sold jets to Argentina

by NEAL ASCHERSON

JUST 35 years ago, Britain made Argentina the airforce super-power of South America.

In 1947, in defiance of an agreement with the Americans the Labour Government sold Buenos Aires 12 squadrons of jet fighters, the first on the continent, and 20 heavy bombers capable of hitting every capital in the 'southern cone.'

Last week, as the United States prepared to lift the arms embargo against Argentina, it was the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, who expressed outrage.

'I am pro-American, but resupplying arms to Argentina would make it much more difficult for me.' But in 1947 it was the Secretary of State Mr George Marshall who launched a blistering protest against British arms sales to Argentina, which he claimed would 'create consternation.'

The revelation of British arms dealing with Argentina is contained in documents discovered in the Public records Office by the merican historian Mr Bradley Smith, author of a recently

published history on the origins of the CIA.

He found that in 1947 the Attlee Government decided to tear up a 1945 'gentleman's agreement' with Washington arms or munitions of war 'to the dictatorship of Juan Peron.

The declassified Cabinet and Foreign Office papers reveal that it was Britain's debt to Argentina and its heavy dependence on Argentine meat supplies that persuaded the Government to renege on the understanding.

In the last year of the war, half of Britain's carcasses meat and 71 per cent of its corned beef came from Argentina, while in the Thirties, Britain had sold more arms to Argentina than to all the other Latin American countries combined.

The British knew the Americans would be shocked if they broke the gentlemen's agreement. But on 20 April, 1947, Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, cabled Attlee with the Foreign Ministers' conference in Moscow to advise: 'There may be a row with America over this. I am quite

ready to face it, for we must earn hard currency where we can, and the American attitude on this question is quite unreasonable.'

The next day, a Foreign Office memorandum to Attlee went even further. It revealed that Bevin had warned the British Ambassador in Washington not to mention the imminent sale of jet fighters and bombers to Argentina, at least until he thought the moment was right.

The memorandum admitted that 'Argentina has always been the recalcitrant member of the pan-American family, and some believe she harbours aggressive intentions... thus, our line towards Argentina may expose us to charges from Washington that we are thwarting American policy and arming an unduly authoritarian South American state.'

Under Peron, Argentina had shown sympathy for Nazi Germany until the last stages of the war. In April 1947, the American Government was still applying pressure to Argentina, including an arms embargo, to secure 'the expulsion of obnoxious Germans and general

action against German persons and firms in Argentina.'

The next month, however, without consulting Washington, Britain sold Peron 100 brand-new Gloster Meteor IV fighters, the first jet aircraft to appear in any South American air force.

With them went a fleet of 20 surplus Lancaster and Lincoln four-engined heavy bombers. With a full 1,470 lb bomb load, the Lincoln's range allowed it to hit the capitals of Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay—and, of course, the Falklands. The Americans reacted with incredulous fury.

In a letter to Bevin dated 18 May 1947, Secretary of State Marshall said: 'I had no, repeat, no idea... that you contemplated supplying so dramatic a weapon which is sure to create consternation in the relations of the American Republics with one another and upset the relations of all of us with Argentina.'

Only two months before, Britain had announced that it could no longer carry the burden of the developing Cold War alone, and the United States—through the Truman Doctrine—had agreed

## Cuts in defence

AS PART of his plan to bring the Argentine military under civil control, President-elect Raul Alfonsín intends to slash the original 'shopping list' of military equipment ordered from the United States, Jimmy Burns reports from Buenos Aires.

Argentine service chiefs had ordered F16 and F5 Tigercat fighters, but now defence spending is to be cut from 40 per cent to 15 per cent of the national budget. Washington has been warned that no 'major new weapons purchases' will be approved.

This decision, coupled with Argentine condemnation of the Grenada invasion, has angered right-wing 'Latin Americanists' in the Reagan administration.

On the advice of US diplomats in Buenos Aires, they had expected the Peronists, not Alfonsín's Radicals, to win the election and preserve the links between the Pentagon and the Argentine military.

to take up the global struggle to 'contain Communism.' But a meeting of ministers called at 10 Downing Street the day after the Marshall letter was jauntily impatient.

The minute of the meeting, chaired by Attlee, records their view that 'it was an exaggeration to describe the jet fighter as a 'dramatic' weapon... The United States were, however, about two years behind us in the production of jet aircraft; and Marshall's attitude was probably influenced by the fact that United States firms were not in a position to compete with us

Almost a year later, in April 1948, Hawker Siddley agreed, with the Prime Minister's approval, to sell Argentine another 300 Meteors and 30 more Lincoln bombers, for a total of £14 million.

The Argentine Government was also interested in acquiring 100 newer jet fighters, Attackers o Vampires, for a further £3 million. There was a possibility, according to a Foreign Office memorandum of 4 April, of selling Argentina an aircraft carrier, a cruiser and a destroyer from naval surplus.

By then the British Government was having doubts, however. In spite of the Foreign Office pressure to ignore American protests over arms sales to South America, Bevin himself was growing uneasy; Britain was now more heavily dependent upon American aid than before, while the rebuilding of West European armed forces offered alternative markets for British weapons.

The last nail in the Foreign Office 'arms for Argentina' policy was driven home by the outbreak of the Korean war in June, 1950.

The fresh order for Meteors in 1948 had never materialised. When another firm inquiry for 120 more of the fighters arrived in spring 1950, the Foreign Office sorrowfully but firmly advised rejection.

# AMERICA AND THE FALKLANDS

## Case study in the behaviour of an ally

Events in the Americas and Caribbean have emerged in the past 18 months as subjects of tension between the United States and its European allies. Sir Nicholas Henderson was British ambassador in Washington during the Falklands war. Here he gives his account of American diplomacy during that time. (Unlike Sir Nicholas's essay on Britain and Europe published in 1979, we carry this with his permission.)

Since the time of President Monroe we have known how sensitive the American government is to any European involvement in the American hemisphere. But events recently reveal a surprising extension of his doctrine. The Americans seem to look upon the Europeans as under some sort of obligation to sympathise, and even to support them, in their policies towards Latin America and the Caribbean. The rationale now is anti-communism, whereas Monroe's original impulse was of course anti-colonialism. A new sensitivity is also developing the other way round: the Europeans are ready to criticise the Americans for what they do in their own back-yard, but they expect American support when their interests are threatened across the Atlantic.

Over the Grenada crisis, the British tend to say that the Americans acted impetuously in using force instead of trying to solve the problem by other means first, a method that Washington had insisted that London pursue after the Argentine attack on the Falkland islands. To the Americans are bitter that the British have let them down by not supporting them, at least morally, in their action in the Caribbean, a dereliction that is deplorable in view of the American government's stalwart support for London over the Falklands. After this bruising and the election 10 days ago in Argentina of a civilian president, it may be a good moment for one participant to look back at the Falklands episode.

### From invasion to American tilt

The intensity of United States diplomacy over the Falklands can only be understood if it is realised how closely the

American public followed what was going on. From the Argentine invasion to the surrender of Port Stanley, the Falklands crisis was front page news and the lead story for television in America every day.

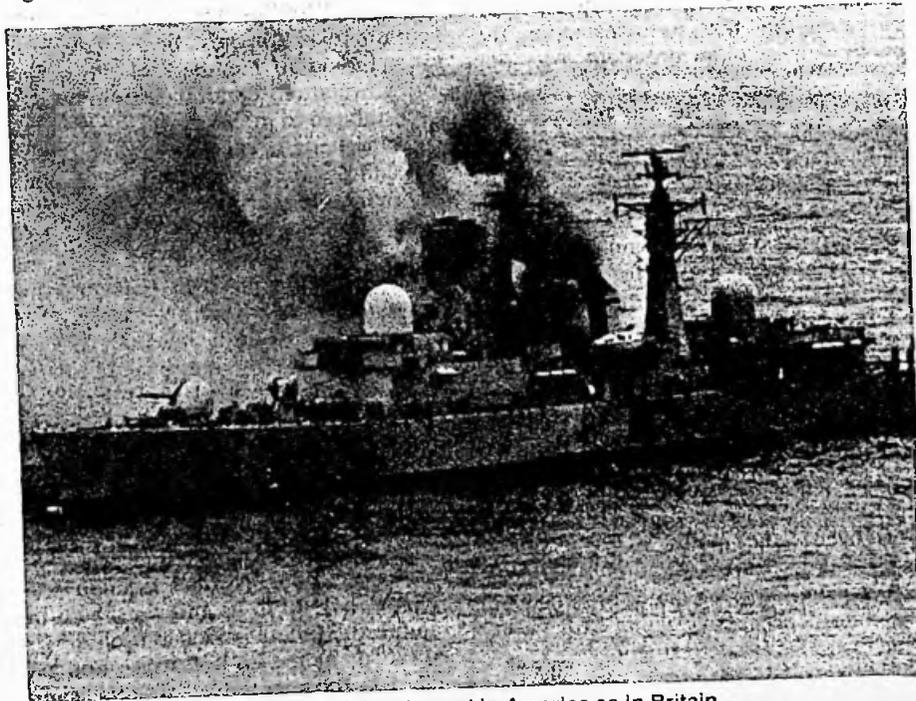
At the outset of the crisis in April, 1983, many Americans saw it in Gilbert and Sullivan terms. President Reagan described the place as "that little ice-cold bunch of land down there". When it became clear that Britain was in earnest, doubts began to be expressed by military experts, on television and in the press, about our capability to mount a successful military operation in the South Atlantic. There were fears that the United States might become embroiled—mutterings of another Vietnam. The sinking of

the *Sheffield* produced almost as dreadful an impact in America as in Britain.

When we came to re-establish forces on the islands the Americans began to worry, not that we would get into a military impasse but that we would succeed so overwhelmingly as to humiliate the Argentines. As the prospect of a bloody battle loomed, American public opinion began to worry more. It is fair to generalise that throughout the crisis, and whatever the military prognosis, the Americans always hoped that there would be a diplomatic rather than a military outcome.

By nature combative, the secretary of state Alexander Haig nevertheless embodied the national will in his search for peace rather than battle in the South Atlantic. He never wavered in two convictions: that the Argentines had been guilty of aggression and must not be allowed to get away with it or there would be dire consequences for the rest of the world, not least the American hemisphere; and that no good would redound to either side in the long run from a military solution which would also cause great difficulties for the United States.

He believed that, if he was to have any chance of success in his negotiation, the American government must avoid taking sides and give the impression of complete



The *Sheffield*: almost as dreadful an impact in America as in Britain

## AMERICA AND THE FALKLANDS

impartiality. The neutral posture maintained by America until the end of April was difficult for people to understand on the other side of the Atlantic where it was thought that the United States should not fail to stick by an ally, particularly when it had been a victim of blatant aggression.

The Americans were always worried about an increase of Soviet influence in Argentina and throughout Latin America. They were concerned too that any overt tilt towards Britain would jeopardise American interests in Latin America; and it is true that once they did plump for us they became as much the target for Latin American obloquy as we were.

Haig emphasised to me in the early days that the United States was not at heart impartial, that HMG had always supported the Reagan administration in foreign policy, and that America could not privately be even-handed in anything involving its closest ally. Publicly, however, its spokesmen said that the United States intended to steer a course "down the middle" and not to give any help either way. "It's a very difficult situation for the United States", President Reagan pleaded in answer to a press question on April 6th, "because we're friends with both of the countries engaged in this dispute . . ." The president had to listen to those who struck a cautious note about the dangers for America in becoming too involved too soon on the British side and about the absolute need for the United States to be seen to be promoting peace. I have been told subsequently by those closest to the president how hard it was for him to distance himself from the Latin Americas. But Haig frequently assured me at the time that, notwithstanding the public stance, the president was our staunch supporter.

Haig went out of his way several times in the following weeks to promise me that there would be no repeat of Suez. Given the possible parallels, I do not think his assurances were, otiose. The Falklands crisis touched on certain American nerves that had proved sensitive at Suez: a recessive feeling about colonialism; concern that the British were expecting the United States eventually to pick up the cheque; worry about the Russians; and the fear that what Britain was doing would rally other countries in the area against western interests.

Much has been written about the influence of the "Latino lobby" on the American government's policy over the Falklands crisis. Ambassador Thomas Enders, the imposing under-secretary in the state department dealing with Latin America, had visited Buenos Aires in March when he had derived no inkling of any Argentine intention to move to mili-

tary confrontation with us. On March 31st he told Haig, in my presence, that the United States government had had an assurance from the Argentine foreign minister that the Argentines were not contemplating any military action, a promise that had just been confirmed. Enders always kept American requirements in Latin America in the forefront of his mind, as it was his business to do.

Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's ambassador to the United Nations, who held both cabinet rank and the president's ear, had her own special arguments for believing that the United States should not make a choice between Britain and Argentina. She did not consider that Argentina could fairly be accused of aggression given the fact that it was simply asserting a long-stated claim to the islands. It was she who had been the most prominent apostle of the creed that a sharp distinction must be drawn between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, Argentina being a prime exhibit in the former, such as justified a positive diplomatic attitude on the part of the United States. Besides which the government in Buenos Aires had been giving America support for its covert operations in central America and its anti-communist causes throughout Latin America, a stance, let it be admitted, that might well, in the eyes of the Argentine junta, have secured American acquiescence in a forward Argentine policy over the Falklands.

In the United States congress the influence of the Latin lobby proved to be slight. Even those who were ready to criticise London over Northern Ireland—eg. Senators Kennedy and Moynihan and Speaker O'Neill—came to back us publicly on the Falklands. In the course of visits I paid to members of the senate foreign relations committee, one senator expostulated to me, after I had held forth at some length on the importance of upholding in practice the principle of self-determination, particularly in the American hemisphere: "Forget it, Mr Ambassador, do you think that if it had been Brazil that had been in the Falklands and if Argentina had invaded we would have felt so strongly? It is because you are British". My inclination to see in this an important message for British-American relations generally was tempered by evidence that those who by reflex were sympathetic to us and unsympathetic to a military dictatorship tended sometimes to harbour inhibitions about continued colonial rule in the Falklands.

However, congressional opinion was generally helpful to us and we should be grateful: the senate passed a resolution in our favour at the end of April, and the house of representatives did the same shortly afterwards.

## Haig becomes involved

On becoming foreign secretary immediately after Argentina's invasion, Mr Francis Pym sent Haig a message: Her Majesty's government was determined to secure the withdrawal of Argentine forces and the restoration of British administration by whatever means were necessary; the role of the United States would be critical. When I conveyed this to Haig on the same day, April 6th, he said that he was thinking of some sort of mediation; he surmised that it might be possible to think of negotiating with us and the Argentines some mixed administration to run the islands.

I said that I must clarify HMG's attitude to avoid any risk of misunderstanding. Our government could not enter into any negotiations about the future of the Falkland islands until Argentine troops had been withdrawn. The same would be true of the United States administration *mutatis mutandis* if American territory were occupied. If, for example, the Cubans, with Soviet support, occupied Puerto Rico, the Americans would not be ready to enter into a negotiation on the future of the island while Cuban troops were still in occupation.

It seemed to me, so I told Haig, inopportune to think in terms of some multilateral administration of the islands. We were prepared to talk about the future of the islands and their relations with Argentina only when Argentine troops had withdrawn and our administration had been restored.

Haig said that he could not see how General Galtieri could survive if he simply had to take away Argentine troops without getting anything in return. I said that it was not our purpose to help Galtieri survive. It was he who had brought about the present occupation in order to distract public opinion from economic and political difficulties.

I asked Haig to understand the strength of British opinion. There could scarcely have been an issue since 1939 upon which the British felt so strongly, and this feeling ran across party lines. No government in Britain could possibly contemplate a negotiation involving the Argentines while they remained in occupation of the islands. If the question was asked why we bothered so much about 2,000 people at the other end of the world, a point that had been made to me in many public interviews, the answer was that the Americans should bear in mind how strongly they had felt about 52 hostages in Iran: what was at issue here was whether, in the American hemisphere, differences were going to be

settled by force, and whether the principle of self-determination, which the United States had pioneered, was going to be overthrown. Haig, therefore, should be in no doubt of our determination to go through with this operation and our ability to do so.

The secretary of state said that he entirely understood. He was completely aware of the state of British public opinion on this issue. He was determined, as was the president, to do everything conceivable to help the British government. I must not underestimate the personal involvement of the president in this matter. He was very conscious of the problems and views of the prime minister. But the difficulty, Haig went on, was how to get the Argentines out. He accepted it now as a fact that they must be got out before the British could enter a negotiation. But, thinking aloud, he wondered whether it would be possible for him to appoint a commission comprising, say, some distinguished but impartial American figure, a Canadian, some Latin Americans and one or two others, who might act as intermediaries and serve as some kind of interim administration.

Haig then offered ideas about involving the Organisation of American States. I said that this would be totally deplorable. The Americans, scarcely less than us, were regarded as Anglo-Saxon gringos by that organisation and we would get nowhere by involving them. Nor, I said, would there be any point in bringing in the United Nations again. We had got a very satisfactory 10-1 vote in the United Nations Security Council (SC502) on April 3rd, and it was important to base ourselves on this resounding demand for Argentine withdrawal.

When discussing the American attitude towards the Argentines, Haig said, with strong support from Enders, who was present at the meeting, how important it was for the Americans not to lean too openly towards the British side because, if they did, this would lose them credibility with the Argentines. Haig believed that the Americans alone could exert influence in Buenos Aires.

I said that President Reagan had not been able to avert the Argentine invasion, but, by the time he had got in touch with Galtieri, only shortly before the landings, it was too late to stop them. This did not mean that the Argentines would not be susceptible to American pressure. The Argentine regime was in dire economic straits and vulnerable to all manner of influence that the Americans could bring to bear on them. I presumed that the Americans would not be letting any further arms deliveries go to Argentina, and Haig confirmed categorically that this was so.



Thatcher left Haig in no doubt



In reporting this initial talk with Haig following the Argentine invasion, I emphasised to London that he was not claiming to be putting forward any clear-cut plan of action. He was simply trying to test initial reactions.

In the course of Haig's two visits to both London and Buenos Aires and one visit each by Pym and the Argentine foreign minister to Washington, Haig was trying to bridge a gap that may be described, at the risk of over-simplification, as follows:

The Argentines were not prepared to accept any settlement that did not provide either for negotiations on sovereignty, to be concluded in their favour within a specific time limit, or for an interim regime for the islands, after the withdrawal of forces by both sides, that would promote the acquisition of sovereignty by administrative means, including population and economic transfers. The British government insisted that Argentine troops must withdraw, that sovereignty was theirs, that the traditional administration of the islands must be restored and that there must be no infringement of the right of the islanders to decide their own future.

Mrs Thatcher left Haig in no doubt at the very first meetings that she wanted a diplomatic solution but that force would be used if necessary. There was national determination not to appease a dictator. We could not negotiate under duress. Equally categorical, from the start, was Haig's insistence that some device was needed to bring about Argentine withdrawal without total loss of face. He spoke of the mentality of the Argentines, of the dangers of increased Soviet influ-

ence, of the great hazards to the British of a military landing and of the possibility that American opinion might become less favourable to Britain in the absence of a negotiated solution. The clue, in his judgment, was to be found in the avoidance by Britain of any unequivocal assertion of sovereignty and in the creation of some international umbrella. The prime minister questioned the purpose of this umbrella, to which Haig replied that he was deliberately seeking an arrangement which had "certain constructive ambiguities".

I think that this first round in London made a strong impact on Haig's mind. He had been left in absolutely no doubt that London required the Argentines to withdraw as the first essential step. Mrs Thatcher was prepared to negotiate but not to yield to force, and she was "very tough", to use Haig's words to me, to which he added "I wish we had more like her".

I think there is a tendency, now that it is all over so successfully, to look back and see the military solution as the obvious one and to wonder what all the palaver over peace plans was about. But, if an account is to be given of how things really were at the time, it must not be forgotten that when the British task force was despatched to the South Atlantic few of those responsible for the decision had any idea how the Argentines were going to be ejected by force from the islands. According to my information, nobody involved in that decision thought at the time that it would be bound to lead to open war. Admiral Woodward has said,

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referring to the length of time that it took to get the task force to the South Atlantic, that this was "an invaluable period of military preparation, and time for the politicians to try to resolve the issue without resorting to force". So the admiral in charge of the task force was allowing at the start for a diplomatic solution, even though he could not depend upon it.\*

"I hope that people realise", Admiral Fieldhouse said on a visit to Ascension Island in April, "that this is the most difficult thing that we have attempted since the second world war". At this stage, in the third week of April, I do not believe that the Royal Navy really believed it would be war. As for the British public, it was probably in favour of the despatch of the task force but was not at all glorifying in the prospect of battle, a distinction the junta probably did not understand, while drawing confidently the wrong conclusion that it meant we would ultimately yield.

The strength of desire for negotiation swung in Whitehall with the tide of war. A great deal was at stake, the risks were very great and I know how much ministers realised this. We had several bad moments, as at the start of our operation to retake South Georgia, or with the sinking of *Sheffield*. It was impossible to know what our casualties were likely to be, or how much British public opinion would tolerate in the way of losses. At the outset, too, ministers had no reason to assume that the junta would prove totally irrational and a negotiated settlement did not seem unfeasible. I do not believe that anybody in the government ever preferred the military route. A negotiated settlement was always the one most favoured, provided British interests and principles could be safeguarded. It was in the definition of these provisos and how they might be met that differences occurred within the British camp and between Washington and London. Conflict concentrated around what was essential for Britain's diplomatic needs and, inherent in this, how best to retain the sympathy and ultimately the practical support of the United States.

The time-factor was also crucial. The British task force could not hang about—or roll about—in the South Atlantic indefinitely while the Argentines dragged out negotiations, as they proceeded to do. Those who argue that Argentina's invasion might have been forestalled if an ultimatum had been given in advance have to overcome the fact that, even after we had despatched the task force, the Argentines, as Haig told me following

long talks with them, did not believe that we were ready to fight.

Given its miscalculation about the likely British reaction, it is not surprising that Argentina should have been so intransigent diplomatically. After prolonged discussion with Haig who, on his return to Buenos Aires on April 15th, had been met by a vast demonstration organised by the junta to show the public support for them over their Falklands policy, the Argentines put forward a proposal that Haig said, in transmitting it to Pym, was not something that he could urge the British government to accept.

Their idea for troop withdrawals would heavily favour Argentina. At the end of the process, for instance, the British fleet would have had to return to British ports, whereas the Argentines would be only a few hundred miles away. British administration would be re-established to a far lesser degree than under Haig's idea and there would be a disproportionate representation of Argentines on the executive and legislative councils. The proposals opened up the possibility of an influx of Argentines into the islands. Finally, the text would exclude a return to the status quo ante and did not preserve the principle that the islanders should choose their own future.

The Argentines may well have been spinning out negotiations to gain time in the belief that:

- (a) The longer the de facto occupation, the readier would international opinion become to accept a fait accompli; and
- (b) With the advance of winter, the problems attendant upon an 8,000-mile supply line, and the threats posed by Argentine submarines and air forces, the British would increasingly doubt the feasibility of a landing and prolonged military presence in the South Atlantic.

But, as I have suggested, it would be wrong to give the impression that the Argentines were guided by some coherent and consistent strategy; or that it was ever clear to Haig what they were up to.

In a talk I had with Haig in Washington on April 21st, he described the irrationality and chaotic nature of the Argentine leadership. He said there seemed to be 50 people involved in decisions. If he reached some sort of agreement on one of the points at issue with a member of the junta, this was invariably countermanded by a corps commander entering the room an hour or so later. I asked Haig whether he thought that there was any point in continuing to negotiate with the present Argentine leaders. Were they not committed to a military solution and a military success? Haig said that he certainly had doubts on the subject. But he thought the Argentines were far from confident.

Pym arrived in Washington on April 22nd for further talks. The Argentine foreign minister Mr Costa Mendez arrived there on April 25th but refused to meet Haig because Britain had just retaken South Georgia. He spent his time drumming up support for the Argentine case at a forthcoming meeting of the Organisation of American States. Messages whizzed between the three capitals. The upshot was a Haig plan put to both governments on April 27th requiring a rapid yes or no answer. After the junta had referred the plan to corps commanders they replied in a manner that was construed by Haig as a rejection.

On April 30th, Haig made a statement that, while the United States had reasons to hope that Britain would consider a settlement on the lines of the American proposals of April 27th, Argentina had been unable to accept them. He announced that, in the light of Argentina's failure to accept a compromise, the American government must take concrete steps to underscore that the United States cannot and will not condone the use of unlawful force to resolve disputes. He listed various restrictions on trade with Argentina, including military exports, and then declared that the president had directed that the United States would respond positively to requests for material support for British forces. There would, he said, of course, be no direct American military involvement.

In a message to Pym, Haig said:

We will of course continue to support you in the OAS and in the UN and will be prepared to veto in the security council or vote against the general assembly any resolutions which in our judgment depart from security council resolution 502.

This was an important assurance.

## The Belgrano and Peru

The American decision of April 30th to support Britain was a turning-point in our fortunes. But it did not put an end to negotiations or to America's part in them. On the contrary, the American government's desire to bring off a peaceful settlement grew with the likelihood of bloodshed in the South Atlantic.

I draw here on my own experience of the negotiations to deal with the assertion that continues to be made that negotiations with the Argentines might well have succeeded, and indeed were on the point of succeeding, when the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* was sunk. It is frequently alleged that the attack on the *Belgrano* was deliberately authorised by the prime minister so as to scupper negotiations, in the belief that a short decisive

\*Woodward and Moore: Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, March, 1983.

military solution would be better for British interests than lengthy discussions leading to a negotiated settlement.

There have been several debates on the *Belgrano* sinking in the British parliament. The new leader of the Labour party has said that diplomatic negotiations looked promising at the time of the sinking; and he has demanded more information. The Argentine foreign minister at the time, Mr Costa Mendez, has expressed the view, in an article published in *The Times* on October 18th this year, that with the sinking of the *Belgrano* the possibility of a negotiated agreement was killed. Most of those who have written about the Falklands crisis, including the Insight team and Hastings and Jenkins, have been critical of the *Belgrano* sinking\*. Most vociferous of all has been Mr Tam Dalyell, MP, who has recently been in Lima and is reported as saying, on the basis of evidence acquired there, that the sinking of the *Belgrano* was ordered by Mrs Thatcher to prevent the Peruvian peace plan succeeding. Mr Dalyell has said twice incidentally in the British house of commons that I went white when I heard the news of the sinking in Washington. So I have a personal reason to clear the record, if not my complexion.

On the afternoon of Saturday, May 1st, Pym arrived in Washington for the second weekend running. There was static in the air and the press everywhere. Some decisive development, whether diplomatic or military, was widely expected. Pym said publicly that the previous week he had come to Washington to visit a negotiator, this week to visit an ally, a remark that made some members of the American administration wince. To me in private Pym spoke about the very tough mood at home reflected in the debate that had just taken place in the house of commons.

He was acutely aware that the moment was now approaching when the lines between military and diplomatic action, hitherto wide apart, were beginning to converge and then cross, compounding the high pitch of drama that each had reached. Port Stanley had been bombed by Vulcans that day; other attacks had been made on the islands by Harriers of which one had been lost.

On Sunday, May 2nd, at 19.00 hours GMT, 20.00 hours London time and 15.00 hours Washington time, the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano* was hit by the submarine *Conqueror* following a decision reached by the war cabinet meeting at

## Peru's seven-point plan

(as it later came to be called)

1. Immediate ceasefire.
2. Mutual withdrawal of forces.
3. Involvement of third parties on a temporary basis in the administration of the islands.
4. Acceptance by both parties of the fact that a dispute over sovereignty exists.
5. Acknowledgment of the fact that the views and interests of the islanders must be taken into account in reaching a definitive settlement.
6. Formation of a contact group comprising Brazil, Peru, West Germany and the United States.
7. The conclusion by April 30, 1983, of a definitive settlement for the working out of which the contact group would be responsible.

Chequers around midday.

It is not true, despite frequent allegations to that effect, that the Argentines had had no warning of our readiness to take military action outside the maritime exclusion zone. On April 23rd HMG had announced its preparedness to attack any Argentine ship or aircraft wherever it was if it posed a threat to British forces in the South Atlantic. This was a highly important warning. It was conveyed immediately to the Argentine government, circulated to the security council and released publicly. From that time any Argentine warship, submarine or military aircraft (including air transports used for reconnaissance) could expect to be attacked on or over the high seas. The Argentines have said subsequently that they were taken unawares by the attack. One can only say that this is not surprising given the endemic unawareness of the junta and their confidence that the British would never react militarily to the invasion of the islands.

During the morning (Washington time) the same day—though not over breakfast as has been suggested—Haig met Pym for a tete-a-tete that lasted two hours. He relayed President Reagan's conviction that British forces were "doing the work of the free world", but then balanced this with an ardent plea that we could and should avoid a large-scale battle because it would be unnecessary and risky. He briefly outlined certain ideas which had originated in a Peruvian initiative and which had not been formulated in any definitive way. These were very similar to those he himself had advanced earlier and he thought they would be more acceptable in Buenos Aires if they were put forward by a South American govern-

ment (see box). They could not possibly be described as "proposals".

In his reply—as he has since confirmed publicly—Pym made it clear that, while he was very ready to consider any new ideas, what Haig had outlined was in essence not very different from his own scheme which had just been totally rejected by Argentina. Pym therefore wondered whether, if and when the details had been worked out, the Argentines were likely to take a different view. Pym emphasised that he would of course need to discuss any new ideas with his colleagues in London on his return. Haig fully agreed that more time and more detailed work were needed.

Pym and Haig saw each other again over lunch at the embassy, and spoke again on the telephone before Pym flew to New York in the afternoon. It was only at this point that it was possible to telegraph a report to London: that telegram was despatched at 17.15 Washington time, or 22.15 London time.

Several critics have asked why, before giving their authority for the *Conqueror* to attack the *Belgrano*, British ministers did not get in touch with Pym in Washington to make sure that nothing was going on there that might affect their decision. Tam Dalyell has described London's failure to check with Pym as "mind-boggling". The first comment to make is, of course, that at the time when ministers were considering the subject at Chequers, nothing had happened in Washington to suggest that any new peace initiative was afoot or that anything more significant was likely than the numerous proposals that had been made in previous weeks, to which the Argentines had always responded negatively.

Even if, assuming it would have been possible, British ministers had been told that discussions had been going on between Washington, Lima and Buenos Aires about the possibility of some new ideas for peace to be put forward with Peruvian blessing, I do not think that they would on that account have refrained from a decision they thought necessary for the security of British forces. They had had three weeks of Argentine diplomatic prevarication. It was widely thought that, if negotiations were ever going to lead to anything, this would only be as a result not of conciliatory noises but of direct and heavy military pressure.

To come to a verdict on this subject, it is necessary to bear in mind the military scene as it looked to London at the end of April and beginning of May. The task force still had to face the Argentine air force. Their surface fleet was at sea. Their active submarines posed some threat to British forces. The Argentines

\*The Falklands War by the Sunday Times Insight Team (Andre Deutsch, 1982), and *The Battle of the Falklands* by Max Hastings and Simon Jenkins (Michael Joseph, 1983).

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were finding it possible to supply the islands regularly by sea. The dangers resulting from the lack of adequate air reconnaissance and air defence for the British fleet were apparent. How could ministers in that atmosphere have desisted from authorising any measure that they thought necessary for the security of their forces?

Given the key part that this incident is said to have played in the diplomatic scene, I cannot refrain from registering my view that the *Belgrano* and its two escorting destroyers, equipped with exocets, must inherently have been a danger. Apart from their own weapons, they provided useful air guidance for Argentine air attacks on British forces. Their own position and direction at the time of the attack were irrelevant. Following the *Belgrano* sinking, the Argentine fleet never came out again which considerably reduced the threat to British forces. Certainly, the *Belgrano* appeared menacing to Admiral Woodward. This is how he has described it subsequently: "Early on the morning of May 2nd all the indications were that the *Veinticinco de Mayo*, the Argentine carrier, and a group of escorts, had slipped past my forward nuclear submarine barrier to the north, while the cruiser *General Belgrano* and her escorts were attempting to complete the pincer movement from the south while outside the total exclusion zone" (TEZ). Some critics seem to think that there was something not quite fair in attacking a ship outside the TEZ. But the purpose of the TEZ and of the earlier maritime exclusion zone was to try to enforce a blockade of the islands. They were not intended, and could not after the April 23rd declaration have been taken to have been intended, to limit the inherent right of self-defence of the British forces.

It is something of a calumny on the Argentine forces to allege, as has been done, that they were entirely pacific until we sank the *Belgrano*. The reality is that a large force of Argentine Mirages did their best to sink the *Glamorgan* a day before the attack on the *Belgrano*, and the Argentine authorities had also ordered their frigates to attack the *Hermes*. We also knew of an Argentine plan for a co-ordinated attack on the task force to be conducted by aircraft from the mainland, from carrier-based aircraft, and from surface ships equipped with exocets.

From the discussions I have had subsequently I do not believe that any of those who were responsible for the decision to attack the *Belgrano* hesitated about it at the time or have had any regrets about it since, except of course for the loss of life inseparable from war. I certainly do not think that they need have any doubts on

the score of the impact of their decision on the negotiations which, indeed, continued after the sinking.

Just before he left Washington on that afternoon of Sunday, May 2nd, for New York, Pym received a telephone call from Haig emphasising the importance of the Peruvian ideas. Pym then asked me to speak to Haig to emphasise that he was of course ready to consider new ideas if they amounted to anything but what had been put forward so far seemed only vague and indeterminate and provided no basis on which to do business. I spoke accordingly to Haig and reported this by telegram to London less than an hour after the despatch of the first telegram.

At about 20.00 hours Washington time, I was having dinner at home when Haig telephoned. He told me of the attack on the *Belgrano*. It was the first I had heard of it. He went on to speculate very calmly about the effect of this incident on the Argentines. He was not sure about it. He thought I had better come down and have a talk with him as soon as possible the following day.

In New York Pym was seeing Mr Perez de Cuellar, the UN secretary-general, that evening. The secretary-general gave him a set of ideas for a negotiated settlement which he also communicated to the Argentines. These ideas covered the usual ground: troop withdrawals, lifting of sanctions and exclusion zone, transitional arrangements, and diplomatic negotiations for a long-term settlement. It is pertinent to note that the Argentine ambassador to the United Nations continued to discuss these points with the secretary-general daily from May 2nd to May 19th (as did Anthony Parsons), so there can be no question of the *Belgrano* having ditched diplomacy in New York.

Meanwhile, let us see what had been going on in Lima. Much has been alleged about the progress there, in which the Argentines were engaged, before the decision to sink the *Belgrano* was taken at Chequers. The British representative in Lima is said to have been involved in what were regarded as promising talks for a diplomatic solution. Details have even been published in several British papers and quoted in the house of commons describing the "red leather" in which the treaty had been bound ready for signature. The truth is less colourful.

On Saturday, May 1st, the British ambassador to Lima, Mr C. W. Wallace, saw the Peruvian foreign minister, Dr Arias Stella, on instructions from London to give an account of the situation in the South Atlantic. Dr Arias Stella asked if there was any way in which Peru could help to break the diplomatic deadlock. He made no specific suggestion, that is to say he advanced no new plan; nor did he

give any hint at all that a Peruvian initiative might even be in preparation, let alone in an advanced state.

The following day President Belaunde gave a press conference at 18.00 hours Lima time (midnight London time)—ie. four hours after the *Belgrano* had been sunk, although the Peruvians did not yet know this. He stated, without giving details, that Haig had telephoned him the previous night (May 1st) to put to him a seven-point plan. There was as yet no agreement on it but the Argentines were considering it and he hoped to be able to make an announcement about it later that night or the following day. Half an hour later the Peruvian foreign minister summoned the British ambassador to say that the previous day he had, on President Belaunde's instructions, telephoned the Argentine foreign minister, Costa Mendez, to urge him to accept the new formula. This had been discussed by Belaunde and Haig and modified as a result of these talks into the seven-point formula. Dr Arias Stella claimed that the formula had the approval of Costa Mendez, that Galtieri had told Belaunde that he was well disposed towards it but that he had his "senate" to consult and convince. The junta were meeting then to consider the terms and their reply was expected hourly. Arias Stella told Wallace the following day that the previous evening—the evening of May 2nd Lima time—the junta had rejected the Peruvian proposal as a result of the torpedoing of the Argentine cruiser. But Arias Stella went on to say that the Argentines had not entirely closed the door.

In my first meeting with Haig on May 3rd, he told me that Belaunde had complained bitterly about the torpedoing which he said had wrecked the chance of peace. He was as sore with the United States as he was with the United Kingdom.

Haig told me of his worry that the Argentines might return to the Rio Treaty Organisation confident that they could get support for sanctions against Britain. The United States would veto it but it would divide the hemisphere between north and south. It was being put about in Buenos Aires that the *Belgrano* had been hit as a result of intelligence passed by American satellites and with the help of American special weapons. Haig feared that, if further military action was taken by the British, American opinion and that of the west generally might become less favourable towards the United Kingdom. People might say that Britain was overreacting.

I told Haig of the attempts the Argentines had made to sink our ships before the *Belgrano* had been attacked. It could not, therefore, be said that the Argen-

tines had been behaving peacefully. Haig said that it was difficult to know whether hitting the Argentines was the only thing that would bring them to negotiate or whether it made them more inflexible, on which I made the obvious retort that for three weeks we had made no attack upon them and they had shown no flexibility.

## America tries to avert Argentine humiliation

Haig asked me to put to Mrs Thatcher that she should come forward with some declaration expressing readiness to stop hostilities at a certain time provided the Argentines said they would do the same and undertake to withdraw. I said that the Argentines had had plenty of time to negotiate, and what we could not do at this stage was to let up on the military pressure unless there was a categorical assurance that the Argentines were going to stop military action and leave the islands.

When I saw him later the same day Haig told me that he had just spoken to Belaunde. The Peruvian president had told him that the Argentine Generals Iglesias and Moya had just arrived in Lima from Buenos Aires. Belaunde believed that something really must be done to bring about a ceasefire. He thought that the Argentines would accept the seven-point proposal. Haig insisted that military action must be stopped. He did not think that the Argentines could do anything to prevent the British sinking the whole of their fleet. This would bring about the collapse of any authority in Buenos Aires; the whole of Latin America would be alienated.

I repeated the view that Latin America would not be alienated just because we were prepared to defend our rights by force. After three weeks in which the Argentines had reinforced the islands, London was not in a mood for an armistice just because the Argentines were doing badly militarily. Haig repeated once more his worry about the consequences if the British gave the impression of driving things too far.

Haig followed up this talk by sending Enders round to see me with a document containing the seven-point plan and a suggested ceasefire statement to be made by HMG. This document began with the phrase: "Whatever happens militarily there must be a negotiated solution to the Falklands crisis if we are to avoid open-ended hostility and instability".

London replied to the seven-point plan with amendments that I discussed with Haig at a long session on May 5th. Haig

said that the British amendments would be rejected out of hand by Argentina. After a lengthy session with me Haig produced a new set of points which he asked me to transmit to London. Though these latest proposals presented considerable difficulties for London, HMG accepted them. The text was transmitted by the United States government to the Peruvians for onward transmission to Argentina, which turned them down. The Argentine aim at this stage appeared to be to move to the United Nations. HMG let the secretary-general know that they could go along with the ideas he had produced for a framework for peace which, to be sure, were similar to those of the seven-point Peruvian plan.

In a mood of frustration at the failure of his efforts, and exasperated at the way the Latin Americans were being so busy and so apparently benign at the UN, Haig left Washington on May 12th for a European tour. No sooner was he out of the country than Mrs Kirkpatrick got into the act. She managed to convince President Reagan that the Argentines were ready to be forthcoming and persuaded him to telephone the prime minister, which he did on May 13th. In deciding to telephone Mrs Thatcher, President Reagan had also been influenced by a conversation he had just had with President Figueiredo of Brazil, who had expressed an eagerness to do whatever he could to bring about a peaceful settlement. I discussed this telephone call afterwards with the national security adviser, Mr William Clark. Clark told me how concerned President Reagan was about the worsening Falkland Islands situation. The United States had already impaired its relations with the Latin American countries. There would be serious problems in the alliance if hostilities became intensified and if there were feelings in Britain that America was not being supportive enough.

During his time abroad Haig kept in touch with me by telephone and I had meetings with the acting secretary of state, Walter Stoessel, and the political director in the state department, Larry Eagleburger, but the focus of negotiation had moved to New York where our ambassador, Anthony Parsons, was intensely involved in talks with the secretary-general of the UN.

Parsons and I returned to Chequers for a meeting on Sunday May 16th as a result of which a British plan was submitted to the secretary-general the following day. The main features of this British proposal were:

1. mutual and balanced withdrawal of forces;
2. appointment of a UN administrator to administer the islands, in consultation

with the elected representatives of the islanders;

3. negotiations between Britain and Argentina on the future of the islands.

Pym had two conversations with Haig in Brussels on May 16th and 17th. Haig said that he thought that the British proposal was fair enough, though he doubted whether the Argentines would accept it. Presumably at Haig's instigation, Stoessel asked me on my return to Washington on May 18th whether in the likely event of Argentine rejection of the British plan, we would want Haig to come forward with another proposal for negotiation. I said most emphatically not. We had been negotiating for six and a half weeks and it was evident that the Argentines were not prepared to talk on any basis that was acceptable to us. Stoessel interjected that Argentine military leaders could now accept nothing.

Sensing a current in the White House running in favour of some last-minute activity by the president, I called on Clark and reminded him of the president's telephone call to the prime minister on May 13th. It had been based on the misapprehension that the Argentines were being very forthcoming compared with the British. Clark, for whom the American epithet "laid-back" must surely have been invented, ruminated a minute or two before saying that Mrs Kirkpatrick was trying to reach him urgently. He understood that she had some suggestions to make and implied that they might be for some negotiating initiative by the president. I asked him to get into touch with me before doing anything. Neither the slow burr of Clark's language, nor his ever-courteous manner, should be taken for indifference. He is totally involved as the president's man, as dedicated to him in office as he is dependent upon him; so there were no grounds for surprise when he reminded me unhurriedly that Mrs Kirkpatrick was the American ambassador to the United Nations and had to be listened to by the president and his advisers. I repeated the inappropriateness of yet another American negotiating initiative, and Clark said that he accepted the position. Clark said I must rest assured that in the event of recourse to the security council we could rely on American support. There was no doubt where the president's sympathies lay. Since Clark was working on the draft of the speech the president was to make to members of parliament in London on June 8th, I took the opportunity to say how closely any words he uttered on the Falklands before and during his visit to the United Kingdom would be listened to.

The Argentine response to the British proposal was to seek changes designed to

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pre-judge the outcome of the negotiations, so that they would lead inexorably to Argentine sovereignty and control, to set aside the elected representatives of the islanders and to enable the Argentine authorities to flood the islands with Argentines. Evidently they were still prevaricating in order to consolidate their position on the islands.

Although the Argentine response to the British proposal was negative, the Americans were still not convinced that this was the end of the negotiating road. On May 19th, Haig telephoned me to say that he thought the plan just advanced by the UN secretary-general should be something that both London and Argentina could accept. The following day, having listened to a good deal of the house of commons debate, he rang me to say that the British were well postured. But on May 21st, after our forces had landed on the Falklands, and on several occasions in the next day or two, he told me how anxious he was about the ultimate outcome; he hoped that the British would seize the first moment of military success to show readiness to negotiate. Otherwise he was fearful of the long-term bitterness in Latin America, and the opportunity for the Soviets to increase their influence there. Notwithstanding these anxieties he assured me once again that the American government would initiate nothing that might jeopardise British interests.

Haig told me on May 22nd that the American embassy in Buenos Aires had just reported the Argentines as talking of breaking off relations with the United States, one pretext being the military material that Britain was receiving from America. This may partly have promoted a visit he paid me at the embassy that evening to underline the concern of the administration over likely developments; over the continued will to fight and the spirit of revanchism that would prevail in Buenos Aires whatever the government in power, unless this could be headed off by British readiness to negotiate now rather than to pursue the conflict to a bitter conclusion. The New York Times, incidentally, had that morning published defeatist stories based on official briefing. Haig did not see that our interests would be served by any outcome that left us having to keep a large military force on the islands for an indefinite future subject to attack from the Argentine mainland.

On May 24th, on instructions, I told Haig that the establishment of the British bridgehead in the Falklands was bound to have a major effect on our diplomatic position. We could not in present circumstances consider the idea of British withdrawal from the Falklands or the establishment of an interim administration.

We were determined to bring about Argentine withdrawal with the fewest possible casualties and remained interested in serious negotiations. But the Argentines must demonstrate a real change of position by, for instance, indicating a willingness to withdraw within a fixed time limit.

Haig said that he thought the British attitude was quite understandable. Nevertheless, he felt obliged to point out that there were long-term issues at stake that might well be jeopardised if a breadth of vision were not shown at this stage. The dispute had already greatly jeopardised American interests in Latin America. He suggested to me a possible plan involving a ceasefire and withdrawal, a US-Brazilian interim administration (President Figueiredo had made a considerable impact on Washington thinking) and discussions about the future without prior commitment. All this reflected Haig's anxiety about the impending meeting of the Rio Treaty which, he foresaw, would isolate the United States from its hemispheric neighbours. I told Haig immediately, without reference to London, that these ideas would be unacceptable there in current circumstances. Haig repeated his view about the need to keep the Brazilians in play so as to prevent the OAS from getting out of control, which would spell the end of the inter-American system for which the United States would be blamed. It would be a disaster if the outcome of the Falkland crisis was an intensification of communism and Soviet influence in the American hemisphere. In the long run, the only security for the islands was some agreement in which the United States participated, but it would be impossible to get an American guarantee for a return to the status quo.

I reminded Haig how often he had assured me that this would not be another Suez. Considerable sacrifices had already been made by Britain and these must not be rendered vain by a premature termination of our task. We recognised the importance of the United States relations with its Latin American neighbours but Haig should not overlook the possible risk to relations between the United States, Britain and western Europe generally. Haig accepted all this and repeated that he did not want to do anything that would cause difficulties for us but rather wanted to act in concert with us. He would like to think that a joint appeal by the American and Brazilian governments to both sides could be devised in advance so as to make it acceptable to Britain.

Later the same day, Haig telephoned to say that the president supported Britain solidly. In order to try to keep the idea of a negotiation going, he sent Pym a further message saying that the United

States would be prepared to provide a battalion to ensure no violation of any interim agreement on the Falklands. He asked HMG to consider a scheme submitted by Brazil in New York for withdrawal and an interim administration, with the addition, so Haig suggested, of a US-Brazilian peace-keeping force. He followed this up with a plea to London that, when we had reached the highest point of military pressure, we should offer a magnanimous proposal to bring military activity to an end.

By this time British forces had been engaged in hazardous operations, and the bridgehead had been established at San Carlos. The heavy Argentine air attacks marking their national day on May 25th heightened the tension in Washington almost as acutely as in London. On instructions from the prime minister and Pym, I rubbed it home in Washington that we were determined to repossess the Falklands, reinstate British administration and only thereafter would we consider future developments, though we acknowledged the desirability eventually of having some kind of international security arrangement involving the Americans.

In frequent conversations with me during these days Haig confessed to his nightmare that Argentina, whatever the immediate military outcome, would remain in a state of war with us. He hoped that we would win militarily and soon but that in doing so we would offer some proposal which would help our own, and the United States', long-term interests in the American hemisphere.

His concerns were obviously being fuelled by the Latin lobby in the state department which briefed the press on the evening of May 25th that Haig had sent Pym a message urging Britain not to try to crush the Argentines and predicting that the Argentines would look for a scapegoat for a British victory, and that scapegoat would probably be the United States.

On May 26th, the UN security council unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the secretary-general to renew his mission of good offices with a view to trying to negotiate a cease-fire between Britain and Argentina. Perez de Cuellar thereupon asked the two sides to provide their "bottom line". Haig urged us not to give an answer until after the Rio Treaty meeting due to begin in Washington on May 27th.

I gave him Pym's reply to his message calling for a magnanimous gesture on our part. Pym stressed that, with the establishment of the British bridgehead in the Falklands, it would no longer be realistic to ask people in Britain to accept the ideas of an interim administration or mutual withdrawal from the Falkland

Islands. Pym wondered whether some of Haig's ideas, and particularly his offer of a battalion, might be used at a somewhat later stage, namely after repossession of the islands, the restoration of British administration and consultation with the islanders about their wishes for the future.

The Rio Treaty meeting was characterised by a series of venomous attacks on the United States for its support of the United Kingdom. Haig made a stalwart speech and, while emphasising the historic value of the inter-American system, made it clear that Argentina had rejected every plan put forward since its invasion of the Falklands. Haig told me afterwards that, whatever the pressures I might feel under, they were nothing compared with the five standing ovations against him that had taken place during that day.

Haig soon began to show considerable concern at what had been described to him as a hardening of the British attitude. He sketched out a possible framework agreement which included the idea of an international umbrella organisation to supervise the local government, thereby eliminating the colonial tag, and to consider the ultimate status of the islands (see box). It was an essential feature of this latest American initiative that it should be launched before the final defeat of the Argentine forces.

Haig did not think that the Brazilians, or any other Latin American country, would join in a plan if it came after a humiliating defeat of the Argentines. He asked for a response to his plan by May 31st. He underlined yet again the absolute priority of remaining in lock-step with the British. But he could not conceal his concern about the deteriorating scene in the South Atlantic.

The mood of anxiety in Washington was reflected in the decision taken by the president to telephone the prime minister again. This call took place on May 31st. Mr Reagan's purpose seemed to be not only to register concern about Latin American opinion, but to float the idea of another American peace initiative. The prime minister telephoned me subsequently to ask me to see Clark at the White House and ensure that the president and he understood the British attitude. On June 1st, I called on Clark and made clear, at Mrs Thatcher's request, that Britain, having negotiated in good faith for weeks, during which time the Argentines had shown no sign of being ready to talk business, was not prepared now, when we were back in the islands after considerable sacrifice, simply to pull out and make way for an umbrella or contact group including countries from Latin America.

Clark said that the president was wor-

## Haig's final plan

A framework agreement containing the following elements:

1. With the end of fighting and defeat of the Argentine forces there would be a British military administration.
2. This military administration would give way to a form of self-government in accordance with the principles of Article 73 of the UN charter. This system of government would be such as to remove the colonialist tag which a return to the status quo would mean. The establishment of this self-government would be accompanied by some declaration of principles by which the country would be run.
3. This local government would be subject to an international umbrella which would also have a small international force. The umbrella countries would include the United States and probably Brazil. The Argentines would probably have a liaison officer. The terms of reference of the umbrella group would provide for it to ensure that the local government was being carried out in accordance with the principles that had been enunciated and to provide for security.
4. The umbrella group would also have responsibility for considering the ultimate status of the islands. There would be no cut-off date for this and, if no agreement had been reached, the arrangements of self-government and the umbrella would continue.

ried about the considerable damage already done to America's relations with Latin America. In the long term there had to be a settlement about the islands. The president, therefore, thought that there would be value in having Brazil alongside the United States in an attempt at negotiation, but this would not be possible if Brazil thought that the British were insisting on unconditional surrender and the humiliation of Argentina. Clark also mentioned American fears that the Soviet Union would use the crisis to increase their influence in Latin America generally and in Argentina in particular.

Later in the day I had two conversations with Haig in which we went over much of the old ground. He was leaving for Europe the following day with the president. He asked me to keep in close touch with the state department during his absence. He said that the president would want to discuss with the prime minister during his visit to Britain ways of

trying to mend fences with Latin America and how to limit Soviet opportunities to exploit the aftermath of the crisis.

Nothing assuaged the American concern at this stage—that is to say at the end of May and the beginning of June—about the dire consequences that would flow from overwhelming military defeat inflicted on the Argentines. This sentiment was reflected in a hand-wringing editorial in the Washington Post. I conveyed to London as best I could the evidence of a growing gap between the resolute attitude there and the mood in Washington favouring a soft line by us towards Argentina. There was much talk of magnanimity and Sir Winston Churchill's name was pleaded in aid, upon which I rejoined that Churchill had not talked of magnanimity until after victory had been achieved.

The prospect of a bloody battle for Port Stanley heightened tension at the United Nations where the Latinos managed to get a resolution introduced into the security council calling for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal.

The president and Haig left for Europe on June 2nd with the widespread expectation that, at the meetings he would have with the prime minister during the Versailles Summit at the weekend and in London the following week, the president would urge magnanimity on the British government. This was certainly the tone of much American press comment at the time. However, in an interview which President Reagan gave to European journalists shortly before his departure for Europe he said that it would be presumptuous of him to insist that the British seek a negotiated settlement: "I know that both sides have lost men. But England responded... a threat that all of us most oppose—and that is the idea that armed aggression can succeed in the world today."

On June 4th, the prime minister and the president talked alone in Paris. Mrs Thatcher thanked him for his help. Haig and Pym met separately at the same time.

Even at this stage, the Americans had still not abandoned hope that there could be some negotiated settlement before the defeat and surrender of the Argentine forces. Picking up reports of a new intervention by the UN secretary-general for a ceasefire, Stoessel and Enders got in touch with the British chargé d'affaires in Washington. They asked for our views on the feasibility of yet one more attempt by the Americans to instil reason into the Argentines. The chargé d'affaires left them in no doubt that this was not the time for new proposals and that it was up to the Argentines to give clear evidence of an intention to withdraw immediately.

While meetings were taking place in

## AMERICA AND THE FALKLANDS

Europe, and Israel was invading the Lebanon, the diplomatic spotlight and headlines were momentarily off the Falklands where the British forces were advancing on Port Stanley. Contrary to American fears of a major battle, this was avoided and the Argentinian forces surrendered on June 14th.

### America's role: conclusion

Undeniably, the ceaseless diplomatic efforts that the United States made from early April did not achieve their main purpose, which was to bring about a settlement that avoided bloodshed and humiliation for either side. But from the British angle, these prolonged negotiations brought advantages. During the considerable time that elapsed between the despatch of the task force from the United Kingdom and its readiness to repossess the islands, there was a need for something to fill the diplomatic vacuum. There were positive advantages in Haig's to-ings and fro-ings and frequent proposals. Without them, Argentine intransigence would not have been exposed, and without this exposure the American decision to give Britain support would probably not have come when it did or been so categorical. So I think that people were wrong at the time who saw the issue for us simply as a choice between diplomatic negotiations that would be undesirable because they could not give us everything and a battle that would be bound to be hazardous.

Before Haig's revelations to me of his visits to Buenos Aires I did not think that it was self-evident that the junta was beyond reason. Even when that became apparent, it was essential if we were to persuade the Americans of our reasonableness and secure their support that we should show ourselves willing, and indeed be willing, to negotiate. To put it the other way round, I believe that, if we had been completely intransigent, if we had treated Haig's ideas, or the Peruvian initiative, or many of the other proposals as sell-outs that were not worth considering, we might well not have had the Americans on our side.

I have no doubt that Haig's role was crucial. He perceived that a principle was involved. He also saw how close a bearing the crisis had on the future of the Atlantic alliance. He took us at all times into his confidence, even when this involved thinking aloud, and we gained greatly from this.

But although Haig dominated American policy on this issue he never succeeded in eliminating everyone from the



Francis Pym with the author

wings where indeed there were always plenty of people lurking and eager to seize the centre of the stage and play a different role from his. The influence of these pro-Latinos may well have encouraged the Argentines in their intransigence, just as it may have emboldened them to take their impetuous decision to invade; but it is impossible to be categorical about this.

The nature of the American government makes it very difficult to have one clear-cut and comprehensive fount of policy. If Haig had been the sort of character who was easy in accepting compromises, self-effacing and ready to yield to pressure and capable of adopting tactics of lying in wait and stalking, so useful in the Washington jungle, he might have reduced the internecine strife that bedevilled the administration, but he would not then have been the person to have given the lead he did, and that provided such a decisive direction to American policy.

My overall conclusions about the negotiations and the role of the United States and its secretary of state are therefore as follows:

(a) Had the Argentine accepted the proposals frequently offered to them they would have secured something and would have been better off than they were by choosing the alternative outcome of military confrontation leading to surrender.

(b) It does not follow from this that HMG's interests would have suffered

from the sort of settlement we were prepared to accept at different stages in the prolonged negotiation. What we were ready to agree to would I believe have safeguarded the essential interests of HMG and the islanders.

(c) The sinking of the *Belgrano* did not thwart a promising new negotiating initiative, though the Argentines have found it convenient to make this allegation. HMG knew nothing of any new initiative when they authorised the sinking; and there was nothing to suggest at the time that the Argentines were any readier to negotiate than they had been during the previous month. There were good military reasons to authorise the attack. After the sinking of the *Belgrano*, the Argentines continued to show as much, or as little, interest in negotiations as at any other time.

(d) American support was not something that was inevitable; it could not have been taken for granted and could have been lost at any time had we shown complete intransigence in negotiation.

(e) Some measure of the significance of American support for Britain over the Falklands can be gathered by imagining what it would have been like for Britain to have been detached from its most powerful ally as we were at Suez. From my discussions with service leaders since the events, I conclude that it is difficult to exaggerate the difference that America's support made to the military outcome.

Michael Mainwaring

# For Caledonia read Patagonia

While teaching in the 1960s at St George's College, a public school run on British lines on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, I had the opportunity to go "down south" to Patagonia. There I met Jimmy Halliday, a sheepfarmer whose grandfather William had in the 1880s, by way of Dumfries and the Falklands, established a farm directly opposite what is now the town of Rio Gallegos.

I also met William's last surviving child, "Auntie" Mabel, in her mid-seventies, who was living in the same wooden house where she had been born in 1888.

As I listened to Mabel's "wee story" of how her parents had survived catastrophe and hardship in that uninhabited and desolate area. I borrowed diaries and documents, studied the strange and chequered history both of the Falklands and Patagonia, interviewed other settlers in the area, and started to write a book.\*

Later, in the sanctuary of Oxford, I heard news of the Argentine invasion of "Las Malvinas" in 1982 and wondered ruefully what Mabel Halliday's reaction would have been (she had died in December 1975). Her parents had spent 20 years on the Falklands, and her seven elder brothers and sisters had been born there, making them true "kelpers". And Mabel herself, though born in Argentina, had retained ties both with the Falklands and "back home" in Scotland.

I imagine that her first reaction, expressed in Dumfries brogue, would have been one of pity and surprise. Despite the rantings of politicians and the fervent popular belief that the islands belonged to Argentina, links between the islands and the mainland had been long-standing and beneficial to both sides.

In the 1850s the first sheep taken to the islands to be crossed with finebred British rams, and to expand into the prosperous and famous flocks, came from Argentina. Several shepherds were brought out under contract with the Falkland Islands Company - including William Halliday, who had left Dumfries in 1862 at the age of 16. In the 1880s they grew frustrated at their inability to purchase even a small area of land, due to the almost monopolistic control held by the company, and logically they looked to the vast and virgin pastures of Patagonia, only 350 miles away.

In fact the governors of the territories of Magallanes in Chile and Santa Cruz in Argentina paid diplomatic visits to the islands at the time, in the hope of importing sheep and encouraging settlers.

Both governments were quick to offer reasonable, albeit tenuous, terms to shepherds wanting to lease land and willing, unlike most Argentines, to suffer the extreme hardships of the far south. The first sheep imported to the Straits of Magellan, the basis for the enormous flocks which eventually filled almost every corner of Patagonia, came from the Falklands.

In 1971 Mabel Halliday wrote to me from Rio Gallegos: "On Friday we were at the British Club to a meeting of three men from the Falklands. People can come on over and we go visiting them with no bother of passports. Everyone is pleased." Even the dispute over sovereignty seemed bound eventually to resolve itself.

It might have come as a surprise to Whitehall that the Anglo-Argentine community throughout the Republic received little harassment during the Falklands war. The *Buenos Aires Herald*, the Hurlingham Club, St George's College - all of them stayed open. The truth is that each successive generation, while maintaining some traditional links with British heritage, has felt less and less affinity with Britain.

Even in the 1960s, among boys of British descent at St George's, one of the greatest insults one boy could give another was to call him *Ingles*.

When Mrs Thatcher responded to the Argentine invasion in such thorough fashion, the Anglo-Argentines were angry: that Britain had paid such little attention to almost 150 years of vehement Argentine claims; that the Falkland Islanders had seemed unwilling even to contemplate coexistence with Argentina; that the British had decidedly "not played cricket" in the sinking of the *Belgrano*.

Galtieri's action was disastrous, but understandable. Let us hope that, after the democratic election of a new civilian government under Señor Raul Alfonsín, we in Britain shall not continue to be led to believe, for the costly sake of the Falkland Islanders, that all Argentines are thugs.

\* From the Falklands to Patagonia was published this week by Allison & Busby, price £12.95.

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## Varley to quit politics to join Coalite

By John Hunt

MR ERIC VARLEY, former Labour Energy Secretary, is leaving politics and giving up his seat in the Commons to become executive deputy chairman of the Coalite Group.

This will mean a by-election in his Chesterfield constituency, where he had a 7,763 majority at the last general election.

Mr Varley is sponsored by the National Union of Mine-workers and his constituency is now a left-wing area of that union. There is the possibility that Mr Tony Benn, the leading left-winger, who has been seeking a seat since his defeat at Bristol, could be chosen as candidate.

Mr Varley, one of Labour's moderates, will be considering his position as Labour Party treasurer in the next few weeks.

Last night he denied any differences with the new party leadership. He had no intention of joining any other party.

Mr Varley, aged 51, was Labour's employment spokesman but dropped out when he decided not to contest the shadow Cabinet elections in October.

First elected to the House in 1964, he was Industry Secretary in 1975-79 and Energy Secretary in 1974-75. He was industry spokesman in 1979-81.

He was a craftsman in the mining industry, educated at secondary school and Ruskin College. Mr Varley was a competent performer in the House but a rather uninspired orator.

His departure means a second by-election since the general election. The first was at Penrith and the Border when Mr Whitclaw was made a Viscount.

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## Belgrano sinking defended

Sir Nicholas Henderson, the British Ambassador in Washington during the Falklands campaign, has said that no peace plan was in existence when the Argentine cruiser Belgrano was sunk.

In today's issue of *The Economist*, Sir Nicholas defends the sinking, which has been criticised as having destroyed a real chance of peace.

Although weeks of talks aimed at a settlement had preceded the sinking, Sir Nicholas says that at the time of the action no peace plan existed. Interviewed on ITN news last night, he said the Argentines may have been encouraged to ignore reasonable negotiations by the Argentine lobby in the United States.

"My own view", said Sir Nicholas, "is that the junta, having launched a military attack, were never in a position to reach a peaceful settlement. It wasn't in keeping with their attitude or within the realms of what they could have done."

Asked if Britain had cause to sink the Belgrao, Sir Nicholas replied: According to my information at the time, confirmed since, there was military necessity to sink the ship. The Argentines were poised to attack our forces."

## Weinberger Falklands pledge

From Nicholas Ashford, Washington

Mr Caspar Weinberger, the Defence Secretary, made it clear yesterday that the US would not supply Argentina with sophisticated defensive weapons which could be used to attempt a new invasion of the Falkland Islands once the ban on American arms supplies is lifted.

Answering questions from foreign journalists, Mr Weinberger said that Britain was "totally and completely correct" in sending its task force to the South Atlantic last year to recapture the islands after they had been invaded by Argentina, and that the US had "very gladly" supported Britain during the fighting.

He added: "We would certainly not want to see that situation duplicated where Argentina would invade and try to take over the Falklands again."

Mr Weinberger's remarks came at a time when the Administration is trying to decide when to lift the six-year-old embargo on arms sales to Argentina. Some officials are urging President Reagan to issue the necessary human rights certification on which a resumption of arms sales depends before the military rulers hand over to a civilian Government on December 10. Others maintain that certification should await the installation of the newly-elected civilian Government.

Either way, certification (which the US has been using as a lever to bring about a return to civilian rule) is expected to take place within the next month or so. The US has long made it known that it wishes to repair as speedily as possible the damage which its support for Britain caused to relations

between Washington and Buenos Aires.

Mrs Thatcher has expressed strong reservations about the likelihood of the US resuming arms supplies to Argentina, both during her talks with President Reagan in Washington at the end of September and during her meeting with Mr Kenneth Dam, the Deputy Secretary of State, in London last weekend.

However, British officials seem resigned to the fact that American military supplies will soon be making their way to Argentina again. "It would be unreasonable to expect the US to sacrifice its interests in Argentina completely just because of the Falklands," one British diplomat remarked, noting that France, West Germany and other European nations had already resumed supplies.

11.11.83

**ARMS TO ARGENTINES****French lift embargo**

MICHAEL FIELD IN PARIS writes: France is resuming arms deliveries to Argentina, declaring that the ban imposed during the Falklands war had been lifted since the end of hostilities.

In November, last year, five Super-Etendard fighter-bombers, together with Exocet missiles, were shipped from St Nazaire in the Argentine naval freighter, "Bahia de San Blas." There were also reports of other shipments by air.

It was pointed out, however, that France was honouring contracts signed before the Falklands war. There was no evidence of new orders, and since then there has been no news of further orders.

**EMBARGO TO END****Defensive arms only**

OUR WASHINGTON STAFF writes: The Reagan Administration, apparently stung by Mrs Thatcher's strongly-stated concerns over the expected American arms sales to Argentina, might opt to limit any weaponry to defensive systems only.

Asked whether a military relationship with Argentina was so important to the United States and what the long-term view was of such ties, Mr Caspar Weinberger, Defence Secretary, replied that Argentina would "undoubtedly" seek the lifting of the embargo because of its new "status" on the issue of human rights.

Mr Weinberger said no decision had yet been reached, but other officials say privately that the move will come within the next four weeks, which could lead to a resumption of arms sales by February.

# Argentina attacks military build-up in Falklands

By MICHAEL KALLENBACH at the United Nations

**A**RGENTINA has accused Britain of building a military base in the Falklands as part of a global strategic policy and not solely to protect the colony.

The accusation was made in a letter to Senor Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations Secretary-General.

The two-page letter from Senor Carlos Manuel Muniz, Argentina's envoy to the U N, claims that the military build-up represents "a most serious obstacle to the dissipation of tensions in the area."

The complaint comes on the eve of the General Assembly's annual debate, which begins today, over Britain's dispute with Argentina over the future of the islands.

However it is seen here simply as a mechanism to heighten Argentina's claims for the islands, and win additional sympathy.

The Argentine and British delegations have been lobbying intensely. Although the draft Argentine resolution calls for the resumption of talks, Britain still stands firm in its view that it will not negotiate over the sovereignty of the islands.

Senor Muniz maintains that the installation of the military base on the Falklands is not only a provocation against his country, but is also a source of growing concern for the whole of Latin America.

**WELSH GUARDS****MEMORIAL**

By Our Port Stanley Correspondent

A large granite cross, given by the people of Wales, will be dedicated today at Fitzroy Farm, East Falkland, near where many Welsh Guards were killed when their ship, the Sir Galahad, was bombed by Argentine aircraft.

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## 8 OVERSEAS NEWS

Deal with Chile comes first, says Argentina

## No Falklands peace unless Britain goes back to UN

From Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires and Harry Jackson in Washington

Argentina's foreign minister designate, Dr Dante Caputo, has restated that the elected government due to take power in a month's time would not favour a formal cessation of hostilities in the Falklands.

To do so would be to accept the status quo, the minister told a local news agency, adding that Argentina would not change its position until Britain agreed to resume negotiations under United Nations resolutions.

Mr Hugo Gobbi, the career diplomat appointed by Dr Caputo to oversee sensitive foreign policy issues including the Falklands, dismissed Mrs Thatcher's recent statement that talks between the two countries could start as long as the Falklands sovereignty was excluded.

Leaving Buenos Aires for the United Nations Mr Gobbi said: "It seems to me that negotiations which do not mention the transfer of sovereignty would be meaningless. They would be really laughable."

In Washington, the Defence Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger, said Argentina has not yet asked America to resume its arms supplies. He denied that the Administration had taken any decision on the question and hinted that future weapons sales might depend on undertakings from the new

government in Buenos Aires that it would seek a peaceful settlement of the Falklands issue.

At a meeting with foreign correspondents in Washington yesterday Mr Weinberger commented: "Certainly, after their elections, Argentina will undoubtedly come in and petition again, as they have before. But it isn't a question of whether it is important for them to have arms sales or not, it is a question of whether or not their status has changed sufficiently so that the required certification under our laws can be given."

He said that no one in the Administration had yet made up their minds. "Nobody has any suggestion what the decision on that might be, if as and when another request from Argentina comes in." He added that "in the Falklands war, the British were totally and completely correct. We had a substantial amount of aid which we were able to give — and very glad to give — to Britain in that conflict and we would certainly not want to see that situation duplicated."

Dr Caputo suggested that Argentina would resolve its other southern territorial dispute, with Chile in the Beagle Channel, before it settled with Britain over the Falklands.

Political sources indicated some time ago that a radical government was likely to concentrate on the Beagle dispute, because it offered greater chances of success but also

because the quarrel with neighbouring Chile adversely affects Argentina's relations within Latin America.

Dr Caputo expected the Beagle dispute to be solved in a "reasonably brief period of time."

The reaffirmation of the Radicals' determination to keep pressing Britain over the islands coincided with the first public comments from General Benjamin Rattenbach, the retired soldier who headed a commission investigating the causes and conduct of the war.

General Rattenbach said that General Leopoldo Galtieri, Argentine leader during the crisis, did not follow an original plan to take the islands, and then withdraw to force negotiations.

The plan prepared by officers appointed by the military Junta was abandoned when General Galtieri told a rally in Buenos Aires on April 10 last year that "if the English come, we are going to fight."

General Rattenbach criticised the other two members of the Junta, the heads of the navy and the air force, for not insisting on a proper air and sea defence of the islands.

This year's General Assembly debate about the Falklands, scheduled to have started on Wednesday, is expected to begin on Monday at the earliest, UN sources said yesterday. The Assembly's current debate on Central America began later than planned.

# Thatcher's view of U.S. arms sales to Argentina causes concern

BY MARGARET VAN HATTEM, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE PRIME MINISTER'S handling of the issue of renewed U.S. arms sales to Argentina is causing concern in Whitehall and Westminster, prompting criticism of what is seen as a lapse of judgment on her part.

Many Tory MPs, including those normally sympathetic to the Prime Minister, feel she is wrong to have identified the issue as her biggest single problem, when it is perfectly clear to them that the Americans are about to resume sales.

They say she is risking being seen to be snubbed by President Reagan yet again,

because she sees the issue mainly in terms of her own moral standing with the electorate and the need to be seen to have done all she could to oppose the sales.

Her personal concern, they suggest, has led her to overlook the wider implications—such as the likelihood of unnecessarily exacerbating anti-American feeling in the UK.

There was concern and surprise in Whitehall and Westminster early this week following the publication on Monday of a long newspaper interview with Mrs Thatcher. In the interview, following

the discussion of cruise missiles, she was quoted as saying: "What will really make it acutely difficult for me—and it's the one thing I am very worried about—is if they supply arms to the Argentine."

"That's the one thing I am very concerned about. Indeed, I spoke to President Reagan when I was over there. That would be the single most difficult thing for me."

This comment appears to have worried Tory MPs far more than subsequent reports from a number of world capitals that the U.S. ban on arms sales to Argentina is

likely to be lifted.

U.S. officials in London yesterday confirmed these reports, which are also widely accepted in Whitehall.

But in the Commons yesterday, Mrs Thatcher was still insisting that the sales were not in prospect. In reply to a question from Mr Stuart Randall (Lab, Hull West), she said: "As far as I am aware, no decision has yet been taken in the U.S."

Tory concern centres on two main points. Far from seeing the issue as the biggest single problem facing the government, they feel Mrs Thatcher is giving it undue prominence. Also, they suspect that by doing so, she is likely to rekindle anti-Americanism at a time when it is subsiding.

Many Tories are reappraising their views on the Grenada invasion. Hopes of an early withdrawal of U.S. troops, reports that the U.S. action was welcomed by many Grenadians, and indications that Sir Paul Scoon, the Governor General, is making progress in his attempts to restore a constitutional administration have encouraged a number of Tory MPs to admit privately that they wish Britain had been more

actively involved.

Even those who do not support this view believe it reflects majority opinion in the party.

The strong tide of anti-American feeling appears to be receding to the extreme wings in both the Labour and the Tory Parties.

Indeed, recent speeches by Mr Denis Healey, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, indicate that Labour sees the danger of resumed arms sales more in relation to the general arms build-up in Latin America, than in terms of cruise and UK-American relations.

FINANCIAL TIMES

11.11.83

## UN postpones vote on Falklands motion

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

THE United Nations General Assembly vote on a motion calling on Britain and Argentina to resume negotiations on the future of the Falkland Islands — originally scheduled for Wednesday — was postponed again yesterday because of a long discussion on Central America.

Nevertheless, both Britain and Argentina have virtually accepted that by next Tuesday at the latest the assembly will have endorsed the motion.

The result of the vote — although unlikely to be substantially different to last year's when the assembly voted 90-12 in Argentina's favour — will be fully exploited by the incoming Radical Party Government of Sr Raul Alfonsin.

The Radicals have made the Falklands a priority of their foreign policy and are pressing for an early negotiated settlement of Argentina's dispute with Britain. They are hoping that growing international support along with British domestic reaction may eventually force Mrs Margaret Thatcher to the negotiating table.

Western diplomats said yesterday they believed a better climate for a reconciliation between the two sides had been created following Sr Alfonsin's electoral victory.

On the eve of the UN debate, the President-elect issued the most unequivocal statement of non-belligerence made by

senior Argentine officials since the end of the Falklands war.

However, diplomatic officials say both sides still appear to be some distance apart. This will probably take several months to even begin to bridge.

The incoming Argentine authorities have publicly stated that they would only consider declaring a *de jure* cessation of hostilities if Britain abides by the UN resolution. They will also insist on making sovereignty part of any future talks.

Britain has insisted that a cessation of hostilities is a fundamental condition for any change in its relations with Argentina, and has said that sovereignty is non-negotiable.

British officials have hinted privately, however, that their current diplomatic intransigence may be eased if the Radicals keep to their pledge and reach an early settlement with Chile on the Beagle Channel dispute.

Likewise the extent to which the incoming administration controls the armed forces and reduces defence expenditure could also have a bearing on attitudes in London.

Diplomatic officials said Britain had not ruled out sending a message of congratulation on the advent of democracy in Argentina on December 10 when Sr Alfonsin's government is sworn in.

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# Tears flow again for heroes of Bluff Cove

By JOHN PASSMORE

IT was the last hurdle for the proud Welsh families whose men died at Bluff Cove.

They had pulled themselves through the memorial service at Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff and coped with the emotional turmoil of a visit to the graves on the Falklands.

But it didn't get any easier with practice.

Yesterday when Prince Charles, as Colonel-in-Chief of the Welsh Guards, took Princess Diana to the Guards' Chapel in London for the dedication of the memorial stone bearing the 42 names, the tears came back again.

He read from the Funeral Oration of Pericles: 'Let your

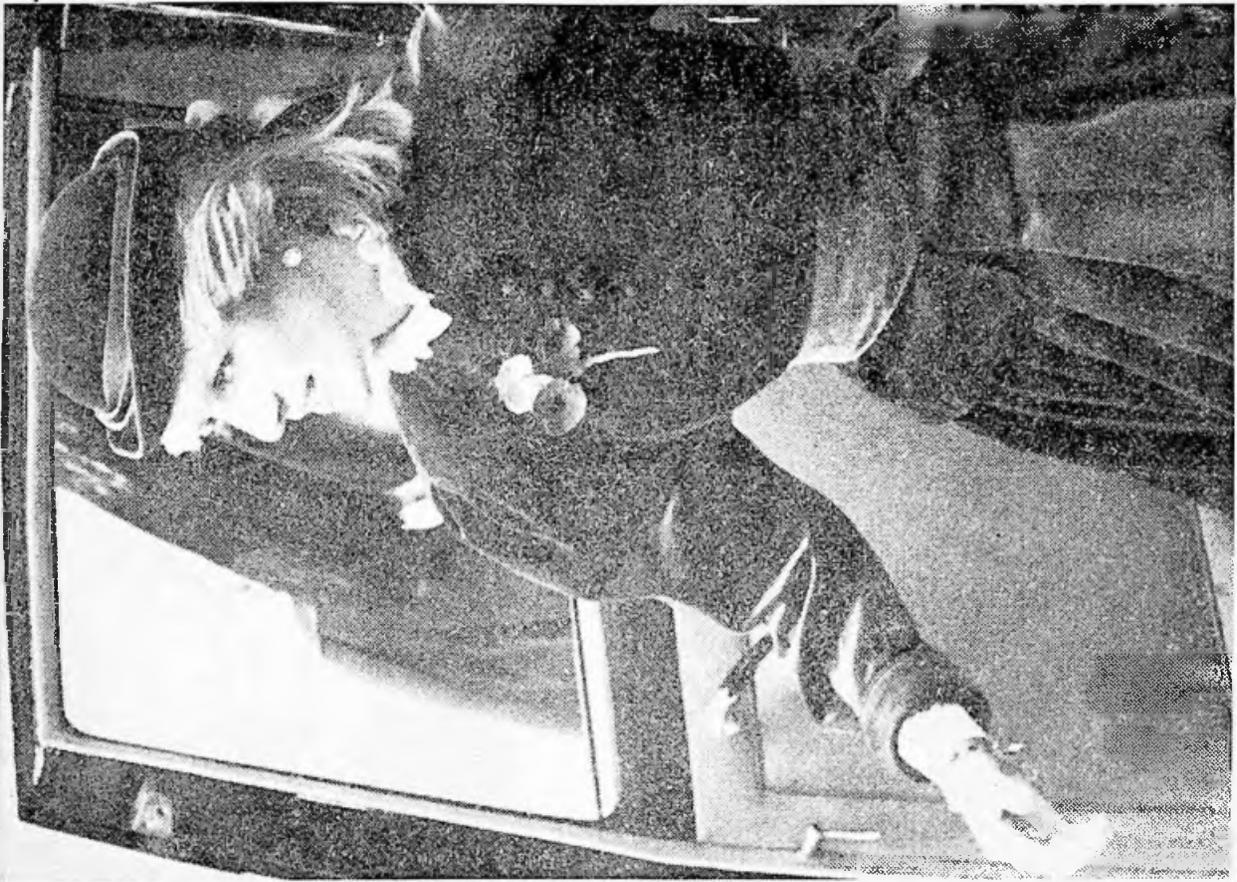
thoughts dwell day to day on your country's greatness, and when you realise her grandeur, remember it is a heritage won for you by dauntless men who knew their duty and did it.'

Jill Parsons knew she would cry sometime and that was when it happened. Her 18-year-old son Colin died in the burning Sir Galahad.

She said: 'For these last 18 months it's as if I've had a son die every day but you can't go on living with that. You have to stop somewhere and shake yourself out of it.'

There were 260 next-of-kin in the chapel, sitting red-eyed beneath the tattered battle honours.

Later the Duke of Kent, Colonel of the Scots Guards, attended a similar service for the eight regiment members killed in the South Atlantic. A Coldstreamer and an Irish Guardsman who were on attachment to the regiment were also remembered.



The Princess wearing green velvet and three poppies at the service

Daily Mail  
10.11.83

### **Jolly old pals . . .**

MR J. M. GILLAN [Letters] says:  
'Wasn't the UK preparing for war  
with Argentina with or without  
American permission—so what is now

wrong with President Reagan invading Grenada without Britain's permission?'

The two situations were entirely different.

Far from preparing for war with Argentina, we were actually withdrawing our only ship from the area when Argentina attacked and took over the islands. It was only then that we prepared to get back what was ours. President Reagan sent his forces to a Commonwealth country without sufficient, if any, consultation with us, and he, too, has left us a mess to clear up.

We are now told rightly or wrongly, that he may lift the arms embargo to Argentina. Hardly the action of an ally, is it? What will he do if Argentina once more invades the Falklands with weapons supplied by America?

C. E. C. COLE,  
Thetford, Norfolk.

**Greed rather than protection appears to be the driving force behind the proposed UN debate on Antarctica. Anthony Tucker reports on the latest developments.**

# The nations who are treading on thin ice in Antarctica

THE ERA of unparalleled international cooperation initiated by the Antarctic Treaty is under open threat. In the UN General Assembly Mr Dato Musa Hitam, deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia and spokesman for the unaligned nations, last month denounced the treaty as "restrictive and exclusive." Apparently using part of the campaign document of Greenpeace as a selected text, Mr Hitam declared that Antarctica — like the ocean bed — should be regarded as part of the "common heritage of mankind." But he then went on to demand that it should be made accessible to all nations irrespective of their economic and scientific development and capabilities.

Fair shares of all putative goodies, was his real message. That this attack was

expected does not detract from the threat it embodies, nor from its apparent failure to grasp the nature of the existing Treaty.

For the Antarctic Treaty, as currently framed, is open to any nation either as an active participant or as an observer. For full participation it requires only a willingness to put some resources into cooperative research aimed at understanding the geophysics, climate and the incredible biology of the Antarctic land and marine masses. It also requires the putting aside of issues of sovereignty, of defence and of exploitation in absolute favour of cooperative investigation. Such a requirement is unique, has worked incredibly well, in spite of international stresses and, as a political platform on which other agreements might be built, is

alive, healthy and critically important.

It is also critically important that, a few weeks before Mr Hitam raised the issue in the UN General Assembly, the Antarctic Treaty admitted two new active members, India and Brazil, both of whom have qualified through participation in scientific expeditions. In the international political context it is also very important that China, who set up a national Antarctic scientific committee some time ago, is now considering an application to join the Scientific Committee for Antarctic Research (SCAR). This is a clear preliminary to cooperation in the research programmes and, within a few years, to full membership of the Treaty.

The "exclusiveness" to which Mr Hitam referred is not, therefore, to do with

attaining membership of the existing Treaty. It is to do with the control of access to resources, resources which are not contiguous to national coastlines (as in the case of Law of the Sea economic zones), which are largely unproven and, by the nature of the region, extremely expensive to investigate, let alone extract. The exceptions are living marine resources of which krill, the basic food of the baleen whales, is already being taken in huge quantities by Russia.

Since Russia is a major Treaty member it might seem, on the face of things, that this is an example of the "club" creating special and favoured conditions for exploitation by its members. But this again appears to be a misinterpretation of actual events. For the pressure from Russia for exploitation of krill stocks provided the

motive for the convention on conservation of Antarctic Marine resources, a convention that is both powerful and the first such agreement to be based soundly on ecological principles and monitoring.

If ever a demonstration of the Treaty nations' attitude to conservation in Antarctica and the protection of the area from damaging exploitation was needed, this was it. For it made things perfectly clear to members and non-members alike that anything which was proposed by way of exploitation would be subject to extremely stringent controls in which the long-term conservation of the biosphere would receive high — perhaps the highest — priority. It is interesting that the agitation against the exclusive nature of the Treaty stems from the time of the signing of the conven-

tion. It is also interesting and probably relevant that the unaligned nations, seeking it would seem to undermine the Treaty, are more concerned about access than about protection.

But the immediate trigger for unaligned protest is the discussion between the Treaty nations of a structure of international management, under their control, of all proposals for commercial prospecting. On the face of it it seems that nations who have no knowledge of Antarctic conditions, who have invested no resources in research, who are unwilling to discuss their intentions with experienced Antarctic nations to gain co-sponsorship, and who wish to undermine the existing and very successful international agreements, are demanding freedom of access to do what they wish. The UN, to be

sure, does some odd things, but it can hardly accede to that kind of pressure.

Mr Bill Hayden, Australia's outspoken minister for Foreign Affairs, addressing delegates at the opening of the most recent Antarctic Treaty meeting, made it plain that any attempt at renegotiation of the treaty would introduce gross "uncertainty and confusion into a region of hitherto unparalleled international co-operation." There is, no reason at all for the Treaty to be modified because its structure provides an umbrella which brings together all the threads needed for the investigation and protection of the region.

The UN will undoubtedly be required to assess the Antarctic situation and report back to the Assembly. Antarctica is the last great wilderness and it is the

"common heritage of mankind." If the UN were to do anything which eroded the existing structure of control it would be guilty of a grave disservice to all nations. If it comes up with proposals for more secure protection it is unlikely to find any opposition among existing Treaty states provided that their existing agreements are not prejudiced. What are needed are proposals to test national motives. It will be very interesting to see what actually happens.

*Antarctic Resources Policy: Scientific, legal and political issues: (Cambridge: £32.50) is an excellent new review of the background to the UN debate. It is an edited edition of the proceedings of a conference held at the Chilean Institute of International Studies a year ago.*

## Falklands supremo

MR David Taylor, an executive with the multinational Booker McConnell, is to become development supremo of the Falklands Islands. Back page

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# Alfonsin announces 'Cabinet of friends'

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA'S first democratically elected Government since 1973 will bear the unmistakable personal stamp of Sr Raul Alfonsin, the Social Democratic leader of the Radical Party and president-elect.

The eight-man Cabinet announced late on Tuesday night has been picked from an entourage of academics, lawyers, economists and trade union officials who have supported Sr Alfonsin since 1972 when he formed a breakaway centre-left faction to challenge the political hegemony of the Peronists.

The one exception is Sr Antonio Troccoli, a member of the conservative wing of the Radical Party and former rival of Sr Alfonsin, who has been given the post of Minister of the Interior to ensure the unity of the party.

Local political observers described the incoming administration as a "Cabinet of friends" and potentially the most cohesive government in Argentina for more than 20 years.

One of the two surprises is the appointment of Sr Dante Caputo, a 39-year-old sociologist, to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With no previous ministerial or diplomatic experience, Sr Caputo is considered as something of a maverick.

The other is the choice of a 60-year-old independent print union official, Sr Antonio Mucci, to head the Labour Ministry. Sr Mucci will have the difficult task of dealing with the Peronist-led trade unions.

Sr Caputo is a close friend of Sr Alfonsin and is expected to ensure closer co-ordination with the president on key negotiations in contrast to the past pattern of "parallel" diplomacies which undermined Argentine foreign policy.

Sr Caputo is expected to use his personal contacts with members of the Spanish and French Socialist parties to consolidate European support for Argentina's stand on the Falklands.

Future negotiations with

Sr Raul Alfonsin, Argentina's incoming president, said yesterday his government would "use all the diplomatic means at its disposal to reach a peaceful solution to its disputes with Britain." It was the first unequivocal public statement of non-belligerence by an Argentine leader since the end of the Falklands war.

Britain, if and when they get under way, will be spearheaded by Sr Hugo Gobbi, the new Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Sr Gobbi is expected to use his experience as the special United Nations adviser attached to the peace-keeping corps in Cyprus to pursue a rapprochement with Britain.

Much as expected, the two key posts of Economy Minister and central bank governor have gone to Sr Bernardo Grinspun and Sr Enrique Garcia Vazquez, both former directors of the central bank and personal friends of the outgoing governor, Sr Julio Gonzalez del Solar.

The veteran 82-year-old Dr Raul Plebisch, one of the most respected thinkers on the problems of Third World economies, will act in a key advisory capacity with particular responsibility for Argentina's \$39bn foreign debt.

The new economic team aims to tackle Argentina's 500 per cent inflation with an informal prices and incomes policy, tax reform, and a streamlining of the country's inefficient public sector—much of which has been under military control. Defence expenditure will be reduced from 5 per cent of GDP to 2 per cent of GDP.

Sr Raul Borrás, a former Under-Secretary for Agriculture and one of the main "brains" behind Sr Alfonsin's election campaign, has been charged with the delicate task of military reform at the Ministry of Defence.

Sr Juan Carlos Pugliese, the former Economy Minister, who was previously offered the job, has been appointed leader of the Congress instead.

FINANCIAL  
TIMES

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# British 'concession' on future of Hong Kong

BY ROBERT COTTRELL IN HONG KONG AND MARK BAKER IN PEKING

BRITAIN is believed to have shelved its insistence that Hong Kong needs a continued British administrative role after 1997 in an effort to make progress in the current talks with China on the future of the colony.

This revised approach, it is understood, does not amount to an irrevocable concession but is a conditional move to enable the talks to move forward.

Negotiations between the two countries, which centre on the expiry in 1997 of Britain's lease over most of the territory, resume in Peking on Monday.

The British move, according to observers close to the negotiations, is matched by a more pragmatic approach on China's side. British officials claimed that yesterday's statement by China announcing it would impose a unilateral solution should an agreement not be reached by

next September was largely for internal consumption.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a surprise statement, said that unless the September deadline was met China would "announce its policy and guidelines" on resuming control of the territory.

The statement was regarded by British officials as part of China's continuing attempts to maintain diplomatic pressure and to give the impression, at least in public, that the talks were being conducted entirely on Chinese terms.

Officials in London and Hong Kong were at pains to stress that neither side has made any irrevocable concessions in the talks. They also gave a warning that the negotiations would be protracted and, in spite of optimism generated last month, there were likely to be "rough

times ahead."

Britain maintains that the talks are being conducted by two equal and sovereign nations. Officials point out that it was up to parliament rather than Mrs Thatcher, as Prime Minister, to concede sovereignty over Hong Kong.

The clear shift in Britain's approach appears to have been accompanied by a greater willingness on the Chinese side to help the UK make the politically difficult move of eventually handing over sovereignty to China.

Under its revised approach, Britain is understood to be inviting China to develop its own plans for Hong Kong which would be administratively under Peking's sovereignty following the transition.

The new negotiating strategy is thought to involve the two

sides setting aside their disagreements in principle and starting from practical points on which they both agree. Such points might include China's willingness to see Hong Kong's present legal system preserved and its retention of a convertible currency.

If such areas could be developed into a comprehensive package a deal might be possible under which Britain would agree to provide advice and assistance without claiming authority.

Such a package would have to take into account not only Hong Kong's internal operations, but also its external standing in international agreements, notably the crucial multi-fibre arrangement governing textile trade.

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# Argentina 'to seek peaceful solution over Falklands'

By MARY SPECK in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA is to seek a peaceful solution to the Falklands conflict with Britain, Senor Raul Alfonsin, President-elect who will take office on Dec. 10, has promised.

Senor Alfonsin said he would "use all of the diplomatic instruments at our disposal to achieve as soon as possible a peaceful solution."

On Tuesday, he announced the appointment of Dr Dante Caputo, 39, as Foreign Minister, along with eight other members of his cabinet.

Dr Caputo, a political scientist, has promised to forge friendly relations with the United States while developing "very special" ties with Western Europe.

## Close associates

He told reporters that the newly elected Radical Government's criticism of "interventionist policies" such as the invasion of Grenada, would not prevent Argentina from pursuing good relations with the "most important power in the Western world."

In a statement to the Press, Senor Alfonsin asked Senor Perez de Cuellar, United Nations Secretary-General, to promote a "just and permanent solution" to the Falklands dispute through bilateral negotiations between Argentina and Britain.

All of the newly appointed ministers are close associates of Senor Alfonsin and long-time militants in the Radical party. Many of them, such as Dr Caputo and Senor Bernardo Grispun, 58, the future Economy Minister, have close ties in Europe and the United States.

Dr Caputo, who has never before held public office, received his doctorate in political science from the University of Paris. He has also done graduate work at the universities of Harvard and Tufts in the United States.

## UN consultant

Dr Caputo reportedly has close contacts with Social Democrat leaders in Europe and regards Herr Willy Brandt, former West German Chancellor, as a "personal friend."

Senor Grispun, an economist, served as director of the Central Bank and executive secretary of the National Development Council during a short-lived Radical Government in the 1960s. He has since worked as an economic consultant to the United Nations and the Organisation of American States.

For the crucial post of Defence Minister, Senor Alfonsin has appointed Senor Raul Borras, a close personal friend. Senor Borras, a former congressman, will be responsible for bringing the armed forces under the control of civilian leaders.

The Radicals have promised to abolish the posts of Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air Force. The new Government is also reportedly considering forcing most of Argentina's active generals and admirals into retirement.

# CONFUSION ON HONGKONG 'GUILLOTINE'

By DAVID ADAMSON Diplomatic Correspondent

THERE was confusion last night about whether China intends to guillotine the Hongkong talks next September and unilaterally announce her own policy for the colony.

The first move came in a statement from a Foreign Ministry spokesman in Peking that it was hoped agreement could be reached with Britain before September. If not, China would announce her own "policies and guidelines."

The statement surprised the Foreign Office, which is to hold fresh talks with the Chinese in Peking on Monday and Tuesday.

It was interpreted as correcting a statement made in an interview with a Japanese journalist last week by Qian Qichen, a deputy Foreign Minister.

He was quoted as saying talks would continue even if no agreement was reached by September. The significance of September is that it will be the second anniversary of Mrs Thatcher's visit to Peking, when it was agreed to hold talks on what happens after the Hongkong lease runs out in 1997.

## Chinese swing back

September, 1984, has always been a vague deadline for agreement. But a Foreign Office spokesman in London said yesterday the important thing was to come to the right solution without rushing matters.

Last night the Chinese seem to have swung back to a similar viewpoint. Official Chinese sources in Hongkong were quoted as saying that, contrary to the reported statement from Peking, no date had been set for conclusion of the talks.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

10.11.83

## FALKLANDS BANK

The first commercial bank to open in the Falkland Islands, the Standard Chartered, is to start trading in Port Stanley on Dec. 1.

## Better late

ALTHOUGH "Falkland Islands 1982" and "South Atlantic 1982" have already been approved by the Queen as battle honours for 44 Royal Navy vessels and 15 RAF squadrons, I understand the Army's "special situation" means it will have to wait at least until next year before the final list is known.

The theatre honour is available to all five regiments which took part in the principal action on the islands, but each has now to apply to the honours committee of the Army Board before gaining the Queen's endorsement.

David Ascoli, whose "Companion to the British Army 1660-1985" is published today by Harrap, points out that such delays are nothing new. First of the 1,000-plus honours won by the Army in the past 325 years was for Tangier, where Charles II raised a garrison in 1662. "A singularly unattractive station for the soldiery" and a serious drain on the Privy Purse, it was described by Pepys as having "nothing but vice in the whole place . . . swearing, cursing, drinking and whoring."

The five regiments involved during the 18 years to 1680 were eventually given their battle honours in 1910.

# Alfonsín pledges to seek peaceful solution to Falklands dispute

From Douglas Tweedale, Buenos Aires

Señor Raul Alfonsín, who will become Argentina's first civilian President for nearly eight years when he takes office on December 10, has said that his government "will use all the diplomatic means at our disposal to achieve a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom".

In his first public statement on the Falklands issue since he won a surprisingly comfortable victory in the elections 10 days ago, Señor Alfonsín said: "We are convinced that negotiations between the two countries under the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations are the appropriate way to solve this dispute in a just and permanent fashion."

He added that such discussions would have to be "within the framework of the pertinent UN resolutions, and specifically Resolution 37/9 of the General Assembly". Señor Alfonsín did not mention the possibility of signing a formal

cessation of hostilities with Britain.

He also announced the names of the eight Cabinet Ministers who will make up his government. The only surprise to most Argentines was the choice of Señor Dante Caputo, a political scientist with no government experience, as Foreign Minister.

Señor Caputo is said to have been picked because of his close ties with Social Democratic politicians in Western Europe, and because Señor Alfonsín regards him as particularly trustworthy.

Most of the Cabinet members are close aides and personal acquaintances of Señor Alfonsín, a sign that the new President wishes to maintain tight control over important areas of government.

The Economy, Defence, and Labour ministries are considered crucial to Señor Alfonsín's chances of establishing a strong government that will

survive the six-year presidential term.

The Economy Minister, Señor Bernardo Grinspun, will have the difficult task of rebuilding Argentina's recession-hit economy, reducing an inflation rate of more than 300 per cent, and repaying a \$40bn (£26bn) foreign debt.

The defence Minister will be Señor Raúl Borras, a provincial businessman who was one of the key strategists of Señor Alfonsín's campaign. He will have responsibility for maintaining control over the coup-prone armed forces, while fulfilling the President-elect's pledge to reduce military spending from 30 per cent to 20 per cent of the budget.

The Defence Minister's task will be made more difficult by the military's reluctance to allow an investigation of human rights abuses committed during the past seven years. Señor Alfonsín's Radical Party has committed itself to conducting such an inquiry soon after taking office.

The Labour Minister, Señor Antonio Mucci, a former trade union leader, will be charged with "Democratizing" Argentina's powerful Peronist unions.

Señor Alfonsín's Cabinet is as follows:

Interior: Antonio Tróccoli  
Foreign Relations and Religion: Dante Caputo  
Education and Justice: Carlos Alconada Aramburu  
Economy: Bernardo Grinspun  
Health and Welfare: Aldo Neri  
Public Works and Services: Roque Carranza  
Labour and Social Security: Antonio Mucci  
Defence: Raúl Borras  
Secretary-General of the Presidency: Germán López



Alfonsín's new faces: Señor Caputo, Foreign Minister (left), Grinspun, Economy, and Tróccoli, Interior.

## Argentina pushes for diplomatic victory

From Zoriana Pysariwsky, New York

Last-minute lobbying by Britain and Argentina was under way yesterday as the United Nations General Assembly prepared to debate the Falklands dispute. Argentina was again certain to win diplomatically what it had lost on the battlefield.

Its position, which calls for resumption of negotiations with Britain on sovereignty over the islands, was expected to be further strengthened by the election of a new Argentine Government apparently free from military shackles. Last year the assembly Argentina

secured a 90-12 majority with 52 abstentions.

Britain hoped at best to prevent erosion of support for its stand. Abstentions are regarded as tacit approval for Britain's contention that Argentina should not be rewarded for having resorted to force last year.

Argentina has been working hard for the European votes, which in political terms should automatically go to Britain, but which last year went into the abstentions.

Britain's lobbying strategy has been to reinforce the view that the newly-elected Argentine

Government should not be sent an erroneous signal by the assembly.

British diplomats have emphasized not only the paramount importance of self-determination but also that its overtures to Argentina on normalization of relations have been spurned.

It was, nevertheless, thought to be an uphill struggle for Britain.

The United States was again thought likely to vote in favour of negotiations on sovereignty, which Britain claims is an Argentine stragem for talks with a predetermined outcome.

# Change of tune puzzles Washington pundits

THE  
TIMES

10.11.83

From Nicholas Ashford, Washington

A question increasingly being heard around Washington is what is Mrs Thatcher up to. American officials, some puzzled, others angry are, trying to deduce why the Prime Minister has suddenly changed roles from being the Reagan Administration's most reliable ally to one of its most outspoken critics.

When Mrs Thatcher initially expressed her reservations about the US-led invasion of Grenada - or "rescue mission" as it is now being officially described - most (although not all) American officials were tolerant of her lack of support, believing that she would change her position once the extent of Cuba's involvement in Grenada became clear.

However, in her question-and-answer session on the BBC World Service and her interview with Sir David English, the editor of the *Daily Mail*, she appeared to stiffen rather than tone down her criticism.

She has now broadened the area of disagreement between London and Washington by making it clear to Mr Kenneth Dam, the Deputy Secretary who is on a fence-mending visit to Europe, that American retaliatory action in Lebanon or a resumption of US arms sales to Argentina would further damage Anglo-American relations.

Officially the American position is that the relationship between Britain and the US remains fundamentally sound. US officials point to Mrs Thatcher's determination to go ahead with the deployment of cruise missiles next month as underlining this.

However, they do not try to hide the fact that the reaction of Mrs Thatcher and her ministers to the Grenada operation has given a severe jolt to what the British still fondly like to refer to as "the special relationship".

Official indignation at what is increasingly perceived as British pusillanimity has spilt over into the press, sections of which have unfavourably contrasted Britain's reaction over Grenada with US support for Britain during the Falklands War.

In an editorial entitled "fair-weather allies", the *Wall Street Journal* said that US backing for Britain last year had cost the US valuable Argentine support in confronting the Cuban-Soviet build-up in the western hemisphere, yet Grenada under a Marxist Government was "a worse place than the Falkland Islands under Argentina's General Galtieri".

In the *Washington Post*, Mr

Emmett Tyrell, a conservative columnist, said Mrs Thatcher's continued criticism of the US over Grenada had transformed "imprudence into insolence". He now understood how difficult it had always been for the British to understand the nature of Hitlerism and Stalinism.

US officials recognize that Mrs Thatcher may well have been put out by the lack of consultation before the first American Marines landed on Grenada, although British help had been sought by the eastern Caribbean nations several days before that.

However, they find it hard to understand why she continues to act so belligerently in public two weeks after the event, particularly when the US action has been welcomed by Grenadians as well as by American and British nationals who were evacuated from the island.

The Americans are now bracing themselves for a new blast of British ire when they finally decide to go ahead with a resumption of arms sales to Argentina after the installation of a new civilian government in Buenos Aires. They ruefully accept that relations between Washington and London are likely to remain choppy for a while longer.

## Falklands' new broom

By John Ezard

Mr David Taylor, an executive of the multinational firm Booker McConnell, is to take up posts which will put him at the helm of the development programme in the Falkland Islands. He is due to fly out on November 29.

His appointment, which will be announced by the Government shortly, gives him administrative control of much of the £31 million allocated to the islands after the Shackleton Report.

Mr Taylor, aged 50, will have a brief of fostering immigration from Britain to give the Falklands a more viable population, encouraging land redistribution, raising farm yields, building up new small industries and providing more housing.

THE  
GUARDIAN

10.11.83

McMillan-Scott Associates *Public Affairs*

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"HELLO ! MR PRESIDENT..."

# U.S. allays British fears over arms sales to Argentina

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

THE U.S. Government has moved quickly to reassure Britain that the planned lifting of its ban on arms sales to Argentina will not be followed by any major weapons purchases by Buenos Aires.

U.S. embassy officials in Buenos Aires said yesterday a decision had been taken in Washington several weeks ago to lift the ban on November 1—immediately after the Argentine elections—as a gesture of goodwill to the incoming civilian authorities.

But the move was held up at the last minute because of Britain's opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Argentina's own public condemnation of the invasion was a further factor.

However, the officials indicated yesterday that the ban would almost certainly be lifted, either before Christmas or early next year, in spite of Mrs Thatcher's warning on Monday that this risked further souring Anglo-American relations.

Yesterday Mrs Thatcher said Britain would be "greatly concerned" if the U.S. sold arms to Argentina before the new civilian government in Buenos Aires declared a formal end to

hostilities.

Over the past 18 months Argentina's armed forces have been seeking to replace considerable amounts of equipment destroyed or captured by the British during the Falklands conflict.

But U.S. officials are understood to be sufficiently convinced by the incoming Radical Party administration that such initiatives will be severely curtailed. Sr Raul Alfonsin, the party leader, has publicly pledged to slash defence expenditure next year from 15 per cent of GDP to 2 per cent as part of a major reform of the armed forces.

The U.S. officials also said Washington would restrict major arms sales so as not to upset the delicate balance of military power between Chile and Argentina.

Argentina in the past has shown interest in the advanced U.S.-built F-16 fighters and the F-5G Tiger Cat as well as in long-range naval patrol craft and sophisticated radar equipment.

But the officials said if any sales did go ahead, these would be restricted to spares for the army's Chinook helicopters, and the air force Skyhawks and Hercules C-130 transport planes.

## FALKLANDS

### Argentina arms sales concern

The Government would be "greatly concerned" if the United States were to sell arms to Argentina before a formal end to hostilities over the Falklands was announced in Buenos Aires, Mrs Thatcher told the Commons yesterday.

She had been urged by Tory backbencher Dr Brian Mawhinney (Peterborough) to express concern at the prospects of US arms sales to Argentina.

Dr Mawhinney said: "Even those of us who strongly support the Anglo-American alliance would be greatly concerned, if on top of everything else, the American President were to sell arms to Argentina before that country had formally ended hostilities with us."

Mrs Thatcher said: "We should be greatly concerned indeed if the United States were to sell arms to Argentina before Argentina had made it absolutely clear that hostilities were permanently at an end."

## LIVING WITH AMERICA

THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP between Britain and the United States is pronounced dead or at least dying every time that the two governments disagree on some international matter. Grenada has stimulated just such a bout of speculation. Admittedly, no alliance between states can ever be free of disputes over differing interests. But the special relationship is particularly equipped to overcome such disputes because it is rooted in three powerful forces. The first is sentiment arising out of a common culture, which showed its strength in popular American support for Britain during the Falklands War. The second is a broadly similar democratic outlook on world affairs. And the third is a common interest in resisting Soviet expansionism and defending the liberal international order.

From this conjunction of sympathies, real practical benefits have flowed to both parties. President REAGAN, when embattled at Western summits over the high interests produced by his economic policy, has received considerable diplomatic backing from Mrs THATCHER. And Britain will obtain Trident in a deal that no other ally could expect. Not pursuing national interest to the limit in dealing with each other is perhaps the diplomatic hallmark of the relationship.

But how should real clashes of interest be handled? The first test case seems likely to be the resumption of United States arms sales to Argentina now that it is respectably fitted out with a democratic government. A realistic judgment must be that, in pursuit of hemispheric interests damaged during the Falklands War, America will resume such sales. It would be ideal if, in return, Mr REAGAN could obtain a formal cessation of Argentinian hostilities against Britain. Failing that *quid pro quo*, Mrs THATCHER would be right to protest vigorously against arms sales. If nothing else, this might at least delay them. But would she be justified in making continued prohibition a fundamental test of American commitment to a close ally? That must be more doubtful. Similarly, the British Government has reasonable misgivings about American military action in the Lebanon? Does the United States have both the political will and the local military power to reduce Syrian dominance in the Lebanon? And if not, should it prejudice negotiations that might allow United States withdrawal, albeit in less than ideal circumstances, by a merely punitive raid? But such misgivings should be expressed in the consciousness that, in the single Beirut bombing, America suffered losses almost as great as this country endured in the entire Falklands war.

Mrs THATCHER's additional concern in these matters is that an image of American bellicosity might increase opposition to the siting of Cruise here. That is not unreasonable. But such opposition has also been stimulated not so much by Grenada as by the British Government's branding the American action there as illegal. We disagree with the Prime Minister on that. When the special relationship has real differences to argue over, sometimes vigorously, we should publicly agree where we can.

## FALKLAND BOY FOUND DEAD

By Our Correspondent  
in Port Stanley

Troops from the King's Own Border Regt and Royal Marines from the frigate Danae, 2,450 tons, and military police joined civilians in the search for an 18-year-old Falkland islander missing in Beaver Island, south-west of West Falklands.

After an all night search the body of Gavin Felton was found and flown to Port Stanley where an inquest will be held.

## SNUB OVER ARGENTINE ARMS BAN

By FRANK TAYLOR  
in Washington

STATEMENTS of concern by Mrs Thatcher over the Reagan Administration's intention of lifting the arms embargo against Argentina have had little effect in Washington.

There was no official reaction from either the White House or the state department yesterday. But officials did say privately that the process of declaring Argentina "clean" again on the question of human rights, a move that will trigger the removal of the arms ban, was "still on track."

These officials lament Britain's opposition to the move, but say that with a newly-elected civilian government in Buenos Aires, there is no rationale for maintaining the ban imposed by the Carter administration in 1978.

Some State Department officials believe that Britain must soon become resigned to the fact that the embargo is to be lifted so that the United States can resume a normal relationship with an important Western hemisphere ally.

The suggestion is that Whitehall would do better now to concentrate on pressing Washington not on whether arms sales will be resumed, but on what type of weapons will be sold.

### Short of cash

The Pentagon is not expected to "open the Floodgates" of American weaponry for Argentina, partly because it is sensitive to British objections to sales of offensive systems and partly because Argentina is short of cash.

The administration may grant credits to enable the purchases to be made, but these, too, are expected to be "selective."

President Reagan, who is anxious to restore relations with Argentina to their pre-Falklands crisis warmth, is expected to make the human rights "certification" to Congress within the next four weeks.

There is a strong possibility that this will be done even before the new civilian government is inaugurated on Dec. 10, although some officials would prefer to see it take place after the ceremony when the military is out of government.

Editorial Comment—P20

Daily Mail  
9th November 1983

# Paras fly again!

By HARVEY ELLIOTT  
Defence Correspondent

THE Parachute Regiment is to regain its wings which were clipped under the Labour Government eight years ago.

After its success in the Falklands it is to form the backbone of a new 'go anywhere' strike force.

The Paras will be backed by hundreds of engineers, gunners and signallers trained in their methods of dropping into the battle zone.

The new quick-reaction force will be equipped with Hercules transport aircraft converted to take them any-



where in the world in all weathers and at night if necessary.

The force, with two Para battalions, will be based at Aldershot as part of 5 Brigade which is to be renamed the 5th Air Portable Brigade. Also in the Brigade will be a battalion of Gurhas and Scorpion light tanks of the Blues and Royals. They would be flown into bases already captured by airborne assault.

Under the 1975 Labour Government cuts, the Parachute Regiment lost its permanent parachute role

## NEW GO-ANYWHERE FORCE IS FORMED

and became little more than rather special infantry.

In 1980 one of the three battalions was re-equipped to make instant parachute drops.

But the regiment and senior Army officers constantly complained that they had no back-up support and could not be expected to operate far from home unless they were supported by specialists.

The new move means that the number of parachute-ready troops will be doubled from the present 900 to 1,800 by next year.

**Anglo-Irish summit**

# Thatcher is content just to listen

By Julian Haviland, Political Editor

The Prime Ministers of Britain and the Irish Republic and their senior colleagues celebrated yesterday the full restoration of good working relations between their two governments, after the coolness produced by the Falklands crisis, with five hours of talks at Chequers.

Dr Garret FitzGerald, who had an hour's tête-à-tête with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, spent some time dilating on his hopes that a new way forward in Northern Ireland may be found in the discussions of the New Ireland Forum of nationalist parties. But neither side gave the least indication as to whether Mrs Thatcher allowed herself to share his hopes.

"It was an exposition by me rather than an active discussion between us," Dr FitzGerald told journalists afterwards. He would not say if Mrs Thatcher agreed with his views, or was sympathetic, but said simply that he thought she was "very interested".

British sources equally reticent said that Dr FitzGerald had spent much of his time explaining his concern that the political stalemate in the North was increasing the alienation of the minority community, but that Mrs Thatcher's main contribution had been to listen.

Dr FitzGerald's chief objective yesterday was modest: that dialogue between the two sides at the highest level should be re-established.

He said after the talks that relations were back on as good a footing, if not better, than they were two years ago when the two Prime Ministers had their last formal meeting in London.

His further hope was that Mrs Thatcher might give some

sign that, well before the end of this Parliament, she would again take a strong personal interest in seeking some new political settlement in the North. If he was given such a sign yesterday he was wise enough to keep it to himself.

But by the time of the next summit, probably in Dublin although no time or place is yet agreed, the Forum will have published its ideas for new political models which Dublin



hopes may provide a basis for reconciliation. Dr FitzGerald's manner yesterday indicated that by then he will look for a response from Mrs Thatcher.

The problem could be solved only if both Dublin and London gave it high priority, he said, as they had in 1973 when they "came close to finding a way through the morass" with the creation of the power-sharing executive. He hoped that both governments would in the next year or so give it "a similarly high priority".

# Argentine junta to give Alfonsín an early start

From Our Correspondent, Buenos Aires

Argentina's military junta will transfer power to the new civilian Government on December 10, seven weeks earlier than originally planned.

Señor Raul Alfonsín, the President-elect, will be installed in a simple and austere ceremony, it was revealed yesterday.

Two representatives of his Radical Party met Interior Ministry officials and then consulted Señor Alfonsín over the weekend. He asked to take office as soon as possible after the election to begin the difficult task of establishing a stable civilian government in this coup-prone country.

Señor Alfonsín returned to Buenos Aires yesterday after spending a week with his closest advisers choosing his Cabinet

and pondering his first measures as President. Señor Dante Caputo, a 42-year-old political scientist, is the man most pundits expect to be appointed Foreign Minister and Señor Antonio Troccoli is tipped for the Interior Minister.

A little-known public figure here, with no previous experience in diplomacy, Señor Caputo's appointment surprised diplomats and is expected to meet resistance in party circles.

But Señor Caputo has been one of Señor Alfonsín's closest advisers for several years and played a key role as a campaign strategist before the elections. He also has close links with the French and Spanish governments and European social democratic parties,

# International airport in Grenada

From the Managing Director of Plessey Airports Limited

Sir, I do not know what Lt-Col Cave's qualifications are to write on international airport design and construction matters, but his letter that appeared in your issue of November 2, contains so many inaccuracies that I feel compelled, as managing director of the British company having a major involvement in the construction of Point Salines airport, to acquaint your readers with at least those facts that relate to matters he raised.

The four storage tanks were manufactured and installed on the airfield by a Cuban company. The two smaller tanks, with a capacity of 250,000 US gallons, would contain aviation fuel to be pumped ashore through a pipeline from tankers moored in the bay. Having originally specified this system for landing aviation fuel, the Grenadian authorities subsequently decided to install two larger tanks with a capacity of 750,000 US gallons to supplement the island's meagre storage capacity for motor fuels.

Had this airport been designed as a military facility, then positioning the country's strategic reserves of fuel above ground would have been an act of unbelievable stupidity.

It has been suggested the runway length is excessive for civil use. However, the following factors determine take-off distance: design, temperature and altitude, aircraft type and weight and route distances. If an operator intends to fly a Boeing 747 aircraft from Grenada to Europe, then 9,000 ft, which is the length that has been built, is the minimum length of runway required, regardless of frequency.

The new airport was designed to replace the tiny airport at Pearls on the north-east coast of Grenada and to act as a diversion facility for Trinidad and other islands at that end of the Caribbean. Within the Lesser Antilles eight islands of

similar size to Grenada have comparable or larger runways than the Point Salines airport.

Tour operators would not usually contemplate off-loading a complete jumbo load of passengers on one island, but would follow the example of the major airlines in serving several Caribbean destinations on one schedule.

Tourist accommodation on the island is limited, but many Americans use Grenada to embark on yachting holidays. At the time of the coup the Holiday Inn was on the point of reopening, but entrepreneurs were holding back from developing new hotels until the means of delivering tourists to the island had been established. An independent forecast prepared by Canadian consultants in 1980 predicted over half a million passengers passing through Point Salines by the year 2000.

As a point of fact IATA (International Air Transport Association) is not responsible for setting standards for civil airports. These standards are a national responsibility and are based on criteria formulated by the International Civil Aviation Organisation, the US Federal Aviation Authority and our own Civil Aviation Authority. Point Salines airport is being built to satisfy both ICAO and FAA standards.

As for who would use the airport, the local airline, LIAT, was committed to transfer its services from Pearls and five international airlines, which I am not at liberty to name, had been discussing the possibility of including Grenada in their schedules.

Yours faithfully,  
D. S. COLLIER, Managing Director,  
Plessey Airports Limited,  
Addlestone,  
Weybridge,  
Surrey.  
November 4.

INFO

### SWITCH-ON FOR REMOTE ISLAND

The 100 inhabitants of North Ronaldsay, the most northerly island in Orkney, were linked up by submarine cable to the National Grid yesterday.

The cost, around £860,000 for the 60 buildings, was met by the North of Scotland Hydro Electric Board, an EEC Regional Development Fund grant, and the Orkney Island Council.

### ARGENTINA ARMS Setback threat

OUR POLITICAL STAFF writes: Mrs Thatcher told Mr Dam that the British people would not understand if the United States resumes arms sales to Argentina.

She made the point that the special Anglo-American relationship, already badly damaged by Grenada, would receive a further setback if the sales resume.

With pressure to resume them mounting in Congress, Mrs Thatcher has stepped up her public remarks on the subject.

Mr Dam attempted to reassure her pointing out that lifting the legal arms ban would not automatically lead to a flow of weapons to Argentina. As in all arms sales the use of the weapons would be taken into consideration, and it would be unlikely that sales would be made of any equipment that would threaten the Falklands.

There has been some surprise in American diplomatic circles at the way in which Mrs Thatcher has circumvented the Foreign Office and used interviews during the past few days to put across her views on foreign affairs.

She insisted at the weekend: "The Americans can rely on me absolutely in defence and in everything in which I believe. I will not dream of undermining the alliance."

But she added pointedly: "It leaves some questions — communications questions: how decisions are made, how consultation is carried on, how decisions are communicated."

## US PLANNING TO 'CLEAR' JUNTA

By FRANK TAYLOR  
in Washington

THE REAGAN Administration is considering giving Argentina a clean bill of health on the human rights issue even before the inauguration of the new civilian government in Buenos Aires, it was disclosed last night.

The move will open the way for lifting the embargo on arms sales to Argentina, a move that Mrs Thatcher says "would be the single most difficult thing for me."

American officials yesterday acknowledged that removing the embargo would further sour Anglo-American relations, coming so closely on the heels of the rift over the Grenada invasion.

But they said there was now "absolutely no rationale" for withholding the presidential certification to Congress that Argentina had returned to internationally-accepted norms on human rights.

The timing of the certification, however, is itself crucial. Even some of the strongest critics in Congress of Reagan policies justifiably be made after the civilian government has been installed.

### Delay urged

But to certify while the military is still in power, as the Administration is now considering, would be seen as a deliberate move by Washington to "keep in good" with the generals with an eye to the future.

I understand the Administration is being urged even by leading members of the victorious Radical party in Buenos Aires to hold off until after Senor Alfonsín is inaugurated as President.

One informant said: "A presidential certification before the military has quit the scene will be seen as a direct gesture to those very people that have led Argentina into such chaos, politically, economically and, in view of the Falklands war, militarily."

He also pointed out that Mrs Thatcher and the British Government were under a misapprehension in believing that Mr Reagan was being pressed by politicians into lifting the arms embargo.

"Mr Reagan himself wants to put U.S.-Argentine relations back on a normal footing, and in this he has the support of all the key advisers in the White House and the State Department," the informant said.

moreover...  
Miles Kington

## Galtieri's words of wisdom

THE TIMES

8.11.83

After a long absence, we are very glad to welcome back General Galtieri, hero of the Malvinas campaign, to answer readers' queries and problems. All yours, General! We in England were rather hoping to see your name crop up in the Argentine elections, General, but there was no sign of it. Did you in fact stand? - F.M. of Newcastle.

*General Galtieri writes:* My friend, this question betrays a certain ignorance of Latin American politics. Sometimes we have a civilian government, sometimes military, but we do not mix the two. In this election, there was no place for soldiers. Beside, a serving officer does not offer himself for election, which is a good thing; it is very humiliating to knock on a door and say, "I am General Galtieri, I wonder if you have considered voting for the United Generals Party, that is a remarkably pretty baby, yes I too am very worried about the suburban bus service". That is not my style, amigo. Give me a good coup any day. Well, one of these days.

As someone who is used to invading islands, could we have your views on the American invasion of Grenada? - A.M. of Ealing.

*General Galtieri writes:* Yes, it certainly brought back memories. The sight of American marines pounding up the beaches reminded me of those precious months when the Malvinas were truly Argentine . . . excuse me while an old soldier wipes away a tear.

Having said which, I must condemn Mr Reagan's action in toppling General Austin from office. To topple any general is bad enough; to topple one who has only had four days in office strikes me as not very sporting. He should be given time to make all the usual arrangements - the private plane, the Swiss bank account, you understand?

Were you surprised that the British did not back the Americans as the USA backed us at the time of the Falklands War? How does this effect the special relationship? - H.C. of Edinburgh.

*General Galtieri writes:* It is a strange phrase, this special relationship. In my country it means something else. When we see two men walking in the street hand in hand, we say: "Ah, they are having a special relationship". Then we bang them on the head till they are normal. So when I hear that Britain and the USA have this special relationship, I laugh and think of your two countries having terrible rows and slapping each other's wrists. You see, I have a sense of humour too.

What did you think of the Cecil Parkinson affair? - N.B. of Portsmouth.

*General Galtieri writes:* A shame, a great shame. To lose a good secretary is always a tragedy.

I really meant the sex angle - NB again.

*General Galtieri writes again.* What sex angle? To a Latin, there was no sex involved. It was all very normal, to have a wife and also a little friend.

How do you rate Mr Neil Kinnock? MP of Hampstead.

*General Galtieri writes:* Ah, your fiery little Welshman! He is a fighter, that one. His speeches translate very well into Spanish, much eloquence and oratory, saying much the same things about Mrs Thatcher as I always did. Well, we shall see if he can do what I failed to do.

(General Galtieri will be back soon to answer more queries. Please keep them short and do not confine yourself to politics. General Galtieri writes: I am also very good on cooking, personal sex problems and the keep fit.)

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# Peron is dead



Argentina's new President Alfonsin should be helped to bury him

The election of Mr Raul Alfonsin, the candidate of the centre-right Radical party, offers Argentina an escape from its dismal postwar cycle of inflationary Peronist populism and fearful army mismanagement. The size of Mr Alfonsin's victory—he won 52% of the vote against the Peronists' 40%, giving him an absolute majority in the electoral college—may at last have shaken loose the dead hand of Juan Peron, who locked his country's tiller on its futile, circular course.

Not even Argentina deserves its recent past. Peronism was an unsavoury mixture of borrowings from the European dictators—anti-semitism, posturing, parades and militarism, stiffened with a corrupt trade union base. Peron pandered to his mass support—Italian immigrants, a majority of the population—by exactions from the old landowners to provide cheap meat and bread. The result was that the farms stopped producing so much meat and bread, both for the domestic market and for export. Peron then threw up a protectionist stockade around new, and totally uneconomic manufacturing industries, making Argentina's foreign-exchange and inflationary crises even worse. So the generals stepped in unsuccessfully. Politically sensitive, they were scared of harsh measures to right the

economy. After a bit, they usually plundered the treasury for themselves. When the army lost popularity, it retreated—and the Peronists came back.

At the last turn of this wheel, which began in 1974, Peron died in office after a year. His movement disintegrated into rival factions fighting it out in the streets of Buenos Aires. The government headed by his second wife, Isabelita—who was advised by an astrologer, José Lopez Rega—stole what it could from the public purse until the army returned in 1976.

The old cycle repeated itself even under the ramrod-straight military president, General Jorge Videla. The army cracked down on left-wing guerrillas with a sledgehammer, but shrank from hard economic decisions. When General Leopoldo Galtieri seized power, he did try to impose a less inflationary and freer-market economic policy. Unfortunately, the disinflationary policy meant that real gdp fell by over 11% in 1980-82, while the freer-capital-market policy meant that rich Argentines borrowed from the banks to send their capital abroad. To distract his people from economic shambles, General Galtieri ordered a military shambles, the invasion of the Falklands. When that showed that a military government could not even win a war,

cont/d...

5-11 November 1983

the generals decided again to leave the mess to others. President Reynaldo Bignone, a retired general, has shepherded the country back to democracy with a little dignity, but with an inflation rate now over 350%.

The return to civilian rule carried risks. It might have brought in a Peronist president banging an old nationalist drum by promising to retake the Falklands and to default on the country's large foreign debt, which has been used to buy inflation and Exocets and therefore has not aided ordinary Argentines at all. Instead, the Peronists chose a lacklustre, middle-of-the-road candidate, Mr Italo Luder, to mask their divisions. Mrs Peron had the tact to stay away.

#### Mr Alfonsin's hostages to fortune

Mr Luder seemed pale beside Mr Alfonsin, who can sound like a firebrand at the microphone. Mr Alfonsin (see page 39) has made some very silly campaign promises about raising wages by even more than the enormous rise in prices. His call for a "breathing space" on the payment of foreign debts will not win acceptance from overseas banks if he really does things like that. But Mr Alfonsin was, bravely, the only important Argentine politician to speak out against the Falklands invasion. He called it "an illegitimate act by an illegal government in a just cause". This raises hopes that he may just be brave enough to follow the International-Monetary-Fund-directed policy which his country needs, although some of his economic advisers (see page 93) are already saying things that are rather depressing.

Even the best policies will not help much if Mr Alfonsin cannot govern. He will still have to steer between the twin perils of the army and the Peronists. The trade unions could wreck his efforts to bring down inflation. The exiled left wing of the labour movement might return, along with the ex-guerrillas of the Marxist-Leninist People's Revolutionary Army, to take up arms again. The Peronists could also goad the army by pressing for the trial of the officers responsible for

murdering the thousands of *desaparecidos* when the guerrillas were being mopped up.

Whether Mr Alfonsin can handle the challenge of a demoralised Peronist movement depends on the army. If there is a resurgence of terrorism, the army should act as Mr Alfonsin's policeman, not as a gleeful spectator waiting to seize power, as in 1974-76. Mr Alfonsin will have to demonstrate he is in charge to a class of officers who regard the presidency as the rank above lieutenant-general.

Mr Alfonsin's presidency will be watched anxiously by all of Latin America. Countries like Brazil, Mexico and Colombia blame their instability and authoritarian or one-party rule on the extreme poverty of most of their people. Argentina, with 98% literacy and a per capita gdp of about \$2,500 in 1981, has no such excuse. Argentina is also being watched by its neighbours in the Latin American debtors' club. Its natural wealth means that, with sensible economic policies, it should be able to return fairly easily to balance of payments surplus. If Mr Alfonsin obeys IMF terms, the foreign bankers should give him the breathing space for which he asks.

The Alfonsin presidency also gives Britain an opportunity. It is a little silly in the 1980s that one right-of-centre western democracy has to spend well over \$400m a year to protect a village in the south Atlantic from what is now another right-of-centre western democracy. Mr Alfonsin agrees the Falklands can be regained only through renegotiation. He has urged Britain to end its naval exclusion zone around the islands and withdraw its forces in exchange for Argentine acceptance that the war has now ended.

There is no immediate deal. British troops will have to remain for months, and perhaps years, to come. But in return for a formal cessation of war by Argentina, Mrs Thatcher could show that she understands the opportunity the Alfonsin presidency offers by doing away with the exclusion zone. Britain, like the rest of the west, has an interest in seeing the embattled new Argentine government survive.

## A Radical switch to moderation in Argentina

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

After seven years of military misrule, preceded by three years of Peronist shambles, Argentines are pinching themselves and asking whether a bright new era in the country's tawdry politics can really have begun. What is certain is that a genuinely free election has been decisively won by a party with unquestionably democratic credentials. The president-elect, Mr Raul Alfonsin, who leads the not very radical Radical party, has a mandate which neither the generals nor the Peronists will rush to challenge.

The new government was due to take over from the present military junta on January 30th, but now that there is no need for vote-trading in the electoral college it may be inaugurated ahead of schedule in December. Its first, formidable task must be to come to grips with the country's foreign debt of \$40 billion (see page 93) and its inflation rate of more than 350% a year. During the campaign, Mr Alfonsin showed no readiness to swallow the deflationary medicine usually prescribed by the International Monetary Fund but his stump speeches are not necessarily an infallible guide to his conduct in office.

The scale of the Radical victory came as a surprise. Mr Alfonsin won an absolute majority of the presidential vote, easily defeating the Peronists' Mr Italo Luder who polled 40%. In the previous election in 1973, the Radical candidate won only 24% of the vote against 62% for General Peron's stand-in. Mr Alfonsin widened his party's middle class appeal this time and made big inroads into Peronist working class territory.

Mr Alfonsin's bandwagon was already rolling when he defeated the candidate of the party's right wing, Mr Fernando de la Rúa, for the presidential nomination. He toured the interior while General Peron's widow, Isabel, herself a former president, wondered whether to return from Madrid to pick up the party's banner. The Peronists' second choice, Mr Luder, a mild-mannered lawyer, made a dull candidate beside the younger and more eloquent Mr Alfonsin.

BUENOS AIRES



Winner (left) and loser embrace democracy

The Peronists also made a mistake with their candidate for governor of Buenos Aires province. Mr Herminio Iglesias, a machine politician, won 200,000 fewer votes in this Peronist heartland than Mr Luder and certainly cost the party support. In five other provinces, the Peronists split their tickets by backing their own candidates for the senate and governor while voting for Mr Alfonsin. The Peronists thus lead the Radicals in the 46-seat senate, but a heavy anti-Peronist vote in Buenos Aires province and in the populous capital city gave the Radicals a lead in the 255-seat chamber of deputies.

The election has already had its effects. When Radical youths, celebrating their victory in the city centre, saw bands of Peronists approaching, there was applause instead of the usual brandishing of fists. The day after the election, the defeated Peronist candidate, Mr Italo Luder, called on the victor and gave him a smiling embrace. General Bignone, who is presiding over the transition, commended the emergence of two mass parties instead of one. The Radicals were the one dominant party until 1930 and the Peronists have been the only mass party since 1946. The hope is that a healthier

rivalry will make Argentine politics less dangerously lopsided.

The president-elect promises to lead from the centre. His economic policy, however, sounds populist and implausible. In campaign speeches, he promised wage increases above the level of inflation. He claimed this would increase the demand for goods from factories which are working at 50% capacity and provide more jobs. Mr Bernardo Grinspun, who is tipped to get a top economic post in the new government, argues that the cost of wage increases to private companies will be offset by a sharp cut in interest rates. Preferential interest rates will be given to companies which promise to increase wages while keeping down prices. Despite holding out hopes for lower interest rates and new forms of government subsidies, Mr Grinspun also fervently argues that he is in favour of a tighter money policy and cuts in public spending.

One way of saving money would be to resolve Argentina's long-standing dispute with Chile over the Beagle channel. This can be done, Mr Alfonsin's advisers say, if Chile will give up any rights in the Atlantic in return for three disputed islands. Cuts in military spending may be made more tolerable to the generals if the Radicals decide not to conduct a witch-hunt for those responsible for the "dirty war" against "terrorists" in 1976-79.

Although Mr Alfonsin sometimes sounded like a hawk about the Falklands during the campaign, he apparently wants a peaceful settlement with Britain. He will agree to a formal end to hostilities only if Britain withdraws its troops, drops its exclusion zone of 240 kilometres around the islands and agrees to discuss sovereignty. The Radicals do not, however, rule out a "leaseback" solution whereby Britain would give up sovereignty to the Argentines and lease the islands for 50-100 years. Britain is waiting and listening.



## For an Exile, Time Heals No Wounds

JACOBO TIMERMAN

Once heard an unusual and pathetic choir that had gathered in the reception rooms of Beit Hanasi, the presidential residence in Jerusalem. They were Greek Jews from Salonika, men and women whose ages ranged from 55 to 70, all of them survivors from the Auschwitz death camp where they had sought solace through song. The women wore summer dresses and the men short-sleeved shirts so the numbers tattooed by the Nazis on their left arms were clearly visible. Their songs were laments. The words of one ran: "To have come from so far, from Sepharad, to die in Poland."

At the hour of their greatest tragedy, they sang of Sepharad, the Hebrew word for Spain. They had never been to Spain; they knew it only through stories handed down from parent to child. But Sepharad is the land of their ancestors, the root of all Sephardic Jews. In their minds, they had all been "expelled" from Sepharad. Thus, when Jews from Greece sang in Jerusalem of their misery in Poland, they still thought of themselves as living in an exile from Spain, an exile that had lasted 500 years.

That is what exile is: an interminable banishment with no comfort, with no end. It is a state of uprootedness that the passing of time should cure. Time has, however, proved itself an ineffective healer.

Immigrants adapt. But adaptation for the exile signifies a defeat and a humiliation. Immigrants feel proud of their triumphs in their new land. For the exile there is no new land. There is only a transition—even though it might last for five centuries. If he triumphs and becomes successful, the exile will admit it only with resignation, rarely with pride.

**Exiled Generation:** Hannah Arendt, after a life of intellectual achievement, notoriety and controversy, a life in which she exerted a major influence on American culture during 30 years, was never able to feel at home in America. "I simply don't fit," was how she put it. Author Anthony Heilbut wrote in "Exiled in Paradise," a study of German artists and intellectuals in the United States, that Arendt's definition of her feelings "spoke for a generation of émigrés who found themselves, as she did, no longer rooted in any academic discipline or national culture." It was a generation that includ-

ed Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Billy Wilder, Herbert Marcuse, Otto Preminger, Max Ophuls and Erich Maria Remarque.

There are differing levels of exile. You can "feel" yourself exiled or live an "interior" exile, detached from day-to-day surroundings. You can "exile" yourself in time, taking refuge from the present by living in the past. But the only true exile is the person who has moved away from where he belongs and from where he still desperately wants to continue to belong.

In almost all cases, exile means saving one's life. This is the only virtue that it has. Yet the passing of time blurs the vitality of the exile's initial joy; eventually nothing is left in its place that offers the

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Immigrants can adapt to their new home, but being banished is an endless tragedy that renews itself every day.

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sensation of being alive. But exile does not mean freedom from the fear of death. Gen. Carlos González Prats, Salvador Allende's military commander in Chile, and Gen. Juan José Torres, former president of Bolivia, were both murdered in Argentina by agents of their respective countries—with the compliance of the Argentine armed forces. Orlando Letelier, a former defense minister and foreign minister of Chile, was murdered in Washington, D.C., by Chilean secret agents.

Everything that happens to an exile is lived by him as a loss. This happens however much he attempts to sublimate his depression in order to demonstrate his adaptation to a new life. Even a seemingly major gratification for an exile—such as the birth of a child or a grandchild—offers scant repayment. The child and the grandchild born in exile should have been born elsewhere. And sadly, in time, such children will assume exile as something that is theirs.

Perhaps 99 percent of Latin American intellectuals have been sent into exile at some stage in their lives. Of the six greatest

living novelists in Latin America—Nobel laureate Gabriel García Márquez, Mario Vargas Llosa, Ariel Dorfman, Augusto Roa Bastos, Guillermo Cabrera Infante and Carlos Fuentes—only one, Carlos Fuentes, has never been an exile. Augusto Roa Bastos has been exiled from Paraguay since 1947. In 1982 he returned to register the birth of his son. He was expelled by police on orders of the dictator, President Alfredo Stroessner. After 36 years in exile Roa Bastos continues to write exclusively about Paraguayan themes. He is the symbol of the Promethian drama of the exile: he does not belong to the land to which he is exiled and he cannot return to the land to which he belongs. He suffers a tragedy that is renewed every day. And its nature is unaltered; exile is conceived as a punishment by torturers and is lived as a punishment by the victims.

**Nightmares and Rumors:** The exile has difficulties in finding work and in establishing friendships. He has nightmares when he ponders the problems of returning to his country and when he considers the even greater difficulties that await him should he return. The exile is in exile because he has lost a battle. He is tormented by the news he receives from his country. Events are only half reported, rumors remain rumors. Attempts at analysis evaporate for lack of substance.

Enthusiasm becomes more an act of the memory than a means to continue the struggle. The activities he pursues away from his home can never replace the political experiences lived in his own country. An exile is traumatized, frustrated and anguished by the political developments at home. This is the predicament of a Chilean in Sweden when there are demonstrations in Valparaiso and Santiago against Pinochet. Of a Cuban in Venezuela who reads about a possible change in Fidel Castro's foreign policy, which might, in turn, shift internal politics toward democracy. Of an Argentine in Italy who is attempting to measure the real guarantees offered by the military rulers in Buenos Aires that a democratic process is under way.

The terrible tragedy of exile is simply that: exile. It is a suffering that can continue 500 years as in the case of the Sephardic choir from Auschwitz. There is no solace.

# Hongkong: new offer

by Michael Jones  
political correspondent

MRS THATCHER has agreed to set aside British sovereignty claims to Hong Kong island and the Kowloon peninsula on the Chinese mainland in a secret attempt to reach a new Sino-British agreement on Hong Kong's future after 1997. Ministers are strongly denying, however, that there has been any "sell-out".

The prime minister's concession, which has not been

publicly disclosed, has enabled Peking talks on Hong Kong to make progress after a year of mounting Chinese bitterness over Britain's residual sovereignty claims.

Mrs Thatcher annoyed Chinese leaders after her Peking trip last year by restating Britain's rights to the non-leased island and Kowloon, ceded to Britain in perpetuity. She has now agreed to put these claims on one side in the interests of a new agreement securing Hong Kong's economic way of life.

## Victor sets the Peronists scrambling for a role

IN THE fashionable Florida Garden Café in Buenos Aires last week, defeated Peronists and triumphant Radicals could be seen, arm-in-arm, toasting Argentina's new political beginning in champagne. As one Radical MP, Leopoldo Moreau, put it: "This election has rescued values which had been lost from Argentine politics. Instead of telling each other not to get involved, people have rediscovered a desire to participate, and to make changes."

At the end of one of the most stirring weeks in the country's political history, President-elect Raul Alfonsín retired to a secret location to select his future government. As rumours flew in the capital, Alfonsín made it plain that nothing would be heard from the conclave until tomorrow.

Argentina, in any case, had much to reflect on after last week's elections shattered the stale circle of military and trade union power which has dominated the country for over 30 years. Almost more astonishing than the size of the victory of Alfonsín's Radical Party was the conciliatory attitude taken by the leadership of the beaten Peronist Party.

"They began by blaming the computer," said one commentator, "then they blamed each other." But as the recrimination raged within the populist Peronist movement, its candidate, Italo Luder, met Alfonsín to pledge his party's commitment to a responsible opposition and a 100-day moratorium to enable the Radicals to organise their government.

Luder's ability to fulfil his good intentions, however, will depend on the demoralised movement's ability to curb the activities of its discredited union leaders, in particular the

### ARGENTINA

Isabel Hilton and Maria Laura Avignolo on the new beginning

metalworkers' leader, Lorenzo Miguel, who was implicated in the formation of right-wing squads under the last Peronist government, has blamed the defeat on the abandonment of the ghosts of the founding fathers, Juan Peron and his wife Evita.

Last week he showed few signs of repentance. But he will find it hard to explain how the Radicals not only captured two million working-class votes from the Peronists, but also took Buenos Aires province, where Miguel, in an ugly show of force, had tried to foist his nominee, Herminio Iglesias, on the voters. Even some Peronists were happy to see the Miguel brand of Peronism so convincingly rejected by the electorate.

Though Alfonsín has yet to name his cabinet, two candidates are hotly tipped for key posts. For finance minister, who will have to grapple with Argentina's 40,000-million-dollar foreign debt and 1,000 per cent inflation, the likely candidate is a middle-level banker called Barnardo Grinspun, a former director of the Central Bank, who is currently an adviser to the Organisation of American States.

The favoured candidate for foreign minister is the current under-secretary at the UN, Hugo Juan Gobbi, who is expected to be far less of a friend to the United States than his predecessors, and to take a position strongly in support of the non-aligned nations.

The Radicals have close links with the socialist parties of Spain, France and Italy; and Alfonsín himself, during the election campaign, called on the US to change its attitude from one of domination to one of co-operation in the region.

But Gobbi is not expected to take a significantly more conciliatory line over the Falklands than previous incumbents. Although Alfonsín was the only prominent politician publicly to condemn the Argentine invasion, popular sentiment is unlikely to encourage concessions.

"A formal declaration of cessation of hostilities would depend on some gesture of goodwill by Britain," said a Radical spokesman last week. "Abandoning the building of the airport, for example, and a willingness to negotiate on fundamental issues". By fundamental issues, the Radicals are taken to mean sovereignty, which Mrs Thatcher has repeatedly insisted is not up for negotiation.

On the domestic front, the Radicals face continued hostility from the armed forces and demands from human rights organisations for justice over crimes committed during the military's "dirty war" against left-wing guerrillas. The question of investigation of the thousands of cases of "disappeared" persons was further complicated by reports that the military had destroyed the remaining evidence on the identity and fate of the disappeared.

Alfonsín is known to favour a solution through the courts, but, as one of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a group of relatives of the disappeared, observed last week: "What can a judge do without evidence?"

# Argentina set for US backing on Falklands

from JIMMY BURNS in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA has been virtually assured of broad support, including that of the United States, for its call for negotiations over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands at the UN General Assembly this week.

Last week's convincing election victory by Raúl Alfonsín, the leader of the Radical Party, has deprived Britain of one of its main arguments: that because of the repressive and divisive nature of the Argentine military regime there is no one really worth talking to.

Alfonsín is expected to take charge of the country formally on about 15 December, after the formal dissolution of the military junta and the withdrawal of hundreds of officers from administrative and diplomatic posts.

Alfonsín is a moderate closely identified with the mainstream of European social democracy. His party platform makes the return of the Falkland Islands to Argentine hands a priority of foreign policy but the Radicals have ruled out the use of force.

'Even if it takes us another thousand years we will not sacrifice one single bullet, another single young life for the sake of the islands,' the Radical Vice-President Victor Martínez told thousands of supporters just before Sunday's vote.

Alfonsín has stressed that his Government will not declare a cessation of hostilities unilaterally, although Radical officials privately point out that this is for reasons of diplomatic tactics.

Some Radicals believe that by maintaining the present state of affairs the British Government will be forced to pay an increasingly heavy financial cost, provoking domestic reaction.

Leading officials linked to the

incoming government now appear to be coming round to the idea that Mrs Thatcher is consolidating the British presence on the islands regardless of domestic opinion and that the further this process develops the more difficult it will be for Britain to contemplate withdrawal.

Several ideas are being canvassed as a way out of the impasse. There is a broad feeling among foreign affairs experts that after the UN debate both sides should seek a *rapprochement* at an informal level. This should be out of the glare of public opinion and

possibly with the intervention of a third party.

Radical leaders are hinting that the Alfonsín Government could issue a public renunciation of the use of force as a broad point of principle in its foreign affairs when it takes office. This would avoid a specific reference to the Falklands but would be issued as a veiled message to the British.

In Buenos Aires it is felt that the British could make a positive move by announcing that they would freeze the construction of Port Stanley's new airport until talks between the two sides had shown some progress.

5.11.83

# BRITISH WIN WAR PRAISE IN ARGENTINA

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS in Buenos Aires

A FLATTERING account of the performance of British troops during the Falklands war has surfaced in Buenos Aires in a report written by Capt. Carlos Hugo Robacio.

The Argentine marine captain spent 44 days in the islands under constant British naval bombardment. Unlike many Argentine accounts of the conflict, his report, published yesterday, began by recognising the virtues of his enemy.

According to Capt. Robacio, many of the stories about British troops that circulated in the Argentine Press after the war were absurd.

He criticised allegations that the British went into action high on drugs; that they killed off wounded Argentines; that Gurkha troops were savage supermen; and that the British committed atrocities.

"Considering the good professionalism of British troops, it is useful to make it clear that drugs were not necessary to produce valour," said the captain, who fought with the 5th Argentine Marine Infantry Battalion.

"The British did not commit disgusting acts; on the contrary, many of our heroic wounded owed their lives to the solicitous intervention of their adversaries."

Capt. Robacio said the stories of the wild behaviour of the Gurkhas amounted to no more than a psychological gambit by the British to weaken Argentine morale.

"The Gurkhas were not as good in combat as some wanted to make them appear," he said.

He listed a number of recommendations for the improvement of Argentina's fighting capability. Fundamental was the need to train at night and in adverse weather conditions.

He also recommended that Argentina send observers and combat units to war zones around the world to gain experience.

6.11.83

# Uruguay firm on Falklands flight

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS in Buenos Aires

URUGUAY still has no intention of allowing Britain to use Montevideo as a refuelling stop for aircraft on their way to and from the Falkland Islands. the Uruguayan Foreign Minister has said.

Señor Carlos Maeso was responding to concern expressed by Argentine officials that two RAF Hercules transport aircraft were allowed to land at Montevideo's Churrasco airport last Wednesday.

The two aircraft were on their way to the Falklands from Ascension Island when bad weather forced them to divert. In the past, RAF aircraft troubled by weather have landed in southern Brazil and last week's incident was thought to be the first involving Uruguay.

British diplomats have been trying to persuade Uruguay to provide a staging post on the long route to the Falklands

ever since the war ended last year, but intense Argentine opposition to the proposal has obliged the Uruguayan regime to remain publicly cool towards Britain even though commercial interests in Uruguay are reported to be keen on providing supplies to the Falklands' garrison and islanders.

The incident involving the two Hercules was well-publicised in the Buenos Aires press. Newspapers also reported that an unspecified number of British officials had arrived in Montevideo on a civilian flight and later transferred to military aircraft.

After inquiries by the Argentine Foreign Ministry, Señor Maeso was obliged to announce that the incident did not mean Uruguay would allow regular British flights through Montevideo. The arrival of the two Hercules was an "exceptional occasion" on which Uruguay had merely complied with the requirements of international aviation, he said.

## Missions abroad

The latter observation is already being put into effect. The junta is thought to be keen to send officers to Central America to observe American exercises.

There have also been unconfirmed reports that American military intelligence agents have been recruiting Argentine officers for missions alongside anti-Sandinista guerrillas based along the Nicaraguan borders.

It seems that the virulent anti-Communism of Argentine officers made them the natural allies of American efforts to restrict the spread of Marxism in Central America.

Capt. Robacio's report was presented to his Marine Corps superiors, and military sources say some of his conclusions are being implemented. But there is still no sign of the official report drawn up by the Commission of Inquiry into the war.

The report was presented to the junta several months ago, and it was thought to contain explosive criticisms of the conduct of senior officers.

Sources in Senor Raul Alfonsin's Radical party, victors in the recent general election, have indicated that they want to see the report published.

But there is widespread suspicion that the military will release only a watered-down version for public consumption.

## JUNTA HANDOVER MAY BE DEC 12

Senior aides to Senor Raul Alfonsin, the President-elect of Argentina, met military government officials yesterday to discuss the date for a transfer to civilian power.

Official sources said the Junta would almost certainly agree to stand down by Dec. 12. Vice-President George Bush and Senor Felipe Gonzalez, Spain's Prime Minister, are expected to attend the installation.

**Exclusive**

Premier reveals her new  
fear over Argentina

# MAGGIE WARNS REAGAN AGAIN

The Prime  
Minister  
talks  
frankly  
on

- Grenada
- Cruise
- Parkinson
- Her health
- The Russians
- Argentina

FULL  
INTERVIEW

-PAGES 6 AND 7

**THE Prime Minister has given a fresh warning to President Reagan that Britain's and America's special relationship would risk being fragmented if he lifted the U.S. arms embargo on Argentina.**

Mrs Thatcher fears that, if he took that decision—and he is under pressure to do so from some of his senior aides—the growing furor in Britain over Cruise missiles would be heightened by a wave of rabid anti-Americanism which could get out of control.

In an exclusive interview in 10 Downing Street with the Editor of the Daily Mail, Sir David English, she said that the U.S. lifting the embargo 'would be the single most difficult thing for me.'

It was 'the one thing I am very worried about . . . very, very concerned about indeed.'

The possibility of a freshly equipped Argentine navy and air force being in a position to threaten or even attack the Falklands, courtesy of the United States, would unite both Left and Right in Britain against America.

Yet the Prime Minister knows that the excuse of a new democratic Gov-

ernment in Argentina is being used as a reason for President Reagan to lift the embargo.

President Reagan is known to have twice postponed making up his mind since Mrs Thatcher discussed the question with him and made clear the possible repercussions on Anglo-American relations when they met in Washington last month.

The arms deal was examined again at the White House last Tuesday and once again put in the pending tray.

In the interview, which was remarkable for its candour, the Prime Minister made clear that America's action in Grenada had been of positive advantage to

By **GORDON GREIG**  
Political Editor

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**EXCLUSIVE: The Prime Minister talks frankly**

# Maggie's back

by David English

THE LADY was dressed in grey. Gun-metal grey. A crisp suit, with a smart, shortish skirt, sheer grey stockings, high heels. But the effect was not sombre . . . steely, perhaps, in a rather chic and modern way.

She opened with a commiseration. 'Come in David. Let me look at you. You seem tired. You've been over-doing it, you know. You mustn't work so hard.'

It was said with a grin and designed to shut me up from saying what so many have been saying, namely, that *she* was looking tired these days. But she did not, and I said so. 'Well, since Friday afternoon isn't the freshest time of the week . . . that's nice to hear,' she said.

What she did look, I thought, was her usual energetic self, full of dynamism and go, but this time with a difference.

There was a tenseness, compounded of irritation and frustration at recent events, perhaps because despite herself she has been forced into a role of almost passive defence. Nature designed her to be someone on the move, a natural attacker when things get rough. She does not like to be hamstringing by events, to sit immobilised in a political foxhole, pinned down by heavy bombardment—particularly when, by mistake, some of the fire is coming from her own allies.

So I got straight to the point. Britain and America. The special relationship. And what the Grenadan incident means to it.

'The feeling many had,' I said, 'is that the Americans have behaved extremely badly, treating Britain with scant courtesy and you, Prime Minister, particularly as a very close friend, with some contempt in not keeping you informed. On the other hand, people also think the Americans are absolutely right in going into Grenada and you are very wrong in not getting involved. Haven't we got the worst of both worlds?' She had always made it clear in her speeches where the West stood, she replied. It doesn't initiate attacks. It doesn't need to advance its ideas by military force. If the West were to invade other countries because it did not like their political complexion, it would be unthinkable. Her position was absolutely clear.

'But no rule in politics is absolute. There are times, even when you hold that fundamental position, that you may be entitled to go in. But in this case I believe there have to be overwhelming reasons.'

And she repeated it: 'overwhelming reasons.'

'And you did not think there were overwhelming reasons in Grenada?'

'From our viewpoint, NO. Now let me tell you how we came to our view. Grenada has been Marxist since March 1979. Maurice Bishop ran a Marxist organisation and promulgated people's laws. There is nothing different about Grenada becoming Marxist. It had been Marxist.'

'Then there was this sudden trouble when Bernard Coard and his people overthrew Bishop. Now that, if I might put it this way, is really quite a quarrel, in the Marxist world. Quite embarrassing for Cuba because Bishop appeared to be a personal friend of Castro. So they had a problem on their hands. How come in this Marxist world you get one person overthrowing another?'

## Fantastic

So she then saw the situation as a politically exploitable one, whereby Grenada could become an embarrassment to the Communist bloc?

'I saw a tricky problem in the Marxist world, where one Marxist had deposed and murdered another Marxist. That was a fantastic opportunity for a *démarche* . . . and that is the way I would have tackled it. Castro must have been very embarrassed when Coard takes over from Bishop and someone murders Bishop. This is a real hell of a row in the Marxist world.'

And this presumably is what she told the Americans? And they did not listen?

'What I am saying is that you need an overwhelming reason to go in. I saw no overwhelming reason to go in and argued that there was no overwhelming issue.'

'We sent our Deputy High Commissioner from Barbados—we already had a representative on the island—because we had 200 people there. Our Deputy High Commis-

**'Just look at the****There's been no****We're not going****still while I'm****My eyes? I don't****glasses to read**

MRS THATCHER: 'The single most difficult thing for me . . .'

sioner went in on the Sunday afternoon together with two American consultants to ask about the safety of our people and we were told they were in no danger.

'When you go in, you can, by going in with an invasion force, put people's lives at risk and in danger and that might otherwise not be. We don't know about the numbers who have been lost.'

And yet she got a message at 7.15 p.m. on the Monday that the Americans had decided to go in. Why? What

in my view a number of things. What swayed the President very much indeed was the group of small eastern Caribbean countries and two others asking for help. The eastern Caribbean countries wanted it.

'Then you have to look further back. There is the Monroe Doctrine which appears still to influence them. There was a *crisis* to influence them. There was a *crisis* for regional security. All these things . . . and they saw differently from us.'

But now it was over and clearly most of the Grenadan people were pleased.

She agreed. 'As I said, there are lots of people on Grenada who are pleased, probably all the people there are very pleased. But don't think the Americans went in because it was a sudden Marxist take-over or there was a sudden appearance of Cubans there. They have been there for a long time.'

She agreed that history would look at ALL the events of that weekend to put it into perspective, and then she turned once more to the longer-term effect of any action.

'Let me put it this way. We see the larger issues. You may say that the Americans could not have this in their back-yard . . . and here like a fisherman expanding his catch

in the telling, she held her hands apart and widened them . . . 'but look at the map. See how far Grenada is away from America. Then look how close Cuba is to the United States, Florida.'

'Well, Cuba is a much bigger danger, isn't it? You don't go into Cuba because you don't like the Cuban attitudes. But you go into Grenada because Cuba is there. Can you not see the point . . .?'

One could see the point. The Americans had acted from Europe's point of view with short-term thinking and not with a quick and healthy view to fit their morale. Politically and retrospectively she could not agree with or endorse their actions.

But she must accept them whatever difficulties they posed for her. And for two reasons: First she knows there can be a disagreement between friends without ending the friendship, and she is instinctively and emotionally pro-American. And, secondly, the wider, long-term issues were so much more important.

She would not agree that she was wrong-footed, the most she would admit was that she had been left with a difficult balancing act.

'They took a different view from us.' But she added, 'I am not going to be anti-American. We have had a slight difference of opinion. It might make things difficult for me. But, in the end, I am not going to let this undermine British interests.'

'We have a job to do here. We have to get Cruise missiles sited in pursuit of the NATO decision and we have to take the lead in doing it. The debate in Germany will come up after so we have to take the lead in doing that. That is the most important thing in East/West terms.'

## Bullet

'Let me get it absolutely clear, Prime Minister,' I said. 'You have had to bite on the bullet. The Government has had to take all this domestic political flak because you knew that Cruise was the most important issue.'

'That's right,' she answered. 'You do not in fact put a thing like that in jeopardy. I could not allow this difference to undermine the Alliance. It would be contrary to Britain's interests and contrary to everything I believe in. So we took the Cruise debate and we took it head on.'

She added, 'The Americans can rely on me absolutely in defence and in everything in which I believe. I will not dream of undermining the Alliance.' Then she leaned forward and said with deep—but controlled—emphasis, 'But it leaves some questions (to be answered)—communications questions! How decisions are made! How consultation is carried on! How decisions are communicated!'

So that was the message Washington was getting?

Yes it was. There was a discussion now going on behind the scenes and Washington clearly understood that her difficulties over

**to the Mail about her problems and how she'll deal with them**

# in fighting form!

**record.**

**let down.**

**to stand**

**around.**

**even need**

**a speech,**

Cruise had not been lessened by their actions.

'That must be irritating,' I said. 'Well, yes it was. But I said right at the outset that there was one important thing. We have got to get the Cruise missiles sited. But please, David, I am not going to be anti-American. What I say to them—and I am quite firm with them—I say behind the scenes.'

She paused and then, looking up, said: 'But I will tell you what really will make it acutely difficult for me—and it's the one thing I am very worried about—is if they supply arms to the Argentine. Now that's the one I am very, very concerned about indeed. I spoke to President Reagan when I was over there.'

That would cause the most tremendous burst of anti-American feeling, I asked.

'This (meaning Grenada) did cause a burst of anti-Americanism. I am pro-American as you know, but resupplying arms to Argentina would make it much more difficult for me.'

She paused and repeated slowly: 'That would be the single most difficult thing for me.'

## Shadow

It was a sombre note. She had done all that she could to support the Alliance, to dampen down latent anti-American feelings which she knows are easily whipped up. To do so, she had to maintain a defensive position. She feels that the worst is over now and, indeed, there were positive advantages to Britain's stand, which she would outline in a moment. But the shadow of the American arms industry being freed by Washington to disgorge weapons into Argentina overshadowed all that she had done.

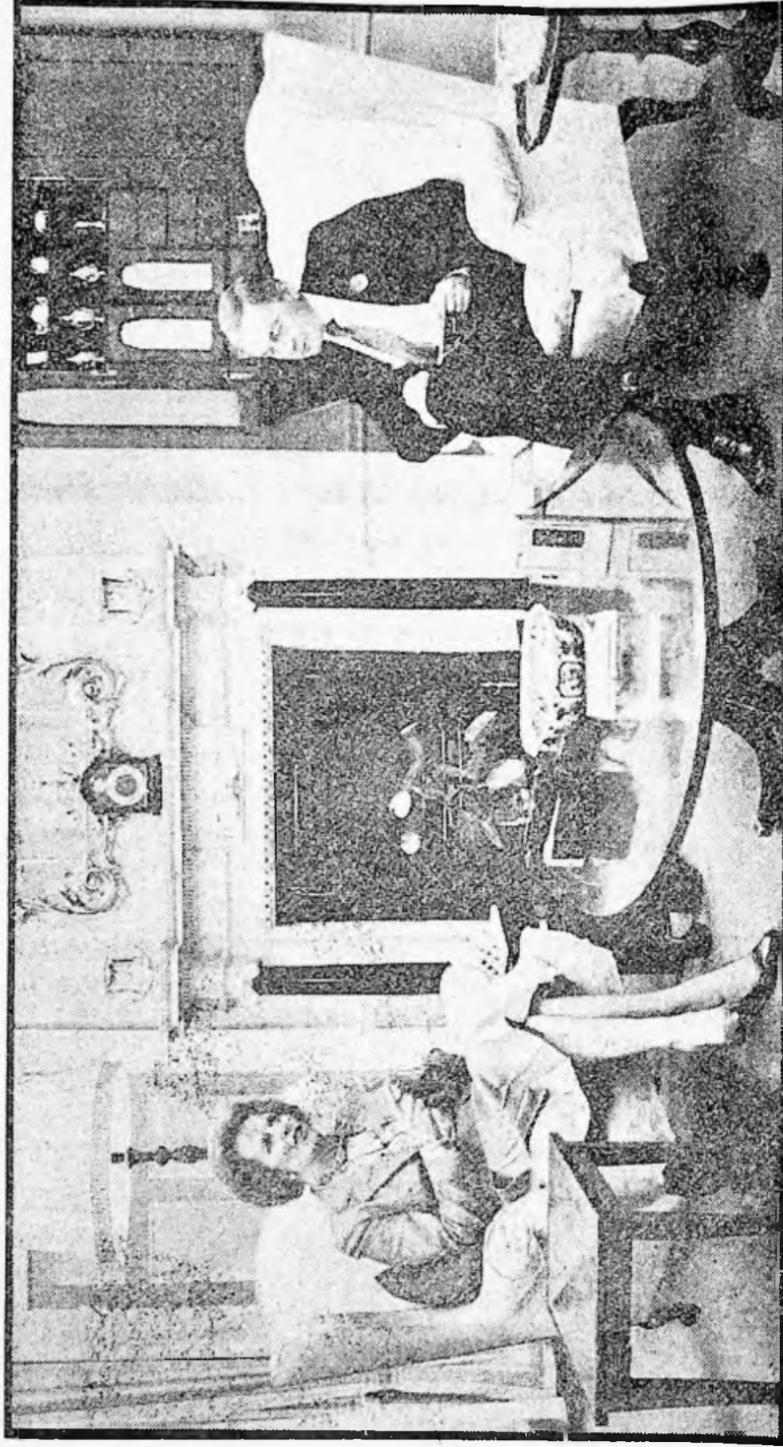
It was clear that she felt the British people would be outraged by such an action. It was vital that the Americans made no mistake about that.

But then we turned to the wider implication and discussed Britain's relationship with the East. She had made speeches she said about the Soviet Union and Moscow which should be examined more closely. She did not like the Communists or their system.

That was no secret but she went on, 'We may not like them but we have to live on the same planet. Therefore, when the circumstances are right, we must talk to the leadership. But every time you think you must get closer to dialogue, something happens—Afghanistan started first and then the Korean airliner. But we do, we will have to talk to them more. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind of that.'

'If we saw them more often,' she said, 'the opportunities for misunderstanding each other would be less and that is very important.'

She felt that Britain could perhaps now play a bigger role in this, and to some extent her stand over Grenada might be helpful. 'They know that if I say we uphold international law, we don't go in unless there are overwhelming reasons. They know that if I say something, I will stick by it. That is a



FACE TO FACE with Mrs Thatcher inside No. 10: outlining her plans and talking with passion of the future.

very much better basis for negotiation. They are not uncertain. They will also see that, whether I like or dislike any regime, I do respect other people's boundaries.

So you want a dialogue?

'Yes.'

Would you go to Moscow?

She answered at once. 'No, no, I am not thinking of going straight to the top. We have to consider what are the best levels and more of them are still to come out.'

It is still a little bit difficult because of the Korean airliner, so don't rush and say Moscow. I don't think it's necessarily the best thing for the whole Western world to beat a path to Moscow. I think it probably helps if some of the Soviet leaders come out and see more of our way of life.'

We came now to CND and the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles. Nothing would stop it, she repeated. It was vital both for security and the hope of slowing down and then reversing the arms race.

But was she not worried about the increasing demand for a dual key system? A demand that was coming from all sections of society, including a large number of Conservatives?

'Perhaps we have not put our view across vigorously enough. Frankly, if you look at the prospects of nuclear war, it is totally and utterly horrific and that is, I hope, the view which the Soviet Union takes and that is why one wants to talk to them.'

That means that the possession of nuclear weapons on both sides is what keeps the peace. It's kept the peace, not only nuclear peace but conventional peace. And to those who say 'abandon all nuclear weapons' I say, don't you realise that will put us back in the position before World War Two and opponents might contemplate conventional war again? Which for me also is utterly horrific.

## Energy

I regard Cruise and the others as really a deterrent and once you start talking about their use, the things have failed. So that's why I put dual keys on a very much different basis.'

On foreign affairs, we moved to the Falklands. She welcomed the fact that the Argentines had elected a new democratic government. 'If democracy means self-determination in your country, then you ought to recognise it extends to other countries too.'

Her message to the new government of Argentina was simple. 'I am willing to enter into talks. We want good commercial relations, diplomatic relations. We want normal relations. But I am not entering into talks about sovereignty.'

Finally, we came back to her, as one always must with this Government. If she was down, the Government was down. And

to many it seemed as if she was a little down. I asked, 'What do you think of the criticisms that you used up a tremendous amount of energy in the Falklands. Then you had another tremendous drive in the Election so that afterwards there was a let down for you and the whole Government. You have been an exciting, controversial Prime Minister, but some of the magic has gone.'

She didn't take that lightly. 'Look at the record. There's been no let down. When we came back... the Finance Bill... MPs' pay—I knew I would take a different view from the back benches.' She rattled on, 'Capital punishment out of the way... White Papers... London Transport... Rate capping.'

## Freedom

And she herself: 'I went to Holland and to our forces in Germany. I did a major tour of the United States and Canada. We had a major seminar on science and technology. It's been very exciting since the election.'

I persisted: 'Why do you think people are saying Maggie has lost some of her magic?'

I have no idea. Oh, I know, because I've had this eye and they think I must have made me ill. I don't even use glasses to read a speech, David.'

And then the old Maggie was there—excitingly outlining her plans, talking with passion of her vision of this country, listing the problems, gritting her teeth and saying how she would go on fighting to defeat them. 'We're not going to stand still while I'm around,' she said. There was too much to do. 'My job now is to keep the strategy absolutely on course. Never accuse this Government, or any Government which I lead, of being laissez faire, it isn't. The things we have done could only have been done by strong government.'

Strong government, she said, was less government. And that was her ambition for this Parliament. When it ended, the British people would be even more free of restriction and control. That was what she was going to do in the next five years and make no mistake about it.

'We are getting the trade unions more responsible, all the work forces more responsible, no over-manning, no other restrictions. Liberty works when it induces responsibility. So do you see? Strong where only Government can be strong, but strong enough to let the people be free.'

She added that as the country's economy picked up, as it was now beginning to after the sacrifice of the past few years, there would be a dividend. And the people had the right to see that the dividend was spent on them.

When that money came through, some would go into their own pockets... on that she was determined, but there would be some for increasing spending on necessary public services. But it would be right and proper, for that had been money earned and fought for. Not money borrowed or printed.

There were just a couple more things. On personalities. She talked sadly of Cecil Parkinson and was fierce in her loyalty to him.

He was an outstanding Minister at Trade and Industry. He was an accountant, he built up his own business, he could take his country's part when a corporate plan came in, he could look at it understanding all.

But could she ever see him, coming back into the Government? I tried to enable him to continue... but, and she spread her hands.

And what of the men in Opposition—the two Davids and the newly elected Labour leader Neil Kinnock? Did she have any plans to deal with them?

She grinned. No new plans were needed, she indicated. 'I shall cope with them the same way as I have been coping with them,' she said, as if they were the smallest of all her possible problems.

## Gallantly

She seemed more relaxed as we finished our talk. It was getting dark and she was off to Chequers, she said. It's true that Friday is not the freshest time of the week and it had been a long week, even for a political one.

It was clear that, although irritated with Washington because of the position in which it had placed her, there was no change in the depth of her affection and understanding of America.

But they had got the message that a special relationship is a two-way affair and that all political moves, even successful headline-making ones, have longer-term repercussions.

She understands better than most why they did what they did. And she gallantly protected the Alliance here in Britain when a lesser leader might have been inclined to take an easier way out.

None of this was particularly her style, though she can do it. What she is looking for now is a chance to display the Maggie magic and get things moving again in Britain.

Whatever run of bad luck there has been, and she will not go into that, she feels an upturn coming. Only one thing could mar it... a foolish and ill-conceived decision by America to start reselling arms to Argentina.

That worries her. And worries her very much.



## BRIAN JAMES reporting from Buenos Aires

AS EVEN FILMS THE GENERALS BANNED GO ON SHOW AT LAST

THEY ran out of champagne in the interval at the Teatro Colon—Argentina's famous opera house—this week.

That is less a tribute to Mozart's marvellous Magic Flute, more a sign of relief at the fading of military bugles.

Smiling jubilant toasts of 'what fresh air' were offered among friends and even elbowing strangers. They did not mean to speak of Argentina's coming spring: It was code for 'we have our country back from the generals . . . we breathe more easily.'

I have known Argentina like this just once before. Five years ago they staged a World Cup and thousands of people waited at Ezeiza Airport to greet total strangers off every arriving plane. Argentina, at the tip of a continent, is a natural cul-de-sac, so every visitor is an event.

That is the mood in the streets again in the days that follow the return of democracy after 10 years. Argentines are no longer ashamed to have you drop in: Please forgive the hole in the carpet . . . great rips in our constitution . . . we're waiting to have it repaired.

The Army has not gone into hiding. Just into civvies. At the smart restaurant across from the Colon, few glanced at the neat man on the next table, save my Argentine guest.

'That man. Eighteen months ago every waiter stood to attention when he walked in. He's Army, top brass. But something to do with the show-jumping team. But the way he strutted you'd think they'd taken the Malvinas with a cavalry charge with him leading. Now if the waiters dare call him Colonel they'd get no tip.'



DEMONSTRATION outside the film that's so poignant for Argentines

PICTURE: GRAHAM WOOD

# Sweet air of freedom

Cont..

Cont..

Daily Mail  
4 November 1983

## Filched

The only soldiers in sight stroll the Avenida Florida ogling girls they can't afford to treat even to an ice.

*Conscripts get no pay. They all look about 15, shaven-haired and lumpish, and the notion occurs that when our marines tangled with them it was more a case for intervention by the NSPCC than the UN.*

Argentina's problems may be appalling and their record at solving them worse (after all, they're still trying to find out who of the Junta filched most of the World Cup money) but when there's relief from fear, suddenly anything seems possible.

Augusto Conte, is a one-man Christian Democrat Party amid the 253 ruling radicals and the Peronist opponents. They'll have to listen to him . . . he's their conscience.

Seven years ago Conte's 15-year-old son was snatched off the streets by a military goon squad. He has never been seen since. Conte brings tears to his own eyes, and to yours, when he tells his tale.

There was gentle sniffing, too, two seats away in the cinema on Avenida Lavalle the other night. I was watching *Desaparecido* which you may have seen under its English title, *Missing*. It's the Oscar-winning story of a young American snatched, tortured, and killed in Chile's military coup.

The women of Buenos Aires who fill the cinema with quiet hopeless tears at every showing have everything in common with Jack Lemmon's distraught searching father. Nearly 10,000 of their own fathers, sons, brothers went to unknown fates in the reign now ended.

So if Augusto Conte's campaign in Congress is their best hope that those who did this

will come to trial, then the film itself must be seen as a portent. Three months ago it could not have been shown, under military censorship. To criticise generals, even other nation's generals . . . unthinkable. Now the in word is *deslape* . . . the lifting of the lid.

Suddenly there are even soft porn movies, getting harder by the week, and sexy magazines that sell out in minutes. Those of us who have walked *Soho* with distaste may feel this no great benefit.

## Kilted

*But if with the bared bosoms, Argentines can also have revealed in print for the first time what happened in their country's dark days, then this is a small price to ask prudes to pay.*

This flurry of attention around the news-stands adds to the impression of a great free-swinging European city. Buenos Aires shops groan with goods, its restaurants bulge. But these, oddly, are the signs of poverty not riches.

For the name of the game is to spend every cent, you can lay your hands on. That 300-pesos that bought you a steak meal last night may buy a bowl of soup next month. No one saves because inflation makes a mockery of it.

If it is hard being an Argentine, it can be a little harder being British. During the conflict there were death threats.

My own elderly uncle used to

get calls saying, 'go home or die, English dog', which is a hard thing to say to a man who'd spent nearly 70 of his 86 years upon foot, horseback and paddle-steamer helping open up the primitive interior.

Like most, he ignored the advice to run. The British Embassy, now clothed in a Swiss flag and with Her Majesty's brass doorplate covered in brown paper, started trying to update its file of those to be evacuated should things get tense. Of the 17,000 on their list, only 2,000 signed in.

But you could be forgiven for thinking it is now as it used to be when you last passed through. There's a picture of kilted kids in the local paper to note their success in the Highland Thistle Pipeband contest, for example.

*The changes are more subtle. I was told 'two years ago if you had anything English at all, you flaunted it. Not now. Because here and there you come across the odd*

*person to whom it isn't politics . . . it's personal.'*

And I did. I was treating two kids to ice-cream when suddenly a burly stranger engaged my companion in enraged dialogue. He says we must not take ice-cream from you. . . . You see he was a sailor. On *Belgrano*.

Usually it comes at you more quietly. Saturday lunch at a vast *estancia* south of Buenos Aires. If you know how exquisite Spanish manners can be, you will imagine the deft touch on the conversational rudder any time we veered towards 'that difficulty' of last year.

## Planet

Until several of the fine Mendoza friends. Then: 'My English friend. I perceive you to me a man of logic. I too. Let us imagine how we might show an atlas of our world to a man from up there . . . yes another planet . . . exactly. Together we point at that orphan speck of an island and invite him—logically, of course—to say which must be the parent nation.

If I offend a guest, forgive. But no man living on this whole continent will ever see this difficulty between us in any way but this.'

A gentle rejoinder that this week of all weeks, no Argentine surely, would deny the islanders their right to decide their own future with their own votes, was enough to change the subject.

A grenade would not have changed his mind.

Once waiters  
jumped . . . now  
the colonel  
hates to  
be recognised

# Radicals chance to make history in Argentina

**W**HEN a Radical victory in Argentina's general elections finally became certain as votes were counted early this week, Señor Raul Alfonsín and his Vice-Presidential running mate, Victor Martínez, emerged on the balcony of their party headquarters to acknowledge the cheers of the crowd.

Although it was past three o'clock in the morning, thousands of Argentines bedecked in the Radical colours of red and white were still waiting to fete their hero. Grinning broadly and clapping his hands above his shoulders in a victory salute, Alfonsín turned to Martínez and shouted, "We can make history, you know. They're really giving us the chance."

Many Argentine governments have started out with good intentions of making history; many of them succeeded only in infamy. The last time a civilian government was elected in Buenos Aires was in 1973, when Gen. Juan Perón swept back to power with his wife, Isabel, after a long exile abroad. That government lasted just three years, a time marked by terrorism, hyperinflation and industrial collapse.

**T**EN years later, the prospects for Señor Alfonsín and his Radicals are scarcely encouraging. No one can predict how the working-class Peronist masses will react after such a shattering defeat. The crucial question for the immediate future is: will the Peronist trade unions co-operate with the Radical economic programme of austerity? With inflation galloping away at a rate approaching 20 per cent. per month, Señor Alfonsín will be seeking a rapid application of the brakes. No government in the world has ever conquered inflation and made the trade unions happy at the same time.

The economy is Señor Alfonsín's most pressing problem, but not the most dangerous. He pledged throughout his election campaign to embark on the immediate restructuring of Argentina's armed forces. He is planning to restrict military authority, slash its budget, remove many of its privileges, and investigate its past maldoings.

His primary target will be the amnesty law hurriedly passed by the junta earlier this year to pardon themselves for human rights offences committed during the "dirty war" against Left-wing subversion. Señor Alfonsín has promised to identify and bring to trial the military officers responsible for the murder and disappearances of thousands of civilians.

These pledges raised tremendous cheers from the crowds at the hustings, but the military has not been amused. Just before the election, there were rumours of a plot among disaffected officers to assassinate Señor Alfonsín. The plot was taken seriously by diplomats and some influential Argentine commentators, but the Radical leader did not modify his style of campaigning.

But it would be churlish to concentrate too long on the difficulties ahead. Señor Alfonsín has achieved a superb victory after an unprecedently clean campaign. He is a

By  
**TONY ALLEN-MILLS**

in Buenos Aires

clever and honourable politician committed to peace and respect for the dignity of man. Argentina is tired of disaster and humiliation, and Señor Alfonsín offers today at last a glimpse of a tranquil and prosperous future.

Whether that future holds any hope for a sensible settlement of the Falkland Islands question is quite another matter. From Britain's viewpoint, of course, the Falklands issue dominates any consideration of Argentina. The election of a civilian government in Buenos Aires is likely to stir a hornet's nest of agitation, both in London and abroad, for negotiations to be opened on the future of the islands. Is Britain justified in refusing to talk?

The Falklands issue was not prominent during the election campaign. But both Radical and Peronist candidates referred to it almost routinely, employing harsh words to denounce Britain's behaviour. Both parties committed themselves to recovering the islands for Argentina. Both Señor Alfonsín and his Peronist rival also made it clear that anything smacking of a concession to London, notably a formal declaration that hostilities had ceased, was out of the question without some concession from Britain on sovereignty.

Argentina's attitude towards negotiations was summarised for me by Señor Guido di Tella, a prominent political scientist who argued that the removal of the military régime responsible for the original invasion of the islands now put the onus on Britain to agree to talks.

"For 20 or 30 years before the war you discussed sovereignty with us and you didn't yield a thing," said Señor di Tella. "If you restart

talks saying you'll never yield on sovereignty, that's fine. So many definite statements have been reversed in history, we're not going to get mad. But if you say you're not even prepared to listen to what we have to say on sovereignty, that the issue is closed, then you make it impossible for us to make progress."

Señor di Tella and other influential Argentines make it clear that matters like a cessation of hostilities would quickly be resolved if Britain agreed to negotiate. Argentine politicians are quite prepared to accept the prospect of years of talks about fishing rights in the South Atlantic, visa requirements and restoration of trade, provided the sovereignty issue is kept alive.

Señor di Tella concludes: "I think that in about five years time, when you have spent about £2 billion pounds on the islands, you may begin to think twice whether it's sensible or not, and the British are usually sensible. Eventually you will be sensible on this issue."

★

**I**T would of course be sensible for any British government to seek a way of reducing the tension in the South Atlantic. But Argentina's unyielding insistence that sovereignty is paramount in any debate remains an insuperable obstacle to progress. Señor di Tella may well be right that British attitudes towards the islands will be different in five years time. But that is a matter for the British Government to worry about, not a Foreign Office negotiating team. The Franks Committee of Inquiry into last year's war showed clearly that years of meaningless talks about diversionary side issues were not the answer to the Falklands problem. Britain has travelled far down the path of negotiations for negotiations' sake, and it led to disaster.

The arrival of Señor Alfonsín in the Casa Rosada is a victory for democracy and a defeat for the totalitarian impulses that inspired last year's invasion. But civilian rule in Buenos Aires makes no difference at all to the fundamental disagreements between Britain and Argentina about the sovereignty of the islands.

The British people may one day be prepared to accept that the Argentine flag should fly over Port Stanley, or that some complicated lease back arrangement should be worked out. A civilian Argentine government may one day decide to risk the wrath of the military and talk about matters other than sovereignty. The election of Señor Alfonsín makes neither prospect look more likely.

McMillan-Scott Associates Public Affairs

David Watt

# Anglo-Argentine thaw in B.A.

THE TIMES

4.11.83

The victory of Raúl Alfonsín and the Radical Party in the Argentine elections is good for Britain as well as for Argentina. The point is worth emphasizing because Alfonsín's first post-election pronouncements on the Falklands issue have been deliberately designed to discourage the impression in Buenos Aires as much as in London that the British Government may now interpret the signals as meaning complete inflexibility.

This is not so. After several lengthy talks with some of Alfonsín's very able foreign policy advisers in Argentina two weeks ago I came to the conclusion that there were several points on which he would be more difficult than the middle-class pragmatists, who had climbed aboard the Peronist working-class bandwagon and would have been in charge of foreign policy had Alfonsín lost, but that by the Radicals would be more likely to stick, provided that the election victory was clear-cut.

Alfonsín's position on these matters can best be understood as being the result of his intense preoccupation with democratic legitimacy. He is attempting (like Dr David Owen in Britain, perhaps) to give a rational expression from the centre to a mood of patriotism he senses in the country. This has led him to an even-handed denunciation of the US and the Soviet Union as "the two imperialisms" and to a clear, if low-key attack on all great-power "encroachments" on Argentine sovereignty.

What this means in practice in relation to the Falklands is quite a stiff insistence on certain fundamentals, but considerable flexibility over time and method. He will not compromise the question of Argentina's ultimate sovereignty over the islands, but will be prepared to consider a lease or similar arrangement guaranteed by other powers who would be chosen by the two sides (although nomination of the US as one of them might be a bit difficult for him).

Whatever he may have said to British reporters in the heat of electoral victory, he would be prepared to offer a cessation of hostilities and assurances about the use of force very early in the negotiations. However these would be offered only in return for some clear evidence of countervailing willingness on the British side to make a gesture diminishing the British presence in the South Atlantic, either by progressive narrowing of the Exclusion Zone or by making reductions in the Falklands garrisons.

It is important to realize in connexion with this last point that all Argentines seem to be obsessed with the notion that the British are determined to build a permanent strategic base in the Falklands, replete with atomic weapons, nuclear submarines and vast facilities for the frustration of supposed Soviet designs on the Cape sea route and the Antarctic. I spent many hours in Buenos Aires trying to explain the intrinsic implausibility of such an exercise, quite apart from the impossibility of Britain's finding the money for it. But even the most rational Argentine will have none of it.

The British Government's reply to the House of Commons Defence Committee that the sole object of the new airfield is to make defence of the islands themselves possible

and nothing more, is apparently a ruse. We are digging in forever.

This curious misapprehension is a nuisance, but it could be turned to good account. A clear British ministerial statement that the airfield is defensive and that we would scale down our forces in response to real evidence of good will on the other side would "buy" more with the Alfonsín government than it is really worth.

In Buenos Aires I stumbled over some footnotes to the history of the war.

After talking to a number of the Argentine actors in this drama I am no less amazed at the verdict of the Franks Report than I was when it was first delivered. The clear evidence in Buenos Aires is that the "button" to start the operation was actually pressed on March 26, ie, a week before the Argentine troops landed on the island. To that extent it could be said (as Franks did) that Mrs Thatcher could not have been expected to foresee an action which its perpetrators were themselves undecided upon until the last moment. On the other hand there is plenty of testimony that a firm decision in principle to invade the islands during the course of 1982, if and when a suitable occasion offered, was taken in December, 1981, and conveyed to a small circle of senior officials.

This evidence casts a miserable light on the words and actions of Dr Costa Mendes, the Foreign Minister, throughout the crisis but also reinforces the impression that there was a costly failure of British intelligence. Had it been known to Lord Carrington that the die was cast, all hesitations about sending a naval force to the South Atlantic for fear of provoking rather than deterring an invasion, would have disappeared.

Since diplomatic relations were broken off at the beginning of the war, British interests in the Argentine have been looked after by the Swiss government. Within this "Swiss Embassy", however, there lurk two or three survivors of the old British mission. Their head is Mr David Joy, who joined the British Embassy (from Poland, of all places) just before the war and has stayed since.

His tribulations in the last 18 months have been considerable, for not only has he been boycotted by the Argentine Foreign Ministry, he has been shunned by the rest of the diplomatic community, including the embassies of our European partners. ("The only people who do not treat you like a leper in these circumstances", according to one diplomat, "are other semi-lepers like the Israelis and the South Africans.")

At last, there seem to be the first signs of a thaw. Doors are not quite so firmly barred and a discreet diplomatic party or two has become possible. But the most significant development has been the reappearance of the British Embassy Rolls-Royce. This splendid vehicle, which was locked away for more than a year, lest it be overturned and smashed up by the infuriated populace, can now be seen purring around the streets of Buenos Aires with Mr Joy royally ensconced in the back. It is nice that Mr Joy, still a relatively humble counsellor, should be rewarded with such ambassadorial comforts and nicer still that he has found a way of showing the flag, and getting away with it.

# ARGENTINA TO PAY ITS DEBTS

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS  
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S new civilian government will be seeking tough new concessions from its creditors when foreign debt negotiations recommence, according to political and financial sources in Buenos Aires.

But the threat of a default and a major upset for the world banking system has receded significantly following the clear-cut election victory by Senor Raul Alfonsin and his Radical party, the sources said.

Some world financial markets were taken by surprise this week when Senor Antonio Troccoli, a Radical party vice-president, appeared to suggest that Argentina might be seeking a moratorium on debt payments while the new government tackled the crisis-ridden economy.

But party sources stressed yesterday that Senor Alfonsin, who will not take over as President until mid December at the earliest, had no plans to break off debt negotiations.

Senor Troccoli himself told a radio interviewer that Argentina would pay off its foreign debt "within an admissible period of time."

## Strong position

Many Argentine economists now believe the election of a civilian government with a clear majority puts Argentina in a strong position to bargain in future talks on its massive foreign debt.

Senor Roberto Cortes Conde, an independent political analyst, predicted that American and European creditors would quickly agree to easier repayment terms to improve Senor Alfonsin's chances of establishing democratic rule.

"It is in everyone's best interests that the Radicals survive power," said Senor Cortes Conde. "The bankers need a period of stability as much as everyone else."

Senor Alfonsin has already given notice that he will be a tough customer at the negotiations table. "We are not going to accept recipes for recession, nor are going to pay usury," he said during his campaign.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

4.11.83

## Board room shuffle

NOW THE Royal Navy ships which fought in the South Atlantic last year have been told they may add "Falkland Islands 1982" to their battle honours board, an unexpected challenge has arisen. Who is to replace or amend these intricately carved boards.

One shipyard on Clydeside was approached by a Type 22 frigate and undertook to do the job. This was swiftly retracted when the builders realised that no fewer than 10 of their vessels had taken part in the conflict.

FINANCIAL TIMES

4.11.83

## Field day

Old tractor spotting is going to be more popular than bird-watching in the country this weekend.

Massey-Ferguson is offering an overseas trip and a new tractor to whoever comes up with the oldest M-F (or predecessor company) machine still in operation.

It is part of the company's plan to celebrate the centenary next year of the birth of Harry Ferguson.

The idea comes from a similar search last year for the oldest Perkins engine as part of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the M-F subsidiary.

Perkins, with relief, eventually found a 1934 engine in Southampton. The oldest reported before that was on a boat in the Falklands and "inaccessible."

# Radicals meet bankers on Argentine debts

BY ROBERT GRAHAM AND JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

INFORMAL CONTACTS have begun between members of Argentina's future Radical administration and the Argentine Central Bank on handling the immediate issues concerning the country's \$39bn (£26bn) foreign debt.

According to highly-placed bankers, the conversations have centred on the signature of 30 outstanding public sector debt rescheduling contracts involving over \$6bn.

Prior to Sunday's elections, signature of these contracts was a condition for the disbursement of a \$500m tranche of a \$1.5bn debt rescue package being provided by more than 300 international banks.

Argentina needs this tranche to repay \$350m due on a \$1.1bn bridging loan arranged earlier in the year. It also needs the funds to bring up to date payments on arrears which stopped in the first week of October.

Drawing of this tranche has been twice postponed due to a

series of technical and legal difficulties.

A month ago, Sr Julio Cesar Gonzalez del Solar, governor of the central bank, was briefly imprisoned by a Patagonian judge on the grounds that certain clauses in the rescheduling contract infringed national sovereignty. The judge's action was subsequently overruled by a higher court.

So far only one of the public sector rescheduling contracts, that of Aerolineas Argentinas, has been signed.

However, the outgoing banking authorities are confident that no major hurdles stand in the way of signing the remainder by December 15.

This is the new deadline set by the international banks, and also happens to coincide with the date being mooted for the installation of the Radical Government, headed by Sr Raul Alfonsin.

The Radicals are understood to have no objection to the content of the contract. The judge's

action against the central bank governor was backed by sectors in the air force who claimed that national sovereignty was infringed and sought to stall further negotiations until after the elections.

At least two of the contracts, those of the utility Agua y Energia, and a Republic of Argentina loan, are far advanced.

The incoming administration is acutely aware of the need to gain the confidence of the international banking community as quickly as possible.

By next week contact is expected to be established with the International Monetary Fund, and it is likely that a fund mission will visit Buenos Aires either just before or after the new administration takes office.

Radical Party economists say that the Government's economic programme has to be worked out if not with direct IMF cooperation, at least along lines that the fund would endorse.

At present, leading Argentine bankers say the country is meet-

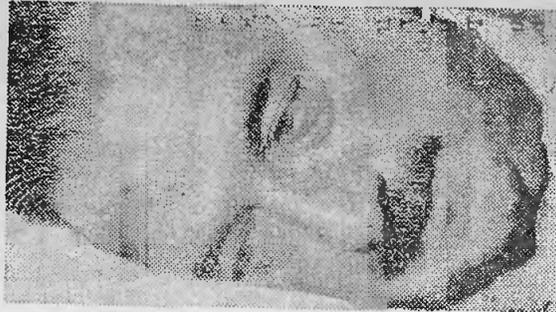
ing all the fund's targets, except for payment of arrears.

The central bank has declined to reveal the current state of reserves, which have been badly depleted in the past few months due to flight of capital.

Foreign currency reserves, according to foreign bankers, could be no more than \$250m. However, the country is still believed to possess around \$2bn-worth of gold holdings valued at market price.

The leading Radical economist expected to hold office in the new government, Sr Bernardo Grinspun, said Argentina would be seeking easier terms when the broader issue of re-negotiating the country's debt was raised in the new year.

Falling due next year are \$10bn of payments, of which \$5bn is interest. The Radical government, he said, would be seeking a longer period of grace in re-scheduling existing debt and softer terms for fresh money.



Sr Raul Alfonsin

On present projections, the country will need about \$1bn of fresh money on the basis of a \$4bn trade surplus.

## Commentary



Geoffrey  
Smith

San Francisco

When I stepped off the plane at San Francisco on Sunday I did not expect that California would be the ideal place this week for an Englishman in search of popularity. Sure enough, the criticism began immediately. "We backed Britain over the Falklands", a friendly immigration officer said sadly. "Why did Britain not support us in Grenada?" It is a refrain that has been repeated frequently.

Given the lack of adequate advance consultation between the two governments, it might be thought that Suez rather than the Falklands would be the appropriate comparison. That is not, however, how it is seen in California. Britain, it is suggested, has failed to repay last year's generosity.

But how furiously has United States opinion been affronted, and how lasting is the damage on the American side to Anglo-American relations?

President Reagan undoubtedly has considerable public support for the Grenada operation. But on the West Coast at least the feeling does not seem to be very intense.

Perhaps this maybe attributed to the more detached attitude that Californians have towards national politics. Basking in an idyllic climate, remote from the excitement of Washington, why should they worry too much?

Maybe I shall find emotions running more strongly on the East Coast. On this evidence, however, national sentiment has not been mobilised in the United States over Grenada as it was in Britain over the Falklands.

A number of those who approved of the invasion believe that it will not remain long in the public memory unless it is seen to have a ripple effect around the Caribbean and Central America. There are even some who believe that it will in due course be judged unfavourably unless it is believed to have had a beneficial effect of this nature.

To my mind it is more probable that, unless damaging consequences emerge, American opinion will continue to regard the operation as a success. Provided that American forces can soon be withdrawn from the island, and the United States does not seem to be bogged down in an indefinite involvement, there will not be much inclination for a reappraisal. The United States will be seen to have won a short, sharp victory, and that will be that.

There is, it is true, a certain amount of criticism and scepticism in the press, and a good deal of professional resentment that the media in general were excluded from covering the invasion. So there will be no lack of commentators ready to make the most of any unfavourable information that may become available.

But it would have to be pretty significant to persuade most Americans to revise their opinion that the President was right on Grenada. Then, as other crises come along, this particular episode may soon be replaced as a topic of major interest.

In that case - even without a reappraisal that would lead more Americans to believe that this act was right - the direct damage to Anglo-American relations should be short lived. Britain will be seen as having declined to sponsor a success rather than being responsible for a failure. That is not the sort of reason to make a running fore.

The indirect damage maybe more widespread if this episode feeds a more general complaint that Britain and the other European allies are failing to play a full role as international partners of the United States.

I am not implying that such a complaint would be justified. One hears a good deal about lack of British diplomatic support in Grenada, but scarcely a mention of the presence of British troops in Lebanon. The idea that an ally has a right to its independent judgment is too easily dismissed as what Mrs Thatcher might describe in a different context as wetness.

But only if the British attitude on Grenada seems to be part of a wider pattern is it likely to have any lasting effect on Britain's standing in American eyes. If Britain were to withdraw unilaterally from the Lebanon peace keeping force, if it proved impossible to deploy the missiles in Britain, then Grenada would be added to the list of grievances.

As it is, there is some resentment, sadness and bewilderment that Mrs Thatcher of all people should oppose the use of military force in the Caribbean. But the disagreement over Grenada should not by itself do much lasting damage to Mrs Thatcher's or to Britain's reputation in the United States.

## Falklands jobs

About 100 Scots women are to get jobs on the Falkland Islands, cooking and cleaning for the construction workers building the new airport there.

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## Commonwealth head to hold UN talks

By Patrick Keatley,  
Diplomatic Correspondent

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Shridath Ramphal, left London last night for New York where he will see Mr Perez de Cuellar at the UN.

Before his departure, Mr Ramphal held long and detailed talks with the Foreign Minister of India, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, when the two men discussed Mrs Gandhi's view that the projected multinational security force for Grenada is "outside the purview of the Commonwealth" and would be better left to the UN.

As the Foreign Office, Sir Geoffrey Howe decided to restore the British development programme for Grenada which

was described as constructive. Privately, both sides recognise that Mrs Gandhi is in a delicate situation because of India's chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement. While Mr Ramphal was bound to include India in the list of big Commonwealth countries when he sent his telegram to many centres, a week ago, it was recognised that the issue had become controversial with the more militant Third World governments distancing themselves from Grenada's Governor-General, Sir Paul Scoon.

The Foreign Secretary has also decided that he will "respond positively" to Mr Ramphal's plan for a Commonwealth security force of police units, assuming that this is what Sir Paul decides to request. Alternatively, after the talks in New York between Mr Ramphal and Mr Perez de Cuellar, this could turn out to be a UN force.

## FALKLANDS FUND

### Concern at wind-up

The Prime Minister agreed in the Commons yesterday to communicate concern about the winding up of the South Atlantic Fund to the fund's trustees. To date the fund has received £15 million, of which £13 million has been paid out.

Mr Robert Atkins (C South Ribble) told Mrs Thatcher that

# Falklands folk miss out on jobs bonanza

**FALKLAND Islanders have been barred by the Government from taking on highly-paid jobs building their new airport.**

The Government has insisted that firms building the £215 million airport must recruit the entire 1,400 labour force from Britain. And not one of the 1,800 Falklanders will be given a job on the project.

The Government fears that if Islanders quit their present jobs to work on the project the fragile economy of the Falklands will be undermined.

But the decision has infuriated the islands' only union, the General Employees Union.

It complains that workers on the islands are being deprived of a once-in-a-lifetime chance of earning big money.

Britain decided to ship out all the workforce after the Civil Commissioner of the Falklands, Sir Rex Hunt, warned that a stampede for jobs could hit other industries.

Yesterday Mr Adrian Monk, the Falkland government representative in London, said he thought the decision was a mistake.

Islanders were also banned from working on the original airport.

But they got round the ban by being employed by local sub-contractors.

# Time to reassess Falklands issue

BY JIMMY BURNS AND ROBERT GRAHAM

THE ADVENT of a civilian administration in Argentina and the firm rejection of the military implicit in Sunday's poll have put the future of the Falklands in a new light. The Radical Party leader, Sr Raul Alfonsin, is opposed to the use of force in the settlement of Argentina's dispute with Britain over the Falklands and with Chile over the Beagle Channel.

The first foreign policy initiative when the new administration takes office under Sr Alfonsin's presidency is expected to be on the Beagle Channel dispute, according to Argentine diplomatic sources.

Over the past five years, Argentina and Chile have on several occasions come close to war over the Beagle Channel, which provides strategic access between the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Sr Alfonsin told foreign journalists last week that he would accept the peace proposals of the Holy See, made in 1978. These would convert the disputed area around Cape Horn into a "sea of peace" and leave the three islands of Nueva, Picton and Lennox in Chilean hands.

Sr Alfonsin will maintain

Argentina's claim of sovereignty to the Falklands, according to close aides. While anxious to establish a dialogue with Britain, few in his party favour altering the status quo, in which a formal end to hostilities has not yet been declared. Britain has insisted that such a declaration is a fundamental condition for any change in its relations with Argentina. Argentina's refusal to comply has been the British Government's main justification for its continued military presence in the south Atlantic and the fortification of the islands.

The majority view in the Argentine Foreign Ministry and the Radical Party is that standing firm will force the British to pay an increasingly heavy price to garrison the Falklands, eventually provoking domestic reaction against this policy. But this attitude has turned into a two-edged weapon. Senior radical officials are now aware of the risk that the more Britain consolidates its presence on the islands, the harder it becomes to withdraw. Close aides of Sr Alfonsin are hinting that if London were to freeze construction of Port Stanley's new airport, this would be construed

as a positive move.

Likewise, Britain could reduce the 150 mile "protection zone." This, in practice, excludes Argentine fishing vessels, because although technically allowed within it, they have to obtain British Government permission. Doing so is regarded as admission of British sovereignty over the islands, and this the highly nationalistic fishing fleet refuses to accept.

The valuable hake fishing season is shortly due to open in the south Atlantic and Argentine trawler owners face further losses, due to the presence of Japanese, Polish, Spanish and Soviet vessels operating inside the protection zone.

One way round Argentina's refusal to declare a formal end to hostilities would be a generalised statement by Sr Alfonsin renouncing the use of force, directed as much towards Chile as Britain. This would be in line with the Radical Party's traditional neutralism. (The Radicals kept Argentina out of World War I and declared participation in the U.S. operations in Santo Domingo in 1965.)

Argentine diplomats, have noted statements by Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British

Prime Minister, saying Britain is willing to negotiate everything but sovereignty. However, they are not convinced by this willingness, pointing out that she would be embarrassed by any offer to negotiate an end to hostilities since this would undermine the basis of "Fortress Falklands."

Argentina and Britain will state their positions formally next week in the UN, when the Falklands comes up for debate. Little change is likely in substance. But the Argentines will stress that one of Mrs Thatcher's arguments against talks, an unreliable military government in Buenos Aires as negotiating partner, no longer applies. Added to this, Sr Alfonsin is committed to keep the military in barracks and to slash spending on the armed forces.

Britain is one of the countries involved in Argentina's \$39bn foreign debt, which will be renegotiated by the new government. Argentina will be seeking more favourable terms and Britain could use the pretext for resumption of more normal commercial and diplomatic relations. It is also possible that the U.S. may help by acting as broker in the deadlock.

# Star Chamber stalemate on defence

BY PETER RIDDELL, POLITICAL EDITOR

THE DISPUTE over next year's defence expenditure will have to be resolved by the full Cabinet in a week's time following a stalemate during the last 10 days in the Star Chamber committee under Lord Whitelaw.

Mr Michael Heseltine, the Defence Secretary, is resisting the Treasury's attempt to make a £240m cut in defence a £240m cut in defence expenditure for 1984-85 extending to spending announced in July.

A reduction in expenditure in both years would still enable the Government to say that it was honouring the commitment to the Nato target of a 3 per cent annual growth in defence spending in real terms. The Ministry of Defence is also seeking additional money on previously planned levels. Including this amount would result in overall spending between £300m and £400m above the Treasury target.

Neither Mr Heseltine nor Mr Peter Rees, the chief secretary to the Treasury, has so far

been willing to compromise. The issue will therefore have to be decided by the Cabinet next Thursday and the signs are that Mr Heseltine faces a difficult task in winning support, especially as other departments have agreed to hold down their programmes.

The autumn economic statement in the Commons is expected in two to three weeks' time and will include the broad spending totals for next year and new economic forecasts.

Defence spending has proved to be the most intractable item being considered by the Star Chamber committee of senior ministers, set up a fortnight ago to narrow the differences after bilateral discussions between Mr Rees and spending ministers. The gap then was well under £1bn compared with an original excess of £2.5bn above the existing target of £126.4bn for 1984-85.

Differences over the social security budget appear to have been resolved and expenditure on the NHS is likely to be

maintained at previous target levels, probably with a small transfer from the hospital budget to general practitioner services.

The main social security benefits are likely to remain inflation-proofed, although details of the November 1984 uprating will not be decided until the spring budget. There may be some cuts in the eligibility for benefits. Any increase in child benefit, which is not covered by inflation-proofing pledges, will not emerge until the spring.

Overall, the Treasury is confident that total spending will be within existing targets for 1984-85, although this may involve some adjustment of assumptions.

Treasury ministers argue, however, that the apparent compromises reached for 1984-85 in no way prejudice the major decisions which still have to be taken about the long-term trends in social security and defence spending.

Some ministers argue that the

Treasury was unduly gloomy about the fiscal outlook in order to force the cabinet into agreeing tight controls on spending. They argue that the public sector borrowing prospects are not nearly as bad as indicated by the high figure for the first half of 1983-84.

The ministers will be looking today to Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, to restore his position in the Commons among Tory backbenchers following strong criticisms over the last 10 days of his handling of the Grenada affair. Tory MPs remained critical, even after his appearance on Tuesday night at a meeting of the backbench foreign affairs committee.

Sir Geoffrey is due to open a Commons debate on foreign affairs this afternoon, when he will face a renewed attack from Mr Denis Healey, the Shadow Foreign Secretary, over a wide range of issues including the Lebanon as well as relations with the U.S.

## Fresh talks may speed decision on Hong Kong

By Mark Baker in Peking

THE HEADS of the Chinese and British delegations negotiating the future of Hong Kong are to meet regularly on an informal basis, in addition to the official talks. The decision indicates a new flexibility on both sides and suggests they are ready to move more quickly towards an agreement on the Colony's future.

It is believed that the senior negotiators—Sir Percy Cradock, British Ambassador to China, and Yao Guang, Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, will meet frequently—possibly more than once a week—to smooth points of detail between the formal negotiating sessions, now occurring about once a month.

"The meetings will occur as often as is necessary, as often as there is something to talk about," a spokesman for the British Embassy in Peking said. "I think you can interpret it as an encouraging development."

Qi Huaiyuan, director of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, confirmed yesterday that at least one meeting had already been held between Sir Percy and Yao. He could not say what was discussed, but described it as an opportunity for "an exchange of opinions and informal contact."

The next round of formal negotiations is scheduled for November 14 and 15 in Peking.

## Argentine military faces shake-up

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S armed forces face drastic reorganisation, severe budget cuts and the prospect of legal action against human rights offenders, if Senor Raul Alfonsin sticks to his election promises.

### PERONISTS SEEK CAUSE OF DEFEAT

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS  
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S demoralised Peronist party has embarked on the rocky path towards apportioning the blame for what went wrong in last Sunday's general election.

Defeat, according to one Peronist leader, was a "bombshell." But officials are busily denying that the party founded by the late Gen. Juan Peron 37 years ago is on the verge of disintegration.

The Peronists' performance in Sunday's poll was the worst in their history and the first time they had ever been beaten in a free election.

#### Caused confusion

It was also the first time they had fought an election without Peron himself in charge—he died in 1974—and the first time the party lost its grip on working class strongholds like the province of Buenos Aires.

Isabel Peron's absence from the campaign caused confusion among many Peronist supporters, who read frequently in newspapers that she was preparing to return to Buenos Aires.

For some sections of Peronism, the party's connection with Isabel, who officially remains the president of the movement, contributed to the defeat.

During the campaign, the Radical party leader repeatedly criticised the military's past failings and pledged to turn the armed forces into democratic servants of the state.

"We want a useful and efficient military at the service of the nations," Senor Alfonsin said recently. "Soldiers must learn that they are at the country's disposal, not feudal lords in a land of subjects."

But Radical party sources admit that the task of imposing civilian authority on Argentina's generals will be fraught with danger. "Of course, there are many officers implacably opposed to outside interference elections or no elections," said a Radical strategist. "We shall have to make haste slowly."

#### First target

The man most likely to be entrusted with the task of reforming the armed forces is Senor Juan Carlos Pugliese, a senator in the last civilian Parliament, a veteran Radical activist, and Senor Alfonsin's probable choice as Minister of Defence.

Senor Pugliese said this week that the armed forces had to get rid of the idea that they alone should be the "arbitrators of good and evil." He added: "As far as the armed forces are concerned there are truths that must be expressed, errors that must be confessed, repairs to be made, offences to be judged and delusions to be buried."

The Radicals have promised that one of their first targets will be the controversial amnesty law passed by the Junta earlier this year to prevent the prosecution of any military personnel for human rights offences committed during the "dirty war" against Left-wing subversion.

"This law has been roundly rejected by the entire Argentine people," said Senor Pugliese. The Radicals intend to repeal the law and open judicial inquiries into military responsibility for the disappearance of up to 30,000 Argentinians during the late 1970s. But diplomatic sources predict serious difficulties for Senor Alfonsin if he attempts to bring senior military officers to trial.

DAILY  
TELEGRAPH

3.11.83

Julian Haviland reports on crucial days in the career of Sir Geoffrey Howe

**Under fire,  
and no  
posse  
to the  
rescue**

INFO



Sir Geoffrey: a crisis followed by a disaster

This would be an excellent day for Sir Geoffrey Howe to produce one of those good speeches with which he has occasionally surprised Parliament. In the case of Grenada, he is in serious trouble with Conservative backbenchers of every stripe.

The Atlanticists and the few remaining imperialists on the Tory benches think he has been mistaken and weak in opposing the American-led invasion. Those who support his judgment say he has been pitifully weak in defending himself.

The last few days have revealed that Sir Geoffrey, who once contested the party leadership, now has only the slenderest political base. Many who entirely approve of his reluctance to involve Britain in armed intervention have been alienated over the years by the rigidity of his financial strategy at the Treasury.

So there was no sign last night of a posse of friends riding to rescue him in today's foreign affairs debate. If he is to rehabilitate himself, and more important, give the Commons a sense that the Government has a firm purpose in the Caribbean, then it must be by his own efforts.

It is well for Sir Geoffrey. Conservatives were saying yesterday, that he is newly in office; for the Prime Minister to lose or dispose of three foreign secretaries within 20 months would look like carelessness.

It is well for Sir Geoffrey, too, that his policy is also the Prime Minister's and that her backing has been unwavering. Total accord between Downing Street and the Foreign Office has not been usual in the recent past and is the more striking today.

But this solidarity has meant that Sir Geoffrey, as a softer target than Margaret Thatcher, has drawn all the fire. He has suffered most at the hands of the many Tories who

persist in believing that the Foreign Office can do no right and the Prime Minister no wrong.

Sir Geoffrey's meeting with his party's backbench Foreign Affairs Committee on Tuesday night was a disaster. A week earlier he made a brief crisis appearance to deal with anxious questions immediately after the Grenada invasion. But this week was to have been his proper debut, his first full discussion with the committee since his appointment to the Foreign Office in June.

He spoke optimistically about Hongkong and about his hopes of progress in restructuring the European Community. But his hearers thought him unconvincing about the British role in the Lebanon, and negative about Grenada and what Britain could now do to help restore democracy there. Grenada dominated the questioning on Tuesday, as it will the debate today.

The Conservatives have grown steadily more dissatisfied with the Government's role as they have learned more about Grenada. Many uncertain MPs, who at first gave ministers the benefit of the doubt for their decision to stay aloof from the

invasion, have changed their view since learning that the Governor-General of Grenada appealed for outside help.

The fact that the British Government knew nothing of his appeal does not alter their belief that the intervention may after all have been legitimate and that Britain should therefore have had a part in it.

But it is recognized that that decision is in the past. What all Conservatives were yesterday demanding was that the Government should now exert itself to help pick up the pieces in Grenada.

On Tuesday night Sir Geoffrey was pressed to provide, as part of a Commonwealth effort, anything the Grenadians might need - such as cash and technical help for reconstruction, and Home Office and town hall experts to help arrange and supervise elections with internal security.

Mrs Thatcher in her broadcast on Sunday said that Britain must try to make certain that democracy was restored in Grenada. But on Tuesday the Foreign Secretary is said to have responded non-committally to all such suggestions,

He will have to do better today. After the Tuesday meeting the committee officers gathered for a friendly drink in Sir Geoffrey's room. No harsh words were spoken but he seemed to have been told, if he had not already sensed, that his speech today must demonstrate a positive eagerness that Britain should share the burden in Grenada.

Happily, Sir Geoffrey need only summon the will. The Commonwealth is the natural agency for recreating a democratic Grenada, and the Governor-General, Sir Paul Scoon is already in touch with its active Secretary-General Shrida Ramphal, to whom it will certainly fall to put together a major programme of assistance.

On past experience, the readiness of many Commonwealth countries to help Mr Ramphal will depend on Britain playing a full part.

So Sir Geoffrey and his colleagues can make or break this Commonwealth effort. If he is timid or grudging in the Commons today the Conservative backbenchers will not soon forgive him.

*The author is Political Editor of The Times.*

## 'Better a monster than boring'

John Urè was third secretary at the British Embassy in Moscow when he started making the journeys that provide him with the material for his books. Since that day diplomatic life and travel writing have complemented each other extremely neatly, each posting yielding a background and a theme: Chile, Portugal, Asia and recently Cuba, the setting for his fourth book, *The Quest for Captain Morgan*, published last week. He is now back in London at the Foreign Office, as Under Secretary of State looking after the Western Hemisphere.

He was first drawn to travel writing as a young historian recently graduated from Cambridge. "If you want to write travel books", he says, "you need a particular slant of your own. Gavin Young has boats. John Hillaby has walks. I decided to follow historical figures, 'in the steps of', but they have to be off the beaten track to enthuse me." Over the years, coached by his publishers, and having to overcome the diplomat's ingrained reluctance to



project his own personality, he has evolved a colloquial style and a balance between history, description and his own adventures. "How to bring in the 'I' and how to write dialogue - those are the hardest parts."

For each of his four books the pattern has been much the same. When posted to a new country he searches out some historical figure, "usually larger than life, better a monster than boring". He then reads widely,

drawing up a precise route from which he will not deviate. "It's a useful discipline. There are no sudden detours, no taking the temperature about whether or not you are enjoying it." During the day he takes notes; each evening he checks them. "Week-old notes written on a donkey's back can be useless." His wife Caroline travels with him, as expedition photographer.

The disadvantage of being a diplomat lies in having to wait for leave before being able to write up the books. The advantages on the other hand are enormous: "Living in an area means you can learn the language, absorb the background and pick the best moments for the trips. You get official help - except that people refuse to believe that an ambassador really wants to travel rough. In return, my experiences as a traveller give a whole new dimension to my job, and they give me a welcome break from too much rich food and too many sophisticated people."

## Airport gave Castro his chance

By Air Cdre G. S. COOPER  
Air Correspondent

**G**RENADA sought help from Europe to build an international airport to promote tourism long before Cuba stepped in with finance.

Mr Bernard Coard, Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of the then People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, approached British and French firms for help in meeting the island's requirement for a direct air link.

Grenada is one of the most attractive islands in the Caribbean but tourism has been hampered because tour operators cannot get the big jets into Pearls Airport. Visitors have to fly in from Barbados, Trinidad or Antigua.

Plessey Airports put together a technical solution which pleased Mr Coard. The French also put forward a total package but Plessey won the contract. The new airport was due to open next March.

Money for the project was not available from Britain, and it was at this stage that Fidel Castro saw a golden opportunity to spread Cuban-Soviet influence through the southern

tip of the Caribbean towards the South American countries.

Although many believe that Cuba's interest in helping to build the large airport at Point Salines was predominantly military, the evidence that it was designed to promote tourism and stimulate economic development cannot be ignored.

In April this year 2,500 tourists visited Grenada. By August the monthly total had risen to 5,974 and the island's tourist office was looking forward to a record number of visitors at Christmas.

There are only 10 tourist hotels and it was planned that these should be expanded and more built. This will be one of the new government's top priorities with the aim of satisfying Grenada's vision of tourism as supplying the island's income.

Although the new runway is 500 feet longer than the 8,500 feet main runway that Britain is building on the Falklands at a cost of more than £200 million, the length chosen is in accordance with normal ICAO standards for wide-bodied jets.

Anything less would have imposed restrictions on the all-the-year-round use of the airport by commercial airliners flying direct from Europe.

The terminal building, said

Mr Derrick Collier, Plessey Airports' managing director, was scaled, together with the fuel installations, to accommodate the amount of tourist traffic expected.

None of the facilities, unlike those on the Falklands, have been designed to be resistant to air attack.

The use of Cuban labour has kept the overall cost of the project to under £50 million.

Plessey's two contracts come to £8 million, Cuba's input is estimated to be between £25 million and £30 million, and there is an additional smaller amount for the filling in of an inlet alongside the peninsula.

Plessey Airports is the only company in Britain with a total airport survey, design and construction management capability, specialising in putting together whole airport packages.

# Airport job ban causes row

Port Stanley: The first bulldozers for the building of a big Falkland Islands airport were put ashore yesterday amid a row over jobs.

A spokesman for the British consortium building the £215 million airport said it was "written into the contract"

that none of the 1,800 islanders would be given jobs on the project. Local labour leaders protested over the decision, which means about 1,400 British workers will be ferried to the islands from South Africa.

The consortium is now

beginning work on a pioneer camp for 380 men, a road, and the main accommodation complex for the 1,400 workers.

Work on the runway is due to begin in April next year, and should be completed by January, 1986, the spokesman said. — Reuter.

## Alfonsin will not budge on islands

From our Own Correspondent in Buenos Aires

THE President-elect, Dr Raul Alfonsin, has made it clear that there will be no early change in Argentina's tough position on the Falklands.

Although Britain hopes to separate the question of the islands from the halt in trade between the two countries, Dr Alfonsin's advisers say he is determined to maintain the link.

Neither will the new President announce a lifting of hostilities with Britain when he takes office in a few weeks' time. On the eve of Sunday's election he took an even harder line, saying that even if Britain were to lift the Exclusion Zone around the islands—a concession which seems unlikely after Mrs Thatcher's most recent statement—he would not automatically respond. "We will analyse the position at the time," he told reporters.

Dr Alfonsin's position, which is no different from that of the outgoing military junta, may seem disappointing, as he was one of the few Argentine politicians who opposed the war while it was still going on.

But Dr Alfonsin does not want to appear weak or to be backing down on the determination shared by all Argentinians to regain sovereignty over the islands. He insists that if there is to be movement, both sides must make it together. He believes that any solution must have four components—a mutual promise not to use force, the lifting of the Exclusion Zone, withdrawal of British troops and weapons "which threaten security in the South Atlantic" and a promise by Britain to open negotiations for a comprehensive solution in line with UN resolutions.

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In practice, he is well aware that there is no British flexibility over sovereignty. But he hopes that time will favour Argentina, as pressure mounts at the UN now that Argentina has a respectable civilian government and opposition is growing in Britain to the Fortress Falklands policy. Although his formal stand remains tough, his advisers say there is no question of his government using force against Britain.

He has yet to choose a foreign minister. The front-runner is Mr Ugo Gobbi, a UN Under-secretary who has been involved in Cyprus mediation.

Leader comment, page 10

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# Radicals want to examine the debt books

BY ROBERT GRAHAM IN BUENOS AIRES

ONE OF the best gauges of public confidence in Argentina is the parallel market for the dollar. Just before the election the peso rate against the dollar was pushed up by nervous buyers. But since Monday's election win by the Radicals, the peso has firmed notably. An infectious sense of optimism has permeated the business community even though no one has forgotten that Argentina is in the throes of its worst ever economic crisis.

Optimism centres around one element: the clear Radical majority. This gives the new government a moral authority to implement a policy which no one anticipated—not even the Radicals themselves.

The Radicals had planned to introduce a form of social contract, trading wage controls in return for job creation and stimulating growth. However, their encroachment on the Peronist trade unions vote and the very size of their 52 per cent majority now makes such a policy more feasible and likely to succeed.

The Radicals' economic team is considered fairly orthodox and is well known to the international banking community. The two key posts of the economy ministry and the governorship of the central bank are likely to go to Sr Bernardo Grinspun and Enrique Garcia Vazquez. Sr Grinspun is a long-time associate of the Radical leader Sr Raul Alfonsin and was one of the persons who helped negotiate Argentina's debt in 1975, and is now a leading private

banker. Sr Garcia Vazquez is a former economic counsellor in Washington and a former vice-president of the central bank. There is also talk of the veteran 82-year-old Dr Raul Plebisch acting in a key advisory capacity with particular responsibility for Argentina's \$39bn foreign debt.

Dr Plebisch is an adviser to the UN and one of the most respected thinkers on the problems of third world economies. The margin for manoeuvre is limited. The main priority of

economic policy will be three pronged—to cut back Argentina's phenomenal 500 per cent inflation, stimulate a modest recovery in industry currently running at 50 per cent of capacity, and renegotiate Argentina's \$39bn foreign debt.

Unlike Mexico and Brazil, Argentina accumulated its foreign debt in the last five years at around one per cent. The Radicals are anxious to get a quick look at the books in the central bank because econo-

mists are convinced that the full picture of Argentina's foreign debt has not been revealed. In particular a number of military purchases are believed to have been made that have not been properly supported. Between 1976 and 1981 the military are reckoned to have purchased \$9bn to \$11bn worth of arms.

In the issue of debt renegotiation the new administration is going to press harder for better terms, both for easier interest rates and longer periods of repayment. In 1984 Argentina has falling due \$5bn of capital repayments in the public sector and \$4bn in the private sector, with interest payments of \$4.8bn. In addition there are payments overdue from 1982 and this year which are expected to bring the total to about \$20bn. Argentina is in no position to cope with such a repayment. But the Radical economists believe that they will be able to show a reasonable trade surplus in 1983 of \$2.8bn.

## Thatcher stays adamant on Falklands

THE British Prime Minister insisted yesterday that the election of a civilian government in Argentina will in no way alter Britain's refusal to negotiate over the future of the Falkland Islands, Margaret van Hattem writes.

Britain was keen to resume its economic and commercial links with Argentina, she

wished it, though there would then be limits on British military assistance. But so long as the islanders wished to remain British, their right to self-determination should be upheld.

Mrs. Thatcher's remarks have dismayed Tory backbenchers, who feel the Prime Minister has locked herself into an untenable position.

said in reply to Dr David Owen, the Social Democratic Party leader, but in the Falklands, the wishes of the islanders were still the prime concern.

This reinforces points made in a BBC radio broadcast on Sunday when Mrs Thatcher said that Britain would help the Falklands achieve independence if the islanders

## David Stephen recalls his meetings with Raúl Alfonsín, Argentina's new leader

# A formidable Falklands factor

At first sight, Raúl Alfonsín, Argentina's 57-year-old president-elect, looks like any respectable Buenos Aires lawyer and family man, his dark, waistcoated suits and neat moustache, his portly figure and kindly smile giving him an almost studiously archaic appearance. When I first met him in 1976, there was a sort of defiant provincialism about him which reminded me irresistibly of Enoch Powell. For both men, in totally different ways, represent a challenge to the prevailing views and orthodoxies of the metropolis; and in the case of Alfonsín the provincialism, the gentleness and the probity were walking challenges to the corruption, demagoguery and violence which have plagued Argentine politics for nearly two decades.

In those days, the dark days of the accelerating "dirty war" against subversion, Alfonsín was unique, not only in being prepared to talk to a foreign friend, but also because — despite the banning of all formal politics under the military regime — he remained one of the few surviving functioning politicians in Buenos Aires. Those of the left had often thrown in their lot with the *Montoneros*, the urban guerrillas, and had either gone underground or abroad; many moderates were afraid, understandably, that they might be blown up either by the extreme left as collaborators of the military or by the right as fellow-travellers of left-wing subversion:

and many right-wingers had become overt or covert accomplices of the military regime.

Yet here was Alfonsín, surrounded by the admirable *Grupo de los miércoles*, the "Wednesday" group of about a dozen technocrats and intellectuals on whom he has learnt for advice for the past 10 years or so, quietly keeping open his lines to the world outside. He outlined what he saw as the choices for the military, including a widening of the regime and elections to bring in some civilian politicians, and the option of a civilian-military junta. He made it clear that these were not the outcomes he favoured.

Then as now, Alfonsín's enemies suggested that his mere survival had something suspicious about it. Since he had attended a military college, they alleged, he must have army links, and someone must be protecting him. But, as now, it was his consistency and probity which have seen him through. Those who have mocked him in the recent election campaign as a mere moderate, the "Coca-Cola candidate", fail to understand the degree

of courage and determination required of a genuine democrat in a society where violence and extremism flourish.

His tenacity in upholding his democratic principles came to a head during the Falklands conflict, when he emerged as the man who said what patriotic Argentines thought: "an illegitimate act by an illegal government in a just cause."

was his description of the Argentine invasion. Unlike many politicians who rushed to exploit the patriotic frenzy which followed General Galtieri's initial decision to invade the islands, Alfonsín held back; and his analysis has proved right. And whereas his Peronist opponent said, during the campaign, that if the army was needed to fight another war against subversion he would support them, even in the use of "unconventional" methods, Alfonsín has made it clear that the army's role is national defence and that internal security must be handled by another body. He also intends to ensure the subordination of the military to the civil power.

Will Alfonsín reward his old

advisers and friends when he comes to form his government? They include a former president of the National Planning Commission, Roque Carranza, as well as younger technocrats like the economist Jorge Roulet, and Alfonsín's adviser on trade union affairs, Raúl Borrás.

When Alfonsín came to London in 1980, we chatted again. He was trying to widen his international contacts. But the Argentine Radicals are not members of any international political family like the Socialist International or the Liberal International and no one here was particularly interested. When he returned to Europe last year, London was not on his itinerary, but we did talk by phone from Paris, where President Mitterrand's advisers welcomed him with open arms.

Then came the elections. Now the lawyer from Chascomús is destined for the Casa Rosada. He will seek, and probably obtain, widespread international sympathy for Argentina's foreign debt problems, and for his attempts to negotiate with Britain over the Falklands. If he applies the same tenacity and consistency to the Falklands issue which he has displayed in his own political career, the British Government will have its work cut out.

*The author was special adviser to Dr David Owen at the Foreign Office, 1977-79, and until recently Editor of International Affairs.*

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**Poppy target: Mrs Sara Jones, widow of Colonel 'H' Jones, VC, who died in the Falklands conflict, launching this year's Poppy Appeal in London yesterday for the Royal British Legion which has set a £7m target (Photograph: John Manning).**

## A token for Mr Alfonsin?

Whitehall chewed over the entrails of the Argentine election yesterday and produced two broad themes. First, a manifest delight—echoed in British and American press comment—that a new civilian government had a clear mandate and that the leader of this government, almost miraculously, would not be a faction-torn Peronist but Raul Alfonsin, a mature, cautious and honest social democrat. So the result, on the one hand, was thoroughly good news.

On the other hand, however, Mr Alfonsin believed that the Falkland Islands were Argentinian and had manifested no early desire to declare a formal end to hostilities. Therefore HMG would just plough on down its single track, building airports, constructing harbours, patrolling total exclusion zones. Nothing, in that area, had changed.

It has to be said clearly at this stage that the two themes do not fit together and that time, far from working a little muzzy magic, is an enemy rather than a friend. Mr Alfonsin was a cool head during the heady patriotism of Galtieri's Falklands adventure. He opposed it root and branch. He has already foresworn force as a future instrument of settlement. His imperatives, indeed, run utterly counter. He must bring civil tranquillity to the Argentine mainland; he must strive to restore a shattered economy; and he must, at all costs, keep the tatty military genie locked tight in its box.

Does Whitehall, then, really proceed as though nothing had happened? If one thinks that the only problem is sovereignty and that nothing at all can be discussed because that problem, up front, is incapable of negotiation, now or ever, then assuredly there is nothing to be done. We go on paying the bills and getting our lumps from Washington and the UN. (Bigger lumps than formerly, actually, because Mr Alfonsin's democracy will rally still broader support.) But, in fact, the nub of the dilemma may come far on in the process. When it comes it can be tackled by the British Parliament, having properly consulted the Falklanders and openly canvassed the options and by the newly democratic Argentine Parliament. Perhaps such discussions will hit another brick wall. But there has to be a start somewhere. Would anything be lost tomorrow if, saluting Mr Alfonsin's triumph, Britain unilaterally reduced the token exclusion zone and ordered a freeze on further military construction on the island pending diplomatic exchanges?

## ARGENTINA ARMS DEAL CLOSER

By FRANK TAYLOR in Washington

THE Reagan Administration is prepared to consider granting Argentina credits to enable the incoming civilian government in Buenos Aires to purchase American arms, it was learned last night.

Aware that the new Argentine leader, Senor Alfonsin, will be strapped for cash while seeking ways to renegotiate the country's \$40 billion foreign debt, Washington is ready to examine "easy terms" for new arms deals.

A resumption of military sales is strongly opposed by the British Government because Argentina has not declared a formal end to hostilities over the Falklands.

And Senor Alfonsin declared only last week that he had no intention of changing that policy.

### Strained relations

Coming on the heels of Mrs Thatcher's opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the American move would be certain to strain relations between Washington and London even further.

In order to lift the arms embargo imposed against Buenos Aires by the Carter Administration, President Reagan must first certify to Congress that Argentina has returned to the human rights fold.

"That step is inevitable with the advent of a civilian government," I was told last night.

"Certification is now under active consideration and can be expected to be made within days of the Alfonsin government being inaugurated."

## BULLDOZERS ARRIVE IN FALKLANDS

By Our Port Stanley Correspondent

The first bulldozers were landed in the Falklands yesterday for the building of a £215 million runway capable of taking wide-bodied jets.

But it will be April next year before the first piece of turf is turned on the runway, because a pioneer camp close to the beach and the main accommodation block at Mount Pleasant for 1,400 men will be the priorities.

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## Falklands row over building jobs

By Peter Bruce

A ROW has broken out in the Falklands over a decision not to employ any local labour in the construction of a \$215m airport near Port Stanley, the capital.

Falklands labour leaders were reported to have protested yesterday, as the first bulldozers to be used in the contract were put ashore.

In London, the Department of Environment, which is handling the contract through its Property Services Agency, said the decision not to allow any of the 1,800 islanders to work on the project was taken after negotiations with Sir Rex Hunt, the Civil Commissioner.

Sir Rex is understood to have voiced fears that wages on the construction site might lure islanders away from traditional jobs.

Some 1,400 UK workers are being recruited to work on the airport by the consortium Laing, Mowlem, Amey Roadstone—awarded the contract by the Property Services Agency.

Work has already begun on a pioneer camp and the 380 labourers already in the Falklands are also due to begin work on a road from Port Stanley to the airport and the main workforce accommodation complex.



*Mrs Sara Jones: Appeal to younger generation*

## **Mrs Jones and a pop group give new look to Poppy Day**

**A BID to throw off Poppy Day's 'fuddy-duddy image' was made yesterday when the Royal British Legion's appeal fund was launched in London.**

Mrs Sara Jones, widow of Falklands VC hero Colonel H, was joined by a mini-skirted three-girl pop group, The Poppies.

Their theme song contained the words: 'Keep the memory alive, for those who survive, for they still need you.'

Mrs Jones said: 'To have a song like that is very important. We need

young people to get involved in the Legion.'

Legion official Mr Jeremy Lillies said: 'We want to forget the old fuddy-duddy image and appeal to the younger generation, many of whom know someone who was out in the Falklands.'

Mrs Jones would not be drawn into the controversy over the South Atlantic Appeal Fund. Parents of some Servicemen killed in the Falklands are angry that £2 million of unspent donations are being handed over to other Service charities.

'I have views on this,' said Mrs Jones. 'But today is the Legion's day.'

# Alfonsin: a man with history on his side

BY JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

THERE ARE undoubtedly thousands of people surprised at Sunday's Argentine election results. But Sr Raul Alfonsin, the victorious candidate of the Radical Party, is certainly not one of them.

Ever since he officially put in a bid for the leadership of his party 18 months ago, Sr Alfonsin has acted and spoken with the self-assurance of a man convinced that he has history on his side.

Sr Alfonsin wasted no time in June last year when President Reynaldo Bignone lifted a ban on political activity and called on the parties to prepare themselves for eventual elections. The shattering climax of the Falklands war had left most Argentines disoriented and deeply depressed. The Peronists chose to explore their potential support in cautious lobbying. The military ignored the politicians and plotted against each other. But Sr Alfonsin called a public rally in central Buenos Aires and blasted the taboos of the last seven years.

He renewed the protest against the disappearance of 15,000-odd Argentines after the military coup. He attacked the hidden pact between sectors of the armed forces and union bosses. And he pointed an angry finger at military corruption and incompetence which he said had culminated in the



Alfonsin . . . "victory of life over death"

"lunatic adventure" of the Malvinas.

Unlike the Peronists, shackled by the memory of their late founder, General Juan Peron, Sr Alfonsin has gone out of his way to embody change. "This is the victory of life over death," commented a Radical supporter on Sunday night.

He has identified continual interference of the military coupled with authoritarian Peronism as the chief causes of Argentina's decline. He has promised to resolve the vicious circle of successive military

governments and incompetent civilian administrators that has always deteriorated into a conflict between populism and democracy.

Sr Alfonsin is an entirely new phenomenon in Argentine politics. He wants to merge his instinctive feel for what the people want with an unswerving respect for parliamentarism. Sunday's result represents an impressive personal victory for the 56-year-old lawyer. In 1972, Sr Alfonsin's decision to form a left-of-centre faction within the traditionally

conservative middle-class Radical Party, cast him in the role of a maverick. In the country's last elections in 1973, he did not secure a congressional seat and instead became an outspoken defender of human rights.

Sr Alfonsin has a party that has now completely united behind him — unlike the Peronists who will now be seeking for countless sacrificial lambs — and there is no rival politician or military figure who can match his popularity.

And yet in Sr Alfonsin's strength lies the potential weakness of his future government. For the past few weeks, the Radical Party has been so overshadowed by the personality of its leader that it is impossible to predict a Cabinet line-up.

In the early hours of Monday morning, Sr Alfonsin's victory Press conference illustrated the difference between a campaign and a term in office. Battered and bruised, a young woman TV reporter managed to squeeze through the chaos of hundreds of journalists in a room the size of a matchbox: "Sr Alfonsin, now that you are President of Argentina, what have you to say to the people?" "Well, all I want to say is that I have simply come here to shake your hand and say hello," answered Sr Alfonsin, with a broad smile.

## New administration needs to act quickly on debt

BY PETER MONTAGNON, EUROMARKETS CORRESPONDENT

ARGENTINA'S new administration will have to move quickly to establish a detailed policy for dealing with the country's \$40bn debt problems, international bankers commented yesterday.

Sunday's election was held against a backdrop of deepening crisis. Liquid foreign exchange reserves are thought to have fallen as low as \$200m; arrears on public sector debt interest amount to more than \$130m and the outgoing military government has failed so far to complete the rescheduling of some \$6bn in debt falling due this year.

Within weeks of taking office the new government will also have to start talks with the International Monetary Fund on an economic programme to replace the current standby arrangement which expires at the end of March 1984. Next year, it will also have to renegotiate an estimated \$10bn in public sector debt.

Public statements by the

Radicals before the election suggest their policy will be to respect rescheduling agreements already worked out by the outgoing government, although they intend to seek easier terms in future negotiations. Some bankers are, however, concerned that the Radical Party is ill-prepared to deal with the debt problem in detail.

In the weeks leading up to the formal hand-over of power in December, bankers will be watching keenly for signs of Sr Alfonsin's willingness to tackle the debt issue. So far, Radical Party officials have had only informal contacts with the commercial bank creditors leading Argentina's debt negotiations.

International confidence would be boosted if one or more debt rescheduling agreements was signed by an Argentine state agency. Completion of these deals was held up before the election, preventing Argentina from drawing on a \$1.5bn credit arranged as part of the rescue package.

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# New chance for Argentina

THE RESULTS of Argentina's elections represent a heartening return to the democratic process. The convincing majority obtained by Sr Raul Alfonsin's Radical Party is the best possible outcome both for Argentina and the international community.

Argentina now has a fair chance of establishing a solidly-backed elected government to deal with the enormous political and economic problems resulting from seven years of incompetent military rule. A demoralised nation has the chance to recover national pride cruelly bruised by the disastrous Falklands venture. Abroad Argentina can now begin to refurbish its image, tarnished by abuse of human rights and the accumulation of a huge foreign debt.

The election campaign in its closing stages boiled down to a contest between the Radicals and the Peronists. The Peronists traded almost exclusively on a nostalgic evocation of the mystique of the late General Peron's populism. While Argentines' affection for Peron's peculiar brand of nationalist socialism retained an emotional appeal, his latter-day heirs lacked charisma and internal unity.

The party fielded a dull compromise candidate, Sr Italo Luder, who could not paper over the Peronists' deep divisions. Many potential supporters were frightened away by the party's endorsement of authoritarianism, its record of collaboration with the military and the more thuggish elements that ran much of the administrative machinery, especially the powerful trades union apparatus.

## Personality

Presenting himself on a moderate social democratic platform, Sr Alfonsin accurately gauged that Argentines had matured beyond such a primitive form of party. In the end it was less the policies proposed by Sr Alfonsin and more his own personality as an honest politician untainted by military rule, committed to a pluralist parliamentary system, that won the day.

Sr Alfonsin weaned away some Peronist trades union support and showed that the Peronists no longer enjoyed a monopoly as the champions of social justice. This was a considerable achievement because he started out the campaign heading a party that was labelled too middle-class. In the difficult task ahead, this, coupled with Sr Alfonsin's personal triumph, should provide an important element of stability.

On paper the Peronists still represent a strong opposition force. If they ally with the armed forces, they could destabilise the democratic process now about to be established. They still have to live down a record for violence. However, the party has been rudely shaken. It will take time to adjust to the shock of no longer being the dominant force in politics after almost 40 years. The Peronists therefore bear a big responsibility in respecting the results of the polls.

The key to the immediate future will be whether or not Sr Alfonsin succeeds in establishing the spirit of national reconciliation that he is advocating. The very size of his victory enables him to be magnanimous, and removes some of the uncertainties that surround the transition of at least a month before the military hand over power.

For the military the message has been unambiguous: they should return to their barracks. Since the Falklands war they have lost the stomach for government even though they still regard themselves as self-appointed guardians of the nation's destiny. Sr Alfonsin faces an uncomfortable confrontation with the military in dealing with human rights abuses and investigations into corruption.

## Foreign debt

The other immediate problem is getting to grips with Argentina's inflation and the negotiations on \$39bn foreign debt. Here he is going to need the support of the Peronist-controlled trades unions in carrying out unpopular economic measures. Union opposition may prove weaker than anticipated because of disaffection among rank-and-file members with the leadership. Trades union reform is itself a major priority for the Radicals.

On the Falklands, Sr Alfonsin is going to be tough and nationalistic. But of all Argentine politicians he was the one who publicly disowned the invasion and is on record as wanting to sit round the negotiating table with Britain. The advent of Sr Alfonsin to the presidency should be noted in Downing Street as a positive change which one day could let Britain off the burden of its fortress Falklands policy.

More generally the history and outcome of these Argentine elections are a lesson to Latin America, where the military all too often have sought to interfere in government. The results are likely to have repercussions well beyond Argentina's frontiers.

# Landslide win for Radical Party in Argentine poll

BY ROBERT GRAHAM AND JIMMY BURNS IN BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA'S Radical Party, headed by Sr Raul Alfonsin, has won a landslide election victory to become the country's first civilian government in seven years.

The Radicals took 52 per cent of the vote, gaining an absolute majority in the presidential electoral college, the Congress and Senate. In previous civilian administrations the Peronists had held a monopoly of power since 1946.

The Peronists gained 40 per cent of the vote in Sunday's poll. They suffered a humiliating loss in the capital, Buenos Aires, and, even more important, in their traditional working-class stronghold, the province of Buenos Aires.

Though the result was still provisional last night, the final count will not make any fundamental difference to the outcome of the election.

In a victory address to thousands of jubilant supporters outside yesterday, Sr Alfonsin pledged to work for national reconciliation. The 56-year-old former lawyer said a priority of his administration would be social justice and a respect for human rights.

The result, which was welcomed in London, was a personal triumph for Sr Alfonsin who started his campaign for the Presidential election last year, when few believed elec-

tions would be held, let alone that he stood a chance of winning them. Sr Alfonsin's popularity was underlined by the sweeping endorsement given to his candidature throughout the country.

In seven of the country's 24 provinces where governorships went to the Peronists, the presidential ballot went to Sr Alfonsin.

At the last elections, in 1973, the Radicals polled only 34 per cent of the vote against 61 per cent for the Peronists. Sunday's vote was the biggest obtained by the Radical Party since 1928.

The Peronists, headed by Sr Italo Luder, were reluctant to concede defeat until the last vote was counted. The party faces a major post-mortem examination in which the right-wing of union leaders grouped around Sr Lorenzo Miguel and Sr Herminio Iglesias, could be removed.

Sr Iglesias was the Peronist candidate for the governorship of Buenos Aires. His defeat has been taken here as a protest vote against the strong-arm tactics which he has employed to secure his candidacy.

The Radicals have 318 of the 600 electors in the presidential electoral college. The college,

not due to meet until the end of November, merely needs to rubber-stamp Sr Alfonsin as Argentina's new President.

Sr Alfonsin said yesterday he wanted the formal transfer of power by the military to be brought forward from early January to early December.

On the Falklands, close aides of Sr Alfonsin said yesterday that Argentina was keen to talk with Britain. The Radicals insist on Argentine sovereignty over the islands but believe negotiations are possible. One way of easing tension, they say, would be a reduction in the 150-mile protection zone operated by Britain round the islands.

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JONATHAN STEELE and JEREMY MORGAN in  
Buenos Aires on the tasks facing President Alfonsín

# Argentina's Radical chic

DOCTOR Raul Alfonsín's victory in Argentina's first elections for a decade reflected a deep-seated desire to break with a past dominated by a dead general and years of violent self-righteousness in government.

More than anything else, during a wearying campaign that began nine months ago, the 57-year-old Radical leader tapped genuine hope that a permanent change for the better was still possible in Argentina. His appeal to the spirit of cautious optimism contrasted strongly with the trenchant negativism of the only other party given a chance of assuming power, the Peronist Mass movement.

Doctor Alfonsín has done more than inflict a bruising electoral defeat—the first in history—on a fractious mass movement unable to hide, let alone overcome, its own bitter internal divisions. The Radical leader's victory was more of a triumph for him personally than for his party, which he had forced, after a 15-year struggle, to abandon the cosy and starchy approach which led them more or less to acquiesce in Peronism's power for many years.

For the first time in decades, he provided a solid alternative to the Peronists, who might otherwise have won even though their movement was still dominated by prominent figures from the last chaotic Peronist government overthrown by the military in 1976.

Nine years after the death of General Juan Domingo Perón, the three-times president whose image has dominated Argentine politics for almost four decades, Doctor Alfonsín managed to steal part of the Peronists' populist appeal.

Perhaps the first "politicians' politician" to be propelled into the presidency for a long time, Doctor Alfonsín's long trail to the Casa Rosada perhaps began as long ago as the 1960s, when he began openly to criticise the Radical leadership's ambivalent and hesi-

tant attitude towards power and Peronism.

Elected a congress deputy in 1958, Doctor Alfonsín quickly became the prime mover behind an internal faction, Renovation and Change, that only this year emerged as the dominant force in what was then Argentina's second largest political force.

His decision to stay within the Radicals and fight for change, at a time when other ambitious politicians were deserting the party, hints at a tough streak occasionally revealed by brief spates of irritation during the campaign.

Born in Buenos Aires Province, Doctor Alfonsín took his secondary school studies at Military School Studies College in the capital but never served in the armed forces. Unlike many of his political contemporaries, he had little to do with the military regimes that interrupted democratic rule since he entered politics, and publicly criticised the 1976 coup.

A lawyer by training but long a politician, Doctor Alfonsín will probably need all his tenacity during the early stages of government. Barring a rebellion in the rank and file, which is possible, he will find ranged against him the powerful union barons who were the driving force behind the Peronists' attempt to regain power. They have taken the defeat badly.

Doctor Alfonsín will start his presidency with the advantage of an undisputed majority in the Congress and in the Electoral College. There had been fears that neither party would gain a wide enough lead, thus producing a recipe for stalemate and a government based on an unstable coalition.

The Radical leader's first priority will be to repair the country's ruined economy and to re-negotiate the \$40 billion foreign debt. Radical Party economists have expressed annoyance that their neighbour, Brazil, has obtained better terms from the international banks with lower interest rates and a longer repayment period. With the authority of a popular mandate, they hope they can persuade their creditors to give them a new deal.

In order to meet their commitments, one of the Radical's first aims is to cut government spending, particularly on defence. This is a delicate area since it clearly cuts into the power and privilege of the armed forces. It is calculated that roughly 30 per cent of the budget goes on the military at the moment. Mr Alfonsín will have to persuade the military to accept a decrease in new weaponry as well as in their political power.

The Radicals plan a system of selective import controls and some privatisation of the various ailing industries which the military government took over during their seven year rule. Their basic economic philosophy is Keynesian and they hope to

expand the economy by pumping money in to major domestic industries and construction, and by improving salaries and thereby creating demand.

They argue that Argentina is on paper, at least, a rich country — one of the few in the world which does not need to import oil or food. Its debt problem has risen because of military spending on imported arms, widespread corruption through fraudulent diversion of much of the borrowed money, and an excessively open economy

Doctor Alfonsín is expected to challenge the armed forces early on by insisting on his right as commander-in-chief to replace many of the top brass. However, he is likely to be cautious in investigating the human rights atrocities of the "dirty war" against the Left in the 1970s. Dr Alfonsín has said there are three categories of people with responsibility; those who took the decisions to conduct the "dirty war," those who obeyed orders but committed excesses by torturing, raping, or robbing their victims, and those who merely obeyed orders. Mr Alfonsín says the government will only act against the first two groups.

Human rights groups are sceptical of the Radicals' commitment although Dr Alfonsín was a founder member of the Permanent Assembly of Human Rights. They also wonder how much can be proved since the military has had plenty of time to destroy the evidence about the 30,000 people who disappeared during the 1970s. But it is certain that the Radicals will ask Congress to annul the amnesty the military recently decreed for itself.

On foreign policy the Radicals say they will take a strongly non-aligned position. Dr Alfonsín said last week that he would like to improve Argentina's relations with the United States but only on the basis of Argentina's independence. He has condemned the invasion of Grenada in passionate terms

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Dr Alfonsín will not lift the formal state of hostilities with Britain which remains in spite of last year's defeat in the Falklands. Even if Britain were to lift the Exclusion Zone around the islands unilaterally — a concession which seems unlikely in the light of Mrs Thatcher's most recent statements — Dr Alfonsín has said only that he will study the position. Nevertheless, while the Radicals' formal position may seem little different from that of the present government, his tone will be significantly more flexible.

He insists that Argentina can only regain its sovereignty over the islands by peaceful means, and he will be cutting down on arms spending as a symbol of that. The Falklands will be a relatively low priority of the new government, as will its dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel.

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# Radicals sweep home at polls

Continued from page one

voters were unhappy with the party.

But the Peronists also lost because the sociological tide had gone against them. It is estimated that 55 per cent of the Argentine population is in white collar jobs, either in the huge government bureaucracy or in private business and the professions. They voted strongly for the Radicals, not only deserting the Peronists but also most of the other parties.

The Partido Intransigente, a leftwing group led by Mr Oscar Alende, a former Governor of Buenos Aires Province, was winning about 3 per cent of the vote in the capital and the surrounding province.

Mr. Alfonsín did particularly well with women voters and among the five million young people who have never been able to vote before. He said yesterday he had not expected to win by so large a margin.

His aim is to prevent any return to military dictatorship by creating a more European type of political system in Argentina in which big business will see itself better represented by the political parties rather than the military, and the trade unions will be reformed. He is a Keynesian liberal who intends to give Argentina a nonaligned foreign policy and move it closer to the rest of Latin America. and away from Washington.

With 63.16 voting districts counted and only 3,745 left the military government announced yesterday that the full result would not be known until at least tomorrow. The result so far was Radicals 7,350,000 (52 per cent) and Peronists 5,651,000 (40 per cent).

Preliminary figures suggested the Radicals had won perhaps 10 provincial governorships out of a total 24, virtually all of which had been Peronist 10 years ago. Personal support saved some Peronist governors even though their provinces went Radical on a national basis.

Officially the transfer of power from the military is meant to take place on January 30, but President Bignone has said it may be earlier.

● The British Government said yesterday that it wanted to improve relations with the new Argentine Government and restore commercial and diplomatic links. But Britain was not prepared to negotiate sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.

# Poll win for Argentine Radicals

From Jonathan Steele in Buenos Aires

MR RAUL Alfonsín, the Radical Party leader, has won a stunning victory in Argentina's first general election for 10 years, leaving the previously dominant Peronist movement smarting in unexpected defeat.

The new President, who will probably take over from the military junta before the end of the year, will also have a majority in Congress.

Mr Alfonsín's landslide appeared likely early in the night when normally strong Peronist bastions in the province of Buenos Aires fell to the Radicals.

The Peronist candidate for Governor, Herminio Iglesias, a tough metalworker with a

corrupt gangster image, lost his own base in the town of Avellaneda as well as the province as a whole.

But as crowds of cheerful Radicals stormed through the streets of the capital hooting car-horns and chanting Mr

The tasks ahead, page 17; IMF green light likely, page 18

Alfonsín's campaign song, the Peronists refused to admit defeat. Selective voting figures were displayed outside their headquarters, giving the impression that the Peronists were winning, and yesterday morning one Peronist newspaper carried a huge headline claiming there was an "information fraud."

and that the military regime was publishing partial results.

Rather like the armed forces' preference of victory in the Falklands last year until the moment of defeat, the Peronists' artificial triumphalism only damages their image further.

Mr Alfonsín is a 57-year-old lawyer, who was one of the few politicians to criticise the Falklands war while it was still on. He was by far the more dynamic and appealing of the two main candidates.

He also had the advantage of being chosen earlier in the summer and launched a vigorous campaign travelling to almost every part of the

country three times and drawing vast crowds.

The Peronist candidate, Mr Iñao Luder, is also a middle class lawyer. He was a compromise candidate who could not fill the vacuum in the movement left by General Juan Perón's death in 1974.

He was a poor speaker and dull campaigner who failed to overcome the poor image which the Peronists had among middle class voters because of the corrupt authoritarian style of their leading figures like Mr Iglesias and trade union barons such as Mr Lorenzo Miguel.

Mr Miguel was doxed and whistled at Peronist rallies, making it clear that many traditional working class Turn to back page, col. 3



Dr Raul Alfonsín — broke Peronist domination

# UNDERDOGS CRUSH PERONISTS IN ARGENTINE POLL

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S once powerful Peronist party stumbled to its worst defeat as Senor Raul Alfonsin's underdog Radicals yesterday won the country's first general election for a decade.

The ghosts of the late Gen. Juan Peron and his wife, Eva, were buried by a radical landslide that confounded predictions of a close result.

The government said Alfonsin had won an absolute majority of 318 seats in the 600-member Electoral College which will formally choose the President on Nov. 30, while the Peronists led by Senor Italo Luder had 258.

The Radicals were also cruising to comfortable victory in elections for the two houses of Congress (Parliament). In provincial and municipal polls many Peronist bastions fell to their advance.

## Raptuous crowd

Senor Alfonsin, 56, a cheery, moustacheed lawyer, appeared on the balcony of his party headquarters in Buenos Aires at 3 a.m. yesterday to acknowledge the cheers of a raptuous crowd.

In contrast, Peronists who gathered at Senor Luder's offices screamed abuse and hurled stones at a video screen relaying results.

As estactic Radicals took to the streets across the country, Senor Alfonsin said that although his party had won no one in Argentina was a loser. "We have begun a new stage that signifies a long period of peace, prosperity and respect for the dignity of man," he declared.

Throughout his campaign Senor Alfonsin accused the Peronists of "talking about a country that no longer exists." But the Peronists clung to their dead heroes.

The party's shattering defeat will exacerbate the many internal divisions papered over during the campaign. Now the trade union wing is likely to

begin rapidly distancing itself from the political leadership.

Senor Alfonsin will remain President-elect until the present military government formally relinquishes power. Officially the handover date is Jan. 30 next year but the conclusive nature of his victory will increase pressure on the junta to act before Christmas.

In the meantime senior Radicals will begin talks with government ministers to discuss the handover. Senor Alfonsin has pledged wholesale changes in the State bureaucracy and thousands of heads are likely to roll.

His economic advisers will also begin the crucial task of devising a timetable of priorities. During the campaign the party was stronger on promises than on policy details and Senor Alfonsin's plans remain obscure.

## Crucial question

The crucial question in the immediate future is the extent to which Peronist trade unions will accept the measures imposed.

Senor Deolindo Bittel, the Peronist vice-presidential candidate, said on election day that "whoever wins, we will all be going out on the streets to sing, not to fight."

The people are expecting a great deal from the restoration of democracy and an austerity programme could come as a shock. The unions are unlikely to cause any immediate problems but could disrupt any attempts to control wage increases.

With the economic crisis paramount there is unlikely to be any significant development in the country's attitude towards the Falklands.

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DAILY TELEGRAPH

1.11.83

# 'DAUPHIN' BECOMES PRESIDENT

By TONY ALLEN-MILLS  
in Buenos Aires

THE man whose task it is to repair the damage of seven years of military dictatorship in Argentina once seemed destined for a military career of his own.

Senor Raul Alfonsin, the 56-year-old lawyer whose election victory has transformed the face of Argentine politics, was educated at the General San Martin military high school in Buenos Aires.

He says today that he chose a military school because his mother, an ardent Roman Catholic, would otherwise have wanted to make him a priest. "But those years also left me tired of military life."

Within months of leaving the school he was studying to be a lawyer and quickly became drawn towards the radical party which represented the middle classes.

Raul Alfonsin was born on March 12, 1927, into a well-to-do landowning family at Chascomus near Buenos Aires province. As a youth he was an expert dancer of the tango and bolero and it was on a local dance floor that he met his wife of the last 35 years, Maria Lorenza.

Raul Alfonsin was born on March 12, 1927, into a well-to-do landowning family at Chascomus near Buenos Aires province. As a youth he was an expert dancer of the tango and bolero and it was on a local dance floor that he met his wife of the last 35 years, Maria Lorenza.

## His hour arrives

Although he started young in politics, Alfonsin spent three decades waiting in the wings as Argentina political life was dominated by Gen. Peron and his working class masses plus the military coups which regularly interrupted the democratic process.

In 1958 he was elected a provincial deputy and five years later won a seat in Parliament.

He was regarded as the "dauphin" for the ageing Radical party leader, Ricardo Balbin, although once he split away from the Radical mainstream into a more liberal, populist splinter group called the Movement for Renovation and Change.

The military coup of 1976 postponed further progress but when members of the junta fell on their swords with the invasion of the Falklands, Alfonsin sensed his hour had arrived.

He was one of the very few Argentine politicians to criticise publicly the invasion and within weeks of Argentina's surrender and the announcement that democratic rule was to be restored set out to win his party's presidential nomination.

Preaching a message of unwavering confidence in the future, Senor Alfonsin made many promises he will have difficulty in keeping while insisting to his audience that Peronism was the party of the past. And in the end, the people agreed.

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# Radicals win with help of Peronists

From Andrew Thompson  
Buenos Aires

The Radical Party has emerged victorious from Sunday's general elections in Argentina in a spectacular political turn-around which is being hailed as the start of a new era in the country's history.

The result was a personal triumph for Señor Raul Alfonsín, the party's presidential candidate. With more than 80 per cent of the votes counted he had established an unsurmountable 12 point lead over Señor Italo Luder, his Peronist rival. The Radicals' share of the vote was running at 52 per cent against the Peronists' 40 per cent.

Provisional results gave Señor Alfonsín an absolute majority in the 600-strong electoral college, with 318 electors against the Peronists' 258. This means that the feared round of negotiations to put together alliances to obtain a majority will not be necessary.

The pressure on the outgoing military regime to bring forward the date for the assumption of the new civilian administration has thus increased overnight. Señor Alfonsín, now the virtual president elect, could be sworn in next month, rather than in late January as originally forecast.

This is the first time in four decades that the Radicals have beaten the Peronists in free elections. According to the provisional results, Señor Alfonsín's party will have an absolute majority of 131 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, which has a total of 252 members. His party has also gained governorships in more than half the country's provinces.

Señor Alfonsín addressed his jubilant supporters at 3 am yesterday and immediately made a call for national unity, saying "We have won, but no one should feel defeated".

The returns show that a large number of traditionally Peronist voters supported Señor Alfonsín. The result is expected to lead to an internal crisis in the Peronist movement, which some of its members welcome as a chance to overcome differences which bedevilled the campaign.

Señor Alfonsín is prepared to enter negotiations with Britain over the future of the Falkland Islands, but will not declare a formal cessation of hostilities unless the British Government also agrees to negotiate and make concessions.

THE TIMES

1.11.83

© The Argentine elections were welcomed by the Foreign Office in London as a step towards the restoration of democracy (Henry Stanhope writes).

DAILY TELEGRAPH

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## ARGENTINA'S CHOICE

A CAUTIOUS WELCOME can be given to the victory of Señor RAUL ALFONSIN and his Radical party in Argentina's elections. The Argentine people have clearly turned their back on the Peronists who have dominated the country politically for 40 years—insofar as the military have allowed party politics. The Radical party's political philosophy is more akin to that of European Social Democrats, but comparisons are not easy; in Argentina, democracy has never flourished for long periods. It remains to be seen if Señor ALFONSIN manages to serve out his constitutional term of office, or, as is normal, if the military seize power again.

Argentina's new President will have formidable problems to resolve. The economy is in a mess, with raging inflation, and massive debts amounting to some \$40 billion being owed to Western banks—mainly American. Though vanquished, the Peronists remain a powerful force, dominating the trade unions, so that the new civilian Government could face inflationary wage demands, coupled with strikes that the country cannot afford. Señor ALFONSIN has promised that corruption and authoritarianism will be finished—no easy task in a country where the army holds many levers of power, including running many industries.

Britain's natural concern is what difference the election will make to prospects of a settlement on the Falklands. In the short term one cannot expect any change. The Radical party, like other groups, has been opposed to ending the state of war—even Señor ALFONSIN will have to tread warily to avoid antagonising the military. Of more immediate concern is the knowledge that the Reagan administration is to lift the ban on arms exports to Argentina: another cause of likely friction in Anglo-American relations—on top of Grenada. Leaving aside the Falklands, there is, however, no reason why every encouragement should not be given to Argentina in tackling its political and economic problems in a basically rich country.

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After years of military rule and chaos the honest politician takes over

# Alfonsin replaces 'thugs and crooks'

From Andrew Thompson, Buenos Aires

"The success of our campaign is the work of one man, Raul Alfonsin," said a jubilant Argentine Radical Party official at 3 am yesterday. He was speaking in the Radical Party offices in central Buenos Aires, whose small rooms were crammed with well-wishers. Outside, growing crowds, wearing the traditional white berets used by the radicals, were chanting: "We can feel it, we can feel it, Raul is President!"

Alfonsin, aged 56, a lawyer of Spanish and British descent (his maternal surname is Foukkes), has had a meteoric rise. In the last year he has progressed from being a likeable but secondary figure on the left of his party to winning the presidential nomination and changing the face of Argentine politics.

Political discussion in Buenos Aires is now based on determining the secret behind what is described as the "Alfonsin phenomenon".

The answer seems to be that at an emotional level Señor Alfonsin has been able to judge the mood of the country. After seven and a half years of harsh military rule, economic chaos and a disastrous war with Britain, Argentina is a society with deep scars. Señor Alfonsin's message is essentially a moral one.

The morning after the elections, a newspaper seller gave his interpretation: "We have had enough of thugs and crooks, of the arrogance of power. We made history yesterday. I think this country is finally reaching political maturity."

The Alfonsin style is clearest in his speeches. He has emphasized a series of simple ideas about morality and democracy. "Argentines, friends, the dictatorship is ending. Corruption is ending. We are starting to build an honest Argentina, a country which looks after its people," he said in the closing campaign speech.

Another characteristic trait was his approach to the Peronists. He made a point of recognizing the positive aspects of the political heritage of General Peron and Evita Peron, their contribution to reformist and "social justice" policies.

But at the same time he launched a blistering attack on undemocratic practices within the Peronist movement, and on



Moment of triumph: Reporters surround Señor Alfonsin shortly after the announcement of his election victory.

the role of the right-wing union leaders who have not had their mandates renewed by internal union elections.

Amid the jubilation of the victory, a Radical Party leader gave *The Times* a quick rundown of the Radicals likely first steps in government.

High on the agenda, he said, was the reorganization of the armed forces and their subordi-

nation to the political authorities. Another priority was a law to democratize the trade union movement, without imposing central government control. He made a point of singling out one of the most popular Peronist trade union leaders, Señor Saul Ubaldo, as "a man we can talk with."

On Foreign policy, he commented: "Washington likes

people who talk frankly, and on that basis we can have good relations. We are going to talk frankly, and we will say things that Washington won't like. On Central America. For example, we are totally in support of the Contadora group."

As for Argentina's territorial disputes he ratified the Radicals' commitment to Vatican mediation in the Beagle Chan-

nel conflict with Chile and to peaceful diplomacy in the South Atlantic dispute with Britain.

He added: "We are going to take a hard line with Britain, so the London Government realizes the sovereignty issue remains a priority for us." But as other Radical foreign policy specialists emphasize, the party rules out any use of force.

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## ARGENTINE ELECTIONS

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# PERONISM IN DEFEAT

THE  
TIMES

1.11.83

Senor Raul Alfonsin has once and for all ended the era in which Peronism could claim to be the unique mass party of Argentina, an era which lasted nearly four decades. It is a famous victory for a man who until recently looked like remaining in a minority, within a minority, and it is a triumph of democratic campaigning. The best man won.

Senor Alfonsin is the most lucid figure to emerge in Argentine politics for a long time. He has worked to restore the separate identity of his party and revived its vocation to govern: the Radicals are the oldest democratic force in Argentina, and were not always to be dismissed as "a middle class party". He opposed the Falklands invasion without equivocation. He intends to reform the armed forces, reduce them in size and confine them to a proper role in the nation's life. He will seek resolution by the courts to the problems posed by the crimes of the last decade. He has announced that he will democratize the unions and free the Argentine workers from the abuses of corrupt leadership. He has campaigned everywhere on these issues with admirable frankness and courage, and he has got his reward.

"We have won, but we have defeated no one." That is a

generous pronouncement in victory, and some Peronists at least have reacted in similar civic spirit. But the defeat of Peronism is too palpable to be hidden, even if it can be argued that in so many ways the party defeated itself. It could not provide a credible alternative, or even decent semblance of unity. The movement is paying for its pride, which led it to assume that Argentine workers would go on voting for it however boorish some of its leaders might be, however much it lived in the past, however much it failed to face up to so much of the past it lived in. It was Senor Alfonsin not Senor Luder who got the true meaning of the Churchillian adage "trust the people".

The fall in the Peronist vote in some strongholds and the poor showing of some of the more disreputable candidates shows that the people are not to be taken for granted, but will reject those who assume that nothing has changed, and that elections do not need to be fought. Too many Peronists have underestimated the maturity of their own following. In defeat the party will have to reconsider its ways. Its unions have been proved an uncertain political force and conspiracy with soldiers an electoral liability.

The President-elect will wish to delay his assumption of power

as little as possible, and in the face of the mandate of these elections the date may well be brought forward. He has now the support for a critical hundred days, and the state of his country requires exceptional measures. Inflation is approaching 400 per cent a year, and in Argentina elections usually accelerate it. Measures must be taken over the foreign debt. To bring those problems under control while pursuing the urgent tasks of political regeneration which are equally unavoidable will require the greatest political skill. Argentina's neighbours will watch particularly closely.

Argentina's foreign policy will be reshaped. Senor Alfonsin will seek an accord with Chile on the Beagle Channel dispute and will support the Contadora Group on Central America. This will not make him the less nationalist or anti-imperialist, and on the question of the Falklands his election may be thought to propel the ball more firmly into the British court than a Peronist victory would have done. The radicals will not formally end hostilities without some signs of British concession, but they renounce the use of force. We can still say that one step in the right direction is no more than a step. It is still a bigger step than was expected.

## Banks welcome Alfonsin

By Our Banking Correspondent

The new Argentine Government may try to press for easier terms on new loans and refinancing of existing debts, bankers in London said yesterday.

However, the victory of the Radical presidential candidate Senor Raul Alfonsin in the country's elections is not expected to lead to any dramatic

changes in the country's attitude to its \$40 billion of external debts.

Although bankers gave a qualified welcome to the election result, there is still some concern over the latest proposals for release of the first \$500m tranche of a \$1.5 billion medium-term loan to Argentina.

## Argentine anomaly

From Dr Desmond Flower

Sir, May I support the letter of Mr Cutler (October 22) on the distressing anomaly about Argentine books.

Early in September I wrote to my Member of Parliament on this subject and, after a prompt and courteous acknowledgment, took immediate action. In due course he sent me a copy of a letter which he had received from the Minister of State, Treasury, dated September 17.

I found this letter evasive and unsatisfactory and said so at length and a certain acerbity, imploring that the Treasury be asked to take further action. That was late in September, since when I have heard nothing.

I have the utmost confidence in my member, who is not one to let matters rest, so I find myself forced to the same conclusion as Mr Cutler: "the department has retreated into silence." This, I am sure, is not accidental but an exercise of the old principle that if you ignore something long enough it will go away.

Yours faithfully,  
DESMOND FLOWER,  
187 Clarence Gate Gardens, NW1.  
October 24.

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# Young Ones beat the mob

ARGENTINA'S Young Ones, the four million who came of age in the 10 years that the military denied them a vote, have massively rejected the old gods of their fathers.

The first parliamentary election for 10 years ended in triumph for Raul Alfonsin, leader of the left-of-centre Radical party.

It was the under-28-year-olds, voting for the first time, who decided the country's course: this is a generation that grew up under military rule, but also a generation with a childhood dominated by the mobs of the Peronist movement.

Thus, a dynasty founded 40 years ago by Fascist Juan Peron, then whipped to an almost religious fervour by his successive wives, Evita and Isabel, has



BRIAN JAMES in Buenos Aires reports on Argentina's first free election for 10 years

met its first great defeat in the polls.

The results stunned the Peronists at the end of a campaign in which they had used bribery, coercion and brilliant organisation to get immense crowds demonstrating in the streets.

But this may have wrecked them at the ballot. The sheer brutish fury of some Peronist rallies, with up to a million singing in the streets, filled most sane Argentinians with dread.

Apart from Alfonsin's Radicals, nearly every other centre

party lost dramatically as the country combined in a vote against extremism.

The trend so surprised Peronists that at 2 a.m. Lorenzo Muguel, titular leader in the absence of the exiled Isabel, went on TV to denounce the 'fraudulent information' being put about that he had lost.

But by dawn the shaken Italo Luder, Peronist presidential candidate, had conceded defeat — Alfonsin's lead of 52 per cent. to 40 per cent. was enough to make the meeting of an electoral college next week a formality.

Predictably, some Peronists took defeat badly. Shots were

fired aimlessly into one of the Radical crowds dancing away the night. Several hundred arrests were made in other spasmodic scuffles... a mild night by Buenos Aires standards.

Alfonsin, a 56-year-old lawyer, was not in bed until 7 a.m.

Officially, Alfonsin will not take over from military hands until mid-December. But pressure will be on him now to hurry forward the taking of power: the army wants to be out, the country is drifting daily deeper into debt.

In London, a statement by the Foreign Office, authorised by Sir Geoffrey Howe, said: 'We welcome this step towards the restoration of democracy in Argentina.'

'We hope that the new government will be more inclined to respond positively to the ideas we have put forward to secure the restoration of normal commercial and economic relations between the two countries.'

## Hope for Argentina

WITH that wild passion they so recently devoted to war, the Argentine people now embrace free elections.

Encouragingly, the voters have chosen, not the diluted Fascism of the Peronist factions, but what looks like their version of Social Democracy.

Let us hope that the generals, the admirals and the air marshals can keep their hands off this new Government and that Argentina can be given the time it needs to outgrow the politics of hysteria.

All who live in this region of the Southern Hemisphere would be better off for that.

## Falklands fund: 'Ask donors'

THE trustees of the South Atlantic Fund for victims of the Falklands war were urged yesterday to consult the thousands of people who contributed before the fund is wound up—possibly in the new year.

This appeal came from the Association of Parents of Unmarried Sons Killed in the Falklands.

Bereaved parents belonging to the association

are upset over the revelation that millions of pounds left unspent in the fund will be distributed to general Servicemen's charities — while many of them have received payments of only £2,500.

The association is also considering taking legal action over the way the fund has been run.

Among those protesting was Mrs Freda McKay, mother of Falklands hero Sgt. Ian McKay, VC.

She has asked her MP, Mr Stan Crowther, to intervene. 'I have spoken to Mr Crowther and he is going to speak to the Minister,' she said last night.

'I have also sent a letter off today to the South Atlantic Fund administrator complaining of the varying payments they have made to widows.'