

Argentine move raises hope for Falklands fishery talks

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Correspondent

Argentina is understood to have taken steps towards a second round of indirect contact with Britain on a joint fishing policy for the Falklands waters.

The process was at a delicate and uncertain stage yesterday and it was not clear whether anything would come of it. But hopes that it might be the start of an understanding with Argentina on practical matters, without calling into question the islands' sovereignty, were not discounted.

Whitehall has been waiting for two months to see whether Buenos Aires would follow up a first round, which was conducted via Washington with the State Department acting as messenger. There have been no direct talks.

Two Argentine diplomats, one of them a lawyer, went to the State Department on Friday. It is understood that their mission was to discuss what message should be conveyed to the British Embassy, in response to an earlier British communication. Nothing had been passed on by yesterday afternoon. However, there

was speculation that the State Department was giving itself time for reflection.

Britain's long-term objective is to reach an agreed regional fishing policy with Argentina which would replace the present unilaterally imposed controls.

When Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, announced the 150-mile Interim Conservation and Management Zone last October, it was seen as a temporary arrangement. He said there was an urgent need for conservation measures because over-fishing posed a threat to squid stocks.

Argentina never accepted Britain's claim that it had refused to negotiate such an arrangement.

Before the zone came into force on February 1, Buenos Aires made its initial approach through the State Department. It made no mention of sovereignty, which allowed the Foreign Office to respond.

Sir Geoffrey has repeated constantly Britain's desire for talks with Argentina on matters other than sovereignty.

Alfonsin concedes wage rise to unions

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

THE Argentinian Government has conceded a general wage rise demanded by the trade unions in a bid to put together a "social contract" involving the Government, unions and business leaders.

Details have not yet been released, but Mr Saul Ubaldini, leader of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), said the concession had been made on Tuesday night by the Ministry of Labour.

In the past few days discussions have been taking place between the Government, trade union and business leaders to hammer out the basis of the pact, which President Raul Alfonsin wants to have signed

before he makes his speech to open the new session of Congress tomorrow.

The Government feels under pressure following the military rebellion over Easter, and is searching for a political consensus that will ease tensions with the trade unions and private sector while confronting problems within the armed forces.

Mr Eduardo Curia, the economic adviser to the powerful group of 15 trade unions which backed the appointment at the beginning of the month of Mr Carlos Alderete from their ranks to head the labour ministry, said in an interview this week: "A wage rise and a

reform of the country's labour laws are the two fundamental points required by the unions, and without those concessions there can be no stable agreement."

He added that agreement on a social contract "will have to lead to a redefinition of economic policy." The appointment of a trade unionist to head the labour ministry raised many eyebrows at the time, and has given rise to much speculation over a possible shift in direction of government economic policy.

The government's policy since mid-1985 has been based on a restrictive anti-inflation strategy.

Reconciliation amnesty fears grip Argentina

By Frank Taylor in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S new Army Chief of Staff will be called to give evidence in a case of alleged human rights violations under the military junta, a federal appeal court judge confirmed yesterday. The news has disturbed Argentines who believe a general

amnesty may be planned.

It is not clear whether Gen. Caridi will be accused of human rights violations himself or merely be called in connection with charges against others.

Government sources said it was unlikely that President Alfonsín would have appointed the general Chief of Staff if charges were pending against him.

If the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo have anything to do with it, there will not only be no amnesty, but no let-up in the pursuit of new cases.

'Mothers' irritant

Today the Mothers celebrate the tenth anniversary of their silent march around Buenos Aires's central square which was the first, tentative, and at that time very courageous, attempt to bring to public notice the kidnappings, murders and tortures under the military junta.

The Mothers have now become the chief irritant to a civilian authority which believes it has done its job in jailing the military ringleaders

Argentine general gets court reprieve

AN ARGENTINE court has postponed indefinitely a court summons on human rights charges against President Alfonsín's new army Chief of Staff, General José Dante Caridi, according to Argentine press reports, Isabel Hilton writes.

Judge Carlos Valdes Wybert, the head of the Federal Appeals Court in La Plata, 40 miles south of Buenos Aires, told reporters yesterday that General Caridi's court appearance, scheduled for 1 June, had been postponed and no new date had been fixed. General Caridi was appointed Chief of Staff last week following a series of rebellions by middle-ranking officers protesting against the human rights trials. As a result of the rebellion the Supreme Court asked all courts which have cases pending to suspend proceedings until further notice.

The charges against General Caridi do not appear to be serious, but he is one of the few senior officers on active service to have been cited. According to a human rights lawyer in La Plata, the charges probably stem from his tenure as chief of the army Artillery School at the Campo de Mayo base in 1981 and relate to the anonymous burials of victims of the security forces.

General Caridi has also been accused by human rights groups of causing the death of a soldier in 1983 by ordering excessively rigorous physical training. A court summons now would have been particularly embarrassing for the government as it seeks to cool tensions with the armed forces in the wake of the rebellions. The government is looking for a formula which will allow over 300 active service officers to escape prosecution for human rights offences by presenting the defence of "due obedience," — the defence that they committed human rights violations under orders and under pressure from superior officers.

Admiral appears in rights court

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

The deputy head of the Argentine Navy has been questioned by a court investigating human rights crimes at a base he commanded during the former military regime's "dirty war" of the 1970s.

The court at Comodoro Rivadavia, in southern Argentina, freed Admiral Maximo Rivero Kelly, but did not drop the case, centred on the supposed crimes said to have taken place at the Almirante Zar navy base.

Admiral Rivero Kelly is the highest-ranking officer on active service to be summonsed by the civilian courts so far. His appearance coincided with confirmation that another court had served a subpoena on the new head of the army, General Jose Caridi.

General Caridi, appointed a week ago in the wake of the recent rebellion by middle-ranking officers demanding an

Action in the courts continues, despite the Government's very evident efforts to slow down proceedings while it pressures either Congress or the Supreme Court to define "due obedience" — an argument that officers should be absolved if they were following orders.

A court in Mendoza suspended proceedings while he drew up a detailed review of all the cases it was handling, following a demand for full information from the Supreme Court last week.

However, in the capital, another court continued investigations to establish whether there was any link between an alleged rightwing terrorist group and the former Buenos Aires province police chief, General Ramon Camps, sentenced to 25 years imprisonment last year after being convicted of 71 charges of torture.

Alfonsin's strategy, page 17

amnesty for the "dirty war," was originally due to be brought before the court on June 1, officials said.

But yesterday it appeared this had been postponed. Court officials declined to indicate a new date or disclose details of the case. However, human rights activists say General Caridi has "institutional responsibility" for the disappearance of a conscript at an army base several years ago.

Playing for Argentina

By Susan Tirbutt

The British Council is now willing to offer grants to cultural groups to visit Argentina, Mr John Nickson, its press spokesman, said yesterday.

He denied a report in yesterday's Guardian that the council had refused to sponsor a seven-day tour by the London Festival Orchestra, which leaves for Argentina today.

The orchestra's three-week tour of South America will be the first British cultural visit to be sponsored by the council, Mr Nickson said. The council is giving the orchestra £15,000 towards its tour of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Panama and Costa Rica.

"The British Council is delighted that the London Festival Orchestra is going to Argentina and would be also delighted to support any other groups wanting to go to Argentina. We would welcome a return to cultural relations with Argentina," Mr Nickson said.

Generals 'were mutineers' target'

LT-COL ALDO RICO stood ramrod straight as he outlined the reasons for his short-lived mutiny which shook Argentina last week.

Appearing before a federal judge in the Buenos Aires suburb of San Isidora, Col Rico, uniform crisply starched and with infantry insignia proudly displayed, "respectfully" suggested the legal process against him should be before a military, rather than a civilian, tribunal.

Judge Alberto Piotti said he would rule on that after hearing something of the background to the revolt which last week gave President Alfonsin and his Government their biggest scare since taking over from the military in 1985.

Col Rico's reasons sounded simple. He wanted an end to the continued "persecution" of middle-ranking officers for their actions during the "dirty war" against leftist subversion. They were, he said, only following orders and were often coerced.

He also wanted to demonstrate the dissatisfaction still felt by middle-rankers against many serving generals for their "incompetence" during the Falklands war.

In short, Col Rico decided it was time for a "political" recognition that the purge of the armed forces must end somewhere. At the same time younger generals, unstained by

**By Frank Taylor
in Buenos Aires**

the Falklands debacle, should be promoted.

It had never been in his mind, he said, to initiate a coup against President Alfonsin.

There is no doubt that many people, while having no sympathy for the appalling excesses by the military during the "dirty war," nonetheless feel that Col Rico and his like-minded colleagues have a point.

They say that since taking over as Head of State, President Alfonsin seems to have gone out of his way to humiliate the three Services, and in particular the Army, through drastic budget cuts and a 20 per cent reduction in manpower.

All of this was implemented in conjunction with the trials and subsequent conviction of the various junta leaders as well as the jailing of scores of other senior officers.

A young Argentine who completed his military conscription last year told of finding an "overwhelming" depression among younger officers, who felt their profession was being permanently derided while they themselves were personally deprived.

"The captain of my unit was getting pay equivalent to about £25 a week," the young Argentine said. "All the young officers feel they are still carrying the can for what the gener-

als did, both in the 'dirty war' and in the Malvinas (Falklands). Rico was only doing what a lot of others would like to have done."

A source close to the Defence Ministry said: "We are well aware of the dissatisfaction among many middle-ranking officers. But it will take a long time for the shame of these recent years to be overcome. But Col Rico and his confreres do have the establishment worried. President Alfonsin is understood to have been informed that 62 Army units refused to move against the Rico rebels at the Campo de Mayo base.

Col Rico has told investigators there are many other middle-ranking officers ready to follow his example if there is no "solution" to the welter of new cases brought against military men in a rush to beat President Alfonsin's deadline cutting off the legal processes.

It appears the officers were at one time promised that no more than 100 more cases would be brought into the civilian courts. More than 400 have been started.

The colonel and his colleagues are known in the service as the "noble beasts" because they were in the forefront of the anti-guerrilla operations in the late 'seventies and then went on to fight in the Falklands.

DAILY MAIL
27 April 1987

Nigel Dempster's Mail Diary

PS **ALTHOUGH** it is now 18 months since he was retired — against his wishes — as Governor of the Falkland Islands, Sir Rex Hunt is still vigorously promoting the South Atlantic territory: He says that last year alone he travelled 18,000 miles giving lectures on how Britain triumphed in the 1982 Argentine invasion. Sir Rex, 60, who is writing his memoirs, has no intention of slowing down what he calls his 'drum-banging on the islanders' behalf,' despite a brush with the law while on his way to a Falklands function — last week he was fined £110 by Basingstoke magistrates for driving his Mercedes at 101mph on the M3.

Argentina's creditor banks face time limit on deal

BY ALEXANDER NICOLL

ARGENTINA'S ADVISORY committee of leading creditor banks last night set the clock running on the country's \$32bn (£20bn), financing package which has innovative fees designed to speed banks' commitments.

The 350 creditor banks are each being asked to put up 9 per cent of their exposure to the country as of June 30 1982 to new loans totalling \$1.95bn. In addition \$30bn of debt is to be rescheduled.

Banks, which have been criticised for their low response to such packages, are being asked to make commitments by June 17 and will receive a fee of 1/2ths of a percentage point if they do so within 30 days from today.

The advisory committee also aims to avoid arguments which have delayed other packages by adjusting the 1982 base of exposure to exclude debt either forgiven or converted into equity. Banks which accept so-called "exit bonds" reducing their exposure will also have the base amount adjusted.

Alfonsín is hero of the hour

HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY ■ Buenos Aires

PRESIDENT Raul Alfonsín has been enjoying a well-deserved apotheosis this weekend. As messages of support for his stand against the army of mutineers flowed in from almost every major foreign leader, except Mrs Thatcher, Argentina's democratically elected President has been savouring the fruits of his act of boldness last Sunday.

His action in going to the Buenos Aires garrison and, with massive popular support, out-facing 200 heavily armed and highly trained rebels will certainly go down in Argentine history books as a brave and noble gesture by a civilian leader against an arrogant and deluded military caste.

After 40 months in power, Alfonsín's stock has never been higher. In Calle Lavalle, Buenos Aires's Shaftesbury Avenue, the man with the full-sized cut-out of Alfonsín has been doing good business with passers by who want to be

photographed next to the President.

Undeniably, a great victory for democracy and decency has been won in Argentina. The President and his immediate supporters can be readily forgiven for portraying last week's

events as an unconditional defeat against tyranny with Alfonsín in the role of St George slaying the dragon of militarism.

Dr Emilio Mignone, a leading human rights activist whose daughter disappeared under



Power people: Civilians demonstrate for the President.

military rule, said yesterday: 'I think we have seen the beginning of the end of Argentine authoritarianism. But many of my friends say I'm always too optimistic.'

As the truth emerges the doubts of Dr Mignone's friends are being vindicated. Alfonsín certainly won a victory, but it was by no means total or unconditional.

Though the Government claims that no amnesty was agreed with the mutineers for those accused of crimes against human rights, ministers and judges are racking their brains for elegant legal forms which would absolve the majority of middle-ranking officers from responsibility for most of their actions during the so-called 'dirty war' which lasted from the early 1970s to Alfonsín's accession to power in December 1983.

The definition of what is criminal action and what is no more than obedience to higher orders is being imaginatively tossed about. Alfonsín's advisers are trying to reach the

golden mean, which he had always wanted, between allowing criminals in uniform to go unpunished, and carrying out a purge of the armed forces which would totally demoralise the officer corps.

A Bill to postpone all human rights trials against junior and middle-level military officers for four months is being prepared for Congress.

In a political game of immense subtlety, there is every indication that creative use of legal language will soon come up with a formula which will allow most of the 400 officers now standing trial for murder, torture and other atrocities to go free.

At the same time, the unwillingness of even supposed loyal officers to open fire on their mutinous comrades, had they been ordered, emphasises the point that while the army may respect its new civilian commander-in-chief, it does not necessarily always obey him.

The army's 175-year-old tradition of doing what it likes is not easily overcome in 40 months of civilian rule, even if Alfonsín has massive support from the civilians.

Despite defeat in the Falklands war and revision against the excesses committed by the military during their latest dictatorship, Argentina's love affair with military life is not yet over.

Though Government spokesmen are emphasising the strength of support Alfonsín received last week from politicians of the Right, centre and Left, there clearly were civilians of extreme authoritarian views who would have been delighted to see him overthrown.

Meanwhile, the tireless and subtle President continues to weave an entente between his own Radical Party and the scattered supporters of the late General Peron, now increasingly incoherent and divided as the memory of El Viejo, the old man, who died in 1973, slowly begins to fade.

Though the Radicals hotly deny they are seeking a coalition with the Peronistas, they do admit to wanting a consensus which would unite the two main political parties against yet another *putsch* by the Argentine generals.

Next on the agenda is the future of the Falklands. 'Now Alfonsín has proved himself a match for the military, isn't it time Britain and Argentina started to talk about the future of the islands?' remarked one of the President's senior advisers in Government House yesterday.

With Alfonsín strengthened by his victory over the mutineers, it cannot be long before his Government launches another diplomatic offensive over the islands.

Army unrest still simmers in Argentina

by Maria-Laura Avignolo
Buenos Aires

THE RESTLESS ghost of the Falklands war has returned to haunt the government of President Raul Alfonsin as the shock effects of the Easter rebellion by sections of the military continue to be felt throughout Argentina.

Alfonsin now has to reckon with the emergence of an ultra-nationalist leadership in the armed forces who keenly feel the humiliations of the Falklands defeat five years ago.

Last week it emerged that a rebellion two days after the original insurrection was a much more serious threat to Alfonsin's civilian government than was first admitted. According to the defence ministry, 383 officers and soldiers took part in the three revolts at the northwest city of Cordoba, in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, and in the northern city of Salta.

The events which brought Argentina to the brink of civil war demonstrated just how deep the wounds from the Falklands conflict run among the military, especially the junior and middle-ranking officers. Nationalist, Catholic, messianic and extremely anti-British, they maintain that the Falklands was a "just" war. But they bitterly scorn the high command which mounted the "badly prepared" expedition.

They complain that afterwards "we were treated like pariahs because we were defeated. The commanders didn't even come to greet us when we returned from the war".

At the core of these dissatisfied veterans are an elite group called the *comandos*. They are trained for dangerous operations, and scoff at politicians, claiming to be the vanguard of an army "depoliticised and without ambitions of power".

They are the ideological mentors of the rebels, though they claim they do not want a coup. President Alfonsin was apparently convinced of this when he met them at a rebel base before their surrender.

They told him their objective was an amnesty which would allow them to forget the past and begin a new era. They want planning for a more professional army without the anxiety of human rights trials. They believed the "dirty war" of the 1970's, in which thousands of Argentines were murdered on orders from the military juntas, was both just and patriotic.

The rebellions were sparked off by the military's revulsion at its members going on trial accused of these human rights offences. Their immediate demand was an amnesty for about 250 officers awaiting trial.

Alfonsin was put in a difficult position when detachments sent to quell the rebellions made it clear they would not fire on their fellow soldiers. Eventually the danger of a coup subsided after the government agreed to suspend the human rights trials and sack the army chief of staff, General Hector Rios Erenu, regarded by the rebels as a poor defender of the armed forces. He has been

replaced by General Jose Caridi, who warned officers to refrain from destabilising the democratic government. The government has also retired 15 of the country's 35 generals for failing to maintain discipline among their men during the insurrection.

Now both Alfonsin and the rebels are claiming victories and taking comfort from the outcome of the military crisis.

The president's supporters say he acted as a pragmatic statesman who was able to resolve — in spite of concessions to the rebels — the most serious threat so far to Argentina's new democracy. They claim the crisis in fact

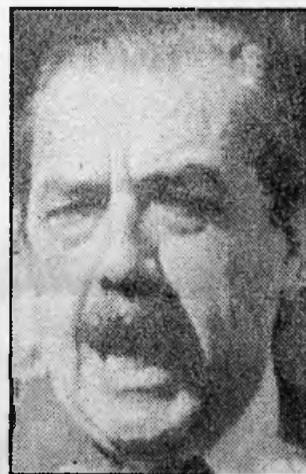
reinforced his position because it showed that the vast majority of the country did not support a coup.

The rebels also claim to have made headway, because the government conceded important demands. This became evident on Thursday when the Supreme Court suspended the trial of 17 naval officers accused of torture and murder at a secret detention centre at the naval mechanics school in Buenos Aires.

It still remains unclear if the unrest is over. The



Caridi: warned officers



Alfonsin: claims victory

of the second rebellion on Tuesday, but US embassy sources said that "the insurrection and chain of support of the army was as serious as the one which lasted all over Easter".

It apparently showed that anger within the armed forces was widespread and that the rebels would take action again if they believed the government was reneging on the bargain.

One opposition congressman, Luis Manzano, said the crisis "has not been overcome because there are people with contacts among members of the armed forces who say a state of complaint, of unrest, still continues".

government has not wanted to acknowledge the seriousness

NL

PRESIDENT Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, having peacefully quelled a mutiny by two army units, faced a second challenge from the military when some officers refused to accept his appointment of General Jose Caridi as army chief. Discontent stems from the continuing trials for atrocities committed during the military dictatorship.

NL
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6 mph STROLL

Eight veterans of the Falklands fighting reached the Parachute Regiment barracks at Aldershot yesterday afternoon, only nine days after setting out on a 1,200-mile fund-raising march from Inverness. Marching in shifts, the Paras completed the journey non-stop at an average of more than 133 miles a day—or nearly 6 mph. Result: £40,000 raised for the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the British Heart Foundation.

FALKLANDS:
FLYING
FORTRESS

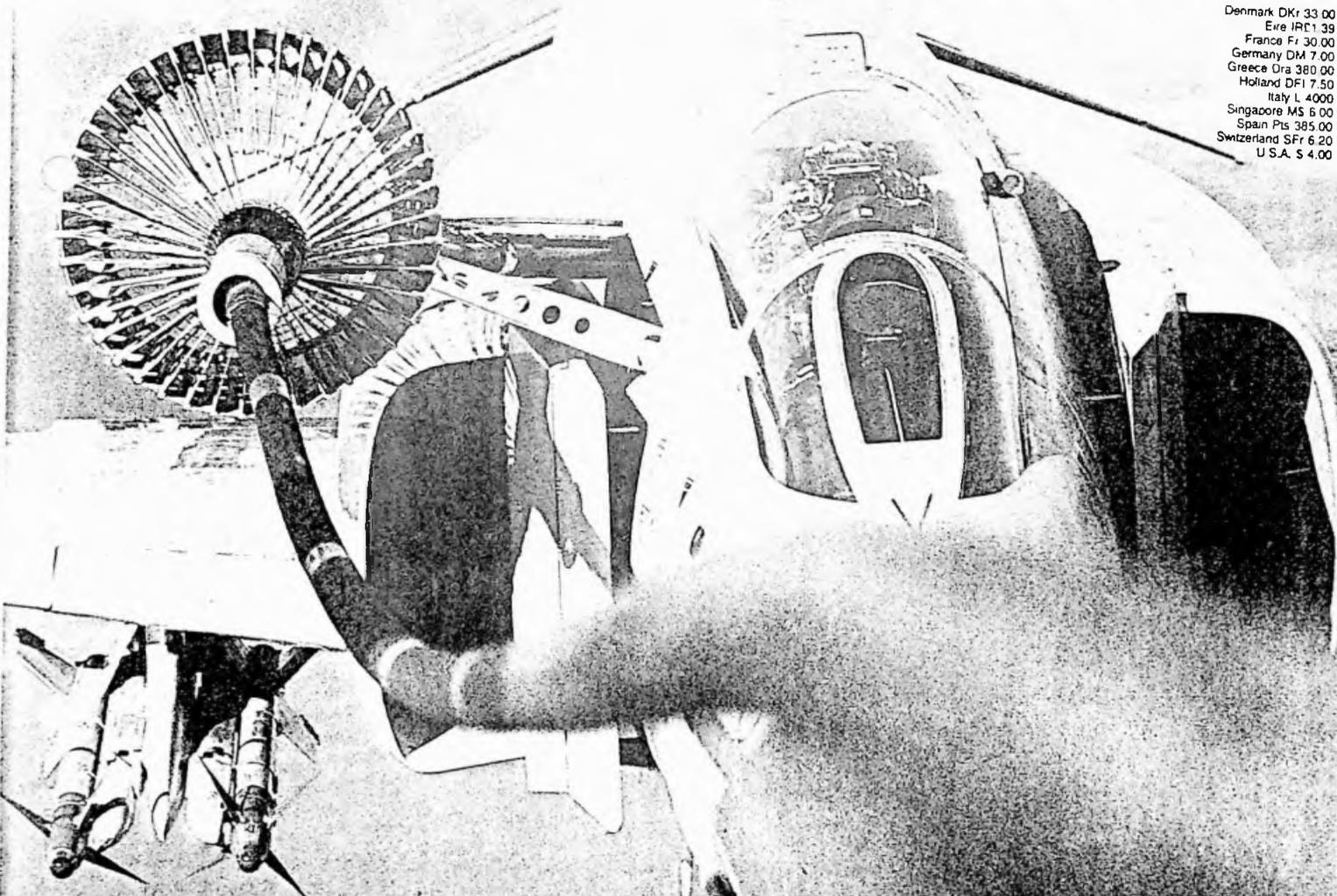
ARMED AND
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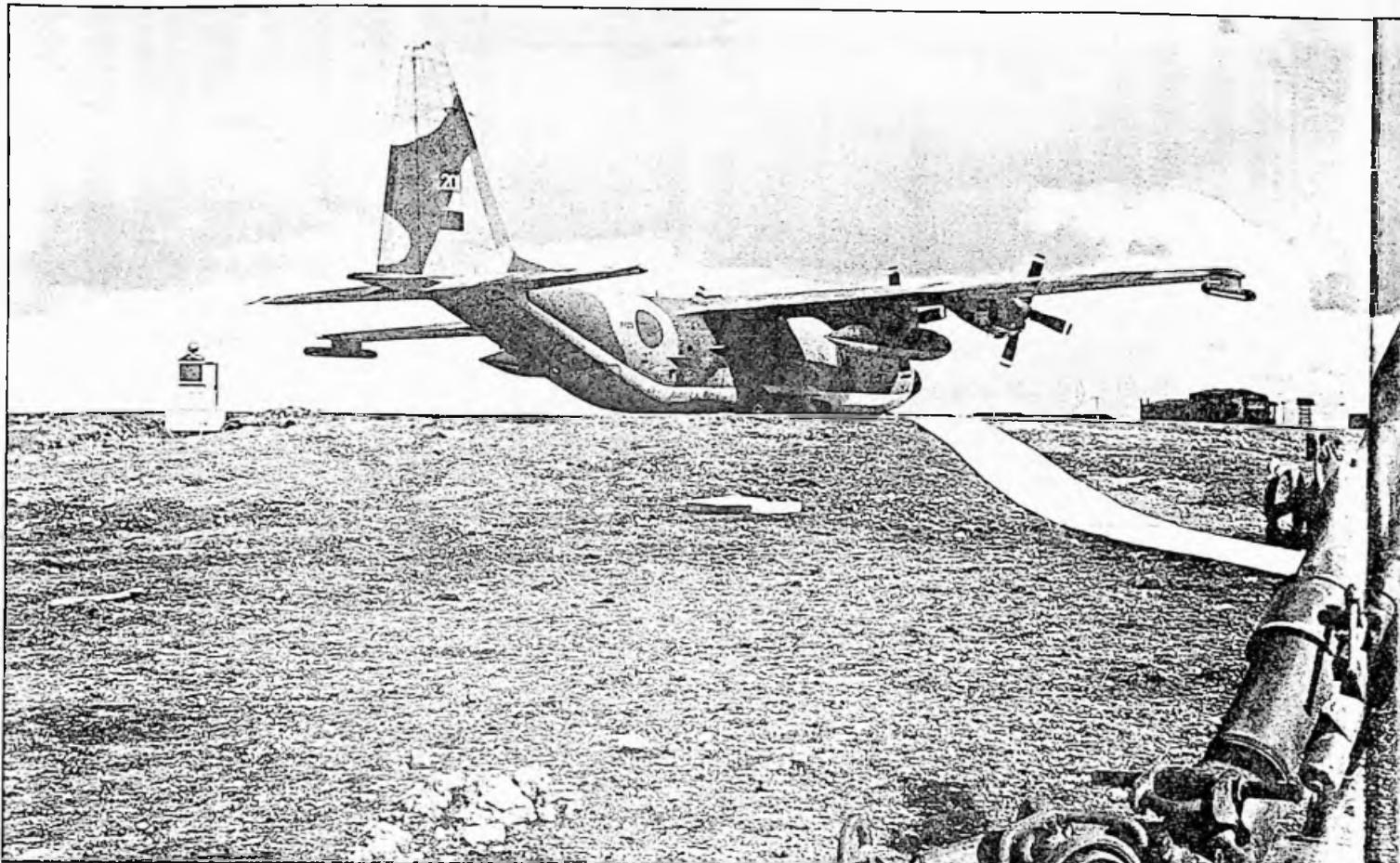
WEEK ENDING 25 APRIL 1987 95p

Denmark DKr 33.00
Eire IRC1 39
France Fr 30.00
Germany DM 7.00
Greece Ora 380.00
Holland Dfl 7.50
Italy L 4000
Singapore MS 6.00
Spain Pts 385.00
Switzerland SFr 6.20
U.S.A. \$ 4.00



**FALKLANDS:
FLYING
FORTRESS**

**AIRLINER
AVIONICS**



Falklands: flying fortress

The adequacy of the Falklands Islands' air defences have recently been questioned. **Eric Beech** analyses the fixed-wing assets deployed, with photographs by **Janice Lowe**.

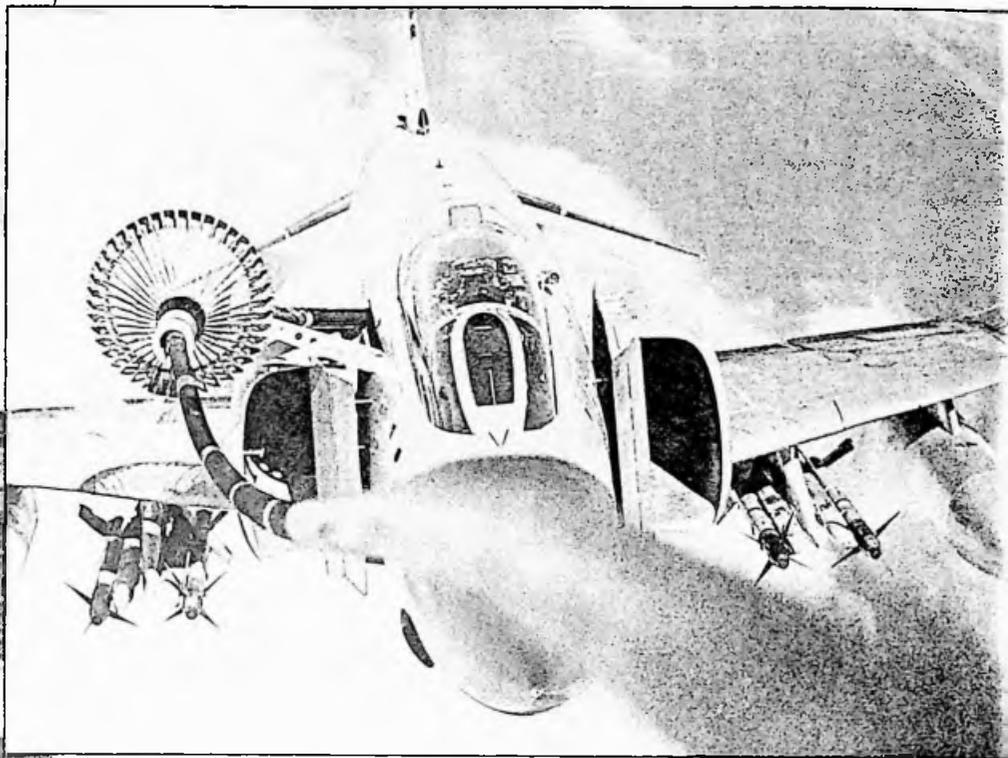
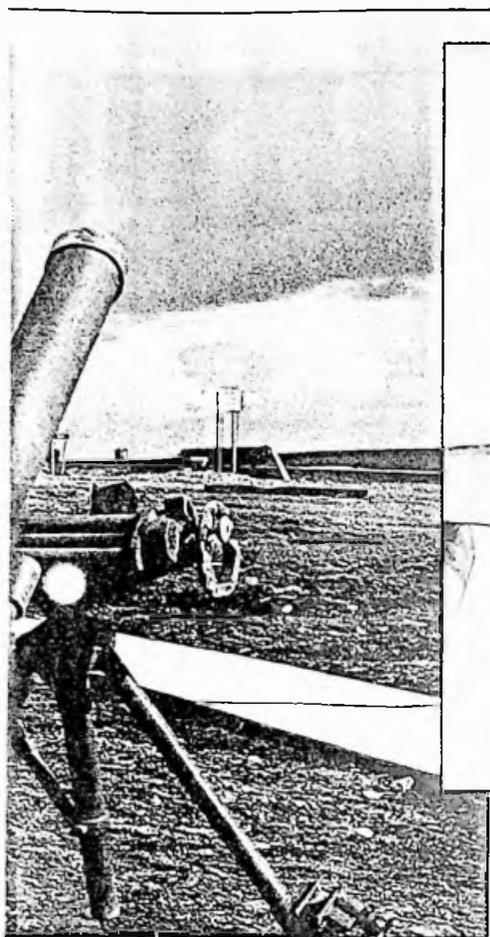
In the post Falklands War era with the adoption of the "Fortress Falklands" policy, deterring any renewed military action by Argentina is the British Forces' first priority. Argentina has never ruled out the possibility of resorting to military action again (hostilities have not formally ceased), and President Alfonsín has stated that the policy to "recover" the Falklands will continue in perpetuity. The air defence of the Islands and the ability to re-supply them by air in an emergency is paramount. Since the new Mount Pleasant Airbase and military facility opened last year the adequacy of the Islands' air defences have been questioned. An examination of the fixed-wing aviation assets deployed and their operational tasks puts

the posture of deterrence into clearer perspective.

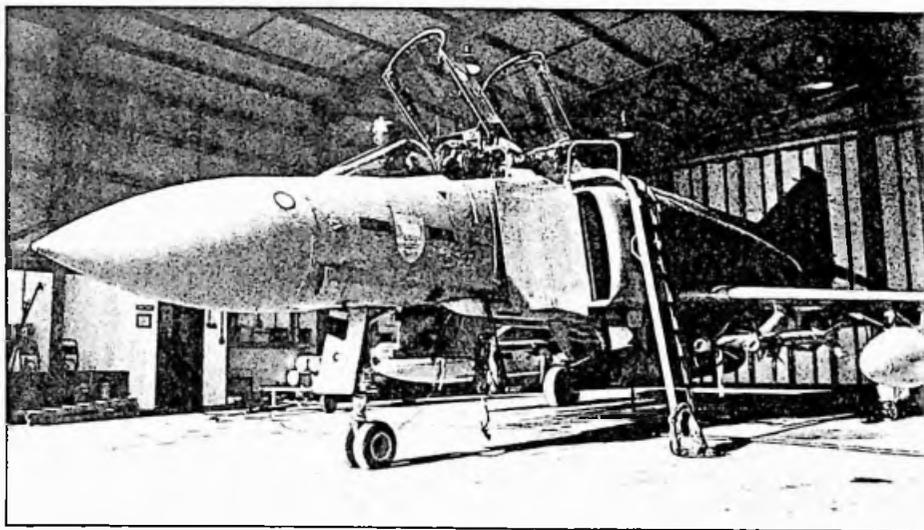
Winning and then maintaining air superiority over the Falklands' airspace was the key to the British victory in 1982. Since the Argentine surrender, Royal Air Force McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantoms of 23 (F) Sqn have been stationed on the Islands to provide the Quick Reaction Alert (QRA) necessary to deter any intruders. They have been supported in the air defence of the Falklands Islands Protection Zone (FIPZ) by air-to-air refuelling Lockheed C-130 Hercules of 1312 Flight. From 1982 until 1986, Britain was forced to station at least 4,000 personnel of all four services on the islands. The garrison was supplied primarily by sea but

with an air-refuelled C-130 Hercules "airbridge" flying in urgent spares, equipment, and mail five times a week from Ascension Island, 3,400 n.m. away. Central to the "Fortress Falklands" policy was the construction of an air and military base which, in an emergency, would permit the Islands to be reinforced quickly by widebodied jet. Once the facility was operational the number of service personnel and equipment permanently stationed on the Islands could be reduced, substantially cutting the cost of defending the Falklands. Therefore, while the "Fortress Falklands" policy conveys the impression of inflexibility, in reality it is based on deterrence and a posture of flexible response to any threat to the Islands.

Mount Pleasant, a tract of rough grazing land 30 miles south-west of Port Stanley, was chosen as the combined air and military base. The facility which is now variously called RAF Mount Pleasant, Mount Pleasant Complex or



Left A Lockheed C-130 of 1312 Flight at dispersal, with a captured Argentinian mortar as a "gate guard". Above An F-4 of 23 Sqn refuels while on patrol in the FIPZ. Below The Quick Reaction Alert F-4s now have purpose-built accommodation



Mount Pleasant Airbase (MPA), became operational in 1986. The complex runs on a joint service basis and a very high level of integration has been achieved. Three round-trip flights to MPA are now made every week by RAF Lockheed TriStars. The last military units and the Commander British Forces Falkland Islands transferred to Mount Pleasant from Port Stanley on January 16. While the roles of the British forces and their aircraft have not changed substantially, the move to MPA has meant that their operational tasks can be more efficiently performed and with a smaller number of personnel.

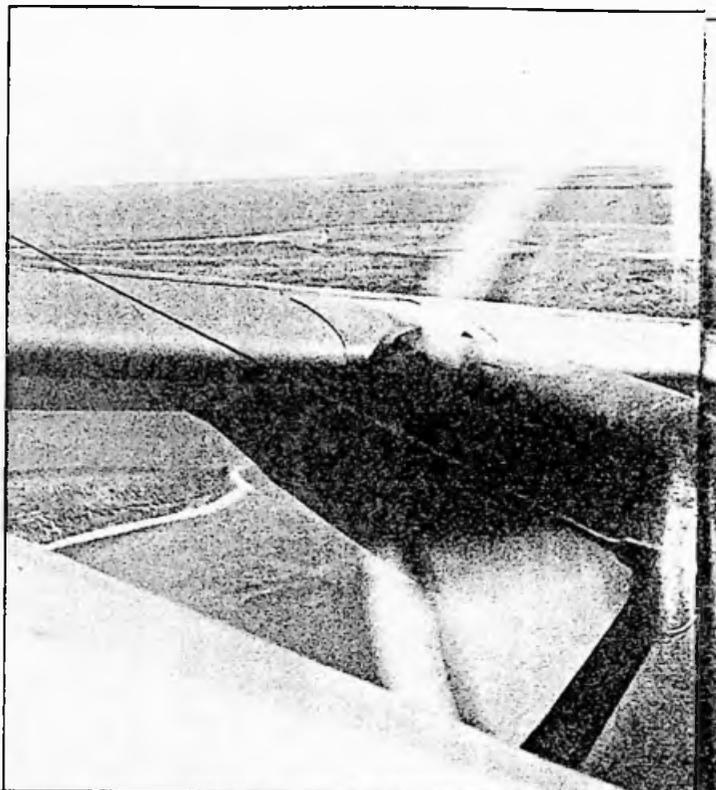
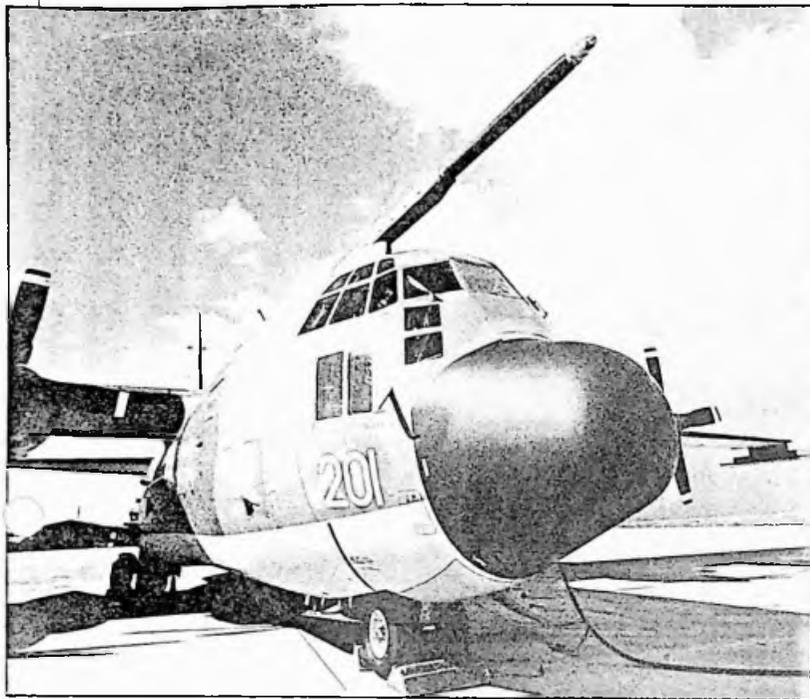
A visitor to the complex seldom forgets that the facility is a front-line operational base. Crucial facilities have been dispersed and protected against even the most determined attack. Security-state boards around MPA routinely proclaim "Military Vigilance". In addition to fully armed Phantoms and their supporting Hercules

tankers the airbase is defended by the RAF Regiment's 26 Sqn with British Aerospace Rapier Sams. Boeing Vertol Chinooks and civil Sikorsky S-61s are deployed in the support helicopter role, with Westland Sea Kings providing search and rescue coverage and Army Air Corps Westland Gazelles performing communications and general duties functions. (A second feature on military flying in the Falklands will deal with helicopter operations in detail.)

The object of constructing a purpose-built airfield and military installation at Mount Pleasant has been, not only to provide a base for operations, but to permit the Islands to be defended in the most cost-effective manner. MPA even has its own port facility at Mare Harbour

to handle food and general stores. Now that MPA is fully operational rapid reinforcement, according to the Ministry of Defence, could be achieved within 18hr. In the words of Rear Admiral Christopher Layman, Commander of the British Forces Falkland Islands, "the British Government's view is that the Falklands should be defended with the minimum number of forces capable of doing the job". The extent of the facilities at MPA is a testament to this resolve and clearly the force levels at any one time are proportional to the nature of the perceived threat.

All military aviation assets play some role in the broader policy of deterrence, but should that fail, then the air defence of the Islands would rest initially with the

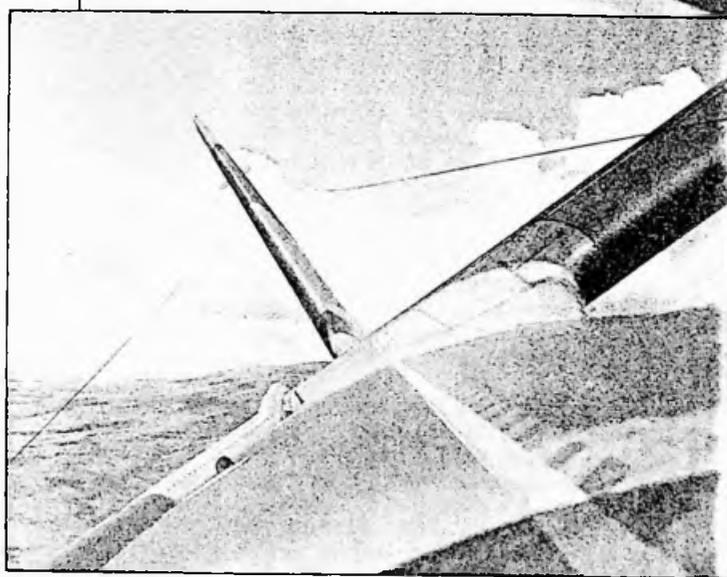


Phantoms currently deployed. While no one will discuss force levels, the Officer Commanding the Operations Wing, Wg Cdr Henry Lether, describes the number of aircraft as "adequate to buy time for re-inforcement". He adds that in the first phase of any deteriorating situation additional Phantoms from the UK would be dispatched to the Islands. The original wartime 200 n.m. Total Exclusion Zone around the Islands has now been superseded by the 150 n.m. radius FIPZ. This zone is patrolled by ships of the Royal Navy and the airspace within and beyond it is covered by a network of ground-based air defence radars. The early warning of intruders or suspect contacts enables the QRA Phantoms to be scrambled to intercept or to set up a combat air patrol. The frequency of scrambles varies, but three were launched in February to investigate radar contacts which were approaching the FIPZ boundary.

Patrolling the FIPZ

The Officer Commanding 23 (F) Sqn. Sqn Ldr Pat Lawrence, sums up the Phantoms' main role as a deterrence: policing and if necessary defending the FIPZ. His squadron is also tasked with the protection of the airhead to ensure that the re-inforcement and re-supply of MPA could continue in any period of tension. The pilots and navigators of the squadron serve in the Falklands on a five-week tour, in contrast to the majority of service personnel who are on four-month postings. It has been found that front-line interceptor aircrew suffer a degradation in their operational efficiency if they are deployed for longer than five weeks to the Falklands. The small number of aircraft available to train with is cited as the main cause. Nevertheless, the Phantoms regularly practise one-on-one intercepts and can simulate a range of intercept profiles.

Above left The Hercules C.1Ks of 1312 Flight still retain their refuelling probes for training purposes. Note the pod fitted under the aircraft's wingtip, presumably housing signal or electronic intelligence equipment



The C-130s of 1312 Flt contribute towards this continuation training by simulating low-speed, low-level targets. However, for the Phantom crews on deployment, two flights a day, weather permitting, is a typical average. The aircrew take one day off for every ten days on duty and are drawn from a variety of Phantom squadrons, which has the advantage of allowing them to compare notes and exchange ideas. The ground crew have come from a range of previous postings, although they have all had experience of Phantom operations in the last ten years.

At any one time at least one crew is on QRA with a fully-armed aircraft, minutes away from investigating any suspicious contacts. If an aircraft continues to fly towards the FIPZ, in the words of Pat Lawrence "using the internationally acknowledged Icao signals we would strive to discourage him ... but ultimately our

actions would be ordered from the ground". However, Sqn Ldr Lawrence points out that if Argentina did ever attack again they certainly would not come as singletons. In any outbreak of hostilities flying against a minimum of four aircraft in a heavy electronic countermeasures (ECM) environment would be a more likely scenario. Each Phantom is currently equipped with two Skyflash and four AIM-9L Sidewinder missiles, a single 20mm SUU-23A Vulcan cannon, and two AN/ALE-40 dispensers for chaff and flares. In times of tension two additional Skyflashes could be added to this load. The aircraft are fitted with an AN/AWG-12 radar providing pulse Doppler (look-down) and pulse air-to-air search and track modes.

Sqn Ldr Lawrence describes the flying as "enjoyable rather than professionally good". He and his pilots clearly relish the



Above Rear Admiral Christopher Layman, Commander British Forces Falkland Islands. The post rotates between the services. Rear Admiral Layman is a veteran of the Falklands conflict, having commanded the frigate HMS Argonaut during the war

uncluttered airspace and, apart from the unpredictable weather, otherwise good flying conditions. However, for all the Phantom crews a deployment to the Falklands offers few opportunities to improve their skills. The "theatre conversion" of new crews is a straightforward business. Talking to the aircrew, the general impression is that serving in the South Atlantic does not carry any particular significance, although barely five years ago their Fleet Air Arm and RAF colleagues were dog-fighting with Argentinian aircraft over the same airspace. Pat Lawrence, as the Boss, has spent longer in the Falklands and does experience a feeling for the significance of the conflict in 1982.

Hercules support

The Phantoms are supported by the Hercules tankers of 1312 Flt which can be airborne within 15min of a QRA scramble, permitting the F-4s to either extend their range or endurance. Sqn Ldr Gerry McKeating, Commanding Officer of 1312 Flight, does not talk lightly about the importance of the C-130s in the Falklands, and the diverse range of duties they are expected to perform. In addition to their obvious role as air-to-air tankers, the aircraft undertake the maritime radar reconnaissance (MRR) of the FIPZ. The Hercules' standard radar and navigation kit is used for this purpose. Ships entering

the FIPZ are reviewed once a day and close co-operation is maintained with Royal Navy units patrolling the zone. The 2-5hr flight to South Georgia to drop mail is combined with an MRR sortie. The C-130s frequently overfly the South Sandwich Islands which are dependencies of the Falklands and, being north of latitude 60°S, come within the responsibility of the Commander British Forces Falkland Islands.

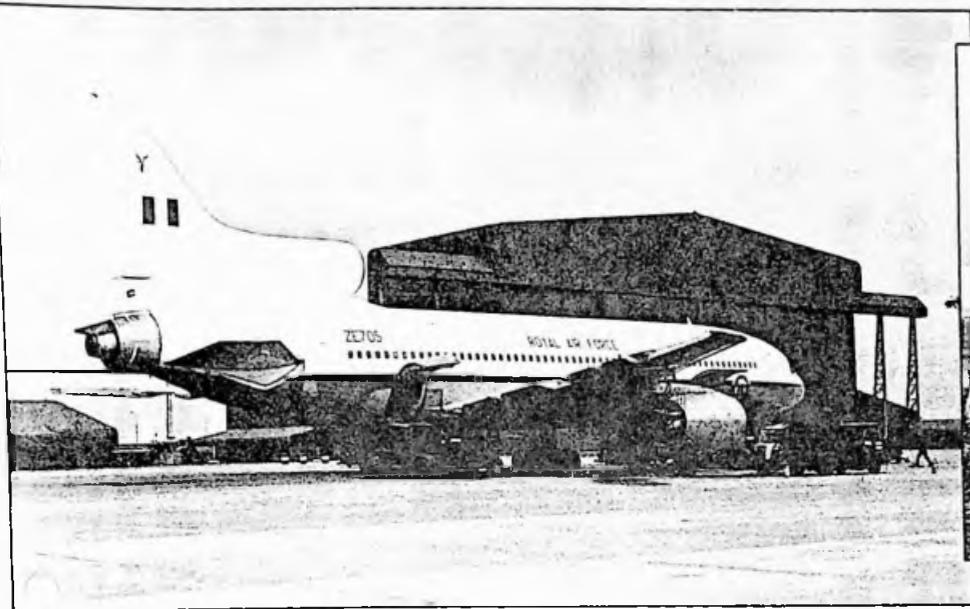
As a subsidiary role 1312 Flt has a search and rescue commitment to locate vessels in distress and is tasked to plot the movements of icebergs, often measuring up to 30 n.m. across, which are posing a threat to shipping. The pods, fitted under the aircraft's wingtips, suggest that the Falklands C-130s may also be used for signal or electronic intelligence activities. The Hercules C.1Ks operating from MPA were originally used on the South Atlantic airbridge and still retain in-flight refuelling probes over the flight deck. This facility is currently used only to practise air-to-air refuelling techniques.

The men of 1312 Flt are drawn from 24 Sqn and 30 Sqn at RAF Lyneham. Normally they can expect to fly once a day. Gerry McKeating is proud of achieving a higher serviceability rate for his aircraft than in the UK 8,000 miles away, although this is by no means uncommon for the other military aircraft deployed in the Islands.

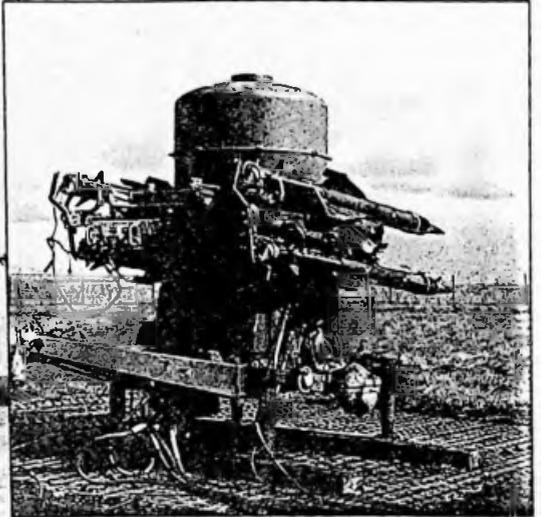
Sqn Ldr McKeating reports that over the years the Hercules (or Fat Alberts as they are affectionately called) have proved very satisfactory for refuelling Phantoms. With the 80ft hose deployed the F-4 pilots experience little wake turbulence as they refuel up to two-thirds of their tanks at a time.

The airfield itself is currently defended by Rapier missile units from 26 Sqn RAF Regiment. Each missile site has an eight-man crew achieving 24hr operational coverage. The units are all air-transportable and are frequently relocated to pre-prepared sites. The operators have some of the loneliest postings in the Falklands, but are good-humoured and make the best of their spartan living quarters. Firing routines are practised daily and 100 per cent system reliability is the norm. Even a successful pre-emptive strike against MPA could be dealt with, since runway repairs would be made in hours by 53 Forward Squadron Royal Engineers.

Stanley Airport has been effectively denied to all but civilian traffic. Following the withdrawal of all military units earlier this year from what was RAF Stanley, the runway presented a security problem to the Commander British Forces Falkland Islands (BFFI). It was conceivable that Argentina might try to land Lockheed C-130 Hercules transports filled with special forces in a bid to "grab and hold" the airport. On the advice of the Commander BFFI, and with the agreement of the Falkland Islands Government, only a part of the original runway will be restored in future. The surplus



Above left A TriStar 500 of 216 Sqn at RAF Mount Pleasant's air terminal. The TriStar hangar can be seen in the background. Above right One of the Rapier units of 26 Sqn RAF Regiment deployed at MPA



runway will be rendered unusable through the construction of semi-permanent obstacles and other works.

Mount Pleasant is equipped for all-weather operations and is always open. One of 216 Sqn's TriStars has only had to be turned away once from MPA when the crosswind over the main runway reached 70kt. According to the Senior Air Traffic Control Officer, Sqn Ldr Ronnie Thompson (WRAF), the north wind has caused some problems. Indeed, the unpredictable nature of the weather around the Falklands provides a constant challenge for pilots and ground staff alike.

Airbridge future

The South Atlantic "Airbridge" has always been seen as a weak link in the strategy to defend the Islands, and because of its cost it is a target for the critics of the "Fortress Falklands" policy. After the conclusion of the Falklands war, which had generated the most intensive

air transport effort by the RAF since the Berlin Airlift, priority freight and essential personnel could only be airlifted to the Islands from Ascension by air-refuelled C-130 Hercules. During one of these sorties Flt Lt Locke and his crew of 70 Sqn established what is believed to be a world-record Hercules flight of 28h 3min. The Hercules C.1Ks currently flying the route have been detached from RAF Lyneham. Since the aircraft are weighted out with freight, the passenger seating is not always fully utilised. If an insufficient cargo load can be forecast three weeks in advance, a flight can be cancelled. The frequency of these flights has been reduced since the opening of MPA, and will fall again once RAF Lockheed TriStar KC.1 tanker/freighter/passenger variants become available.

At present 216 Squadron uses Lockheed TriStars 500s, bought from Pan American World Airways, to airlift personnel to the Falklands, via Ascension. There are plans to convert the TriStar 500s into tanker/passenger variants, and this will

probably be done once the garrison has been reduced to its minimum planned level. This is likely to coincide with entry into service of the four former British Airways TriStar KC.1s.

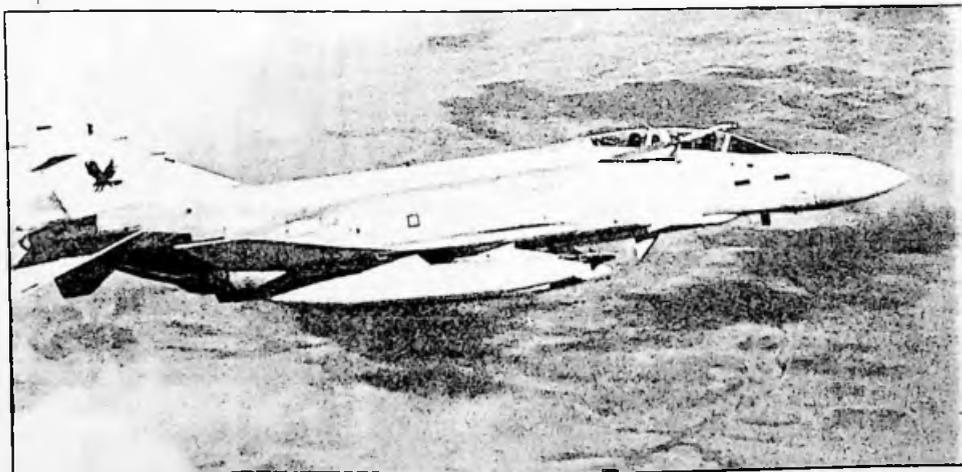
These aircraft are currently being converted to the tanker/passenger/freighter role by the addition of a cargo door on the port side, forward of the wing leading edge, together with a cargo handling system. In these aircraft all items carried on the specially strengthened cabin floor will be mounted on pallets, including passenger seating. The operational flexibility offered by the TriStar will prove invaluable on the Falklands route, and should reduce the Hercules flights to one a week or fewer, and even then only for awkward-sized loads.

Before the RAF TriStar 500s began regular flights to the Falklands, British Airways Boeing 747s were chartered by the Ministry of Defence to conduct troop operations. British Caledonian Airways and Virgin Atlantic have also flown personnel to and from the Islands. If a rapid reinforcement was ever required, these airlines have now established procedures for flying the route.

While Mount Pleasant Airbase has been completed at a cost of £395 million, the price of operating the garrison is likely to run to £257 million in 1987-88. However, by 1990 the annual costs are likely to fall to about £100 million per annum, when the number of service personnel reaches the minimum projected figure. Rear Admiral Layman is quick to point out that MPA has been "built only to defend the Falklands... there is no broader strategic interest".

In the final analysis, the maintenance of peace will be the test of the "Fortress Falklands" policy. Rear Admiral Layman states that, "provided you can hold MPA, you can, in the last resort, hold the Falklands". The Argentinian Air Force still boasts 145 front-line fighters and the Argentinian Navy has increased its Super Etendard strength from five to 14 since the war. Nevertheless, Layman is confident. "I think we have a strong enough deterrent to make the policy work."

Below An F-4 piloted by Grp Capt Harry Drew, Station Commander, RAF Mount Pleasant



Gibraltar's political and constitutional future

Hon. SIR JOSHUA HASSAN, KCMG, CBE, LVO,
QC, JP, MHA, *Gibraltar*

The Spanish sovereignty claim versus Gibraltar's continuing relationship with Britain and the Commonwealth.



Sir Joshua Hassan.



The Gibraltar House of Assembly is a hub of activity in the city.

Sir Joshua Hassan has been Gibraltar's Chief Minister since 1972, a post he also held from 1964 to 1969. A barrister, he was first elected in 1950.

On 13 and 14 January this year, British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Rt Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe met Sr Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Spanish Foreign Minister, for one of their periodic bilateral discussions on a number of issues of interest to Britain and Spain. Gibraltar was one of the topics discussed and, as undertaken by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons when the process of formal talks on Gibraltar at ministerial level was initiated in 1985. I attended the January talks, accompanied by my Deputy as part of the British delegation.

This series of talks had its origins in the "Brussels Agreement" signed by Sir Geoffrey Howe and Sr Fernando Moran, Spanish Minister at the time, on 27 November 1984. Before looking to Gibraltar's political and constitutional future it is necessary to review the main events which led to the Brussels Agreement and beyond.

Spain lays siege to Gibraltar

Spanish economic restrictions against Gibraltar had begun 20 years earlier and had been

gradually intensified until the physical and economic blockade of Gibraltar was completed in 1969 when the frontier was closed and communications by sea were cut. This coercive campaign by General Franco's authoritarian regime designed to make the people of Gibraltar sue for a settlement on sovereignty, had the opposite effect: the Gibraltarians were alienated from Spain and their many links with Britain, formed and developed over very many years, were reinforced. In a referendum in 1967, supervised by Commonwealth observers, 12,138 Gibraltarians voted to retain their links with Britain while 44 voted for a transfer of sovereignty to Spain.

The preamble to the 1969 Gibraltar constitution provides that "Her Majesty's government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes."

Earlier, in the mid-sixties, as the Spanish restrictions began to bite on Gibraltar's small and vulnerable economy, Britain had

entered into another commitment to "support and sustain" Gibraltar while the restrictions lasted. This resulted in a series of development programmes which, with the Gibraltarians' own determined efforts, successfully re-orientated Gibraltar's economy and defeated this latest siege.

Preliminary contacts

In 1977/78 was initiated what came to be known as the "Strasbourg process", exploratory talks between Britain and Spain, with Gibraltar forming part of the British delegation, aimed at creating some understanding of respective positions. While some progress was made, it was not until 1980 that the "Lisbon Agreement" was signed by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, and the Spanish Foreign Minister, Sr Marcelino Oreja. The agreement provided for negotiations to resolve all the differences over Gibraltar between the two countries, the re-establishment of communications with Gibraltar and co-operation between Spain and Gibraltar, with reciprocity and equality of rights, to mutual benefit.

For various reasons, the Lisbon Agreement was not implemented and another four years elapsed before the Brussels Agreement was signed. In the meantime, in December 1982, the newly-elected Socialist government in Spain decided to allow Spanish nationals and British residents of Gibraltar, but no one else, to cross the frontier on foot. Goods could be exported to Gibraltar from Spain but not to Spain from Gibraltar. In two years this led to a drain of £15 million from Gibraltar's economy.

The Brussels Agreement, like its predecessor, contained a re-statement of Britain's commitment to the people of Gibraltar under the 1969 constitution. It provided for sovereignty to be discussed—which was a more explicit version of "all the differences" of the Lisbon Agreement. While supporting both Agreements, I made clear my reservations on the issue of sovereignty.

The Brussels Agreement was, in effect, an endorsement of the Lisbon Agreement, but the ques-

tion of "rights and reciprocity" was also made more specific. The rights which were to be conferred on each other's citizens by Spain and Gibraltar were European Community rights. By November 1984 Spain was well on the way to completing its negotiations for accession to the Community. The British government had made it clear that the restrictions against Gibraltar had to be removed before it could ratify Spain's accession.

By December 1983, the Community and Spain had agreed that Community obligations in respect of external trade would mean that, from accession, all obstacles to trade between Spain and Gibraltar, except as permitted by exceptions and derogations in accordance with Community law, would have to be eliminated.

The Brussels Agreement was an ingenious device. A situation potentially embarrassing for all concerned, was avoided by the advance exchange of European Community rights between Spain and Gibraltar from 5 February 1985, instead of on Spain's accession to the Community on 1 January 1986, and the simultaneous removal of the restrictions.

The border gates swing open again

The main objective of the Brussels Agreement had been achieved. At local level it was almost as though the blockade had never taken place. The people on the two sides of the border who had been separated for over fifteen years resumed, without rancour, the friendly relationships which had previously existed between them. The second of the three main elements in the agreement was that of promoting co-operation to mutual benefit—in tourism, economic matters, cultural matters, the environment and medical and public health matters. Delegations, at local political level, of the Gibraltar government and the Mancomunidad de Municipios—an association of the municipal authorities of the seven towns in the vicinity of Gibraltar—agreed on the setting up of bilateral working groups to discuss methods of co-operation to mutual benefit and

to report to the delegations. This process is now well in hand.

The third major element in the Brussels Agreement was the question of sovereignty. Shortly after the first Ministerial meeting, held at Geneva in February 1985, Sr Moran forwarded proposals on sovereignty to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. According to the Spanish press, these are said to include a transfer of sovereignty to Spain with a leaseback to Britain, or the establishment of a shared sovereignty, with an internal autonomous arrangement for the Gibraltarians.

Reference was made to these proposals at the second Ministerial meeting, at Madrid in December 1985. The positions of the parties were re-stated. The proposals were raised again at the meeting held in January this year. Once more Sir Geoffrey Howe made it plain that Britain would honour its commitment to the people of Gibraltar under the 1969 constitution. For my part, as on previous occasions, I re-iterated the views of the people of Gibraltar on the sovereignty issue.

Future relationships

Against the above background it is possible to consider what developments might take place in Gibraltar's political and constitutional future in relation to the Spanish claim and Gibraltar's continuing relationship with Britain and the Commonwealth.

I believe that progress has been made since the implementation of the Brussels Agreement, certainly if the situation today is compared with that of ten years ago. The restoration of normality at the frontier has brought about substantial economic benefits both to Gibraltar and to the adjoining region of Spain. Gibraltar's tourism, which flourished in the early sixties before the restrictions began, is once again a major feature of our economy, although much investment of public funds is required in order to provide the necessary infrastructure after more than 20 years of virtual stagnation.

An open frontier has also boosted tourism in Spain south of the Costa del Sol. Recreational ex-



CHRIS MONTEGRIFFO

Sir Joshua welcomes the CPA Executive Committee to Gibraltar in the House of Assembly in March 1986, with His Excellency the Governor, Air Chief Marshall Sir Peter Terry, in attendance.

penditure by Gibraltar residents has provided excellent business in an area parts of which were affected economically during the restrictions, even more severely than Gibraltar itself.

But the progress which has been achieved is not to be measured only in economic terms. The advent of democracy to Spain has made possible a greater understanding between Spain and Gibraltar. The Franco regime purported to regard the Gibraltarians as an artificial and imported population with no identity of its own and no right to any say in Gibraltar's future (but it may be regarded as an implicit recognition of their role in determining the future that the restrictions were directed at the Gibraltarians). At the time of the "Strasbourg process", Senor Oreja explicitly acknowledged and recognized the separate identity of the people of Gibraltar. The reality of this identity, evident to all who know Gibraltar, is now an accepted feature of Spanish policy towards Gibraltar.

What the Spanish government has still formally to acknowledge

as another reality is that the British government is going to continue to honour the commitment in the 1969 constitution. It matters not whether juridically or theoretically, the people of Gibraltar have the right to self-determination. We believe that we do have that right. But what really matters is that Gibraltar's sovereignty is not going to be transferred to Spain against our wishes. The handover of a population is inconceivable in modern Europe.

It is to be hoped that the re-statement, at the meeting held in London in January, of the British government's position on sovereignty, a fundamental fact of political reality, will at last be understood and accepted in Madrid. Indeed, in practical terms, Sr Moran, the author of the Spanish proposals on sovereignty, said that for the people of Gibraltar to be handed over to Spain against the wishes of the Gibraltarians would not be a good deal for Spain.

Time may overtake events

Gibraltar's political future, then, is that it will continue to be linked

with Britain as in the past. Shortly after the London meeting, an opinion poll in Gibraltar showed that 98 per cent of those asked did not favour a deal on sovereignty, a figure very close to the 99.2 per cent result of the referendum held nearly 20 years ago. Should Spain therefore drop its claim to Gibraltar? Ideally, yes. But it is another fundamental fact of political reality that this will not happen. Is there then to be a permanent deadlock on this issue? To be frank, that is a possibility.

But I have said many times over the years that a people's right to determine their future is a continuing and living concept. When Spain suggests that a date for the transfer of sovereignty should be fixed for some time in the future—an acknowledgement that such a transfer would not be feasible today—the Gibraltarians cannot agree to bind a future generation in this way. Equally, a future generation will be free to choose, should it so wish, to request, or to agree, to a change in their status—and the British government is on record as stating, as



CPA Executive Committee Chairman Dr the Hon. Bal Ram Jakhar of India speaks to Committee Members, Gibraltar Parliamentarians and guests in the House of Assembly.

CHRIS MONTEGRIFFO

long ago as June 1967, that in such a situation it would approach the Spanish government accordingly.

Furthermore, the present Spanish Foreign Minister, Sr Fernandez Ordonez, has stated that the problem over Gibraltar is one to be, not resolved, but dissolved. If by this he meant that, left to itself, the problem would eventually disappear, either as a result of a future generation opting for a change, or, perhaps more likely, as national frontiers and the pre-occupation with territorial sovereignty become less important over a period of time, in a more united Europe, then I would not disagree with him.

In the meantime, and looking at the practical reality of today, the only reasonable and European way is surely for the people of Spain and the people of Gibraltar to live as good neighbours in their mutual interest—and this is already happening to a very great extent, certainly at local level—and to respect each other's point of view. There are a few encouraging signs, in the free Spanish press of today, that this approach

may gain wider support in Spain as a whole

Not a "colony" to be "liberated"

Gibraltar's constitutional future has been, and continues to be, the subject of much debate among Gibraltarians; there is a natural desire to change Gibraltar's present status as a "colony". I use quotation marks for three reasons. First, as I made clear at the United Nations as long ago as 1963, the typical evils of colonialism do not exist in Gibraltar; on the contrary, we enjoy a very large measure of internal self-government, an important consultative role in matters which are the responsibility of the British government, a strong and friendly relationship with Britain, and an entitlement to British citizenship; secondly, under the Order in Council promulgating the 1969 Gibraltar constitution, "Gibraltar shall be known as the City of Gibraltar"; thirdly, Gibraltar is grouped with other territories as a "dependent territory", not as a colony.

United Nations resolutions do, of course, provide for the

"decolonization" of territories through independence, integration or free association. The British government's view is that legal difficulties arise, for reasons connected with the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, in applying any of these methods to Gibraltar. The debate will continue and will no doubt one day be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. But, once again, in terms of the practical and political realities of today, the "colonial" status of Gibraltar is not an intolerable burden. Much thought needs to be given to this highly complex problem which bristles with legal and political difficulties and technicalities.

In the meantime, the Gibraltarians are resolved to continue with their way of life, their close relationships with Britain and the Commonwealth (the latter evidenced most recently by the meeting in Gibraltar in March of the Executive Committee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association), and, hopefully, in a peaceful and friendly relationship with their Spanish neighbours to the benefit of all concerned.

Alfonsin may suspend human rights trials

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

One of President Raul Alfonsin's leading legal advisers has said the government wants to suspend trials of military officers accused of human rights crimes for up to 120 days.

Mr Jorge Vanossi, a member of the ruling Radical Party, who heads the Constitutional Affairs Committee in the lower house of Congress, said the Government had not yet decided how to proceed.

But the proposed delay was seen as giving the government time to pass another new law enshrining "due obedience"—President Alfonsin's argument that officers should be acquitted if they were following orders and did not commit atrocities.

Mr Vanossi's statement was the first official confirmation that the Government hopes to stall court proceedings while it pushes through the "due obedience" clause as a partial

answer to unrest within the armed forces over the continuing human rights trials.

Military discontent was underlined by the recent rebellion of middle-ranking army officers demanding an outright amnesty for those involved in the wave of repression after the armed forces took power in 1976.

The halt in proceedings indicated by Mr Vanossi is much longer than expected. Earlier reports had suggested the Government hoped the Supreme Court would suspend the trials for perhaps 15 or 30 days while it produced a definitive ruling on "due obedience."

Although a pact between the Government and political parties, signed at the height of the military crisis, underlined the need for a system of establishing degrees of responsibility for what happened in the past, prominent opposition Peronists have since backed away from the idea.

DAILY MAIL
24.4.87

Mayday, Mayday! All hams to the rescue

IT WAS just like that Tony Hancock sketch. . . . Radio ham Brian Tutt was happily twiddling the knobs of his set at home in Herne Bay when faintly over the air waves came 'Mayday, Mayday.'

But unlike the dithering Hancock, Mr Tutt was galvanised into action by the distress signal and he was responsible for two Germans being rescued 6,000 miles away off the coast of Africa.

Their yacht, holed and drifting, was spotted on Sunday by an RAF Hercules from Ascension Island, alerted after Mr Tutt's call.

There are more than 50,000 licensed radio hams in Britain and an estimated three million around

the world. They spend hours of their spare time gossiping to each other on frequencies allocated by the International Telecommunications Union in Geneva. English is the language used, because we pioneered radio world wide.

Occasionally, the hams find themselves involved in drama. When the Falklands were invaded, a few hams in Port Stanley kept our forces alerted with vital information until the Argentines arrived on their doorstep.

'Fortunately, real-life hams are a lot more efficient than Tony Hancock,' says Mr John Nelson of the Radio Society of Great Britain.

IAN BROWN

15 generals go in Argentina Army changes

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

Brigadier-General José Dante Caridi was sworn in as the Argentine Army Chief of Staff yesterday, formally bringing to an end a broad restructuring of the military, designed to re-establish the chain of command following last weekend's rebellion.

Fifteen of the Army's 35 generals have been removed from active duty, the majority of them with combat troops under their direct command. The retirements are seen here as an indication of the widespread loss of discipline within the Army during the four-day crisis.

The re-organization, carried out under the direct supervision of President Alfonsín, included the appointments of new commanders for each of the four Army corps. The reshuffle included the retirement of all officers who lost even partial control of their men during the military emergency.

Among those retired was General Ernesto Arturo Alais, the commander of the Second Army Corps, who had been ordered to regain control of the Campo de Mayo, where more than 100 rebellious officers staged the insurrection. Although General Alais remained loyal to the Government, it is now clear that his men refused his orders to attack the base.

General Antonio Fichera, the former commander of the Third Army Corps, whose area of responsibility included the 19th Airborne Infantry Division based near Córdoba, where the rebellion began last Thursday, was also replaced.

President Alfonsín insisted on naming General Caridi as the new Army Chief of Staff as a clear sign that his choice had not been dictated by the rebel soldiers, and in an effort to maintain the concept of vertical command in the Army.

General Caridi comes to his new post at the most difficult time for the Argentine military since their defeat in the Falklands war. His appointment has been strongly opposed by important elements within the

officer corps, who see him as one of those responsible for the military's inability to contain the human rights trials that led to the current crisis.

"The rebels wanted to establish a horizontal system of command which would have left the hierarchy without any power," said the deputy to the Defence Minister, Señor Alfredo Mosso, in a newspaper interview published yesterday. "I would define the events of last weekend as a technical coup d'état that attempted to remove all substance and strength from the top commanders."

In another development the Argentine Supreme Court ordered the country's Federal Appeals Courts on Wednesday to submit a full report on the status of human rights cases in their jurisdictions within 10 days.

The order is expected to halt temporarily any further trials of military officers until the Supreme Court can rule on the concept of "due obedience", a ruling that the Government is hoping will lead to a reduction in the number of human rights trials. At stake is the extent to which middle- and lower-ranking police and military officers can be held responsible for illegal acts carried out during the war against terrorism under orders from their superiors.

It seems clear that the events of last weekend will lead to a limit being placed on the trials involving more than 200 officers, thereby partially satisfying one of the key demands of the rebels. The Government insists that there were no negotiations with the mutinous officers and on Wednesday the Defence Minister, Señor Horacio Jaunarena, again reiterated that the Government was not considering an amnesty law.

In his newspaper interview, Señor Mosso admitted that the demands of the rebels, now officially estimated to have numbered between 100 and 120 men, had touched a sensitive chord within the armed forces.

Argentina reviews

Bug shock probe

The spirit of the Malvinas is re-infecting Argentina's diplomats in Paris, who believe their embassy in the elegant 16th *arrondissement* is being bugged by the Anglo-French Chamber of Commerce next door.

Facundo Suarez, head of the Argentine Secret Service, has accused the British of using the offices for this nefarious purpose. "All the electronic means at the disposal of our secret services have been deployed to protect our embassy," he declared, adding sadly that US experience in Moscow showed this sort of protection was "very relative".

Informed sources, who admit they wouldn't recognise a bug if it bit them, say the Chamber appears an entirely innocent activity promoting British business abroad, with unlocked doors and people coming and going freely.

On the top floor, British firms may rent space, but do the Argentinians really believe our secret services can afford £100 per day for 12.5 square metres, not to mention all the hassle of disguising themselves as advertisers or software salespeople or whatever?

Argentina reviews price and wage freeze

By Tim Coone in Buenos Aires

The Argentine Government is reviewing its price and wage freeze, introduced at the end of February.

Although the military crisis has been the main focus of government attention during the past week, Economy Ministry officials have been meeting union and business leaders to continue efforts aimed to create a social contract. The idea is to forge agreements on medium-term economic policy, so as to end the wave of strikes which has plagued the economy.

According to interviews with union and business leaders, published here yesterday, the government's efforts have hit problems because of the freeze, and it is thought that a signal to relax the freeze may be given soon.

When the prices and incomes policy was reintroduced in February, it was announced that no new wage or price increases would be allowed until the end of June.

President Raul Alfonsin met his new labour minister on Wednesday, however, to discuss union wage demands, and the President yesterday cancelled all other appointments to prepare his speech for the opening of the new session of Congress on May 1. The two key themes of his speech are expected to outline his economic and human rights policies in the wake of the Easter rebellion by disgruntled units of the army.

The defence ministry was finalising yesterday the reorganisation of the army high command. So far, half of the army generals on the active list have been retired.

Alfonsín names new army commanders

BUENOS AIRES — President Alfonsín yesterday named new commanders for all four of the Argentina's provincial army corps, to replace those purged after a number of mutinies by mid-ranking officers. The shake-up forced 15 of the army's 29 generals and 10 middle-ranking officers into retirement, but a military source said the country can expect to be shaken by more mutinies in the next few months.

The country was calm yesterday after the revolts, which posed the most serious crisis yet to Mr Alfonsín's government. Defence Minister Horacio Jaunarena told Congress that "absolute normality" reigned in the armed forces.

But the military source said the revolts were part of a campaign by hardline officers to force Mr Alfonsín to halt human-rights trials, which have won him international acclaim, but angered the military.

"This is definitely not over," the source said. "This is a pendu-

From Roger Atwood
of Reuters

lum and it will not come to rest without swinging for a while."

The source, who is involved in top-level military planning, said the rebellions did not pose an immediate threat to the Alfonsín government. "Democracy is not at risk for the time being and everybody in the armed forces . . . is determined that the military must never be in government again."

The worst insurrection went on for four days at the Campo de Mayo army base outside Buenos Aires, where rebels demanded an end to trials of military officers for human-rights abuses, and the removal of the army high command.

Meanwhile, reports in Paraguay said cashiered major Ernesto Barreiro, who began the rash of rebellions at a base in the central city of Córdoba a week ago, had fled there on Saturday.

LABOUR WEEKLY FOREIGN FILE



Alfonsin beats back mutiny

— for now

THE much expected military revolt against the Argentine government's human rights trials finally came over easter week.

The rebellion, sparked off by a middle ranking officer accused of running a torture centre under the military rule from 1976 to 1982, was the greatest threat yet to president Raul Alfonsin's civilian government.

Alfonsin surprised the world in the first days of his presidency when he ordered the trial of military leaders and investigation of some of the estimated 30,000 "disappearances" under military rule.

The imprisonment of five former junta members by the courts was seen as one of the most radical steps ever taken in latin America against the military for abuses of power and human rights.

However, after the sentences - passed last December - military pressure on Alfonsin grew. In February, Alfonsin enforced a law limiting the trials for crimes under the military dictatorship.

Subversion

While many civilian Argentines saw this as an unnecessary concession to the mi-

litary, many officers bitterly resented ever being brought before civilian courts in the first place. They saw their role in the dirty war against subversion as a legitimate one, their tactics being no one's business but their own.

But it was not just the human rights trials which sparked the revolt. There has been widespread military discontent about the state of the economy and consequent austerity and cutbacks in some elements of military spending. Argent-

na's security forces have been used to blank cheques.

The question of Alfonsin's survival is a difficult one. Within hours of the revolt over a hundred thousand people took to the streets to state their support for civilian rule against the military.

Civilians

In the past, the military has only launched coups when it thought significant elements of the population were behind it. That is clearly not the case today.



■ Alfonsin makes a point to the hundreds of thousands who backed him against the military

But in the wake of the Falklands/Malvinas, the military retreat to the barracks from the Presidential Palace and the human rights trials, the military has rarely felt itself under such threat from civilians. There is no doubt some officers want to act decisively to regain their national standing. The military cannot claim instability within the country - beyond that they are themselves creating - as an excuse for a coup. That, along with considerable popular support, are President Alfonsin's major defences at present. The question for the future is, how long will those defences hold.

Defence minister may go following Argentine revolts

AS THE renewed army rebellions came under control in Argentina yesterday, the true cost to President Alfonsín of the prolonged crisis in the military began to emerge.

Tuesday's short-lived rebellions in Salta and Tucumán appear to have been the result of discontent at what the officers regarded as further broken promises from the government.

Although President Alfonsín has insisted that he did not negotiate with army rebels in the Campo de Mayo last Sunday, sources close to the army insist that the Defence Minister, Horacio Jaunarena, had agreed to the rebels' demand for the retirement of two pro-government generals, Ernesto Alias of the Second Army Corps and Enrique Bonifacino of the Fifth Army Corps.

Both General Alias and General Bonifacino had earned the wrath of the officers by their willingness to order troops to put down the rebellion.

When the first retirements were announced on Monday the two contentious generals were not on the list.

Faced with further trouble on Tuesday, the government reached an elegant solution by naming General Fausto González as second in command to the new chief of staff, General Caridi.

General Fausto González's promotion automatically requires the retirement of the two senior generals.

From Judith Evans
in Buenos Aires

One possible result of Tuesday's events, and one that is widely rumoured, may be the resignation of Defence Minister Jaunarena, but most analysts predict that this will be postponed until the dust of the crisis has settled.

Mr Jaunarena has been blamed for a further point of friction which emerged when the officers who had supported Lt Col Aldo Rico in the Campo de Mayo revolt had been detained and were being held incommunicado. It had been understood in the armed forces that these men would be disciplined, but would continue to carry out their normal functions.

"It won't be easy to rebuild trust among men who have seen the government say one thing and do another over and over again in the last two days," said a retired general.

The government appears to have made further attempts to modify the human rights trials after Tuesday's rebellion. The Supreme Court is expected to declare a 30-day suspension of all trials and has asked all the federal courts to submit reports on cases currently before them. This move follows the temporary suspension of a number of trials, announced on Tuesday.

During the month-long grace period, the government may try to find a formula which will effec-

tively abort the trials. As a first step in that direction, last night the House of Deputies unanimously approved a "democratic act" which advocates reconciliation and recognises the principle of "due obedience".

This principle was the device by which the government originally hoped to limit the human rights trials to those who had given the orders and those who had exceeded them, exonerating those who had committed abuses on the orders of a superior officer. Some judges, however, believe that "due obedience" does not cover "aberrant acts" — such as torture, kidnapping and murder.

The problem now is how to interpret "due obedience" in such a way as to absolve over 300 officers who are facing charges which include such acts. As the Bishop of Tierra del Fuego, Miguel Alemas, said in an interview on Tuesday: "A lieutenant who was in charge of a clandestine detention centre was obeying orders from his superior but if he tortured detainees, that is another matter."

Although the immediate crisis has been defused, government advisors acknowledge that a final resolution of the tensions between the government and army is still a long way off.

"What we hope to prove in the coming weeks is that although democracy isn't able to prevent crises it does have the capacity to solve them," said a government official and adviser on military policy.

DAILY MAIL
23 April 1987

FRANKLY SPEAKING

The Daily Mail's
controversial column
by Frank Chapple

Sorry Foulkes



George Foulkes

MR George Foulkes, Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman, has urged Mrs Thatcher to send a message of congratulations to Argentine President Alfonsin for quelling the recent army revolt. What a pity Mr Foulkes didn't send a similar message to Mrs Thatcher after she routed the Fascist dictatorship in the battle for the Falkland Islands.

Human rights trial halted

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

Argentina's Supreme Court took direct control of a crucial human rights case and yesterday considered suspending all other similar proceedings in a far-reaching change in the elected authority's attitude towards accused military officers.

The Supreme Court's decision halted public hearings scheduled to begin today in the case focused on the Mechanics School, the Argentine Navy's notorious torture and detention centre during the former military regime's "dirty war" after the coup in 1976.

This was not the only decision suggesting that the Government was moving to slow down the trial of military officers facing serious charges dating from the "dirty war."

The Supreme Court yesterday also met — for the second time in less than 24 hours — to discuss a proposal to halt all trials for a while.

Initially, it was suggested this delay would be for 15 to 30 days while the Supreme Court prepared a "definitive" ruling on "due obedience." President Raul Alfonsin's argument that some officers should be acquitted because they were following orders.

However, reports suggesting that Argentina's top judges "have not yet decided" the length of the suspension prompted human rights campaigners to question how long the "temporary" delay might turn out to be.

Significantly, perhaps, there was no indication of when the Supreme Court might allow the Mechanics School trial to resume.

Almost 20 navy officers had been summoned to the trial by the civilian Federal Appeals Court, including several retired admirals and other senior officers. However, for human rights campaigners and the officer corps, the key defendant in these proceedings is probably Lieutenant Alfredo Astiz.

As a junior officer, Lieutenant Astiz is seen as an important test case for "due obedience". He was cleared by a civilian court last December in connection with the disappearance a decade ago of a Swedish teenager, Miss Dagmar Hagelin, on the ground that the statute of limitations had expired.

Delivering that verdict, the judges all but convicted Lieutenant Astiz. In a parallel case centred on the former Buenos Aires province police chief, General Ramon Camps, gaoled for 25 years on 71 counts of torture, the same judges also argued against the validity of "due obedience."

An appeal aimed at defining "due obedience" was sent in the Camps case to the Supreme Court several months ago.

Tim Coone reports on the outlook for Argentina after a week of military rebellions

Alfonsin awaits the verdict of the courts

THE Argentine Government's claim yesterday of "total normality at all the military bases in the country" is more an expression of optimism than an accurate description of the armed forces' mood following mutinies at three army units last week and dozens of rumours of unrest elsewhere.

The mutineers have surrendered and their leaders are under arrest; now the Government is feeling its way towards accommodating some of their demands to prevent further recurrence of the scenes which have so shaken the country.

Although President Raul Alfonsin has to act cautiously, he is assured of the full political support of the opposition and the powerful trades union movement. It is also being emphasised that he enjoys respect within the armed forces and can count on the loyalty of the bulk of the senior officer corps.

Indeed, one of the more far reaching problems created by the mutinies is that the chain of command within the armed forces has broken down and needs to be re-established—hence the large scale restructuring of the army high command.

So far, 15 of the 30 generals on active service have been retired, after the Easter trouble, for failure to keep control of their units.

Resolution of the crisis will probably hinge on definition of the judicial military term *obediencia debida* (required

obedience, as to orders from superiors). This is cited in defence of middle-rank and junior officers in the military and the police, to claim that they were following orders during abuse of human rights under the military regime of 1976-83, and so are not guilty under the law.

Mr Marcelo Stubrin, a close aide of the president, said: "The mood in the armed forces will remain traumatic until the degrees of responsibility for the repression are clearly defined."

Over 9,000 people disappeared following arrest by security forces during military rule. The human rights trials now taking place are attempting to discover those directly and indirectly responsible for the disappearances and other abuses such as torture, rape and robbery.

The heads of the juntas responsible for organising the "dirty war" were imprisoned in 1985. The trials now investigating the lower levels of command have led to the present unrest in the barracks. The mutinies of the past week have been organised by middle and lower ranking officers whose principal complaint is that the investigations of their ranks in the officer corps should be stopped as the organisers of the "dirty war" are already in jail.

About 300 police and military officers still face charges, some of these having been filed just before a time limit for such prosecutions expired in February.

A solution to the conflict now hinges on a Supreme Court ruling which is expected "in the next few weeks," according to Mr Stubrin. The court is to rule on an appeal against the prison sentences passed on three middle ranking police officers last year for their part in the "dirty war."

In the meantime, hearings in



Alfonsin: Cautious tread

three federal courts have been suspended on the instructions of the State Prosecutor and the Supreme Court is expected to request suspension of human rights hearings in the remaining federal courts until the appeal decision is known. The Government has thus gained a breathing space of several weeks.

The final ruling is expected to ratify prosecution and

punishment where clear evidence exists that officers were in a position to question or revise orders from above and in any instance where there is proof that the accused committed a homicide or torture.

The mutineers' demands went much further, however. The Salta mutiny on Tuesday included demands for a right to nominate the new chief of staff of the army and an amnesty for those imprisoned and still awaiting trial on human rights charges. After accepting the surrender of the "Easter rebellion" mutineers, President Alfonsin said that no agreement or deal was made and that it would have been "a demented act" to negotiate the nomination of the new chief of staff with the rebels.

The rebels themselves were a mixed bunch. According to Mr Stubrin: "They include fascists and totalitarians who still have a presence within the army. But there are also soldiers who fought in the Malvinas and who resent the chiefs of staff who were responsible for the disorganisation and disaster of the war. They have been manipulated by the old military cliques, the coup-makers, and backed by their economic and political influence to create this crisis."

The Government's aim is therefore clearly to try and settle the crisis within the army by separating the coup-makers within its ranks from the professional soldiers who have a clean record, and place at their head generals who can

win the respect of the junior echelons.

Mr Stubrin said that the present restructuring of the army high command is aimed solely at replacing those generals "that lost control and command of their troops" during the rebellion. In some circles it is interpreted as a concession to the rebels, in others as an inevitable result of the crisis.

One further issue remains to be resolved, namely what it to be done with the rebel leader. President Alfonsin said that he regarded the insubordination of the officers as "mutinous" rather than "rebellious." The distinction is that the former is tried by military court, the latter by a civilian one which is likely to impose a harsher penalty.

Judge Alberto Piotti, who is pressing seditious charges against the Easter weekend rebels, disagrees with the President and says that military and civil trials will be held in tandem. Colonel Luis Pedrazzini, chief of the infantry school which was seized by the rebels, also seems to agree. In an interview published yesterday he said: "The rebellion was an attempt to take power. What they did was a rebellion against the constitutional order and despite their denials, it went against the wish of the majority to preserve the system."

The Government will clearly hope that it can find more Colonel Pedrazzini to speak their minds in the coming weeks.

Supreme Court to suspend rights trials in Argentina

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

The Argentine Supreme Court was reported yesterday to be preparing an order to suspend all human rights trials of military officers for a period of at least two to three weeks.

The court on Tuesday ordered the indefinite postponement of a trial in which Lieutenant Alfredo Astiz and more than 20 other Navy officers are accused of illegal detentions and torture at the Navy Mechanical School during the former military regime's fight against terrorism. The court ordered the suspension in order to review complaints filed by defence lawyers.

The trial, which was scheduled to begin today, had been anxiously awaited by human rights groups and had caused widespread discontent within

Spain's Deputy Prime Minister, Señor Alfonso Guerra, will visit Argentina next month to express his country's support for President Alfonsín in the wake of continued military unrest there (Reuter reports from Madrid).

the Navy. A Federal Appeals Court in Córdoba on Monday delayed further hearings of pending human rights trials in its jurisdiction for a 10-day period, but other cases have continued in La Plata, Bahía Blanca and Mendoza.

Lieutenant Astiz, who gave himself up to British forces on the South Georgia Islands at the beginning of the Falklands war without firing a shot, was cleared last December of charges that he had kidnapped and wounded Dagmar Hagelin, a Swedish-Argentine woman who became one of the more than 10,000 people to disappear during the 1976-83 dictatorship. Lieutenant Astiz has also been acquitted of two other charges of human rights violations.

Political observers here speculated that the Supreme Court would order the suspension of the trials, in which more than 200 military officers are implicated, so that it could rule on the concept of due obedience. The court is expected to decide to what extent middle and lower ranking police and military officers can be held responsible for illegal acts carried out under orders from superiors.

Although the Government

had asked the court to issue a ruling on the concept of due obedience before last weekend's military rebellion, the issue has taken on great urgency since then. It has become increasingly clear that the civilian authorities are hoping for a ruling that would limit the human rights trials and thereby lessen discontent within the armed forces.

The military situation was reported to have returned to normal yesterday after Tuesday's short-lived uprisings in the north.

In Salta, the Fifth Company of Mountain Engineers ended early in the evening its protest against the appointment of Brigadier General José Dante Caridi as the new Army Chief of Staff. The rebel leader, Colonel Enrique Rodríguez, gave himself up after he was reported to have lost the support of his men. Colonel Rodríguez was detained and relieved of his command.

In Tucumán a revolt by the 19th Infantry Regiment also ended peacefully. In both cases the soldiers demanded respect for what they claimed to be the agreement between President Alfonsín and Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, the leader of last weekend's insurrection.

Specifically, they asked for an end to the human rights trials, an amnesty for military officers and the appointment of a new army chief from a list of names suggested to the President by the rebels.

Señor Alfonsín, at a televised meeting on Tuesday with his top military commanders, categorically denied that he had negotiated with the rebellious soldiers when he flew last Sunday to the Campo de Mayo base outside the capital and ordered them to surrender.

The President said he had told the men that the Army Chief of Staff, General Héctor Ríos Ereñú, had informed him of his desire to retire from the outset of the crisis. "I told them that I had decided to provisionally appoint the Defence Minister as head of the Army. As you can well understand, it would have been an act of lunacy not only to have accepted but to have even discussed with them the name of the new Army Chief of Staff."

Alfonsin shows his authority

ARGENTINA'S example in re-asserting democracy after the traumatic years of rule by military juntas has been an important catalyst in encouraging a general trend in Latin America towards civilian government. As the chief architect of this process, President Raul Alfonsin has acquired the moral leadership of the continent. Thus it was vital not only that the Easter rebellion in Argentina fail but also that President Alfonsin emerge with his moral authority intact.

Both have been achieved without bloodshed and the nation's share of the credit must go to Mr Alfonsin who behaved throughout with considerable courage and skill.

It is to be hoped that this achievement will not now be undermined by continuing unrest within the army in the wake of the rebellion.

The rebellion was sparked by middle ranking and junior officers disgruntled at the way they were being obliged to appear before the courts on charges of human rights abuses committed during the 1976-83 military juntas. The human rights trials have always been the most sensitive element in the Government's dealings with the military since President Alfonsin took office in 1983.

Orders disobeyed

But on this score no one could accuse President Alfonsin of being less than statesman-like, ensuring that the main culprits were brought to book through due process of law without a broader witch-hunt of all those involved. Indeed, he has had to tread a tight-roped between popular demands for justice for the some 9,000 "disappeared" persons and alienating the military whose co-operation has been essential in settling about the reconstruction of Argentina.

The rebellion was in no sense an attempt at a coup d'etat, but rather followed an unfortunately long hispanic tradition of the *pronunciamiento* whereby a group of officers use the power of arms to "pronounce" what they want the politicians to do.

Probably President Alfonsin was obliged to make conces-

sions to the rebels. But it was far more important that he was seen to impose his authority and obtain the rebels' surrender, so upholding the supremacy of civilian rule. Nor at this stage should too much significance be read into the apparent continuation of unrest within the armed forces. For it was far more important that the rebels were shown unwilling to risk an armed confrontation.

In this context, it is worth remembering that in 1981 in Spain when parliament was seized and one of the military regions rebelled, concessions were made to ensure a bloodless outcome by limiting the number of people eventually prosecuted, and there was little effort to root out officers of dubious loyalty. Yet this did not detract from the fact that constitutional order had triumphed, and Spanish democracy emerged strengthened.

Dangerous trend

The failure of the rebellion should now reinforce democracy in Argentina and provide the necessary sense of national unity that President Alfonsin needs to press ahead with his plans for a "social contract" to combat the country's serious economic difficulties.

Beyond this it should serve to discourage a potentially dangerous trend, not just in Argentina but detectable elsewhere in Latin America, of middle-ranking officers taking the law into their own hands. This was evident in the seizure of the Ecuadorian President earlier in the year and the latest rumbles in Peru. With the generals having accepted to take a back seat, these officers seem unwilling to play a new role in democratic society where their privileges are limited to military matters.

The hope is that the events of this weekend have proved these men have no right to air their grievances through resort to arms. And if they take note of the messages of international support for President Alfonsin, they will realise their behaviour is unacceptable not just at home, but in the international community at large.

Argentine rebels again back down

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

Military officers in northern Argentina yesterday ended a short-lived rebellion called to protest against the appointment of Brigadier General José Dante Caridi as Army Chief of Staff.

Officers belonging to the Fifth Company of Engineers in Salta and the 19th Infantry Regiment in Tucumán had

Sunday afternoon meeting with rebel leaders.

Yesterday's rebellion, coming just two days after a military crisis that shook the three-year-old democracy, was another sign of the deep discontent within the Argentine Armed Forces that is threatening the stability of Señor Alfonsín's Government.

The Government categorically denies that it negotiated with the rebels.

● **Trials suspended:** An Argentine court yesterday suspended indefinitely the trials of 14 naval officers on human rights charges

A statement issued by the Federal Appeals Court said "the hearings are suspended . . . letting stand evidence gathered" against the 14 officers, most of them retired and all of them under preventive arrest. Their trial was scheduled to begin tomorrow.

Military changes6

said that they respected the nation's democratic institutions.

"The rebels have returned to their barracks," announced Señor Roberto Romero, the Governor of Salta province. Officials in Tucumán said the situation in that region had also returned to normal.

Argentine television last night showed the President explaining in detail to the country's top commanders his

The new phase of handling foreign debt

Jeremy Morgan reports on Argentina's new ambitious long-term scheduling agreement

THE ARGENTINE government believes it has won a long respite from the \$51 billion foreign debt trap with an ambitious long-term scheduling agreement with overseas banking creditors.

Announcing the agreement, the Economy Minister Mr Juan Sourrouille claimed the government had won big savings on interest costs with an accord that "consolidated the base for economic growth." He said the agreement was "the beginning of a new phase on the handling of the foreign debt."

Throughout the negotiations, the government argued that growth was essential to hopes of repaying the debt. It also insisted Argentina

should be granted interest terms similar to those given Mexico under its rescheduling agreement.

Bankers here yesterday commented that the government largely appeared to have won both points, as well as other concessions, from the 11-bank steering committee representing more than 300 commercial creditors.

The agreement is worth almost \$2.5 billion including \$30.6 billion in accumulated debt, \$3.1 billion in renegoti-

ated trade and financial credit lines and \$1.95 billion in new loans.

All but \$4.2 billion of the debt has been rescheduled on

once, in 1985, will be repaid over 12 years with a grace period of five years, with interest set at 7/8 per cent over LIBOR.

before the agreement. However, no new estimate for servicing costs was disclosed.

Mr Mario Brodersohn, the Treasury Secretary, and

The agreement will mean 'relief' from most capital repayments until 1992 and will offer the Government a long period of debt stability

Officials estimated the deal would cut the cost of servicing Argentina's debts by a net \$5.7 billion, or around \$300 million a year, compared with rates in force

leader of Argentina's negotiating team, said the deal covered all debts owed by Argentina to private creditors. He claimed that 55 per cent of the debts included in

increase their exposure in Argentina.

Argentina has long had difficulty persuading some minor creditors, particularly smaller United States banks, into accepting earlier rescheduled terms negotiated by the steering committee led by Citibank.

Bankers' caution the deal still has to win backing from the "critical mass" of the banks, and there appears to be some awareness of that potential obstacle even in government circles, despite an atmosphere of heavy optimism. Alluding to the six-month delay before Mexico's deal was finally approved, Mr Brodersohn said he hopes there would be a rapid response from the banks.

the package would not begin falling due for capital repayment until the next century.

The agreement would give Argentina "relief" from most capital repayments until 1992, Mr Brodersohn said, and offered a long period of debt stability stretching halfway through the life of the government which will take power after general elections in 1989.

The agreement included an innovative "exit bond" for small creditors reluctant to

New Argentine army revolt over general

A FURTHER crisis in the Argentine army was developing yesterday as middle-ranking officers refused to accept the appointment of Gen José Segundo Caridi as chief-of-staff of the Argentine army.

Gen Caridi was nominated for the post on Monday, after rebellious officers had succeeded in forcing the resignation of General Rios Erenu, who was unpopular with the lower ranks because of his insistence that military officers should submit to human rights trials in the civilian courts.

President Alfonsín held an urgent meeting yesterday with the chiefs-of-staff of the three armed forces and the defence minister, Horacio Jaunarena, purportedly to discuss the restructuring of the army. As they met, reports began to reach the capital that junior officers across the country are insisting on the cancellation of Gen Caridi's appointment and his replacement by a general more identified with positions taken by the rebels.

"Tension is not only high but it is becoming more open," said a retired army general sympathetic to the government.

In the northern city of Salta, the 5th Engineering Regiment are reportedly in a state of revolt, led by Major Jorge Duran. In the province of Tucuman, officers of the 19th Infantry regiment have reportedly sent a telegram to the Ministry of Defence rejecting General Caridi and two senior officers in the regiment have asked to be relieved of their duties. In Rosario, 185 miles (300 km) north of Buenos Aires, the Commander of the Second Army Corps, General Ernesto Alais, failed to turn up for a special ceremony between the armed forces and civilians in support of democracy.

Mr Raúl Baglini, a leading Radical party deputy, said of the military tension: "There is still an underground protest movement ... many sectors of the armed forces are not happy with the new chain of command."

In what is becoming a major

From Judith Evans
in Buenos Aires

purge of the armed forces, President Alfonsín on Monday night relieved of their duties eight generals and ten middle level officers, including a colonel, six lieutenant colonels and a major accused of taking part in the Campo de Mayo revolt. Two of those affected — generals superior to Gen Caridi — followed automatically from his appointment, but they also included one pro-government general. This leaves only one pro-government general, General Bonifacino, still in the high command.

Some reports from the interior indicate that Gen Bonifacino's retirement is also being demanded by discontented officers.

Sources close to the army admit that it will be difficult for President Alfonsín to retract General Caridi's appointment without a loss of face.

But the trials of military officers for human rights violations which sparked off the revolt have been suspended for 10 days in the interior province of Cordoba, where the insurrection originally broke out last Wednesday, and in the Federal Appeals Court in Buenos Aires. It is expected that the suspension will be applied to all other military trials, pending a ruling from the Supreme Court on the validity of the defence of "due obedience".

President Alfonsín insisted in his television statement that he had supported the question of defining "due obedience" since before his election in 1983.

It is clear that the five-day insurrection that ended with a peaceful surrender to President Alfonsín on Sunday did not end the military crisis. Sunday's euphoria is rapidly being replaced by the recognition that, although technically defeated, the rebels spearheaded an internal coup within the army, the full consequences of which are not yet known.

UK denies nuclear role for Falklands

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) — Britain confirmed in a letter published yesterday that it has not and would not deploy nuclear weapons in the Falkland islands.

The British UN representative, Sir John Thomson, was responding to a letter from Argentina to the United Nations last November outlining its activities marking 1986 as the International Year of Peace.

Argentina said these activities included an international campaign by the Argentine Peace Council for the removal of an alleged nuclear base from the Falklands, over which Argentina and Britain went to war in 1982.

Sir John noted that it was the practice of nuclear-weapon states, for security and safety reasons, neither to confirm nor deny the presence or absence of nuclear weapons in any location at any particular time. Nevertheless, he said, Britain had repeatedly stated it would continue to comply with its obligations under the additional protocols of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, a 1967 accord barring nuclear weapons from Latin America.

He said Britain complied "first, in not deploying nuclear weapons in territories for which the United Kingdom is internationally responsible within the treaty's zone of application, which include the Falkland islands; [and] second, in not deploying such weapons in the territories for which the treaty is in force."

Alfonsín reshuffles his generals

From Eduardo Cué
Buenos Aires

President Alfonsín has moved to reassert control over the Argentine military by forcing ten generals and numerous other senior officers into retirement following the week-end military crisis. Further changes in the upper echelons of the Army are expected in the next few days.

Brigadier-General José Dante Caridi has been appointed Army Chief of Staff just one day after the end of the insurrection that shook this country's three-year old democracy. His appointment is seen here as the first step in what is expected to be a thorough-going reorganization of the armed forces.

Informed sources said that

all high-ranking officers who lost even partial control of their men during the crisis or whose own loyalty to the President was questionable would be forced into retirement.

In another development, the Córdoba Federal Appeals Court has suspended for 10 days further hearings in its investigation into human rights violations by military officers.

The suspension, which has been requested by the Attorney-General, Señor Juan Octavio Gauna, was evidently an attempt to defuse the tense political climate. Last week's crisis was sparked by Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro's refusal to appear before the Córdoba court.

Two captains had been

scheduled to appear before the tribunal yesterday. There have been strong indications that they would refuse to do so.

However, a Federal Appeals Court in Bahía Blanca, south of Buenos Aires, is continuing its investigation of human rights violations.

General Caridi, who had been serving as Inspector-General of the Army, succeeds General Héctor Ríos Ereñú, whose retirement was announced on Sunday, just hours after the end of the confrontation.

His removal had been one of the main demands of more than 100 rebellious officers who occupied a military academy west of Buenos Aires for three days. The siege ended only after President Alfonsín flew to the base and personally

ordered the men to surrender.

"I am assuming a tremendous responsibility at a very difficult moment for our institution," General Caridi said.

By naming General Caridi to the top Army post, President Alfonsín avoided the appointment of any of the men suggested to him during his meeting with the rebellious officers on Sunday.

General Augusto Vidal had been thought most likely to succeed General Ríos Ereñú. But he appears to have been ruled out.

However, with the euphoria caused by the end of the crisis waning, scepticism is being expressed here over the consistent claims by the Government that it had not negotiated with the insurgents.

Another Army crisis brewing in Argentina

By Cristina Bonasegna in Buenos Aires

ANOTHER military crisis appeared to be brewing in Argentina yesterday after President Alfonsín appointed a new Army commander following the Easter rebellion of officers opposed to human rights trials.

Although there was no official confirmation, a senior Government official admitted yesterday that the Fifth Engineers' Regt in Salta, near the border with Bolivia, had staged a fresh uprising.

There were also rumours that there was a further revolt at the Campo de Mayo base, 30 miles west of Buenos Aires, where the leaders of the rebellion ended on Sunday were being held under arrest.

Tension seemed to flare up again there yesterday, after a five-day revolt, as President Alfonsín called an emergency afternoon meeting of members of his Radical party.

The new rebels are said to oppose the President's appointment of Gen. Jose Caridi, 56, as Army Chief of Staff following the resignation of Gen. Hector Rios Erenu as a result of last week's uprisings in Cordoba, 500 miles north-west of the capital, and at Campo de Mayo.

The Defence Ministry also announced late on Monday that eight colonels, including the rebellious Aldo Rico, and one major had been relieved of their posts.

A defence spokesman said yesterday that the officers would be brought before military courts. He added more officers could be relieved of their posts following an inquiry.

But the spokesman denied that the shake-up would be severe enough to be called a "purge".

Resignations submitted

Gen. Caridi's appointment brought about the enforced retirement of two other generals above him in chain of command, and there were reports yesterday that six other generals had submitted their resignations.

The list includes Gen. Augusto Vidal, who was one of the rebels' preferences for the post of Army Chief of Staff.

The resignation of Gen. Rios Erenu, which the rebels had demanded, came after his middle-ranking subordinates failed to obey orders to put down the uprising at the Infantry School in Campo de Mayo.

In a surprise nationwide speech President Alfonsín denied reports that he made any concessions to the rebels during a dramatic visit to their camp on Sunday afternoon, after which he announced that the "mutineers had abandoned their stand".

Alfonsin reasserts authority after fresh unrest by Argentine troops

A FRESH outbreak of military unrest in Argentina appeared to have been overcome peacefully last night as President Raul Alfonsin struggled to reassert his authority over the armed forces, writes Tim Coone in Buenos Aires.

A six-hour rebellion by 250 officers and soldiers in the remote northern province of Salta was "totally over," according to the provincial government. The chief of the rebel company had ceased his uprising and turned himself over to the garrison army chief.

The Defence Ministry said earlier that the situation was under control, in spite of reports that unrest had also broken out at the 18th Infantry Regiment in Tucuman and reports of new problems at the Campo de Mayo base on the outskirts of Buenos Aires.

It was at Campo de Mayo that President Alfonsin accepted on Sunday the surrender of Lt/Col Aldo Rico, who emerged

as the leader of the Easter weekend rebellion.

The latest trouble came hours after President Alfonsin met military chiefs to make public the talks he held with Lt Col Rico and end speculation that he had negotiated an agreement with the rebels.

One of the rebels' demands was that the commanding officers of the army should be dismissed and the high command restructured.

According to an unofficial list published in all the daily newspapers in Buenos Aires yesterday, more than a third of the Argentine army high command will be forced to retire as a consequence of last week's rebellion.

General Dante Caridi has been named as the new army chief of staff.

The latest unrest in Salta province was reported to be a protest against the choice of a new army chief of staff.

So far, the three most senior

officers of the army have been removed from their posts, as has the head of the Third Army Corps, General Antonio Fichera. One of the units under his command was the first to rebel on Wednesday.

The postponement of hearings this week in Cordoba, on the instructions of the state prosecutor, has added to suspicion that the crisis is still not over.

Hearings in the Cordoba court provoked the "Easter rebellion" when a major in the army was called to testify before the court. He refused to appear, and sought refuge in one of the Third Army Corps bases in the city.

This week, several other army officers were due to appear before the Cordoba court, including two captains. Most of the rebels who seized the infantry school in Buenos Aires during the mutiny held the rank of captain.

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Alfonsin quells renewed revolt after reshuffle

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

Army officers in northern Argentina early today ended a revolt over a new army command.

The revolt in the cities of Salta and Tucuman was against the command installed by President Raul Alfonsin after he ended a four-day insurrection by officers opposing human rights trials for military personnel.

A government spokesman, Mr Marcelo Stubrin, said "every-

thing was back to normal" in all military dependencies in the countries.

Earlier yesterday, it had been reported that army units in the two cities were in a "virtual state of rebellion" and refusing to recognise General Jose Caridi, the new army commander appointed by President Alfonsin after a similar rebellion at the weekend.

Mr Cesar Jaroslavsky, head of the Radical Party's majority in the lower house of Congress, admitted there were "problems" with an infantry unit in Tucuman province and a company of army engineers in neighbouring Salta.

The leader of the engineers' insurrection, Major Jorge Duran had said the Government had to submit to the demands made by rebels who held the

Major Duran said his action was not aimed at a coup d'etat but warned "that internal problems persist in the force" in an apparent criticism of General Caridi's promotion.

Reports had suggested that yesterday's upheaval could spread to Campo de Mayo, but a spokesman for President Alfonsin said everything was "normal" in Buenos Aires.

President Alfonsin has appointed a new deputy commander of the army, General Fausto Gonzalez, but this may complicate his hopes of quickly ending the unrest.

Argentine army officers traditionally resign if someone below them in the hierarchy is promoted above them. General Gonzalez's elevation implied the departure of several generals, leaving a vacuum in the high command.

Three of the army's four active corps seemed to be without a commander last night as President Alfonsin and his advisers weighed up possible promotions.

An Argentine court yesterday suspended indefinitely the trials of 19 naval officers, among them Lieutenant Alfredo Astiz, on human rights charges. The

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Troops out rally, page 21

Campo de Mayo military base outside Buenos Aires for two days at the weekend. Those demands included an amnesty for military officers accused of human rights crimes, and drastic changes in the army high command.

Alfonsin quells renewed revolt after reshuffle

Continued from page one

Federal Appeals Court said "the hearings are suspended . . . letting stand evidence gathered" against the officers, most of them retired and all of them under preventive arrest. Their trial was scheduled to begin tomorrow.

The first reports of a new revolt came minutes after President Alfonsin formally appointed General Caridi as the new army chief. General Caridi, a 56-year-old bachelor who was inspector general of the army, is regarded as a senior officer strongly committed to the constitutional order.

He was chosen in favour of several other candidates including General Jorge Vidal. General Vidal was regarded as a strong defender of the armed forces' "dirty war," a campaign of violent repression in which thousands disappeared during the military regime between 1976 and 1983.

General Vidal was seen as the most likely candidate for the army chiefs, even though he had the respect of the Campo de Mayo rebels led by Colonel Aldo Rico.

General Vidal could have been expected to take a tough line against the trials of army officers accused of human rights crimes during the dirty war.

General Caridi, on the other hand, delivered a strong lecture on the need to defend democracy when he took com-

mand of the army's Fifth Corps.

Six generals sent in requests to resign from the army after General Caridi was named by President Alfonsin. It was not clear whether they were protesting against the appointment or whether their requests were intended to rally middle and junior ranking officers opposed to any government shake-up after the rebellions in Cordoba and Campo de Mayo.

The defence ministry, meanwhile, said eight colonels and a major had been removed from their posts and would face military courts in connection with their role in the insurrection put down on Sunday.

Yesterday's upheaval came amid continuing speculation that President Alfonsin had indicated, if not negotiated, a change in the Government's policy on human rights trials to defuse the crisis at Campo de Mayo. He denied that any deal was done.

Courts in Cordoba and Buenos Aires announced that they were postponing legal hearings and public appearances of officers under suspicion.

An unsigned statement released by the Salta rebels yesterday insisted that they were not staging a military takeover of the country. But they warned that "internal problems persisted in the force," suggesting that President Alfonsin's problems with Argentina's unruly army are not yet over.

NC

Argentina ponders
loss of army
officials
bellion

Ex-Falklands governor fined

Sir Rex Hunt, former Governor of the Falklands, was stopped for speeding on his way to lay a wreath at the Cenotaph, he told Basingstoke magistrates yesterday.

Sir Rex, 60, of Broomfield Park, Sunningdale, who admitted driving his Mercedes at 101 mph on the M3 near Fleet, Hants, on Dec 6, was fined £110 with £10 costs.

NC

Argentina ponders lessons of army officers' rebellion

NOW THAT the drama is over and the cheering voices are quieted, Argentines are reflecting on the consequences of the peaceful surrender to President Raúl Alfonsín of a rebellious group of military officers after 100 hours of crisis.

The question is whether more than one winner has emerged from the civilian-military brinkmanship, given the widespread belief that the insurrectionary army officers won a number of important concessions from the government. Balancing this assumption is the view, shared by most analysts, that President Alfonsín once again showed a staggering political talent and has emerged as a stronger, perhaps a heroic, figure, at least for the moment.

The President himself hinted at the double-winner hypothesis in his announcement from the Government House balcony after returning from his decisive face-to-face meeting with the rebels. In spite of the emotionally-charged atmosphere, the President chose his words carefully, saying that the insurgents had been "brought down" not that they had surrendered, and giving emphasis to the fact that within the group were "heroes of the Malvinas War" who had "assumed mistaken positions".

By midday on Sunday, several

From Judith Evans
in Buenos Aires

hours before Mr Alfonsín made the helicopter trip to the Campo de Mayo army base to meet the rebels, one of their principal demands had already been met. Chief of Staff General Hector Ríos Erenu had resigned. His ultimate replacement has not been officially announced but it has been reported that it will be someone whose level in the hierarchy requires the retirement of at least 10 generals, thereby effectively restructuring the army high command.

These changes cannot, however, be read only as concessions to the rebels. The prolongation of the crisis was caused by the inability of the army corps commanders and General Ríos Erenu to guarantee that their troops would obey orders to repress the insurgents. "In the final analysis," said Juan Batista Jofre, military analyst for the financial daily *Ambito Financiero*, "Alfonsín was left without a single soldier". Given the inefficacy of the high command, its restructuring was inevitable, whatever had been the immediate consequences of the crisis. "The establishment of an army command more in tune with its troops," concluded Mr Jofre, "opens the way for the military to

become more in step with the country."

Others are less sanguine about the consequences of the institutional changes in the army. A respected economist and adviser to the government expressed concern over the fact that other officers had witnessed that, by holding firm for only four days, the group led by Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico was able to gain benefits. "If this leads to a series of barrack revolts, we're back where we started — Latin-America's most developed banana republic," he said.

The officers rebelled in protest against trials of relatively junior officers for alleged human rights offences committed during the so-called dirty war of 1976-82. It is widely accepted here that the third point in a "democratic pact" signed on Sunday by representatives of political parties, economic and social sectors presages a government move to achieve a precise juridical definition that will exonerate lower-ranking officers from certain charges. Human rights lawyer Emilio Mignone emphasised that this should be no surprise. "The limitation of responsibility for lower-ranking officers was always part of the President's thinking," he said, adding that the government was seeking to achieve what it had always intended.

Intuition, ethics and Alfonsín's triumph

RAUL Alfonsín has described himself as a man guided more by ethics than by ideology, a necessary distinction in a country in which ideology has generally served as a cover for opportunism and demagoguery. He is also a pragmatist who is nevertheless prepared to accommodate the Argentine fondness for the grand gesture.

He has used his 40-month presidency to instil common sense into Argentine politics, persuading a hedonistic electorate that austerity is sometimes necessary and that simplistic solutions invariably do not work.

He has shown Argentines, inured to corruption and bullying tactics in public life, that politics can be conducted in a civilised manner. His popularity was illustrated when tens of thousands turned out to support his stand against a group of rebel officers displaying the Argentine army's usual petulance when it fears its privileges are under threat.

Perhaps it is his ethical sense that caused Alfonsín to shun the opportunity of a military career, the traditional road to power and influence in Argentina and to pursue politics the hard way, as a civilian.

Born in 1926, the son of a provincial shopkeeper who had emigrated from Spain, he was sent to a military high school because it offered the best education. But instead of following his classmates into the army, he went to the University of Buenos

Aires to study law. From these Thatcher-esque beginnings, Alfonsín joined the Radical Party, entering the Buenos Aires provincial assembly for his home seat of Chascomús at the age of 26.

Jailed twice by Perón in the early 1950s, Alfonsín was elected to Congress in 1963 during one of Argentina's brief interludes of democratic rule. An opponent of the back-door deals that even his own party was prepared to do with the all-powerful military, he formed the centre-left Renovation and Change faction in 1972.

In the chaos of Peronist rule in the 1970s and the harshness of the military regime that followed, there seemed little prospect of a Radical revival. But after the humiliating defeat in the Falklands War, Alfonsín, one of the few Argentines openly to oppose the invasion, emerged as the personification of a more sober political mood.

For all that, Alfonsín can still play to the crowd in the Argentine tradition as was illustrated by his dramatic departure to negotiate single-handedly with the rebels at the weekend before returning victoriously to face the cheering masses outside the Casa Rosada.

His presidency is based perhaps as much on personal appeal as on policy and his actions are as intuitive as they are commonsensical. He may need all his proven honesty and level-headedness to avoid the temptation of Alfonsinismo.

Harvey Morris

He opposed the Falkland invasion, and personifies a more sober political mood among his people

Continuing threat in Argentina

THAT the rebellion within Argentina's army should have ended without bloodshed is a matter for which not only Argentines should be grateful. But the confrontation nevertheless raises fundamental questions about the long-term relationship between democratic power and the armed forces in Argentina. President Alfonsín has emerged convincingly strong from the affair, but the final balance of the episode still remains to be assessed.

It is a mark of the change in Argentina that even at the most acute moments of the rebellion a coup was the least likely outcome. The high command of the armed forces have little love for President Alfonsín but are well aware that the necessary elements for a successful coup are lacking: as the massive demonstrations in support of the President were designed to show, there would be no civilian approval for a return to the *de facto* regime of the past.

The problem however remains. Alfonsín came to power on a promise of justice for the victims of the crimes committed by the fallen dictatorship, crimes in which a substantial proportion of the armed forces were enthusiastically complicit.

For his democracy to have credibility it must be founded on certain unassailable principles, which include the independence and efficacy of the judiciary. There is an urgent need in Argentina to establish for once and for all that crimes of such magnitude will not go unpunished. The Argentine armed forces

are trained to believe themselves the repository of the highest values of the nation: honour, patriotism and service. So overweening is this belief that in its name they have repeatedly violated the constitution and concepts of honour and of both formal and natural justice. This is a contradiction which remains unacknowledged within the armed forces, and as long as it is unacknowledged they remain a threat. The junior officers who carried out the dirty war had the support of a substantial section of the civilian population who believed that "democracy" as practised by Mrs Peron was not something worth saving and who looked to the armed forces to rescue them from terrorism. Most of those civilians have repented, belatedly appalled by the excesses committed in their name, but the military shows very little sign of doing so.

Alfonsín's democracy is worth saving. The armed forces must bend to the law and the law must be allowed to take its course. The rebellious officers have celebrated their surrender as a victory, but it is to be hoped that that victory does not include a promise of presidential interference with human rights trials. There is clearly a temptation to make concessions — a private promise of pardon, a quiet word with the judges. But for democracy to continue to be worth saving, President Alfonsín should continue to fight for its real values, to insist that justice is not negotiable and that the national interest is not served by concessions to political convenience.

Reconciliation heads Alfonsín agenda

Argentine armed forces still look strong

From Eduardo Cúe
Buenos Aires

The end of the military crisis that shook Argentina over Easter may, ironically, bolster the armed forces and bring further restrictions on the human rights trials that led to the four-day episode.

While political observers here agree that President Raul Alfonsín has emerged a national hero, with the country's fragile democratic institutions strengthened, the military's demands have been met at least in part. Indeed, the President said that the rebels never intended to spark a coup but rather wanted to force a political solution to a problem within the military.

It is now clear that the Argentine military were simply not going to

attack their own men. General Ernesto Alais, commander of the troops who surrounded the military academy where the rebels were holding out, concluded some time on Saturday that his men would not obey orders to attack the base.

Similarly, Brigadier-General Ernesto Crespo, the Air Force commander, made it plain from the start of the crisis he would not go in against the rebel army officers.

President Alfonsín risked all and did the only thing he could, travelling to the Campo de Mayo base in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief to order the men's surrender.

Despite the claims that no negotiations took place, the Government immediately met one of the rebels' main conditions by removing Gen-

eral Héctor Ríos Erenú as Army Chief of Staff.

Perhaps more significantly, the crisis spurred the Argentine political class to seek a solution to the problem of the human rights trials, another demand by Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, the rebel leader.

While the Government was moving in this direction before the crisis, it now seems likely that the Supreme Court will issue a decision on the concept of due obedience — that is, how far responsibility passes down the chain of command for obeying illegal orders. A likely outcome is that the number of lower and middle-rank officers who can be prosecuted will be limited.

That had been the objective of the controversial "final point" law,

which had a 60-day statute of limitations on prosecutions. But the effort backfired by selling into motion the wheels of the cumbersome Argentine justice system and summoning more than 200 military officers to appear before the courts.

Not only could middle-ranking officers not accept the prosecution of their comrades, the situation led to a loss of confidence within the military in their leaders and demands to replace General Erenú.

The one major demand that the Government categorically rejected was the call for an amnesty for military personnel who took part in the "dirty war" against terrorism in which more than 10,000 people disappeared.

The military have not emerged

unscathed. The massive rallies in support of the young democracy showed just how alienated the armed forces had become from the rest of Argentine society. Argentines have shown they are ready to fight for their democracy, but the incident also indicated how far the armed forces are willing to go, if they consider their interests at stake. The lesson for Argentina is that, if democracy is to survive, there must be permanent reconciliation between the two sides.

● **Trials continue:** An Argentine court yesterday arraigned retired General Jose Luis Sexton on 40 human rights charges (Reuter reports). But arraignments were postponed in Córdoba, where the revolt began, officials said.

Defence minister given Argentine Army reins

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

In the first of what are expected to be major changes following an Easter weekend rebellion by more than 100 officers, Señor José Horacio Jaunarena, the Defence Minister, yesterday assumed temporary command of the Army, replacing the fired chief of staff, General Hector Rios Ereñu.

In another development, the leader of the rebellious soldiers, Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, claimed in published interviews that the three-day takeover of a military academy had ended "because we reached an agreement with the President of the country in his role as chief of the armed forces".

The Government insists there were no negotiations of any kind, but the removal of General Ereñu had been a key demand of the 150-200 rebellious officers. The emergency plunged President Raúl Alfonsín's Government into its worst crisis since the return of democracy more than three years ago.

General Ereñu's replacement was expected to be named in two or three days. Speculation indicated that General Augusto Vidal, who played an important role in ending the crisis at the Campo de Mayo base, would be approached to fill the post.

Should he be named, 14

more senior generals would also have to be retired to facilitate the expected restructuring of the top command. President Alfonsín and Señor Jaunarena met yesterday to discuss the expected changes.

Argentina yesterday lived through its first normal day in almost two weeks. The military crisis, which began last Thursday when a group of officers took over an army garrison in the north, had been preceded by the visit of Pope John Paul II.

The rebellion at the 14th Airborne Infantry Division,

Reconciliation bid.....7

staged to support Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro's refusal to appear before a civilian court investigating human rights abuses, ended on Friday after he fled the base.

But by then the insurrection had spread to the military school in the giant Campo de Mayo site to the west of Buenos Aires. The unprecedented crisis that ensued ended only when the President flew to the base as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces to order the rebels' surrender.

More details were made available yesterday about

what transpired during the meeting between the President and the rebel leaders, many of whom are Falklands War veterans.

Señor Alfonsín, accompanied by a few aides, met for 15 minutes with Lieutenant-Colonels Rico and Jorge Venturino, and a captain.

The three officers, who greeted the President as their Commander-in-Chief, immediately began to express their grievances, say published accounts. But the President interrupted: "I am not here to listen to any demands whatsoever."

Señor Alfonsín then read the sections of the military code of justice that the men were violating. After a brief conversation among themselves, the officers decided to end their action.

Lieutenant-Colonel Rico, who was arrested with the other rebel leaders, said he and his men had accomplished their objective — an effort to find a political solution to the problem posed by human rights trials of military officers.

He said that the President had recognized in his speech announcing the end of the crisis "that our action was motivated strictly by military considerations and was not a coup attempt".

NZ

Alfonsin pays high price to end revolt

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina appears to have paid a high price to end the rebellion by middle-ranking army officers opposed to human rights trials and the Government's programme of military reforms.

The press and the largely state-owned television and radio stations have lauded a presidential and popular victory over the insurrection at the Campo de Mayo military base outside the capital.

The public, relieved that a potential coup appears to have been averted, would also like to believe in the power of the President's personal authority and mass opinion. But it is not quite convinced. One young shoeshine boy asked: "You tell me ... just how did he do it, up against all those guns?"

Yesterday, as details of the crisis emerged, it appeared the

end result of the revolt was much less likely to be a triumph of the popular will than a democracy that will be heavily dependent on military goodwill in the future.

It has gradually become clear that intense negotiations took place before President

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Alfonsin's helicopter flight to accept the surrender of Colonel Aldo Rico's rebels on Sunday.

Throughout the crisis President Alfonsin insisted that he would not negotiate with the rebels, but it now seems that this did not necessarily mean that he was not meanwhile bargaining with key representatives from an officer corps which had refused to put down the rebellion because it sympathised with Colonel Rico's demands.

His first concession has al-

ready been made. The head of the army, General Hector Rios Erenu, whose dismissal had been demanded by the rebels, stood down yesterday and was replaced by the Defence Minister, Mr Horacio Jaunarena, a civilian.

This is apparently only a temporary measure before a general is promoted. Military sources said the most likely candidate was the head of the army's advanced training unit, General Jorge Augusto Vidal.

But his appointment would involve the enforced retirement of at least 10 other generals in more senior positions, and this has still to be "arranged with- But his appointment would in-

Elsewhere, observers commented that the choice of General Vidal would only heighten suspicions that President Alfonsin struck a deal. Even while the insurrection was still going on, rebel officers said

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Alfonsin pays high price

Continued from page one

General Vidal was one of only a few senior officers to whom they were willing to surrender their arms.

Reports described General Vidal as former adjutant General Jorge Videla, the leader of the 1976 coup, who was sentenced to life imprisonment two years ago for supervising the military regime's "dirty war," a crackdown in which thousands of people disappeared.

Within the army, General Vidal is seen as a much tougher defender of the "dirty

war" than General Rios Erenu, and he seems likely to take a harder line on behalf of officers accused of human rights crimes. He is also expected to be a more serious obstacle to government austerity and efforts to restructure the armed forces.

Despite the Government's denial, it now appears almost certain that direct contacts were opened with the rebels some time before they gave up.

Bolstering the impression of a deal, officials began hinting at a softer government line towards human rights trials

Cry out for me, Argentina

President Alfonsín has been saved from a coup by people clamouring for democracy.

FRANK TAYLOR reports

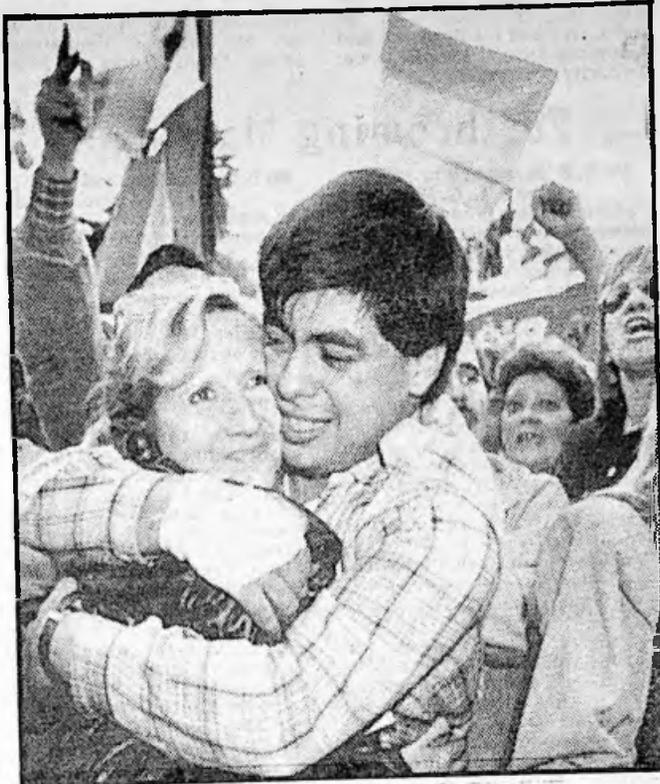
WHEN Raul Alfonsín was sworn in as Argentina's new President in 1983 many of his countrymen were laying bets that he would not last two years. With that unique Argentine gesture denoting political savvy, they would pull down the corner of an eye and nod the head — "Watch out, Raul," was the silent warning.

The portly Radical party politician, short on charisma but long on sincerity, seemed just a bit too nice for the devious and volatile world into which he had been thrust. The halls of the Congress building in Buenos Aires are the scene of extraordinary, Machiavellian horse-trading — and no political leader is ever sure that his confrères are not plotting on the phone with powerful trade unionists.

It was all very well to say that Alfonsín would get a clear run because he was putting an end to one of the most shameful chapters of military rule the country had ever known. The popular wisdom was that Argentines would soon demonstrate once again that they have one of the shortest political memories in the world and Raul Alfonsín would find himself quickly relegated to the history books. "He looks as though he should be behind the counter in a butcher's shop," an Argentine businessman said to me as we watched Alfonsín receive the presidential sash on the day of his inauguration.

His time in the Casa Rosada, the pink-hued presidential palace beside the Plaza de Mayo, has indeed been fraught with challenges, both political and economic. At one point last year, with the Peronist-led trade unions smelling blood, Alfonsín seemed to be on the way out. Seemingly unable to solve the country's eternal financial problems, he appeared to be losing much of his popular support. There were strikes and anti-government demonstrations—and his authority was continually being threatened by rumblings that the military was not going to take much more punishment for its crimes during the anti-Left "dirty war".

Through a series of adroit



Tears of joy: Alfonsín supporters

manoeuvres, including the co-opting of a leading Peronist trade unionist into his Cabinet, Alfonsín managed to stay on the tight-rope. But last weekend came the crunch that many had expected.

A military revolt by a group of middle-ranking officers that his senior Army commanders seemed unable (or unwilling) to quell confronted Alfonsín with the gravest crisis of his presidency. But to the surprise and obvious delight of ordinary Argentines, he showed the kind of mettle that even the most jaundiced observer had to wonder at. And he did it with the most astonishing manifestation of "people power" support that the country has ever given to a civilian president in a confrontation with the armed forces.

Alfonsín himself is said to have been taken unawares by the support, with hundreds of thousands of flag-waving Argentines thronging the plaza in front of his palace. But he quickly seized the moment. Flanked by cabinet members, he appeared on a balcony overlooking the square.

Showing an unusual flash of anger, Alfonsín told the people he was going to the Campo de Mayo military base personally to seek the rebels' surrender. And that is what he did, still dressed in the suit he had put on because it was Easter Sunday. It was a master-stroke.

In a scene reminiscent of the "people power" demos in the

Philippines in support of Corazon Aquino, the crowd went wild with cheering. When Alfonsín returned to report that Lt-Col Aldo Rico and his rebellious companions had given up without a shot being fired, the people were almost delirious.

Veteran political observers of the Argentine scene are hard put to recall when ordinary people turned out in such numbers to repudiate a military revolt.

But if the current crop of generals has learned anything from the past couple of days, it is that, as a result of the traumatic defeat in the Falklands War and the consequent return to civilian rule, Argentina has taken a stunning leap forward towards full political maturity. Any illusions that the ordinary folk were beginning to forgive and forget must now be dispelled. In the crunch, the politicians and the trade unionists close ranks with the people—not as a destructive force against an incumbent president, but as a powerful prop to his still-fragile democracy.

The one sombre shadow remaining is that, at the age of 41, Col Rico had been regarded as part of the "new" Argentine Army—the younger middle-ranking officers who would accept and support a democratic government while recognising the military's failings in the recent past. He obviously was not—and that is a warning that Alfonsín must continue to heed.

NG

Alfonsin seeks new chief for unruly Army

By Cristina Bonasegna in Buenos Aires

PRESIDENT Raul Alfonsin of Argentina faced a new challenge yesterday in finding the right man to head an unruly Army following the end of the most serious military crisis of his three-year-old elected government.

The Defence Ministry said Senor Horacio Jaunarena, Defence Minister, had provisionally taken over from Gen. Horacio Rios Erenu, who resigned as Army Chief-of-Staff following the five-day uprising by officers opposed to human rights trials.

But already named as a possible permanent replacement to Rios Erenu is Gen. Jorge Augusto Vidal, said to be a hardliner during the so-called dirty war when at least 9,000 people disappeared. If appointed, 15 other generals will have to go into forced retirement because of the seniority system.

The appointment of a new Chief-of-Staff may give the government the opportunity to shake-up the Army leadership and drastically reduce the number of generals in active service, now standing at 27.

All the Defence Ministry would say was that the civilian minister would replace the outgoing general "until a decision on the integration of the Army's higher commands is reached."

Cheering thousands

The rebellion ended on Sunday evening after Senor Alfonsin made a dramatic helicopter visit to the rebel camp outside Buenos Aires and returned to tell a cheering crowd that "the mutineers had abandoned their stand."

"Thanks to God, we can now say that the house is in order, and that there is no bloodshed in Argentina," a tired-looking president told hundreds of thousands of people, outside the presidential palace.

Observers in Buenos Aires say Alfonsin had no way out but to make some concessions to the rebels during the 15-minute meeting, after all other attempts to put the five-day-long uprising down had failed.

But speculation was rife yesterday over what any concessions involved.

The rebels, led by decorated Falklands veteran, Col Rico, had seized the Infantry School at Campo de Mayo, 30 miles west of the capital, to press demands for Rios Erenu's replacement, and an end — in the form of an amnesty — to human rights trials of officers accused of crimes committed under the former regime.

While Rios Erenu's resignation was seen by some as one part of the concessions, other observers say the general's days were numbered anyway, as middle-ranking officers refused to obey his orders to dislodge the rebels by force.

Touchy issue

After the Sunday meeting with Alfonsin, the rebels told reporters that "they had achieved their objective". The now cashiered Rico added: "Our's was a reaction against Army head General Rios Erenu."

Rios Erenu had repeatedly been questioned by his subordinates for failing to stand by them on the touchy issue of human rights trials.

There was speculation too that the executive would now press the Supreme Court to produce a definition on the controversial issue of "due obedience".

Under the principle, half of

about 400 indicted officers could fence off human rights charges on the grounds that they were following orders from their superiors.

But there was no word yesterday that the president, the first Latin American head of state to put the military on trial for human rights abuses under the former régime, may have discussed the possibility of an amnesty with the rebels.

There were also unconfirmed rumours that Rico and about 100 elite parachute troops who rose in arms on Friday and were under arrest would only be tried by military courts on relatively minor charges of "mutiny" and not by civilian courts on charges of "rebellion".

Under the law they could face sentences of up to 20 years in jail if convicted of rebellion.

The crisis broke out on Wednesday last week, when Major Ernesto Barreiro, now a fugitive from justice, refused to testify in court and took refuge in an Army base in Cordoba, 500 miles north of Buenos Aires.

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NC

Easter rising

EVENTS in Argentina over the Easter weekend have given cause for alarm amongst supporters of that country's fragile democracy. Army officers who wanted an end to trials for human rights violations during the previous military regime rebelled, first in the provincial city of Córdoba, then in the Campo de Mayo base near Buenos Aires. By demonstrating that he had the backing of the people and, finally, by a dramatic and courageous visit to the base to meet the rebel leader, President Raúl Alfonsín brought the crisis to an end. "I ask you all to return to your homes, kiss your children and celebrate Easter in peace," he told a huge crowd on Sunday.

Some observers believe that Argentine democracy has emerged strengthened from this ordeal. President Alfonsín's electoral victory in 1983 followed nearly eight years of military rule during which there were widespread human rights abuses, the economy floundered and the armed forces suffered a humiliating defeat in the Falklands. The present Government has restored democracy, brought the military leaders to trial and initiated economic reform. Over the past few days Argentinians have left no doubt of their preference for that programme. President Alfonsín has received the support of all political parties and the Peronist-led General Confederation of Workers. Hundreds of thousands of people gathered in the Plaza de Mayo to applaud his speeches. Others demonstrated against the rebels outside the Campo de Mayo base. This was "people power" reminiscent of that behind Mrs Aquino in the Philippines last year.

What is not yet clear is whether President Alfonsín, a decent but sometimes indecisive man, has made important concessions to the rebels in order to persuade them to back down. Ominously, their leader has spoken in terms of a victory rather than defeat. It is to be hoped that in his dealings with them the President has not given way on the need to complete the trials of those charged with offences under the previous regime and to punish the Easter mutineers. Anything less would be unworthy of the trust which his people have shown in him.

Argentine President begins shake-up of army

By Tim Coone in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINE President Raul Alfonsin has begun a shake-up of his country's army high command following the mutiny at the weekend.

General Hector Erenu, Chief of Staff, has been sacked and replaced by Mr Horacio Jaunarena, the Defence Minister.

More heads are expected to roll for the failure to prevent the rebellion by junior officers which began last Wednesday. Officers were protesting at the continuing trials of military personnel for human rights abuses under the former junta.

In a further assertion of authority, the Government has announced that the human rights trials of about 300 military personnel and police will resume this week. The spark for the rebellion occurred when one Major Barreiro refused to appear before the courts. He was promptly supported by fellow officers in the northern city of Cordoba who refused to hand him over. The rebellion then spread to the army's infantry training school on the outskirts of Buenos Aires.

The peaceful conclusion of the mutiny on Sunday and President Alfonsin's courageous handling of the situation has been greeted with euphoria, but it is still not clear whether any concessions have been made. One of the reported demands of junior and middle-ranking officers behind the rebellion was a restructuring of the top army leadership. It is also unclear what punishment awaits the estimated 100 people involved in the rebellion, although they are expected to face military courts.

The responsibility of junior officers for abuses committed during the military regimes of 1976 to 1983 has become a highly contentious issue in the human rights trials. The officers have been arguing that they were following orders from above. However, the Easter rebellion has seemingly deprived them of that moral argument, for in the past few days they have disobeyed their superiors en masse, ignoring orders to end their action.

President Alfonsin was obliged to intervene personally and talk to the leader of the rebels in Buenos Aires, Lt Col Aldo Rico, to obtain their surrender. Earlier attempts to face them down failed when it became apparent that forces thought loyal to the government were wavering in their advance on the rebel base.

In an atmosphere charged with tension on Sunday afternoon, with the rebels seemingly confident of victory, President Alfonsin addressed a huge crowd in the centre of Buenos Aires. He said he had decided to go in person to talk to the rebels, and flew by helicopter to the infantry training school, followed by scores of political leaders in a motorcade. After lengthy negotiations, Lt Col Rico agreed to surrender.

Crisis in Argentina, Page 3

NC

Jimmy Burns charts the career of President Alfonsín

Raulito's long battle for democracy

THE PERSONAL stand taken by President Raul Alfonsín during the weekend military crisis may have surprised the outside world and even many of his fellow countrymen but in the town of Cascomus, some 120 miles south-west of Buenos Aires it will have been interpreted as something which comes naturally to 'Raulito.'

Mr Alfonsín was born in Cascomus 57 years ago into a family of shopkeepers of mixed Spanish and Welsh descent — his maternal grandfather was called Foulkes. This makes him a distant cousin of the British Labour party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr George Foulkes.

The Alfonsín shop, run today by Mr Alfonsín's cousins, has remained a focal point of communal activity where the family has been able to gauge far more accurately than any barrack-room general the hopes and fears of ordinary people.

When I first interviewed Mr Alfonsín in December 1983, soon after he had been elected president, he wanted to talk about his Foulkes ancestor: "He was a medical student and when he came to Argentina he proved himself a Radical by fighting for Ypolito Yrigoyen. Yrigoyen was Argentina's first democratically elected Presi-

But in those days a military education, like studying for the priesthood, was a cheap and easy way for a boy to get a reasonable private schooling. It also provided an aspiring politician with a unique insight into the military mind.

Mr Alfonsín quit the academy as soon as he had completed his secondary schooling and took law exams instead. By the mid-1940s he was actively involved in politics, joining the opposition to General Juan Perón, who had laid the foundations of an authoritarian state after forming part of a young officers' coup.

Perón himself was toppled in a military uprising in 1956, but the figure of the *caudillo* was to continue to dominate Argentine politics. In swift succession, a series of civilian governments were toppled by military interventions always with the backing of a sector of the population.

In 1972 Mr Alfonsín formed *Revolucion y Cambio* — Renewal and Change. Argentina at the time was on the threshold of civil war between the armed forces and left-wing guerrillas, in which words like *Renewal* and *Change* had become synonymous with Marxism and revolution. In fact Mr Alfonsín was already regarded by those who knew him well as a social democrat committed to moral

renewal and the establishment of a full parliamentary system as the only political solution to Argentina's long-standing problems.

He remained the rebel in the conservative pack, his left-of-centre faction contrasting with the cautious politics of the late Ricardo Balbin, former leader of the Radical Party.

Until the Falklands War in 1982, Alfonsín's continuing exile from the mainstream of political life was to prove an asset in a political system discredited by hypocrisy and compromise. Long before human rights became an issue, he interceded on behalf of the families of the "disappeared."

One of his more memorable interventions involved two Uruguayan senators who were tortured to death by the Argentine military. When they were found dead, most of the senators' political colleagues were forced underground, but Mr Alfonsín personally supervised their funeral, offering to pay even for the copper inscription of the dead men's coffin.

Following the Falklands debacle, Mr Alfonsín managed to pull his country out of a national trauma. Were he alive today his father Serafin would no doubt claim that the message of democracy may have finally got through thanks to Raulito.



Alfonsín: insight

dent, whose second term in office was cut short by the first in a long line of military coups in 1930. In that year Mr Alfonsín was only three years. However, the memory of the coup pervaded much of his later childhood thanks to the influence of his father, Serafin, a Spaniard with strong Republican sympathies who opposed the militarism of General Franco.

At the age of 13, Mr Alfonsín was sent to military school. Serafin had not stopped hating the military, and did not want his son to become an officer.

DAILY TELEGRAPH
Monday 20 April 1987

Remote encounter

MEMBERS of the second battalion of the Royal Irish Rangers, currently guarding

Britain's loneliest outpost, South Georgia, were surprised the other day when a cruise ship appeared over the horizon, flying the hammer and sickle and packed with Russian holidaymakers.

In the absence of better suggestions, the Rangers invited their visitors to come ashore and take part in an impromptu sports day. The Russians finally beat a retreat having lost a wind-swept soccer match 9-1 and most of the other events as well.

N/C

Alfonsín confronts rebels in person

From Judith Evans
in Buenos Aires

IN A bold attempt to end the army revolt threatening his administration, President Raul Alfonsín of Argentina yesterday travelled to the rebel headquarters to demand the surrender of the 150 armed mutineers still holding out in a barracks near the capital.

Radio reports said President Alfonsín met the leader of the insurrection, Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, for about 15 minutes at the Campo de Mayo army base. The outcome of the meeting was not immediately clear.

Facing the biggest challenge of his three-and-a-half year presidency, the Argentine leader announced his dramatic bid to end the rebellion to a crowd of 200,000 people who had gathered in the capital's Plaza de Mayo.

Shortly before he set out, government sources revealed that General Hector Rios Erenu, the army chief of staff who had been publicly criticised for his failure promptly to end the insurrection, had agreed to retire.

His departure was one of the points agreed on during secret negotiations over the weekend between the government and the rebels.

He will be temporarily replaced by Horacio Jaunarena, the Minister of Defence.

Although only a small number of officers are involved, the revolt has badly shaken President Alfonsín's government, despite an outpouring of popular support for the president.

The rebels — all mid-level officers — are demanding a complete revision of the way in which the trials for human rights violations committed by the armed forces during the 1976-1982 "dirty war" have taken place, as well as the replacement of the army's current leadership.

The rebels maintain that they are not challenging the civilian government or the constitutional system. Nor are they trying to seize power.

A political adviser to the Minister of the Interior explained that, although the government had been strengthened by the massive outpouring of popular support over the past few days, the military high command has been severely damaged.

The crisis began on Wednesday evening when Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro refused to testify on more than 20 charges of human rights violations at La Perla detention centre in Cordoba.

The rebellion has, as the English language *Buenos Aires Herald* put it, "cast doubt on the stability of democracy in Argentina".

Although thousands of citizens gathered in the Plaza de Mayo yesterday to demonstrate support for constitutional government, there is a feeling of bewilderment and impotence that the military, while isolated, still has the power to challenge democratisation in Argentina.

With close to 400 human rights cases still to be heard, the threat of military unrest is unlikely to disappear in the near future.

Fishing bonanza puts Falklands' aid at risk

By Patrick Watts in Port Stanley

FISHING LICENCES are bringing the Falklands such a huge income that withdrawal of British Government civil aid is a possibility, according to Mr David Taylor, a former chief executive of the islands' Government.

Revenue from licences for the first half of the year is likely to be about £12½ million. The two vessels and one aircraft bought to patrol the 150-mile fishing zone round the islands cost above £4 million.

While the Falklands Legislation is debating ways of spending its greatly increased revenue on possible tax cuts, increased pension and lower electricity charges, Mr Taylor, who has just completed a three-year tour of the islands, was more cautious.

"Quite clearly, the Overseas Development Administration will look again at their programmes of capital aid for the islands in the light of the sort of

monies that is coming in from fisheries," said Mr Taylor.

The £31 million 1983 five-year programme would be unlikely to be affected, he added, and any decision would probably not be taken until the autumn.

The Falklands has now become "probably the richest fishery in the world," said Mr Peter Derham, Director of Fisheries. Most of the 209 trawlers licenced in the northern part of the zone are catching 30-50 tonnes nightly and those in the southern area up to 70 tonnes in daylight hours.

At a market price of around \$800 a ton (£540) the daily catch is approaching £4 million. Huge catches of squid have been made in recent weeks and the Falklands Government may be able to increase the licence fee.

Fishing boats land £4m a day in Falklands zone

By John Ezard

The Falkland Islands have emerged as probably the richest fishery in the world. Multi-national fleets are taking catches worth up to £4 million a day from the three-month-old British fishing and conservation zone.

This was reported yesterday by the former chief fisheries inspector of the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr Peter Derham. Mr Derham, who organised the introduction of the zone as a ministry adviser, has given up his job to become the Falkland Government's first director of fisheries. He said that the level of catches was astonishing.

Figures released yesterday indicate that the local government can expect £12.5 million in revenue from fishing licences from the first five months of the zone, ending in June. Allowing for £4 million costs, this would give an £8.5 million profit, more than

double the islands' total civilian budget.

This income would give the islands, found by the Shackleton Report to have been severely neglected for decades, their first substantial hope of economic growth since the 1982 conflict.

Part of the profit, however, is likely to be ploughed back immediately into providing bunkering and other money-earning services for the fishing fleets.

Even if the zone — officially an interim measure pending a less lucrative multilateral fisheries agreement with Argentina — survives and prospers, the Falklands are expected to need small sums of British development aid for some years.

Falklands waters are now established as the world's chief supplier of squid, prized in the Far East and parts of the Mediterranean. Total catches by Spanish, Polish,

Japanese, Taiwanese and South Korean ships are high despite zone-rationing, which limits the number of fishing vessels to 230 by contrast with the 500 operating last year before restrictions were introduced.

Mr Derham said: "This enforced method of conservation is already having its effect in reports of much bigger squid being caught this season."

Despite warnings from the British left when the zone was announced, a buffer area established by Argentina near her coastal territorial waters has helped to avert violence. The first trawler arrested in the British zone and reprimanded by Falklands patrols was the *Pict*, one of only two British vessels exploiting the zone. It did not have a transshipment licence. Since then, several South Korean captains have been reprimanded for the same reason.

How Argentini-ans rallied to a fragile democracy

From Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

THE outcome of Argentina's military rebellion may well have been decided by the expression of public anger.

For the moment at least, Argentines discarded the sul- len resignation that has usu- ally greeted military rebellion. Three years after the last military regime gave way to President Raul Alfonsin's democratic gov- ernment, the people were not prepared to accept quietly what they feared would be the seventh coup in less than six decades.

A besieged President and an alarmed public have together made an important mark on Argentina's long history of military regimes. Big crowds have attended rallies protesting at the offi- cers' actions, but the hos- tility of the crowds, rather than the numbers, is the more important aspect.

Bitter and rowdy mass pro- tests against military regimes have been held in Argentina, but usually at the end, rather than before the beginning of a regime.

As crowds massed for yes- terday's protest in the Plaza de Mayo, the capital's central square, thousands of people chanted: "Hey you fools,

don't you know there are no coups in Argentina any more".

The chant was quickly revised, telling the military, in vulgar terms, what it could do with its rebellion.

Much of the most vocifer- ous support for the constitu- tional order has come from the left wing youth that Pres- ident Alfonsin has criticised harshly several times during his drift towards the centre- right during the past year. Older people with memories

of repeated coups joined in the jeers.

All this happened before any shots were fired and when apparently few troops were on the march.

Nevertheless, the Govern- ment has gone only partway to stirring up ill-feeling against the rebels. If any- thing, it has seemed to trail behind public sentiments and desire to know what is going on.

The Government's informa- tion machine was found

wanting as Argentina's frag- ile democracy came under threat. The press, which has increasingly responded to Government wishes since President Alfonsin took power late in 1983, were de- fused the news with endless review of events that were no longer relevant and bland appeals to the public to "de- fend democracy against dictatorship".

The public was left largely unaware of developments. The Government is partly to

blame for the dearth of infor- mation, but the press was also waiting to see which way the wind blew.

The self-protecting in- stincts of "The Process," as the last military regime called itself, have been mir-rored in a flurry of mean- ing- less interviews with politicians and uniformed reporting reminiscent of the propaganda which accompa- nied the Falklands war.

All this has been to no avail. The people of this soc-

cer-crazy country knew im- mediately that things were bad when the Government cancelled yesterday's football matches. It was a typical Sunday in that men walked the streets with transistors pressed to their ears, but this time they were listening for news about the rebellion.

One man in the Plaza made a sarcastic reference to the former regime's self-ri- gorous defence of the "dirty war," in which thousands of people disappeared in the 1970s. "So this is how they celebrate Easter Sunday—de- fending Western Christian values," he said.

Resentment at the officers' revolt is so deep that the leadership of the Catholic Church in Argentina, which overlooked the military regime's methods during the repression, issued a state- ment ratifying "institutional government, and offering to mediate in the crisis."

The determination of a people long afflicted by pro- found pessimism and a mel-ancholy sense of their incapacity for self-defeat remains, in doubt. One gloomy, middle-aged bank employee said: "What we need now is the English Army."

Russians and Americans express support for Alfonsin

AS the drama of the mili- tary rebellion unfolded at the weekend, President Alfonsin was bolstered by expressions of support from the Soviet Union and the US.

Tass said that tens of thousands of people had gathered outside the presi- dential palace "to declare their support for the con- stitutional system and the legitimate government."

"The Government cate- gorically refused to enter into any negotiations with the rebels, despite the growing pressure on it from right-wing and mili-

in their internal affairs by President Reagan and the despised "Yanquis" with criticism. Messages of sup- port have also come from President Francois Mitterrand of France, Italy, Switzerland, and many Latin American countries.

The West German For- eign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, had "expressed friendship, soli- darity and deep attach- ment to Argentina's democracy and conveyed best wishes to President Alfonsin," a ministry spokesman said.

The Argentine soccer star Diego Maradona yes- terday added his voice to calls for military officers to end their rebellion. "We just cannot permit it that some man rises and decides that everything has come to an end," he said in a television interview.

Maradona, captain of the Argentine team that won the 1986 World Cup, said the "calmness of the people defends democracy, even though the situation is not totally resolved,"

Reuter.

NL

Alfonsin quells army rebellion

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

President Raul Alfonsin appeared last night to have pulled off a spectacular success in defusing the military rebellion which threatened Argentina's civilian government after a face-to-face confrontation with the mutineers.

But it remained unclear what concessions, if any, the President had made to the 150 rebels entrenched in the Campo de Mayo base outside Buenos Aires.

President Alfonsin said the remaining leaders of the four-day-old army rebellion had surrendered and would be de-

Argentiniens rally around democracy, page 4

tained. But late last night it was unclear whether the rebel troops had left the base.

President Alfonsin, in a dramatic gesture, had travelled earlier to the rebel camp to talk to the mutineers. He then made a triumphant return by helicopter to Government House in the centre of Buenos Aires.

"Compatriots, happy Easter," a beaming Mr Alfonsin told 400,000 wildly cheering people packed into the Plaza de Mayo.

"Today we can give thanks, the house is in order and there is no blood," he said from a balcony.

After his speech the crowd sang the national anthem.

Mr Alfonsin, who took power in 1983 at the end of eight years of bloody military rule,



Raul Alfonsin: 'risk of
bloodshed between brothers'

had met the rebel leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, at the base.

With the rebel stand apparently over, a much relaxed President Alfonsin adopted an almost paternal tone towards the middle-ranking officers who had posed the most serious challenge to his elected government since it took over from the military just over 40 months ago.

He said they would be arrested and subjected to justice. But then went on to note that some had been "heroes" in the Falklands war and that although they had created "commotion and tension," they had always stressed that their aim was never a coup.

President Alfonsin told the crowd: "The men in uprising have backed down. In line with that which is called for, they will be detained and put to justice."

The crowd, hoisting Argentine flags and political banners, repeatedly cheered the President. Tens of thousands more

people had poured into the square in front of the Government House after Mr Alfonsin first told them that he would personally ask rebel leaders to surrender.

"I ask all of you to return to your homes, to kiss your children, to celebrate Easter in peace..." Mr Alfonsin said.

Political leaders with him on the balcony immediately surrounded him, patting him on the back and shaking his hand.

Mr Antonio Cafiero, a deputy of the opposition Peronist Party who accompanied Mr Alfonsin to the camp, said the rebels had been arrested and faced prosecution for rebellion, but this could not be confirmed.

About a dozen specialised army training schools are located at the sprawling Campo de Mayo base. Since Thursday the rebels had occupied an infantry school, holding off 2,000 government troops.

Meanwhile, government sources said the embattled army chief of staff General Hector Rios Erenu, criticised for his failure promptly to end the insurrection, had agreed to retire and was expected to be temporarily replaced by the Minister of Defence.

According to the sources, his retirement was one of the key issues agreed to in secret

Turn to back page, col. 4 after Mr Alfonsin took office.

Rebellion quelled

Continued from page one negotiations over the weekend between the Government and the rebels. General Rios Erenu had angered hardline military officers by demanding that they heed court summons to face trial for human rights abuses.

But the presidential spokesman later denied that General Rios Erenu had left office.

Before Mr Alfonsin arrived at the base, the rebels appeared to let down their guard, some smiling, others leaning casually against a light tank. One even waved an Argentine flag.

Thousands of people waving national flags began converging on Campo de Mayo in the hope of seeing the President and witnessing the end of the crisis, which began with a similar rebellion by a paratrooper regiment in Cordoba on Wednesday.

That revolt, put down without incident two days later, sparked the insurrection at the infantry school.

Military leaders have often expressed resentment at the human rights trials ordered after Mr Alfonsin took office.

People banish coup spectre

From Eduardo Cué
Buenos Aires

When the news spread last Thursday that a military garrison in northern Argentina had declared itself in a state of rebellion, thousands of Argentines took to the streets in a spontaneous and unprecedented show of support for their young democracy.

From the square in front of the National Congress building, where more than 100,000 people congregated, to plazas in dozens of small towns across the country, the message was the same: no more coups, no more dictatorships.

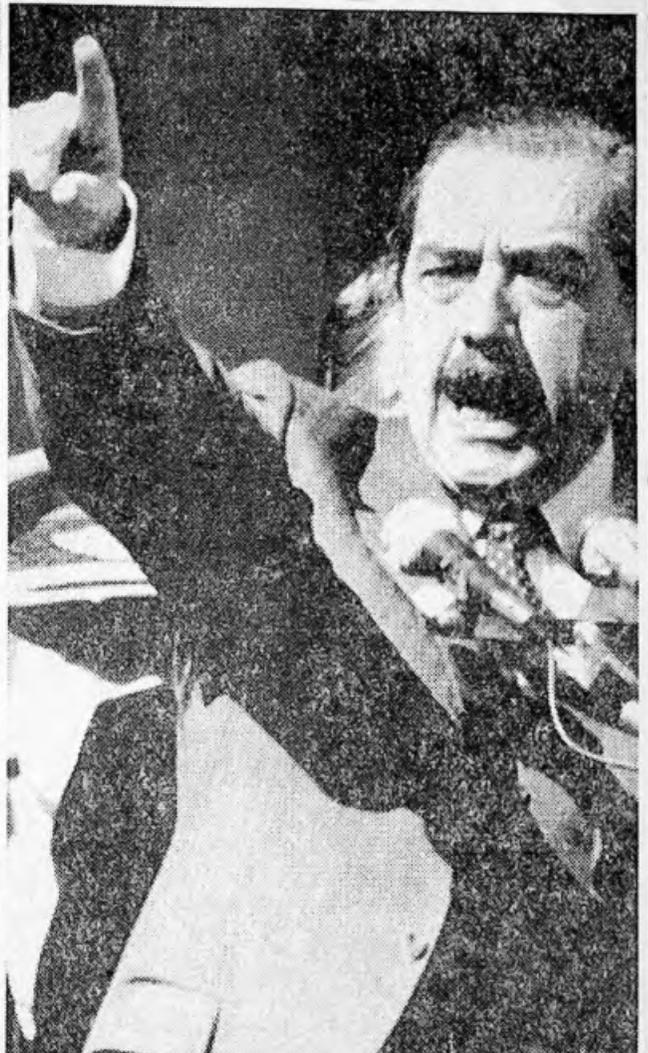
By the time President Alfonsín entered an overflowing Chamber of Deputies that night to deliver the most important speech of his career, there was little doubt that Argentine society had undergone a fundamental and perhaps historic change. For the first time in half a century the average Argentine seemed to believe that the country's future was in his hands.

"This is all so incredible," said the Human Development and Family Minister, Señor Enrique de Vedia, as he looked out on the huge crowd outside the Congress. "I remember that this place was empty on June 28, 1966, when I was a Christian Democratic deputy."

That was the day President Arturo Illia was overthrown by a military coup that brought General Juan Carlos Onganía to power. As had been the case before and would be the case again, the generals were not confronted with popular opposition. Instead, they received the support of important civil centres of society, such as the Peronist labour movement.

This time it was different. Religious, political, and labour leaders immediately rallied around the President. From the start of the crisis Señor Saul Ubaldini, head of the powerful Peronist-led General Confederation of Workers, issued statements, mobilized workers and was even thinking of calling a 24-hour general strike in defence of the country's democratic institutions.

"The experience of the past 40 years weighs too heavily on the conscience of all Argentines, including Labour leaders, for us to spare any effort in crushing attempts to stage a coup," said Señor José Pedraza, head of the nation's railway workers.



Across the divide: Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, left, leader of the rebels at the Campo de Mayo base, and President Alfonsín announcing in Buenos Aires his decision to intervene.

The sense that the nation was living through one of the most crucial moments in its recent history was palpable everywhere. Public transport was free in Buenos Aires on Thursday to allow as many people as possible to attend the rally outside Congress. Television commentators urged viewers to turn off their sets and take to the streets.

Demonstrations and vigils continued until yesterday, when, for the third time in four days, thousands gathered on the Plaza de Mayo before Government House in an emotional show of support for the elected Government.

The Argentines' newfound self-confidence was best exemplified by the hundreds of people who staged a weekend-long vigil outside the giant Campo de Mayo base near Buenos Aires, where a military academy had declared itself in a state of rebellion.

Screaming "long live democracy" and chanting "Argentina, Argentina", the demonstrators taunted the rebellious soldiers. At one point, when the insurgents tried to intimidate the crowd by pointing a tank gun at them, the crowd rushed towards the gates in an unsuccessful attempt to enter the base.

Argentina is reputed to have a short memory, but the events of this Easter weekend indicated that the former military regime and its attendant political, economic, and military disasters, are still fresh in the popular mind.

The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo continue to gather every Thursday afternoon as a permanent human memorial to the more than 10,000 people who disappeared during the war against subversion. The current economic difficulties are to a large extent blamed on the former regime's mistaken monetary policies.

Many now see the Falklands adventure as an attempt by a discredited military government to regain popular support.

"If something has been learned in Argentina after half a century of attacks against the constitutional order, it is that the situations that these coups attempted to resolve were invariably worsened," the *La Nacion* newspaper said.

The days of military coups in Argentina are gone forever, President Alfonsín at one point declared. If so, it will be because of people such as Señor Javier Fisrtter, a pensioner, aged 70. "When I don't like a government I should be able to change it with my vote," he said when asked why he was demonstrating.

"Dictatorships don't permit people to vote and have opinions. That is why I came, and also because I have children and grandchildren."

Leading article, page 13

THE EXPECTED CHALLENGE

A crisis like that which President Alfonsín appears triumphantly to have overcome last night always had to be contemplated. In the previous two days his Government had faced the most direct challenge to its authority from elements in the military since it took office in 1983. Five years after the Falklands there should be no dispute that Britain has a particular interest in the course of Argentine democracy. So the events of the Easter weekend are worth especially careful watching in Britain. Did they represent the end of an old cycle of military involvement in politics or the beginning of a new one? What did the reaction of public opinion and the Government's conduct of the crisis augur for the future?

It should first be recognized that there is a difference between a challenge to authority and an attempted coup, though the mishandling of a challenge could well have opened the way to a coup. The Easter challenge arose from the refusal of a major to appear in court. There was shortlived support for him from one base near Córdoba, and subsequent adherence to his protest from a colonel at the Campo de Mayo military academy near Buenos Aires. The big question now is: did President Alfonsín have to make concessions to the rebels so as to end the affair so satisfactorily last night? At this stage, it is impossible to say.

The sequence of events had an immediate cause in Presi-

dent Alfonsín's *Punto Final* law of December. This deadline for prosecutions for human rights abuses under the military government of 1976-83 produced some 300 indictments — a far higher number than expected, though as some face several charges the number of accused is somewhat lower. They include a number of middle-ranking and junior officers. The prospect of their trials has produced these two mutinies and the demand for "a political solution for the problems of the anti-subversive war".

Army discontent also came from the end of privileged insulation — budget cuts, falling salaries and shortage of equipment, and the end of the old hegemony which was symbolized by universal military service. So frustration had reached a dangerous pitch in an institution which faced inevitable and painful transition.

This was not sufficient cause for a coup, as a coup required both a discredited civilian Government as the object to be removed and substantial civilian backing — that is, numerous civilian collaborators in support of the change. Such was the situation in Argentina in 1976. But such a situation did not exist in 1987. President Alfonsín is far from discredited. He has gained in authority since his election. He was able to mobilize effective popular support behind his Government and what it represents. He has the backing of all political parties and of

the Peronist unions. There was no substantial current of civilian opinion, no important interest group which would today back a military intervention. The moment was even less propitious for his enemies, since only the previous week the Pope was in Argentina.

But President Alfonsín was faced with several dangers. He had to seek to avoid useless bloodshed of the kind all too prevalent in recent Argentine history. Careless resort to force could have produced further mutiny.

It was certainly wise first to bring home to the rebels their complete lack of popular support, while the necessary steps were taken with true deliberation for a swift end to the crisis. In the past the President has been a good judge of momentum, and there is no reason to assume that his judgement deserted him on this occasion.

The hope is, therefore, that the events of the Easter weekend mark the end of long years of military politics and the beginnings of a different army. There can be no return to the old institution or to its former ways, and intelligent officers must recognize that no attempt at such a return can offer them anything. The radical Government of President Alfonsín took over defeated, discredited, bloated and highly politicized armed forces, the product of decades of civilian as well as military mis-rule. To make it into something else was never going to be easy.

Alfonsín ends rebellion and orders arrests

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

In a dramatic but peaceful culmination to Argentina's most serious constitutional crisis since the return of democracy, Army officers last night ended their three-day rebellion at a military academy when President Raúl Alfonsín personally went to the base and ordered them to surrender.

"The men have turned themselves in. They will be arrested and handed over to the proper authorities," he said from the balcony of Government House to more than 100,000 people gathered on the Plaza de Nay.

From that same spot a few hours before, the President had stunned the nation by announcing he was leaving for the military base where the rebels were holed up.

"It was a matter of a few men, some of them heroes of the Falklands conflict, who took this mistaken position," Señor Alfonsín added. "They reiterated that their intention was not to provoke a coup d'état, but they have nevertheless brought the country to this state of commotion."

"To prevent bloodshed, I ordered the military commanders not to repress the insurrection. And tonight the house is in order, and there was no bloodshed. I urge you to return to your homes, to kiss your children, and to celebrate Easter."

His remarks were surprising because, last Friday, the Army's chief of staff, General Hector Rios Erenu, said the President had ordered him to retake by force both the military academy and a garrison

in the north where the rebellion had begun last Thursday at the headquarters of the 14th Airborne Infantry Division. That uprising ended after the insurgents' leader, Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro, fled the garrison.

The Government spared no effort to end the crisis without using force. There were reports over the weekend that middle-ranking officers within the armed forces were resisting orders to attack the base.

Few details were available about the encounter between the President and rebel soldiers at the Campo de Mayo base. But witnesses who

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accompanied Señor Alfonsín said he met Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, the rebel leader, who had given up his arms.

The announcement that the crisis had ended unleashed a wave of joy across Argentina. By the time the President returned, 400,000 people were waiting for him outside Government House. They broke into loud cheers and many cried.

The unanimous opinion of political commentators last night was that the events of the last four days would strengthen both the Government and the country's fragile democracy, and President Alfonsín had emerged a national hero.

But it remained to be seen how the Government copes with the armed forces' deep discontent.

NC

Alfonsin goes to see rebels

By Cristina Bonasegna
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S President, Senor Alfonsin, last night told 100,000 cheering supporters from a balcony of Government House, Buenos Aires, that he was going immediately to the Campo de Mayo army base 20 miles away to make a personal appeal to rebels entrenched there to surrender.

He asked the crowd to wait in the square in front of Government House until he returned with an answer from the rebels—150 officers and 600 troops.

President Alfonsin's move came after three days of confirmation during which army commanders loyal to his government appeared to take violent action to dislodge the rebels.

One army spokesman said loyal troops had not been ordered to attack because of the fear of harming innocent civilians in the densely-populated Campo de Mayo area.

But another report said loyalist troops were ignoring orders to put down the revolt.

Fully armed

The rebels, their faces caked with green and brown camouflage paints, were in full combat gear, armed with assault rifles, automatic pistols and grenades.

The entire base appeared to be under the control of the rebels, who have demanded the removal of the army leadership in the worst military crisis of

Continued on Back Page.

Alfonsin

Continued from P1

Argentina's fledgling democracy.

The rebel leader, Lt Col. Aldo Rico, insists that almost the entire army supports him. He said on Saturday. "The army is fed up with being slapped around. This here is the national army; this is the professional army."

Other rebel officers said they remained loyal to President Alfonsin, but did not recognise the authority of the army leadership.

The rebels are pressing for an end to human rights trials, an amnesty for all officers already convicted on human rights charges and the replacement of the Army chief of staff, Gen. Hector Rios Erenu.

Colonel Rico a decorated Falklands War veteran, took over the Infantry School at the Campo de Mayo on Thursday, following a rebellion at a base in the province of Cordoba, 500 miles north of Buenos Aires. The Cordoba uprising ended in surrender by the rebels.

Military leaders have often expressed resentment at the human rights trials ordered after President Alfonsin took office in 1983 after eight years of military rule.

At least 9,000 people disappeared during Argentina's military rule, most after passing through clandestine torture and detention centres.

NC

Fears of coup as Alfonsin's troops dither

by Maria Laura Avignolo
Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA's three-year-old democracy faced a fresh threat last night as supposedly loyal troops sent to quell an insurrection played a "will they-won't they" game and sparked fears of an imminent coup.

Confusion reigned as troops sent by President Raul Alfonsin to confront army rebels first announced they would not enter the base or fire on fellow soldiers, then later proceeded towards the barracks at Campo de Mayo.

The troops had said they did not want to fight against the rebels, all Falklands war veterans, who are demanding amnesties for everyone accused of human rights violations during the rule of the military junta.

Tension in the country had eased earlier when mass demonstrations supporting the civilian government of President Raul Alfonsin seemed certain to convince the rebels holding out at the Campo de Mayo barracks on the outskirts of Buenos Aires to surrender peacefully.

But the soldiers sent by Alfonsin to end the insurrection underwent a change of heart, and their armoured column ground to a halt 50 miles from the capital.

Last night Alfonsin, who

has refused to discuss the rebels' demands, called an emergency cabinet meeting.

The Campo de Mayo barracks was the second army base to rebel. The insurrection which poses the most serious threat to Argentina's democracy was sparked off last Wednesday when Maj Ernesto Barreiro, an intelligence official who had been accused of torture at the La Perla concentration camp during the rule of the military junta, failed to turn up in court to face accusations that he had violated human rights.

He took refuge at the Cordoba camp, about 400 miles northwest of Buenos Aires.

The Cordoba court ordered his arrest but fellow officers of the 14th regiment of the airborne infantry decided to harbour him. About 300 soldiers at Campo de Mayo joined the rebellion.

Last Friday about 300,000 supporters applauded Alfonsin in the capital after listening to an emotive and uncompromising speech in which he said: "The democracy of the Argentines cannot be negotiated."

Outside Campo de Mayo yesterday, 500 civilians demonstrated against the rebels. One of Alfonsin's options now is to send police units to confront the rebels commanded by Lt-Col Aldo Rico.

NL

Troops advance on Argentine rebels

by Cristina Bonasegna in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA's worst military crisis since President Raul Alfonsin took office three years ago appeared to be nearing an end yesterday as troops loyal to the Government marched towards a base near Buenos Aires to stamp out an uprising by army officers protesting against human rights trials.

Fears that the rebellion would spread to other army units and develop into a full-scale coup seemed to have receded as the earlier uprising at a base in Cordoba was suppressed on Friday and no more revolts were reported.

About 100 rebel officers, who had said they would not surrender without fighting, remained inside the Infantry School at the Campo de Mayo base near Buenos Aires. President Alfonsin appealed to them to lay

down their arms to avoid bloodshed.

Meanwhile General Ernesto Alais, head of the 2nd Army Corps, advanced towards the base to put the rebellion down. His troops camped about 30 miles north of their destination.

"I was given the order to take over the Infantry School and I will do it," General Alais said.

The decision was taken by President Alfonsin after a meeting with the Army Chief of Staff General Hector Rios Erenu, and the heads of Argentina's four army corps.

NC

Alfonsín acts to end revolt

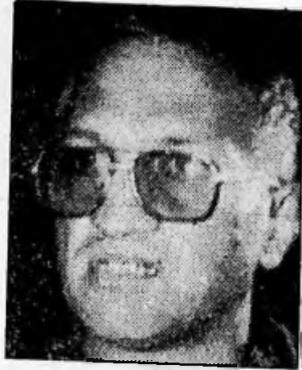
by our FOREIGN STAFF

PRESIDENT Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina yesterday brought up heavy artillery and missile launchers to confront a few score mutineers holed up in an army camp near Buenos Aires as he made a final appeal to them to surrender to save 'needless bloodshed.'

Facing the biggest challenge to his three-year old rule and the greatest test of his political powers, the Argentine leader was engaged in a delicate task of snuffing out the revolt without spilling blood — if that was avoidable.

By the afternoon it looked increasingly likely that Alfonsín would succeed in imposing his authority on the mutineers without having to give in to their demands. This would have weakened his Government and opening fire on them would have fuelled new unrest among the military.

Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico — one of about 250 officers facing charges for their part in atrocities committed against civilians during the pre-1983 military dictatorship — took over the School of Infantry, 22 miles from the capital on



Rico: Atrocities.

Thursday. He was demanding an amnesty for those involved in the 'dirty war' in which the armed forces killed 9,000 political opponents.

Initially supported by several hundred officers and NCOs, Rico expressed his solidarity with a bigger mutiny taking place in the northern city of Córdoba.

Incentives for banks in Argentine debt deal

BY ALEXANDER NICOLL, EUROMARKETS EDITOR

A \$32bn (£19.6bn) debt re-scheduled and loan deal clinched by Argentina this week contains incentives designed to accelerate banks' commitments and avoid the delays which have dogged a similar package for Mexico.

For the first time in the 44-year history of the developing country debt crisis, Argentina's 350 creditor banks are to be offered participation fees if they respond positively within 60 days of receiving the terms.

Bankers on the committee of leading creditors which negotiated the deal are striving to defend the Argentine terms. These are close to those obtained last year by Mexico against strong opposition from the main creditor banks, which said the Mexican accord would not set a precedent for other debtors.

Mr William Rhodes, the executive of Citibank of the

US, who chairs the committee dealing with both Argentina and Mexico, said the Argentine accord reflected "economic progress over the past few years."

Senior bankers said the agreement followed warnings reported to have been issued by Argentina behind the scenes at an International Monetary Fund meeting in Washington last week. These said Argentina might follow Brazil in suspending interest payments if it did not receive a fresh loan soon.

However, this threat does not appear to have radically altered the terms which had been under discussion.

The Philippines, which last month settled for tougher terms on a \$10.3bn rescheduling, is demanding the same deal as Argentina. Many bankers believe the argument that Mexico's was a one-off deal no longer carries much weight.

Partly because of delays in

implementing the Mexican package, banks recently have come under pressure from Western governments to speed up lending to troubled debtors. The delays have been caused by reluctance of banks, especially smaller ones, to lend more to Mexico and by arguments over how much each bank should provide.

Bankers said Argentina, which has complained about the slowness of the process, proposed participation fees. Banks making commitments within 30 days of receipt of the detailed terms, due by the end of the month, will receive a fee of 1% of a percentage point. If they commit within the following 30 days, they will receive a fee of 1/2% of a percentage point.

In addition, the advisory committee is expected to head off arguments which afflicted the Mexican accord by revising the base amount of Argentine ex-

posure upon which requests for the new \$1.95bn loans are calculated.

Typically, banks are asked to put up a given percentage of their exposure, based on their outstanding loans in 1982. Since then, banks sold or swapped their loans on the secondary market.

The Argentine agreement contains a \$30bn rescheduling over 19 years including seven years of grace at 1% of a percentage point over Eurodollar interest rates, a \$1.55bn 12-year loan with a 1/2% interest margin and a \$400m four-year trade credit with a 1% margin.

There are provisions for \$600m of on-lending—the transfer of loans to different borrowers within Argentina—and for conversion of debt into equity involving the investment of an additional dollar for each dollar of debt swapped.

The Argentine agreement is

also innovative in that it incorporates an Argentine proposal for so-called "exit" bonds. These would give banks with small loan exposure a means to terminate it by accepting a long-term tradeable bond instead. Details of the terms are still being worked out, but banks would be subject to a maximum of \$5m each.

Reuter adds: The World Bank yesterday said it approved a \$125m loan to assist development of small and medium-scale industry in Argentina.

The bank said the project encourages modernisation and increased productivity of small industry, enabling the sector to be more competitive, increase employment and develop further outside major urban areas.

The loan is for 15 years, including three years of grace, with a variable interest rate, at present 7.92 per cent.

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Alfonsin seeks siege state as troops rebel

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

PRESIDENT Raul Alfonsin of Argentina last night asked congress to approve the imposition of a state of siege in the country in the face of a rebellion by sections of the military which included a crack parachute regiment in the north-west of the country.

The call for the state of siege came after the President told his army high command to use "all the means necessary" to defeat the most serious challenge to the country's democracy since the return to civilian rule in 1983.

The rebellion erupted in Cordoba, 440 miles from the capital Buenos Aires, and there was evidence that support for the rebels was spreading to other military units.

Officers at an infantry school near Buenos Aires said they had taken over the school in support of the paratroops, while other troops expressed unwillingness to put down the rebellion, led by middle-ranking officers.



After a crisis meeting between Mr Alfonsin and military leaders, Mr Hector Rios Erenu, Army Chief of Staff, said: "This situation is going to come to an end. We are at the service of law and the constitution."

The crisis flared on Wednesday when Major Ernesto Barreiro failed to answer a summons to face a civilian court on human rights charges

and took refuge in the Third Army Corps base in Cordoba.

The Government ordered the major's arrest and stripped him of his rank, but fellow officers refused to hand him over. Other units of the regiment refused to move against those sheltering the cashiered officer.

The major was accused of multiple homicide and torture during the military rule of the country in the 1970s.

The rebel officers have installed machine guns and heavy artillery around the perimeter of the base, which also has an airstrip enabling reinforcements and supplies to be flown in.

The mutineers have demanded the resignation of General Rios Erenu, the release of five generals imprisoned in 1985 for human rights abuses during the so-called Dirty War of the 1970s and for a general amnesty covering hundreds of other

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military and police officials still facing trial.

However, in an uncompromising speech on Thursday night, President Alfonsin said: "Argentina's democracy is not negotiable. There is only one way ahead for the officers and heads of the armed forces, and that is to obey the orders of their superiors and supreme commander."

The President is the supreme head of the armed forces.

Mr Alfonsin said the mutiny was not "a brash temperamental act of one man, but a planned manoeuvre of a group

of men whose aim is to oblige the Government to place its policy on the negotiating table." To accede to the rebels, he said, "would endanger the destiny of the nation and, therefore, there is nothing to negotiate."

Mr Alfonsin received message of support from across the political spectrum, from trade union leaders and the private sector, and more than 100,000 people demonstrated their support at a rally outside the Congress building in Buenos Aires on Thursday night.

NL

'Dirty war' trials paved way for Argentina's military uprising

From Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

EVEN as tension mounted here over Major Ernesto Barreiro's uprising, cynics were suggesting that the only real surprise was that it has not happened before.

Unrest has plagued the military, and particularly the army, the biggest and most politicised of the three armed forces, since President Raul Alfonsin's elected Government took over from the military regime late in 1983.

Experienced observers have always said that if trouble was going to develop, it would probably be in Cordoba, where Major Barreiro took control of the 14th Airborne Infantry regiment barracks on Thursday.

Cordoba long ago earned a reputation for political instability and military plotting. General Juan Domingo Peron, the authoritarian populist who won 10 years' elected power after leading a coup d'etat in the early 1940s, was toppled in 1955 by a military movement based in Cordoba.

Even military regimes have not been immune to the restive officer corps in the city, 500 miles north-west of Buenos Aires. In 1979, Gen-

eral Luciano Benjamino Menendez, then head of Cordoba's third army corps, staged an unsuccessful coup against General Jorge Videla's military government. He is now in custody, awaiting trial on human rights charges.

General Menendez's complaint was that the Videla regime had gone soft on the "dirty war," a campaign of terror by the armed forces in which at least 9,000 people disappeared. Many more were tortured and illegally gaoled after the military seized power in 1976.

The same hardline instincts are still apparent in the Cordoba officer corps, which has refused to put down the insurrection led by Major Barreiro.

President Alfonsin's attempt to make the armed forces accept constitutional order, to force them to accept cutbacks as part of the Government's austerity programme, and, above all, to submit officers to the judgment of courts for human rights crimes during the "dirty war" set him on the road to a confrontation.

Ill feeling has been exacerbated in Cordoba as "dirty war" trials focus on the

activities of junior officers, including Major Barreiro and his comrades in arms. About a dozen senior army officers, including a few on active service have been ordered into strict custody in other army districts.

President Alfonsin's attempts to reach a compromise with the armed forces, apparently after repeated hints of unrest, have not been enough to avoid tension.

His Final Point law, setting a deadline on legal action against suspected officers, was rushed through Congress in three weeks at the end of last year.

The law was intended to smooth military resentment and assure officers that most were no longer at risk. Instead the law backfired, with human rights campaigners and civilian judges pursuing officers in the courts with renewed vigour.

As President Alfonsin sounded out army leaders on his standing among the officer corps, observers suggested his best weapon was public opinion. The Argentine military has been wary of taking power unless an "intervention" is likely to

have substantial public support.

President Alfonsin seems aware of this. As the crisis in Cordoba developed, his government called a mass march and hours later at least 100,000 people rallied.

Some believe that President Alfonsin, reluctant to use force against the rebels, decided to use the incident to demonstrate the strength of public resentment against the armed forces.

Pessimists warn that the armed forces and Argentina may be moving into new territory. The human rights issue has brought the military increasingly under pressure from middle-ranking officers who carried out the crimes of the "dirty war" when they were junior officers a decade ago. The fear is that hardline officers may paint themselves into a corner where they believe the only course available is to take power. That would be a coup by accident.

Even those observers who believe the crisis will be resolved in a less extreme manner suspect the armed forces, or at least a good share of officers, may be testing the water for a coup to come.

Fantasia

IN the foreground, Gordon Jewkes, the Governor of the Falkland Islands in full ceremonial rig; beside him the ornately-named Sir Crispin Tickell, permanent secretary at the Overseas Development Agency; looking on, a small crowd of giggling locals.

Ahead of them the bleak main street of Port Stanley and "Reflections", a gleaming new video and gift shop awaiting its official opening after being funded by a grant from the Falklands Development Corporation.

Jewkes moves forward, holding his plumed hat against the buffeting wind. Like Black Rod, he knocks three times but there is no response. Sir Crispin approaches and knocks harder — still no reply. A joint appeal through the letter box goes unanswered.

Miles away on Sealion Island the shop's owners, Gerry Johnson and Jenny Reeves, are blithely unaware of the ceremony because someone at Government House has omitted to inform them.

Jewkes and Sir Crispin straighten up and retreat with dignity to the Governor's black taxi. Someone waves the Union flag.

Alfonsín tells army to crush rebellion

From Judith Evans
in Buenos Aires

PRESIDENT Raúl Alfonsín yesterday ordered the Argentine army to put down a revolt by rebel officers in the central city of Córdoba as the rebellion threatened to spread to the capital.

Government officials said the President was prepared to call on Congress to declare a state of siege to bring the situation under control.

In Córdoba, 435 miles north-west of here, heavily armed and camouflaged rebel troops stood guard at the gates of the 14th Airborne Regiment which declared itself in revolt on Thursday in protest at human rights trials involving the military.

The army commander, General Hector Ríos Erenu, said after a meeting with President Alfonsín that he would use all the means at his disposal to put down the revolt. But there was no indication last night whether any unit commanders were prepared to move against their fellow officers.

A group of officers from the north-eastern province of Misiones were detained on their way to the capital, apparently to join forces with a group of some 50 officers at the vast Campo de Mayo base near Buenos Aires who had also declared themselves in revolt.

The Córdoba rebellion was sparked by the refusal of Major Guillermo Ernesto Barreiro, an army interrogator during the 1976-83 military regime, to answer a warrant to appear before a human rights trial. He sought and received refuge among his fellow officers in Córdoba. But, according to one report last night, Major Barreiro has now gone on the run, effectively becoming a fugitive from civilian justice. General Ríos Erenu had earlier stripped Major Barreiro of his rank and dismissed two lieutenant-colonels at the 14th Airborne barracks.

In Buenos Aires, more than 100,000 civilians responded to a call by President Alfonsín for a pro-democracy rally by marching on Thursday night to the main square outside the National Congress building.

The President's statement that "Argentine democracy will not negotiate" was greeted with emotional applause by the crowd, some carrying homemade signs proclaiming: "Justice for the guilty" and "Democracy yes, dictatorship no".

The President was cheered when he said that there would be no concessions to pressure to limit the principle that all citizens — with or without uniform — were equal before the law.

The crisis stems from a December 1986 law which has resulted in over 300 indictments of military personnel for human rights crimes committed during the so-called "dirty war".

■ WASHINGTON (Reuter) — The United States firmly backs Argentina's democratically elected president, Raúl Alfonsín, against army rebels defying an investigation of human rights abuses, the State Department said yesterday.

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Argentine military crisis is averted

By Cristina Bonasegna
in Buenos Aires

THE ARGENTINE government announced yesterday that order had been restored after a two-day insurrection at a paratroop camp in Cordoba, but that its instigator, Major Ernesto Barreiro, had escaped in a car.

The government also said that troops had cleared the streets around an infantry school in Campo de Mayo in suburban Buenos Aires, cutting off the water and electricity in an effort peacefully to quell a second army uprising.

There were unconfirmed reports that Major Barreiro had taken refuge in a foreign consulate in Cordoba.

About 130 rebel members of Paratroop Regiment 14 surrendered without incident, the government said, and no-one was injured in the rebellion.

'Situation normal

"The military crisis is almost over," Horacio Jaunarena, Defence Minister, said, and the situation in Cordoba is absolutely normal."

The episode was the worst crisis since Senor Raul Alfonsin became president in 1983 and restored democracy to Argentina after seven years of military dictatorship.

The revolt began two days ago when Major Barreiro took control of the military base in Cordoba, 500 miles from the capital.

He had been accused of helping to run a detention and torture centre under the previous military dictatorship and was leading a rebellion by middle-ranking officers objecting to trials of army personnel accused of human rights abuses.

Coup d'état fear

Fears of a full-scale coup d'état were fuelled when another officer, Col Aldo Rico, claimed that he and 100 others had taken over the Infantry School.

Major Barreiro, Col. Rico and another officer said to have been conspiring to swell the mutiny, Col. Luis Nicholas Polo, had all been immediately cashiered by General Rios Erenu, the Army Chief of Staff.

In a speech to Congress, which was broadcast on national television, President Alfonsin had said that his government would stand firm against the rebels.

"I will not make concessions in the face of any initiative or pressure aimed at limiting, conditioning or negotiating the equality of any citizen under the law—with or without uniform," he said.

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Uprising against Alfonsín

Surrender by Argentina's rebel troops

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

Rebellious officers at a military garrison in northern Argentina yesterday ended their insurrection against the Government after the army major who sparked the crisis fled the base.

"The situation in Córdoba has been totally normalized," declared the Defence Minister, Señor Horacio Jaunarena. But he added that officers at a military academy just outside Buenos Aires were last night continuing their rebellion over a demand that the prosecution of military personnel for human rights crimes be stopped.

Last night an undetermined number of loyal army troops began marching towards the Pedro Eugenio Aramburu Academy which is located in the giant Campo Mayo Base 40 miles west of Buenos Aires. Water and power had already been cut off and several hundred people gathered outside the base to urge the 100 rebellious soldiers inside to surrender.

The end of the siege at the 14th Airborne Infantry Division near Córdoba came just hours after President Alfonsín

had ordered the Argentine Army to retake the two military installations by force. The end of the rebellion at Córdoba meant that the officers' action was crumbling and the final resolution of the crisis was in sight.

As if to underline this, the President left Government House last night and returned to his official residence for the first time since the start of the emergency.

Officers at the garrison turned themselves in to military authorities shortly after Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro, who had sparked the

Military defiance 5

crisis on Thursday when he refused to appear before a civilian court, fled the base. Reports last night indicated that he had sought asylum in the consulate of an unnamed country.

As the crisis had deepened yesterday, the Interior Minister, Señor Antonio Tróccoli, announced that the Government was taking steps to declare a state of siege, thereby temporarily suspending democratic liberties.

The President issued the order for the Army to move against the rebels at the end of a 2½-hour session with his top military commanders.

The Army Chief of Staff, General Héctor Ríos Ereñu, had immediately mobilized troops to take over the 14th Airborne Infantry Division before the rebellion there ended peacefully.

As the hours passed it became increasingly clear that

the insurgent officers did not want to spark a military coup but were instead trying to press the Government to end the human rights trials.

"The media is making this a problem between democracy and dictatorship. Nothing is further from our objective," said Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico, who called himself the leader of the rebellion at the military academy.

His remarks had echoed the demands of officers who had held the garrison near Córdoba. On Thursday night they had asked for an amnesty law and demanded the removal of their top commanders.

In a speech on the same night, delivered from the podium of the Chamber of Deputies, President Alfonsín categorically rejected any negotiation with the rebels.

"I will make no concessions before any initiative or pressure that seeks to restrict the rights and the liberties that are the very nature of democracy," he said.

Argentina lived through a calm Good Friday despite the seriousness of the crisis. The overwhelming impression here was that the dramatic events would strengthen the democratic system.

● WASHINGTON: The US yesterday pledged its "firm and unequivocal" support for Argentina's democratically-elected Government against the rebels (Mohsin Ali writes).

"The US has admired and supported the political and economic progress which Argentina has made since its return to democracy in 1983," the State Department said.

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Military defiance in Argentina

Rebel taps officer discontent

From Eduardo Cue, Buenos Aires

Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro, the Argentine Army officer whose refusal to appear before a civilian court sparked the current military crisis, is not a man normally given to grandiose gestures.

But the intelligence officer is described by friends as a man who is willing to act on his strongly held convictions without regard for the consequences. His sense of duty and his reported ability to form strong friendships appear to be the main factors that led more than 80 of his fellow officers to support his defiant stand against the Government.

His action has touched a highly sensitive chord among the middle-ranking officers in the Argentine military, who have been unable to accept the continuing prosecutions of active-duty colleagues for human rights violations.

"This episode shows just how bitter the middle-ranking

officers are," a foreign diplomat said.

On Thursday night the command of the Third Army Corps, to which the rebellious officers are attached, said in a communiqué that, although it supported the Government, no action would be taken against the insurgent officers "so as to prevent the division of the armed forces".

The statement was widely interpreted as a gesture of solidarity with the officers on the part of their top commanders.

Major Barreiro, who is married and has four children, is charged with seven cases of kidnapping and at least one killing allegedly committed when he served as chief of interrogations at the La Perla detention centre, near Córdoba in northern Argentina.

Major Barreiro's superior during this period was General Lucían Benjamin Menéndez, at the time the head of the

Third Army Corps. General Menéndez appeared several weeks ago before the same Córdoba Federal Appeals court that ordered Major Barreiro's testimony, but the general refused to answer questions concerning his activities under the juntas.

The charges against Major Barreiro have been brought by a Córdoba human rights group called Peace and Justice and are based on the testimony of several former prisoners at the La Perla detention centre.

The current crisis was unleashed on Wednesday, when Major Barreiro told the chief of the infantry division where he is based, Lieutenant-Colonel Luis Polo, that he had no intention of appearing before the Córdoba court.

By refusing to show up he became the first Argentine military officer to disobey a civilian court order since the human rights trials began more than three years ago.

N.C.

Argentine army division blockades base to support renegade major

From Eduardo Cue, Buenos Aires

In the most serious military challenge to civilian rule since the return of democracy, an infantry division in northern Argentina was in a state of rebellion yesterday in support of an army major who had refused to appear before a civilian court investigating human rights violations.

Reports from the 14th Airborne Infantry Division near Cordoba said that heavy pieces of artillery had been placed around the base to prevent the arrest of Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro.

Nevertheless, there were no indications that the Argentine military were ready to take up arms against the Government. President Raul Alfonsín cut short an Easter holiday and returned to Buenos Aires to attend an emergency meeting of the Cabinet. Among those present was the Army Chief of Staff, Hector Rios Ereñu, who kept Señor Alfonsín abreast of developments.

"The President is determined to do all within his legal power to defend the democratic institutions, the state of law, and his mandate," the presidential spokesman, Señor José Ignacio Lopez, said.

Thousands of Argentinians gathered in front of the con-

gress building late yesterday afternoon in a show of support for the Government. The state-run television interrupted regular programming to broadcast news of the event and the afternoon newspaper *La Razón* headlined: "Long live the constitution".

Argentina's political opposition quickly rallied around the President. The Peronist Labour leader, Señor Saul Ubaldini, normally one of the Government's harshest critics, called for the development of "a common strategy to defend the democratic institution".

The unexpected crisis began on Wednesday night when the Defence Minister, Señor Horacio Jaunarena, dismissed Major Barreiro from active duty after the officer had refused to appear before a Cordoba court investigating human rights violations during the former military dictatorship.

"I am determined to resist," Major Barreiro said from the regiment's headquarters where he has barricaded himself. "I count on the support of my companions."

Although more than 200 military officers have been called to testify before civilian

courts on the terms of a law that set a time limit on such procedures, Major Barreiro is the first officer who has refused to appear. As such, the current crisis is at the very least a test case of the Government's determination to uphold the judicial and constitutional systems.

Yesterday's mass demonstration, attended by perhaps 100,000 people, was an unprecedented event in recent Argentine history. Similar demonstrations were held in other parts of the country and television guests and commentators urged viewers to leave their homes and take to the streets to support the democracy. Buses and trains did not charge passengers to encourage the largest possible attendance at the rally.

The Argentine military have traditionally overthrown civilian governments only when there has been strong support for such a move from important element of the civilian population. The demonstrations yesterday and the strong support shown by all political parties and social groups for President Alfonsín clearly indicated that the average Argentine does not want the generals back in power under any circumstances.

Veterans keep alive the spirit of the Malvinas

RICARDO VEISAGO is 26, soft spoken, if a little tense, and believes that when former President Galtieri invaded the Falkland Islands in April 1982, he "enacted the only sovereign and worthy deed since the war of independence".

Mr Veisago is secretary of the Association of Veterans of the Malvinas, a 500-strong group which regularly organises marches to the Campo de Mayo army base where the ex-president is serving, not too uncomfortably, a 12-year prison sentence for his conduct of the war. They go to assure him that, in their hearts at least, the flame has not died.

For Mr Veisago, life will never be the same again. He has resolved to dedicate himself to the spiritual revival of the nation and the welfare of his fellow veterans.

The plight of many of those veterans reflects the other side of the hangover the Falklands adventure left in Argentina.

Like veterans of lost wars in other countries, the young Argentines who fought in the Falklands returned to find themselves the object of embarrassment, scorn, or dislike. "They called us cowards, war crazy . . . nobody wanted to give us jobs," said Mr Veisago.

On the spiritual plane, Mr Veisago talks of the "re-Malvinisation" of Argentine national life — a plan which includes opposition to the corrupting cultural influence of imported blue jeans and visiting foreign orchestras.

Mr Veisago could not be said to represent the majority of Argentinians.

Isabel Hilton reports on a group whose plight reflects the other side of the hangover the Falklands adventure left in Argentina.

Public opinion, which, for the moment at least, puts the issue of the Falklands a long way behind more pressing economic and political concerns. But he does speak for a certain sector which believes that, apart from the justice of the cause itself, the war for the islands brought out qualities of idealism and selflessness in a normally materialistic and individualistic people. "It was like a rebirth of the country," he said, "a renovation when everyone left their private interests behind and put their weight behind the flag."

Arguments about strategic value notwithstanding, the importance of the Malvinas to the national consciousness is as a symbol of nationhood, like the flag or the national anthem.

Though Argentine diplomats have raised the issue at least once a year since the foundation of the republic, the issue entered public consciousness hand-in-hand with the entry of the military into political life. After the first military coup of the modern era, in 1930, the cause was taught in schools. Ever since, the lesson has been reinforced by two ceremonial days a year on which the sovereignty claim is celebrated.

Progressive intellectuals in

Buenos Aires have little time for the unfashionable views of Mr Veisago's group, but the uncomfortable political truth that President Alfonsín's government has to live with is that national emotion over the issue might not be dead but only asleep.

Such a thought leaves President Alfonsín with limited room for manoeuvre, a problem compounded by complaints from nationalist quarters that, since the conflict, the British have consolidated their presence on the islands to the point that Argentina's chances of recovering them are fading to extinction.

The Argentine journalist and nationalist Hugo Ezequiel Lezama recently published an article in which he envisaged Argentina accepting perpetual British occupation of the islands. A moment of regret, he argued, would be overcome by commercial pressures and Argentina would trade with the islands.

President Alfonsín has renounced any possibility of a repetition of the events of 1982, but although the popular memory of that military adventure is a painful embarrassment now, it may not always be so.

Already some commentators can foresee a time when Mr Veisago's pilgrimages to salute the fallen general will look a little less unpopular, and predict that President Galtieri may eventually take his place in the pantheon of national heroes as a man who blundered in the execution of the deed, but whose heart was in the right place.

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*Hercules helps the
shipwrecked sailor*

Argentina eases debt payment

**By Our Buenos Aires
Correspondent**

Argentina has reached an agreement with foreign banks delaying capital repayments on its \$51 billion overseas debt until 1992, senior government officials said. Economy Minister Juan Sourrouille said that the agreement significantly reduces Argentina's debt burden.

The agreement will save the country about \$300 million a year in interest payments, since the interest rate was lowered on most of the debt to a premium of 13/16 per cent over London Interbank Operators Rate, government officials said.

RAF NEWS
17-30 April 1987

Hercules helps the shipwrecked sailor



AN RAF HERCULES helped British-born yachtsman John Hughes with his ambition to complete the course in the Round the World voyage by flying out a new mast and sails for his yacht the Joseph Young.

The original mast was lost more than 40 days and 4,000 miles ago and without it John had to negotiate the dangerous seas off Cape Horn during what he described as "the most terrible night of my life." He was towed the final two miles into Mare Harbour, East Falkland by HMS Dunbarton Castle. The Services have been most careful not to provide more help than is allowed under the race rules.

Since losing his mast on February 7, he had nursed the 41ft boat towards the Falklands with only an improvised jury sail after an abortive attempt to reach Chile.

Repaired and replenished John hoped to reach Rio by April 11 in order to start the next leg of the race.

FISHING NEWS
17 April 1987

Falklands zone a 'welcome measure' — Spanish fishing leader



A splendid seafood lunch in the factory of Morayfish SA was one of the highlights of the conference. It was presented by Morayfish managing director Tony Lopez, seen here (left) with conference organiser Harry Barrett.

Protection of Falklands squid was a "welcome measure" said Vigo fishing chief Enrique Lopez Veiga.

THE introduction of the 150-mile fishery protection zone around the Falkland Islands is "a welcome measure" to Spanish distant water trawler owners.

Explaining this to participants in the Shellfish International Marketing Conference in Barcelona last week, Enrique Lopez Veiga, managing director of the Vigo-based Trawler Owners' Federation, said they had been very concerned about the depletion of squid stocks through heavy fishing around the islands.

Mr. Veiga was speaking in a discussion panel on South Atlantic squid. Spanish vessels, he said, had moved into the south-west Atlantic in search of new squid resources. Catches were so good that their operation grew rapidly.

There are three main fishing areas, two of them now inside the protection zone. In 1963, the Spanish catch was 16,000 tons and, by 1986, it had risen to 54,000 tons.

The southern area is for *Loligo* squid and it became an active fishery at just the right time for a change in demand to this species.

But, in 1986, the Spanish industry became

very worried that the stocks would be wiped out, so the new measures were not unpopular and the fleet has accepted the need for a reduced catch.

However, Mr. Veiga added that they strongly believe there should be some curbs on squid and other imports from countries outside the EEC.

There is a clear need, he said, for the EEC countries to establish a third generation common fisheries policy.

A second generation policy had been discussed and finally agreed when the community membership had been increased from six to nine.

Spain and Portugal had brought in big fishing fleets and very large seafood markets into the EEC and would be pushing for a substantial revision of the CFP to provide for this.

Mr. Veiga was one of more than 20 speakers from 10 countries taking part in the fifth of these marketing conferences. It was held in Barcelona's modern Princess Sofia Hotel and attracted over 140 participants.

The conference was organised by AGB Highway Ltd, publisher of *Fishing News* and its sister papers.

Boardings

OVER half the vessels boarded by fisheries protection vessels in the Falklands zone up to March 12 were Spanish, according to parliamentary under-secretary at the Foreign Office Timothy Eggar.

He says that 45 of the 74 were from Spain; the other countries of origin were Poland (23), Japan (3), Italy (2) and Greece (1).

FINAL DAY: HMS SHEFFIELD IS SUNK BY AN EXOCET, BUT AT CHEQUERS

Maggie's Loner

FALKLANDS THE PLAY THE BBC KILLED

IT IS Margaret Thatcher's darkest hour. The destroyer Sheffield has been hit by an Exocet, and 20 men are dead, with 24 wounded.

By 11pm dressed from head to foot in black, a silent, self-absorbed picture of grief, she is in the sparsely-attended Commons.

John Nott steps to the Despatch Box to share the bleak news: 'The ship caught fire, which soon spread out of control. The order was given to abandon ship. Communications with the operational area are difficult at present...'

Mrs Thatcher sits motionless in the place where, only weeks ago, Enoch Powell predicted that the Iron Lady's true metal and mettle would be tested on the anvil of battle.

Invasion,
then on a
crackling
phone the
joyful
news: We
have
victory!

NOTT sits. Labour Leader MICHAEL FOOT rises.

FOOT (gravely): I do not seek, in this moment of tragedy, to make any political comment; but I hope the Government will make a full statement tomorrow so that we can debate the matter. He sits. This marker that he intends to try to score some party political points out of this event, coming at such a moment, shocks the Tory benches. A backbencher stands.

SPEAKER: Mr Wells.

JOHN WELLS (Tory MP for Maidstone, shaking with anger, shouting): One cannot help feeling that the Leader of the Opposition is a prize hypocrite on... Instantly, the house erupts over the rest of the sentence, its shock exploding into anger both for and against Michael Foot. Several members jump to their feet, shouting simultaneously, waving their order papers. The PRIME MINISTER sits in her own world, deaf to this hubbub.

THE GREAT PARLOUR, CHEQUERS.

Attorney-General SIR MICHAEL HAVERS knocks and enters. He is surprised not to find the PM there. Cabinet Secretary Sir ROBERT ARMSTRONG is putting out some papers for her attention.

ARMSTRONG: She's gone out for a walk. HAVERS: A walk?

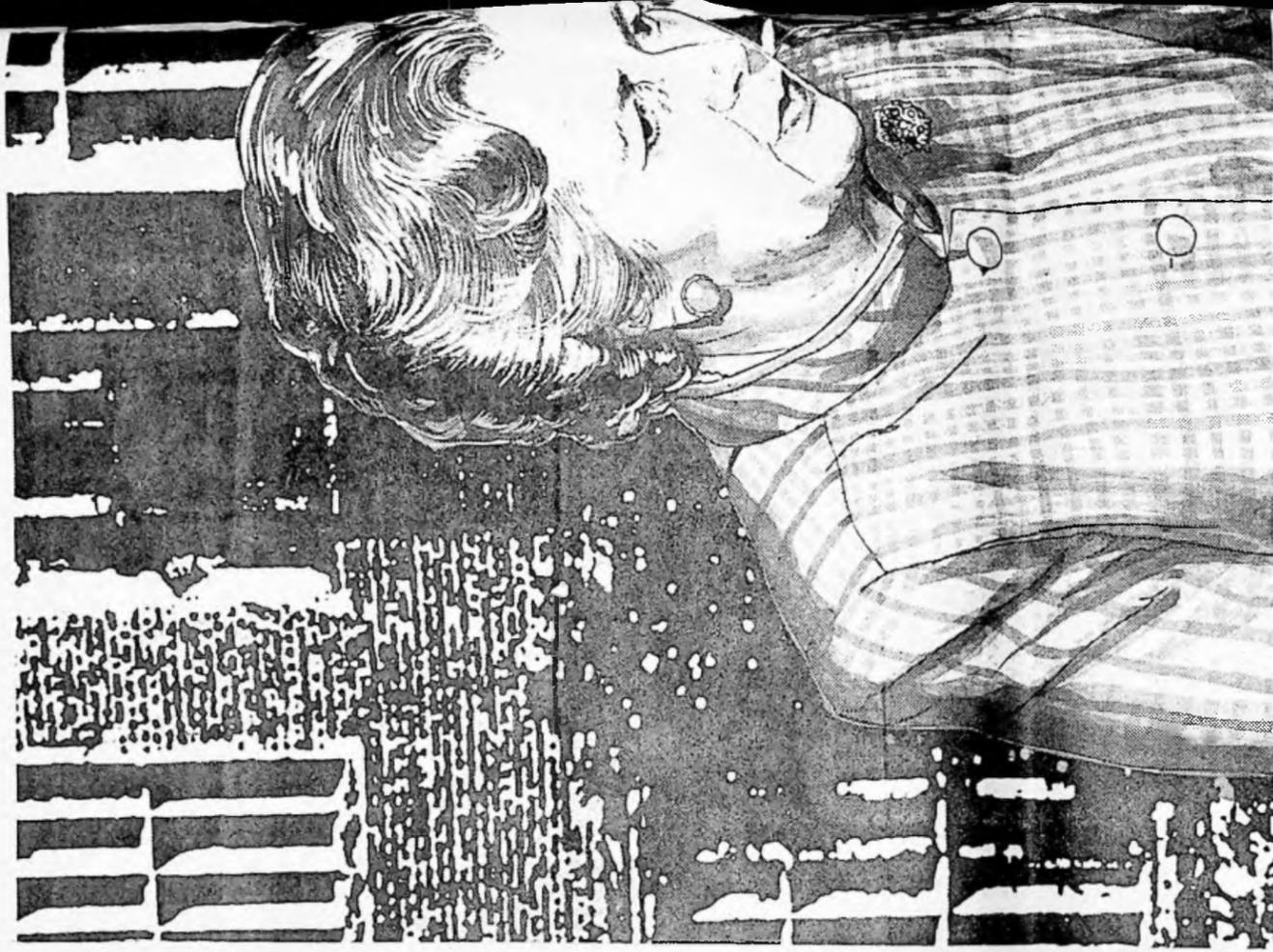
ARMSTRONG indicates the window. HAVERS crosses to it, and looks out. A solitary figure can be seen, walking in parkland in the distance, slightly hunched, occasionally swinging an arm askant, like a grieving child.

When she returns to the Great Parlour, for a War Cabinet meeting, it is plain that Mrs Thatcher's quest for a settlement dominates her thinking. She is far, far tougher and resolute. Her recent experiences have roused a fiery impatience in her.

Sir Nicholas Henderson, Ambassador to the United States, and Sir Anthony Parsons, veteran diplomat who represents Britain at the United Nations, are waiting with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's peace

mta. comments... concessions hardly think-Secretary?

WHITE-LAW: It goes... we fail to get we've gone before. Abandoning... many agreeing to a United Nations Govern... PM. (blistering): I am aware of what it says. What is your position?



By IAN CURTEIS

WHITE-LAW: I suppose it's acceptable. As a last-ditch try.

PARSONS: It leaves many matters very vague, Prime Minister.

PM: Surely that is Perez de Cuellar's intention!

PARSONS: Everything must be clear, no one must be...

PM: For Heaven's sake, we're trying to...

PARSONS (standing his ground): If you would allow me to finish, Prime Minister I think you might agree with me. It's up to you and the War Cabinet to decide how far you are prepared to go, but it's up to me to tell you what this actually says or fails to say.

PM: If you will...

PARSONS (firmly): Shall we go through it point by point?

ON BOARD A PLANE. PARSONS AND HENDERSON sit side by side (returning to Washington). They each have copies of the... draft.

You were very brave. the most wonder-able human, I

kept on remembering 'Little man, little man, most is not a word to use to princes'. HENDERSON: You know, she's written scores of letters in her own hand to the families of every single serviceman killed. She'll go on doing that as long as the fighting lasts.

PARSONS (quietly): That may mean a lot of letters. Yet surely the draft they carry goes far enough to stop all that? Certainly Jeane Kirkpatrick, President Reagan's abrasive representative at the UN, believes so. Mrs Kirkpatrick makes no secret of seeing Argentina's side of the dispute, and supporting it.

She's dismissed America's backing of Britain with contempt, snorting that it is 'a boys' club version of gang loyalty'.

To Jeane Kirkpatrick's dismay and rage, Argentina seems unlikely to accept UN sanction and British agreement to its presence on the Falklands. It would be self-defeating madness to reject this, she cries. 'It's all there!', she tells Enrique Ros, the junta's Assistant Foreign Minister.

Incredulous, frustrated, Mrs Kirkpatrick shouts: 'Enrique, it really constitutes what Argentina wants. Accept it and you'd have won!'

But Argentine President Galtieri and his

men do not see it that way. They want more — total surrender by Britain. Now even British Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, opposed to warfare on grounds of conscience, is losing hope of a diplomatic solution.

Suddenly invasion is inevitable. But on its eve, Margaret Thatcher and Francis Pym clash yet again. The confrontation allows each to nail ethical and emotional colours to the mast. While sharing the same tongue, they speak different languages...

10 DOWNING STREET. PRIME MINISTER'S STUDY, NIGHT. The Prime Minister works by herself in a pool of desk light. She is writing letters in her own hand. Buzz on the intercom.

PM: Yes?

SECRETARY: Can the Foreign Secretary see you?

PM: Oh, Yes.

PM: I know.

PM: What time do first troops go in?

PM: 3:40 in the morning. (Pym looks at his watch). I'm not enjoying it, either.

PM: We won't get any real news for some hours.

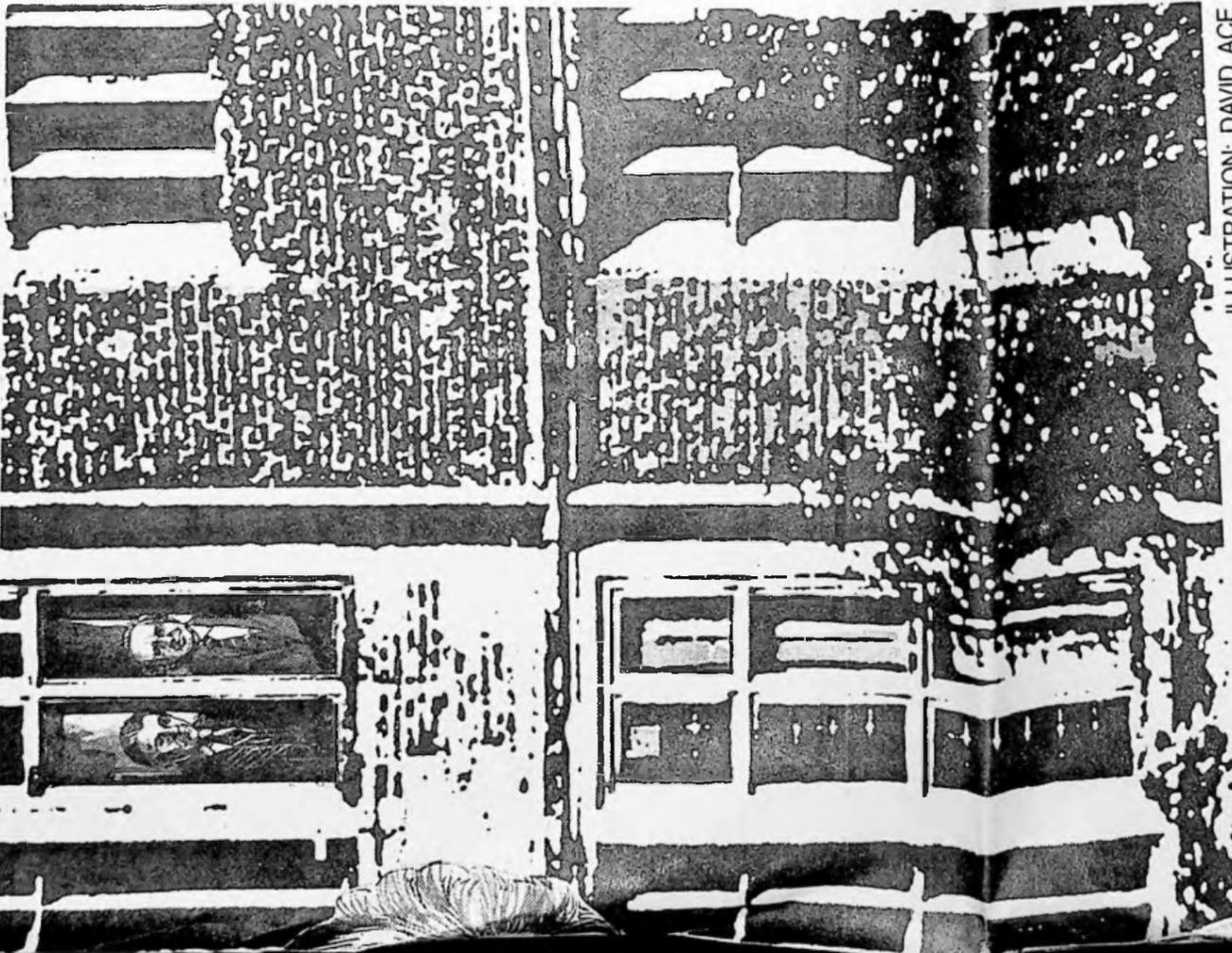
PM: I know.

PM: And it's not a question of 'enjoying it'. It's more ... (he gestures) ... it can't be right.

PM (gritting her teeth): What can't be right?

THIS DARK HOUR GIVES BIRTH TO A NEW AND EVEN TOUGHER RESOLVE

A Walk of grief



PYM: Trying to settle anything by warfare. It's appalling.

PM: They invaded.

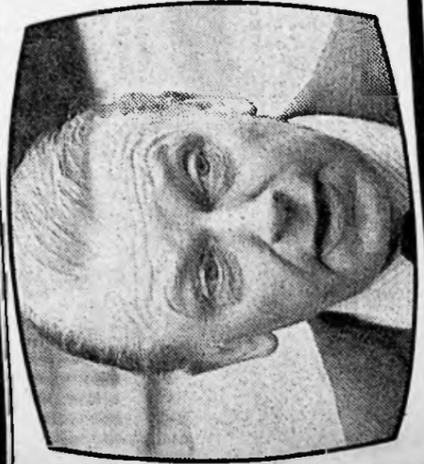
PYM: Of course, but ... lie down and let them trample all over those people?

PYM: What people?

PM: The Falkland Islanders! The people they invaded, the people who desperately want to stay British!

PYM: I don't know anything about international law, but it seems to me it must be the most criminal act, in 1982, to decide to go to war, as we have, calmly decide to kill people ...

The PM finally explodes in anger.



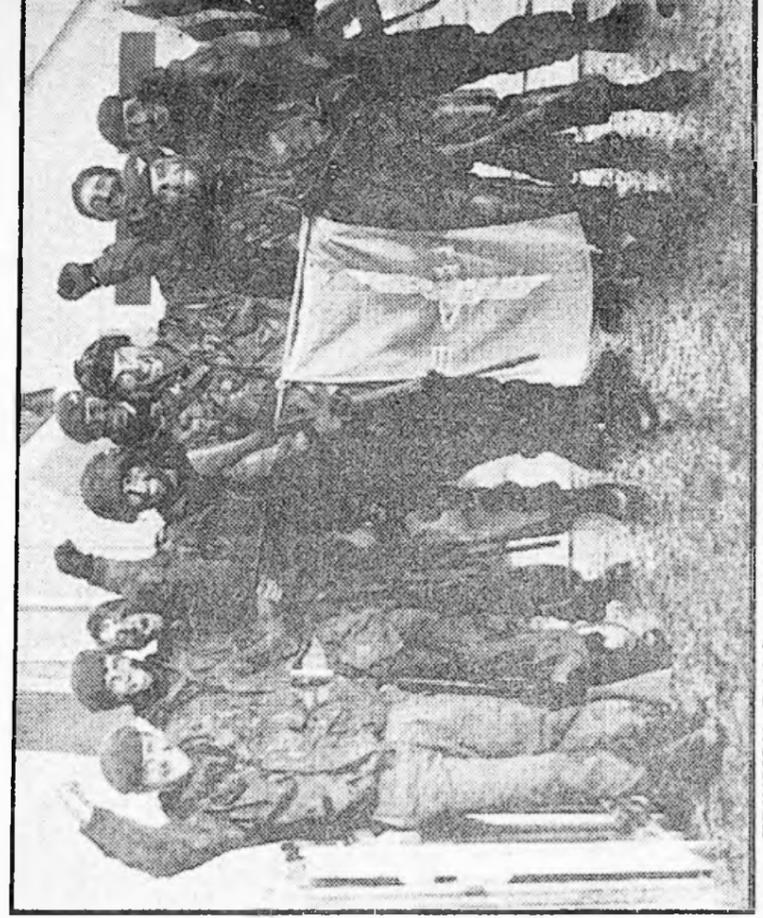
‘Trying to settle anything by warfare can't be right’

FRANCIS PYM

ILLUSTRATION: DAVID ACE

PM: Only one thing makes war justified, and lawful, only one thing — when it's a struggle for law against force, for the life of those people, their laws, their language and way of life, everything that makes them what they are, against a brutal effort to impose on them a life and language and laws that are not theirs and they do not want. When everything else has been tried, and failed. Not because of us!

If we are wrong to fight now, we were wrong to fight Hitler, we were wrong to fight the Kaiser, we were wrong to fight Napoleon, we were wrong to fight Philip of Spain — wrong to do anything but throw in the towel and crumple before the first brute force to come along and abandon all the fine



TRIUMPH: British paratroops celebrate the victory at Port Stanley

and good and splendid things Britain has given the world down the centuries for a bleak, totalitarian desert.

PYM has listened to this, hunched and inscrutable, waiting for her to finish. Her speech has made not the slightest impression on him.

PYM: (mutter) Well, I just hope you're right, that's all. With a shout of rage, the PM flings her arms wide in exasperation.

The invasion is launched. Britain storms back to the Falklands. In a daunting arena and cruel weather, battle is joined and the troops advance — San Carlos, Goose Green, Bluff Cove, finally Port Stanley.

With the sort of symmetry Shakespeare would welcome, history's wheel turns full circle. The Prime Minister's room in the Commons, where Margaret Thatcher has worried and waited so often in past weeks, where she wept for Sheffield, is the setting where she learns of victory.

She and her Cabinet are working at a half-sized table. Admiral Lewin, Chief of the Defence Staff, is on the phone ... a direct line across the world to Port Stanley.

Argentine resistance is faltering, white flags have appeared, weapons are being cast aside. General Menendez, the Argentine commander, is studying a surrender document.

‘British forces have conducted themselves magnificently’



MICHAEL FOOT

the British forces who have conducted themselves so magnificently, and, if I may say so, to the Right Honourable lady herself.

Loud hear, hears! He sits.

SPEAKER: Mr Wedgwood Benn.

BENN (rising): Will the Prime Minister publish a full analysis of the costs in life, equipment and money of this tragic and unnecessary war, which the world knows very well will not provide an answer to the problem of the Falkland Islands?

PM: The Right Honourable gentleman calls it an unnecessary war. Tragic it may have been, but may I point out to him ... (She suddenly flings out her arm and put of at him, shouting: it is her true moment of celebration and triumph) he would not enjoy the freedom of speech that he puts to such excellent use, unless people had prepared to fight for it!

The House roars like the sea.

ADMIRAL Lewin hears the crucial words crackle, and raising his voice, passes them on. “They’ve signed,” he tells her. She looks up, grinning like a schoolgirl.

HOUSE OF COMMONS IN SESSION. As soon as Mrs Thatcher appears, there is loud cheering a waning of order papers. She takes her seat with a smile. The MP speaking stops and sits. The PM rises to the despatch box.

PM: Mr Speaker, I will with permission make a short statement about the Falkland Islands. After successful attacks last night, General Moore decided to press forward. The Argentines retreated. Our forces reached the outskirts of Port Stanley. Large numbers of Argentine soldiers threw down their weapons. They are reported to be flying white flags over Port Stanley.

That is as far as she can get. The House erupts in an explosion of cheering, long and loud. Members are on their feet, waving order papers. It finally subsides. MICHAEL FOOT rises.

FOOT: May I thank the Right Honourable lady for coming to the House to give us the news, particularly as it will mean an end to the bloodshed. There will be great congratulations from the House tomorrow to

Alfonso gambles on the chances of reform

PRESIDENT ALFONSO appealed this week for backing for his plan to change Argentina's constitution, which includes creating the post of prime minister and incorporating the opposition into a government by consensus.

"The will to live together is not enough," he said in his strongest speech on the subject so far. "The dialectic of government and opposition has to end... it is time for like-minded parties to assume the responsibilities of government." His opponents see his desire to change the constitution as a manoeuvre to keep himself and his party in power. The President and his supporters say Argentina needs fundamental change and that the present system of government is an impediment to that change.

Whichever view prevails, it is clear, as Argentina accepts that democracy is here for the foreseeable future, that Mr Alfonso regards his government as a transition, not to a stable two-party system in which power would alternate between his Radical party and the Peronists, but to a system in which business, unions and a range of parties would participate in government.

The President's speech followed the most dramatic example of cross-party co-operation in the short history of his

government. It was a pact done with a group he described in his election campaign four years ago as the main enemy: he appointed a leading Peronist, Carlos Alderete, to the key post of Labour Minister, and agreed a deal with 15 Peronist trade-union leaders from the most reactionary and corrupt sector of the labour movement.

The deal left the Peronists astounded and not a little upset. Since their defeat in the 1983 election, they have been riven by a power struggle between the "Renovators", led by Antonio Cafiero, and the old guard. The "Renovators" have a precarious lead in the party and are struggling to present a new, clean image to the electorate in September's elections for provincial governors and one third of the lower house of Congress.

It is seen as a make-or-break election for the Peronists, who are fielding Mr Cafiero for governor of Buenos Aires province. If they lose, conventional wisdom has it, their survival as a major party is in doubt.

Mr Alfonso's pact, with the very sector that the renovating faction had just defeated, left Mr Cafiero's supporters spluttering with rage, and consoling themselves with the thought that the deal will never work.

Some see President Alfonso's visions of change as opportunism, Isabel Hilton reports from Buenos Aires.

The short-term advantages for President Alfonso if the pact works are twofold. It will enable him to get through a tricky few months on the economic front without having to face the harassment of a powerful sector of the trade-union movement, and he has demonstrated to the electorate that he retains the political initiative and can still outmanoeuvre his main enemy.

Hernnan Patiño Mayer, a leading Peronist of Mr Cafiero's faction, is convinced the deal will fail. "There can be no serious agreement with these people. They will exploit their position and eventually they will lose patience with the government. They have loyalty only to themselves."

Few would quibble that this section of the union movement is loyal to its own interests. It has managed to reach pacts with an astonishing range of governments over the past 20 years, in-

cluding one with the last military regime, behaviour which Mr Alfonso attacked at other times.

But the more fundamental question is whether Mr Alfonso will succeed in tempting enough elements of the opposition into a power-sharing set-up to render the Peronists irrelevant as a possible alternative government.

Mr Cafiero is acutely aware of the dangers his party faces, but his ground for counter-attack is limited. The Peronists agree, in principle, with many of the Radical proposals, but if the Alfonso strategy is successful, the danger for the Peronists is that they will never succeed in constructing a party image that is coherent and sufficiently different from the Radicals' to offer an alternative.

Precisely how the Radicals propose to reform the constitution is still being debated, but there are two main options. The first, which Mr Alfonso advocated this week, involves creation of the post of prime minister and relegation of the president to a more ceremonial role.

If this happened, it is assumed Mr Alfonso would wish to be prime minister and would hope the presidency would be assumed by a Peronist. The second option is to shorten the presi-

dential term from six to four years and allow re-election of the president. At present, Mr Alfonso cannot run again when his term expires in 1989.

Critics say Mr Alfonso's main contribution to the consolidation of Argentine democracy ought to be the orderly handover of power at the end of his term. To seek to change the rules to remain in power, they argue, is merely to revert to an old, discredited pattern of personalised *caudillo* politics.

Supporters of the plan from the smaller parties are tempted by sharing a power they could not aspire to win at the ballot box.

Within the Radical party, the arguments are two-fold. One section dreams of leading an historical movement, while others say the kind of fundamental economic and administrative reforms which Argentina requires cannot be achieved with a precarious Congressional majority, harassed by a hostile opposition.

As Mr Alfonso put it in his speech this week: "Fifty-two per cent is not enough. There is a resistance to change by the political extremes and by the frivolity of those in the middle."

To his opponents his plan is a squalid party stratagem, to his supporters the vision of a statesman.

N.C.

Philippines to demand debt terms equal to Argentina's

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

THE PHILIPPINES warned yesterday that it would seek to re-open negotiations completed only three weeks ago with leading creditor banks on a \$10.3bn (£6.3bn) debt rescheduling and would demand the same terms as those obtained this week by Argentina.

Though Argentina's advisory committee of commercial banks had not announced the deal by yesterday evening, an Economy Ministry official confirmed in Buenos Aires that the country had won a $\frac{1}{8}$ of a percentage point margin over Eurodollar interest rates on a \$30bn, 19-year rescheduling, which met almost all the country's demands.

The Argentine spread is below the $\frac{1}{8}$ of a percentage point margin agreed by the Philippines in its 17-year deal, and is the same as that for a Mexican rescue package. Bankers had said the Mexican deal was an exception which would not set a precedent for other debtors.

Mr Jaime Ongpin, Philippines Finance Secretary, said in Manila that if the Argentine deal were officially confirmed "the Philippines intends to open its own renegotiation on the bank rescheduling and will insist on a $\frac{1}{8}$ rate to match what the Argentinians have been able to get."

He said: "The banks almost without exception represented to us that the Mexican rate of $\frac{1}{8}$ was an aberration that would never be repeated, and proceeding on that premise we agreed to $\frac{1}{8}$. The Philippines does not see why it should not be entitled to the same rate."

In New York, Manufacturers Hanover, the US bank which chairs the Philippines advisory committee of leading bank creditors, would not comment on Mr Ongpin's remarks. It had not heard officially from the Philippines, it said.

Bankers said, however, that both the Philippines and Argentine deals were complex and had been very difficult to negotiate.

Mr Ongpin said that although a reduction of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a percentage point would save only \$5.1m a year, "it's not just the question of money here. There's a principle involved." Mr Ongpin said Mr Jose Fernandez, the central bank governor, had spoken to Manufacturers Hanover and "their reaction was that we had a right to feel disappointed."

Bankers in Manila said the Philippines appeared to have a strong case for a rate reduction. The Philippines is not seeking new money—Argentina is to receive a loan of about

\$1.9bn—and Manila, unlike Argentina and Mexico, has also undertaken to make token repayments of principal.

The Argentine deal followed last week's meeting of the International Monetary Fund's policy-making interim committee, which urged banks to speed their lending to troubled debtors. "There was a clear sentiment towards being accommodating towards debtor countries," Mr Ongpin said.

According to the official in Buenos Aires, the banks have acceded to practically all of Argentina's demands in the rescheduling package. There is to be no new on-lending programme—the transfer of loans to other borrowers within Argentina—and outstanding on-lending agreements from earlier reschedulings worth about \$600m will be subject to government-controlled quotas to minimise their effect on monetary policy.

Argentina's proposal for a debt capitalisation scheme—requiring one new dollar of inward investment for each dollar of debt swapped for equity—has remained virtually intact with only "minor technical adjustments." Smaller banks are to be offered "exit bonds" which would enable them to end their exposure. The bonds will be for 25 years and bear interest of 3 per cent.

DAY FOUR, AND AS THE TASK FORCE COMES UNDER ARGENTINE AIR ATTACK

THE Falklands have been invaded by Argentina and while shuttle diplomacy fails to restore sanity, Britain tastes her first victory — the recapture of South Georgia. But as the Task Force mobilised to retake the Falklands steams into the South Atlantic, the real battle is about to begin . . .

WAR has come to the Cabinet. Ministers stand in an alcove in the big, panelled Great Parlour at Chequers stunned at the proposition put to them. A flood of Easter sunshine fills the room. They are oblivious to it.

And 8,000 miles away in bitter cold and heaving Atlantic waves the Argentine cruiser Belgrano, with more than 1,000 men aboard, has been deemed a threat to the British Task Force. Admiral 'Sandy' Woodward, leading the fleet at sea, wants her sunk by the nuclear-powered submarine Conqueror.

At Chequers the War Cabinet, hastily shepherded from pre-lunch drinks, stand, some with glasses still in their hands, in a small ring. There is a air of shock about them.

Nearby senior civil servants, service chiefs and other Cabinet Ministers carry on chattering unaware of the momentous decision about to be taken in the corner of the room.

In the alcove Willie Whitelaw, whose declared intention it was weeks earlier 'to win the bloody war', asks the question that is in everyone's minds: 'What about the loss of life?'

It is a question that has weighed heavily on the minds of Margaret Thatcher and her closest advisers since the Task Force sailed from Portsmouth. Now minds race back to earlier discussions . . .

THE CABINET ROOM, DOWNING STREET. SOME TIME EARLIER ADMIRAL SIR TERENCE LEWIN, Chief of the Defence Staff, has joined MARGARET THATCHER, WILLIE WHITELAW, Foreign Secretary FRANCIS PYM, Defence Secretary JOHN NOTT and Attorney-General SIR MICHAEL HAVERS.

LEWIN: The War Cabinet will be aware that the Royal Navy has always issued instructions to its captains about the circumstances in which they can fire on the enemy. Normally, they are based on the principle of self-defence, but as the Task Force nears its objective, the rules will need to be changed, as is normal in warfare.

PYM: We're not yet in warfare. PM (*brushing this aside*): Do you have particular circumstance in mind?

LEWIN: Yes. Yesterday, Argentine Air Force Boeing 707s started to shadow the Task Force. They were identified by Sea Harriers. Admiral Woodward requests permission to shoot them down.

General members are shocked.

PYM: How are these planes armed?

LEWIN: They are unarmed, but . . . would WHITELEAW (*Appalled*): But that would be intolerable!

IEWIN (*patiently*): If I may finish, Prime Minister . . . they are reconnaissance aircraft. Their job is to vector Argentine submarines and strike aircraft on to the track of the Task Force. One of our aircraft carriers could be sunk, without our having fired a shot, and we'd have lost the war. *That's the danger. Pause. The realities of this, the first real military decision shake many present.*

WHITELEAW: Prime Minister, such permission should surely be limited to when the Task Force enters the Maritime Exclusion Zone. To shoot them down on the high seas, without warning . . .

He shakes his head, appalled.

LEWIN: No one is suggesting they should not be warned.

PYM: Even so . . .

PM: We are trying to achieve a diplomatic settlement.

PYM: Hear, hear!

LEWIN: I should like no one to be in any doubt about the risks involved.

PYM: The alternative is unthinkable.

PM: Agreed? (*Nods and mumbles all round*). Next?



The War Cabinet agonises, and then the order is flashed to

HMS Conqueror

By IAN CURTIS



Torpedoes then

NOTT: So we'd be placing ourselves on the same footing as them?

WHITELEAW: Yes, but doing it publicly, and giving notice.

PM: Very well. Attorney, would you go ahead with such a warning?

LEWIN: One further thing. Prime Minister, if I may.

PM: Of course.

LEWIN: The war cabinet will have read the paper on Operation Blackbuck — the single Vulcan bomber flying from Ascension.

The RAF now need to finalise its target.

PM: The runway at Port Stanley, or the military airports on the Argentine mainland?

LEWIN: Exactly.

PM: Attorney, have you anything to say on this?

HAVERS: In my view, either would come within Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, as legitimate acts of pre-emptive self-defence. However, if we bomb the mainland, we run the risk of escalating the conflict to a State of War, whether declared

or not. In that case, the Hague Convention would debar the USA from being able to assist us.

WHITELEAW: And the object of bombing Stanley airfield . . .?

LEWIN: To lay a string of small bombs precisely across the runway, one of which will crater it. That would prevent their high-speed planes from taking off to attack our approaching Task force.

NOTT: What about civilian casualties?

LEWIN: This type of bombing is surgically precise. In my view, the risk is negligible.

WHITELEAW: That decides it for me.

PM: Port Stanley? *General agreement.*

IN THE first days of May come the circumstances for which the TEZ warning was framed. Argentine aircraft attack the Task Force, leading to an intense flying battle. But in the subterranean, concrete castle that is Fleet HQ in London, a greater threat emerges. **FLEET HQ, NORTHWOOD: OPERATIONS CONTROL ROOM.**

The atmosphere is tense as an air battle rages. Wrens move markers on the South Atlantic map, charting the positions of British warships. Suddenly a message begins scrolling out across a VDU.

'CONQUEROR TO C:IN:C FLEET (1) VISUAL CONTACT ONE ARG CRUISER AND TWO ESCORTS. (2) IDENTIFIED BELGRANO . . .'

The signal rouses Admiral Sir John Fieldhouse, Task Force Commander, who is trying to snatch 40 winks in a control room chair. Rubbing his eyes, he scans the big map. The main group of Argentine warships has moved past, submarines Spartan and Splendid, patrolling the northern edge of the Total Exclusion Zone.

It is naval chess, with a gambit that sends Admiral Fieldhouse and Admiral Lewin off



'If both our carriers are sunk, we've lost the war'

ADMIRAL LEWIN
CHIEF OF DEFENCE STAFF

LOOK FOR THE FIRST TIME A NEW AND POTENTIALLY DEADLY THREAT ARISES

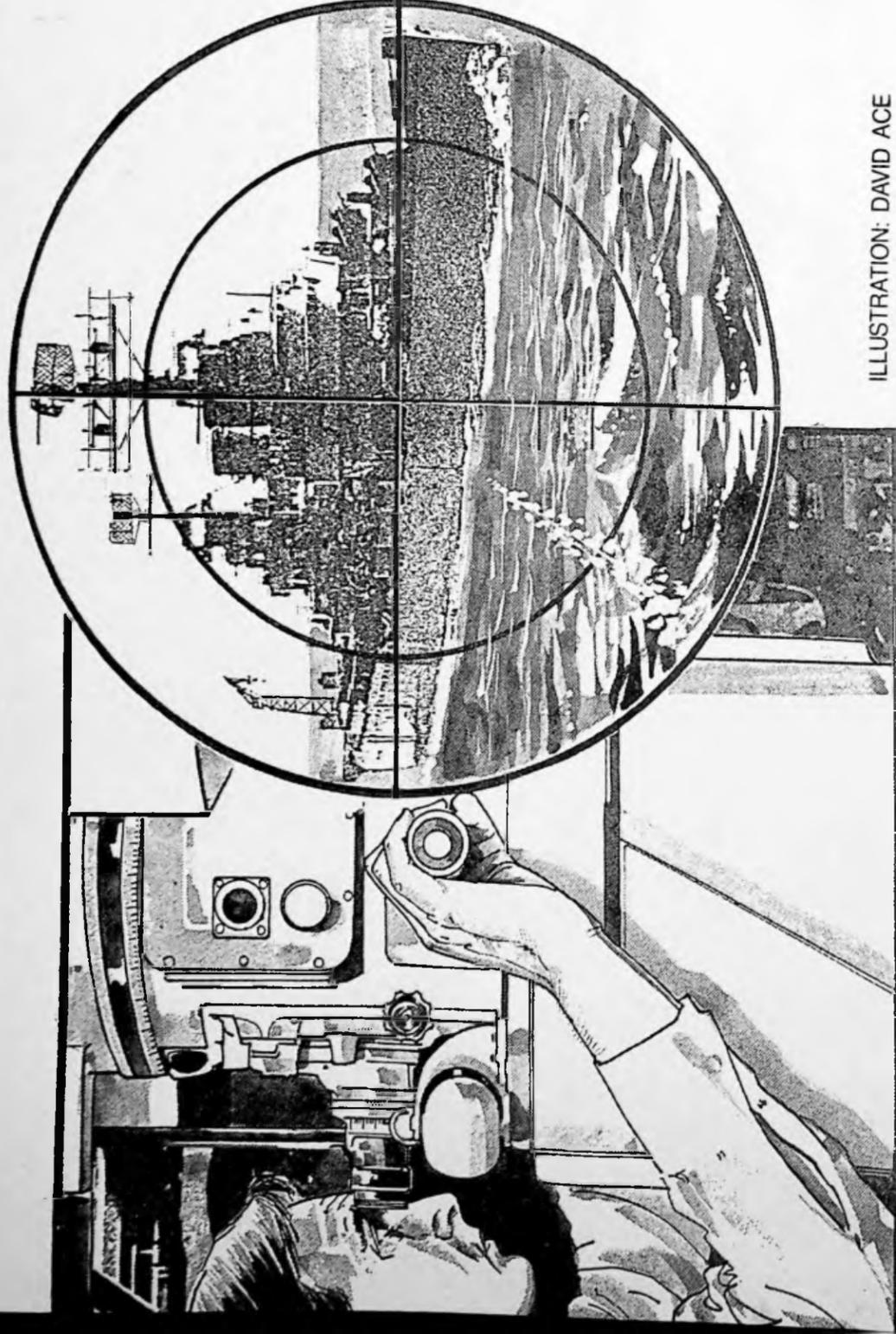


ILLUSTRATION: DAVID ACE

'If Belgrano heads North, our sub can't follow . . .'

ADMIRAL LEWIN

The nuclear submarine carried out orders. On May 2, Belgrano was torpedoed with the loss of 368 Argentine lives.

In the House of Commons John Nott is at the despatch box. The PRIME MINISTER sits grimly beside him, on the front bench.

NOTT: It is feared the loss of life may have been heavy. Our submarine did not attack the two escorting destroyers, in the belief that they would assist survivors. Regrettably the escorts rapidly removed themselves from the scene. The loss of life must be a matter of deep concern to the House, but our first duty must be the protection of our ships and men! The way to stop the fighting is for the Argentines to withdraw their garrison, in compliance with United Nation Resolution 502.

He sits. Opposition Leader MICHAEL FOOT rises.

FOOT: Can the Right Honourable lady tell us what political control there was over this major development? Is there not a grave danger that such an event as the sinking of a ship might recur?

The PM rises slowly to the despatch box. She is very subdued.

PM: I assure the Right Honourable gentleman that the Task Force is under full political control. (Pause. Then she adds, quietly, straight from the heart.) The worry I live with hourly is that attacking Argentine forces may get through to ours, and sink some of our ships.

THE CABINET ROOM. The War Cabinet in session. LEWIN is at the easel map stand.

LEWIN: There's no doubt of the effect on the Argentine Navy. Every one of their ships has scuttled back here... (He indicates the coastal strip along the mainland)... where the water is too shallow for our subs to operate. It's effectively neutralized their entire Fleet.

WHITE-LAW (for the PM's benefit): Thus, probably saving lives (Silence. The PM makes no response.) Margaret.

PM (coming to): Yes sorry. Attorney?

HAVERS: The new TEZ — leaving them a twelve-mile strip down the coast — will effectively pin them in.

Silence. Members of the War Cabinet look across at the PM. She is deeply preoccupied. Less than two days later, Mrs Thatcher's fears of British losses become a nightmare reality.

PRIME MINISTER'S ROOM, HOUSE OF COMMONS. The PM is working alone, at her place by the half-size Cabinet table, facing the big window. She is unable to concentrate, as if waiting for something. The room is completely silent and still. A buzz on the intercom.

PM: yes?

SECRETARY: May the Minister of Defence see you urgently, Prime Minister?

PM: Yes.

JOHN NOTT enters quietly, signal in hand. The PM does not turn to greet him. He walks over to stand beside her at the table.

NOTT (quietly): The Sheffield's been hit. We think by an Exocet. There may be a lot of casualties.

The PM says nothing. Her hands clench and unclench. She arches her head back and the tears silently flood down her face.

TOMORROW

MARGARET THATCHER'S DARKEST HOUR

The Falklands Play by Ian Curteis is published by Hutchinson. £3.95

Belgrano!

to Chequers. Admiral Woodward is convinced the Argentines are planning a pincer movement that would leave the carriers Hermes and Invincible trapped between the Belgrano and her escorts and the carrier Veinticinco de Mayo and her attack planes.

PM: What is the answer?

LEWIN: Pick off one arm of the pincer.

PM: Yes?

LEWIN: Conqueror should sink Belgrano.

The PM is deeply concerned; this would be a major escalation of the war.

PM: Can we leave such a decision until a pincer movement has actually started?

LEWIN (indicating on a chart): Here is the Birdwood Bank, of shallow water. If Belgrano turns north, she'll be over that very quickly; it's deep enough for her but too shallow for a submarine to follow. The chance would have gone.

PM: Hmm. We've got a War Cabinet at three.

THE GREAT PARLOUR, CHEQUERS. It is the big usually peaceful room where the War Cabinet meets at weekends. Two large windows look out from the yellow-bricked Elizabethan House across rolling countryside. LEWIN and FIELDHOUSE usher their party into an L-shaped alcove at the far end away from the pre-lunch drinks party in the room itself.

WHITE-LAW: What about loss of life?

LEWIN (quietly): There are bound to be casualties. She might be only disabled; but if she sank, the two escorts could rescue the ship's company.

WHITE-LAW (muttering): Those who survived.

PM (to LEWIN): Are we absolutely certain she is armed with Exocet?

LEWIN: Not 100 per cent. But there have been intelligence reports that she is.

NOTT: We have to assume they are correct.

LEWIN: Her escorts certainly are.

PM: How can we be certain that they intend to attack in the way you anticipate?

LEWIN: Our appreciation is that they must launch an all-out air attack very soon.

WHITE-LAW: But this ship is outside the TEZ.

HAVERS: Oh, that's clearly covered by our warning of April 23 — anything outside it may be attacked, without warning, if it constitutes a threat.

NOTT: What about the direction the Belgrano is steaming?

LEWIN: That means nothing — she can change course in 30 seconds. The one thing she won't do is betray the course she's going to take when the pincer is sprung until the last moment.

HAVERS: What's her complement?

LEWIN: About 1,000 men.

PM: The threat is clear. I think we should consider the political implications.

HAVERS: There's bound to be tremendous

escalation of the fighting.

PM: But they've been trying to sink our ships, kill our boys. They invaded, not us! — and they attacked us yesterday.

NOTT: I don't think we've any alternative.

PM: Willie?

WHITE-LAW: I agree.

PM: Attorney?

HAVERS (still troubled): I don't have enough information to offer a legal opinion.

PM: You said it would be clearly within our Warning of April 23.

HAVERS: Oh, it's certainly that. (To Lewin) Suppose the Conqueror kept shadowing her, if necessary going round the Birdwood Bank?

LEWIN: She would almost certainly lose her.

HAVERS: Then I agree.

PM (to LEWIN): How quickly would this happen?

LEWIN: The signal can go out now. Then it's up to the Conqueror.



'They've been trying to sink our ships, kill our boys'

MARGARET THATCHER

New dawn for justice in Argentina

Argentina courts are leading the way in the pursuit of human rights abuse, Isabel Hilton reports from Buenos Aires.

JUDGE León Aslanian, president of the Buenos Aires federal court, believes that a new age is dawning in Argentina. If he is right, it will largely be due to the frankly unexpected vigour with which his court has pursued the prosecution of military officers for crimes committed under the dictatorship.

"If we can show there is no impunity for crimes of this magnitude, we will succeed in giving a real meaning to those guarantees in our constitution which have just been words on paper until now," he said.

Judge Aslanian is a chain-smoking, coffee-drinking Armenian who was elevated to his position from the relative obscurity of the criminal courts. The enthusiasm of his court for the human rights trials, though in keeping with official policy, has caused President Alfonsín moments of acute nervousness.

The Radical government came to power on the promise of justice, but it was a promise which has been juggled against the dangers of an all-out confrontation with the armed forces. The first breakthrough came after President Alfonsín's attempt to persuade the armed forces to try their own officers in military courts had failed.

As the human rights campaigner Dr Emilio Mignone put it: "A miracle happened — the five-month trial in the federal court of all the members of the three military juntas which ruled Argentina during the dictatorship." The case, which ended in sentences for five out of the nine accused, was followed by the conviction of the former chief of the federal police and several of his subordinates.

The impact of those judgments can best be measured

against the low expectations of the performance of the Argentine courts, which had sat back while thousands disappeared.

"We all had the sense of having a great mission to fulfill in the transition," said Judge Aslanian. "But nobody really saw the implications of what we were doing. You take a series of small steps without really knowing where the road goes, and suddenly you are in the middle of a huge process."

To defuse the tension the trials provoked, Mr Alfonsín introduced the *punto final* law, which set a time limit of 60 days for indictments. He hoped to end the trials and allow the government to reach a *modus vivendi* with the armed forces, but as a political manoeuvre it backfired when the courts speeded up their procedures and succeeded in indicting nearly 300 military officers before the time limit.

The human rights organisations say this represents only a fraction of the potential cases, but Judge Aslanian maintains that the main impediment to convictions was not the time limit but the lack of evidence strong enough to stand up in court.

President Alfonsín is now living with what he had hoped to avoid: a period of extended tension with the armed forces and the possibility that the problem will have to be resolved politically.

So far, apart from sporadic terrorist incidents, the armed forces and their supporters have submitted to the proceedings, although with manifest ill grace. But as the trials proceed, the next explosive moment could come when an officer on active duty is sentenced to prison.

"The government has made a series of promises to the armed forces and broken every one," said retired General Rogelio



Alfonsín: Trials bring him moments of acute nervousness.

Villareal. "They promised the trials would stop at the juntas and one or two notorious cases. Then they promised that officers on active duty would not be tried, then they tried the *punto final*. The armed forces now feel themselves cornered, which is dangerous for everybody."

Nobody fears a coup in Argentina, but there is a serious problem within the armed forces. The trials have not induced remorse within the ranks — if anything the military have become more insistent that their actions were justified.

But, General Villareal argues, as the trials move down through the ranks, the High Command is in danger of losing control of the junior officers.

"The High Command has appeared before their own men bearing the promises of the government, promises which have not been kept. At the same time, no general on active duty has been indicted, whilst majors and captains who carried out their orders have. There is a tremendous resentment in the junior ranks towards both the government and

the commanding officers."

It is a resentment, he says, which could lead to a crisis. "If a junior officer refuses to go to court and his unit defends him, we could have a rebellion," he said.

General Villareal argues that the government will eventually be forced to declare an amnesty. "It has tried to resolve this question in the courts, but it was a political decision and the crisis will have to be resolved politically. There will have to be an amnesty law or individual pardons by the President."

Neither option is politically palatable for the President. He has repeatedly promised there will be no amnesty and to renege on that promise, or to grant individual pardons before September's crucial provincial elections, is unthinkable.

Judge Aslanian remains unruffled by the tensions, by the daily death threats or by the bomb which recently exploded at the home of one of his colleagues. "We can't go on asking ourselves if the military will tolerate it," he said. "I know the government is worried, but we can't allow that to worry us."

Contadora supports new bid for peace

From Daniel Drosdoff
of United Press International

BUENOS AIRES — The eight-nation Contadora group has given its qualified backing to a Costa Rican blueprint for peace in Central America and offered to help refine the plan for presentation to the region's leaders.

Contadora foreign ministers also hailed plans for a Central American summit in mid-June, expressing hope that the meeting (which would include Nicaragua) and the new Costa Rican plan might revive flagging peace efforts in the area.

Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo said the foreign ministers planned to issue a statement supporting peace proposals made by Costa Rica's President, Oscar Arias Sánchez. He said it would acknowledge that Contadora peace efforts had been paralysed since last year and that the Arias plan and the proposed June summit offered "hope to re-install a climate of dialogue instead of force".

Mr Caputo said he and his Contadora colleagues endorsed the peace plan in principle and offered to help refine it to make it acceptable to all parties involved in Central American conflicts. The plan calls for all warring parties in Central America to agree to a ceasefire and for negotiations between Nicaragua's leftist government and the opposition. It does not specify, however, that the US-backed Contras — fighting to overthrow the government in Nicaragua — be included in the talks as desired by the United States.

The Contadora Group was originally formed in 1983 by the foreign ministers of Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and Mexico to seek peace in Central America. In 1985, it was backed by a Support Group — Argentina, Peru, Uruguay and Brazil. The body has tried without success to help arrange an end to the civil wars plaguing El Salvador and Nicaragua and to end foreign interference in Central American affairs.

DAY THREE, AND AS BRITAIN STRIKES BACK IN SOUTH GEORGIA, M...

'The

SAS are going

ARGENTINA'S ruling junta has invaded the Falklands to divert its own citizens' attention from mounting internal problems. Margaret Thatcher meets the challenge with resolution and while an all out effort is made to find a diplomatic solution Britain prepares to answer aggression with force. . . .

THE WAR Cabinet is in session. Margaret Thatcher presides over a half-empty Cabinet Room in an atmosphere that is brisk, businesslike but, above all, resolute. Objective: 'To win the bloody war,' grows the rotund figure of Willie Whitelaw.

Seventy miles away the air in Portsmouth is rent with the brutal noise of metal on metal. The carriers Hermes and Invincible are preparing to sail within the hour to head the Falklands Task Force. They wait only for the order from the Cabinet Room.

'The War Cabinet,' says the Prime Minister, 'will meet every morning at this time.' Her eyes switch across the stern faces of Defence Minister John Nott, Attorney-General Sir Michael Havers, and Admiral Sir Terence Lewin, Chief of the Defence Staff.

Only Francis Pym strikes a faintly jarring and stubborn note. The 'wet' who has replaced Lord Carrington after his resignation as Foreign Secretary, is committed by his position to finding a negotiated solution. He is no coward, rather a hero. He saw combat at El Alamein and won the Military Cross. The whole cabinet would prefer to win back the Falklands by economic and diplomatic means. Military action, it is decided, should be a last resort.

Pym sees the length of the Task Force's voyage across the world as three weeks of increasing pressure to back up the diplomatic offensive. Surprised, he asks: 'What if the force is being despatched as a bluff?'

WHITELAW: If we send them, there must be no drawing back half way — and that means that if diplomatic means fail, we have to fight. This must not be another Suez!

PM: That's totally and absolutely right, Willie, exactly the point. Do we still have the will to resist aggression by force of arms, even half-way around the world, even at huge risk of world opinion turning against us? Because if we don't have it any more, for God's sake let's say so now, and pull out before we start. (She suddenly drops her voice and speaks very quietly.) It may be we're going to war. People will get killed — innocent people, young soldiers, many of whom won't understand what it is they are fighting for. Are we really prepared to do that? Do we still believe what we certainly believed in, in 1940? Or is that now just the romance of history, nothing to do with the cold realities of Britain in 1982, part of a nation that has actually quietly died, as Greece did, as Spain did?

BECAUSE if in our hearts we secretly believe that, that Britain is dead, it would be a crime of the direst and blackest sort to send those men to fight — a crime of which the country would very soon find us guilty because their hearts won't be in it. The first death would light a fuse that would blow us sky-high and clean out of office at the next election. Now (briskly, and glancing at the Cabinet clock), do we send the signal, or not? Michael?

HAVERS: Yes.

PM: Willie?

WHITELAW: Of course we do.

PM: John?

NOIT: Yes.

PM: Francis?

PYM (after a pause): Yes.

TV shows the world the immediate result of that decision. It is April 5, 1982. Invincible and Hermes slip their moorings and majestically put to sea to a cacophony of hooters, sirens and military bands. The quaysides of Portsmouth are packed with swaying, swaying well-wishers waving Union Jacks.

As it reaches the South Atlantic, the Task Force has more than the Argentines to worry

FALKLANDS

THE PLAY THE BEC KILLED

Halfway across the world, to storm hostile bitter wastes



by IAN CURTEIS

about. The weather is worsening, and 50 foot waves lash the vessels.

Mrs Thatcher is still intent on reaching a diplomatic settlement if possible. She decrees that as long as there is the slightest chance of a diplomatic peace settlement, a blind eye will be turned to any Argentine merchant ship trying to force its way through the 200-mile Maritime Exclusion Zone Britain has declared around the Falklands.

The Argentine invaders, however, remain intransigent. Soon U.S. Secretary of State Al Haig will dismiss them as 'a bunch of drunken screwballs' — though not to their faces. Something must be done to convince Buenos Aires that Britain is in earnest.

The War Cabinet turns its attention to the bitter wastes of South Georgia, a glacier-clad mountain thrust out of the South Atlantic. Again, it has been seized by the junta, but this time the invaders are not scrap metal merchants but armed troops. Admiral Lewin lays out the agonising 'if factors' of storming such a territory. . . .

INSIDE THE CABINET ROOM: The War Cabinet is in session. LEWIN crosses to an easel. The map on it shows South Georgia and the Falklands.

LEWIN: South Georgia is 800 miles from the primary objective. Strategically, it is largely irrelevant to the retaking of the Falklands, and will probably be surrendered automatically when they've been taken. The island is mountainous and covered with glaciers. Weather conditions are foul at this time of the year . . . heavy snow and gale force winds (he has removed the map to disclose a series of photographs of the island — bleak, craggy, icy wastes).

If an action to retake should fail or there is substantial loss of life, it would be a devastating prelude to the main campaign. Having said that, the ships and manpower are available, and we believe the island could be recaptured without diverting effort from the main objective.

PM: Minister of Defence?

NOIT: It's more than two weeks since the Task Force sailed. Buenos Aires remains intransigent. The public is becoming restless for some action that will keep the political will going. In my view, we should go in.

PM: Home Secretary?

WHITELAW: I think that's right. One

From here, all fleet and submarine movements are directed in time of war.

On a 'stage', large maps are either projected or hung. Wrens push magnetic markers with long wands, each one indicating a ship or squad of troops or aircraft paths. In the 'stalls' are two banks of consoles not unlike a television studio control room suite.

On them stand small green-screened VDUs with keyboards and other apparatus beneath. Each one is manned. These are the signal input and output points, which are in continual use direct to individual ships and submarines, via satellite.

FIELDHOUSE conducts the PM, NOTT and senior officers into a small balcony.

FIELDHOUSE (explaining a map): Antrim is there, Prime Minister. The frigate Plymouth there. The tanker Tidespring is moving up here, and Endurance here.



THE two Wessex helicopters have just taken off from Antrim — they're landing the SAS mountain troops on Fortuna Glacier, here. They're in the air at the moment, crossing here. Endurance and Plymouth's Wasp helicopters are taking off to move Special Boat Service squads south of Grytvaiken, here.

PM: Are the red markers the Argentine positions?

FIELDHOUSE: No, Prime Minister — Argentine radar beam markers.

NOIT: There are about 120 Argentine Marines on the island. We know that.

FIELDHOUSE hands over several blow-up aerial survey photographs.

FIELDHOUSE: These were taken at dawn today, and transmitted by satellite. You can see the terrain. (The PM leans through them — rocky, icy, barren mountainous wastes seen from dizzying height. A Wren has come up with a further batch of signal print-outs. **FIELDHOUSE** murmurs.) Excuse me, Prime Minister.

He leans through them. He is clearly worried.

NOIT: Anything significant?

FIELDHOUSE (casually): The weather isn't improving.

PM: Can you speak direct to the Antrim about that? I'm very worried about conditions.

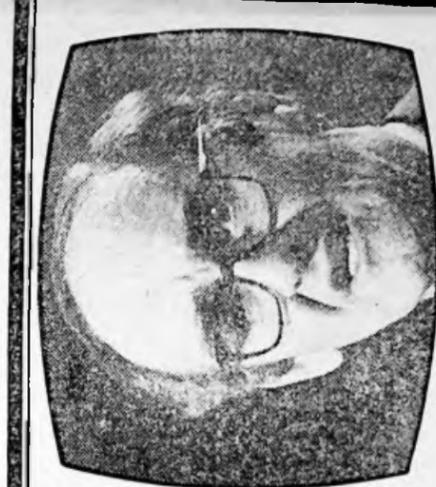
FIELDHOUSE leans back to his desk and picks up an ordinary looking grey telephone. A small notice is propped against it reading 'Task Force Commander Only'.

FIELDHOUSE: Hello, Brian? The Prime Minister is with me. How's the weather looking outside your window? (NOTT and the PM are astonished at the simplicity of this direct line.) He says he lost sight of the helicopters as they disappeared into the snow. He could see them for the first 200 yards.

PM: Should we postpone the operation? Is it simply too awful?

FIELDHOUSE (on telephone): Hello, Brian? Will the SAS be able to operate? (Pause as he listens.) He says it'll be OK if they can camp overnight. They've got tents. The problem is pitching them in a blizzard. He hangs up. The PM is plainly both shocked and impressed by what she has just heard.

Tension clenches John Nott. He would like to continue listening in. At Admiral Fieldhouse's level, one must be a diplomat as well as a military specialist; be able to make refusal sound a request.



S THATCHER AGONISES OVER THE RISKS OF A NIGHTMARE BLIZZARD

in, Prime Minister!

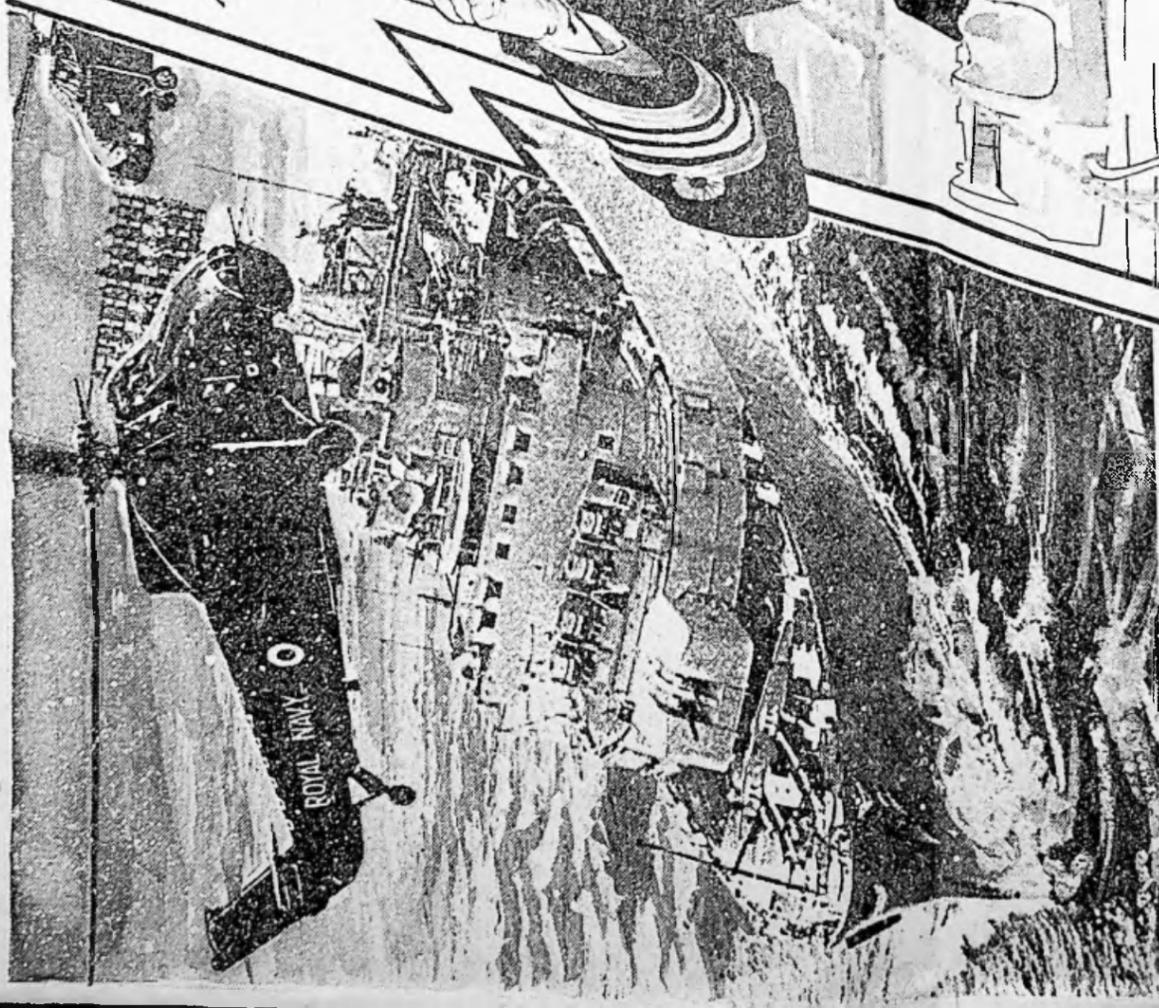


ILLUSTRATION: DAVID ACE

The SAS helicopters lift off . . . and Fieldhouse relays news to Nott and the Prime Minister

'I'd prefer not, if you don't mind, he tells Nott. 'We've got to leave them to make their own judgements and if you start listening in, the temptation is to start interfering.'

INSIDE THE CABINET ROOM The PM and Cabinet Secretary, Sir Robert ARMSTRONG, with draft agenda for a Cabinet Meeting. The PM's thoughts are elsewhere.

PM: Were you ever in the forces, Robert?

ARMSTRONG (fittle glance): No.

PM: We saw very little of the real war when I was a child, there was some bombing in Grantham, and I suppose some people were . . . I suppose there were casualties. I don't remember.

Silence. Then the telephone buzzes.

ARMSTRONG answers it.

ARMSTRONG: Yes? (listens) Can Admiral Lewin see you?

ARMSTRONG: Yes, please.

He hangs up, and LEWIN enters immediately.

LEWIN: Good morning, Prime Minister.

PM: Please stay, Bobex. Five helicopters LEWIN: Those Wessex. (He leads the way to a side-table at the St James's Park end, where a large map of South Georgia is laid out. Beside it are the aerial photographs from Northwood. He points.)

ERES where they landed last night. They tried to pitch tents, but they were largely blown away. The temperature dropped to minus 40 and there was a gale with 100 mile-an-hour gusts during the night. (Tightening on the aerial photographs, showing the Arctic conditions.) This morning they radioed for immediate rescue. The two helicopters that went out to get them in the blizzard overturned and crashed, one full of men it had just rescued — about here.

The public is becoming restless for some action?

— Defence Minister John Nott

Lewin is speaking from the Northwood Control Centre. Further landings must be postponed he explains, until a break in the weather. And Admiral Fieldhouse has ordered Antrim, Endurance and the rest to scatter. Signals have been picked up from an Argentine submarine.

PRIME MINISTERS STUDY, DOWNING STREET WHITELEW is with the PM, who is walking about in a state of considerable agitation and emotion.

PM: It's a terrible thing to send men in to fight, to risk their young lives in those atrocious conditions.

WHITELEW: They're professionals! PM: Of course they are, and superb, but I've never seen fighting, Willie.

WHITELEW: If you had you'd be even more certain about what you're doing.

She barely hears him, as she walks about.

On the far side of the world, Antrim has located the submarine, on the surface, and apparently delivering reinforcements to South Georgia. Captain Brian Young orders in Lynx and Wasp helicopters for a missile and machine-gun attack.

The raid is successful. The sub is hit, badly damaged and beached. The crew flees ashore.

At 2.45 in the afternoon, 75 Marines go in under cover of a bombardment from Antrim and Plymouth. The explosions from the naval guns are relayed by growler phone to

Admiral Fieldhouse standing on the balcony at Fleet HQ.

He switches on the telephone loudspeaker on his desk. The bombardment is heard to start, with eerie booms, 8,000 miles away. One by one, the personnel in the OCR stop and quietly listen to this strange, haunting sound. When the battle is over, 180 Argentines are prisoners. And South Georgia is free.

Enter new character, a one-man chorus, voice sepulchral, official caution personified . . . the Ministry Spokesperson, a briefly famous Ian Macdonald . . .

MACDONALD: At ten o'clock this morning, the Argentine garrison commander surrendered (mournfully). Troops previously listed missing have been rescued. No lives were lost in the operation.

UNSEEN REPORTER: So we won? We've retaken South Georgia?

MACDONALD considers this highly-suspicious question for a moment. Eventually . . .

MACDONALD (funerally): Yes.

A short distance away in her study at Number 10, Margaret Thatcher has just heard the South Georgia surrender signal read out by John Nott. She is almost dazed, almost speechless.

PM: Could we go outside and read the wording of the signal to the Press? No loss of life!

NOTT: They may ask some pretty silly questions.

The PM hits the roof in a sudden explosion of relief, joy and contempt.

PM: Oh! Tell them to rejoice, just rejoice!

The Falklands Play by Ian Curteis is published by Hutchinson, £3.95

TOMORROW — Sink the Belgrano!

Argentina wins \$30bn refinancing

BUENOS AIRES (Reuter) — Central Bank president Jose Luis Machinea said yesterday that Argentina had reached agreement with creditor banks to refinance approximately \$30bn in long-term debt and win around \$1.8bn in fresh funding.

Mr Machinea said the agreement was "historic" but declined to give the details until Treasury Secretary Mario Brodersohn returned from New York, where he has been meeting Argentina's bank steering committee.

Argentina will pay $\frac{13}{16}$ per cent over Eurodollar rates on re-scheduling debt, and $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent on the new loan, bankers said.

Last week, Economy Minister Juan Sourrouille accused creditor banks of standing in the way of an accord by demanding conditions incompatible with Argentina's IMF standby programme.

Governors back BBC ban on play

By Peter Fiddick,
Media Editor

THE BBC's governors have backed the decision to drop a play about the Falklands crisis by Mr Ian Curteis.

Mr Alastair Milne, the previous director-general, originally supported the production, but changed his mind last July. He supported the view of senior television executives who felt that it would be impossible to run it when a general election was imminent.

Mr Curteis alleged that the real reason was his refusal to change the script to show Mrs Thatcher in a harsh light.

The script of the play was published last week, provoking fresh controversy. Mr Curteis sent the BBC governors copies of a book which includes a 42-page account of his arguments with the BBC.

However, the chairman of the governors, Mr Marmaduke Hussey, yesterday released a letter to Mr Curteis supporting the cancellation.

Mr Hussey wrote: "The debate on your play was started long before I became chairman, and I should tell you that neither I nor any governor disagreed with the decision that it would not be possible to mount such a play with so many political overtones in a period that is likely to precede by only a few weeks or months a general election.

"In these circumstances, as the vice-chairman wrote to you last October, we have said that, if someone else wishes to produce the play now, we have no objection.

Alfonsin calls for coalition to bring in reforms

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

PRESIDENT Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, who faces crucial mid-term elections in September, has proposed a coalition government as the first step to introducing constitutional reforms.

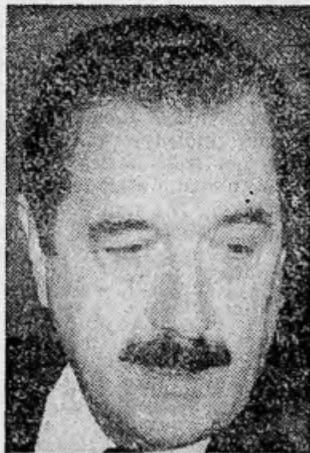
The proposal was made public on Monday evening during a speech in which he said "we must share power" because "we need to govern with a more substantial majority."

The ruling Radical Party has only a slim majority in the lower house legislature, and has to forge temporary coalitions with smaller parties of the opposition to obtain a majority in the upper house Senate. Half the seats in the lower legislature come up for renewal in the mid-term elections.

The constitutional reform being proposed by the president would create the post of prime minister heading a cabinet of ministers, leaving the position of president for more ceremonial functions.

President Alfonsin said he wanted the constitutional reform debated this year. If approved by a two thirds majority in the two legislative chambers there exists a strong possibility that the presidential elections for 1989 would be brought forward one year, with new legislature elections held at the same time.

Such a constitutional change would enable President Alfonsin to continue as the principal government executive, beyond 1989 by filling the new post of prime minister, if the ruling radical party were to win the September elections and the subsequent elections in 1988 or 1989. Under the Argentine con-



Alfonsin—looking forward to elections

stitution, the president is not permitted to serve for more than one term of office.

The radicals are presently negotiating with an important sector of the opposition Peronist Party and trade union movement, to piece together a "social pact" which would guarantee peace on the labour front this year and create favourable expectations for the Radical Party in the September elections.

As part of the negotiations, seats in the legislature are being offered to the opposition Peronists in the Radicals' electoral lists, and additional government posts might now also be offered to the opposition to bring about the coalition necessary to push through the constitutional reform.

Last month, a trade union leader was sworn in as the new labour minister in the cabinet, raising questions over the future direction of the government's economic policy.

Argentina in \$32bn deal to reschedule bank debts

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES AND ALEXANDER NICOLL IN LONDON

ARGENTINA and its leading commercial bank creditors have agreed key elements of a \$32bn (£19.6bn) debt rescheduling and new loan package.

The accord, after two months of negotiations, was announced in Buenos Aires yesterday by Mr Jose Luis Machinea, head of Argentina's central bank.

He said details of the "historic" deal would be released when Dr Mario Brodersohn, the finance minister, returned from New York today.

The advisory committee of leading creditor banks, headed by Citibank of the US, had no comment. Negotiations were understood to be continuing yesterday.

However, bankers confirmed that important elements had been settled and that Argentina was set to obtain terms close to those achieved by Mexico last year. When finalised, the agreement will be submitted to all Argentina's 360 bank creditors worldwide.

The committee is understood to have agreed to reschedule \$30bn of debt at an interest margin of $\frac{1}{2}$ percentage points above money market rates —

well below the $1\frac{1}{2}$ spread Argentina obtained in 1984 and the same as Mexico won last year in its 20-year rescheduling.

It is believed that \$24bn of the \$30bn Argentine debt being rescheduled will be spread over 19 years, with a five-year grace period. The other \$6bn will be over seven years with two years' grace. Argentina's total foreign debt is \$50bn.

The negotiators are also understood to have agreed a new loan of \$1.9bn, below the \$2.1bn originally sought, with a maturity of 12 years and an interest margin of $\frac{1}{4}$ percentage points. The additional new money was expected in Buenos Aires to be sought from foreign governments, principally Japan.

The achievement of terms close to those won by Mexico is important for Argentina. Banks had said Mexico was an exception and would not be a precedent for other negotiations.

Recently they have tried to set $\frac{1}{4}$ of a percentage point as a benchmark spread for countries, such as Venezuela and the Philippines, which have undertaken to repay some debt princi-

pal. Neither Mexico nor Argentina is repaying principal.

Outstanding issues in the negotiations are on-lending—the transfer of loans to different borrowers within Argentina—and conversion of debt into equity, but bankers said agreement appeared close on these elements too.

Argentina negotiated a new standby loan in January with the International Monetary Fund worth \$1.35bn, plus compensatory finance for a further \$480m, as well as a \$2bn loan from the World Bank.

However, disbursement of these loans awaits the commitment of creditor banks to their package.

The breakthrough in the talks came last week after Mr Juan Sourouille, addressing the IMF interim committee meeting in Washington, made a sharp attack on the banks' stance. US officials then put pressure on the banks, though bankers said yesterday that this had brought the agreement forward only by a few days.

Alfonsin proposes coalition,
Page 6

Argentina claims historic debt pact

Buenos Aires (Reuter) — Argentina said yesterday it had reached an "historic" agreement with creditor banks in talks to refinance a major portion of its \$50 billion (£30 billion) foreign debt and for about \$1.8 billion in fresh funding.

Banking sources said that Argentina had won conditions similar to those of Mexico's major debt package last year for a large portion of the \$30 billion being refinanced. Officials did not immediately release the terms of the agreement.

Refuge in Argentina

Dear Sir,
Hugh Carless, in his review (3 April) of Jimmy Burns' *The Land That Lost Its Heroes* claims the British Embassy in Buenos Aires was "proud to lodge" Mr Robert Cox (editor of the country's most outspoken anti-Junta newspaper) before he fled Argentina. This is presumably meant to indicate that the British Embassy supported, at least to some extent, the aims and aspirations of the regime's opponents.

Welcome as this news is now, it is a pity that this was not evident in the Embassy's attitude when the military regime was in power.

True the Embassy did eventually secure the release of the tiny number of British subjects imprisoned by the military. But for those with dual Argentine/British nationality it did little or nothing, whilst for those Argentines seeking help in obtaining information about "disappeared" relatives it provided no help at all.

By contrast the Mexican ambassador's residency provided refuge for hundreds of those victimised by the Junta, the US embassy offered support and advice to around 15,000 friends and relatives of the "disappeared", and several European and Scandinavian embassies also intervened on the victims' behalf.

Is it not shameful that virtually the only help our embassy can claim to have given those oppressed by the regime is a single night's hospitality for Mr Cox on his flight abroad?

Yours faithfully,
BEN MAZOWER
London, NW11

Pope denounces 'brutal violence' at Chile Mass

Rome (Reuters) — The Pope returned yesterday from his two-week visit to Uruguay, Chile and Argentina and denounced the violence that marred one of his Masses in Santiago as "base, brutal and provocative".

The Aerolíneas Argentinas Boeing 747 carrying the Pope, his entourage and journalists landed at Rome's military Ciampino airport after a 12-hour flight from Buenos Aires. Minutes before it landed, the Pope spoke to several Chilean

and Argentine reporters.

He was asked if he was scared by violent anti-Government clashes during the papal Mass in a Santiago park on the evening of April 3. "It (the violence) was a provocation which was very base, very primitive," the Pope said.

He said he was not afraid but added: "One cannot remain totally indifferent when faced with an organized action, a violent action, a brutal action."

More than 120 people were injured in the clashes, during which police used tear gas and water cannon against young people who threw stones and started bonfires in the crowd. Some priests on the Pope's altar platform covered their

faces with handkerchiefs against the effects of the tear gas and others walked into the crowd to try to restore calm.

Talking to the reporters yesterday, the Pope, who was able to see the violence while he continued the Mass, ex-

pressed his admiration for the hundreds of thousands of people in the crowd who kept their composure. "There was a demonstration of great equilibrium, of great dignity."

Asked what political effects the trip could have on Chile and Argentina, the Pope said: "It is not my intention or competence to become involved in technical or political solutions to countries' problems." He added: "I am generally very, very content with the visit."

Tim Coone assesses the papal visit to Argentina Pope brings cheer to Alfonsín with call for 'reconciliation'

"THE POPE, one austral," cried a street vendor selling plaster figurines commemorating John Paul II's visit to Argentina. A sprig of olive leaves and three plastic Pope flags also retailed for one austral, while in the midst of the crowds Pope-encrusted plastic hats, resembling deflated beachballs, fetched two australs.

As life returns to normal in Argentina after the seven-day jamboree caused by the pontiff's hectic 11-city tour of the country, the government, opposition and church sit back to assess the impact of the visit to the country with the most conservative catholic church in Latin America.

In strict financial terms, with two working days declared a national holiday, the beneficiaries seem to have been street vendors and olive tree growers. Coca-Cola appeared to have the monopoly on the scores of hamburger stalls that sprang up in the area reserved for the Palm Sunday mass (some 700,000 people attended, most of them youths), and the Argentine Catholic church took 50 per cent of any sales of the papal paraphernalia of flags, figurines and plastic hats.

The biggest "fraud" as one local newspaper labelled it, was the press pass issued by the church organisers of the tour. Costing \$25 (£15), and issued to 2,700 journalists covering the event, it proved almost worthless on the day to gain access past the tight police cordon thrown around the Pope.

Such frictions produced dashes of humour, though. One cartoon published in a daily paper depicted two friends commenting on an incident in which an irate bishop punched a press photographer in the face. "What did the photographer do?" said one. "He turned the other cheek," said the other.

While the photographers squabbled with the police and the organisers, the pontiff got on with his task of preaching peace and reconciliation to the assembled multitudes. His lengthy liturgical circumlocutions, spiced with obtuse metaphors and tantalising ambiguities, provoked acres of newsprint speculation on the



The Pope in Argentina: railed against divorce

political significance of his Argentine visit.

Some, for example, concluded that he criticised the attitude of the church hierarchy during the military dictatorship for failing to stand up on human rights issues. Others concluded that he supported the church leaders.

What did emerge was an undoubted support for the Alfonsín Government by the Vatican, and the process of democratisation of the country. Many of his speeches showed a striking similarity to phrases used by government leaders in confronting the thorny issues of trade union relations and the human rights trials of the military.

"Reconciliation" and "dialogue" were two key phrases used throughout his tour. At one point, departing from a planned speech, he made a brief mention that there should be no return to "the kidnappings and disappeared," a reference to the "dirty war" carried out by the military in the mid-1970s which left over 9,000 persons missing.

On the other hand, he refused an audience to human rights leaders who have been highly critical of the Argentine

church's acquiescence to the human rights abuses during the military dictatorship of 1976-1983.

Predictably he defended the traditional Catholic stance on divorce which is illegal in Argentina, and railed against the threat he said it represented to the family and society. A divorce bill being promoted by the Government in the Congress had to be postponed until after the Pope's visit and a litmus test of his influence will be whether the bill now stands or falls.

On a political plane, President Alfonsín emerged from the visit as a dignified elder statesman, scrupulously avoiding the limelight and any attempt to make political capital out of the visit. The same could not be said of his principal antagonist, Mr Saul Ubaldini, the leader of the powerful General Confederation of Workers (CGT) and rooted in the Peronist opposition. Appearing alongside the Pope during a mass held for Argentine workers, he led a chant "long live the Peronist Pope."

Privately, church organisers were offended by the performance and Mr Ubaldini seems to have badly dented the image he had been carefully trying to cultivate of himself as Argentina's Lech Wałęsa, backed by the might and influence of the Catholic church.

More galling still for Mr Ubaldini was the Pope's call for a dialogue between government, employers and unions. The Government is presently negotiating with a rival trade union movement to Mr Ubaldini's to forge a "social contract"—essentially a medium-term no-strike agreement between government and unions.

In synthesis, the Argentine government has emerged with the official blessing of the Vatican; the bishops have been fortified in their crusade against divorce and abortion, and in a masterful stroke of ambiguity the Pope's ciphered discourses will enable both sides of the human rights debate to claim the support of the church.

FALKLANDS

THE PLAY THE BBC KILLED: DAY TWO

In a Whitehall lift, the moment of truth as a shocked Defence Minister is told: You will have to send in the whole Fleet

A CRUEL and bloody conflict is ahead. The crisis that will pitch Britain into war with Argentina has taken on a momentum of its own. The Union Flag flies again over the island of South Georgia. British Marines have sailed in aboard the patrol ship HMS Endurance and ejected a raiding party of 'civilian scrap-metal merchants' who were landed on the island by an Argentine naval ship. In the Commons Labour's Denis Healey, heavy eyebrows raised, has forced the Tory Government to admit that 'for a short time' the Argentine emblem flew over a far-flung slice of British territory. In the Falklands — the Malvinas to the Argentines hungry to seize them — there's been an almost jocular fit for tat. Argentine Foreign Minister Costa-Mendez does not see the jokes. He summons British Ambassador Anthony Williams.

FOREIGN MINISTRY, BUENOS AIRES. COSTA-MENDEZ is dressed formally. He hobbles on his stick to the centre of the room as WILLIAMS is announced and adopts an expression of heated indignation. WILLIAMS: Good morning, Foreign Minister. COSTA-MENDEZ: Good morning. (A perfunctory handshake. COSTA-MENDEZ then reads from a typed page.) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the deepest concern to Her Britannic Majesty's Government for an insult and outrage perpetrated at the Offices of the Argentine Air Force on the Malvinas Islands. WILLIAMS (dry): Oh, really? COSTA-MENDEZ: On the night of March 21 the offices were forcibly entered, a British Union Jack was hung over the Argentine flag, and the words 'Tit for Tat, you buggers' were written across the desk with toothpaste.

WILLIAMS: With what? COSTA-MENDEZ: The Argentine Government views this deliberate insult as most



by IAN CURTEIS

harmful to their peaceful endeavours to obtain a negotiated settlement of the Malvinas problem.

COSTA-MENDEZ thrusts the paper at WILLIAMS and stamps back behind his desk. WILLIAMS (looking up from the communique): What sort of toothpaste?

COSTA-MENDEZ: I've no idea. WILLIAMS: Argentinian toothpaste, or... COSTA-MENDEZ: I must insist that, to defuse this regrettable situation, HMS Endurance is instructed immediately to turn around, and steam away from Malvinas waters.

WILLIAMS: Actually, there are two Gs in 'buggers'.

Endurance is threatened. In Downing Street, Margaret Thatcher works at a desk piled high with papers on other matters. They mean nothing to her. Only the one she holds in her hand matters — a 'raw' intelligence report from GCHQ, Cheltenham.

Two Argentine corvettes have broken away from Uruguayan manoeuvres and are steaming towards South Georgia. They are armed with a missile soon to explode into the world's already-overcrowded dictionary of murderous mayhem. Exocet.

Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington acts. 'I'm telling Nicko Henderson to tell the Americans they've just got to stop this,' he declares.

WASHINGTON: SECRETARY OF STATES' ROOM, STATE DEPARTMENT. GENERAL ALEXANDER HAIG, career soldier turned would-be statesman, is greeting the British Ambassador, SIR NICHOLAS HENDERSON.

HAIG (beaming a welcome): Nicko! HENDERSON comes steaming in, letter in



The horrible prospect of conflict: John Nott can hardly believe the warning of Admiral Sir Henry Leach

hand. Normally urbane and studiously crumpled of both dress and hair, now he is angry.

HENDERSON: What do you mean, 'even-handed approach'?

HAIG (cheerfully): The Argentines are good friends of ours now, you know that. You're both good friends.

HENDERSON (incredulously): Are you seriously putting Her Majesty's Government on the same footing as a bunch of fifth-rate, comic-opera thugs, who... HAIG: They won't fight. It's bluff.

FONDON: FOREIGN SECRETARY'S ROOM, FOREIGN OFFICE. CARRINGTON stands behind his desk, blasting the unfortunate American Charge d'Affaires, ED STREATOR.

CARRINGTON: Aggression is about to be perpetrated in the South Atlantic. Whose side are you on?

STREATOR: Surely to mediate between two friends is...

CARRINGTON: We don't want mediation! (Thumps desk.) We want a condemnation of the use of force — in the face of the whole world.

STREATOR (wide-eyed): One — little — rocky — barren — ice-bound — island?

In Argentina, Admiral Anaya's mind is made up. Phoning Foreign Minister Costa-Mendez, he exults: 'And so we have the

perfect casus belli for immediate repossession of the Malvinas!'

For a moment, Costa-Mendez is speechless. Anaya had promised that invading the Falklands was a bluff, a 'phony war.' Faintly, Costa-Mendez pleads, 'What did you say?'

Anaya answers the spirit of that question. 'The British behaviour is intolerable! They deploy those Marines, that old ice-breaker...'

BUENOS AIRES: FOREIGN MINISTER'S ROOM, FOREIGN MINISTRY.

COSTA-MENDEZ: But you cannot mount an operation like this overnight.

GALTERI (grunting): The planners have been working on Operation Azul for some weeks.

ANAYA: The fleet is at sea on the Uruguayan exercise. We simply change its objective.

GALTERI: We must exploit what is handed to us — on a plate. COSTA-MENDEZ still can't work out exactly how he has been cheated.

COSTA-MENDEZ: But... those scrap-metal merchants...?

ANAYA: Perfectly bona fide. (He suddenly shouts, the sharp edge of fanaticism in his voice.) Your job is not to obstruct us. Your job is to go to the United Nations and explain.

ON BOARD A PLANE. MARGARET THATCHER and LORD CARRINGTON sit side-by-side at a table covered with briefing papers and telegrams. They are en route to an EEC meeting in Brussels.

CONTINUED OVER PAGE

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

PM: John Nott thinks we should send submarines now. To support Endurance. CARRINGTON: I think we should.

PM: The nearest is at Gibraltar — up to ten days to get there.

CARRINGTON: The Argentines have built up a dangerous head of steam. It gives them very little room to manoeuvre.

PM: Anti-government riots are not the best platform for launching a war.

CARRINGTON: Riots? *(The PM finds and hands him the telegram, pointing to a section.)* There was a leader article in *La Prensa* which said: 'The only thing that can save this Government now is a war.'

The PM looks up slowly, digesting this.

In London, Minister of Defence John Nott is reviewing an ever-worsening situation. He is a deceptive man at first sight. Small, bespectacled, 50, he looks like a lawyer or a businessman. He's been both, but more. He is also a former soldier who knows at first hand what war is about. He fought jungle terrorists as a lieutenant with the Gurkhas.

When the crisis blew up, his first reaction was to pinpoint the Falklands on the globe in his office, noting with heart sinking that it was as far from England as Hawaii.

Admiral Sir Henry Leach, First Sea Lord and Chief of Staff, knows the distance. Nott is hurrying to the Commons. Leach hurries down a Ministry of Defence corridor beside him, spelling out the opposition: 'Argentina has a substantial Navy — at least six ships fitted with Exocet, four submarines, a good carrier and there's an air force of 200 planes fully capable of attacking any British Task Force approaching by sea.'

'If things should get worse... if the Argentines should invade the Falkland Islands, for instance, the difficulties of operating against such a force 8,000 miles from Fleet headquarters would be immense.'

I

FORMATION so vital that it can send men across the world to glory and to death is not always imparted in the 'right' places, across leather desks or beside walls covered with briefing maps...

INSIDE A LIFT, MINISTRY OF DEFENCE.

LEACH (continuing): 'Therefore we selected any back force that did not embrace all forces — aircraft carriers, submarines, escorts, a full amphibious assault force. The lift stops and the doors open, but NOTT does not move.'

NOTT (staring at Leach): What?

LEACH: If things do get worse, we have only two military options. One is to do nothing.

NOTT: And the other?

LEACH: To send in the Fleet.

NOTT: The whole Fleet?

LEACH: Substantially.

NOTT (appalled): Nothing in between?

LEACH: Nothing.

NOTT: I see. (NOTT leaves the lift, dazed by this news. LEACH presses the button to reascend, but NOTT suddenly reappears.) The entire Fleet?

LEACH: Yes. You see...

NOTT (holds up hand): I get the point. Nott reaches the Commons in time to hear Denis Healey mocking a Government assurance that Falklands security is being reviewed.

HEALEY: I think the Minister of State's feeble statement will lead many to conclude that Her Majesty's Government's conduct of this affair has been both foolish and spineless. *(Cheerful hear hears! from the Labour benches at this good knockabout stuff. HEALEY grins.)* I can understand that he may wish to say nothing — because he has nothing to say! *(Much Opposition mirth.)* If he has, he could surely be a little less bashful about it.

He sits. Labour cries of answer! answer! and jeering.

Answers there are, soon afterwards. They come from intelligence experts, intercepted signals. Nott takes them — telegrams, transcripts, print-outs, in red and black folders — to...

THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, HOUSE OF COMMONS. A lofty, L-shaped room, very quiet and comfortable, with high Pugin-Gothic windows overlooking Palace Yard. In the long arm of the 'L', a half-size cabinet table with ten chairs; in the short arm, a ring of armchairs round the fireplace. JOHN NOTT and the PM both have copies of the folders. The PM is shattered by what she reads.

NOTT: Have you seen number 13 in the annex? *(He indicates it.)* We knew last night

'Galtieri has humg up on me! explodes Reagan in fury

they were redeploying those warships. But not for this!

PM *(with very quiet fury)*: I was assured, absolutely and categorically, that this could not happen.

NOTT: Just after midnight the Argentine Fleet broke away from the exercises with Uruguay and began steaming south at top speed. The only aircraft-carrier, the *Venturino de Maipo*, left Puerto Belgrano 20 minutes later and is heading straight for the Falkland Islands. And this *(he indicates telegram)*... direct intercept of a signal to the submarine *Santa Fé*, ordering her to surface and carry out an immediate survey of beach landing sites around Port Stanley.

PM *(still very quiet)*: Get Peter Carrington. And the Chief of Defence Staff. Where's Admiral Leach?

NOTT: In Portsmouth. An official visit.

I've signalled him to return immediately.

PM: We must get on to Reagan. The Americans must stop this.

W

ASHINGTON: THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ROOM, STATE DEPARTMENT. HENDERSON is angry. AL HAIG is reading an assessment: his aide, TOM ENDERS, is sceptical and laid-back.

HENDERSON *(insisting)*: I tell you, they are invading!

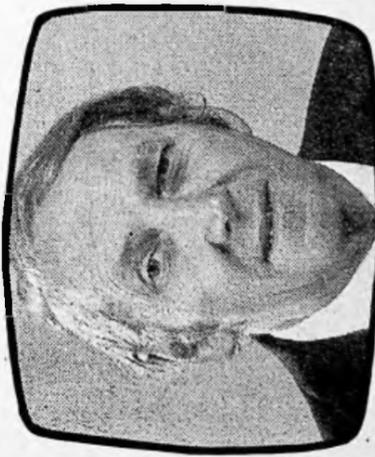
ENDERS *(smiling at him)*: It's just not possible, Mr Ambassador.

HENDERSON: It's there, it's in the intelligence reports. You think we've made it up?

HAIG *(very quiet)*: ENDERS: Why was I not informed of this?

ENDERS: What? *(shaken)* I had a categorical assurance from Costa-Mendez that they would not invade.

HAIG: Well, he's made a fool of you. Get on to our Ambassador in Buenos Aires. Tell



'I tell you they invaded. You think we invented it?'

SIR NICHOLAS HENDERSON

him to go and see Galtieri now, tonight, and demand to know what the hell he's playing at!

HENDERSON: Could not President Reagan...

HAIG: I'll see the President myself.

BUENOS AIRES — PRESIDENT'S STUDY, CASA ROSADA PALACE.

HARRY SCHLAUDEMANN, the U.S. Ambassador in Buenos Aires, is sent to President Galtieri to show him the red stop-light. Schlaudemann is nonplussed, on entering the study, to encounter General Galtieri in full uniform, standing to attention.

The Ambassador's sheet of typescript suddenly seems unimpressive, but he does his best. The snag is that Galtieri remembers a cosy dinner party at which the Americans wooed him with visions of senior partnership in the South American Treaty Organisation of their geo-political dreams.

SCHLAUDEMANN: Good evening, sir. *(Galtieri sways very slightly. He is drunk.)* I have a personal message for you, from General Haig. *(He reads out.)* 'Should any Argentine military action occur in the South Atlantic, for whatever reason, overwhelming pressure would be brought to bear on the Reagan Administration immediately to abandon its new-found and highly-promising relationship with Argentina.' *(He hands the sheet to Galtieri, who ignores it.)* Do you have any comment?

FALKLANDS

THE PLAY THE BBC KILLED

GALTIERI: No. SCHLAUDEMANN: Do you deny that military action is...

GALTIERI: I have no comment. *(SCHLAUDEMANN places the typed sheet on the President's desk, and turns to leave.)* Tell General Haig... *(He sways.)* SCHLAUDEMANN stops and watches him. Tell General Haig that if we should ever take such action... if — then he should acquiesce! *(He lifts his forefinger to emphasise, with alcoholic cunning.)* In return he would receive our fullest co-operation for the new United States policy in the southern hemisphere.

(SCHLAUDEMANN turns and leaves. GALTIERI shouts after him.) You tell him that!

T

HE exchange is a taste of things to come for Washington. Out of macho pride and military necessity, Galtieri and the rest of the junta are committed.

Galtieri refuses to take personal calls from President Reagan. When the most powerful leader in the Western world does get through to Casa Rosada, Galtieri blusters briefly — and hangs up on him.

WASHINGTON: OVAL OFFICE, THE WHITE HOUSE. RONALD REAGAN is on the phone to Galtieri.

REAGAN *(earnestly)*: Now look, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. I'll send you Vice-President George Bush to mediate — he can come first thing tomorrow morning, you understand.

GALTIERI *(distort)*: There is no point in sending Mr. Bush. It is too late.

REAGAN: Then will you assure me you are not invading? Hello? Hello?

HAIG *(listening on an extension)*: The line's gone dead.

REAGAN: He hung up on me! *(He bangs down the receiver angrily.)* He hung up!

PRIME MINISTER'S ROOM, HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A meeting can hardly believe reports that Buenos Aires is telling the White House: 'Try again later.'

John Nott hopefully eyes the mass of

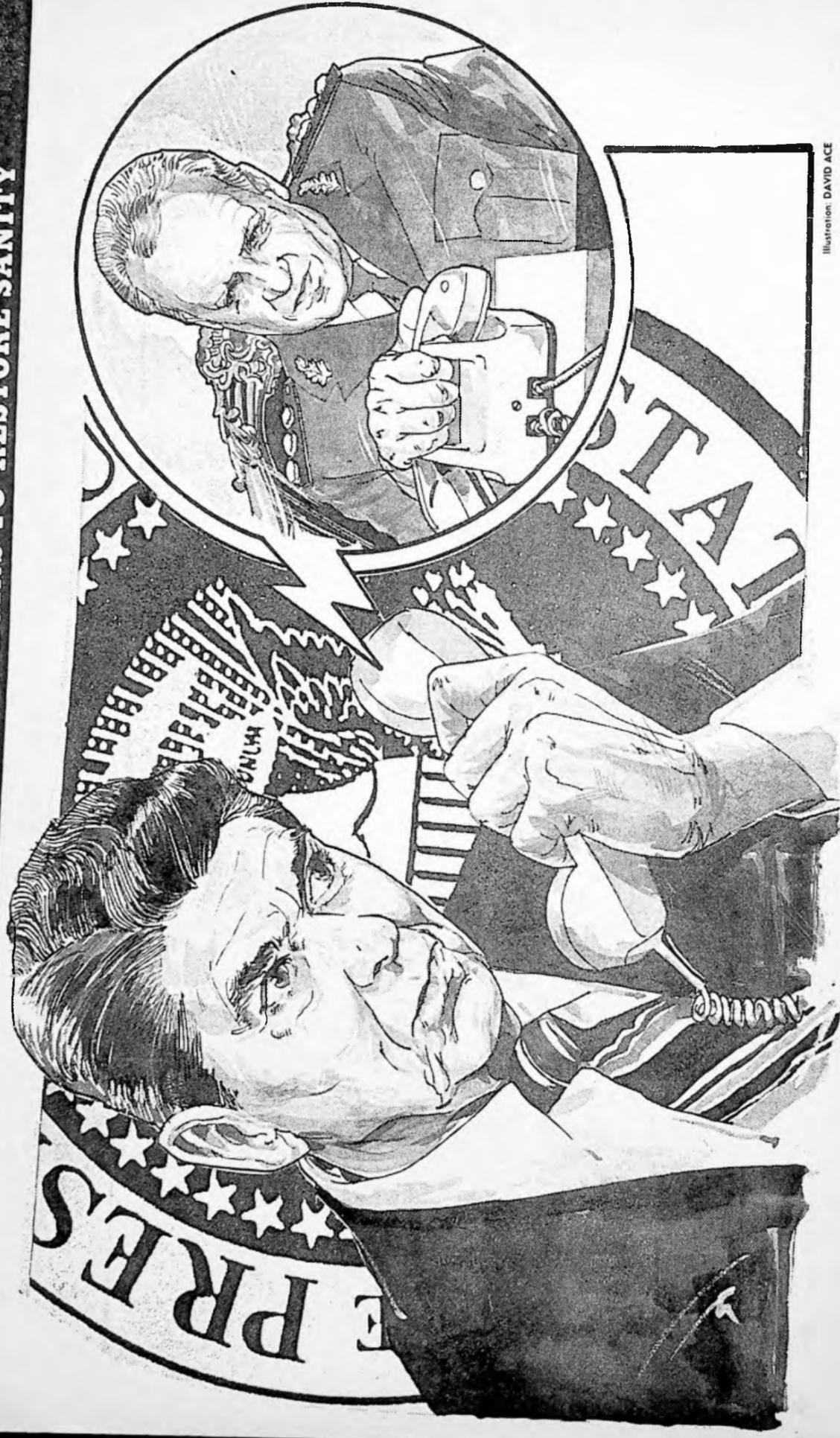


Illustration: DAVID ACE

intelligence material about the oncoming Argentine fleet and murmurs: 'It could still be bluff.'

PM (at NOTT): With the entire Argentine Navy at sea? Moving into position where it could invade the islands within 48 hours? How quickly could we mount a Task Force?

NOTT (yelp): It's far too late for that!

PM: Not too late as a diplomatic lever, John.

RICHARD LUCE, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, holds to the FO line.

LUCE: If they really are invading, Prime Minister, surely we should avoid doing anything provocative that could...

PM (finally blowing): Avoid anything provocative? What do you think they're doing?

LUCE: I mean... Snatching and grabbing by force what they have failed to gain by honest negotiation! Avoid doing anything provocative! Let them get away with this, and we send a signal round the entire world to all aggressive, greedy States and dictators that they can just march in and grab and get away with whatever they want, because the democracies are too feeble to say 'No!'

The telephone on the table had quietly buzzed during this, and NOTT, who answered, puts his hand over the mouthpiece.

NOTT: Admiral Leach is outside.

PM: Thank God! Ask him please to come in. (LEACH appears, and opens his mouth to say good evening. The PM stops him in his tracks, with ringing tones.) How soon could you mobilise a full Task Force for the South Atlantic?



- RICHARD LUCE

'Argentina's aggression has not a shred of justification and not a scrap of legality'

MARGARET THATCHER in the Commons

LEACH: It would have to be a balanced fleet, Prime Minister, not just a small squadron.

PM: Yes?

LEACH (brisk and firm): A group of our ships is currently off Gibraltar on exercise. They could regroup and sail within 24 hours. The core of the Fleet is the two carriers, *Hermes* and *Invincible*. They are at Plymouth.

PM: It is now Wednesday night... LEACH (decisively): They could sail by the first tide on Monday morning.

PM (delighted): You're certain of that?

LEACH: Absolutely. If you made the decision to prepare this evening.

PM (to NOTT): Do we need Cabinet approval for that?

NOTT: No. I can authorise emergency preparations.

'Surely we should avoid doing anything provocative?'

Meanwhile, Argentina has no doubt about what's going on. Plaza Mayo in Buenos Aires is a staggering sea of 100,000 people waving flags, throwing flowers, cheering and shouting. General Galtieri up there on the balcony of Casa Rosada, and themselves. Washington knows what Whitehall merely fears. Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, champion of Argentina and U.S. Ambassador to the UN, was behind the scenes when the invasion was launched.

At Haig summed it up in a sentence at a meeting with President Reagan in the Oval Office.

HAIG: While the Argentines were actually storming ashore, shooting and blowing their way into the island, Mrs Kirkpatrick was attending a banquet in her honour at the Argentine Embassy.

REAGAN: Did you know about the invasion by then?

KIRKPATRICK: Well, yes, but...

HAIG: Then you were giving inferential approval.

KIRKPATRICK (angry now): If the Argentines own those islands, how can the moving-in of their own troops be called aggression?

Everyone winces.

REAGAN (gently): I think you should be careful of saying that sort of thing in public, Jeane.

In London, Margaret Thatcher is tired and uncharacteristically nervous — though resolute — as she rises to the Dispatch Box for a Commons emergency debate. It is April 3, 1982 — the House's first Saturday meeting since the Suez crisis a generation before.

PM: For the first time for many years, British sovereign territory has been invaded by a foreign power. The lawful British Government of the Falkland Islands has been usurped. (Resounding!) I am sure the whole House joins me in condemning totally this unprovoked aggression by the Government of Argentina against British territory. (Loud hear, hears! from all sides.) It has not a shred of justification, and not a scrap of legality.

The Government has now decided that a large Task Force will sail as soon as preparations are complete. HMS *Invincible* will be in the lead, and will sail on Monday. (Loud approval from both sides.) Meanwhile, we earnestly hope that our continuing

CONTINUED OVER PAGE

PM: Then do so. It will show them we mean business. (Sudden shout.) Which we do!

N

EXT MORNING: THE PM'S STUDY. 10 DOWNING STREET. Margaret Thatcher has been breakfasting on grapefruit juice and coffee, while preparing for the Cabinet. She looks drained and sleepless.

PM: What do you mean, we don't know?

CARRINGTON: All lines to Fort Stanley are dead. We simply don't know whether there's been an invasion or not.

PM (rising, preparing to leave): What about local Falkland Islands radio? Don't we monitor that?

CARRINGTON: Apparently not.

PM (with gathering rage): So I'm calling a Cabinet to discuss an invasion that we don't even know has happened? Can't the Americans tell us anything?

CARRINGTON: They're waiting for news from us. The Foreign Office is obtaining a list of radio hams on the island and trying to contact them.

PM (with withering scorn): Foreign Office! Useless when it's needed.

CARRINGTON: I don't think you can really...

PM: It's exactly what Norman's always said: an island is a piece of land entirely surrounded by advice from the Foreign Office. Until there's trouble.

Perhaps this is the first of many implicit criticisms, not least from himself, of Lord Carrington and his empire's part in the whole affair.

DESPITE PRESSURE TO STAY, CARRINGTON INSISTS ON RESIGNING

In Plaza Mayo, ecstasy as 100,000 cheer the invasion

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

diplomatic efforts will meet with success. The Security Council meets again today. *(The Opposition laughs. MRS THATCHER'S temper momentarily snaps, and she attacks them with scorn.)*

OPOSITION members laugh! They would have been the first to urge a meeting of the Security Council if we had not called one. They would have been the first to accuse us of sabre-rattling and warmongering.

(She cools down, and concludes.) The people of the Falkland Islands, like the people of the United Kingdom, are an island race. Their way of life is British; their allegiance is to the Crown. They are few in number, but they have the right to live in peace, and to choose their way of life and their allegiance. It is the wish of the British people, and *(she smites the despatch box in emphasis)* — and it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to do everything we can to uphold that right.

(She sits, to loud agreement from all sides of the House.)

In a rare moment of Commons unity — Labour leader Michael Foot has just virtually rephrased the PM's address — Enoch Powell gives Margaret Thatcher the chance to 'take her vows' as a potential war leader.

Powell, a World War Two soldier who rose from the ranks to become brigadier, is one of the relatively few MPs with personal experience of what is about to befall. *(elegantly blunt as usual, he makes his challenge.)*

POWELL: *The Prime Minister, shortly after she came to office, received the soubriquet of 'The Iron Lady'. In the next week of two this House, the nation and the Right Honourable Lady herself ... (he fires her with a look of steel across the benches) ... will learn of what metal she is made.*

A murmur goes round the house. MRS THATCHER is looking directly back at him as he says it, and nods slowly, gravely.

As the Task Force prepares to sail, it is a time for self-examination. John Nott offers his resignation. Mrs Thatcher refuses to accept it. His department was not responsible for mistakes, she says. *'This is a time for resolution, not resignation.'*

Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington has also decided to offer his resignation over criticism of the Foreign Office during events leading up to the war.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S ROOM, HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CARRINGTON (to PM): Sit down. I'm going to get you a drink. *(She sits by the fireplace. CARRINGTON pours drinks.)* Margaret, someone's got to go. I can't answer back in the Commons, where a Foreign Secretary should be facing the music. *(The PM looks up, startled, as she realises what he means.)* And there's a massive attack on the Foreign Office for not foreseeing this.

He brings her a very weak whisky.



A nation rejoices: Argentinian fervour in Buenos Aires ... a staggering 100,000 people praising the coup.

PM: But ... no one could have foreseen this.

CARRINGTON: My dear, we may be going to war.

PM: Dear God, I hope not. But if we are

CARRINGTON: Then someone's got to lance the boil. In spite of all the loyalty out there *(waves towards Commons chamber)* there's considerable disquiet about how it came about. You can't lead a country to war with that around your neck.

The PM sips her drink

PM: It would be read as disagreement with sending the Task Force.

CARRINGTON: Then I shall make it absolutely clear that I back that policy 100 per cent. *(He slaps his palm.)* Up to the hilt.

MRS. THATCHER suddenly looks drained and exhausted.

PM: Peter, I need you in Cabinet. Please sleep on it.

CARRINGTON stares into his drink, then shrugs.

CARRINGTON: Very well.

But Carrington is not to be dissuaded, not even by Tory elder Willie Whitelaw, who also tried to coax him away from falling on his political sword.

C

HEVENING PARK. KENT. The official country residence of the British Foreign Secretary. WHITE-LAW

CARRINGTON gently perambulate in the spring sunshine. The bells of Cheneving Parish Church can be heard in the distance, ringing grand sire triples.

WHITE-LAW: The Argies are ferrying —

'Argentina owns those islands ... It's not aggression'

— **JEANE KIRKPATRICK, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.**



'A Foreign Secretary should face the music in the Commons'

LORD CARRINGTON

in huge quantities of men and munitions — tanks, big guns, mines. If we do have to attack, a lot of people are going to get killed.

CARRINGTON: I know.

WHITE-LAW: So it is essential that the Cabinet has people in it who know what fighting is really like! Who fought in the War and saw their chaps blown to bits beside them. Who have no illusions about it. *(Silence. CARRINGTON makes no response.)* I say, isn't that little fellow lovely. What is he?

CARRINGTON: Er, *Inguersentianus*, I think, *Cistus Inguersentianus*.

WHITE-LAW: Isn't he fine? *(Casually, as he examines the flower.)* Did Alec Home ring you up this morning?

CARRINGTON: And Harold Macmillan.

WHITE-LAW: And Margaret, of course. **CARRINGTON (laughing):** I knew it was a conspiracy!

WHITE-LAW: Three Prime Ministers trying to persuade you to stay on. They can't all be wrong!

CARRINGTON: You won't shift me, Willie, you cunning old ... Home Secretary. **WHITE-LAW chuckles and ambles on.**

WHITE-LAW: Just listen to those bells! Sometimes England seems so close, as if you're about to turn a corner and bump into her, putting shit on the roses. *(he chuckles.)*

Ugly old hag with a wall-eye. I expect she's not at all easy, always demanding things of you, saying 'I stand for what I've always stood for' and it's what you're here for.

CARRINGTON: *Noblesse oblige?*

WHITE-LAW: It's more than that. It's recognising the moment that justifies everything else. Winston said as much, in 1940.

CARRINGTON: You're not seriously comparing this with 1940?

WHITE-LAW

In size, of course not. But remember the march into the Rhineland four years before — that was about this size. If we had stopped that, there'd have been no World War Two. Just think of that!

CARRINGTON (quite agitated): But there is such a thing as Ministerial responsibility. **WHITE-LAW (gently):** And there is also such a thing as comradeship, my dear, in times of trouble.

This gets through CARRINGTON'S defences. He is moved.

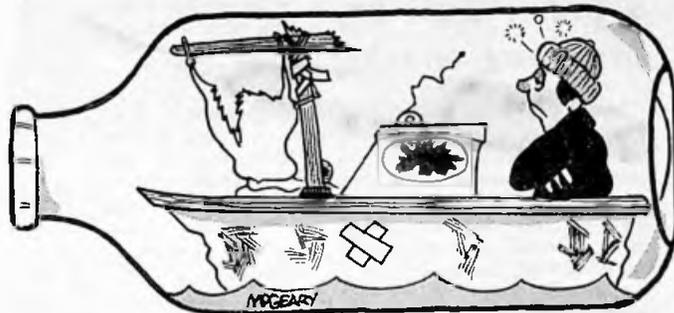
CARRINGTON (eventually): Willie, that's why I'm going!

WHITE-LAW chuckles sadly, gravely, pats his arm in silence, and turns back towards the house.

TOMORROW

Maggie is informed: The SAS are going in now!

The Falklands Play by Ian Curteis is published by Hutchinson, £3.95.



Blow for drunken sailor

By Patrick Watts
in Port Stanley

A British yachtsman who sailed solo to the Falkland Islands went on a drinking spree to celebrate.

But while Bob Burns, 47, slept off his hangover, a force 10 storm sliced the masts off his boat, wrecked the compass and smashed the self-steering equipment.

As a horrified Mr Burns staggered from his bunk in a military barracks he saw that the storm had also swept away the windmill used to generate power on board, split the view-dome, used for steering the yacht under cover during bad weather, flattened deck rails and broken the anchor.

The storm had sent the 36ft Roamer crashing into a series of chains used to anchor the floating barracks.

'Thoroughly ashamed'

The former oil-driller from Brighton who "made enough money on the north sea rigs to achieve a life-long ambition and sail around the World" was at first "horrified and then thoroughly ashamed" of himself as he viewed the scene.

Returning to the Globe Hotel where he began his drinking spree Mr Burns, who sailed from Falmouth in July 1985, told the locals of his disaster

and said that he would have to "abandon his mission". They responded by launching a major recovery effort which saved the Roamer from further damage.

"I cant thank them enough. Without their help I would have been doomed" said Mr Burns.

Now he has set sail from the Falklands under "jury rig" with makeshift masts and sails and there's a strong feeling in the Falklands that he will never make it back to Britain. The yachtsman himself is determined to survive, but anticipates that his speed will be so slow that it will be at least August before he reaches home.

But why is he taking such a risk? "I really do have something to prove now, and I'm prepared to risk death if necessary to prove it", he said.

FALKLANDS

'THE PLAY' THE BBC KILLED

STARTING TODAY: Top playwright Ian Curteis's controversial, revealing and intimate account of Margaret Thatcher's war

HER HANDS clench and unclench, but otherwise Margaret Thatcher might be a statue. She has just received the hardest blow so far of her career, indeed of her life.

The destroyer HMS Sheffield, part of the task force sent to free the Falklands from the Argentine invaders, has been hit by an Exocet missile. Casualties are heavy, the ship abandoned.

The Prime Minister sits at a long table in her room at the Commons — the Victorian architecture gives it the flavour of a chapel or school — as the nation faces a test of resolution and its willpower.

The month is May, the year 1982. Suddenly, with Sheffield's loss there is the bitter possibility of defeat and humiliation at the hands of Argentina. Lives have been lost. As a mother, Mrs Thatcher will write to every bereaved mother. She can identify with their losses on a personal level. On a national scale there is the chance of triumph for the Argentine's naked and cynical aggression.

Her head arches back and tears silently flood down her drawn face.

Daily Mail

Up to 30 minutes on HMS Sheffield
**ONE OF OUR
WARSHIPS
IS SUNK**



ILLUSTRATION: DAVID ACE

Silently, the tears flooded down the Prime Minister's face

IN ONE sense, the story that led to those tears begins long before, in 1980, in mid-air, in a curtained-off section of a jet. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, 53, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, sits tired and dishevelled in shirt sleeves drafting a speech he is to give in Parliament...

RIDLEY (reading to himself): I have this morning returned from consulting the islanders as to the future of their homeland. We have no doubt whatever about British sovereignty over the islands. The Argentines, however, are being far more urgent in their demands and insistence on ownership. This dispute has continued for over a century. Decisive action must be taken.

The options available to us include surrendering sovereignty of the islands to the Argentines in exchange for a long lease of them back to Her Majesty's Government — leaseback.

LATER THAT DAY: THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S ROOM AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

Full-length windows in the two walls of the

CONTINUED OVER PAGE

Galtieri's gains

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

lofty room overlook St. James's Park and Horseguards Parade.

Foreign Secretary LORD CARRINGTON, 63, has recently completed his Mission Impossible — easing the Rhodesia thorn out of Britain's side, manoeuvring the UDI stalwarts into accepting Zimbabwe, CARRINGTON, standing at a long table attacked with reports and red Cabinet boxes, is brusque and vigorous.

He holds up RIDLEY's draft with some amazement. With them is Foreign Office official ROBIN FEARN.

CARRINGTON: And you seriously intend to announce this, in half an hour?

RIDLEY: I've toned that draft down a bit.

CARRINGTON: The back-benchers will fall on you like wolves! They're rubbed sore enough as it is, over Rhodesia — I mean, Zimbabwe. What do you think, Robin?

FEARN: If Mr Ridley can crack the Falklands problem once and for all, everyone will applaud.

CARRINGTON: Well, of course they will! But this? (He throws the draft on to the table and crosses over to them). It's not that it's wrong in principle. It's far too blunt! And the timing's all wrong. Can't you put it on ice until Rhodesia's out of the way? Er, I mean Zimbabwe.

RIDLEY: Peter, we just can't afford to keep the Islands on indefinitely!

FEARN: Foreign Secretary, the telephones from Port Stanley have been red hot ever since we left, with the wildest rumours about what we're cooking up. A statement has to be made.

CARRINGTON: Well, I'd sooner face a herd of charging rhinos.

In the Commons, Ridley's leaseback brings the angriest response from both sides of the House in recent memory. Ridley is visibly shaken. He attacks the draft with a vehemence Mrs Galtieri, pale and shaken to shroud into a turban. If we don't do something, Argentina will invade! And there would be nothing whatever we could do about it.

N

EXT MORNING: PRIME MINISTER'S STUDY, 10 DOWNING STREET. It is an airy room. There is a ring of armchairs by the fireplace. LORD CARRINGTON, with his red Cabinet box in hand, is waiting to escort MRS. THATCHER to a Cabinet meeting.

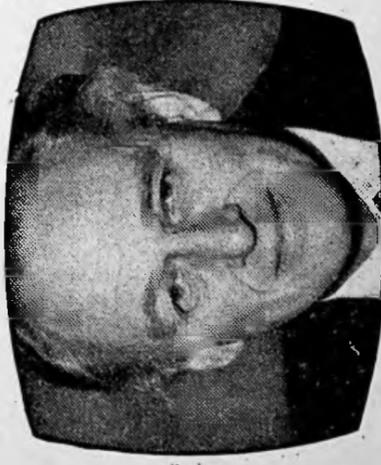
CARRINGTON: The poor fellow took a terrible hammering. It's as if some sort of floodgate's burst.

PM (her voice coming from the inner sanctum): Well, are you surprised? His timing was totally and utterly wrong. Peter, totally and utterly wrong! (The Prime Minister appears, bandbox fresh, groomed and ready for a political day.) Even to consider just handing over 2,000 of our own people to an evil regime like that... their record on human rights is blood curdling.

She gathers her own papers into her Cabinet box.

CARRINGTON: In return for a long leaseback...

PM (cutting him off): Which the Argentinians would instantly dishonour. The whole



FALKLANDS

THE PLAY THE BBC KILLED

'It's totally wrong, handing over our people to an evil regime like that'

— THATCHER

thing snacks to me of a nasty little Foreign Office plot.

CARRINGTON: Margaret, I don't really...

PM: They have been trying to rid themselves of those islands ever since I've been in Parliament.

CARRINGTON (Quite sharply): Well, that's hardly surprising is it? We can't afford to keep them on.

PM: I don't mean you, dear.

CARRINGTON: And 8,000 miles away, a contracting navy — in two years' time we won't even be able to defend them.

Their conversation continues down the stairs to the Cabinet room. They walk briskly, passing a long, double-banked line of portraits of former Prime Ministers.

PM: Why can't we simply leave things as they are?

CARRINGTON: Because the current stalemate is producing economic stagnation. But if we do nothing, Nicholas thinks they could invade.

PM (stopping): What?

CARRINGTON: He says there's a new mood in Buenos Aires.

PM: More realistic?

CARRINGTON: More hot-headed.

PM: Hmm. They've been talking about invasion for years.

CARRINGTON (insisting): Nicholas has been there, and we haven't!

They come to the ante-room outside the Cabinet room. Members of the full Cabinet sit on the table or chairs or stand about chatting, their red or black despatch boxes in hand.

'We cannot afford to keep the islands on indefinitely'

— RIDLEY



Plotting a war to ease an economic crisis?

GALTIERI: But we only just invested him!

ANAYA: So do the Americans. (Turning to Galtieri.) Then we have a new President. GALTIERI (waving the idea away): No, no, I'd be no good.

ANAYA: You would be very good provided you came to an agreement with the Navy.

GALTIERI (suspicious): Agreement? What agreement?

ANAYA (lightly): Certain matters could be planned between us — the future of the Navy, certain territorial matters... you are the natural candidate. (GALTIERI thinks about it, clearly not for the first time. ANAYA watches him.) Are you still going to that dinner at the U.S. Embassy tonight?

GALTIERI: Yes.

ANAYA: They think so, too.

EVENING: U.S. EMBASSY, BUENOS AIRES. Ambassador HARRY SCHLAUDEMANN is flattered GALTIERI, comparing the General, virtually untested in real battle, with America's Patton. The aim to draw Argentina into the creation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation to match Nato.

SCHLAUDEMANN: ... and we are most heartened that the new President should have at his elbow one of the most respected figures in Southern America... Argentina's General Patton — Leopoldo Galtieri. (Applause.) The General clearly sees the advantage to the whole world of the closest co-operation between the forces of Argentina and the United States... I had the great honour of accompanying the General on his recent visit to the USA. It was one of the hallmarks of his sturdy independence of mind that he chose as the main event of his visit an all-day tour of Disneyland, such is his earnest desire to plumb the deep wells of

PM: Good morning, good morning everyone! What a lovely morning. The frost looks simply magical... (A general chorus of hello Margaret, good morning Prime Minister, as those sitting stand). I do hope everyone got some sleep after last night. Willie, dear, I think you were a hero! Come along in everyone.

Inside the Cabinet room, the brown baize cloth of its table covered with papers, everything seems somehow better. Mrs Thatcher has dismissed the Falklands uproar in the Commons, condemned the Press for being 'so silly about it this morning' and listened to Lord Carrington's view that while the Argentine junta is beset by inflation and is ruling by terror — not unlike the Gestapo — invasion of the Falklands strikes him as unlikely.

Morning-after calm brings a consensus to wait and see whether Argentina's new President, General Viola, will alter the situation. The mood is summed up in joking between Lord Carrington and Willie Whiteaw as the meeting breaks up.

WHITEAW (cheerfully): Argentina. Where the nuts come from.

CARRINGTON (grinning): No, no, that's Brazil!

WHITEAW: Is it? It's all comic opera land, anyhow. Do you know, they haven't fought anyone for over 100 years, except each other?

CARRINGTON laughs.

A

CROSS the world in Buenos Aires, where a three-man Army-Navy-Air Force junta rules Argentina, hard-drinking and heavy-smoking Army chief Lieutenant-General LEOPOLDO GALTIERI, whose blustering and ambition exceed

his intelligence, has a guest in his apartment. He is the junta's iron man, Navy head ADMIRAL ANAYA, slim, vulgar, unsmiling.

GALTIERI: Have some popcorn.

ANAYA (screwing up face): How can you eat that filth?

GALTIERI: What's wrong with it? You ought to try some. He crams it into his mouth, washing it down with Glenfiddich.

ANAYA (staring out of the windows at the tree-tops): I give him six months.

GALTIERI: Who?

ANAYA: Viola.

Watch their plot



ILLUSTRATION: DAVID ACE

...mic crisis: (left to right) Air Marshal Lami Dozo, Admiral Anaya, Foreign Minister Costa-Mendez and Galtieri with Argentina. The meeting's mood is of exasperation, even anger.

'Argentina has not fought anyone for 100 years'

— WHITELAW

American character (patter of applause). So that when, earlier today, we raised our glasses to the new President, we raised them also to the men at his elbow, and we thought not only of the present, but of the future.

He sits. Applause, then general chatter.

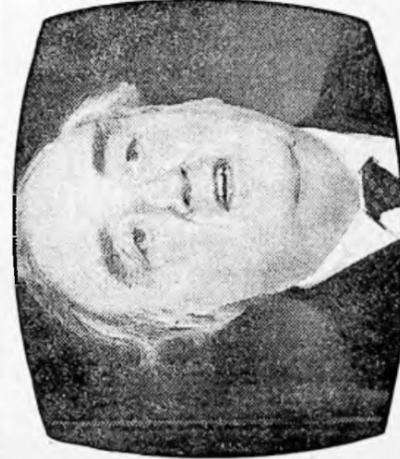
JEANE KIRKPATRICK, rasping and abrasive U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, turns to GALTIERI with a warm smile.

KIRKPATRICK: You've no idea what a pleasure it is to be able to say those things openly again.

GALTIERI (courteous little bow): That goes for us too, Mrs Kirkpatrick. 6' 8" Assistant (Tom 'Too Tall' Enders, 6' 8" Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs at the State Department, joins in).

ENDERS: I don't know that our sanctions ever really worked, did they General?

GALTIERI: We missed the visits of our American brother officers.



KIRKPATRICK: Well, that was mutual! (ENDERS murmurs agreement). Viola's wrong to start severing his links with the Army. (confidentially) Any future President must be sure to retain his military position.

ENDERS (hurriedly): As usual, Mrs Kirkpatrick is voicing a personal opinion.

KIRKPATRICK: Oh come on, Tom — it's commonsense. And the first thing Viola will learn!

FOREIGN OFFICE, WHITEHALL: THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S ROOM. NICHOLAS RIDLEY chairs a major meeting. ANTHONY WILLIAMS, Ambassador in Buenos Aires, has been recalled for it. ROBIN FEARN and several others are there. Months have passed. PRESIDENT VIOLA is on his way out in Argentina, but that is not the crisis confronting the Foreign Office. Falkland islanders are demanding a total freeze on all negotiations

'Galtieri is the General Patton of Argentina'

— U.S. AMBASSADOR SCHLAUDEMANN

RIDLEY: Then you're prepared to risk Argentina's reaction?

CARRINGTON (exasperated): Nicholas, we've no option! I don't like it any more than you do.

Pause.

RIDLEY: How long do you think we've got?

CARRINGTON: Before this starts? (He stabs his finger on the distinctive blue JIC file) The first stage or two should give us reasonable warning.

RIDLEY: Provided no one winks to the Argentines that they should just go ahead.

CARRINGTON (throwing file down): Ridiculous.

RIDLEY: Is it? (Turning to him accusingly.) What about the withdrawal of HMS Endurance?

CARRINGTON (angrily): That's been on the cards for years.

RIDLEY: The one ship we have protecting the Falklands, the one ship to be withdrawn.

CARRINGTON (shouting at him): Well, we just can't afford to keep it there. Whatever happens in Buenos Aires!

BUENOS AIRES: PRESIDENT'S STUDY, CASA ROSADA PALACE. VIOLA is no longer President. GALTIERI has the ceremonial sash and baton. Around his massive desk sit a ring of men, including:

ANAYA, AIR MARSHAL LAMI DOZO, Air Force member of the junta, and the most intelligent; the new Foreign Minister DR. COSTA-MENDEZ, a cheery lady-killer romantically unhampered by the two sticks on which he's had to hobble since childhood; a career diplomat, young, smooth, jaunty, DR. ALBERTO ALEMANN, Economy Minister, is outlining his measures to attack 150 per cent inflation.

ALEMANN: The economic package I shall present to Cabinet is very severe: we float the exchange rate, freeze public sector spending totally, increase taxation by 90 per cent, and cut defence spending by half.

ANAYA (smoothly): Except for the Navy.

ALEMANN (turning to him): All Armed Forces.

ANAYA (not turning a hair): Except for the Navy.

DOZO (appalled): It's suicidal! We'll be back to rioting, martial law, an ungovernable country.

ANAYA: You cannot lip-tape when you have inflation of 150 per cent.

GALTIERI (grunt): The Army will deal with unrest.

ALEMANN: I must, know I have the junta's support for this.

ANAYA: You have it. Except... (he waves a forefinger in the direction of Alemann's list)... that little mistake. Next?

(ROS and DOZO are visibly appalled).

GALTIERI: Foreign Minister?

COSTA-MENDEZ (reading from notes): One — increased rapprochement with the USA. Two — active participation in the anti-Communist drive in Nicaragua and El

CONTINUED OVER PAGE

FROM THE FALKLANDS, AN URGENT CABLE AS THE INVADERS LAND

Enter the bogus scrap metal merchants on South Georgia

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Salvador. Three — a more aggressive policy towards our neighbour Chile.

ANAYA: Four — a plan to recover the Malvinas by the end of the year.

ROS (startled): But I am just about to negotiate this — by diplomacy.

ANAYA (expressionsless): This will strengthen your hand.

ALEMANN: You mean it's a bluff?

ANAYA: Of course it is bluff. (He suddenly smiles at ALEMANN.) I said a plan that would be leaked; not action.

GALTIERI (to the meeting): The one thing that every Argentine dreams of, the one thing that would unite our country while these hard but necessary things (indicating Alemann's list) go through!

A pause, while ROS, COSTA-MENDEZ and ALEMANN digest this.

ALEMANN: But bluff.

ANAYA (nodding): Bluff.

ROS: A telegram of warning then, to Lord Carrington.

ANAYA: Copy to Washington.

COSTA-MENDEZ: To General Haig?

GALTIERI: No. (Thoughtfully) Mrs Kirkpatrick.

THE ARENA of imminent war is widening. Now America is directly involved. In WASHINGTON another battle is starting, a personal one between JEANE KIRKPATRICK and U.S. Secretary of State GENERAL ALEXANDER HAIG. He is a formidable adversary, a college education warrior, battle-hardened in combat in Vietnam, still super-fit despite a recent bypass operation — about which he is sensitive.

SECRETARY OF STATES ROOM, STATE DEPARTMENT. Mrs KIRKPATRICK is showing HAIG the Argentine signal.

KIRKPATRICK (pointing): It says time for negotiation is running out. It says the U.S. should take sides.

HAIG: But why copy this to you?

KIRKPATRICK: Perhaps the Argentines know who their friends are.

HAIG (stung): Oh, really? And do they also know who the hell decides foreign policy in Washington?

KIRKPATRICK: I know all about Latin-American policy, Mr. Secretary. I've spent years at it.

The second dig strikes home as well.

HAIG (angry): Well, you tell the British — Ridley, Nicholas Ridley ...

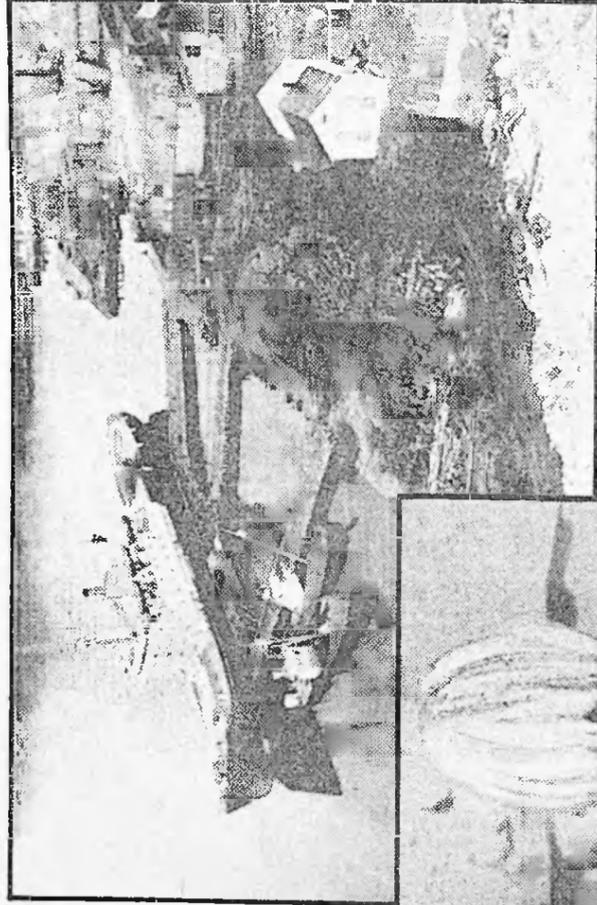
KIRKPATRICK: There's been a change. Richard Luce.

HAIG: You tell whoever the hell it is that the United States will not get involved in some crazy spat over a bunch of ice-cold rocks on the edge of the world. They can fight this one out themselves!

BUENOS AIRES: Admiral Anaya is working all night, alone in a pool of light from the desk lamp in his study at Admiralty House, predicting 'certain territorial matters'. He thinks aloud ... Appreciation of the point of

'The British can fight this one out themselves'

— ALEXANDER HAIG



Invasion alert: The landing on South Georgia sparks a crisis message from Falklands Governor Rex Hunt

'Shots were fired and the Argentine flag is raised'



GALTIERI nods. DCZO looks up.

DOZO: Agreed?

GALTIERI: There has been some discussion between us.

DOZO looks between them, then lays the document on the desk.

DOZO: Timing.

GALTIERI: HMS Endurance will be withdrawn in October.

ANAYA: Which will leave a total defence force on the island of 42 Royal Marines.

DOZO: And the nearest British base is ... ?

ANAYA: Belize — 5,000 miles away.

All three are conscious of the eeriness of the situation — almost as if they were being invited to invade.

GALTIERI: October, then. In eight months. (He looks questioning at ANAYA, who shrugs, they both look at DOZO, who nods.) Unless Divine Providence intervenes.

IN PORT STANLEY, capital of the Falklands, the sky is ablaze with stars, and the air around Government House is filled with radio signals and Morse code.

Governor REX HUNT has cabling the Foreign Office.

HUNT: Urgent and secret. I have this morning received a signal from the island of South Georgia. Argentine naval vessel Bahia Buen Suceso has been observed at deserted Leith Harbour. A party of civilians have established themselves ashore, claiming to be scrap-metal merchants. Shots have been fired, notices defaced and the Argentine flag raised ...

Admiral Anaya has jugged the elbow of Divine Providence six months early by allowing one of his ships to land the civilians on the bleak outcrop 800 miles from the Falklands. Britain's reaction to the invasion is swift. The patrol vessel HMS Endurance sails with a party of Marines aboard, and evicts the raiders.

In Buenos Aires Galtieri, though he knows he is being manipulated by Anaya, erupts with rage.

PRESIDENT'S STUDY. CASA ROSADA. GALTIERI and ANAYA are on the telephone to each other.

GALTIERI (heavily): I'm not having innocent Argentine citizens seized by Royal Marines, frog-marched up a British gang-plank ...

ANAYA (interrupting): Leopoldo ...

GALTIERI: ... and thrown out of South Georgia with the whole world watching! That island belongs to us.

ANAYA: I can send a brigade of marines, to protect them.

GALTIERI: And what happens if the British get there first?

ANAYA (calmly): I will intercept them by force.

GALTIERI (taken aback): On the high seas?

War is rushing closer. Hindsight gives the drama Shakespearean dimensions of tragedy as the junta is swept away by its own arranged crisis, embracing disaster on a scale it cannot grasp.

TOMORROW

The Task Force prepares for the conflict

Argentina on the use of force, but then abandon them on the failure of Security Council vote. The Organisation of American States and the signatories to the Treaty of Rio will ...

First dawn light creeps through the windows. One or two birds have begun the dawn chorus.

ANAYA's thoughts march on. ... pressure on the domestic political grasp of Margaret Thatcher, which is fully stretched. (He ticks off a typed list). Two million unemployed; 200 company bankruptcies each week; Northern Ireland; foreign investment moving overseas.

Therefore... she lacks the political will to make military response.

Conclusion. In the event of the forces of Argentina liberating the Malvinas. (He taps the separate sheets of paper, spread over the table). No armed response from the UK; no effective response from the USA; no economic sanctions for longer than one week; no mandatory vote in the United Nations. Therefore, Argentina can recover the Malvinas at practically no cost.

He stares at this conclusion for a moment as if barely able to believe it.

ALL OF this explains the normally icy Anaya's air of reined excitement during the junta's next meeting in President Galtieri's study at Casa Rosada.

The junta in session. DOZO is reading the appreciation. ANAYA is unusually animated.

ANAYA: ... of course, we will continue very hard to reach a diplomatic solution. The world will see we are the long-injured party, finally driven to such desperation ... (He waves towards the appreciation.) As we agreed.



Latin American visit ends**Pope rebuffs 'dirty war' accusations**

From Eduardo Cue
Buenos Aires

The Pope yesterday strongly defended the Argentine Roman Catholic Church against charges of supporting the former military dictatorship, and praised the country's bishops for helping to save lives during the so-called "dirty war".

He made his statement shortly before boarding a Boeing 747 for Rome last night at the end of his two-week South American tour.

"I know of your constant efforts and concern during the difficult moments in which violence led to pain and death," the Pope told Argentine bishops during a ceremony inaugurating a new episcopal centre here.

"I know of documents that strongly condemned the violence and urged reconciliation. I know of your gestures that saved lives, testifying in that way to the demands of the scriptures."

The Pope's comments, which had not been included in the advanced version of his speech, were a clear response to widespread criticism here of the role the powerful Roman Catholic Church played during the former military regime.

Human rights groups had claimed that many senior Argentine clergymen supported the military in its "dirty war" against left-wing guerrillas, in which at least 9,000 people disappeared.

Earlier, in the first Palm Sunday papal Mass celebrated outside the Vatican in modern times, the Pope called on the world's young people to dedicate their energies to "building the civilization of love".

From a giant red, white and yellow altar on Buenos Aires's largest avenue, he told more than a million worshippers that only by understanding the mystery of Christ's sacrifice could mankind fulfil its divine role.

During his 14-minute homily on International Youth Day, he said: "Dedicate your youthful energies to building



The Pope carrying a palm branch as he arrives for a Palm Sunday Mass which was attended by 500,000 young people in Buenos Aires yesterday, the last day of his Latin America tour.

the civilization of love. God hopes that you, the young, will be the ones to sow the seeds of peace and hope."

The 3½-hour Mass, celebrated in bright sunshine, brought together young people from around the world and was by far the biggest gathering of the Pope's eighth visit to Latin America.

The visit, which included a brief time in Uruguay, was dominated by the tense situation in Chile. The political opposition there had hoped the Pope's presence would weaken the 13-year-old regime

of General Pinochet, but instead the violent demonstrations that disrupted a papal Mass in Santiago may have strengthened the dictatorship.

The Pope's seven-day pastoral visit to Argentina was much calmer. Although huge crowds greeted him almost everywhere, the collective fervour unleashed when he first visited there five years ago was missing.

The Pope spoke out against divorce on several occasions during his Argentine visit, although in milder terms than those he used in Chile. The

issue is especially sensitive here because the Catholic Church has carried out an aggressive campaign to defeat a divorce Bill now before the Argentine Congress.

The measure, which polls indicate is supported by 70 per cent of Argentinians, is expected to be approved shortly after the papal visit.

"True love does not exist if it is not faithful, and it cannot exist if it is not honest," the Pope said. "There is no love, in the specific case of marriage, if a full commitment lasting until death is missing."

Cotton sues over Falklands play

Mr Bill Cotton, managing director of BBC Television, is to take legal action against *The Sunday Telegraph* over allegations about his role in the BBC's dispute with Mr Ian Curteis, author of a play about the Falklands war.

Mr Cotton rejects a suggestion that he stopped the BBC producing the play for political reasons. The BBC last night denied Mr Curteis's claim that it has blocked the play from being produced elsewhere by retaining its broadcast rights to the work.

Meanwhile, it was alleged yesterday that a tape recording which it is claimed implicates Mr Jeffrey Archer, the author, in rigging his part in a quiz show, may have been tampered with.

A transcript of the tape, published yesterday by *The News of the World*, suggested that Mr Archer had been told in advance of the occupations of mystery guests on Thames Television's *What's My Line?* Independent Radio News, which has a copy of the tape, said it may have been edited.

Pope says Mass for a million in Argentina

BUENOS AIRES (Reuter) — Pope John Paul II yesterday celebrated Palm Sunday Mass before about a million people waving palm leaves, banners and olive branches, becoming the first pontiff in modern history to mark the day outside Rome.

It was the last major event of a two-week visit to 19 cities in Uruguay, Chile and Argentina, the longest papal journey outside Italy. The Mass, opening Holy Week and commemorating the day Christ was welcomed to Jerusalem by crowds waving palm leaves, attracted the largest gathering of The Pope's tour and was one of the biggest in Argentine history. John Paul II's pope-mobile slowly cut through the ocean of faithful stretching almost a mile down the city's central boulevard.

During a prayer to the Madonna of Lujan, whom Argentines venerate as their patroness, the Pope referred to Argentina's troubled past. He said he was entrusting to the Madonna "the Argentine homeland, at peace and reconciled, the hopes and aspirations of these people".

Civil rights activists and left wing political parties in Argentina have criticised the Pope for failing to meet human rights groups and making only limited contact with the poor during his visit.

■ **TEL AVIV —** The *Haaretz* newspaper yesterday reported that Pope John Paul II is planning a visit to Israel, AP reports.

Leading article, page 16

Lesson in Church politics

Agreement near with Argentina

ARGENTINA is close to agreement with creditor banks to refinance about \$30bn of foreign debt, according to treasury secretary Mario Brodersohn, who claimed at the weekend that "only details remain to be resolved".

Citibank has announced that Brazil will ask its creditor banks not to request payment of \$9.6bn in medium and long-term debt that matures on 15 April.

A lesson in Church politics

IF POPE JOHN PAUL were one to worry about his popularity, his tour of the Southern Cone of Latin America might have made him pause to reflect. In Chile, he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm; in Argentina, he met courtesy, but a popular reaction which was markedly less ecstatic.

In Chile, the majority of the bishops are progressive and the Church has earned its place in the popular heart through its vigorous defence of human rights and its courageous and consistent resistance to General Pinochet's dictatorship. General Pinochet believes the Church to be full of communists, but this has not deterred the church from extending its protection to the left. The Pope's homilies in Chile would destabilise nobody, but his bishops made sure that the voices of the poor and of the opposition were heard.

On the other side of the Andes, by contrast, the majority of the bishops were identified with the dictatorship which Argentina left behind four years ago and memories of that time remain raw. It was not a period in which the Argentine church distinguished itself. Church leaders welcomed the coup, heard the confessions of and gave absolution to torturers and murderers, visited clandestine prisons and urged the victims to confess to their interrogators. They gave no assistance to the relatives of the disappeared who turned to them in desperation for help.

They also gave sustenance to the idea that the armed forces were fighting the Antichrist

and that all methods were permissible. Even when a bishop, one of the few who had spoken out against the dictatorship, died in a car accident so transparently suspicious that it fooled nobody, the church's official response was that the deceased was a notoriously bad driver.

Even now, the Church is ambivalent about the aftermath of the dictatorship and doubtful about the wisdom of trying officers accused of human rights abuses. For most Argentines, who now have the chance to build the society they want, the Pope's message of reconciliation was uncomfortable and his preaching against the legalisation of divorce unwelcome.

The Pope could not be expected to change his theology to improve his popularity, but the lessons in Church politics go both ways. The Pope has the reputation of a man opposed to liberation theology and speaks against Church involvement in politics. But as Argentina shows, political involvement is more damaging to the Church when it is on the side of the oppression than on the side of social and political justice.

The Church has played its most critical role precisely in those countries of Latin America which have suffered cruelly from dictatorships. As and when they emerge into democracies, the Vatican may well find the faithful adhere more closely where the Church was most active in their defence than where it washed its hands.

Pope upstaged by union leader at Argentine workers' rally

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

The Pope yesterday wound up his week-long visit to Argentina at a huge outdoor mass after briefly alluding to human rights crimes under the former military regime.

The long-awaited reference to the regime's "dirty war" was seen as a response to criticism here of his failure to speak out on the issue since he arrived last Monday.

In a late addition to a homily at a youth rally on Saturday night, he stressed there should be no return to "kidnap and disappeared persons." He also insisted that "there is no place for hate and violence, and that the dignity of the person is always respected."

A few hours later a bomb exploded while the Pope was resting at the Vatican embassy, some 20 blocks away. No group claimed responsibility for the attack, in which no one was injured.

Yesterday the Pope became the first Pontiff in modern history to celebrate Palm Sunday outside Rome. With estimates at the mass ranging

between half a million people and three times as many, the Pope finally got the crowd out in a capital that virtually ignored his arrival. But his last day in Argentina was clouded by criticism of the visit and embarrassment that he had been publicly upstaged by a prominent union leader at a workers' rally.

Echoing earlier complaints that the Pope had not met human rights campaigners, or the poor and needy, Argentina's Nobel Peace Prize winner, Mr Adolfo Perez Esquivel, accused the local Catholic hierarchy of orchestrating "a beautiful tourist trip and not a pastoral visit."

Without doubt, the Pope was the object of political manoeuvre at the workers' rally organised on Friday evening by the Confederacion General del Trabajo, Argentina's biggest labour organisation and the power base for union leaders allied to the opposition Peronist mass movement.

The CGT's Secretary-General, Mr Saul Ubaldini, was supposed to deliver a short and pious prayer devoid of political content before the

Pope's homily — but he did not appear on the podium. Instead, it was not until several minutes after the Pope had finished that Mr Ubaldini arrived, to the chants of his own supporters, and read out a 12-minute speech couched in the populist rhetoric of Peronism.

Dressed up as a prayer, the statement ended with a plea for "peace, bread and work," the slogan used by Mr Ubaldini's faction at the CGT, and the crowd broke into Peronist marching songs.

Mr Ubaldini's breach of Papal protocol was not quite complete even then: he had to be nudged off the podium before the Pope — who the crowd by then was hailing as "The worker Pope" and even "The Peronist Pope" — could deliver his blessing.

● The Pope is planning a visit to Israel, an Israeli newspaper reported yesterday. The liberal daily, Ha'aretz, said the visit was being arranged by New York's Cardinal John O'Connor, who has been discussing the plans with an influential Jewish leader in New York. — AP.

Pope's Palm Sunday Mass makes history

By Cristina Bonasegna
Buenos Aires

THE Pope yesterday said Palm Sunday Mass outside Rome for the first time in Vatican history on the last day of his one-week visit to Argentina.

A festive crowd estimated at 2½ million people including President Raul Alfonsín, congregated in front of a makeshift altar in Buenos Aires singing Christian songs and waving palms and olive branches to the sound of guitars.

Earlier, on Saturday evening, the Pope for the first time referred explicitly to human rights violations in Argentina under the former regime, when about 10,000 people disappeared.

Addressing a crowd of about half a million the Pope said on World News Day: "May the brother not be against his brother so that there are no more abducted (or missing) people so there is no more room for hatred and violence."

Bomb exploded

The reference was reportedly included at the last minute to meet pressure by human rights organisations. The group had requested a meeting with the Pope but were turned down by bishops organising the Pontiff's agenda.

On Saturday night a bomb went off at the monument of Christopher Columbus, a short distance from the Presidential Palace where the Pope was making his youth address. There were no casualties.

The celebration of Palm Sunday Mass came at the end of the Pope's 13-day tour of Uruguay, Chile and Argentina.

Argentine bugging claim

AMID revelations about Soviet bugging of the American Embassy in Moscow, Argentina's head of military intelligence claimed last week that Britain was guilty of spying on the Argentinian Embassy in Paris.

According to Senior Facundo Suarez, Head of the Argentinian Secretariat for State Intelligence, Britain has established a Chamber of Commerce office in the building next to the Argentine Embassy in the Rue de Cimarosa in Paris and is using it to conduct surveillance of the Argentine diplomatic mission.

Speaking on Buenos Aires Radio Splendid last week, Senor Suarez revealed that Argentine intelligence had despatched teams of electronic experts to Paris to "clear" the embassy of British bugs in recent weeks. This happened after Embassy staff became suspicious that the Franco-British Chamber of Commerce building next door was a cover for a British Intelligence spying operation.

The British Chamber of Commerce office was opened in late February to promote bilateral trade links between Britain and France. A Department of Trade spokesman in London said last night that the office was a private enterprise and not a government facility. He

by our Defence
Correspondent

described the Argentinian allegations as "quite extraordinary."

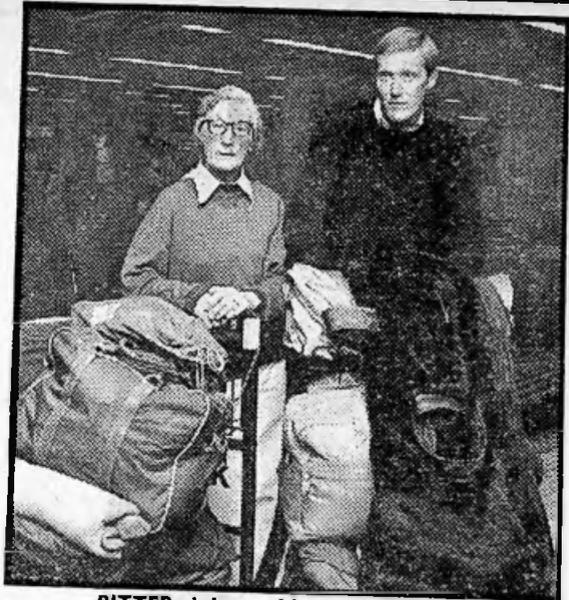
According to diplomatic sources, the Argentinian Embassy in Paris took suspicions about their new British neighbour sufficiently seriously for Ambassador Ortiz D'Rosas to return to Buenos Aires in recent weeks for urgent consultations on the issue with the Argentine Foreign Ministry.

Senor Suarez said last week

that "all the electronic equipment available to our intelligence services was used to protect our national diplomatic mission" but added that such precautions were "relative, taking into account what happened at the US Embassy in Moscow."

Although he conceded that the British Chamber of Commerce was a private venture, he claimed that "when it comes to defending the interests of their country, the British support their Government in an exemplary manner."

'OUR FALKLANDS FLOP'



BITTER: John and Irene at Gatwick

Red tape hits island pioneers

THE FALKLANDS dream of pioneering homesteaders John and Irene Haynes is in tatters.

They have returned to Britain broke, homeless and bitterly accusing the authorities of strangling them with red tape.

They emigrated from Thanet, Kent, where John, 39, was a farm worker, decorator and shop worker. They planned to set up a smallholding on the islands.

He and Irene, 62, sold all their belongings and applied to the Foreign Office for two £400 one-way tickets.

Bitter

The Falkland Islands Government office in London encouraged their plans. But when they landed in Port Stanley, with £9,000 in the bank, officials told them they were illegal immigrants. 'They were like the KGB,' said John.

Finally they were offered a plot of land, and they started buying farm equipment.

Then came the bombshell. An official told them their land pur-

By JOHN WELLINGTON

chase had been refused. They had to hand over £800 for their tickets back to Britain.

Now the couple have just a few hundred pounds left and are staying in council bed and breakfast accommodation near Gatwick airport. They feel bitter and frustrated. Derek Fernyhough, Government Secretary in Port Stanley, said: 'These people were here illegally.'

'They did not have a job, accommodation or sponsors, which we insist upon before we grant an entry permit.'

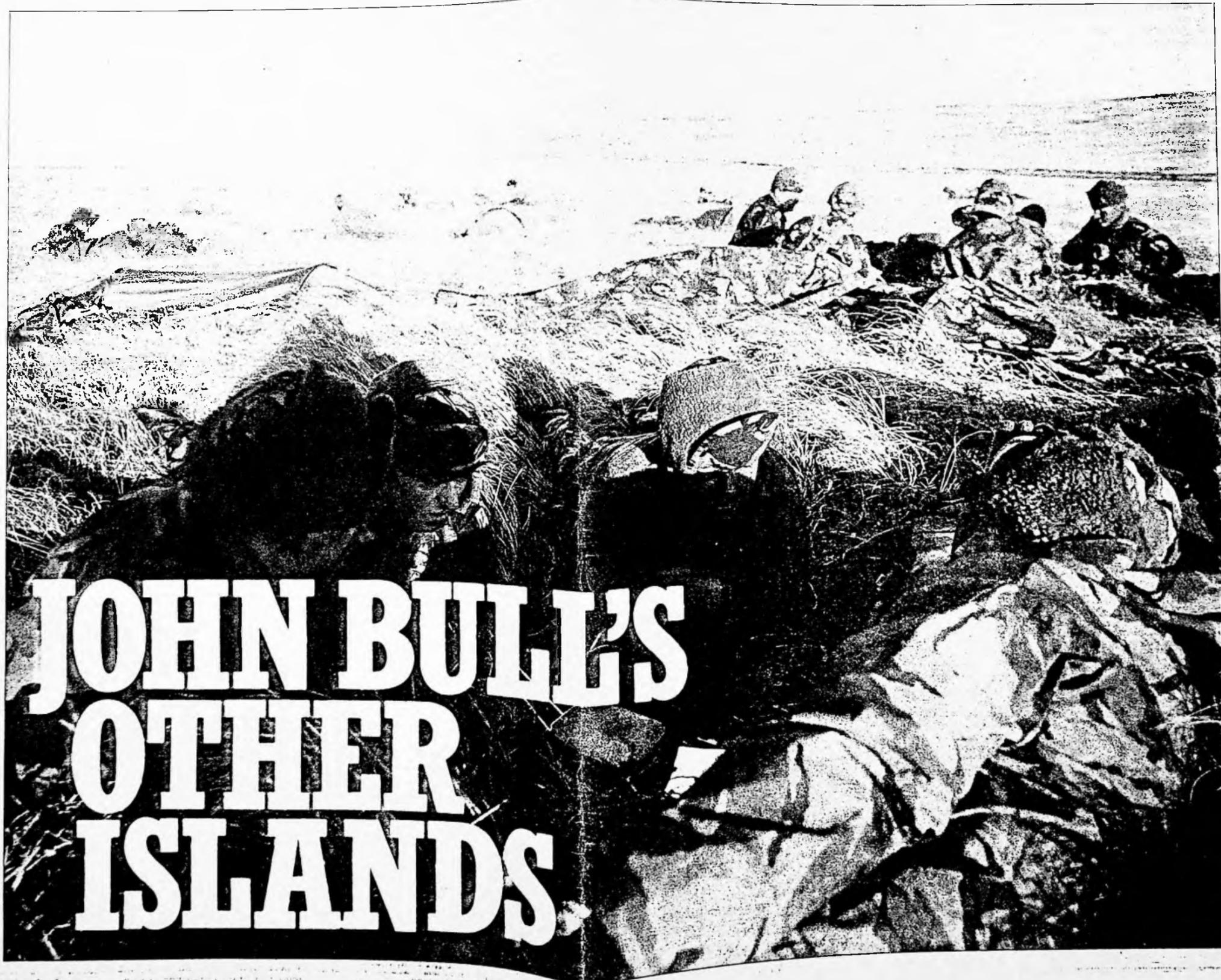
'The Foreign Office should not have given them a ticket.'

The Foreign Office said it had thought the couple had sponsors and jobs lined up. 'Our procedures are being changed,' a spokesman admitted.

WEEKEND

Photographs by Leo Callow

*Five years after
Britain and
Argentina fought a
war in the
Falklands,
FERGUS PYLE
went to see
what passes there
today for ordinary
life*



JOHN BULL'S OTHER ISLANDS

AN ISLAND thrown aside from human use, stormy in winter, barren in summer, an island which not even the southern savages have dignified with habitation, where a garrison must be kept in a state that contemplates with envy the exiles of Siberia . . ."

That was the Falklands in the uncharitable opinion of Dr Samuel Johnson, writing in 1770 as the paid hack of a British Government faction that wanted them like a hole in the head. They are still under-inhabited, poor by West European standards, and remote.

The twice-weekly Tristar operated by the RAF from Brize Norton, near Oxford, is now almost the only way to get there, unless you happen to be a round-the-world yachtsman. It replaces the air-service provided by the Argentinian military airline, LADE, which ran for 10 years until disrupted by the war in 1982. Before that, there was a monthly boat: "Much better", says a resident of the Falklands, "than the service to Pitcairn, which is once a year".

Until you find yourself flying in at midday to the new joint military base at Mount Pleasant, crossing the coast north of Port Stanley, it is impossible to imagine the desolation of the islands. There are delectable beaches by the score, inlets and coves, striking rock formations, a surging ocean splattered with seaweed, and nothing else.

No roads, no dry-stone walls dividing non-existent fields, no houses or even the ruins of houses. No trees. It is a landscape as God might have left it at the Creation.

Nothing is absolute, and so from time to time you start to notice small clusters of sheep, a group of one or two houses, the trace of tracks through the turf countryside along which, in dry weather, one can make reasonable progress on a motor-bike or in a Land Rover, but which are sheer hell in the wet. The smooth slope of the land stretches interminably.

If you were an attacking soldier in the 1982 campaign, you were grateful for the night. There is not even an outcrop of rock over much of the surface, as you would find in Connemara. There is gorse in rare patches, little else. As you look closer, you find that the huge sheep-farms, which are virtually the only viable form of economic activity, are separated by wire and wood — no shelter from bullets and grenades.

People in the Falklands are justly sensitive about the impressions of outsiders. They particularly resent the belief, promulgated by reports of the war, that the weather is always appalling. In fact, when the Argentinians arrived at the beginning of April five years ago, the islands basked under a

late summer's sun, exactly the same as this year: family groups were lounging on the strip of grass that fronts the sea on Ross Road in Port Stanley a fortnight ago.

And so one must record that Stanley is on the equivalent parallel south of the equator to London on the north. The only difference is that nothing stands between Stanley and the South Pole apart from permanent ice-fields and the cold waters of the South Atlantic. Wind-chill makes this an important difference.

British troops in the Falklands are told that you can have four seasons in a day; and sometimes four in an hour. A mild Indian summer's day can be swept away in a moment by a gusting wind that comes up from nowhere, spitting hailstones out of a sky that seemed blue and tranquil just before. And then, just as quickly, the gusting

wind is transformed into a breeze, and large white clouds come scudding over the horizon.

The weather is kaleidoscopic, and the land, though austere beautiful, is ungenerous. Both have helped to shape what the Falklanders defend as their way of life — something as genuinely civilised as the life of the Outer Hebrides or the mountainy Cévennes in France. They are a rugged people, compounded of Scottish shepherds, Latin American gauchos who arrived in the middle of the 1800s, Scandinavian seafarers, English ships' chandlers, old soldiers and drifters. By definition, they all love solitude.

NELLIE BETTS, who has retired after a lifetime spent cooking for the shearers in a succession of settlements in the camp — the word, brought by the gauchos, which is used

for the countryside — now lives in Stanley. She and her husband were obliged to move there from the land they loved when their working life ended. There is no room for old people on the commercial farms.

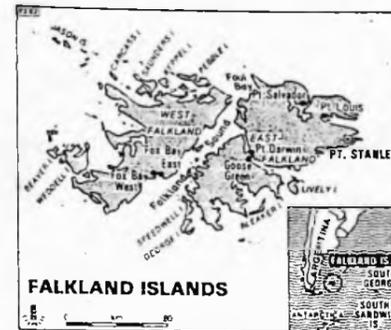
She says she finds Stanley "cramped" after her years in little communities with no more than 20 people. In Stanley, the capital of the islands, there are 1,000 people living in 300 houses, and between them and the camp there is the perennial feud of town and country.

But Nellie Betts, like most of the farm-workers in the Falklands, never owned the land on which she and her husband worked. Nearly half of the vast sheep-acreage established in the 19th century traditionally belonged to the Falkland Islands Company, which bought the rights of an Uruguayan adventurer, Samuel Fisher Lafone, in 1850.

Lafone had secured a cut-price contract giving him "absolute possession and dominion over all wild cattle and wild stock whatever on the Falklands with full power to kill, sell or otherwise dispose of." The FIC, as it is called, still dominates the economy: it has warehouses and retail shops in Stanley, and out in the camp, it and other absentee land-owning companies control the lives of the bulk of the people.

It was Lafone and others like him who successfully frustrated all the original plans to develop the islands agriculturally. They began an extractive style of farming based on manager-run sheep-stations that only started to

British soldiers in a bleak coastal bivouac



crumble when sub-division was introduced in the past 10 years.

Suitable applicants are now encouraged to own land with loans from a fund set up after the war, and already some huge farms have been carved into holdings of around 5,000 sheep and are operating more profitably. Others are not divided, but are bought by groups of working shareholders.

If the old system sounds feudal, it is because, building on an empty landscape — incredibly, the Falklands had no aboriginal inhabitants, no native beasts apart from a fox, now extinct, which may have been introduced by drifting Indians from Patagonia, though the birds are superb, and little vegetation that did not hug the ground — the early settlers developed a self-dependent way of life that can still be somewhat medieval.

A recent issue of the *Penguin News*, a fortnightly news-sheet published in

Stanley, carried an account of the annual sports week held on the West Falkland when shearing finished about a month ago. The hosts this year were at Port Stephens and, the report says, "nearly 60 people sat down in any available place to eat at the 'big house' . . . In addition to the customary beef, mutton and lamb, huge red tomatoes, green peppers, courgettes and fresh lettuce were produced, all locally grown from a large polyhouse on the farm."

The competitors came from all over the western Falklands. "Raymond Evans of Pebble Island probably had the longest and most tiresome journey, having left his island fully five days before the events began," according to the *Penguin News*, "stopping off to pick up other competitors at Main Point, Hill Cove, and Fox Bay on the way to Stephens."

"Windy but warm weather assisted the travellers on their long journey, and this weather continued throughout the week, only breaking on Friday after the steer-riding competition had been completed earlier than planned to avoid the gale-force winds which had been correctly forecast." The smaller new farms will find it difficult to match the old hospitality.

Goose Green, scene of some of the fiercest fighting in the 1982 war, is the largest settlement outside Port Stanley. As I approached it over tussocky countryside, its scattered houses set around a wide untracked sward of grass looked like an ancient village. The most imposing building is the community hall, where the Argentinians locked up the 114 inhabitants of Goose Green and neighbouring Darwin for a month. There is a large dull-green bunkhouse where the unmarried men eat and sleep.

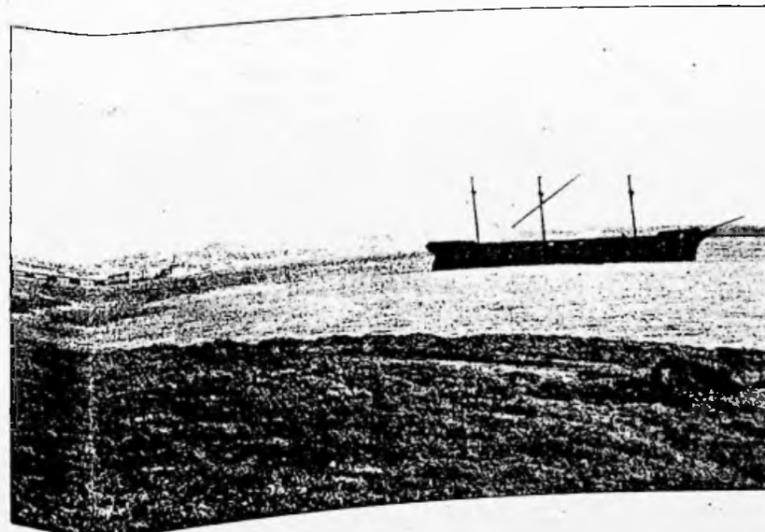
Not a soul was in sight. It was one o'clock camp time — two by the clock in Stanley — and all the farm-workers were sitting down to dinner. In one window you could read a list of 40 available videos; on a wall, a painted notice put up by the farm-manager urging drivers to "keep to the road where possible". There was the all-pervasive smell of turf-smoke that stamps the Falklands as clearly as the Irish countryside.

A 13-year-old boy, Derek Goodwin, came racing by on his Honda All-Terrain, the plump-tyred tricycle that is one of the most practical forms of transport. He was showing off. He bounced over the grass, rearing on to his back-wheels, spinning around us in narrowing circles, finally coming to a stop to find out who we were.

Derek quickly told his own tale of an exciting war at Pebble Island when he was eight. His father, a boat-maker, was shortly moving to Stanley. He was



Left: Nellie Betts, who spent a lifetime cooking for sheep-shearers in the "camp", finds Port Stanley "cramped"; below: one of many hulks in Stanley harbour



Continued in Weekend 2

Continued from Weekend 1

not quite sure what his father's job would be there, but he was in no doubt that his own life would change. "I won't be able to ride the Honda until I am 16," he said. Stanley was no place for a boy.

Near Goose Green, there is the ruined base of the school-house in which dozens of Argentinian soldiers died when an explosion blew it up. The ground is scattered with debris, twisted pieces of green shrapnel, thousands of rifle cartridges, bits of personal equipment like spoons and shreds of uniforms. In some other sites, like the one at Wireless Ridge, overlooking Stanley, there are half-used tubes of tooth-paste, empty food tins, shaving cream, lying where the Argentinians fled.

MOST of the Falklands, a land-area about 90 per cent of the size of Northern Ireland, saw no fighting and no Argentinians. The islanders who met the invading force are ambivalent: along with stories of callousness, particularly after the fighting started, there are tales of young conscripts who had no idea of where they were and wanted a bit of mothering.

Ziggy, the chatty lady who runs the radio communicating with the camp settlements and consequently knows all the island gossip, tells of a young Argentinian officer who was stuffing himself with Valium just before the collapse. "I told him he would do himself a harm," she says costily, "and if he'd only hang on for a bit, things would soon be all right."

It was all a dream, an adventure. In Stanley today, people will tell you that the only effect of the Argentinian takeover was to show them what life would be like if the Falklands became the Malvinas. The much-repeated enormity is: "They told us they would not change our way of life, but then they ordered us to drive on the right."

Most of them drove somewhere near the middle of the road in protest, but there was probably less chaos than if the thousands of Argentinian conscripts had been ordered to drive on the left.

Some Falklanders still remember that, in the honeymoon period when the troops arrived first and were trying their best to be nice, the islanders were promised a rebuilt Stanley with tower-flats and lots of roads and urban facilities. "I think they believed we wanted them here, and that all they had to do was to give us all the things we missed," says John Smith, who has lived in the islands for many years. "They soon knew better."

But if they had managed to avoid the tower-flats, the war has changed many things in their lives. There is now a 35-mile highway between Stanley and the military airport at Mount Pleasant. Soon it is to be handed over to the civilian Government, and the Falklanders are beginning to worry about how they will raise the £350,000 a year necessary to maintain it. The road would make any connoisseur of Dublin's pot-holes green with envy.

Newly-arrived Army drivers are warned of the dangers when switching from metalled to unmetalled bits, or changing from macadam to shale. "At any time the driver's view is likely to be dramatically reduced by either the weather or dust from the road surface. Wind which comes from nowhere and in no time at all will have even the slowest vehicles going sideways down the road with a dust cloud behind and in front. If you hit the hazardous ridges at speed, you will be either airborne or on your roof."

This unpromising highway

John Bull's other islands



'They told us they would not change our way of life, but then they ordered us to drive on the left'

represents a major step, however, as it cuts the time taken to travel from Stanley to Goose Green by half. Another concomitant of the Army presence is a splendid new hospital in Stanley, for civilian and military use. It opens in a matter of weeks. The civilian share will cost the local Government £700,000 a year.

Government is divided between officials appointed from Britain, and a locally-elected Legislative Council of eight members who meet for four days a year, sit under portraits of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip and address each other as "The Hon. Member for Stanley", or "The Hon. Member for Camp" (there are four of each).

They have just had a new cash windfall that may amount, in Year One, to a net £8 million, after patrolling costs have been paid, for licences to fish in the 150-mile protection zone. Ray MacSharry would be laughing his head off: the Falklands budget amounts to only £6½ million. Some people want to abolish income tax.

But more serious minds are worried about whether the money will last, or if the fish will go away. After all, Japanese squid-jiggers, with vessels taking up to 800,000 kilos of catch, searched for a month before locating any fish. The more menacing question is whether the Argentinians will persuade the Russians to accept their version of territorial waters.

Uncertainty hangs over everything in the Falklands, in spite of the vast investment by the British Government in the base at Mount Pleasant, and the constant military vigilance. Are there talks — or the "ideas" that were being exchanged before the war — going on between Britain and Argentina about the fishing zone? Are they talking about sovereignty?

Everyone remembers that policy in the 1970s assumed a gradual hand-over with guarantees for the islanders: Britain was quite happy to enter into communications agreements with the Argentinians. The bloodshed in 1982 would not stop a Labour Government in Britain from reopening diplomatic relations. There is a suspicious feeling on the part of the islanders that, in spite of a new democratic openness since the war, they are not being consulted about the things that really matter.

Perhaps the fears are fuelled by the unreality of the present

guarantees, which have cost Britain nearly £2.5 billion in defence expenditure in the past five years. While this is being scaled down dramatically as the main capital item, the massive airport at Mount Pleasant, is finished, it is obviously a huge drain. Unless other interests are being defended — the still unquantified treasure-house of minerals in Antarctica, protection of the West against an eventual Communist take-over in Argentina — can it be expected to last?

The islands themselves are capable of only slow economic development, and there are serious limitations to growth. Although all of the islanders grow their own vegetables and work their own turf-banks, these are self-sufficiency exercises and cannot be turned into exports.

Sheep are the main product, but with depleted land only capable of supporting an average of one animal to five acres, there is a ceiling on the possible number of holdings, and hence of people who can work on the land. Some progress has been made with reseeded and saving lambs, which have a high death-rate, but returns are governed by the international price of wool, over which the islanders have no control. Even a long, soft mortgage of £100,000 for a sub-divided holding can be very daunting.

The Falkland Islands Development Corporation, set up since the war to help new projects, has provided money to study the potential of wool and assess the possibilities of agricultural diversification. Perhaps a market can be found for sheepskins or mutton, it hopes, or local needs for butter, cheese and beef, all currently

imported over the 8,000 miles from Britain, could be supplied from home-production.

Already a hydroponic market garden has been set up to supply lettuce and tomatoes, which also come from Britain, and a new dairy has been built to replace imported UHT milk. But the FIDC complained in its first report about the transfer of the garrison to Mount Pleasant 35 miles away. "Certain much-needed services like dry-cleaning are virtually impossible to provide on the basis of the civilian market alone," it said.

But while some new investment cash is coming from a "voluntary" system of contributions from the fishing-companies which take licences, the main restriction on the economy is the lack of necessary skills for housing, and the cost of building materials. Everything except gravel and sand comes by ship: a modest house is £30,000 before you begin.

With radio, Land-Rovers and deep-freezes, and an unscheduled inter-island airline that you ring to find out when it is going your way, the Falklanders have managed to conquer many of the problems of internal remoteness. Children are taught by peripatetic teachers using the radio link unless they live in Stanley or Goose Green, where there are schools; or they can use subsidised boarding facilities in Stanley. "A" level students go to England: there were five last year.

But almost all of the professional jobs are filled by ex-pats on contract from Britain (or Ireland). Salaries are topped up to British rates, almost twice the Falklands level, and some get the topping-up tax-free.

Crime is low, and mostly connected with drinking, and there are currently three men convicted for assault in the tiny jail in Stanley. A sniffer-dog smells all the luggage before you leave RAF Brize Norton. One man was detained for possessing cannabis before our flight took off and the Stanley police chief, Mr K. G. Greenland, told me later that the man's friends in the Falklands were questioned when news of the detention was received, and his flat was searched when he arrived some days afterwards.

The exclusion of the Argentinians is total. Ian Strange, an environmentalist who has lived in the Falklands for 27 years, voices a widely-felt belief when he says: "It doesn't make a lot of practical sense to be isolated from a large continent literally on our doorstep. I would hope that eventually a reconnection will be made with South America as a whole. But they are very solid, particularly on the question of decolonisation. "Chile, Uruguay and Brazil won't take any impressive steps if it means upsetting Argentina".

But he believes that the Argentinians, like the rest of the world, are becoming more cosmopolitan and that barriers will break down in the next 20 years. On the Falklands, "people had no complaints about the airline to the mainland and all the rest in the 1970s, before the whole thing was thrown into a ridiculous situation by the war." Only a handful of ultra-nationalists, says Mr Strange, were responsible for the invasion.

Shay Mahony, a Kilkenny man who is head of Stanley Senior School and who taught in Dublin until six years ago, rejects any comparison between the Falklands and Northern Ireland. The way of life of the islands has developed its own pace over the years, he says.

"Here they are doing no harm to anyone", he adds, "and they deserve to be left alone".

Marks of war

FROM the Falklands comes news of an attempt by senior Army officers to find a way of saving for posterity a unique memento of the conflict five years ago—the old refrigerated store at Ajax Bay.

The store, not far from the St Carlos Water landing beaches, was the principal field hospital during the campaign.

As the soldiers awaited evacuation to the hospital ships, some decorated the wood and metal walls of the store with pictures, poems and other graffiti which remains there to this day as the store falls further into disrepair. Now the Army is to decide what to save and how to remove whole sections of the walling.

The land that found a hero

The question of self-determination for islanders

Dear Sir,
 Mr A. Le Quesne (Letter 8 April) suggests that the Falkland Islanders are "expatriates" rather than "genuinely native" and that, chiefly for that reason, they do not deserve the right of self-determination.

The notion that 150 years' residence is insufficient to qualify your family for "genuinely native" status with the rights pertaining thereto will alarm the non-Maori New Zealanders, most Australians, the "gringo" majority in the American West, the Chinese and Tamil Malaysians, the Indians of Africa and the West Indies, and the greater part of British Jewry. And as for twentieth century immigrants . . .

Mr Le Quesne may protest that this over-simplifies his argument: that it is not simply a people's

shallow-rootedness (as defined by him) that justifies denying them self-determination but the combination of shallow-rootedness with geographical proximity to a covetous foreign power.

In that case, apart from the Falklanders, only the inhabitants of Lesbos, Chios and Samos (most of whose forebears were expelled from Anatolia a mere 65 years ago), the Israelis and a few similarly vulnerable "expatriate" groups need worry. But this obviously won't do either.

The fact is that, contrary to what Mr Le Quesne implies in his first paragraph, self-determination is not opposed to "common morality" but is an integral part of it.

Yours faithfully,
MONSON

House of Lords

Dear Sir,

If the Falklanders are to be regarded as an expatriate population living 7,000 miles from home and 300 miles from the Argentine mainland then equally must the non-natives in the Argentine be regarded as an expatriate population living 7,000 miles from home and 300 miles from the Falkland Isles.

Does this, in Mr Le Quesne's eyes, give the Falklanders a claim on the Argentine mainland or is the only difference the sizes of the populations?

Yours,
IAN DAVIES

Cardington,
 Bedfordshire
 9 April



The land that found a hero

Three recent books show how Argentina made its painful transition from military brutality to democracy

To Mr Jimmy Burns, a foreign correspondent for *The Economist*, Argentina is *The Land that Lost its Heroes**; to most outsiders, it never had any. The country, endowed with huge natural resources, was forged in the early nineteenth century from a contest between illiterate gauchos from the pampas and traders from its swampy port, Buenos Aires; the traders came out on top. A period of relative calm followed until the 1940s—when Juan Peron, a socialist and nationalist who had begun his career in the army, introduced a brutal kind of mass politics which dissipated the country's prosperity. By the 1960s, military coups had become the main obstacles to Peronism.

Two traumas changed this. The first was the savagery of the soldiers who took over from Isabelita Peron in 1976; the second the Falklands defeat of 1982, which chased the soldiers from office. Mr Burns believes these experiences were of the same order as France's loss of Algeria:

Argentina, both before, during and after the Falklands war, in a period of less than ten years, went through the kind of institutional changes that most more advanced societies have over a century to deal with. War—the internal war waged against political opponents and the second, less dirty war fought against the British—telescoped change to such a degree that the nation was forced to search for a new identity virtually overnight.

Mr Burns may be right: Argentina has certainly found in Raul Alfonsin a modest, practical president who has so far behaved with rare courage in defending democracy. If any one individual can overcome the twin Argentine curses of an overmighty army and a demagogic civilian tradition, it is he.

Mr Burns's account of Mr Alfonsin's espousal of unpopular causes in opposition (he was one of the few Argentines to speak out against the Falklands invasion), of his rise to power, of his decision to punish a few senior officers for human-rights violations without embarking on a witchhunt, and of his attempt to control the country's runaway economy is well told and full of new information. Mr Burns also offers a view of the Falklands war from the Argentine side: he provides a coherent explanation of the motives for the invasion, while for the most part avoiding pro-Argentine sentimentality.

More of the flavour of the years of

*Bloomsbury, £12.95. †Eland, £4.95; Hippocrene, \$9.95. ‡Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, \$22.95; Faber & Faber £7.95; published in Spanish by Editorial Seix Barral.

terror that President Alfonsin has ended is conveyed by Mr Andrew Graham-Yooll's vivid personal memoir, *A State of Fear*† and by a compendium of horror, *Nunca Mas* (Never Again)‡, the report of Argentina's National Commission on the Disappeared set up by President Alfonsin.

Tales of torture in Latin America are commonplace. Argentina's "dirty war" against terrorism in 1976-80 was different. Argentina is the most developed of Latin American nations, a society in which literacy is almost universal and the "marginals" of most Latin American countries almost non-existent. Yet horror intruded in these surroundings in the shape of a gangster-junta which decided to turn the tactics of the guerrillas on anybody it thought was its enemy. Mr Graham-Yooll's understated descriptions of events he witnessed are almost too casual to be believed:

She called out something—later somebody at the service station said that her shout was "I am pregnant"—and watched the policeman walk towards her, pistol in hand. As the policeman reached the door, he raised the pistol in his left hand. She lifted her left arm in a move to protect her face, she did not scream, yell or plead, merely looked at the man who was by her . . . With the pistol barrel almost inside the car the policeman fired once, and twice . . . She shrieked an oath, coughed a mouthful of blood and rested her head on the stooped shoulder of the dead driver.

The clinical prose of "Nunca Mas" is even harder to take:

They bound her hands and feet with wires and passed electric current through them. She began to have convulsions. They said that was the breaking in she needed in order to confess. Then they stripped her and raped her . . . She also recalls them taking a group of people and putting them into a helicopter: they were thrown out at the end of a rope and each time they were raised again they were questioned.

The commission found hard evidence that some 9,000 people had disappeared, but believed the true figure was much higher. The killers were servants of the state: the army, the navy and the police. Most of the kidnapping and killing was done by men in plain clothes driving unmarked Ford Falcons at dead of night.

How could people stand by and watch this happen in a modern, western country? These books hint at a depressing answer: because the coup had been popular. Afterwards, most Argentines seemed willing to live with the knowledge that unspeakable things were going on behind closed doors because the junta had put a temporary end to hyperinflation and to terrorism on the streets. Only as the economy began to deteriorate again under the generals did the clamour about human rights grow louder. The harrowing "Nunca Mas" suggests that no society can abandon civilised values in fighting an enemy within. The words of General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa, the supercop who helped to root out far-left terrorism in Italy in the 1970s, are apt: "Italy can survive the loss of Aldo Moro," he said (of the country's murdered prime minister). "It can never survive the introduction of torture."

Robert Harvey



Argentina's Adenauer

Is this play worth a million pounds?

THE FALKLANDS
PLAY

Ian Curteis

Hutchinson, £9.95

LAST WEDNESDAY, you should have seen, on BBC1, Ian Curteis's *The Falklands Play*, a 186-scene, three-and-a-half hour, £1 million drama intended to coincide with the fifth anniversary of the Argentinian invasion of the Falklands. As already well recorded in the press, the play was cancelled by the corporation in the early stages of production and Hutchinson now publishes the text, prefaced by the author's 41 pages of energetically detailed bleating.

Two views as to the merits of the text are expressed in this introduction. Curteis's line is that the play, a superior piece of craftsmanship by an author of repute, was cancelled by a BBC frightened of its sympathy towards Mrs Thatcher. Mr Michael Grade, then and now Controller of BBC1, apparently thought the play to be (in Curteis's words) of

"laughably poor quality". The author magnanimously offers these two assessments, tells the reader that the budget would have been a million pounds and gives you, uniquely for a TV viewer before production, the opportunity to decide between the opinions of these distinguished script-readers.

What would we have got for our million quid? *The Falklands Play* — "every fact is based on authentic printed sources," claims Curteis — suggests that the Argentinian military junta believed themselves "invited to invade" by the British withdrawal of HMS *Endurance*. Her Majesty's Foreign Office is the villain of the piece. The question of the direction in which the General Belgrano was sailing when sunk "means nothing", according to Curteis's "Admiral Lewin"; the ship could have turned in 30 seconds.

As for character, this is the stage direction for "Margaret Thatcher" at the news of the sinking of HMS *Sheffield*: "The PM says nothing. Her hands clench and unclench, she arches her

head back and the tears flood silently down her face." She is presented as the only real man in the cabinet: "Pym" is a wimp, always wondering if the Navy will be all right in the bad weather — the Chamberlain *de nos jours*. Most of Curteis's oppositions are as easy as this: Thatcher-Pym one, "Galtieri" has a bad popcorn habit and a worse whisky one —

BOOK REVIEW

he is depicted running the war effort while drunk. Curteis has fun with his "General Haig", all twitches and neologisms, inquiring of his boss — the informed, on-the-ball former film-star "President Reagan" — whether something "coincides with his crisis perception." Then there is "The Pope", a raffish cracker of gags who says, for example, of General Haig: "He is a formidable man... His only trouble is his

English can sound like my Swahili in bad translation."

Faced with a play which boasts of accuracy, the reader needs to know Curteis's definition of "facts" (the ones all confirmed, remember, by "authentic printed sources"). Presumably, this means that the writer guarantees that his ship called "General Belgrano" and the real one sink on the same date, but are we to take the Pope's Swahili Joke as gospel? And if we accept the scene in which "Sir Anthony Parsons" describes "Margaret Thatcher" as "quite the most wonderful... human being I've ever met", what about the one in which Galtieri's cabinet plunges into a discussion of how wonderful our PM is? And is it likely that General Galtieri, however high on popcorn he might have been, ever said "I want someone I can trust to run the Navy! — like Admiral Lewin!"?

Such devices as the satirical "Haigspeak" are fun, but they compromise the playwright's serious truth-wise. Equally, in his depiction of Argentinian domestic politics, Curteis does little bet-

ter than Tim Rice, the last writer to attempt entertainment from Latin American dictatorships. The idea that the junta assumes that Lord Carrington has been shot until "Costa-Mendez" helpfully reminds them that "He resigned. In England, there is a difference" has no place in a play allegedly aiming at seriousness and accuracy.

It is possible that the finished production would have improved on the script, but a reading suggests *The Falklands Play* would get its best production in the theatre of the head, where the eye is offered better approximations of "Thatcher" and "Haig" than any actor could manage. Casting "President Belaunde of Peru" might be easy but imagine leafing through *Spotlight* for a Pym, a Pope, a Reagan, an entire junta and UN Security Council. In its maddening but fascinating published form, *The Falklands Play* calls for a production on radio (which Curteis is unlikely to get) or by the *Spitting Image* puppets (which he is unlikely to want).

Mark Lawson

IRISH TIMES
11 April 1987

Spice of the Falklands

STANLEY, the minuscule capital of the Falklands, boasts three pubs, one temporarily closed, three hotels, including the famous Upland Goose, which serves only residents, innumerable 19th-century wrecks in the harbour, and two women whose names, with a warning, appeared in the first orders issued to the Royal Irish Rangers when they arrived in the Falklands over a month ago. One of the women is popularly known as the "Yellow Submarine" for reasons which require no elucidation for this newspaper's sophisticated readership.

Because Falklanders, at any given moment, are outnumbered on their island by members of the British Forces and journalists, the hotels and pubs generally set aside a room for the exclusive use of islanders. The Upland Goose, whose claim to world fame includes the fact that it was the birthplace of the celebrated Victorian actress Ellen Terry, goes further: its irascible owner turns non-residents away from the hotel as a matter of routine.

How much of all this is a consolation to the Rangers is a matter of dispute. The Globe Hotel, a large gloomy drinking hole dominated by a dart board, is festooned with the pennants of all the British football clubs, but does not attract many soldiers.

The Malvinas Hotel — known after the war as the Harrier Jump Jet for a few months, but which soon reverted to the original name — serves an excellent *table d'hôte* at prices geared to officers and gentlemen. Its owner, Mike Rendall, digs up the potatoes and greens in his back garden as soon as you book your table.

There are few other distractions and battalion orders are occasionally ignored. One day, when colleague Fergus Pyle was driving through Stanley, a woman at the far side of the street waved eagerly at his Land-Rover.

"Who's that?" the captain accompanying him asked the driver. "Sir, that's the Sub," the driver replied, and then he waved back.



FALKLANDS
THE PLAY THE BBC KILLED

Unforgettable moment ... the Union Flag flies again

IF you were watching BBC TV on Thursday, April 2 you would have seen *A Question of Sport and Life With George*.

What you *should* have seen, but *didn't*, would have been a gripping three-hour play that would have been remembered long after its screening as a major national event.

April 2 1987 was the fifth anniversary of the Argentinian invasion of the Falkland Islands, and the night chosen for a dramatisation of the conflict as seen through the eyes of the political leaders and their military advisers.

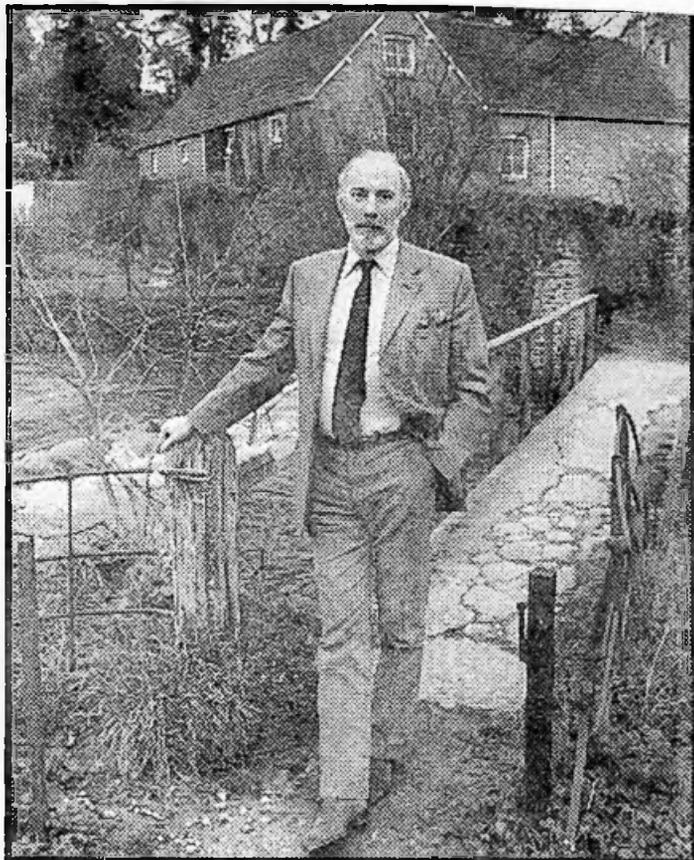
It was called the Falklands Play — and the BBC banned it.

The precise reasons for the decision to abandon the project have been lost in a confusion of BBC excuses (depending on who was speaking) ranging from cost, to fears that it could influence the general election, to allegations that the play wasn't good enough, to suggestions that it was wrong to portray Cabinet members while they are still alive.

The real reason undoubtedly remains playwright Ian Curteis's refusal to tinker dishonestly with history.

Next week the Daily Mail is serialising his masterful, meticulously-researched play, in which Margaret Thatcher remains all the things which, he asserts with fury, the BBC tried to make him change.

He refused to cut what he knows to be the truth — scenes showing her writing personal letters to bereaved families of those killed, grieving with silent tears, swathed in black in the House of Commons after the Exocet missile hit on HMS Sheffield.



Ian Curteis: 'We should be proud of the Falklands episode'

The man who refused to bend the truth for the BBC



by GEOFFREY LEVY

FISHING NEWS 10.4.87

First Falklands arrest

THE BRITISH trawler *Pict* has become the first to be arrested in the new 150-mile fishing zone around the Falkland Islands.

The trawler is the only UK vessel currently fishing around the islands and she was stopped last Sunday for trans-shipping her catch of squid to a cargo vessel without a licence.

The 1,822 ton *Pict*, owned by International Fisheries Investments of Guernsey, was stopped by the islands' protection vessels and ordered into Port Stanley. Her skipper was given an official warning and made to pay the necessary £1,500 trans-shipping licence. He was then allowed to go.

A total of 215 vessels have been allocated licences for the season February 1 to June 30. Between the start of the season and March 12, officers from the two fisheries patrol vessels had routinely boarded and inspected 74 fishing boats.

N.C.

FROM WHERE A FUTURE TASK FORCE?

Five years ago the Falklands Task Force set sail for the South Atlantic on an operation whose success depended heavily on Britain's shipyards and its mercantile marine. The speed and efficiency with which cruise liners and container ships were converted for the expedition remains a remarkable testament to the industry and skills of our workshops and repair yards.

On today's Spectrum page we record the steep decline since then. The number of British owned and registered merchantmen has been almost halved, while in 1986 the total tonnage went down by nearly one-third. According to one recent estimate, the number of ships could be down to below 100 in less than 10 years' time if the decline continues at its present rate.

It is not so much that ships have been scrapped. The most characteristic trend in recent years has been the foreign registration of British hulls, enabling owners to hire cheaper foreign labour.

It is easy to see why they do so. Competition is fierce in an over-subscribed and over-subsidized industry, and owners have to cut costs or go to the

wall. But, aside from the problems of British industry, there are important implications for defence. The bulk of the logistic responsibility during the Falklands war, 8,000 miles from home and 4,000 miles from the nearest friendly port, was borne by the Merchant Navy for the simple reason that the Royal Navy could not manage on its own.

For many years the strength of the Royal Navy has been calculated and planned on the assumption that in wartime, civilian ships could be requisitioned for Queen and country. Channel ferries to convey troops and their equipment, other cargo ships for long-haul operations, deep sea trawlers to be converted into minehunters and even container ships which could be used as flat-top carriers, all form part of Whitehall's contingency planning in the event of national crisis.

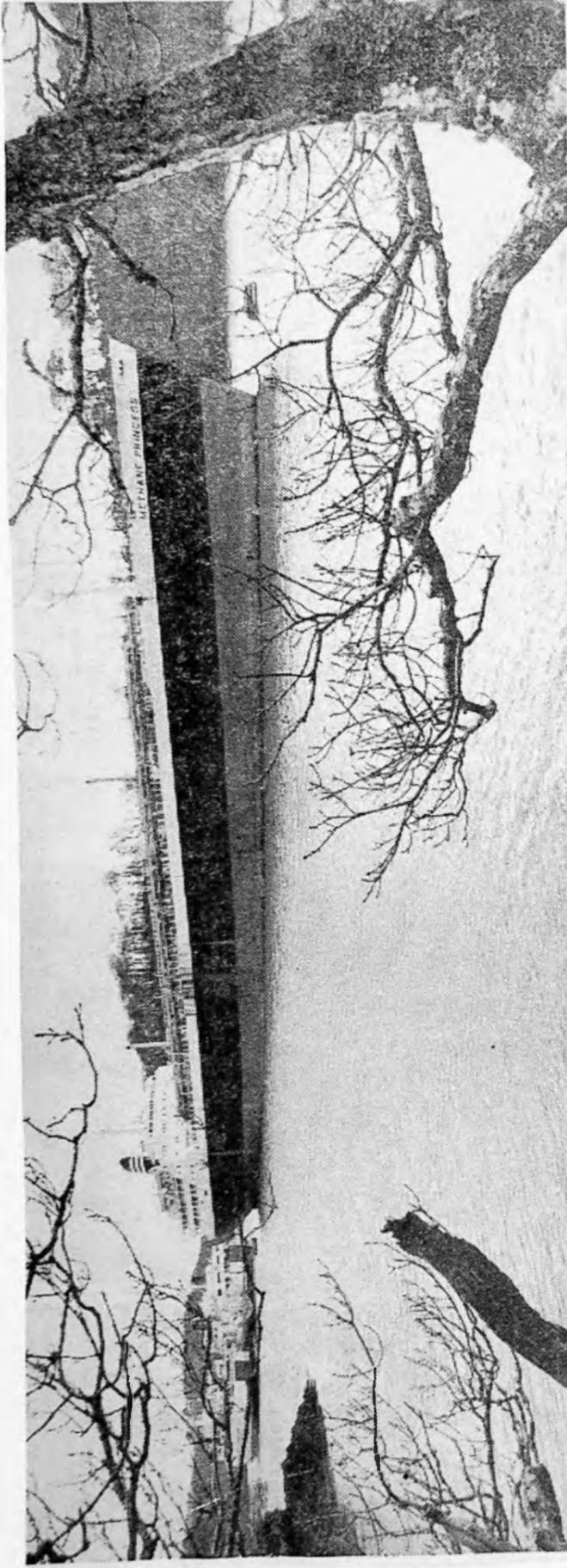
Two years ago, however, the Ministry of Defence sounded the alarm bells after watching one vessel after another drop out of the merchant fleet — together with their crews. Last year's Defence White Paper sounded a slightly less discour-

aging note. A review of the latest position indicated that there were still enough ships left to undertake naval tasks should war break out again — the exception being the worrying shortage of deep sea trawlers for countermeasures against mines.

But this is to assume that the decline is not to continue at the present steep rate — or indeed to grow worse. It is also to assume that, if war broke out, the ships would be where they were wanted. If a major war occurred, one which placed far higher demands on our resources than did the Falklands campaign, the Government would need ships and trained crews on hand at once. There would be little advantage in having a ship in the Pacific if it were needed to work the Eastern Atlantic in a hurry. Moreover, the crews would ideally be British crews.

The Government should address the problem of our merchant fleet's decline as a matter of some priority. There is an urgent need to explore ways in which the business of staying in British shipping could be made more attractive to owners and their crews.

NC



In which they served: merchant ships like the Methane Princess, laid up on the River Fal, Cornwall, could be vital in a future European war — but are enough of them close to home?

The fleet's up a creek

Five years ago this week, the Falklands task force was en route to the south Atlantic, followed by an armada of vital merchant ships. One lesson was learned and Royal Navy cuts have not gone ahead. But, as George Hill reports, the merchant fleet is still in rapid and alarming decline

The Falklands war five years ago brought about a radical and rapid reversal in the Government's policy towards warships, with a planned run-down of the Royal Navy dropped in the light of the conflict with the Argentinians. Yet the fate of the merchant fleet, which played a crucial if less public role in the south Atlantic, has been entirely different. It has been run down on an unprecedented scale — last year alone its tonnage shrank by one-third — and the number of British-owned and registered merchant ships has shrunk by almost 50 per cent compared with just before the Falklands war. Half the merchant ships in the conflict now sail under foreign flags.

Although only a few merchant vessels caught public attention in the Falklands — notably the liners Queen Elizabeth II and Canberra, the Uganda, a cruising classroom turned hospital ship, and the container ship Atlantic Conveyor, sunk by Exocet missiles with the loss of 12 lives — they all contributed crucially to the successful outcome of the conflict. Indeed, the carriers and frigates of the fighting fleet

chant Navy and Airline Officers' Association warned that the rate of decline would make it impossible to mount another Falklands operation after the end of 1983. Since then the decline has not slowed, but accelerated alarmingly. Yet all Britain's military planning assumes that, in any sustained European war, these ships would play at least as important a role as they did in the Falklands and one demanding much greater resources.

The Falklands precedent may be disquieting, but the real naval challenge facing Britain is far more exacting. The chances of Britain ever again having to fight such an oddly archaic campaign are vanishingly remote. Military planning is centred on the far more complex and dangerous possibility of a major conflict in Europe, and the Merchant Navy's designated role in that scenario would be crucial.

Among the most persistent advocates of more support for shipping is Sir Edward Cann, Conservative MP for Taunton. "Any examination of the tasks Nato would ask of the Merchant Navy in wartime shows that we do not have the ships to discharge them by miles," he says. He is discouraged that the authorities seem so blinkered. "Even if the Ministry of Defence claims that there are enough ships for our Nato role, that still leaves the supply of the civilian population to be dealt with."

On paper it would be possible to raise a fleet comparable to the Falklands one today, although the virtual disappearance of the deep-water fishing fleet would make minesweepers harder to find. But what counts is the number of ships in the right place at the right time. At any given moment most of a world-wide trading fleet will be out of reach, or under refit. Three roles are officially foreseen for merchant ships in a European war — to carry troops from Britain to the mainland, to supply the forces there, and to bring reinforcements across the Atlantic. But those terms opens up a relatively leisurely vista of con-

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

Five years ago the Royal Fleet Auxiliary was able to charter and requisition 52 ships to fight in the Falklands in a matter of weeks. All but two of them were registered in Britain at the time. Of the remaining 50, fewer than half are now registered on the British mainland.

Scrapped (2): Passenger ship Uganda and container ship Atlantic Causeway.

Sold abroad (11): Passenger ferries: Rangitira (Cyprus); Tankers: British Test (Iran), British Avon (Italy), British Dart (Iran), Scottish Eagle (Cyprus), Anco Charger (Liberia), Cargo ships: Lycaon (Panama).

Registered abroad (15): Passenger ships: St Edmund (Bahamas), St Helena (St Helena), Cargoship: Tor Caledonia (Bahamas). Tankers: British Tamar (Bahamas), British Tay (Bahamas), British Wye (Bahamas), British Trent (Bahamas), British Esk (Bahamas), Alvega (Gibraltar), Fort Toronto (Isle of Man), Eburna (Isle of Man), G.A. Walker (Isle of Man). Trawlers: Pict (Guernsey). Chemical carriers: Orionman (Isle of Man).

committees which have repeatedly fretted over the problem since 1982. It appears that in 1984 the Ministry of Defence was thinking in terms of at least 400 ships.

Last year's dramatic contraction in the fleet brought the number of mainland UK-registered vessels down to 523, leading the General Council of British Shipping to warn that the number might be down to 100 by 1995. Unless there is an uncanny correspondence between the types of ships needed and the types which happen to survive, there is probably already an effective shortfall.

With British regulations on manning and pay-rates rigorous, many owners have not unnaturally abandoned the Red Ensign in favour of other flags — or else have moved out of shipping altogether. The incentive to build new ships is slight, so the remaining fleet grows older and less competitive. The root question is how much the country is prepared to spend bolstering up an uncompetitive fleet for a hazily-defined role in a hypothetical conflict.

In immediate economic terms, the weight of the argument points the other way. Shipping interests all over the world have played the patriotic card with huge success for many years. Subsidies have forced freight levels down to unrealistic levels.

Where Britain may still be able to compete is with specialized high-technology ships that its rivals cannot produce, and with crews having the high skills to man them. The three off-the-peg ship designs announced by British Shipbuilders last month show the possible shape of the future. But this implies a further run-down in Britain's elderly fleet, and in overall size. And there is no guarantee that the types which could compete commercially would meet defence needs.

"I'm coming to the conclusion that our fleet is largely obsolete," says Stephen Ross, Liberal MP for the Isle of Wight and a member of the Commons transport committee. "I don't think throwing large sums of money is the answer — we need to encourage new ideas, new techniques. The danger is that we may get down to the point where we no longer have the resources to recover. But we're a maritime nation, we're surrounded by water. Could we really survive without a thriving seafaring industry?"

Leading article, page 13

UK OWNED TRADING FLEET

(over 500 deadweight tonnes)

Year	UK owned and reg	UK owned foreign reg	Total	Percentage of world fleet
1975	1,614	Not known	50m	8.9
1982	868	105 (est)	28.8m	4.2
1986	523	90	16.7m	2.5

MERCHANT MANPOWER

Dec 1976 Dec 1986

Officers	39,114	11,977
Ratings	34,812	17,250
Total	73,926	29,127

It is not only the unilateralist tendency which finds this conception of the holocaust unduly relaxed.

The Labour MP Dr John Gilbert, one of the more searching and realistic members of the Commons defence committee, is scathing about the Royal Navy's qualities of foresight. "If it gets to the point of sinking ships, it isn't going to stop at sinking ships. The Navy hankers after the idea of a long conflict, but it ain't going to be that sort of war. It will all be over before a transatlantic convoy could be assembled."

"During our committee's inquiry, we found that the ministry had done no detailed research into availability. It is no use counting on using a ship in the Atlantic if it only trades between Taiwan and Hong Kong. It is necessary to look at the subject not in broad-brush terms, but by asking whether we have enough of the types of ship we will really need."

The Government sets much store by the fact that some ministers' replies in the major British companies have

Bishop's appeal

Buenos Aires — A prominent bishop has asked the Pope to forgive the Argentine Catholic Church because "we have not always identified ourselves with the poor, the needy, and the persecuted" (Eduardo Cue writes).

Bishop Miguel Esteban Hesayne, a leading critic of the former military dictatorship and its so-called "Dirty War" against subversion, made his comments on Tuesday during a brief papal stop in the city of Viedma on the second day of the Pope's seven-day visit to Argentina.

Sovereignty of the Falkland Islands

SIR—On the fifth anniversary of the Falklands conflict, it was to be expected that the old recipe of "negotiations" (which only mean one thing to the Argentines) makes its baleful presence once more felt.

As a solution, transfer of sovereignty is neat, simple, dishonest and immoral. It is therefore obvious in hindsight that, whatever its attractions to civil servants with a geopolitical perspective, no British politician would relish trying to sell it to the British public, still less imposing it against their (and his?) instincts. Politicians have lost power for less.

For all their bluster, the Argentinians did not, and will not, seek a war with a major industrial country. But with their remoteness, both geographical and psychological, the result of being fed false information and hopes for years was predictable. Pity none of us predicted it.

Let us not make the same mistake twice. Fortress Falkland is a stopgap and unsatisfactory solution, made necessary by the failure of politicians of all parties truly to represent the British position (that is, the British people's position). They should state, quietly but unequivocally, that while they wish the Argentine well, they will not buy its friendship with the freedom and prosperity of those whose protection is in their charge.

A useful first step would be to correct the Argentine delusion that for them "sovereignty" is of primary concern, while for the British it is secondary. The reverse is true. A transfer of sovereignty would not affect the Argentine people one iota after an initial pleasurable buzz, whereas it would outrage and disgust the vast majority of Britons. That is the fundamental reason why more than ten years of negotiations came to nothing.

If that fact is made clear to the Argentines, they may eventually see that the world holds more noble and rewarding endeavours than trying to

bully 2,000 shepherds and shopkeepers into submission.

Then Argentina will truly have joined the latter half of the twentieth century and be all the better for it. A "successful deal" will entrench the old 19th century land grabbing instincts for yet another generation. Then, Chile look out.

WILLIAM IZATT
Wembley, Middx.

£7m war sale

A two-days sale in Liverpool of Falklands wars surplus equipment and plant which was used to build Falkland airport, made more than £7 million. The sale ended yesterday.

Tim Coone reports on the background to delicate debt talks

Argentina labours to calm unions

ARGENTINA'S crucial negotiations with its creditor banks this week entered their final and most delicate stage. The country's two key ministers, Mr Juan Sourouille, the Economy Minister, and Mr Mario Broderohn the Finance Minister, are in the US to nurse through the final stages of the talks, while in Buenos Aires another man has appeared on the scene with the power either to consolidate the Government's economic programme or dash it to smithereens.

Mr Carlos Alderete, a trade union leader, was appointed last week as the country's new Minister of Labour. The Government has pinned its hopes on him to forge a "social contract" between the administration, the unions and business leaders.

If the move is successful, maybe six months or more of relative calm lie ahead on the labour front—sufficient to see the Government through all-important mid-term elections. If the pact fails to materialise, Mr Alderete will probably be the shortest serving minister in President Raul Alfonsín's economic cabinet and a tidal wave of industrial action can be expected.

The Argentine trade unions have been deeply antagonistic to the Government's anti-inflation strategy. Mr Saul Ubaldini, leader of the power-

ful General Confederation of Workers (CGT) has led eight general strikes against the economic policy popularly known as the Austral Plan, now in its second version following a new price and wage freeze imposed in February.

The inclusion of what some regard as a trade union Trojan horse within the cabinet is being interpreted in one of two ways. Either it is a highly skilful piece of political footwork by the Government to divide the unions and Peronist opposition in the lead up to the September elections, or it is an act of desperation to win the ruling Radical Party a few months' breathing space in both the international and domestic arenas. It could, of course, be both.

Frictions have been apparent already. On at least half a dozen occasions since being appointed, Mr Alderete has publicly insisted that a general wage rise is imminent to compensate for the erosion of incomes in January.

In total contrast Mr Sourouille, architect of the economic plan, and Mr José Luis Machinea, president of the central bank, have both insisted that there will be no relaxation of the price and wage freeze until July at the earliest.

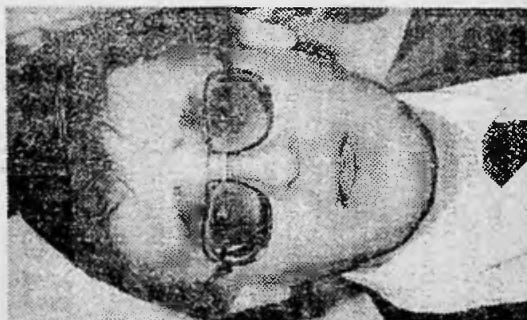
Mr Alderete has the backing of a powerful sector of the trade union movement which is

creditor banks for a \$1.38bn standby loan from the International Monetary Fund to be disbursed, and to make ends meet this year and next. Inflation and government spending controls are key factors in Argentina's agreement with the IMF. Major wage concessions now could therefore drive a coach-and-horses through the Government's planning targets, cause the IMF to suspend or postpone disbursement of its loan and torpedo the bank negotiations.

The US Government has applauded Mr Sourouille's high-wire act and pulled out all the stops to support him.

If negotiations drag on, an economic crisis will hit the ruling Radicals exactly when they least can afford it—in the middle of an election campaign. As reserves dwindle, the Government's position on the debt may harden.

It all comes back to Mr Alderete. If the Government stands firm on wages, he may decide to abandon his new post under pressure from the rank and file. A sharp escalation of labour unrest would then be inevitable. If the banks also stand firm, there would be little hope for a continuation of President Alfonsín's present economic strategy. Winning the elections and not economic policy will become the government's immediate goal.



Sourouille: architect of economic plan

opposed to Mr Ubaldini's leadership of the CGT. However, the CGT cautiously supported Mr Alderete's appointment on the expectation that important concessions will be made on incomes policy. It is difficult therefore to envisage a social contract being established without some flexibility on wages before July.

The Government's predicament spills over into its debt negotiations: \$2bn in fresh money is needed from the

Alan Franks

Their hearts in my boots

I want to tell you today about my walking boots, which I have just lost, and about the Falkland Islands internal telephone system, which I have just found.

The boots first. There is nothing intrinsically special about them — they are simply a well-matched pair of brownish Italian émigrés who first attached themselves to me about seven years ago and have since borne me with a minimum of fuss along the pedestrian motorways with which the Countryside Commission has laced the land.

Now they are lost and languishing, 8,000 miles away in the Falklands, probably sundered from my soles for ever. Perhaps they were trying to tell me something about being taken for granted, for our parting took place shortly after a heavy yomping session over some grim mountain terrain above the settlement of Port Howard. I boarded the little island-hopper bound for Stanley, and in my rush left the boots in the guest-house porch.

For all I know they are even now adorning the feet of a like-sized kelp, or else straying untenanted across the blanket peat in search of their master. I like to think that the latter is the case, and pray nightly that they are steering clear of the minefields.

Now to the telephone system, outwardly as unspecial as the boots but in its own way quite as deserving of conservation. The two are inextricably linked in my mind, since the second was so nearly the agent of the first's salvation. As I stood drinking beer in the bar of the Upland Goose hotel in Stanley that same evening, everyone, but everyone, knew of my bereavement. They knew because, when I had phoned Port Howard from the capital to report the loss, the entire population of 1,900 islanders could hear the conversation over their radio-telephone sets, just as they can hear every other exchange across their shared airwaves.

There are surely few English pubs whose clientele are quite so familiar, quite so quickly, with the personal difficulties of their fellows. No sooner had I walked in than the other drinkers came up

and declared, in tones of genuine compassion: "Sorry to hear about the boots, old boy. Really sorry."

The thing about this telephone system is that while it is archaic and erratic and possessed of a fogginess which makes the satellite link to London sound bell-like in its clarity, and while the rest of the islands' infrastructure — roads, transport, medicine, etc — is being gratefully subsumed by new technology, there is scarcely a Falklander who will not mourn the passing of the aural status quo.

The explanation is simple. Here is a community as yet unhit by the cauterizing influence of television. Soap operas and serials remain for the time being a thing of the future and thus the minutiae of local life retain their proper place as the most compelling drama of the day, with the residents themselves as central characters in a round-the-clock entertainment.

There is not a visit to the dentist, not a contretemps between an aunt and her niece, not a breakdown of a tractor on some remote island that does not go unheard through the speakers of the listening hundreds. The British government and the Falkland Islands Development Corporation would dearly love to establish a cellular phone system, whereby each household would have its own set and so become immune from the general ear.

While most individuals would crave such privacy, it is quite otherwise upon the Falklands. No wonder that while they welcome the benefits which flow from a £31 million grant from the British, they are distinctly dragging their heels over the hauling of their telephone lines into the late 20th century. Privacy, in other words, is not worth the cost of sacrificing a continuing programme of unedited human entertainment, and the crude lure of the old technology holds sway.

All very well, but it has not yet solved the question of my walking boots, which failed to make the journey to Mount Pleasant airport by the time my aircraft took off for Britain. Since every islander now knows about their plight, may I issue the following *cri de coeur*: "Please can I have them back?"

Pope sees debts as threat to peace

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

The Pope yesterday began a gruelling three-day tour of Argentine provinces following an emotional welcome in Buenos Aires, which he last visited during the final days of the Falklands war.

On Monday night the Pope said the debt crisis of the developing countries posed a threat to world peace. "The international debt problem requires an ethical approach that emphasizes the responsibility of all those involved, as well as the profound interdependence of human progress," he said.

"If we cannot reach a harmonious and adequate development that is shared by all nations, we will not be able to establish the basis of a solid and lasting peace."

Earlier, at a meeting with the country's political leaders, the Pope emphasized the moral responsibility of governments, a message of particular significance in a country where at least 10,000 people disappeared during the former military regime's campaign against subversion.

He appeared tired but in good humour after a tense six-day visit to Chile, where anti-government demonstrators disrupted a papal Mass last Friday near Santiago.

Significantly, the Pope pub-

licly praised President Alfonsín, a courtesy he had not extended to Chile's President Pinochet.

The Pope is particularly well liked here because of the successful mediation role he played in avoiding war between Chile and Argentina over the Beagle Channel islands. His brief visit here in 1982, just days before the country acknowledged defeat in the Falklands war, was particularly appreciated. Buenos Aires has been awash with Argentine and papal flags for weeks, and posters of the Pope dominate public spaces.

Yesterday the Pope offered a Mass before an estimated 350,000 worshippers in Bahía Blanca before flying to Viedma, where the new Argentine capital will be built. While there, he told the crowd: "Do not forget that more insidious than material poverty or oppression is the lack of human dignity in actions and nothing can take away this dignity."

He also visited the wine-making region of Mendoza, ending the day in Córdoba.

In all, he will visit nine provincial cities before ending his two-week Latin American tour with the celebration of International Youth Day and Palm Sunday Mass.

Clergy blamed for role in 'dirty war'

From Our Correspondent, Buenos Aires

The Pope's visit to Argentina comes at a time when the country's Roman Catholic Church is embroiled in controversy over its strong support of the former military dictatorship.

The Pope made a hastily arranged trip here in 1982 in the middle of the Falklands war, a voyage whose main purpose was to maintain the Vatican's even-handed policy towards the two antagonists following an earlier papal visit to Britain.

Much has changed in Argentina since then. The generals have been replaced

● At least 10,000 people disappeared in the campaign ●

by a democratically elected Government, five former top military commanders are serving prison sentences for human rights violations, and basic civil liberties have been restored.

However, while the military has been discredited in the public eye since the Falklands defeat, only now is attention turning to the role played by the powerful Roman Catholic Church during the 1976-1983 dictatorship.

"We are accused of not having been clear enough in word and action," admits Bishop Justo Oscar Laguna, a moderate who frequently complained about human rights abuses. "We are perceived by the public as having been too close to the military."

More than 90 per cent of Argentina's 30 million people are baptised Catholics but only about 10 per cent attend Mass regularly. The return of democracy has brought with it an increased search for alternatives to the traditional Church. Brazilian-style sects, with an emphasis on individual healing, are growing rapidly and American evangelical groups, which have been expanding for 10 years, continue to attract new converts.

"The Argentine Church hierarchy has slowly become a very conservative, mediocre and fearful institution that does not know how to live in a pluralistic society," remarked Señor Emilio Mignone, author of *Church and Dictatorship*, a highly critical book on the close relationship between the Church and the military.

"If the bishops, in the crucial moments of the coup, had acted with honesty and energy they would have saved thousands of lives," Señor Mignone, a well-known human rights activist, said. At least 10,000 people disappeared during the military's "dirty war" against terrorism, including Señor Mignone's daughter, Monica, aged 24.

The author spares no names to buttress his argument that the country's highest ecclesiastical authorities were aware that the military had set up clandestine detention centres where thousands of suspects kidnapped by security forces were tortured and killed.

Yet the nation's leading bishops, he said, not only refused to condemn publicly such practices but in some cases actually justified the military's tactics, including the use of torture.

"The bishops were the only force in a position to speak out without fear of reprisal," he said. "A bishop has a moral responsibility that goes beyond that of a simple citizen."

"The military regime claimed to be defending Christian values and could not have continued its actions under open criticism from the bishops."

Señor Mignone, a devout Catholic, contends that the authoritarianism of the Argentine Church prevented parish priests from acting on their own to help the families of missing persons. "Priests, for example, could not open their churches to human rights groups," he said.

Other observers are more restrained in their criticism

but now the majority of Argentinians are convinced that the Church should have

● Leading bishops justified the military's tactics ●

condemned the abuses more forcefully. The role being played by the Chilean Catholic Church in opposing President Pinochet is frequently cited as an example of the position the Church here should have taken.

The bishops themselves have not responded to the criticism. Supporters argue that the Church has been unfairly chastised while other influential sectors of society, including journalists and politicians, have escaped criticism even though they knew abuses were taking place and remained silent.

Despite the hierarchy's support for the military, a limited number of bishops and priests openly criticized the regime's tactics and attempted to save victims. Frequently, they paid with their own blood.

At least 19 Argentine priests and two French nuns were either killed or disappeared during the years of the "dirty war". But despite strong evidence of the military's responsibility in at least some of the cases, the highest Church authorities refused to call for independent investigation into the cases.

Picnicking on infantry bread-and-butter

THIS ONE was for real. "If it all goes to ratshit and you're still around", said the flight-lieutenant, "keep your eye on the exit, and as soon as the heli stops rolling, make for it. If we're still surviving, you'll find us up there, smoking and singing."

We were being briefed for the milk-run by Chinook round the West Falkland, a desolate sheep-run interspersed with tiny settlements, thousands of acres of bogland, and a handful of British radar-stations with their electronic antennas permanently fixed on Argentina. The morning was to be spent delivering supplies to the servicemen.

"Two things can happen if we crash", said the flight-lieutenant mildly. "We can come down on the land, or on sea. If it's land, there are two possibilities: we come down straight, or the heli rolls over. If it's sea, we float or we sink".

The problems thus defined, the courses open to us were set out, all posited, of course, on the more optimistic of two situations: that we survived, and were not killed. Notions of making a front-page headline in *The Irish Times* and the *Ballymena Times* (represented by an excellent young reporter, Dessie Blackadder) rose bleakly.

Outside the briefing room, the Falklands wind, which comes up as suddenly and as frolicsome as a cocker spaniel pup, but with the fury and potential menace of a waltzweiller, gusted periodically.

Low grey rainclouds provided the appropriate leitmotif of impending doom. Short showers of cold rain swept across the runways and the sun peeped out again.

"Right, boys," said the flight-lieutenant, and we readied ourselves to be fitted for the tight-fitting wetsuits that are mandatory wear. Chinooks are the workhorses of an operation like the one being mounted by Britain to hold the Falklands. They carry in literally everything needed by the radar-stations over a terrain that has no roads and only short grass airfields.

But from time to time one crashes. The poignant letters of thanks for condolences and the return of effects written by the widows of the latest victims in March are pinned to a notice board in the operations hut. We read them reflectively.

In the end, however, someone in operations decides that there is a risk of the flight being grounded

FIVE years after, FERGUS PYLE revisited some of the places on the Falklands whose names became so familiar during the weeks of war.



RAF Chinook helicopters on patrol over Port Stanley.

by bad weather on some remote mountainside, making it impossible to send out another helicopter in time for us to catch the early afternoon RAF Tri-Star back to London. We climb down from our high.

Such rapid changes of plan are not unusual in the Falklands, particularly with the autumn weather up and down like a yo-yo.

Even for the short hike up Mount Tumbledown, where one of the fiercest battles of the Falklands campaign was fought five years ago, the group of visiting journalists was issued with backpacks containing 24-hour rations, an all-weather sleeping bag, and other survival kit.

A team from Television South, the ITV company that covers the British base in Dover of the Royal Irish Rangers who hosted our visit, had to hump this load along with their heavy camera, tripod

and sound equipment across a shell-pocked bog and up to the top of the tall outcrop of rock where the Argentinians held out against a two-day assault by the Scots Guards.

A memorial to the 12 men who died on the British side is erected at the summit, overlooking a tangle of rocks which concealed the Argentinian force. On a gentle Sunday morning before the wind comes up, it is difficult to imagine that terrible June night with its hand-to-hand fighting and ferocious bloodshed.

Colonel Willie Burke, the commanding officer of the Rangers battalion, which is stationed in the Falklands for a four-month stint, tells us that the Scots officers fought side by side with their men, and when the ammunition ran out, one of them jumped into a trench, grabbed a bayonet, "killed one chap, then

another, and when the tip of the bayonet broke off, plunged the two-inch stub into a third bloke's eye."

"It was," he added, "a matter of survival."

The intrepid journalists were also at Goose Green, where we humped our backpacks over a 10K route that started at the Argentinian cemetery with its 231 dead, many nameless and "known unto God," which is sited carefully so as not to be seen from the two local settlements, Darwin and Goose Green itself.

We picnicked 100 yards from the narrow gully where the most famous engagement of the campaign took place — the one in which Colonel H. Jones of the 2nd Paras lost his life and gained a VC. He was moving his field command-post with a signaller and some men shortly after dawn

Argentinian machine-gun post to his right.

The shallow remains of the post are still there, as well as those of another which Colonel "H," as he became known to the British public, was assaulting when he died, and the spot where he fell is marked by a cairn of white stones. But professional soldiers see the episode differently from a public brought up on tales of Victorian heroism.

A sergeant of the Rangers points out: "He was not turning, arm upraised, to cheer on his men," and a senior officer says: "He was a mercurial sort of chap, and no-one will ever know what was in his mind, because he's dead."

Mythologising for the public, and demythologising for professional purposes, is part of the art of soldiering. The value of the Falklands for the British troops doing their tours of duty is that they can see real battlefields and study problems of recent strategy. On the traditional assumptions that give the advantage to a defending force, the Argentinians should never have lost.

But, one Rangers officer says, they were defeated not just because they had a large proportion of raw conscripts and unreliable officers, and the British used regular soldiers. "We would have been fools to lose, because the Argentinians were dug into small, uncommunicating trenches, often without NCOs, and the Paras and Guards just had to mop them up."

There were also some unpleasant episodes. "Have you noticed," this officer asks, "the disproportion between the Argentinian casualties in the cemetery at Goose Green and the losses we sustained? There was some sublime disregard for the Geneva Convention."

The story is told officially of how a British officer going forward to accept the surrender of one group of Argentinians who showed the white flag was shot down from another trench; but the slaughter may have exceeded what was necessary to bring that incident under control.

During their periods of R and R, the Rangers, who hail from the Shankill, the Falls, Ballymena, Derry and Dublin, are taken on battlefield tours. "We should have been in the fighting and not the Paras," says a senior NCO from Ballyfermot. "It was an infantryman's bread-and-butter."

The Falklands War after five years

Dear Sir,

Your editorial today, "Reclaiming National Self-Respect", gets it half-right. If Mrs Thatcher had done what you say she did and used her force of will in the defence of international law and common morality, you would have got it wholly right. Unfortunately, though, she has consistently based her use of force, not on these impeccable grounds, but on the right of the inhabitants of the Falklands to self-determination.

Self-determination may be a fair enough determinant of such issues when it is a matter of a genuinely native population: it is far less satisfactory when it is a matter of an expatriate population of less than 2,000 living 7,000 miles from home and within 300 miles of the Argentine mainland.

The tragedy of the Falklands is that the "Foreign Office" solution was right, and that no British government of the last 30 years has had the guts to face up to the political unpopularity it involved. It remains right today, though the cost in political unpopularity is now far higher. One can only hope that a non-Tory government will have the nerve to grasp this nettle very soon after the next General Election.

None of this affects the fact that the Argentine government, by attempting to alter the status quo by a unilateral use of force, put itself hopelessly in the wrong; that the British reaction, if not the reasons given for it, was right; and that this provided the occasion, as you say, for a most wholesome reclaiming of national self-respect. It is also true that, however misconceived her rationalisation for sending the task force, Mrs Thatcher did have the nerve to send it — as no other prime minister of the last 30 years would have done — and deserves our congratulations accordingly.

Yours,

A. L. LE QUESNE

Shrewsbury, Shropshire

4 April

One bridge too far across the Falkland Islands gulf

Sir,—In your Leader of April 4 about the anniversary of the Falklands invasion, you demonstrate not for the first time a lack of even-handedness by failing to take your arguments to their logical conclusion.

I agree that it is right that Britain should be trying to establish a permanent peace and security for the Falkland Islanders. As the first, and probably most important step, this would entail reopening friendly relations and trade between the islands and South America, including Argentina. However, sovereignty is a different matter.

As you state, Mrs Thatcher will not be in power for ever: I assure you that I am as fervent as yourself in hoping for her early departure from Downing Street. At first glance it does seem that the Islanders' position would be in jeopardy in this eventual-

ity; but I would question whether Labour, or the Alliance — or a coalition — would actually place the islanders in the hands of what is still a fragile democracy.

This is the point at which you ignore your own arguments. Your praise of President Alfonsin is most fulsome but, just like Mrs

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Thatcher, he will not last for ever. After Alfonsin, another Peron, another Galtieri?

It may seem that I am being unduly cynical about the future of democracy in Argentina. Perhaps so but I cite the political history of all South America as my justification.—Yours sincerely,

(Dr) Andrew Baker.
21 Statfield Road,
Summertown, Oxford.

Woodrow Wyatt

Falklands: no yielding

It was inevitable that last week's fifth anniversary of the Argentine invasion of the Falklands should raise fresh speculation over their future. The Falklands will not be so prominent in the coming election as they were in the last, but there will be allusions.

Only the government is unequivocal in its determination that there can be no negotiations with Argentina about sovereignty, though there should be about normal relations. The Labour Party wants negotiations on sovereignty. The SDP/Liberal Alliance offers its customary muddle: to go to the United Nations with the aim that the islands should become some kind of UN strategic trust territory. The alternative to the straightforward government stance of keeping the islands British, aside from the unlikely eventuality of the islanders opting to become Argentine, is to say that we were right to recapture the islands but not to retain them.

This cannot be, because the Falklands were never Argentine in any real sense. Argentina's claim must rest on being the heir to the Spanish connection. In 1771 Spain ceded the right to the islands to Britain. For a few years before 1833 the republic of Buenos Aires, when Argentina did not exist, had a small settlement there. Since 1833 the islands, with no indigenous inhabitants, have been colonized by the British.

Intermittently the Argentines have made a fuss, though not much until recent times. But 60 years ago Argentina strangely listed South Georgia as one of its possessions and in 1948, still more strangely, claimed the South Sandwich Islands, the South Orkneys, the South Shetlands and most of British Antarctica. This is on top of its tenuous claim to the Falkland Islands themselves.

Should the Falklands be ceded to the Argentine republic on the grounds of contiguity? Hardly. The nearest Argentine port is over 300 miles away from the Falklands and up to 2,000 miles from the extra bits. If contiguity were a valid argument what are we doing in the Channel Islands with Alderney nine miles from the French coast? We have not even made up our minds to hand over Gibraltar on the Spanish main-

land, though its military and economic significance is now almost zero. And what is the USA doing in the huge territories it stole from Mexico in the mid-19th century?

One argument for the surrender of the Falklands is that the Argentines, poor dears, want them so badly and that temporarily they have a democracy because its dictators failed to take the Falklands. There is no certainty that the gift of the Falklands would ensure future democracy.

Insofar as the Argentine demand is rational it would appear to have a deeper purpose. There is a strong possibility that between the Falklands and Argentina there is a lot of oil to which the British are entitled to a half share on the meridian line principle. Antarctica contains large quantities of coal and platinum, possibly of gas and oil, and there may be opals and diamonds. If Argentina owned the Falklands and their dependencies, the gateway to Antarctica, it would be able effectively to enforce its late-in-the-day claim to almost all British Antarctica; and our descendants would be very much the losers.

It would be very nice for Argentina to have free the splendid modern airport we have built at Mount Pleasant at a cost of £350 million. That and the harbours of the Falklands would make Argentina supreme in the South Atlantic and in Antarctica. In the event of another global war fought without nuclear weapons, the South Atlantic convoy route — if Britain did not possess the Falklands — would be in jeopardy, as it could have been during the last two great wars.

Those who want to surrender the Falklands emphasize the cost of maintaining them. But the costs of the campaign, and of the airport, amounting to around £2,500 million, have already been paid. Is this investment to be tossed away? In 1987-88 the cost is some £257 million, of which about £140 million is going on the garrison of between 1,500 and 2,000 servicemen. That garrison would have had to be somewhere, and if it was in Germany we would not have paid for it in sterling but in foreign exchange. The cost of

maintaining the defence of the Falklands is falling fast; in an emergency reinforcements could now be flown from Britain within 16 hours, so doing away with the need for so large a garrison. It is officially estimated that in 1988-89 the military expenditure will be down to £159 million and in the following year £124 million, a tiny fraction of the global defence budget.

The introduction of fishing licences will yield the Falklanders an income of £12 million this year, three times their annual budget. Together with other developments, and discounting future bonanzas in oil and gas, the Falklanders are in line to becoming a prosperous community not dependent, apart from defence, on Britain. Since 1885 they have sent more money to Britain than the other way round.

It is illogical to equate the Falklands with the colonies we gave up. They went because democratically we believed that when the inhabitants wanted self-rule they should be allowed it, however badly it might turn out.

The Falklanders emphatically want to stay British; with modern communications there is no logistical reason why they should not — plus the growing prospects of great riches for us to follow. This is not a colonial issue of one race lording it over another or stealing someone else's land; the issue is whether we feebly intend to negotiate away the sacrifices of those who died in the Falklands war, and the once-for-all expenses we were put to, or whether we intend to hold on to territories we have peopled for more than 150 years, and from which we have done no one any harm, despite the fears of the pusillanimous at home and the criticism of uninformed enemies abroad.

Pope zeroes in on debt and rural hardship

BUENOS AIRES — Pope John Paul yesterday began a trip through Argentina's agricultural interior with a strong defence of the rights of rural workers, saying they had been neglected too long.

"Certainly, the conditions of inferiority suffered by certain sectors of the rural world lead them to the conviction that they are socially outcast and must be overcome once and for all," he said.

The Pope spoke before a crowd of tens of thousands at a highway intersection known as the "Christ of the Roads", outside this port city 380 miles south of Buenos Aires.

It was the first stop in a three-day tour of eight cities in the interior. The Pope arrived in Buenos Aires on Monday on the last leg of a three-nation tour that has already taken him to Chile and Uruguay.

The Pontiff, who was greeted by President Raúl Alfonsín, opened his visit to Argentina by criticising the doctrine of using violence to defeat violence — a policy of the military government that ruled Argentina between 1976 and 1983.

Tight security preceded the Pope's arrival. Almost a dozen bombs have been planted in the past few weeks, apparently by people protesting against human rights trials of former military officers.

In Bahía Blanca, he concen-

From Philip Püllella
of Reuters

trated on the problems of the countryside, saying the laws of the market place were often inhumane and led to salaries that were so low that rural workers were unable to feed themselves or their families.

He said a "cloud of inferiority had hung over agricultural workers for too long."

Labour organisations have said that rural workers, isolated and badly organised, have long suffered from low wages, although former president Juan Perón instituted minimum welfare benefits for the previously unprotected worker.

The Pope told diplomats shortly after his arrival in Buenos Aires: "An ethical analysis of the question of international indebtedness is necessary, making clear the responsibilities of all parts and the world's profound interdependence."

Argentina is Latin America's third largest debtor with \$50bn (£30bn) of the region's foreign debt of nearly \$400bn.

"If a harmonious and adequate level of development is not achieved for all nations and shared in solidarity, it will not be possible to lay the foundations for a solid and lasting peace," John Paul said.

Liverpool set for permanent benefit from sale of Falklands machinery

By Alan Dunn

Liverpool received an unexpected bonus yesterday from Europe's machinery auction of the century when the organiser, Mr Jim Mansfield, said that he planned to set up a permanent site in the city's docklands.

"We would prefer our own site in Liverpool -- it is so easy to ship in and out," he said.

Mr Mansfield, head of the Dublin-based firm Trucks and Machinery, was speaking at the open-air, two-day sale, which includes earth-moving equipment used to build the Falklands airport, settled in steady rain into a mind-numbing routine of roaring engines and piped auctioneering.

Mr Mansfield said that he had had to pay £1 million in VAT and duty before the sale began.

Between 17 and 18 million US dollars was made during the first phase of the sale of Falklands equipment in the United States last August. Yesterday's sale made £3.25 million, but he remained coy on how much profit he expected to make. "It is going very well and I am happy," he said.

Everyone else also seemed content, from the auctioneers, Ritchie Brothers of Canada, making their European debut, to Mr Tomas Latsoudis, a Greek, who bought a 9,600 ton cargo ship, Provide, for \$185,000. It was the only item not sold in sterling.

Mr Latsoudis, aged 45, a former ship's captain, was briskly efficient about the future of Provide, used as a floating jetty in the Falklands. She will go for scrap.

According to a rival German bidder, Mr Hans Brockmeyer,

the scrap value could be up to \$100 a ton, making the ship worth \$960,000.

Mr Dave Ritchie, chairman of the auctioneers, said that prices were holding up well. His firm began selling pots and pans a quarter of a century ago and is now the biggest machinery auctioneer in North America. He said he was delighted with the sales site.

All day, from the opening sale of bench vices for £20, machinery small and huge making up the day's 650 lots was paraded along a raised ramp between two open-ended marquees filled with the 1,300 registered bidders and the merely curious. A 100-ton tractor, selling at £100,000 new went for £15,500; Land-Rovers fetched from £1,700 to £5,800; and a Caterpillar wheel-loader costing more than £500,000 made £107,000.

Pope will not meet rights campaigners

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

The Pope will not meet human rights campaigners in Argentina, pleading that he does not have time during his six-day visit here.

Nine prominent groups first asked for an audience two months ago. They included the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who still protest every week in front of President Alfonsín's offices, the Centre for Legal and Social Studies, whose lawyers are pursuing accused officers in the courts, and the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, which President Alfonsín helped found under the military regime.

But the Episcopal Conference, the ruling body of the Roman Catholic Church in Argentina, said the Pope "will only be able to attend" meetings scheduled in the programme, which had been "definitively closed."

The Pope's schedule includes visits to 10 cities, 16 homilies, six masses, including one at the Ukrainian cathedral, and meetings with the Polish, Jewish and Islamic communities, as well as an audience for businessmen which has been carefully balanced by a meeting with workers controlled by rightwing union leaders allied to the opposition Peronist mass movement.

Dr Emilio Minone, one of Argentina's senior human rights campaigners, yesterday suggested that the decision not to meet rights activists seemed to have been made by the local Catholic hierarchy.

Leaders of the Catholic Church in Argentina are under increasing criticism for having spoken out as thousands of people vanished during the former military regime's "dirty war" of the 1970s.

The Pope, in an address, said human rights were an "unavoidable duty" for the authorities, and called on his audience "not to combat violence with violence."

The Pope's arrival was marked by a low turnout from the public, poor organisation, and over-zealous military and police. Barely 10,000 people greeted the Pope on what should have been a short cavalcade across Buenos Aires's central square.

The procession was broken up when a horse in the military ceremonial band bolted, unsettling others. One rider was pitched into the side of the Pontiff's bullet-proof Popemobile, and a policeman was hit when a horse fell on his motorcycle. The motorcycle burst into flames, sirens wailed, and people screamed as panicking policemen raced through photographers and reporters.

Pope back to sample Argentinian democracy



The Pope being escorted by President Alfonsín of Argentina and his wife, Lorenza, after arriving in Buenos Aires yesterday. His previous visit to the country was in 1982, two days before the end of the Falklands war.

The Pontiff said he felt a "profound happiness" at the start of his seven-day visit, the last stop on a three-nation South American tour (Reuter reports).

President Alfonsín, who took power in 1983 at the end of eight years of military rule, greeted the Pope by saying that he hoped faith would help Argentinians meet "the challenge of consolidating democ-

racy and the defence of human dignity".

The Pope had flown in from Chile, where his visit had been marred by clashes between police and youths protesting against the military Government. Bishop Jorge Casaretto, the bishop of the Buenos Aires suburb of San Isidro, said the Pope's visit to Argentina would be "a rest" after the Chilean experience.

But the visit to Argentina was preceded by a wave of bombings, believed to be related to human rights trials.

Mr Alfonsín said recently that the bombs were planted by the "same old Nazis" who repeatedly disrupted Arg-

entinian democracy in the past 50 years.

● SANTIAGO: President Pinochet implied in an unscheduled farewell speech to the Pope that the Pontiff had somehow blessed "the task we are facing . . . the magnitude of which requires help from on high" (Lake Sagaris writes).

But the Pope, rather than generally thanking the Chilean Church when he left, specifically thanked Cardinal Raúl Silva Enríquez, an outspoken critic of the military Government and its human rights violations. He understood the Chilean people's "sincere hopes for peace and justice of every kind".

Own goal

A British trawler operating within the recently declared 150-mile fishing zone around the Falklands, has been arrested for transferring its catch at sea without a licence.

Cool reception for the Pope

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

The Pope, who flew to Argentina yesterday will find considerable changes in the country he briefly visited in the dying days of the Falklands crisis five years ago.

During his hurriedly arranged 32-hour "peace mission" only days before Argentine troops surrendered at Port Stanley in June 1982, he was given an effusive welcome. In their millions, Catholic Argentines opened their arms to a Pope who was seen as a spiritual messenger, bringing comfort and reassurance from God to a country that already knew the war was lost. Today, Argentina somehow seems more secular.

Graffiti scrawled on a building along the Pope's route would have been unthinkable five years ago — and probably most times before then. The slogan quickly vanished, but simply, it said "Pope go home," and it said it in English.

Evidently nervous of serious incidents, the authorities closed off whole blocks of the city more than a day before the Pope arrived. Irritated drivers stuck in interminable traffic jams angrily hooted their horns, and a taxidriver complained of "that cuckold the Pope." Several bombs have gone off at churches in the capital and at a cathedral in the west of the country.

The changing attitudes represent a much wider shift in popular sentiment.

Opinion polls consistently show that 70 per cent favour introduction of divorce and remarriage laws, but the local Catholic hierarchy has conducted a long-running battle against a change in the law. A bill was passed in the lower house of Congress last August but has since been held up in the Senate, where rightwing conservatives prevail. The bishops are seen to be wilfully holding up progress, preventing Argentina from moving

into the 20th century, and stranding at least a million Argentine couples in unlawfully wedded limbo.

President Raul Alfonsin insists that divorce is an issue for Congress. But he also favours legislation to establish a clear separation of Church and State. Despite his wariness of taking on the Vatican over divorce, even the President has started answering the Church back.

Curiously, this most notably emerged at a mass held at a military chapel last Thursday in memory of Argentina's dead in the Falklands war.

In his sermon, the armed forces' Chief Chaplain, Mgr Miguel Medina, told the congregation, which included President Alfonsin, that they should ask God to put an end to a host of offences, including bribery, bullying, decadence, delinquency, drug addiction, "anti-social emigration" and the destruction of the national spirit.

British trawler arrested

A British trawler, the only one currently operating within the new 150 miles fishing zone around the Falkland Islands, has become the first vessel to be arrested for breaking fishing regulations.

The 'Pict,' 1,822 tons, owned by International Fisheries Investments of Guernsey, was caught transferring its catch of squid to a refrigerated cargo vessel when it did not have the necessary £1,500 transshipping licence.

Argentina hopes the Pope will keep on pastoral path

From Isabel Hilton in Buenos Aires

THE POPE arrived in Argentina last night to be greeted with an equal mixture of enthusiasm, suspicion and hostility by a nation which last saw him in 1982, in the final, romantic hour of the Falklands War.

Then, the Pope came to pray for peace, but many remember him now as the harbinger, or even the instrument, of defeat. The Trotskyist publication *Socialist Solidarity* said last week: "In 1982 he made us surrender to Prince Andrew. In 1987 he wants us to forget the crimes of the military government and surrender to the IMF."

In Chile, John Paul II was the Pope of hope and of good news. In Argentina, he runs the risk of being the Pope of bad memory. In Chile he was hailed by the regiment's opponents as one of the few men who could bring a change for the better. In Argentina, people remember how the majority of the bishops sat with folded arms — or worse, lent support — as thousands of Argentines reported as

murdered by the military dictatorship which followed the coup in 1976.

"In Argentina the Church welcomes the military government. The military chaplain offered spiritual consolation to the torturers," said Dr Emilio Mignone, a human rights activist and author of a recent book on the church and the dictatorship. "Many even publicly supported the use of torture. They were and are part of the armed services; they have military rank, military salaries, military privileges and in the end their military side took over from the religious side."

Argentina's armed forces remain convinced that their actions during the dirty war were justified: that their campaign against subversion was a campaign for the values of Christianity against the forces of darkness and that the trials which many military officers now face are an injustice brought upon them by a decadent and corrupt democracy. Many churchmen appear to share their views. Last month the retired Archbishop of

La Plata, Antonio Plaza, attacked President Alfonsín because, he said, "there are many Jews in the government," and criticized the human rights trial.

Last Thursday, at a mass commemorating the Argentines who died in the Falklands War, attended by President Alfonsín, the military bishop José Miguel Medina launched an attack on injustice and corruption which so enraged the President that he interrupted the service and took to the pulpit to reply.

If anyone present, he told the astonished congregation, knew of any concrete examples of bribery or shady dealings, he hoped that person would denounce them in detail.

The bishops' conference collectively ignored the incident and it was left to one or two individual bishops to complain that the President was out of line in taking over the pulpit to deliver a po-

litical message. But the feeling remains that the Pope is arriving at an awkward moment, that his message of reconciliation will be taken by the Church as a message of forgiveness for crimes past and of support for attempts to put an end to the human rights trials.

A public opinion conducted last week in Argentina revealed that only 47 per cent of those questioned in this overwhelmingly Catholic country considered the Pope's visit "good", "necessary" or "important". Of the remaining 51 per cent, 17 per cent were opposed to the visit because they thought the Pope would interfere in such controversial matters as the new divorce law or the military trials.

Nearly half of the respondents expected the Pope to attempt to influence the controversial divorce reform bill currently before Congress, one of the

most open points of conflict between Mr Alfonsín's government and the Church. When the government introduced the bill last year, the Church responded with a ferocious campaign against divorce which culminated in a call by church leaders to withhold communion from members of Congress who voted in favour of legalisation.

The Church waged its campaign in defiance of public opinion which has shown itself overwhelmingly in favour of divorce. Five million Argentines are currently living in relationships which are not recognised by the state, with enormous legal complications for both the adults and children involved. The law, due to have come into force before the Pope's visit, has passed the lower House but the Senate vote has been postponed until after his departure.

Divorce is only the first step in a series of measures the government is considering to reduce the influence of the church in the Argentine state. The gov-

ernment is studying possible reforms to the Constitution which will end what most Argentines see as the anachronistic relationship between Church and State. At present, no non-Catholic may be president, the Church dominates education, through state-supported Catholic schools and through an understanding that it will have veto power over the appointment of the Minister of Education. The Bishops receive a salary from the tax-payer. If the reforms go through, much of this privilege and influence in state affairs will end.

In recognition of the delicacy of the political relationship, the government is paring its participation in the Pope visit to a minimum. The welcoming flags in Buenos Aires are discreet and after yesterday's short conversation with President Alfonsín, the Pope will have little contact with civil authorities. The signals are unmistakable: let the Pope attend to his church and his flock and leave the government to the President.



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Falklands: time to build some bridges

How complacent should we be about the Falklands five years after the Argentine invasion? Arguments once familiar fade, the islands and their problems recede, the cost of defending them can even be shown now to be falling. With Mrs Thatcher still in office, can the anniversary be marked with anything other than ritual utterance?

Some points are worth reiterating. First, we were right to use force after Argentina had resorted to military means to settle the dispute, and it would have been a disaster not only for us and the islanders, but also for Latin America, if we had not fought and won. Mrs Thatcher's Falklands reputation still safely rests on those truths which nothing revealed since the war opens to question.

But with all wars, however small, anniversaries provide an opportunity to recall why they occurred. That the Falklands war was first and foremost caused by the arrogance and folly of General Galtieri and his associates should not provide an easy excuse for forgetting some other causes that are still with us.

One is the great difference in the

Mount Pleasant airport, or the need to conserve squid and Patagonian whiting.

Argentines are prone to read global Anglo-American designs into Britain's refusal to negotiate the sovereignty issue. The consequent aggravation of tensions finds an echo elsewhere in Latin America, to Washington's inconvenience, and will certainly merit a mention by Mr Gorbachov on his forthcoming Latin American tour. Argentines still tend to underestimate our commitment to the islanders and our concern for conservation. These misunderstandings do not serve our or US, national interests, and we should do what we can to dispel them.

There have been other changes in the South Atlantic. Those on the islands may be immense in the small scale of that community, but they do not add up to a long-term stability. The fishing zone may produce a sizeable revenue in island terms but it can only do so with the ultimate backing of the armed forces. A temporary conservation measure is not the same as a settlement of those waters, however desirable and, in the face of Argentine resistance to

multilateral arrangements, however justified.

The most profound changes have been those that have taken place in Argentina. Since the war it has returned to a democratic system in elections which the Peronists did not win, faced up to the horrors of the recent past, significantly demilitarized and achieved some measure of economic order, despite appalling problems of debt, mismanagement and over-mighty unions.

This is a remarkable record for an inexperienced government, and it is clearly regrettable that communication with it, in the absence of other instruments, should have to be by "megaphone". At a time for reassurances, it would be welcome if, along with the one to the islanders that there is no intention of selling them down the river, there could be another to the rest of us that better relations leading some day to a proper bilateral settlement are being sought with Buenos Aires. It is difficult to combine the two, but not impossible.

Malcolm Deas

The author is a senior fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford.

Junta Joanna

Playwright Ian Curteis's obsession with the Falklands campaign was, well, obsessive, judging by the acknowledgements in his book, *The Falklands Play*, published today: "Most of all I should like to thank my wife Joanna Trollope for her unstinting and loving patience, even when at one point, asleep, I apparently called her Mrs Galtieri."

Falklands nightmare for 1-in-8

By Charles Laurence

NIGHTMARES, depression, bitterness and cynicism are the symptoms of post-battle trauma still being suffered by as many as one in eight of the men of the Falklands Task Force five years ago.

Reports from a Naval psychiatrist who sailed to war on the Canberra and from a clinical psychologist who has studied 21 veterans, indicate that the brief campaign has left a lasting stain on many of the men at the sharp end.

Surgeon Commander Morgan O'Connell, consultant psychiatrist at the Royal Naval Hospital Haslar, Gosport, responsible for Royal Marines as well as Royal Navy veterans, said 70 Servicemen had been treated for mental illness "as a result of the conflict".

He said the Navy was "extremely concerned" about the incidence of mental disturbance but stressed that it was not unusual following direct conflict and that the Navy had established programmes to help the victims.

"It is impossible to predict who will be able to cope with direct conflict until it actually happens. It is inevitable that some people will not be able to cope. Most of those we have treated have suffered bereavement of some sort—they may feel guilty that they have survived when their best friend did not," he said.

Surgeon Commander O'Connell, who treated casualties for battle shock in the Falklands, said victims were still emerging. Thirteen new cases surfaced last year and "there will be many more".

Stress survey

Clinical psychologist Mr Roderick Orner is to present a paper to the British Psychological Society annual conference in Brighton after carrying out a methodical survey of post-traumatic stress with 21 Falklands veterans at Glanrhyd Hospital, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

The report shows how many Servicemen returned from the Falklands to relive their war in nightmares and experiencing alienation from people around them because they were afraid to show their emotions.

There was also guilt at having survived when others did not.

The Navy has already begun a long-term survey to identify and help anyone with problems. A random selection of 1,525 officers and men, divided into those with South Atlantic medals and those without, were sent questionnaires to analyse their state of mind with the result that of the 60 per cent who answered, 67 Falklands veterans were found to have a psychiatric problem compared to 46 who had not served with the Task Force.

Argentine police break up anti-Papal demonstration

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

AN anti-Papal demonstration in the centre of Buenos Aires was broken up at the weekend by riot police using water cannon.

The demonstration was organised by a hitherto unknown anarchist youth movement just a day or so before the arrival of Pope John-Paul II in Argentina.

About 1,000 youths gathered in the middle of a bustling

downtown cinema district and began chanting anti-Papal and anti-ecclesiastical slogans and distributing leaflets in opposition to the Pope's visit. The crowd was joined by hundreds of other youths until the police intervened.

Responding with stones and bottles, the youths dispersed after each charge. More than 100 arrests were made.

NEAL ASCHERSON

Cain finds pity in the Falklands



THE BRITISH are more tender than they used to be. That was, for me, the most striking aspect of the film about the Falklands War which Yorkshire Television showed last week on the fifth anniversary. They find it harder to kill. Or, to put it another way, the State is losing its power to enforce callousness on its soldiers.

On that programme, we saw tough professional guardsmen and commandos who were not ashamed to weep when they recalled what they had done to their enemies, as well as what had been done to them. Not long ago, such men would have thought that tears were a loss of manhood. They would have numbed themselves with justifying ideologies of patriotism or of the soldier's calling. But now something is changing. Orders are still obeyed. And yet a better-educated, more individualistic generation is resisting the commandment to limit its sense of common humanity.

There is a warning here for those who govern. Officers in the field understand it. In the Falklands, those in direct command of troops were markedly less willing to pay for a rapid success with human lives than their fathers would have been. During the last World War, the British were faintly contemptuous of the American preference for flattening a village with bombs rather than sending a company to clear it. This, too, has changed. But the State does not yet see it. Officially, Britain remains a heavily armed, pugnacious little nation.

There is a famous Albrecht Dürer woodcut of Cain slaying Abel. Unexpectedly, the brothers are old. Broken-toothed Cain, with his ragged beard, joyously swings the axe down on a bald, blood-smearred, convulsed Abel. In the background is the stump of a leafless tree. Are wars the enforcement of the callousness of age upon the young?

When the Royal Marine went into the pub, people bought him beers and asked him if he had killed anyone. At that moment an enormous loneliness fell upon him. It fell also on the Falklands survivor who went along the esplanade at Southsea and saw the families in deck-chairs eating their ice-creams, and on the young Argentine conscripts who came back to the merry, indifferent crowds on the café terraces in Buenos Aires.

Loneliness

The programme last week caught that loneliness with precision. I have seen it often. It was in French friends back from service in Algeria, silently watching the traffic on the boulevard and then rising to leave the café, with scarcely a word spoken in half-an-hour. It was in Americans from Vietnam, frowning over newspapers which seemed to be written in a foreign language about events on the moon. It was in the boy returned from Korea, who simply went to bed at home and stayed there for a year.

What do we call this disease? *Solitudo superstitis*—the loneliness of the survivor—might do. It is about the failure to make 'sense' of an experience, the bitter realisation that what has happened to you is incommunicable to anybody but another survivor. Many concentration camp survivors who were not protected by some community of conviction (Communists or Jehovah's Witnesses) suffered the same trauma of re-entry into the normal world.

A major war is actually easier to deal with. Whether it was won or lost, the 'sense' is provided by the feeling that you were part of a battle for the existence of your national community. That feeling is hard to grasp after an expeditionary or colonial war.

Sometimes, of course, little wars are identified with big ones. A colleague in this office came home from the Cyprus 'troubles'; his father, who had been on the Murrnansk convoys, flung his arms around him and asked: 'How was it, son? He answered: 'Much the same, Dad.' I remember at the time of Suez

how young men said: 'They had to go when it was Hitler, and I have to go when it's Nasser.' But that myth of continuity has now worn away almost to nothing.

There is some danger that the Falklands conflict will soon be as thickly veiled by legend as the First World War. Most people see the latter through the lens of 'Oh, What a Lovely War!', as a massacre of unwilling millions arranged by brutal upper-crust generals. Last week's programme, following a rueful mood, almost suggests that the men of the Task Force were the victims of frantic, universal bellicosity and jingoism at home.

But that was not really so. The triumphant screaming and trumpeting that arose in Britain was all the more repulsive because it was raised by so few: by the political élite, and by the Press of the 'Gotcha!' gutter. Only a minority of primitives took up such cries. My impression of the public then was of an almost melancholy determination: this is a bad, grim task which we must none the less see through. The giant red-white-blue carnival of the welcome home was an explosion of relief, rather than a celebration of victory. The mood of the families and of the people was—in that—closer to the mood of the services than the new myth allows.

Determination

Many of my friends are sure that the war should never have been fought. It still surprises me that I am not so sure. When my brother-in-law's frigate came home from San Carlos Water (rusted and rent by bombs, her dead and wounded already back in Britain), I went to Plymouth to see her in. But that I would have done in a good or bad cause, after victory or defeat.

Yes, there were odious consequences: an election won on shoddy pseudo-Churchillian rhetoric, and the revival of a manipulated political chauvinism which one had supposed gone for ever. Now there is confrontation with the only man who can give Argentina a chance of sanity, and there is an expensive new fortress in the South Atlantic. None of these points, though, meets the question.

The crime was the negligence which tempted and allowed the Argentine junta to seize the island. Ministers were once impeached for less. After that, however, the problem became unpleasantly simple. The fatal weakness in the anti-war case was the assertion that Argentina could be induced to withdraw by negotiation. This was pathetically silly. The choice was to evict the Argentines by force, or to leave them

—under protest—in possession. If you are a pacifist, there is no choice. If you are a jurist, then Britain's historic claim is at least as shaky as that of Argentina. If you think that British prestige required that bloodletting, then I make an excuse and leave. If you observe that not a Harrier would have taken off if the islanders had been black, then you are probably right but irrelevant.

What remains is this. We were responsible for the people who lived on the islands. First, no decent society abandons its charges to invasion by a state which—then—practised mass murder and torture. Second, those people were not only exploited and inarticulate but exceedingly few in number. That weakness of numbers is just what matters, because five years on Mrs Thatcher's Government still believes in a callous numbers game: that if two-thirds of the people are doing nicely, then the other third can go to hell and poverty and stay there. The Falklands affair, whatever its motives, is a conspicuous precedent in the opposite direction.

So Cain handed his axe to new generations. They used it in the South Atlantic, and are more haunted by the consequences than Cain expected. Every war, just or unjust, is exploited by those who did not have to fight in it. For that reason I hated the Falklands War—which I am glad the British won.

Falklands men hit by delayed trauma

TIM REES, a former Welsh Guardsman, still craves the excitement he experienced during the Falklands war five years ago. After buying himself out of the army — "I found it boring after battle; I couldn't see the point of going on exercises and firing blanks" — he sought danger by driving wildly or venturing into clubs notorious for their violence. Today, purged of some of his traumas, he gets his thrills teaching windsurfing in his native Cardiff.

But psychologists fear that many more British soldiers who served in the South Atlantic may be enduring similar after-effects. A new study will this week indicate that many of them are suffering from a delayed stress syndrome similar to the trauma undergone by some veterans of the Vietnam war.

A second survey, being analysed by a Royal Navy psychiatrist who sailed with the task force, suggests that as many as one in eight Falklands veterans may need psychiatric help.

Rees watched helplessly from the shore as many of his friends died in the attack on the Sir Galahad. He admits that the experience left him thirsting for revenge. "All I wanted to do was to get out and kill an Argie," he says.

by Maurice Chittenden
and James Tucker

The enemy's surrender left him feeling empty and callous.

Rees, now 29, is one of 21 Falklands veterans from all three services and including officers, NCOs and privates, who agreed to take part in the first methodical survey of post-traumatic stress disorders. The report will go to the British Psychological Society's annual conference in Brighton next weekend.

Roderick Orner, who served in the special forces of the Norwegian navy before training as a clinical psychologist, carried out the research at Glanrhyd hospital, Bridgend, Glamorgan. "We cannot predict that someone who goes berserk with a gun is going to be a Falklands veteran," he says, "but we should take a cautionary note of what has happened in the United States."

He wants to see more counselling services, preferably staffed by fellow veterans, made available to those suffering from stress.

Many returning servicemen have found themselves reliving the war in nightmares. Some have had difficulties getting close to other people because they are afraid of

having feelings. There is the "survivor's guilt" of those who cannot understand why they escaped death when friends were killed. There is the "repetition compulsion" that drives men to try to re-create the highly-aroused state while in combat.

Surgeon Commander Morgan O'Connell, consultant psychiatrist at the Royal Naval Hospital and himself a Falklands veteran, has helped to treat 70 navy personnel suffering from mental illness as a result of the conflict. Thirteen of the cases were discovered last year.

Of 924 officers and ratings who have responded to a questionnaire, 113 are now thought to have a psychiatric problem. "The navy knows there is a problem," said O'Connell. "One way of dealing with it is by letting everyone know help is available."

Rees has now put the crashed cars and nightclub brawls behind him. Working as technical adviser to a BBC television film about the Falklands, *The Mimosa Boys*, helped him exorcise his own nightmares.

"Some of my friends still can't bring themselves to discuss the war," he said. "The important thing is to get them to talk about it. That's therapy in itself."

Now it's time to talk to the Argies

By Eduardo Crawley

FIVE years on, ask anyone at the Foreign Office and they will tell you—privately, of course—that there is no hope of real “movement” on the Falklands as long as Mrs Thatcher is Prime Minister. In the current political climate in Britain, to say that Labour or the Alliance is in favour of some form of negotiation with Argentina is irrelevant: it is no guide to what they might do in government.

The fifth anniversary of General Galtieri's military adventure was well heralded by Yorkshire Television's heart-rending documentary, which reiterated the message that all wars are absurd, and that this one was slightly more absurd than others. Less appropriately, others have attempted to add to the store of “lessons” to be learned from the conflict: but how much does it really matter in retrospect that British intelligence was faulty, that years of diplomacy were frustrated by political shortsightedness, or that selling arms to military dictators is a risky business?

In 1982 Mrs Thatcher said she was going to show that “aggression does not pay.” In the narrow sense—the military victory achieved—that lesson has been taught. The implicit corollary, that negotiation *does* pay, has not been supported either by the Franks Report's evidence on what preceded the war or by what has happened since.

In the narrow sense, Britain has won. In that same sense, the Falkland Islanders have won even more resoundingly—they are now full first-class citizens, and they are militarily protected against any attempt by Argentina to repeat April 1982. The direct cost to Britain no longer seems to concern anyone. (The fact that just before the invasion Argentina took a tenth of Britain's exports to Latin America is already little more than a vague memory.)

Immediately after the war many feared that Britain's interests in the rest of Latin America might suffer. This fear seems to have evaporated, and people say knowledgeably that Latin American solidarity with Argentina was really only skin-deep. Cold figures, however, show that Britain's exports to the region in 1980-85 fell by almost 47 per cent, or twice the rate of decline suffered by the European Community as a whole in the difficult post-debt crisis period.

It is also possible to shrug off the growing “diplomatic isolation” of Britain in the UN over the Falklands issue. North Atlantic allies have defected, most Commonwealth nations have followed suit, and the pro-Britain vote has become a bit of a joke—but no tangible damage has followed. After this year's establishment of a fishing protection zone around the islands, it is also possible to celebrate the fact that the Falklands have finally acquired an extra source of income.

This is about as far as self-congratulations can go. The millions in fishing licences only look good because no other substantial development project has even begun to look promising.

The only thing that has changed since 1982 is that the islands are more than adequately defended. Some have suggested that there is

more: that the infrastructure set up on the Falklands provides Britain with a good stepping-stone to Antarctica, and that it would make good sense to bring the archipelago within the scope of the Antarctic treaty.

Attractive as this proposal may sound, it has one major drawback. Argentina is also a signatory of the Antarctic treaty, and any such move by Britain, far from removing a minor irritant—the sovereignty dispute over the Falklands—would introduce a disruptive element into one of the few multilateral agreements which has actually worked smoothly.

There is a strong temptation to leave everything as it is. At present, the cost of doing nothing appears much lower than the likely cost of reopening, however tentatively, the sovereignty issue.

Now, unlike then, there is no unstable, trigger-happy military clique in power in Argentina, so the consequences of inaction seem much reduced. There can be no guarantee that the military will never again stage a coup there, but more than three years into President Alfonsín's mandate, there has been no real threat of this. So why risk “movement”?

What few people will see is that perpetuating the status quo in the Falklands means perpetuating the “Falklandisation” of Argentina's foreign policy—distorting the international perspective of one of the larger Latin American nations; the one with which, moreover, Britain has had the longest and closest relationship. Why, indeed, should Britain bother about that?

Britain still does not really know why it wants to hang on to the Falklands any more than the long list of other dependencies which have been unceremoniously ditched. It is no more convincing to argue that even Max Hastings (*Daily Telegraph*, 2 April) believes that, sooner or later, Britain must negotiate with Argentina. Hastings wrote this but reminded everyone that Britain, in his view, had good reasons to go to war. He seems to be implying that something was not quite right with the status quo—either before or after Galtieri's invasion.

He is not alone in sensing this. Margaret Thatcher did as much, when, with the islands under Argentine military occupation, she commended withdrawal by both sides and a UN administration, with Argentina and Britain represented, while negotiations proceeded. Even today, her Government implicitly recognises the value of restoring relations with Argentina by proposing normalisation—providing that “sovereignty” is not even mentioned.

Before and during the war, while Britain said, “Sovereignty will not be ceded unless the islanders so wish it,” Argentina replied, “Sovereignty must ultimately be ceded.”

Nowadays, Britain says, “Sovereignty must remain excluded from any negotiations,” while Argentina replies, “Let sovereignty remain somewhere on the agenda, to be dealt with in good time.” Both are implicitly saying that they believe full normalisation of relations would be a good thing. Having won the war, what does Britain have to lose by allowing sovereignty—in an entirely non-committal way—to appear again on the agenda?

EDUARDO CRAWLEY, an Anglo-Argentine, is Editor of the *Latin American Weekly Report*.

THE OBSERVER
5 April 1987

First Tuesday (YTV) took a memorable two hours to re-tell the story of the Falklands War through the eyes of the combatants and their families. Billed as 'the untold story,' it promised previously unseen footage, but in fact most of the film clips were standard-issue library film. What made the programme so compelling was the testimony of the men who went to war on both sides, of how they felt about killing and the prospect of being killed, of the sealed letters to wives and kids they wrote in the anticipation of death, and of the alienation most of them felt upon returning to a country gung-ho with victory spirit. The programme was a grim reminder of two things: that the experience of battle inflicts terrible psychological scars on many men, and that hell hath no fury like a non-combatant.

NEWS OF THE WORLD
5 April 1987

Woodrow Wyatt

We'd lose after all!

LAST week was the fifth anniversary of the Argentine invasion of the Falklands. Falkland Islands, the centre of vast future riches, should stay British.

What is the reaction of the Labour party? To announce that it would give the Falkland Islands to Argentina. They don't mind handing Britons over to foreigners.

Labour doesn't care that British Servicemen gave their lives so that the

They have been since Spain ceded the Falklands to us in 1771.

Forget Malvinas

MAXI GAINZA

THE LAND THAT LOST ITS HEROES: the Falklands, the Post-War, and Alfonsin by Jimmy Burns. Bloomsbury, 287pp, £12.95.

BY NOW one might have thought the Falklands war an exhausted subject, pending the long wait until classified official documents become available to the public. All that remained to be covered in depth was the war as seen from the Argentine side, a task all too often hampered by British correspondents lacking a command of Spanish and good contacts in and around Buenos Aires.

Jimmy Burns has both. Born of a British father and a Spanish mother and partly reared in Madrid, he was the *Financial Times* correspondent in Buenos Aires between 1981 and 1986. Some correspondent, one could say; some assignment.

By the time war broke out in the South Atlantic, Jimmy Burns knew just about everyone in Buenos Aires — including a then little-known provincial lawyer called Alfonsin whom he immediately felt — or hoped — would go far. He had also made friends, who staunchly stood by him through those tragic weeks of conflict in which, more than once, he went in fear of his life.

The result is a beautifully-written and well-researched book, competently annotated and documented, which is special on several counts. His is a first-hand and authoritative account of the Falklands war as seen from Buenos Aires. He examines the conflict in the context of Argentina's past 10 years of troubled history; and he brings to bear his unique experience of a mixed British and Spanish upbringing in his quest for an answer to Argentina's incomprehensible descent into violent political chaos and moral as well as economic bankruptcy.

On the actual reporting of the war, Burns has come up with a hitherto unknown sideline to the conflict — Gaddafi's incredible offer of 52 Exocet missiles to Argentina which, fortunately for those on the Task Force, never reached Buenos Aires. The British Government, he maintains, was aware of this deal but did not dare intervene, for fear of escalating the conflict and damaging important commercial links with Libya.

He then advances the interesting hypothesis that Mrs Thatcher's rush to support President Reagan in his bombing of Tripoli may have been her way of settling scores with the Arab leader. She might, however, have just been thinking of Yvonne Fletcher.

He also carries the story of the fumbling Argentine attempt to sabotage British ships in Gibraltar which turned out to be a damp squib, but nonetheless was sensationalised by the *Sunday Times* some time ago.

On the broader issues of human rights, the causes of the war and the return to democracy in Argentina, Burns tends to articulate the views, albeit more lucidly and in finer language, of the Argentine Left. Thus he pins all the blame on the military and the "regimented society" which they had imposed on Argentina, subduing its spirit.

I take exception to this view. The military are now a convenient scapegoat, but few apart

from Alfonsin and the conservative senator Alvaro Alzogaray (whom Burns does not mention) raised their voices against the invasion at the time. Perish the thought, but if Galtieri had won the war, he would have become a second Peron. He stands accused and condemned for having lost the war.

As for the military repression of Left-wing subversion, I know many Argentines who lost dear ones to the terrorists long before others "disappeared" in the hands of the military. That the terrorists launched the spiral of violence on a scale far beyond what the Left now admits does not justify the atrocities that the other side committed in combating it.

Burns places high hopes on Alfonsin and laments the British Government's coyness in dealing with him. He sees the danger in Britain not lending him support:

If Argentina were to be treated by Britain no differently than it was under the military, the "Malvinas" will provide the armed forces in the future with the opportunity to bring the civilians to account and rehabilitate themselves in a war of revenge in which the political, economic and human costs for both sides would certainly be much greater than the last one.

But *The Land That Lost Its Heroes* also carries a message that Argentines might take to heart, if only because its author is the grandson of the eminent Spanish writer Gregorio de Marañon. As a member of the "Generación del 98" de Marañon helped lead Spain into a cultural revival whereby she overcame the trauma of losing Cuba and thus the last remains of Empire. Forget Malvinas, the message runs: you have far greater and more rewarding challenges ahead.

Maxi Gainza is the London correspondent of the Buenos Aires newspaper, "La Prensa."

Falkland faces

HAD NOT Ian Curteis's Falklands War play been famously shelved, it would have been transmitted about now. What we have seen is the documentary *The Falklands War—the Unknown Story* (ITV from Yorkshire).

It is dodgy at the best of times to compare make-believe and actuality, and even dodgier when one has been fully realised and the other exists only as a printed text ("The Falklands Play," Hutchinson, £3.95), but I can't resist plucking out one immediate difference. In Curteis's script no civilian character is less than a minister, ambassador or assistant secretary of state—the Pope also has a bit-part. No Service character is of rank lower than general or admiral.

In the documentary the only general was General Menendez, military governor of the Islands during the three months' Argentine occupation. The highest ranking British contributor was Julian Thompson, at the time a brigadier. For the rest it was mostly ordinary soldiers, sailors, airmen and grieving widows or mothers. The play is about the politics of war, the documentary was about the experience of war.

An islander told of how her husband helpfully went out with a key to the house next door, whose owners were away, so that the Argentine troops wouldn't need to break their way in. For his pains he was made to kneel in the open for 20 minutes. Royal Marines captured an Argentine reported by the invaders went back with the Task Force, regarded as minor celebrities by the others. To serve on the General Belgrano, said an Argentine sailor, was every officer's greatest dream. A British officer on the Sheffield described how he was transfixed by the approaching Exocet missile, unable to tear his eyes away or take cover until the last moment.

There were horribly burned faces, mangled limbs, bodies, the death of a hero, tears on both sides, some humour, some magnanimity. Beneath the swirl of five-year-old newsfilm and new reminiscences was a clear—if unvoiced—chronological narrative. The producers, Peter Kosminsky and Michael Bilton, seem to have achieved just the right tone and the right attitudes appropriate to this particular remove in time.

Ian Curteis's play also has a powerful narrative drive. As in his previous animated-wax-works epics ("Suez 1956," "Churchill and the Generals") every little scene leaves you asking "What happens next?"

PHILIP PURSER

on a programme we saw,
a play we didn't

and every next little scene tells you. The price you pay for such single-minded story-telling includes some absurd bits of instant mood-setting. Twice in tranquil England high-level deliberations are counterpointed by the sound of Sunday morning church bells, the actual changes specified in the script.

Character reduces to a couple of quirks per person, if that. Galtieri is forever at the Glenfiddich, General Haig reaches for dreadful long words and bristles if anyone asks after his health. The Argentine Admiral Anaya is the villain to hiss. At home, Francis Pym is given lines of unrelieved wetness. What of the star of the show, Margaret Thatcher, whose over-flattering portrait—in BBC eyes—is said to have determined the postponement or cancellation of the production?

Well, she is endowed with at least one patriotic speech to outdo anything in "Henry V." Occasionally her instinctive grasp of leadership is pointed up unnecessarily and perhaps falsely. At one point she is made to say that as a girl in Grantham she saw very little of the realities of war in 1939-45. In fact the real Mrs Thatcher has talked on television of the bomber fleets that filled the sky over Grantham almost every evening and came limping back, depleted, at dawn.

But fleshed out by the actors and actresses on whom any real-people chronicle depends, the text should turn into a strong, exciting, on the whole accurate version of how things happened at the despatching end of the Falklands War, and I would like to have seen it. I would also like to have seen—and hope to see yet—Charles Wood's play set at the receiving end, "Tumbledown," which was deferred under the same mysterious mismanagement which beset this one.

Exposure of the Libyan connection

I HAVE never met Mr Jimmy Burns, but have read for the past five years many hundreds of his articles and Financial Times reports from Argentina. I regard him as a political opponent but also as a journalist who writes extremely well. Journalists who write well, however, do not always make good authors.

This book shows Jimmy Burns to be an excellent author. His account of Argentina's problems is exceptionally well written and well presented by the new publishing house, Bloomsbury. In my view, it is compulsory reading for any serious student of British foreign policy in the 1980s as well as for the general reader.

Personally, I would challenge the accuracy and interpretation of some of the statements about the Falklands war, which I know a lot about. So, it follows that I do not jump to the conclusion that on a topic that I know less about, the Argentine Libyan connection, that Mr Burns is necessarily accurate even though the frontpiece says, "Here is the first detailed account of the Junta's secret military alliance with Qadafi, and of how Margaret Thatcher delib-

erately chose to ignore evidence of this alliance for fear of upsetting Britain's commercial relationship with Libya."

The implicit charges by Mr Burns against the 1982 British government are so spectacular that his book prompts me to put the following questions to the Foreign Office, and to Mrs Thatcher:

1. How much does HMG know of the mission from Argentina to Libya, which left Madrid's Barajas Airport for Tripoli on May 15, 1982, consisting of two army officers, an air force brigadier, the Rector of the Catholic University of Tucuman, the Jesuit Anibal Fosberry, and Mohamed Khalifa Rhaïam?

2. When did HMG know of their shopping list for SAM 7 shoulder-handled anti-aircraft missiles, Magic Matra air-to-air missiles, and equipment such as infra-red night-vision

US signals intelligence and its own network of spies among the European expatriate community in Tripoli, the British Embassy had detected the airbridge from the moment military and civilian personnel had started loading the first Argentine 707 with crates in the military section of Tripoli's international airport"?

6. Was the matter raised discreetly by the British ambassador to Libya in a meeting with a member of the Revolutionary Council? Did the ambassador believe the explanation that the 707s were transporting crates of bananas and apples as part of a trade agreement between the countries?

7. What was the result of the diplomatic complaint by Britain when one of the planes carrying arms from Libya to Argentina made a stop-over in Morocco?

8. Is Mr Burns justified in

asserting that Britain's main concern appeared to be to maintain commercial relations with Libya, and to prevent any move against Tripoli that would escalate the war with Argentina?

9. What was the result of the "active diplomatic work" which focused on convincing the French not to supply Libya with Exocets?

10. What is the prime minister's comment on Mr Burns's statement: "The Libyan connection does, moreover, have an important postscript. Qadafi's involvement in the Falklands war, although tolerated initially by Whitehall, was to colour Mrs Thatcher's relations with Libya following the conflict. Evidence of arms supplies to the Galtieri Junta, like the evidence of the supplies to the IRA, strained Britain's pragmatism. Although it was never alluded to in public, it must have been at the back of Mrs Thatcher's mind when in April 1986, almost exactly four years after the outbreak of the Falklands war, she fell in four-square behind the unprecedented US bombing of Tripoli."

Tam Dalyell is the Labour MP for Linlithgow. His book, *Misrule*, will be published in June

THE LAND THAT
LOST ITS HEROES
by Jimmy Burns
Bloomsbury
£12.95 pp250

Tam Dalyell

scopes for sniper rifles? In particular, when did HMG learn of the approach to Libya for Exocets?

3. On what date did HMG learn that between May 20 and the end of the Falklands war, six reconditioned Argentine Airlines Boeing 707s flew on regular supply runs between Buenos Aires and Tripoli?

4. Is Mr Burns right in asserting that "British diplomatic reaction to the Buenos-Aires Tripoli axis was cautious in the extreme"?

5. Is Mr Burns right in asserting that "Drawing on

On Wednesday, the anniversary of the Argentinian landings on the Falklands, Yorkshire Television's **First Tuesday** documentary told other stories about soldiers who fought back. There were the Royal Marines who were thrown out, and went back with the task force, to end the war weeping over Argentinian bodies piled up outside Port Stanley. There was the Argentinian pilot who got his string and paper aircraft back home, much to the admiration of the Harrier pilots who had shot off more of it than he was left flying. But then, as one Royal Navy type who had failed to avoid an Exocet respectfully put it: "You need very quick reactions to be a fast jet pilot. When you think of all those racing drivers and polo players, the Argentinians were made for the job." The curious camaraderie of war, it appears, has touched a new generation. So have those thoughts of death. A naval officer, steaming south, wrote to tell his wife how to behave as a widow — "a bit of music to remember me by; a special place to go."

There was also anger — not so much at the war, but at the conduct of some who took part. One un-named Marine spat nails at the memory of the Welsh Guards officer who refused to disembark his men at Bluff Cove before the Super Entendards came to kill them. And there was the paratrooper who tried so hard not to reveal what he really thought of his commander, H Jones, for exposing himself to the machine gunners who earned him his posthumous VC.

What soldiers have to die for

SIR—Pace Richard Last's review of the TV documentary "The Falklands War" (April 2), the last word should emphatically not go to Julian Thompson who said "We didn't mind dying for Queen and Country, but we certainly didn't contemplate dying for politicians."

This, I am afraid, is what soldiers have had to do in all the wars. Pitt in the Napoleonic Wars, Lloyd George in World War One, Churchill in World War Two, Mrs Thatcher in the Falklands conflict — all were able to carry the people, or a sufficient majority of them with them on the proposition that a successful prosecution of hostilities was in the best interests of Queen and Country. The fact that it may also have benefited their own political careers is surely beside the point. Of course the two world conflicts were in a rather different class: Mrs Thatcher should perhaps be compared above all with William Pitt.

The documentary contained many moving moments, especially to a former Welsh Guardsman like myself. But professional soldiers have to fight if their political leaders judge that they should: that is why they wear the uniform and take the pay. They certainly did so, with exceptional skill and courage, in the Falklands.

ANDREW GIBSON-WATT
Hay-on-Wye, Herefordshire

The spoils
of war

Col 'H' plaque vandalised

A plaque to the memory of Falklands war V.C., Col 'H' Jones, has been vandalised almost five years to the day the war started. Col Jones was awarded the V.C. posthumously after leading the attack at Goose Green in May, 1982.

Police are investigating a theory that peace protestors might have been responsible for the attack on the metal memorial set in a tree trunk near the coastal path at his former home in Kingswear, South Devon.

The spoils of war

THE non-military hardware used to secure the Falklands for Britain is lined up with military precision on a 10 acre site by Liverpool docks. Next Tuesday, in a bizarre coda to the conflict with Argentina, the construction equipment used principally to build Mount Pleasant airport, will be sold by auction.

Along a huge catwalk, flanked by two marquees seating hundreds of buyers, will be driven cranes, excavators, and trucks. The auctioneers hope to clear one lot per minute and to keep up the pace until 1,300 lots have been disposed of in a two-day extravaganza the like of which, they say, has not been seen in Western Europe before.

They may well be right. By comparison, selling a Van Gogh (even for £25 million) is a simple transaction. However, the firm called in to arrange the sale of equipment which stiffened the Falklands with thousands of tons of concrete, regards itself as the Christies of the construction business. The firm, Ritchie Bros, is based in Canada; the vendors, Trucks and Machinery, are Dublin-based. The original owners were a consortium of three British firms, Laing, Mowlem and Amey Roadstone.

The client was H.M. Government, which awarded the airport contract, worth £276 million, at the end of its costly foray to hang on to Britain's farthest flung colonial dependency. The audit of this war is especially complicated. Spending peaked in 1984 at £684 million, the heaviest of the four years in which £2 billion was committed — and irretrievably spent — on the conflict and its aftermath.

There have been rich pickings in this reconstruction, topped with bonuses. The consortium, which has withdrawn its 2,000 construction workers from the islands, received a £500,000 bonus for getting the runway operational by last April; now it confidently awaits adjudication on a second bonus of the same size — for completing ancillary buildings on time.

The British construction business is proud of the airport; the runway, built on marshy ground, was completed in record time, with both manpower and labour all imported. The evidence, or some of it, of how they did it stands on that 10 acre site which is part of the Liverpool Freeport. The conflict continues to generate both bullish pride and bullish profit. You have only to listen to auctioneer David Dinwoodie.

He is lyrical about the Land-Rovers and the Rolls-Royce engines, and "some of the finest crushing equipment that has ever been marshalled for sale in Europe." He spouts on about the three tons of brochures, distributed world-wide; about the 70-page computerised sale catalogue. And about the 1,000 serious buyers, known to be coming from the United States, Africa and Asia, as well from all over Western Europe.

Clearing up after the war has provided jobs: 20 of Dinwoodie's colleagues from Vancouver will be in attendance at the sale. For several months, up to 50 local people have been working on the site, preparing for the giant sale, and guarding their mammoth charges from vandalism and rust. The Mersey Docks and Harbour Company is cock-a-hoop about the event. There was even a sort of unofficial auction with freeports competing to hold the main auction.

Liverpool beat half a dozen contenders, including Rotterdam, by offering an attractive package which allowed the machinery to be stored on a site close to the quay where it arrived from the Falklands. The freeport status, which covers part of the docks where the sale is being held, gives financial advantages to the present owners (exemption from duties, including VAT); and to potential buyers, who will not have to pay export duties on their purchases.

No-one wants to say how large this last (if it is the last) slice of profit will be. A Mowlem spokesman, speak-

ing for the consortium, won't say for how much they sold the equipment to Trucks and Machinery; that firm won't say what it hopes to get out of the sale. And even Mr Dinwoodie, whose trade is in making superlatives come true, won't be drawn on the overall total.

But of this he is sure: he's got food merchandise, and it's all the better for having a "Used in the Falklands" tag on it — even if Volvo did make the lifting trucks. And he's not saying that only as a North American who admired Thatcher's punch. "There's an enormous amount of pride in how the British Government responded to the Falklands; both defending them and making sure that there isn't a repetition," he says.

But then, the Falklands fiasco packed punch with profit for everyone — British big business, Irish dealers, Canadian auctioneers — all except the taxpayers.

ANGELA WIGGLESWORTH GOES TO THE FALKLANDS

Islands' days of four seasons

IT WAS December and the Falklands summer. But as we walked into the new multi-million pound airport at Mount Pleasant after an 18-hour flight there was a sudden violent snowstorm.

"You can have four seasons in any one day in the Falklands," said an apologetic chaplain there to greet the servicemen with whom the plane had been mostly filled. "But it should get better by tea time."

It was our first taste of the Britishness of the Falklands. Everything stops for "smoko" the local word for a tea or coffee break.

Little was known about the islands before the 1982 conflict which started soon after the Argentines invaded five years ago this week. They are in fact 160 miles wide, about half the size of Wales. They lie 300 miles from South America, 1,000 miles north of the Antarctic continent and 8,000 miles from Britain. There are a surprising 200 of them. All but 800 of the total population of 1,900 live in Port Stanley.

Gnomes

The islands have no roads except in Stanley and the newly-built one to Mount Pleasant, no trees except in cottage gardens, no daily newspapers, no television though plenty of video sets.

But they do have marvelously unpolluted air, endless

Travel

space and friendly and hospitable people living in small communities who would not want to be living anywhere else in the world.

Penguins breed in their thousands and there are vast numbers of elephant seals, sea lions and more than 150 different kinds of birds. From our hotel bedroom in Stanley — the Malvina House — we could see turkey vultures, kelp gulls, giant petrels, cormorants, and South American terns flying over the water.

Stanley with a cathedral, is entitled to call itself a city. It must be one of the smallest in the world and has the air of a frontier town with its wide streets and low buildings with their vividly-painted red, blue and green roofs over white-washed walls.

Each house has its own very English garden, some complete with gnomes as well as

vegetables and flowers. There are four hotels, three cafes, four churches, about 15 shops and a town hall that houses a post office, philatelic bureau, magistrate's court, library and dance hall.

Scars of the war are very visible with haphazard collections of Portacabins and large floating coastals that used to house the troops before accommodation at Mount Pleasant was available. Hulks of ships wrecked in the 19th century lie in and around the harbour.

Pasties

We visited Bluff Cove where Kevin Kilmartin, a former London barrister, now farms 33,000 acres and has just opened a small restaurant. Spanish, Cornish pasties and Bluff Cove hamburgers are on the menu and wine at £2 a pint.

He took us up the hill to the cove itself where dog orchids, vanilla daisies and the red-berried diddle-dee plant grew wild in the grass, and black



Penguins breed in their thousands on the Falklands

browed albatrosses and Antarctic filmas swooped over the steep cliffs.

At Port Howard on West Falkland, Robin and Rodney Lee, fourth-generation islanders, run a settlement of 200,000 acres that is home to 40 people. Here you can see a tiny museum with its relics of the Argentine conflict — kit bags, army boots and sleeping bags, an ejector seat and pistols.

You can walk through fields bounded by golden-flowered gorse; visit the village store which opens twice a week in the afternoon; go riding; climb the 2,000ft Mt Maria; and watch Eddie Chandler, the schoolmaster and his wife Anne knitting sweaters from the wool of the sheep grazing around them.

Happiest

Or you can have a go at cutting the dark soft peat which is what most islanders use for cooking and heating and in the evening meet the locals who will tell you that Port Howard is the happiest settlement there is and no-one wants to live anywhere else.

All the hotels we stayed at were comfortably furnished and the cooking completely English with lots of good mutton and steamed puddings, freshly-baked bread

and lots of cakes at smoko time. The weather ranges from two degrees Celsius in July to 13 degrees in January.

A lot of islanders say tourists won't want to come to the Falklands," said Robin Lee. "If you've lived here all your life you can't think what other people see in it. But going abroad, as I've done, makes you realise there is something special here. I think it's the freedom and the open space which you don't find anywhere else."

Freedom

If the RAF (which are the only planes you can fly to the Falklands) could be persuaded to reduce the price of a flight — at present it's an exorbitant £1,000 each way — the local tourist board should have little difficulty in reaching their target of 1,200 holidaymakers a year.

□ THERE are scheduled air services from Brize Norton in Oxfordshire and the journey takes 18 hours with a stop at Ascension Island for refuelling. Several travel companies are offering package holidays from around £2,400 for 16 days inclusive. For more information contact Steve Green, Falkland Island Tourism Information Service, 126 Wetherby Road, York YO2 5BY. Phone 0904-782136.

WHO LET IN THE ARGIES?

On the fifth anniversary of the invasion of the Falkland Islands, Simon Jenkins reveals why the Foreign Office was deceived

THE FRANKS Committee has matured with age. Five years have now passed since the events which led to its production. Yet its famous exoneration remains a riddle: 'We would not be justified in attaching any criticism or blame to the present Government [for the invasion] on 2 April 1982.'

These words were greeted with relief by many, and raised eyebrows only among a few sceptics. Today, they look threadbare. We now know that the invasion was long in the planning, that London was duped and that, as the crisis approached, bad decisions were built on poor intelligence. Yet tax a Franks Committee member on the exoneration and a smile will cross his face. 'Read it again, dear boy,' he will say. 'Read the words carefully.'

The more they are read, the more impenetrable the detective story becomes. The culprit seems to elude reader and author alike. The invasion on 2 April, says the text, over and over again for emphasis. Attention is thus diverted from the pukka invasion planned by Vice-Admiral Lombardo, and projected for May-July 1982. It also diverted attention from Admiral Anaya's covert operation against South Georgia (secret even from his own staff) which went wrong and precipitated the débâcle of 2 April. These are nowhere mentioned, though they had been investigated by the Argentine Rattenbach Commission in late 1982 and the CIA could have supplied Franks with a copy.

The invasion was brought forward to April by the Argentine navy because of the South Georgia incident and the threat of British submarines. The date, 2 April, was chosen at the last minute because of the weather, like D-Day. By thus limiting its discussion to the invasion date, Franks was

able to find it unreasonable to 'blame' the British Government for not predicting or preventing it. It was an extraordinary sleight of hand.

The Franks report is full of such verbal games, dotted about for historians to puzzle over. But then its author knew that the key to any inquiry is not answers but questions. He insisted on the widest possible remit, so he could fine-tune his questions to the political climate of the moment and avoid discord among his members.

the British secret service agent in Buenos Aires. The wrist-slapping is the sharper for being genteel: 'We regret that the Prime Minister . . . did not receive a prompt response.' An omitted Cabinet Office meeting 'could have been advantageous and fully in line with Whitehall practice'. Franks never condemns or blames, he 'is surprised at' or merely 'notes'.

Of all Franks's culprits, none is more elusive than the Foreign Office. The report cites allegations that its officials 'pursued a

policy aimed at getting rid of the Islands, irrespective of the views of Ministers'. The suggestion is no sooner breathed than Franks claps a metaphorical hand over its mouth. 'In our examination of the papers,' it says, 'we found no evidence to support this damaging allegation and we believe it to be totally without foundation.'

But the Franks cryptologist has grown canny. So the papers exonerate the diplomats: what about the verbal evidence? Why the loaded phrase 'getting rid of the Islands', instead of the more neutral 'negotiating a transfer'? And what means that crucial subordinate phrase, 'irrespective of the views of Ministers'? As with the invasion 'on 2 April', Franks offers such phrases as escape hatches for his victims: of course, says the Foreign Office, we would never do anything 'irrespective of the views of Ministers'. Yet the seeds of doubt have been carefully sown in the minds of the jury.

The Foreign Office still gets a dreadful press over the Falklands. It was assumed to have willed by negotiation what Galtieri took by force. It failed to warn the Government of what was about to happen. Its ministers had to resign. Besides, everyone knows that diplomats are pro-foreigner.



The climate, even in January 1983, was still one of post-war triumph. As such the report was a political document and one of great Establishment dexterity. It is the more intriguing that those who have spoken to Franks since find him quite unsurprised by to others drawing different conclusions from his published sources.

It is these sources that make the Franks report seem more valuable with each year that passes. The first 72 of its 106 pages are a barely coded exposé of the inner workings of British government. Every taboo is broken. Civil servants are specifically identified with policy recommendations and lines of argument. The careful student can now work out who is the 'friendly embassy', the 'separate intelligence source', even

Some of the charges stick, though ironically they are ones for which Franks offers absolution. The Foreign Office's handling of the South Georgia incident was a case study in poor crisis management. Intelligence failed to see through the Constantino Davidoff deception. Diplomats discounted intercepts of Argentine navy movements from *HMS Endurance* because its captain, Nick Barker, was known to be lobbying to save his ship.

As tension mounted, British diplomats in Buenos Aires and London fell into the old trap: they assumed the 'enemy' diplomats with whom they were dealing were reasonably in touch. From the start of March 1982, the Argentine foreign ministry had no leverage over the junta and even less over the navy's invasion planners. Its senior officials were appalled when told of Operation Rosario on 26 March. But then the Foreign Office has always been bad at 'reading' dictatorships: it thinks too well of the world.

As March progressed, British diplomats believed that moderates in Argentina would restrain the militants, provided Britain did nothing provocative. Yet it was party to the extraordinary Ministry of Defence decision on 20 March to send *Endurance* from Port Stanley on its three-day mission to South Georgia, supposedly to arrest the scrap-metal workers.

This move contrived to be both provocative and inadequate for the task. It was certain to produce an Argentine escalation, which it promptly did in the form of a frigate. Yet *Endurance* was committed to possible conflict, underarmed and with no plan for eventual submarine or other reinforcement. On any showing, it was an atrocious decision. This is not hindsight. A desperate message sent by the British defence attaché in Buenos Aires shows that plenty of participants sensed it at the time. We now know that this decision caused the 2 April invasion.

The Foreign Office also omitted to recommend the normal prelude to armed defence of territory, a public ultimatum that force would be met with force. Instead, the curious suggestion emerged on 31 March that Mrs Thatcher should get President Reagan to issue it for her. Argentine navy 'doves' (of whom plenty existed even in March 1982) insist to this day that an unequivocal threat of task force retaliation from London could have forestalled Anaya and the junta in the final days before the invasion. They were always nervous about British nuclear submarines. Lombardo had warned Anaya that the submarine deployment would end navy operations and Anaya had agreed — witness the retreat after the *Belgrano* sinking.

Once news of the Gibraltar submarine mission had leaked on 29 March, a forceful announcement of its rules of engagement would have caused turmoil in the invasion planning team in Puerto Belgrano. Even without intelligence of this team, a British

declaration would have made sense. As it was, the absence of an ultimatum encouraged Buenos Aires' belief that Britain would not respond militarily to an invasion.

But what of the central charge, that the Foreign Office had a 'house policy' on the Falklands that was tantamount to treachery? Of the existence of such a policy there can be no doubt. The Foreign Office has its view on issues as wide-ranging as the Common Market, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Commonwealth.

The question is: was the policy a good one? From the start of talks with Argentina under the 1965 United Nations directive, it was conditioned by two bald facts. The first was the dedication of every Argentine government, indeed almost every living Argentinian, to getting the islands back. The second was the prohibitive cost of stopping them by force, if matters ever reached that pass.

Britain had no deep interest in the Falklands and had deserted its 'citizens' in similar inconvenient circumstances elsewhere in the world (such as on Diego Garcia). Common sense suggested a negotiated handover to Argentina — common sense reinforced by the reluctance of successive ministers of both parties to fight the Treasury for the price of a new runway to improve the islands' defences. Given the two straightforward options — Fortress Falklands or eventual transfer — all agreed that transfer was preferable.

Yet while each minister could see the logic of transfer, none could mobilise the political momentum. The Foreign Office's longstanding wimpishness, fine when it wants to be left alone, left it embarrassingly short of muscle when it needed to push a controversial policy through Downing Street and Westminster. It was simply illiterate in the skulduggery that is second nature to such departments as agriculture or defence. Every time it tried, it was pole-axed by 1,800 kelpers and their supporters. The only Foreign Secretary to confront the issue was Anthony Crosland. He realised that negotiations had to be in earnest and was prepared to force a settlement through Cabinet to a three-line whip in Parliament. He died too soon.

Most ministers presented by officials with tough options will try to conjure up a third from doing nothing. The Falklands was no exception. By the late 1970s, successive Cabinet defence committees were opting for simple bluff. This approach was chosen explicitly by Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington from 1979 to 1982. They pretended to negotiate in good faith, denied the islands any additional security (indeed the opposite: *Endurance* was cancelled) and hoped the Argentines would not notice.

Playing for time makes sense only if there is an end in view. In this case there was not. By mid-1981, Foreign Office

officials were so desperate they summoned ministers to a special conference (on 30 June). Embassy messages, briefings and intelligence analysis all predicted the bluff would be called in the second half of 1982, leading to a 'strong likelihood of military action'. That autumn the diplomats — and their junior minister, Nicholas Ridley — pleaded with Carrington to take the cancellation of *HMS Endurance* back to Cabinet and to lobby hard for transfer on the basis of leaseback.

On 7 September, Carrington rejected their pleading. He told his officials in effect to keep bluffing. The ambassador in Buenos Aires, Anthony Williams, angrily described Carrington's policy (in a letter to his London desk) as 'no strategy beyond a general Micawberism'. He advocated telling Argentina the truth — that negotiations were pointless as long as Mrs Thatcher gave the islanders the right of veto — 'and face the consequences'.

Williams was told to shut up. Just as Fortress Falklands had been abandoned for fear of rebuff from the Treasury, so even lobbying for leaseback was abandoned for fear of rebuff from the Whips' Office.

The Foreign Office's Falklands policy failed not because it was unsound but because the department never found the right combination of ministerial forces to implement it. It was not treacherous. It was the logical corollary of successive government policies of imperial and naval retreat. Not to have formulated such a policy would itself have been negligent.

Lord Carrington and his colleagues won plaudits for resigning when the eventual disaster occurred. Though some of them felt let down by their officials towards the end, it was a fair application of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. It was unfair that Mrs Thatcher, whose cantankerous Cabinet style and financial cheese-paring had so enervated Carrington's reflexes, should get off scot-free. But then it was all a wretched, trivial business, dignified in Mrs Thatcher's case only by the manner of its subsequent correction.

Even five years on, the lesson of the Falklands conflict is banal: that politicians who shut their eyes to hard choices will sooner or later have to face harder ones. Cabinet and Parliament did finally approve one of the two options offered by the Foreign Office to ministers for decision. Unfortunately it was the wrong one, Fortress Falklands, and it cost some £2 billion.

Britain's present South Atlantic policy is heavy on rectitude but light on common sense. The islands may not be part of Argentina today, but one day they will be. The islanders know it. Ministers of all parties know it. The Foreign Office knows it. One day, the Foreign Office will win, but its victory been long in coming.

Simon Jenkins is a columnist on the Sunday Times

Five years on, with the wounds healing

We have, this week, been remembering the Falklands; and as more weeks unroll we shall doubtless be looking back five years and remembering some of the benchmarks of that war: the Belgrano, Bluff Cove, the fall of Port Stanley. Remember, remember April 1982. The shock when it became clear that the Argentinians had invaded. The emotion that gripped Westminster.

Most of the memories may be indulged easily, even proudly. Britain keeps a professional army, navy and air force. All those services acquitted themselves with professionalism; which means bravery and resource. And the overall lesson of the episode — that if you invade our territory, we don't stand idly by — is one that few could quibble over. There are not many United Kingdom votes for the Doormat Party.

But if it is right to remember the military victory and the simple things, it is also right to reflect on more complex matters. And here, perhaps to his surprise, we would invoke the name and views of Mr John Patten. Our Minister for Housing was talking on television the other day about the national need — which he well sensed — to encourage the growth of more rented accommodation. But what, said the interviewer, have you been doing about it for the last year? To which Mr Patten replied that he had spent that time, quietly and diligently, attempting to encourage an all-party consensus over rented housing. For, he pointed out, even he did not suppose that the Conservative Party would be in power until the world ended — and when you were talking about the need of people for houses you needed to develop policies which would not be chopped and changed at the drop of a ballot box. Two refreshingly honest things for a politician to say. We shan't be in power for ever. We want to build a policy that will last.

The relevance to the Falklands is straightforward. It is five years since the war began. It will soon be five years since it ended. In the first days after that uneasy cessation our Prime Minister roundly declared that the "wounds were too fresh" to think of making a permanent peace. How long does it take wounds to heal? The five years have come and gone. They have produced, at immense cost, a new airport for the islands and a substantial military garrison (as well as strains across Nato). They have not yet produced the economic regeneration of the islands. They have seen only an unsteady state of no-war and no-peace between Britain and Argentina (with ever more resounding United Nations humiliations). When and if Mrs Thatcher leaves Downing Street, then all the parties of opposition, and most who would succeed her from within her own party, are publicly or privately committed to negotiate away the problem and produce a settlement.

If one wanted to nit-pick one might say that the Prime Minister herself is getting a little confused. She told Mr Gorbachev at the weekend that she wanted more democratisation and more attention to human rights in the USSR because, never since the first world war, had two *democratic* countries gone to war. But yet, in the South Atlantic, a democratic Britain and a democratic Argentina stay on armed alert. The political logic of the British position bears no inspection. Six years ago we prepared to promote the smooth and gradual transition of the Falklands to Argentine sovereignty. Mr Nicholas Ridley, the driest of the dry, couldn't get it through a baying Parliament. Mrs Thatcher didn't back him up. Then came the bloody hiatus of invasion. Five years on, however, the geographical imperatives remain. If the Falklands economy is truly to revive it can only be through trade with its neighbours. If the islands are to flourish they must have amity and interchange with the peoples of the hemisphere in which they lie. And the political imperatives, too, are strong. There has not, in Argentine history, been a more open, honest and commonsensical democratic leader than Mr Alfonsín. There has not, accordingly, been a better, opportunity to consider an honest and commonsensical settlement which will remove the Falklands from the potty cockpit of nationalist emotions. We lurched, five years ago, into war because of political frailty in Buenos Aires and in London. Galtieri's buffoonery; Mrs Thatcher's shrinking reluctance to outface her Westminster opponents. Now we ought to be thinking about the enduring homes and lives of the Falklanders. Not feeding them instant reassurances that "Maggie will see you right"; but honestly confronting the long term need for security and peace, and asking how — for the sake of the islanders — it can be brought about.

Five years later...

THE LAND THAT LOST ITS HEROES: THE FALKLANDS, THE POST-WAR AND ALFONSIN
by Jimmy Burns. Bloomsbury, £12.95. 320 pages

THIS BOOK by the FT journalist who covered the Falklands campaign does have one great merit which might earn the author a place in the next Honours List for political and public services to this country. But for Mr Burns to qualify for an award it will be necessary for Tam Dalyell, MP for the Belgrano Incident and associated causes, to read the book—or at least pages 227-230. It would be an act of self-interest but also a contribution to the preservation of Parliamentary time for constructive purposes if those of us who have been afflicted over the years since 1982 with countless hours of contributions from the Honourable Member for Linlithgow on these subjects—and for whom no relief is in sight, at least this side of the general election—were to club together to raise the necessary £12.95 to present the book as an Easter gift for Mr Dalyell. Never could money be better spent.

Mr Burns reports that in the opinion of the Argentine naval officers he interviewed in the preparation of the book the sinking of the Belgrano was "totally justified" in military terms. He quotes one high-ranking officer as saying:

It was sunk because I think it was a threat. And there's nothing more to it... It was consistent with the rules established by the British when they set up their exclusion zone. They said they would attack any Argentine unit inside the zone or in any other part where it posed a threat.

In a passage still more crippling for Tam Dalyell's most exercised hobby horse, Burns goes on to assert: "In purely historical terms the argument that the sinking of the Belgrano was in itself sufficient to destroy irrevocably any chance of peace does not stand up to investigation." He notes the suspicions of the Argentine government that "those in Britain who were loudest in beating the General Belgrano drum were motivated less by a desire to see an early

solution to the whole Falklands issue than by an obsessive desire to see the Labour Party in power." As Mr Burns very fairly observes, these suspicions were "not entirely without foundation."

I hope that Mr Dalyell and the rest of the Belgrano lobby will not seek to dismiss these sound conclusions as the product of Thatcherite bias. Neither on the basis of this book nor in his other writings does Jimmy Burns stand in any danger of being convicted of Tory inclinations.

The value of the four useful pages on the Belgrano could well outweigh the disappointment of much of the other 246. Regrettably, it is something of a muddle of a book—a muddle reflected in its sub-title: "The Falklands The Post-War And Alfonsin." Mr Burns gives the impression throughout that he was never clear about which book he was trying to write. Was it to be a study of Argentine attitudes to the Falkland Islands and to Britain before, during and after the war, perhaps with some forecasts and recipes for the future? Was it an analysis of the emergence of Alfonsin and an assessment of the first three years of Argentina's latest flirtation with democracy?

Mr Burns' offering has something on all of these and on a number of other intriguing topics, but as a tool intended for a multiplicity of purposes it ends up doing none of them very well.

The reader who turns to this book as a guide to Anglo-Argentine relations and efforts—or, more often than not, lack of them—to find a way forward on the Falklands issue will find a story which omits or treats very thinly several important episodes, at least some of which may offer pointers to the next five or 10 years.

We have to wait, for example, for a reference to the Communications Agreement of 1971 until page 241, where it gets unjustifiably short shrift. This was a serious attempt by the two Governments steadily to develop practical links between the Falklands and Argentina in the belief that this would take the heat out of the sovereignty issue and in the hope (at least in some quarters) that contact might, over the years, change the political climate. It came to nought largely because the

Islanders became increasingly disenchanted with political developments in Argentina as the 1970s progressed.

Mr Burns happily—and not unreasonably—pitches into the British diplomatic machine on standard lines for its failure to identify the reality of the Junta's aggressive intentions towards the Falklands in late 1981 and early 1982; the cry of "wolf" had been heard more than once in the past. But he should have also spelt out the dilemma which the Foreign Office coped with for many years—successive Governments and Parliaments refused to entertain any discussion of sovereignty yet would not allocate the resources which would be needed to resist or deter a serious Argentine attack. Some might consider that, with so few cards in their hand, our diplomats kept the play going for a surprisingly long time.

There is no mention of the tentative efforts to find an acceptable solution made by Lord Chalfont and Ted Rowlands for Labour Governments and by Nicholas Ridley for the present Government in 1980. Ridley went to the House to make what must have been one of the shortest and most enigmatic statements ever put to Parliament about the possibility of exploring a lease-back solution, only to have the roof fall in on him. Led by Peter Shore, all sides of the Chamber assailed the hapless Ridley with a ferocity which must make his current travails with the rate support grant and botched Department of the Environment legislation seem like child's play.

Mr Burns has a better feel for Argentine domestic politics and manages to convey what I believe is a valid impression of the complex panorama. He provides a useful account of the difficulties facing Raul Alfonsin ("an entirely new phenomenon in Argentine politics")—the problems of dealing with the military, the Church, the Peronist legacy, the foreign debt and the failure of national aspirations.

The democratic path has proved a difficult one for the Argentines since 1983 but at least, as Mr Burns recognises, they have Mrs Thatcher's resolution to thank for being given the opportunity to set out upon it.

Argentina

Isn't working

BUENOS AIRES

In choosing Mr Carlos Alderete, the leader of the electricity workers' union, as his new labour minister, President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina has confirmed suspicions that his government is courting support from the opposition Peronist party. He has also raised fears about his determination to keep the country's unruly labour leaders in line. Any weakness could jeopardise business confidence in the economy and his already faltering anti-inflation package, the Plan Austral.

The sudden departure of Mr Hugo Barrionuevo, the former labour minister, has made it harder for the government to resist union pressure for "emergency" wage rises and for hefty increases in state spending. Mr Barrionuevo had stood up to the demands of the Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT), Argentina's umbrella labour organisation, for higher pay; while labour minister, he had refused to be moved by several national strikes masterminded by the CGT.

But he concluded that his position was made untenable by a recent deal between the government and Mr Lorenzo Miguel, the leader of the metalworkers' union. The metalworkers' bargaining power enabled them to secure increases of up to 32% barely a month after the government in February set its wage ceilings for the year at 11-13%. Predictably, this led to a scramble by other unions (notably the carworkers', and plastics and textile



Come join the strike

workers') for similar increases.

Mr Alfonsin's first choice for a successor to Mr Barrionuevo was Mr Jose Rodriguez, the boss of the carworkers' union. Mr Rodriguez turned down the offer, apparently because of pressure from the CGT. This left Mr Alfonsin with little choice but to accept the CGT's suggestion of Mr Alderete, a member of the "group of 15" faction of right-wing Peronist union leaders.

Mr Alderete's appointment puts in question not only the future of the Plan Austral, but also that of its architect, Mr Juan Sourrouille, the economy minister. Mr Sourrouille insists that the new labour minister will have to accept the government's wage limits. But Mr Alfonsin's closest aides already talk of a "social

pact" between government, business and some big unions, to replace the more austere labour policies of the Plan Austral. Mr Alderete has floated the idea of a laxer "truce" lasting 90 days.

In businessmen's eyes, none of this bodes well. Inflation is already rising at the rate of 6% a month—three times the target agreed on with the IMF. The government still hopes that the country's economic growth rate of 5½% last year will be followed by 4% growth this year. The government's critics say a rising budget deficit could put paid to that.

In the past month, the currency has lost a fifth of its value against the dollar on black markets. This has raised fears that the Plan Austral could go the way of Brazil's collapsed Cruzado plan.

RAF NEWS

3-16 April 1987

Defeat in Falklands

THE WORLD'S southern-most polo tournament — held on an airstrip in West Falklands — has ended with defeat for a joint British Services team.

Led by Cdr Robert Guy, Senior Naval Officer Falkland Islands, the British Forces team put up a brave performance, losing in the final to a host team by a single goal.

The match was played on the North Arm settlement airstrip, which provided a first-class grass pitch. Even the ponies stood up to the running, considering that they had been raced all day before, in the settlement races — which, with sheep-shearing, steer-riding, with a gymkhana, form part of the annual Camp games. Usually, they are used by shepherds.

This was the first year a British

POLO

Forces team could be mustered and included Sqn Ldr Bill Southcombe, RAF, Capt James Johnston, and Lt Col Carter, both from BAOR.

The final between a North Arm team and British Forces Falkland Islands proved the advantage to the Islanders. Despite a goal by Cdr Guy, BFPI lost 2-1.

Civil waves from the South Atlantic

**THE LAND THAT
LOST ITS HEROES**
Jimmy Burns
Bloomsbury, £12.95

THIS timely book, published exactly five years after the Argentine invasion of the Falklands, contains some fine nuggets of fact and perception about the two faces of Argentina during the past decade: the military rule of Videla and Galtieri (1976-82) and the democratic government of Alfonsín.

Its author, Jimmy Burns, observed both of them from his vantage point as *Financial Times* correspondent in Buenos Aires from 1982-86. At that time I was the Ambassador to Venezuela, having been Minister in charge of the British Embassy in Buenos Aires from 1977 to 1980.

Burns gives a colourful picture of the military whose extravagance and amorality led, in 1982, to the most profound political collapse Latin America has witnessed in modern times.

But in 1976 the military expected to remain in the saddle for 20 years. At the time this seemed almost credible. (The Brazilian military governments lasted as long, and across the Andes Pinochet has not notched up 13.) The most coherent political institution in Argentina, the military enjoyed widespread support — including that of the Catholic Church, business, international bankers and, tacitly, of the Soviet Union.

The Peronist government (1972-6) left a power vacuum in which flourished revolutionary groups such as the ERP and Montoneros. Comprising about 2,000 activists and financed by bank robbery and kidnapping for ransom, the revolutionaries had on occasion been strong enough to attack an army barracks. Kidnapping was common enough for one Anglo-Argentine friend of mine, Charles Lockwood, to have been kidnapped twice. (In the police versus revolutionary shootout which led to his second release, the wooden "kennel" in which he was held captive was splintered by bullets passing a

few inches above where he lay doggo.)

Under their "Process of National Reorganisation" political activity was banned, strikes were outlawed and the media muzzled. They then attacked "the enemy within": the revolutionary activists, their teachers, and anyone believed to have sympathised with them. These people were abducted, brutally interrogated and

BOOK REVIEW

many of them were killed. Some 9,000 Argentines became the *desaparecidos* (disappeared) — a tragic new word. One of the few media voices to protest was that of Robert Cox, the editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald* who had to flee the country. We were proud to have lodged him at the British Embassy the night before he left.

By 1978 the military was ready to take on foreign enemies. Chile

was the first, and islands in the Beagle Channel of Tierra del Fuego the pretext. An amphibious attack was aborted only at the very last moment after a vigorous intervention by the Vatican. At the time, the atmosphere in Buenos Aires sizzled with nationalist emotion. In 1982, Britain in South Georgia and the Falklands became the second enemy.

Disquietingly, Burns notes that most Argentine books about the war treat it as a national crusade against imperialism and that Alfonsín, for all his other successes, has been unable to banish the myth of the Malvinas.

If Argentina has not lost some, at least, of its military heroes, it has produced a remarkable civilian in Raul Alfonsín. This lawyer from a modest provincial background became a leader of the Radical Party. He was one of the few public figures who declined to support the Falklands invasion. Winning the presidential election in 1983, he guided Argentina's awkward steps from authoritarianism to democracy.

He has since achieved the politically dangerous feat of reduc-

ing the power of the military: by having their leaders tried for homicide and torture, cutting their budget and removing them from positions of economic power — like the atomic energy commission, for example, long a fiefdom of the Navy. For having the most culpable condemned and the less guilty acquitted, he was awarded the European Prize for Human Rights by the Council of Europe last autumn.

Alfonsín's other achievements have been to settle the dispute with Chile by referendum, to bring about economic reform, to preside over a cultural renaissance symbolised by films such as *The Official Version* and to legalise divorce. But he was defeated over trade union reform and has failed to touch any chord with Mrs Thatcher.

Burns visited the Falklands but offers no blueprint for the future. It will make many reflect that, five years after the war, the time is ripe for Britain and Argentina to engage in an imaginative exercise in peacemaking.

Hugh Carless

DAILY MAIL
3 April 1987

Sons to follow Colonel H

THE two sons of Falklands hero Colonel H. Jones VC are planning to follow their father's footsteps into the Army.

Elder son David, 21, in his final year at university, has already decided to join his father's first regiment, the Devon and Dorsets. He will go to Sandhurst in September.

Rupert, just 18 and studying for A levels, is more inclined to follow Colonel H into the paras.

Last night Colonel H's widow Mrs Sara Jones said: 'I am delighted that they want to follow their father into the Army if that is their wish'.

She added: 'We're extremely proud of what H and all those other brave soldiers did in the Falklands.'



Involving Argentine marines guarding the Falkland Islands Company HQ and (below) David Taylor.

Picture by Frank Martin

John Ezard visits the Falklands five years after the invasion

Creating the new Shackletonia

In a "corporate" which has set up a development corporation or written annual reports — let alone to having a tourism manager.

The corporation's head, David Taylor, is "sad that we should be the centre of so much scuttlebutt". Yet he gossips "a kind of comment that reflects a perception that at present the fulcrum of real power, influence — and patronage — in the Falklands has moved from Government House to FIDC.

For the corporation has had the task of spending £31 million post-Shackleton development aid. And when David Taylor comes home on April 17, at the end of his three-year stint, that will be an anniversary arguably more relevant to than any time Falklands of the commemoration of the conflict.

In his time, the corporation has begun building the biggest non-military structure on the islands, a cathedral-sized £500,000 peat-heated hydroponic market garden to sell fresh vegetables to civil-

ians, the garrison and multinational fishing fleets. Some have planned to buy some millions of pounds of revenue to island coffers.

With an activist general manager, Simon Armstrong, he has organised loans that have so far created 38 "new farmers," the ex-sharers and managers of Shackleton beneficiaries of the island's first wool mill going and the first tourism.

And he has presided over some comparative flops. A £750,000 research project to set up a crab exporting industry has found that the yearly break-even catch would need to be close to a level that would rapidly wipe out the crabs. Nevertheless, four years of studiously paced innovation have begun to change the expectations of well as the expectations of the islands.

He has also changed the style of Falklands officialdom, abolishing euphemism in favour of straight talk and wry, sometimes thunderous comment. "My forecast of a mid-1986 opening for the market garden proved wildly

DOCTOR NICANOR COSTA MENDEZ, the Argentine military junta's Foreign Minister during the South Atlantic crisis five years ago, would not use military force today.

"I wouldn't use military action again, of that I'm absolutely sure," said Dr Costa Mendez, who was the highest ranking civilian involved in the ill-fated invasion plan. Today, he adds, he would oppose the use of force.

Questioned why the regime took the islands, "There was minister claims, "There was no other way out in order to preserve Argentine rights," and "maintain the image of Argentina's claims."

The invasion was mounted,

optimistic," confesses each of his public consultative papers, the most rigorous look at development since the Shackleton report.

As well as leading FIDC, David Taylor, aged 53, has been chief executive of local government, director of fisheries and — during one of two calmly handled dramatic mini-crises — acting Governor.

Reserved, decisive intellectual with Proust on his bookshelves, the former Commonwealth civil servant who arrived on secondment from Booker McConnell, where he had been "concerned with manufacturing Lamb's Navy Rum and Tia Maria," turned out to be probably the most instinctive and hard-working democrat the colony has ever known.

"When I was head boy of my public school, Clifton College, I was a very autocratic sort of person," he said in an interview. "As I've got older, I've recognised that so many situations are so complicated. And when you realise how complicated a situation is, it almost invariably seems inappropriate to be autocratic."

"Doing things democrati-

with the objective of asking, and compelling more than asking, the United Nations through the Security Council to intervene" in the Falklands dispute, he said.

The "ultimate aim" was partly to prevent Britain expelling Argentines from South Georgia, he added, referring to the group which had ostensibly gone there to dismantle a disused whaling station.

Dr Costa Mendez insists the invasion decision was only taken on March 26. "At that time, there was a clear menace of the British Government using force." He claims the threat existed.

ally is very, very important to me. Of course it's much harder work than just doing the thing yourself. You have to persuade councillors and corporation members — who have in turn to answer to their own constituents, who have in turn to answer to political pressures — towards a particular way of action which you believe is sensible.

"But you have to be willing in the end to accept that they may not want to do it that way; and that it's their absolute right not to do so. Autocracy is not my nature. I'm the sort of person who is really quite embarrassed to be acting Governor.

"I came to a job which was full of interest and quite unexpected. I came to have a strong feeling of commitment towards the islands, towards a practical, versatile people with hopes, aspirations and fears who had a horrible experience in the conflict. I felt they deserved the best I could do for them. But at the pretty cracking pace I've set myself, I think three years is enough.

Taylor had a hand in picking his successor, Brian Cummings, a Department of Agriculture, assistant secretary aged 45, with 20 years' senior experience in Northern Ireland. The chief land-mark he himself leaves is probably the financing of Shackletonian farm reform, which raises output and produces a new class of independent people. It breaks the tremendous tradition of dependence here, dependence on the big settlement house if you're in Camp — or on the big house in Port Stanley with the Union Jack outside."

before, Argentina decided to invade."

Other versions of events have long suggested the plot was hatched several months before, and probably played a part in winning navy support for General Galtieri's bloodless palace coup to seize the presidency just before Christmas 1981.

Dr Costa Mendez warned that the South Atlantic "conflictation is today as serious, or more serious than before April 2," and Britain's victory gave it no rights to ignore United Nations resolutions on the dispute.

Force of argument

DOCTOR NICANOR COSTA MENDEZ, the Argentine military junta's Foreign Minister during the South Atlantic crisis five years ago, would not use military force today.

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The invasion was mounted,



Jeremy Morgan

Falklanders ignore anniversary

THE ARGENTINE occupation of the Falklands, which sent shock waves through the world when the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, assembled a fleet in Britain, sailed it to the South Atlantic and won the islands back, began five years ago today after the first Argentinian troops seized the tiny capital of Port Stanley.

But though the event and its consequences — a short, sharp land war in which hundreds of British and Argentinian servicemen died, with some of the most sophisticated modern weapons used in anger for the first time — were among the most extraordinary in the 1980s, it will pass without official notice in Port Stanley today.

Mr John Smith, who has lived in the Falklands for many years, says that the prolonged Indian summer that the islands are enjoying at the moment, with a succession of bright sunny days and an almost total absence of the notorious gusting winds that are a feature of the South Atlantic climate, has reminded many people of the identical weather in which the Argentinians arrived.

"The invasion caused such a shock to the population of the Falklands," he said, "that everyone is reluctant to dwell on it. We all have our memories, but no one wants to remember things too deeply."

In Stanley itself, there are virtually no signs of the 74-day occupation, but only a mile or two out, debris from battles in the surrounding heights litter the ground — troop carriers now rusting and used by British troops for target-practice, field kitchens set up in the shelter of a hillside, cases of rockets and shells, and thousands of empty rifle rounds hidden in the grass.

But more sinister than any of them are the minefields which were laid by the Argentinians in a wide sweep of the battlefield stretching out for miles from Stanley and which, because the mines are made of plastic, cannot be detected. The areas have been

Today is the fifth anniversary of the invasion of the Falkland Islands by Argentina. FERGUS PYLE reports from Port Stanley.



This map shows the respective war zones declared in 1982.

roped off with warning signs, but clearing ended after several bomb disposal experts lost legs. They are likely to stay uncleared for decades.

Much of land neighbouring Stanley is peat-bog, and sections periodically are undermined by the sea. Experts fear that the plastic mines will float away on the tide and could turn out to be an unexpected hazard for the foreign fishing boats which are now increasingly coming to fish in the South Atlantic. Other mines are being disturbed by streams and rivulets, and there is a danger of them being carried outside the well marked minefields.

If the Falklanders themselves are intending to ignore the anniversary, the British Army, by coincidence, chose yesterday for

the official start of its long term plan to garrison the islands. In the last few years, a major base, surrounding the new military airport of Mount Pleasant, has been constructed 30 miles from Stanley and gradually nearly all of the 2,000 members of the army, navy and airforce, who will constitute the British presence, have been transferred there.

New administrative procedures have been introduced to supply the joint force centrally, and the permanent establishment for the armed services has been fixed, with contingency plans for rapid reinforcement if a future Argentinian Government decided to cross the 300-mile stretch of ocean that separates Latin America from the Falklands, to attempt a second occupation.

The 150-mile exclusion zone set up by the British Government in the wake of the occupation five years ago is still regularly patrolled by the RAF and navy and the small South Georgia group of islands, 800 miles to the south, where the Argentinians first landed in March 1982, has a permanent garrison of troops.

While British Army sources maintain that defence of the freedom of the 1,900 islanders is the prime purpose of an annual expenditure which, until it was scaled down recently, amounted to hundreds of millions of pounds a year, they privately admit that there are other more pressing reasons. The fear that at some date in the future Argentina might turn communist and, if it owned the Falklands, could endanger Western interests in the polar region; and the expectation that vast mineral resources will be unlocked in Antarctica, making the Falklands a base of major importance were the reasons given.

The likelihood of exploitable minerals being discovered is not immediate, though American and other interests are continually surveying the area. But the loss of the Falklands by Britain would almost certainly cut the British out of any future division of whatever spoils become available.

In the meantime, many Falklanders are ambivalent about the move of the British armed presence to Mount Pleasant. While there were complaints that troops in Stanley numbering more than the town's inhabitants changed the traditional way of life enormously, now they are going, people who saw the military as a potential market for small consumer businesses are worried about the scope for economic expansion on which the islanders have set their sights. With millions of pounds a year coming from fishing licences in the newly established Conservation Zone, local finance is now coming on stream for investment, and crying out for local markets.

TELEVISION

The Falklands five years later

FIVE years ago today Britain was plunged into our most divisive conflict since the Boer War. More than half the nation, probably, supported the sending of a Task Force to re-take the Falklands. A large minority was uncertain, or strongly opposed. In Parliament the Opposition formally backed Mrs Thatcher's stand against Argentine aggression; but not when the time came to count the cost.

Five years on, what kind of major television documentary might one reasonably have expected to mark the anniversary? Not, I'd have thought, quite what Yorkshire TV chose to serve up last night. *The Falklands War — the Untold Story* (ITV) had many merits, but depth — the only valid justification, surely, for so hefty a retrospective was not among them.

Peter Kosminsky's two-hour programme, just like the news reports most of us remember so vividly from that turbulent spring, viewed the events of the South Atlantic strictly from the outside. Prefaced by a map of the Falklands drawn in blood, his tale was all of carnage, heroism, suffering, resolution and valour. We re-lived the sinking of the *Belgrano*, but heard nothing of the reasons why the British Government considered that action necessary, while others denounced it as tragically unnecessary. We were reminded of the humiliations suffered by the British civil population, but hardly at all of the causes that overturned their peacefully ordered lives in the first place.

Mrs Thatcher, Lord Carrington, Senor Mendes of the Galtieri Government and others fitted as bit players across a foreground occupied almost entirely by the military of both sides. Galtieri (as far as I can remember) was not mentioned at all. The effect was curiously one-dimensional, like old-fashioned history of kings and queens; or a two-hour documentary fit enough for one year on, but hardly for five.

Taken at its own deliberately limited level, *"The Falklands War"* certainly offered much that was moving and occasionally memorable. There was striking footage of aerial com-

bat above the islands. There was the bearded Lt-Commander recalling how he wrote to advise his wife on coping with possible widowhood, and to his young son: "That letter was blotted with tears." There was Corporal Chris White, whose bloody mangled stump of leg became almost a symbol of the Falklands conflict, remembering the experience: "I told the film crew to go away — it must have looked pretty horrific." There was Major Chris Keeble re-living his incredulity on receiving coded word of Lt-Col "H" Jones's death in action: "Sun-ray's down."

Most memorably, there was the Welsh Guardsman trapped in the *Sir Galahad* with a badly wounded comrade, trying desperately to rescue him, attempting suicide after he thought he had failed. The ship's padre brought them together. "We took one look at each other and burst into tears."

The rare and blessed use of silence, except for a single mournful wind instrument, was impressive; Muzak-soaked producers and directors, please note. The last word should go to Brigadier Julian Thompson, leader of the Task Force. "We didn't mind dying for Queen and country," he told YTV's cameras, "but we certainly didn't contemplate dying for politicians."

Marking an equally contentious but less bloody dispute, *Q.E.D.* (BBC-1) investigated the great Piltown Man hoax with the adventitious aid of Sherlock Holmes and Dr Watson. John Lynch's agreeable conceit set them on the Bluebell Line waiting, as always, for gently steaming trains and uttering such lines as: It was *elementary* chemistry, Watson." At the end, uncharacteristically, Holmes was no nearer to unmasking the culprit — the Sussex solicitor? the French priest? or horror of horrors, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle himself? — but we had been generously entertained along the way. If someone doesn't sign up the Fraser duo (Hugh as Holmes, Ronald as Watson) for a further appearance, I shall be most surprised.

Richard Last

TELEVISION
Mark Lawson

Counting them in

HAD IT not been scrapped in pre-production, Ian Curteis's *The Falklands Play*, a three-hour drama marking the fifth anniversary of the Argentine invasion, would have been transmitted last night. The play's cancellation — the result of doubts about its factual accuracy and the transmission's proximity to a putative General Election — cleared the territory for Yorkshire Television's *The Falklands War: The Untold Story* (ITV), a *First Tuesday Special* (special meaning, in this context, twice the length, and on a Wednesday).

Even in the absence of the drama with which it should have clashed, *The Untold Story* raised interesting questions about the presentation on television of recent, tender history. Suppose Ian Curteis (or Charles Wood, whose Falklands play *Tumbledown* will eventually be shown by the BBC) inserted a scene concerning the Spanish taught to British soldiers on their ships, insisting that the vocabulary lesson consisted of the imperative of the verb "to surrender." You would dismiss it as neat writer-ese, along with, say, a speech in which an Argentinian pilot described the hole in his wing as "like a rose with open petals."

But, in *The Untold Story*, both speeches came from what TV professionals like to call real people. Calling to mind Studs Terkel's remarkable attempts with a tape-recorder (transcribed in book form) to catch the truth between two spools, Peter Kosminsky's film tried, in two senses, to take history back to the people. As in Terkel's *The Good War*, conflict is presented not as a slab of statistics and facts but as a chain of voices, rich and poor, ordering and ordered in counterpoint — the talkers ranged from Willie Whitelaw and Brigadier Julian Thompson via a soldier who tried to commit suicide after escaping the blazing Sir Galahad to Leonidas Ponce, the Petty Officer on the Belgrano. Kosminsky provided background information, dates, news footage and the first official Argentinian footage of the invasion but largely gave the stand to the witnesses.

Take, for example, Lt Col Nigel Ward, a Sea Harrier pilot, on a radio conversation after shooting down an enemy plane: "I called the ops room after having shot him down and said 'More trade?', which means is there anything else for us to do? And the fellow said wait. And I said what do you mean wait. He said, well actually we've just had our ops room strafed with gunfire, thirty millimetre cannon, the man across the desk from me has just lost the top of his head, and I've just been hit in the arm, and I'm just collecting my thoughts."

Dorothy Foulkes, whose husband died in action, remembered receiving the news. A chaplain in a car outside the house said he had bad news. How bad? The very worst. Then telling the children — "I just said the ship had been hit and their dad had been killed" — and next, the arrival of a duplicate map with a cross marking her husband's burial at sea and a plastic bag with his pipe and St Christopher medal and wedding ring, still wet. The ring worried her: he'd never taken it off — "it was very very tight" — so how had they removed it?

Stronger on human interest than political analysis (although Jean Kirkpatrick was revealing on the British resistance to diplomacy) or hard news, *The Untold Story* was even-handed in its treatment of events, helped by the unexpectedness of some opinions expressed — it was the army major who said that we must "never allow ourselves to go to war" and the weeping widow who thought that maybe it had been worthwhile "for Britain's sake."

A BBC mandarin attracted some criticism during the conflict for denying any difference between the widows of London and Buenos Aires but, five years on, Kosminsky interviewed both and accordingly won a range and maturity of view missing in the wartime despatches.

There have been few television programmes dealing with this period — chiefly *The Mimosa Boys*, a BBC Wales play about Bluff Cove; a trilogy of films about the physical and mental reconstruction of the Welsh Guard Simon Weston; and a *Horizon* about the Argentinian military failure — and this long, somber, often painfully moving documentary is to be welcomed as a memorial to the humans who are the fuel of any war.

Blood, sweat and tears

In the aftermath of the Falklands campaign there was published a book of first-hand testimony, *Don't Cry For Me, Sergeant Major*. Its title captured perfectly the half-joke chauvinism of the atmosphere in which the Task Force sailed five years ago.

Last night, Yorkshire Television's excellent documentary *The Falklands War - The Untold Story* graphically demonstrated that enlisted men are perfectly capable of doing their own crying; so too are their officers.

It was particularly welcome that the camera had the

TELEVISION

confidence to linger on its subjects long after their upper lips had given up trying to stay stiff: even when a stretcher bearer (who had taken four years to succumb to his emotions) requested a break, his dumb misery was left to dwell for agonizing seconds before we faded to a black screen. Anywhere else, this would have been crassly sponge-wringing; here it seemed appropriate, even necessary.

Interviewing the combatants of both sides as well as politicians and civilians, Peter Kosminsky's film achieved a miracle of balance. Only occasionally did its gorge surge to the surface - as when the (Argentine) mother of a Belgrano victim, remarking that her dead son would not have wished to see her weeping in public, was followed by a notorious headline from a British newspaper.

One would hope that this sensitive report may have served as an antidote to recruitment commercials, with their glib parade of lethal toys. These matey professionals evinced throughout an unspoken sense of disbelief that after years of training they had actually killed people. It cannot be said too often: it is machines that are tough; we are human.

Elsewhere (and almost irrelevantly) *Out of Court* (BBC2) bowed out of its current series with a round-up of past cases, including that of the delightfully obstinate ex-policeman who makes it the business of his life to flout the bye-laws around American Air Force bases - even to the extent of "arresting" their guards. How dotty; how English; how reasonable.

Martin Cropper

TV Mail

MARY KENNY'S REVIEW



SINCE the times of the ancient Greeks, soldiers re-turning from the wars have told us that the battlefield was hell — 'savage, gutter fighting . . . basic killing', as an officer puts it in **The Falklands War — The Untold Story** (ITV).

But lest we conclude, in consequence, that all war is futile, let us remember who the enemy was in this conflict: a Fascist dictatorship which had arrested 20,000 people, chased two millions into exile, caused 11,000 simply to disappear and which specialised in torturing and killing mothers.

If those young men had not gone to war, General Galtieri's henchmen might still be kidnapping pregnant women and systematically killing them when they had delivered their babies.

Those who suffered or who lost beloved sons and husbands in the Falklands, must console themselves with this thought — that it was a righteous war, and that the world is a better place for the junta's decisive defeat.



Brigadier Julian Thompson: 'You don't want to die for politicians.'

Paying the bitter price of freedom

his mother, and the sound seems to go on forever.

The programme was partly a record of the conflict, and partly a witness of people's feelings. Politically, there will be much more to be told, but this documentary will certainly make a major contribution. Amiable old Willie Whitelaw came across as much more of a hawk than one might have imagined; he spoke about the need to press the officers to get on with the war, not to show hesitation.

Brigadier Julian Thompson revealed a glimpse of the differences that can exist between the commanders in the field and the politicians back home.

'I will win the war for these

buggers and then go,' he told himself angrily at one stage. 'Although you don't mind dying for your Queen and country, you certainly don't want to die for politicians.'

Yet it was the witness of the ordinary men — both British and Argentinian — and their widows and mothers which was most compelling. Often, they could barely hold back the tears as they recalled the suffering they had seen.

There was a valour, too, which was impressive. On neither side was there personal animosity towards the enemy. There was even a gallant respect if an opponent had fought well.

Of course there was an anti-war message in this documentary simply because it illustrated the grief involved in war, as well as the indignities such as constant dysentery.

Producer-director Peter Kosminsky did slip in the odd sly image — a jubilant Mrs Thatcher in immediate contrast to a sorrowing relative — but the programme's real worth lay in the value of the testimonies given, including the thoughts of the captain and crew of the Belgrano as she sank. All of them, remember, are freer men today because democracy is restored to Argentina.

I say this because some of the people who appeared in this film seemed inconsolable, and you could see that they doubted the usefulness of the whole exercise.

'Oh, the price my family paid,' mourned a war widow, Dorothy Foulikes. Her husband was buried at sea, and some of his belongings came back to her in a plastic bag, still wet from the South Atlantic.

A Scots Guard describes the experience of hearing the *thwack* of a bullet into a man as it kills him. 'Even if you have never heard that noise before, you know instinctively what it is.'

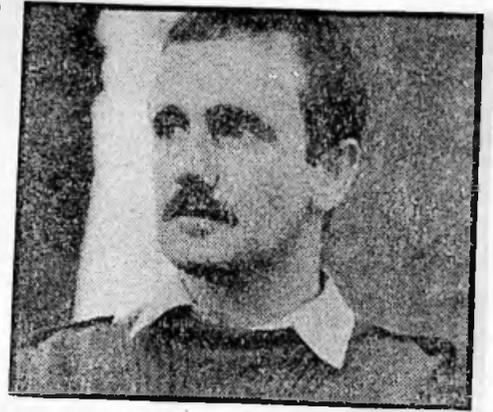
There is the memory of seeing a young Argentinian, dying, calling for

THE wave of world interest which greeted yesterday's Diary revelation that the Duchess of York would be singing revamped Vera Lynn numbers to troops on the Falklands, indicated that hordes were taken in by our April Fool joke. Among those who were not fooled was Prince Edward, who was a guest on the Radio 1 breakfast show and told DJ Mike Smith he was not amused. Poor sense of humour, that boy. . .

Marine Sergeant Armour: no enemy

Nancy Banks-Smith on the terrible ironies of the Falkland warriors on either side

Comrades in arms



THERE was, at the end of The Falklands War (Yorks), a wincing interval when British and Argentines alike shrank from backslapping or even the everyday touch of a handshake as if they were a skin short. Like Wayne Trigg of the Welsh Guards who, in the furnace of Sir Galahad, saw the skin of his hands come off like a pair of gloves. Brigadier Julian Thompson clung to the ship as if he were more afraid of landing in England than the Falklands. "I felt reluctant to walk down the brow of that ship and go into a world full of people who didn't know what we'd gone through."

Lt. Commander Pat Kettle of HMS Sheffield, sunk by an Exocet, wanted to drive along the seaside before going home and saw people eating ice-cream, sitting in deck chairs. "I wanted to shake them and say 'Look, there's a war on, people are getting killed.'"

Private Haracio Benitez, a 19-year-old conscript, went into a bar, ordered a beer and looked around. "The place was full of happy faces. Everyone was celebrating as though we'd just won the World Cup. You'd think nothing had happened in Argentina. And I asked myself 'Did I do all this for my country? What's my country? Are you my country — laughing and dancing and having a good time while we suffer?'"

"I didn't go out for the first few days" said Sergeant Lou Armour. "Strangers would slap you on the back and buy you pints and you'd go along with it a bit. But you'd never really tell them what it was like."

Significantly, entitled *The Untold Story, The Falklands War*, produced by Peter Kosminsky and Michael Bilton, told us what it was like in the words of the men who fought it. The men on both sides were, so to speak, on the same side. They spoke

the same language. The foreigners were those who had not gone through that fire.

Sergeant Armour ran like a thin, ginger thread through the war. The Royal Marines were there when the Argentines invaded and shot three of them while defending Government House. Sgt Armour began the war lying on the ground considering his very limited future. (So did the reporter for Falklands Radio "Where are you Alastair? Are you standing up, sitting down or what?" "I'm lying on the floor, boy.") An Argentine officer arrived, struck the guard and told the Marines to stand up. He

shook their hands and said they had every reason to feel proud of themselves. Even then Lou Armour took a less romantic view of war: "I was quite pleased we were stopping. I didn't fancy getting shot to bits."

Returning with the Task Force, he was caught up in the early euphoria. For a while. "It was 'Oh, we're going to go down there and dick this lot. And, as we got nearer, the old For Queen and Country was going out of the window. It was 'Let's get down there, do it and get back. And, if we don't have to do it, great!'"

He yomped across the Falklands, drinking filthy water, and arrived in Stanley with diarrhoea and without underpants. So did many of the Marines. "One of the lads just undone his zip, cut through his underpants, tossed them away and carried on walking."

He buried the Argentine dead. "Everybody we came across was all twisted. You could see the agony these guys had been in when they died. I feel bad about the bodies and the way we just tossed them into a hole. They were just kids. We found an Argentine officer. He had a bellywound. I went over and

he started speaking to me in English, telling me he didn't know why we were fighting. I wish now that he'd never spoken English to me. Can we stop a minute."

Colonel H. Jones flung himself on an enemy trench, propelled forward with a bullet in the back. Major Carlos Tomba saw the wing of his plane flower open like the petals of a rose and flew on. Private Benitez, hit in the head, staggered to the ridge of a mountain and looked into the valley "It was a vision of hell. Explosions, fires, machine guns rattling, soldiers yelling and screaming. An inferno. I fell down the slope." He was thrown on a heap of bodies for dead.

A bereaved Argentine mother, a British widow, made a conscious effort not to cry: "Oh well, he wouldn't like to see my crying like this." A nurse on the hospital ship, Uganda, a conscious effort to smile: "God, you've got to hide this horror on your face."

Men seemed to have passed beyond pretence. Sergeant Armour, whose story was the story of the war, said "It's took me four years to cry about a few dead people and even now I wonder why I'm crying. I'm afraid I just don't see the other side as the enemy."

Lest we forget: there was a cause for war

IN THE SUMMER of 1984 I received a sad letter from the mother of a paratrooper who had been killed in the Falklands War and had been posthumously decorated. "Heroes are quickly forgotten," she wrote. "When people stop making a fuss of you, and telling you how marvellous he was, you wonder what it was all for."

The Falklands conflict forced the British to endure a whole gamut of emotions—of shock and bewilderment; fortitude and commitment; sorrow and apprehension; followed at last by that brief moment of triumphalism, led by the Prime Minister, when victory came on June 16.

Then came the growing sense of anticlimax, of dismay at the presentation of the vast bills for the Falklands, and—inevitably—of uncertainty whether it had indeed all been worth it.

The question can be asked justly by anyone who lost a comrade or loved one. But I submit that we should be very wary of falling into the trap exemplified by this year's Oscar-winning American film, "Platoon".

"Platoon" wallows, lovingly and masochistically, in the horror of America's experience in Vietnam. Already, in Britain, a significant Left-wing faction is seeking to write into history, a vision of the Falklands War as Britain's miniature Vietnam, our very own military and political act of shame.

The difficulty for this group, of course, is that unlike Vietnam the Falklands did not end in defeat; it cost only a handful of civilian lives, and it was conducted with remarkable military efficiency. The amount of attention lavished by some journalists since 1982 on, for instance, the mistakes that led to the loss of the Galahad is revealing.

The Galahad episode was one of very few in the course of war where diligent investigative reporters have been able to find evidence of culpable command error. But it is absurd to make so much of the Galahad affair, to seek to apportion blame as if for a civilian airliner disaster. All war is organised confusion. A senior naval officer said to me on the night of the Galahad sinking: "Well, we've taken 12 risks on that scale this week, and this was one too many." The miracle of the Falklands was that there were not a dozen Galahad-type disasters.

Today is the fifth anniversary of the Argentine invasion of the Falklands. MAX HASTINGS, who travelled with the Task Force that regained the islands, warns of the dangers of looking back in anguish

There has been intense controversy too, since the war, about the merits of the award of the VC to Colonel H. Jones of 2 Para. Many fellow Army officers questioned it, on the grounds that what "H" did, by charging after the enemy like a private soldier rather than maintaining control of his battalion, was the very negation of command responsibility.

Yet any decoration can only be a gesture for such examples of courage as reach the attention of the high command. His award seemed an

absolutely proper recognition of what his battalion, as well as himself, did at Goose Green, like the VC given to Colonel Carne for the Glosters' action in Korea. Why, then, do we go on tormenting ourselves by arguing about it?

Of course major errors on the battlefield must be investigated if only to avoid their repetition. But journalism diminishes itself each time it produces a screaming headline about accidental killings of British troops. Tragic—not culpable—mistakes are part of every war. To whose advantage is it to deny relatives the comfort of supposing that their sons and husbands died in enemy action?

Latin Americans, of course, are just as bad in seeking to invent mystery and controversy about the war. I was visited a year or two ago by an eminent Brazilian professor writing a book, accompanied by an interpreter from the Central Office of Information. He questioned me repeatedly about the "electronic field" the British laid across East Falkland, which rendered all the Argentinian weapons impotent and thus gave the British victory.

After I had denied all knowledge of such a useful gadget for the fourth time, the interpreter said: "It's no use, you know. He doesn't believe you. He says he knows the British had something like this, which enabled them to win." To each his own mythology.

Oddly enough, while the war was

present the Argentines merely as fellow-victims of the conflict. They did start it, and the beating they received was no less than their leaders earned for them.

If it is hard to be the widow, or the bereaved mother or father of a British service victim of the Falklands, is it any more painful than having lost a son in Northern Ireland, in a truck pile-up in Germany or helicopter crash in Hongkong? Most of the men of that Task Force in April 1982 would not in a thousand years have wanted to be anywhere else. They died in the best of company, fighting an undoubted aggressor. That is a better obituary than most of us can expect.

being fought, there was far more cynicism among the Task Force about the absurdity of fighting for a windswept cluster of islands in the middle of nowhere than I fancy there was at home. It is always so, among soldiers. It helps to preserve their sanity. "There goes Mrs Thatcher's Government," said a senior officer laconically in the wardroom of Fearless the night Atlantic Conveyor and Coventry were lost. He believed, as others did in San Carlos, that the British public would speedily turn against the conflict when its brutal cost was driven home to them.

In reality, of course, they did not. The war was short enough, and was fought with sufficiently obvious military and naval efficiency, to maintain the national will to the end. But in the years that followed, many of the men who had been with the Task Force were far more doubtful about the merits of the Fortress Falkland policy than Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues.

Most servicemen, both in 1982 and later, believed in the need to fight the Falklands War, to show that Britain would always resist armed aggression. But they were — and remain — much more doubtful about the *post facto* invention of a strategic interest in the South Atlantic that we did not recognise before the war, to justify fighting it.

Sooner or later, we are bound to negotiate with the Argentines about the future of the Falklands. This is not a betrayal of those who died in 1982, but a recognition of reality. The moment will not come under this Prime Minister, but almost certainly under whoever follows her, and it will be welcomed or tolerated by most of those who fought in 1982.

It will be a great pity if, five years after the event, we embark upon an orgy of self-denigration about the Falklands War. It was a silly war, in the way that almost all wars are silly. But it was redeemed by the wonderful performance of the British services. Not all the television producers in England can

'WE ALMOST LOST FALKLANDS WAR'

THE Argentines had victory in the Falklands war within their grasp, the man who led the British landing force admitted yesterday.

"Had they got their act together there is no doubt they could have given us a very bloody nose," said retired Major General Julian Thompson.

But the Argies, only 350 miles from their mainland bases with more planes and more men, lost because "their army, navy and airforce did not combine properly".

They were too busy fighting "private wars" between themselves, claimed Major General Thompson.

He was speaking on the

By EDWARD VALE

eve of a "harrowing" fifth anniversary documentary on the war being shown by Yorkshire TV tonight.

Bereaved families are warned not to switch on if they feel they might be distressed by the gory scenes.

The film shows dead and injured soldiers and there are moving interviews with British and Argentinian survivors.

Major General Thompson said: "The film advances lessons about the need to avoid war."

Producer Peter Kominisky said: "I think viewers will find it a disturbing but realistic picture."



PORT STANLEY HARBOUR: A former backwater now poised to welcome the big fishing fleets

Squids in for the shorter sailor

ONE of the ideas is to create jobs, said the man. But, I said, confused, isn't there full employment in the Falkland Islands - isn't shortage of labour a major problem?

"No, no, jobs for the people in the UK," said Simon Armstrong, general manager of the Falkland Islands Development Corporation. Britain's windswept South Atlantic colony, invaded by the Argentine five years ago tomorrow, still provides surprises. It is set for a boom. Population decline has been reversed.

Simon Armstrong was explaining that when tourists in Spain enjoy the fish dish Calamares, there is a 50-50 chance the squid will have come from the Falklands.

Things are beginning to happen here, though to what extent they will stir the satisfied, self-sufficient DIY life that most islanders so deeply wish to preserve is hard to guess. Full employment makes it hard to get things done and puts pressure on wages.

Wool, and more efficiently-managed sheep rearing, will remain the backbone, though Lord Shackleton's advocated sell-off to tenant farmers by landowners is moving slowly by common consent. Wool yield is improving where tenant farmers have taken over, but not everyone is adept at farm management.

It is the sea that will provide the bonus, make the Falklands relatively rich and self-supporting again.

Declaration

They will depend on Britain for defence, now centred on the new Mount Pleasant airfield complex, 35 miles from Port Stanley.

Squid fishing, exploited by every major marine nation except Britain, has taken off since the belated declaration of a 150-mile fishing zone from February 1 this year.

This has cut the number of fishing vessels from more than 600 last year to just over 200. And this



In his final report to mark the fifth anniversary of the Falklands invasion, TONY AUSTIN explains why the islands are set for a major fishing boom.

time Britain is getting in on the act. It is not simply the revenue from licencing, an estimated £6 million after the cost of patrolling has been deducted. Stanley Fisheries, owned by the Development Corporation, has taken a 51 per cent partnership with fishing companies, some British, some foreign. Incentives and further investment are built into the deal.

Twenty Britons of small stature are now out training on foreign vessels which have been granted licences for the first half of the fishing season. No-one taller than 5 ft 8 ins could take part, because their lessons are on board Japanese, Taiwanese and Korean boats, all designed for crewing by the Asian races.

"They are our skippers of the future," says Simon Armstrong. "Until they are trained there are no UK fishermen or boats which can do the job out here."

There is too much money involved for foreigners not to co-operate. A "jigger" ship can make £1 million in a five months' season for the cost of

a £80,000 licence.

Yet, in the next five years the picture could be vastly different - all-British crews on new boats, built in Britain, are envisaged forming a proportion of the fishing fleet.

These are rich fishing grounds. The licence system, introduced unilaterally by Britain after failure to gain international agreement to conserve fish stock, has injected commercial confidence into a steady political situation.

Distrust

Already money is starting to come in - instead of flowing out to foreign owners.

The Development Corporation plan to buy the floating jetty built by the military in Stanley Harbour and set up bunkering facilities. A "Squid Row" housing estate is planned.

And, unlike the mother ship system pioneered by the Russians - who for political reasons have not applied for licences - the plan is to freeze catches on shore for

Ironically, none of this would have happened had the Argentines not invaded five years back. Britain may well have concluded some form of lease-back deal.

And had the Argentines not signed fishing agreements exclusively with Bulgaria and Russia for their own waters, the British Government would have been hard put, hand on heart, to proclaim a Falklands fishing zone for conservation.

Deep distrust of the Foreign Office remains in the Islands. There is suspicion that a Labour Government would favour some accommodation with the Argentine.

Margaret Thatcher is still the person Falkland Islanders trust, and the local union claims proudly to have the only union office anywhere that boasts a picture of a Tory Prime Minister.

One insurance against a Labour government, and also the anti-British De-Colonisation Committee of the United Nations, is seen here as greater independence, a superficial distancing from colonial status.

Even flying a Falklands flag rather than a Union Jack would be a factor to appease the anti-colonial lobby.

But when the chips are down as they were in 1982, it is American influence that is most influential.

Washington needs to woo the Argentine as a democracy. Yet given the alternative of a friendly British Falklands or an unstable Argentine Malvinas, there is no doubt which the Americans would back.

Antarctic oil and minerals would increase the strategic value of the islands, but remains speculative. The value of deposits depends on market prices and the high cost of extraction.

Oil remains the unknown factor. The squid are the solution now.

The land that crime forgot

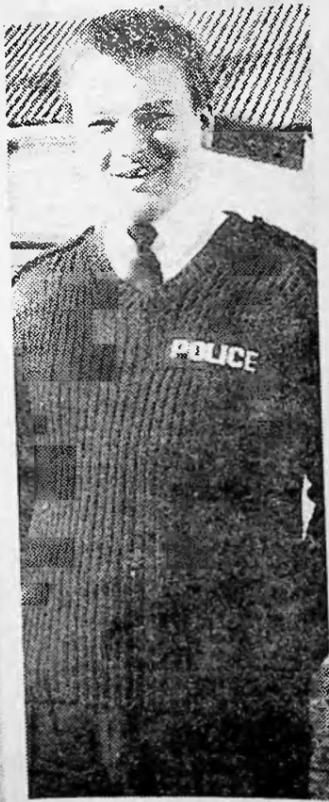
TWO of the 13-strong police force in the Falkland Islands are from Liverpool.

Crime is minimal, according to Dave Morris, aged 38 (left) from Garston, and Steve Burston aged 30 (right) from Toxteth. It consists mostly of petty thieving or driving offences, and the police are first name terms with virtually the whole population.

Those they catch don't bear grudges. It's a jack-of-all trades job, says Dave, ranging from detective work to immigration.

He was posted to the islands as a Marine but when he was demobbed he married a local girl and stayed.

Steve Burston, ex-fork lift driver in Bootle, went to the Falklands because of job prospects. He is to be divorced soon to marry Kettle Ashworth, also an immigrant, whose father is setting up a dairy outside Port Stanley.



Sue on the Falklands



☆ Sue Whitehead: one of 150 women among thousands of men on the Falklands

SUE WHITEHEAD does a secretarial job. If she looks out of her office window the view is olive green grass and wide, windy and treeless open spaces. Home, off Laird Street, Birkenhead, is 8,000 miles or 15 hours flying time away.

Sue is 24, and one of 150 women among a couple of thousand men at the isolated military base at Mount Pleasant on the Falkland Islands.

"Spoilt for choice," laughs Sue, "but the flattery wears thin and you can afford to be choosy about the party invitations."

She flew out to her latest army posting in February for four months after a shock to the system called familiarisation.

The course began with a long cross country run on and a present — a plastic survival bag.

"After the run we went out in little groups for a nice walk and picnic lunch. I thought 'This isn't too bad.' We carried on walking till four o'clock and the colonel came up and said the situation was a helicopter had just crashed and we had got to make the most of what we had with us."

This was Wales in freezing January. The girls slept two in a bag to keep warm although at 2am they were up walking again just to keep warm. Only then did the colonel relent and send them back to barracks.

That was just for starters. Canoeing was next — after they had broken the frozen lake ice first. Sue was taken rock climbing and had

'You can afford to be choosy about party invitations'

her first taste of ab-sailing. Protests after she looked down were promptly rejected. "I was really scared. I just held my breath and jumped."

Weapon training, which had not formed part of her basic training, followed. Then, learning to both clean and fire a gun. "All my shots hit the target," says Sue, still slightly surprised.

The Falklands hasn't been as physically demanding as the getting ready but, working in the headquarters of the British forces at the newly built Mount Pleasant military complex, nicknamed Death Star because of the exposed pipes in the corridors, has provided other hard work.

It is a basic 8am to 5pm week plus Saturday mornings, with lots of sports opportunities, although no swimming, during time off.

No cinema

But the only town, Port Stanley, an hour away, does not offer a great deal and Mount Pleasant has no cinema, regular disco, or much choice of shops. And, perhaps, worse what at home is taken for granted may not be available. No baths, for example, only showers.

"Once you adapt you just make the most of it because it's only for four months and you can't afford to be bored. Yes, I volunteered," says Sue. "All the girls I know did. One attraction is that there's nothing to spend money on. Everyone who comes back from the Falk-

lands, all the girls, say what a really good time they have had because how would you ever come down to this part of the world ever, in your life? It's an experience not to be missed. The one thing that keeps you going are the blues."

'Blues' are the air-mail letters from home. Says Sue: "If you don't get one and everyone else does you feel really depressed. I don't think people at home realise how much you appreciate your letters. My mum writes a lot, and our Jackie, and I've got loads of friends who write."

Mail arrives twice a week. For the evenings there are bars and video and the gym and the army provides occasional opportunities to visit Falkland wildlife.

Penguins

Penguins rate with Sue, but not sealions: "They're ugly, horrible, fat with big noses, repulsive. We crept right up by them but they didn't attack us. The penguins run away and fall over if you get too close."

Sue joined the army four years ago signing on for 23 years, though she now has an option to give 12 months notice of leaving.

She had been to Birkenhead Tech training for a clerical job but without one in sight left before she finished the course to join up.

The army career office was next door and as she passed the army entrance tests she didn't wait. "I think my mum and dad were quite pleased because I had a job."

Mum and dad are Mr and Mrs John Dobbins and Sue is one of six children.

She has served in Germany as well as bases in England but on the day I met her was dreaming of a new posting to sunny Cyprus, or exotic Hong Kong, or exciting Washington. Next day her hopes had been dashed — although she perked up when she heard she was going to British army HQ in Germany. It helps to be flexible in the army.

'We're all going on a summer holiday!'

by
Val Surridge

"MIDNIGHT" feasts, sack races and fun with farm animals are just a few of the highlights of a holiday being planned by six rather special mums.

The Liverpool ladies really like children. For as well as having youngsters of their own, four of them are foster mothers and now "aunties" to more than 30 disadvantaged children, who are counting the days to their summer holiday.

"We hate the word disadvantage. But until another is found to describe those youngsters who are not as fortunate as most, it will have to do," said Ann Greenop, secretary of the Maghull and Waterloo Children's Holiday Fund.

Two caravans

The July holiday is the climax of a year's planning. Committee members have donned fancy dress to tour pubs, stood in the pouring rain at a car boot sale and written hundreds of "begging" letters to local firms to raise the cash to treat the children.

The holiday fund started four years ago when two foster mums decided it would be a good idea to take children, who had never been outside Liverpool, to the seaside.

"We booked two caravans in Wales and took ten children," remembers treasurer Eileen Bradley, who has five children of

reactions to pigs and cows. "On a previous holiday one little girl ran screaming that she was being chased by frogs. . . she meant goats!"

The "midnight" feast actually takes place around 9pm but as it's almost dark, the youngsters don't mind.

Local firms, says Ann, have supported the group in a fantastic way. "Fords have lent us a mini-bus for the week and we're appealing to other firms for help, too. Unless we get another bus we won't all be able to go on trips together."

A Liverpool city store has told the mums to call in on the way to Heswall to collect "picnic" supplies. . . .

Fun and games

The children come from Waterloo, Seaforth, Maghull and Bootle. Aged between four and eleven, they would normally spend July in Liverpool, not straying far from home.

But this year they will set off for Heswall on July 25 for a week's fun and games. Many are brothers and sisters who used to think holidays were things other people enjoyed.

The total cost of the venture is over £2,000, which includes 50p a day spending money for each child.

"So far, we have raised £1,300 and have high hopes of reaching our target sum soon. . . with a little help from the people of Liverpool," said Ann.

Details of future fund-raising events can be obtained from Ann on 931-4747.

Argentine floods cause heavy crop damage

By Tim Coono in Buenos Aires

SEVERE flooding in the centre of Argentina has affected an estimated 3m hectares of agricultural land causing damage to crops and livestock conservatively estimated at \$100m.

Much of the north western region of Buenos Aires province is now under water following several weeks of torrential rain, adding to an already precarious situation caused by unusually heavy rains last year.

Several towns are under water and more than 10,000 people have had to be evacuated. Several major highways are under two metres of water complicating rescue and evacuation work.

Mr Marcelo Filder, a farmers' representative from Buenos Aires province, said that at least 1.6m hectares of productive land are flooded. An estimated further 1.5m hectares of land are cut off by flood waters preventing farmers from getting produce to market or from evacuating livestock. Last night rains were continuing.

Mr Filder said as much as 10 per cent of the entire production of Buenos Aires province may have been lost. The province is the principal beef and grain producing region in the country.

North western Buenos Aires is a notorious zone for flooding due to the region's catchment area having no natural outlet to the ocean. However, producers say that there has been nothing comparable to the present floods for the past 60 years.

Mr Carlos Rivas Roche, the state under-secretary for water resources, said that in the past 10 years there had been a steady increase in rainfall in the region.

He said that climatic changes were occurring in Argentina due to deforestation of the Amazon River basin in Brazil, and due to the steady increase of hydroelectric projects on the Latin American continent, which were affecting weather

Royal couple in Falklands salute

The Duke and Duchess of York are to attend a dinner on board the cruise ship Canberra to salute those who took part in the Falklands campaign.

The dinner, at Southampton, will take place on April 7, the fifth anniversary of the Canberra being requisitioned for service in the Falklands. The Duke served as a Sea King helicopter pilot in Invincible during the conflict.

Major tells of Falklands mistakes

RETIRED Major General Julian Thompson, who led the landing forces into San Carlos during the Falklands conflict, said yesterday he believed Argentina could have won the war.

He accused each of the Argentine services of fighting a "private war" and said it was this lack of co-ordination that helped Britain to recapture the islands.

He was speaking at a press conference in London to promote a Yorkshire TV documentary.

He acted as a consultant for the programme *The Falklands War — the Untold Story*, being screened tonight on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the war.

"Had the Argentines got their act together there was no doubt that they could have given us a very bloody nose indeed, or even won," Maj-Gen Thompson said.

"They were 350 miles away from their own air bases, they had more aeroplanes than we did, and they had six or seven weeks to prepare their defensive positions. Right up to the end of the campaign, they had more men on the islands than we put on."

The Argentine navy attacked Britain's warships instead of the transport craft which took troops ashore. "If they had sunk the transports, there would have been no landing," Maj-Gen Thompson said.

The two-hour programme includes interviews with British and Argentine servicemen and film of the invasion shot through net curtains by islanders.

Daily Mail
1 April 1987

TOP SECRET?

DESPITE the collapse of his marriage, royal favourite Elton John has fond time to re-work an entire repertoire of standard numbers — including a re-vamped version of Vera Lynn's *We'll Meet Again* — for a top secret project in the Falklands.

The jazzed-up songs will be warbled to the troops by none other than our very own Duchess of York.

Taking private singing lessons for the last three months with former Royal Opera star turned master-class teacher, Dame Joan Middleton at her flat in Harley Street, Fergie has had all her

friends wondering just what she was up to.

Ill-informed sources came up with a ridiculous suggestion that these visits were to gynaecologist Anthony Kenney who happens to have a surgery next door and that Fergie is taking a fertility drug.

Far from it. She is deliberately avoiding pregnancy just now because she wants nothing to interfere with her RAF flight by TriStar to the Falklands in the autumn. She will be appearing on a bill with various other celebrities, including Pamela Stephenson — who put Di and Fergie up to their policewomen stunt during Prince Andrew's stag night.



Fergie on song

THE FALKLANDS WAR — THE UNTOLD STORY

ITV, 8.0: First Tuesday 'special' — not because it's on a Wednesday but because it runs two hours and, for the fifth anniversary of the start of the fighting, purports to tell the other side of the war as well as giving fresh insights on ours.

Filmed in Britain, the U.S., Argentina and the Falklands it even includes shots taken through the net curtains by islanders of the Argentine invasion!

We are promised 'new light' on the death of Col 'H' Jones at Goose Green, and Argentina's military governor, General Menendez, tells for the first time how he felt in defeat.

There is also an exclusive interview with Brigadier Julian Thompson, the man who masterminded the British recapture of the Falklands and video footage — again 'first' — shot by the Argentine Navy. But most telling are the many interviews with those who survived — ordinary people on both sides of the fence.

Falklands are British

FROM: David Adrian Foot, Mitcham, Surrey.

SIR: Ref. "My ideas for the Falklands" by T. A. Ende (March). I would like to agree with the writer on the fact that the islanders should be consulted. Moreover I should point out to him that they have been consulted and their wish is to remain where they are, in their British homes. Where Argentina is concerned there is no real

claim. Most Argentines are all invaders who have relegated the natives to second class citizenship.

Argentina came in to the race for the uninhabited islands in the South Atlantic a century or two late. The Falklanders are doing a great service to the Crown just by holding on to such a valuable asset for us. We should support them and we can support them. What is more, perhaps Britain

with the best of bases and advantages one day after it has woken up might be able to operate at a profit, like nations who don't have a foothold there such as USSR, Japan, Spain etc.

It should be all party policy to tell the Argentinians and the Third World Mob in the UN that it is of no concern of theirs what goes on within our borders and that our people and territories are not negotiable.

British firms for Falklands crab fishery

WITTE Boyd Holdings Ltd. of Hull, England, is to embark on a joint venture with Stanley Fisheries Ltd. to finance and oversee the continuing development of a crab fishery in the coastal waters of the Falkland Islands.

The two companies have formed SWB Fisheries Ltd. to carry out the project, which will continue the research into the fishery undertaken by the Grimsby-based company Fortoser during the last two years for the Falkland Islands government.

Witte Boyd Holdings is a joint venture between Boyd Line and Witte UK to develop trawling in the Falklands.

Distribution

The Falkland Islands Development Corporation (FIDC), which advises the Falkland Islands government on economic development, commissioned Fortoser in 1984 to survey the Falkland Islands' coastline, mapping the distribution of crab and other potentially profitable fish.

By the end of the research project, the team was working up to 150 pots a day, yielding around 1,000 of the

Paralomis granulosa crabs of acceptable size.

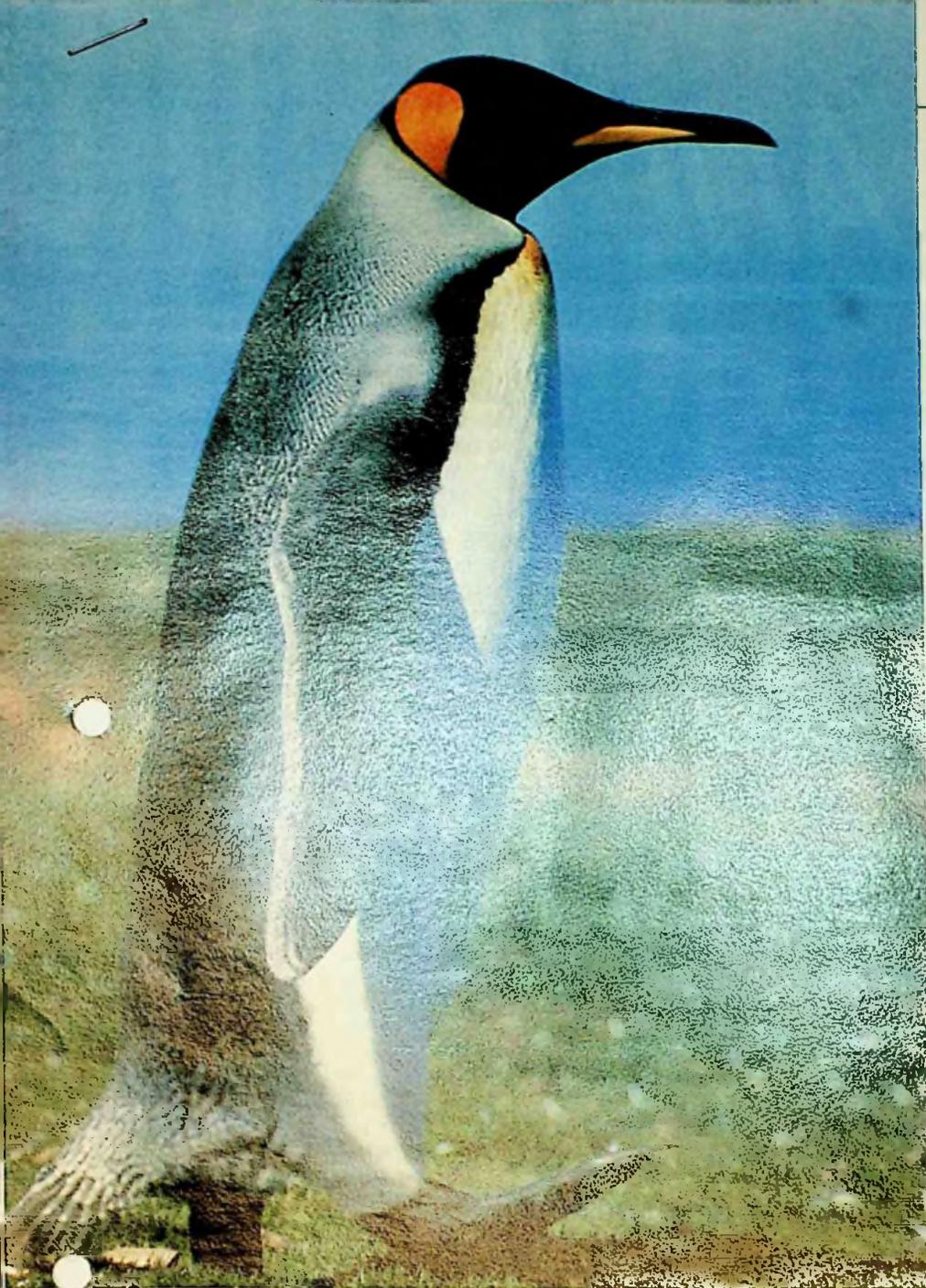
The FIDC says it is confident that the processed crab meat compares favourably with other better known species.

SWB Fisheries Ltd's first task in developing the fishery will be to obtain two purpose-built English West Country type crab vessels and ship them to the islands. The *Coastal Pioneer*, the former Grimsby seine netter, which has been working in the crab fishery is returning home.

Falklands boardings

OVER half the vessels boarded by fisheries protection vessels in the Falklands zone up to March 12 were Spanish, according to parliamentary under-secretary at the UK Foreign office, Timothy Eggar.

He said that 45 of the 74 were from Spain; the other countries of origin were Poland (23), Japan (3), Italy (2) and Greece (1).



The creature we associate with the region (King Penguin). Below: Goose Green.

Somewhere in the South Atlantic

Audrey Barry went to visit the grave of her son who died in the Falklands conflict and to find out more about the Islands. She was overwhelmed by the beauty of the terrain, the variety of the wildlife and the warmth and hospitality of the people.

Before April 1982 not many people had heard of the Falkland Islands or even where they were. 'Somewhere near South America?' was a good guess. The invasion by Argentina and the subsequent conflict altered that for ever. What was essentially a peaceful maritime and sheep-orientated community was suddenly in the international public eye. In this country we were left with the impression of peat bogs,

bleak mountains and gales blowing round clusters of tin-roofed houses.

Last year I was privileged to spend a week in the Falklands. We saw a little of the Islands and captured the feel of the unique Falkland way of life. My husband, son and I stayed with 'The Smiths of Sparrow Hawk House' and their four children who were kindness itself.

It was the Falklands autumn when we

arrived yet it was warmer than in England. Certainly the weather can be cold, wet and very windy but the clear air and light enhances the landscape dramatically and the days of bright sunshine with brisk, drying winds are delightful. The colours are always changing; a palette of soft ochres and sage greens set against translucent blue skies. At night you can almost touch the myriad stars and during my visit Halley's Comet was visible with the naked eye.

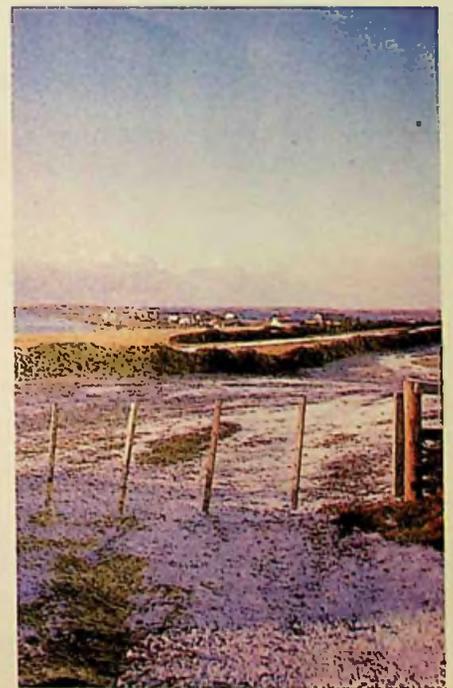
The Islands are in the South Atlantic about 300 miles from the tip of South America. Only one other island group in the world boasts such a unique collection of wild life. There are five breeds of penguins and many other rare seabirds, including a remarkable carrion-eating hawk called the Striated Caracara or 'Johnny Rook'. Very tame and a terrible thief, this bird is known to fly off with camera lens caps and even unattended anoraks! Whales, porpoises and dolphins swim in the surrounding seas, and seals, sea lions and elephant seals breed along the shores of some of the islands.

Stanley's bright colours

The Falklands are divided into Port Stanley and Camp – the latter being any area outside Port Stanley. (Camp is derived from the Spanish word *campo* meaning countryside.) Seeing Stanley for the first time I was startled by the bright colours of the houses and their iron roofs. The little town leans back against the hill overlooking Stanley Harbour. The streets still show the battle scars of the 1982 conflict but there are marigolds and hebes blooming in the gardens.

Life is leisurely and many stores do not open until the afternoon. In any case, shopping can mean literally waiting till the boat comes in. The Falkland Islands Company (FIC) boat arrives from England only four times a year, so things do run out from time to time. There may be no cereal or long life milk or, as on one notable occasion, no loo paper for a few weeks!

PHOTOS THE FALKLAND ISLANDS GOVERNMENT



Families who live in Camp settlements have to rely on the visit of the FIC boat *Monsumen*, which calls four times a year, to bring their supplies from Stanley.

Tea and cake first

The hospitality and kindness of the Islanders has to be experienced to be believed. Anyone who visits in Stanley or Camp is instantly given a large mug of tea and a huge slice of cake—known as 'smoko'! Food tastes delicious, perhaps because no chemical fertilisers are used. Most families cook on Aga- or Esse-style stoves which burn peat. This is free for the taking but a back-breaking job to cut, load, cart, unload and stack a year's supply for the home.

Most women make their own bread (although there is now a bakery in Stanley) and do several big 'bakes' a week. Meat tends to come in quarters with mutton at 22p a pound and beef at 27p a pound. Upland goose and delicious fish make a most welcome change of diet. Puffin egg used to be a very important part of the settlers' diet and in the past there were great 'egging' expeditions and parties.

In the Camp settlements, families used to work on the sheep stations receiving their meat, milk and housing. Nearly every family today has a deep freeze which replaces the traditional meat shed and tries to grow enough vegetables to last the year. Most houses have a conservatory where they grow tomatoes and flowers.

Falkland wool is beautifully soft, and many women are expert at spinning, knitting and colouring it with dyes from lichens, mosses and berries. One couple we met had come from New Zealand to farm sheep in the Falklands. Marilyn taught her four children as well as finding the time to dye wool and knit the family sweaters.

The houses, which look simple on the outside, are spacious and warm with plenty of modern electrical kitchen equipment.

We stayed a night with a young family at Jose Green—yes, there are geese on the

green! Lewis and Doreen Morrison and their young children, Priscilla and Marcus, looked after us and showed us round. The Goose Green settlement has the biggest wool shed on the Islands; indeed, until a few years ago it was the biggest in the world. Lewis is responsible for keeping all the machinery going for the four months of shearing and Doreen works there too, rolling the fleeces. An excellent cook, she tempted us with delicious cakes and introduced us to savoury mutton pinwheel biscuits for breakfast.

her pupils individual attention. After the senior school, which has a fine hostel for Camp pupils, students can come to the UK, to a school in Rye, Sussex, to take their A levels.

The Islanders pay about 1.5% of their annual income to cover their medical expenses. The new hospital is completed and includes some sheltered housing for the elderly. Three doctors, one of whom is



Above: Collecting penguin eggs circa 1900. Below: The butcher comes to call with delicious cheap meat.

For those children who live on the larger settlements there are resident teachers and some delightfully picturesque school-houses. Children on the smaller settlements have radio lessons as well as the services of the travelling teacher. I met a charming Irish girl, who was tutor to the daughter of the only family on a remote island, she loved her mobile, country life and found it rewarding to be able to give

a woman, look after the 1,800 inhabitants and there is a daily Radio Doctor session at the Stanley RT station for those on Camp. But, as one local said: 'It's fine if you don't mind everyone knowing what is wrong with you!' The more embarrassing problems are best dealt with by letter or a flying visit to Stanley.

Continued on page 22



PHOTOS: AUDRY BARRY

Falkland Islands

Continued from page 21

Airbourne bus service

With one exception, there are no made-up roads outside Stanley, and the domestic internal air service is the life blood of the Islands. FIGAS (Falkland Islands Government Air Service) operate two 10-seater Britten Norman Islanders, and these aircraft run like country buses. Every evening the local broadcasting station gives details of the next day's scheduled flights together with the names of those who are travelling on them.

Stanley residents have a telephone system with circuits to the UK via satellite but the only official link between Stanley and the 30 or so Camp settlements is the radio telephone service run 24 hours a day by Ileen Vidal and others. This provides a vital service for all those at Camp, but many of the islanders also have private two-way radios in their homes and Landrovers (saloon cars are a rarity on the Falklands). There is a radio news-broadcasting station in Stanley, but there is no television. However, many homes have videos which are very popular.

Our week came to an end too quickly, then having said our goodbyes and arrived at the new Mount Pleasant Airport for our flight home, we were unexpectedly delayed for 24 hours. After a long frustrating day, we arrived back in Stanley to be met by Ileen who said, 'Don't worry, we never



Blank terrain and welcoming homes, Port Howard.

remake the beds until we know the plane is past the point of no return. Supper is ready and there's a spare nightie on the bed.'

There was so much more that I wanted to see and do that I can't wait to return for another visit. Things are changing there but I hope not too quickly. Everyone is

keen to conserve the magnificent wildlife, but most valuable of all is the unique Falklands way of living. □

Audrey Barry is a member of Bricket Wood WI, Hertfordshire and is a Certificate Organiser for her county.

SOUTHSIDE
April 1987



ROBERT FOX MBE

Best known for his reporting of the Falklands War, for which he was awarded an OBE, he joined the BBC 18 years ago, shortly after coming down from Oxford. He had planned to be a historian and now finds he is really combining his love of adventure and travel with popular history. He has written his own account of the Falklands War, *Witness Falklands* (Methuen, £1.95) and is currently writing a book about the contemporary Mediterranean. He has just joined the *Daily Telegraph* as a special correspondent.

THE LAND THAT LOST ITS HEROES, Jimmy Burns,

Bloomsbury, £5.95

Five years after the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands on 2 April 1982 much mystery still surrounds both the planning and the execution of the attack; a mystery of which very little was clarified by the official British Commission of Inquiry headed by

Lord Franks. His conclusion was that events moved so swiftly leading up to the Argentine landings on South Georgia and the Falklands that nobody in government in Whitehall or Westminster had time to block them.

But Jimmy Burns provides sufficient material to suggest that much of Franks' conclusion is wide of the mark. The book is a colourful account of Argentina under the military regime which fell a few days after General Moore's troops recaptured Port Stanley. It is one of the most suggestive and illuminating of all recent books on the Falklands/Malvinas question.

Jimmy Burns shows that the Argentine military first drew up specific plans to invade the Falklands in 1942. One of the most bizarre incidents in the whole extraordinary saga was the landing of an Argentine commando reconnaissance party actually on the Falklands in 1966; the whole episode was run in such a Keystone Cops fashion that it was a wonder it was not discovered instantly. Ten years later the military junta of General Videla backed by Admiral Massera took over in Buenos Aires. Military personnel established what was officially described as a 'weather station' on the British possession of Southern Thule, and yet it was quite clear that the installation was a forward logistical base capable of supporting half a battalion. The survey ship *Shackleton* was fired on by an Argentine warship, and the Labour Government in London became concerned about an

intelligence warning of threats to British Antarctic Survey staff in the area.

The mystery grows with the suggestion that it was the Navy under Massera that was keenest to make a physical move against the Falklands in 1976. When Galtieri took over just before Christmas 1981 the situation was paralleled by the role of Admiral Anaya, then head of the Navy: Burns states unequivocally that the admiral's condition for supporting Galtieri as President was the invasion of the Falklands and the plan for the attack was laid in November 1981.

But this is only part of the story. The book shows that the Falklands and military glory were all part of the Argentine ethos, along with Diego Maradona and the World Cup.

The style and presentation of the book is often as chaotic as the culture of the country which is its subject. But the most powerful point the book makes is that the British and Argentine perceptions of the Falklands/Malvinas dispute are entirely different, even under the civilian government of Raoul Alfonsín. For Argentina it is not a question of historical precedent and the niceties of international law and diplomacy, but the mystical fulfilment of their nationhood.

Burns concludes that since 1982 'the two governments appear to have been talking past each other rather than to each other'. He doesn't use Jorge Luis Borges' rueful suggestion that the conflict was one of 'two bald men fighting over a comb'. But, he suggests, such might be the desire to revenge a slight on a nation's pride that tragedy in history repeats itself, at the very least, in black comedy. ■

Robert Fox

FALKLANDS UPDATE

An on the spot report by Major R N Spafford describes how the fishery is now organised and controlled

Patrol vessel *Falklands Right*, once the Fishery Research Vessel *G A Reay* (photo J Marr)



“... it was a mammoth task”

The Falkland Islands' 150 mile Fishing Zone has now been in operation for two months (April 1987) and all indications are that it will be extremely successful.

From the first announcement in London on October 29 last year, the Falkland Islands Government had just thirteen and a half weeks to plan, organise and set up the zone, together with the necessary means to enforce it. Furthermore they had to accept applications for licences to fish and process them, which was a complicated process. The licences then had to be issued before the zone came into force on February 2.

It was a mammoth task, and for several weeks Falkland Islands officials and others involved worked long hours at weekends and late into the night; but if they have got it right, which seems likely, then it will all have been worthwhile.

Fisheries officer

There can be little doubt that the Falkland Islanders have been lucky on at least two counts. First, Peter Derham, whom everyone holds in high esteem as a skilled and able Fisheries Officer, was available to organise and set up the zone, and secondly, the Hull fishing firm, J Marr and Son, was keen to offer all the support that it could muster.

Marr, who have been promoting fishing around the Falkland Islands since the end of the Falklands war five years ago, were able to provide for charter to the Falkland Islands Government two suitable vessels, their 1496grt seismic survey boat *Seisella*, and their 998.92grt Ice Class 3 research vessel, *G A Reay*,

together with their crews. These were renamed *Falkland Desire* and *Falkland Right* after the Falkland Islands flag motto "Desire the Right". Marr were also able to provide a fast launch, which has been named *Warrah*.

Patrol aircraft

A Dornier 228 aircraft completes the controlling force. This has the capability of cruising at 190mph and it has an endurance of ten hours, though in use it will probably cruise at 150mph for up to eight hours at a stretch. This has been provided by the Bristow company, which is already flying helicopters on charter to the British forces in the Falklands. Bristows man, operate and service the eighteen seater aircraft with a total of four pilots and a party of servicing technicians.

Peter Derham brings with him the experience of the Icelandic Cod War, and he has an inspectorate of six senior men. Dr Ken Patterson and Mr John Barton, a seventh generation Falkland Islander, are providing on-the-spot scientific expertise, and back

in Britain is Dr Beddington of the Marine Research Assessment Group, reliably reported to be on a fee of £1000 per day, who is analysing fishing catches in order to control the fishery in future. This data will be first-hand information, never before available, and the best fishing records that the Falkland Islanders have ever had.

Finally, the whole fishing control organisation in the Falklands is linked by a radio net with the military, as an outstation on listening watch, in case the need arises for the civilian organisation to call on the military in an emergency.

The total cost of this enforcement will be £4M per year to control the two sub-zones known as Falklands Fishery North and Falklands Fishery South.

In spite of threats by some politicians and predictions of conflict by all the prophets of doom, the Russians and Bulgarians promised not to interfere and they have kept away. The Spanish fishermen, despite their Government's stance beside Argentina, applied in strength for

licences and the Argentines, after some initial protest, now seem to be moving discreetly towards some sort of tacit co-operation, if that is still possible. There have been no incidents apart from a serious collision between two Spanish trawlers, the *Campa de Torres* and the *Vixador*.

Of the 400 applications, 215 vessels have been licensed to fish. With some vessels holding licences for both north and south zones, a total of 243 licences have been issued embracing jiggers and trawlers flying the flags of ten different countries.

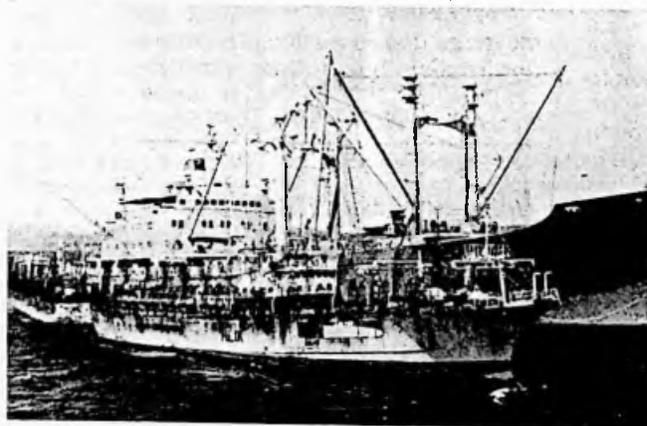
Licence cost

Rather than allocate licences by country or company, licences have been issued to individual vessels, as this helps to remove politics from fishing. These cost between £26 000 and £86 000 depending on the tonnage of the vessel and, for a squid jigger, on the number of jigging lines operated.

The revenue in licence fees collected is over £10M and, with the policing expenses of £4M, this leaves a net profit of over £6M earned by the Falkland Islands Government this year.

When setting up the licensing system, the Falkland Islands Development Corporation created a new company, called Stanley Fisheries Ltd, for a number of reasons, one being to give the Islanders a stake, other than licensing, in their own resource. All companies fishing the zone have been strongly encouraged to enter into a joint venture with Stanley Fisheries Ltd on the basis of the Development Corporation holding 51 per cent of the shares. Indeed, it was

Two Korean squid jiggers discharge to a Greek owned, Panama registered, Korean crewed reefer in Berkeley Sound





Dornier 228-201 high-wing monoplane used for patrol

openly announced that, when considering which licence applications to accept, a degree of preference would be given to those vessels of British companies in joint venture with the Falkland Islands Development Corporation.

Of the 215 vessels licensed, 100 are owned or chartered by some 12 joint venture companies. Many of these fishing companies are already joint ventures within themselves: for example, Boyd Line of Hull together with Witte UK Ltd (which is a subsidiary of ABBA Food Ltd of Sweden, owned by the Volvo Motor Company), have a joint venture called SWB Fishing, which is in joint venture with Stanley Fisheries. Presently they hold 32 jigging licences, of which 29 are for Japanese vessels and three are for vessels flying the Taiwanese flag.

In addition to providing the Falkland Islands Government with *Falkland Desire* and *Falkland Right*, J Marr & Son are the only solely British company fishing in the Falklands Fishing Zone. They have a joint venture with Stanley Fisheries called STANMAR, which has on charter 37 licenced jiggers, of which 25 are Japanese and 12 are Taiwanese.

Profits will, of course, depend on catches, but it seems likely that the Development Corporation will earn about £6M profit this year from joint ventures.

Marr are justly proud of their involvement in the Falkland Islands Fishing Zone and not only that they have helped to create it, but that they are taking a leading role in making it work, both from the control aspect and in fishing the zone. They are now

actively recruiting Falkland Islanders to take part.

In Britain they have been searching the records for Falkland Islander seamen resident in the UK and, so far, have been able to recruit four qualified officers; namely two deck officers and two engineering officers.

In the Falklands the fishery has already given employment to six men including training cadetships to two youngsters; Herman Morrison, aged 16, and Andrew Newman, aged 15, both of Stanley.

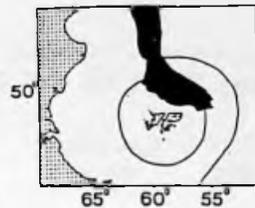
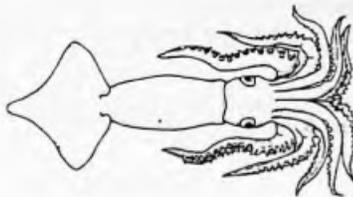
Crab fishery

In October 1986, FOR-TOSER, the Development Corporation's £750 000 research and development project to investigate crab fishing in Falklands coastal waters came to an end. A report was written, published and considered with a view to the next stage, which has to be a commercial operation.

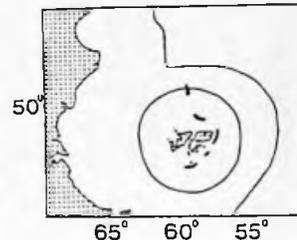
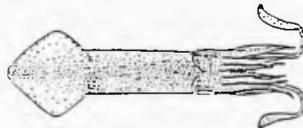
SWB Fishing, the Witte Boyd Line joint venture, took this up, and on March 11 it was confirmed in writing that they have exclusive rights to the inshore crab fishing for two years. Currently they are examining possible crab boats in Devon, with the aim of selecting two, probably 35ft GRP hulled boats of around 45 to 50 tons, for the Falklands. Each boat will probably have about 60 pots and a four man crew initially based at Stanley. The expected yield of crab, conservatively estimated at 252 tons a year, is thought likely to be larger than this.

Until fishing controls were imposed on February 1 this year, the Falkland Islands

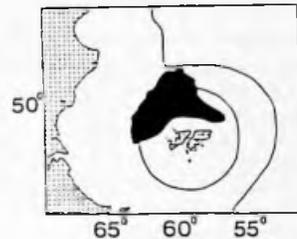
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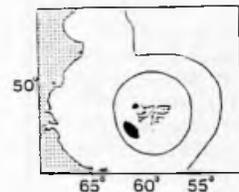
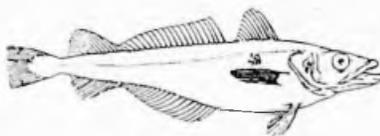
PATAGONIAN SQUID



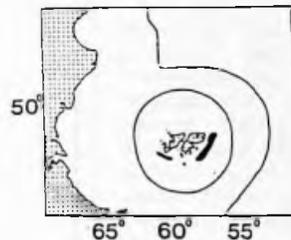
ARGENTINE SHORTFIN SQUID



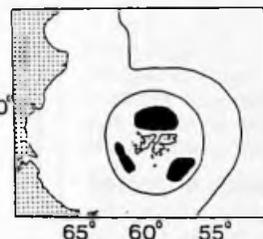
ARGENTINE HAKE



SOUTHERN BLUE WHITING



WHIPTAIL HAKE



Principal squid species

Patagonian squid: Length 5-17cm; mottled purple with small spots; film of skin over eye; February-October (*Loligo gahi*).

Argentine shortfin squid: Length 15-36cm; smooth tentacles with suckers at end; February-June (*Illex argentinus*).

Martialia squid: Length 20-45 cm; longest tentacles have suckers along whole length; April-July (*Martialia hyadesi*).

Principal fish species

Argentine hake: Length 40-110cm; mostly in October.

Whiptail hake: Length 15-120 cm; throughout the year.

Southern blue whiting: Length 40-60cm; July-November.

Fisheries held no records, nor had they any first-hand evidence on which to base any conclusions. From the information available it seems likely that there are still plenty of fin fish, some fish caught being up to 30 years old. Squid, which only have a one-year life cycle, has been more heavily fished than is thought safe for future stocks, only 26 per cent being left last year to spawn. Recovery could be quite rapid however.

For the present, most of the fishing effort is concentrated on the three principal types of squid around the Falklands: *Illex argentinus*, *Loligo gahi* and *Martialia hyadesi*, with

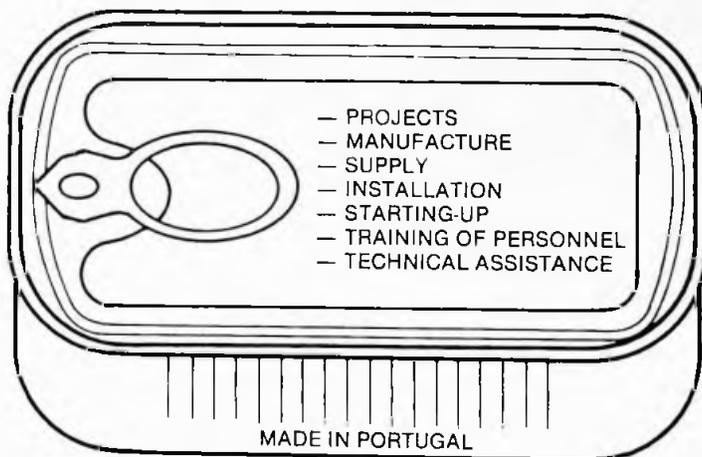
LICENCE ALLOCATIONS 1 FEB TO 30 JUNE 1987

Country	Squid Illex Fishery North	Squid Loligo Fishery South	North and South	Totals Vessels Licences
Chile		2		2 2
France			1	1 1
Greece		1		1 1
Italy		2	4	6 10
Japan	58	6	7	71 78
Korea	25			25 25
Poland	14	12	14	40 54
Spain	1	33	2	36 38
Taiwan	30			30 30
United Kingdom		3		3 3
Total	128	59	28	215 243

Total licences North 128 + 28 = 156

Total Licences South 59 + 28 = 87

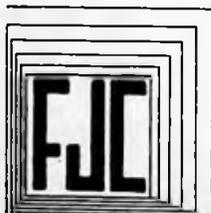
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the Poles now almost alone in trawling the fin fish within the zone, mostly for processing to fish fillets, but also for fish meal. This is likely to change, however, with both Marr and the Witte Boyd Line venture keen to extend their season in the South Atlantic by catching fin fish during the squid off-season.

Reefers, of course, are not subject to licence fees, but the Falkland Islands Government collects fees for every transshipment from jigger to reefer and also export fees on the departure of each reefer. Over the year these must total about £2M. Then there are bunkering fees and other ancillary fees, such as medical charges for using the hospital. With a fairly large visiting fishing population from around the world, it is not hard to calculate a further useful income to the Colony through the shops in Stanley. Maybe, in due course, it may be normal for all fishing companies to change their crews using Mount Pleasant Airport and perhaps even ship repair facilities may become available again in the Falklands. The prospects seem endless.

Income quadrupled

In recent years the gross national income to the Falkland Islands has totalled about £6M per annum. With a net income into the Colony of over £6M from fishing licences plus a further £6M likely from joint ventures, the profit from crab fishing, transshipments fees and all the other ancillaries, it is very possible that the Falkland Islands will quadruple their gross national income almost overnight. This will take some careful handling to avoid such problems as gross inflation and other attendant dangers — but that's another story.

Vigo owners 'well satisfied' with Falkland fishery

"... enormous optimism here in Vigo" says Enrique Lopez Veiga, Managing Director, ARVI



Enrique Lopez Veiga

Mr Enrique Lopez Veiga, managing director of ARVI, the Cooperative de Armadores de Pesca del Puerto de Vigo, told **World Fishing** during a recent interview of his delight at the successful implementation of the regulations now governing the Falkland Islands' fisheries.

Falklands

Those association members who were granted licences to fish the Falklands have reported their absolute satisfaction with the new uncomplicated regulations, and especially with the discreet way in which observations are conducted.

"The fact that fishery patrols are being carried out by civilian vessels manned by civilians, and fishermen at that, has helped to create a better understanding and therefore a greater degree of co-operation on both sides. We are also receiving a good deal of assistance and support from the patrol vessels. Two of our vessels were involved in a collision recently, and one had to be towed into Port Stanley by one of the patrol vessels. A relationship of this type, between civil patrol and catching vessels, which has proved highly workable in the Falklands, ably demonstrates how two civilian parties can work together. It should not be necessary to employ gun boats to supervise fishing activities," said Mr Lopez Veiga.

Vigo optimism

"The success of the Falklands fishery this year has created an enormous optimism here in Vigo, even though we have been fishing in this area since 1983. Regulation of the fishery has brought advantages in the form of better prices being achieved in Spain for squid. A glut of cephalopods on the

Spanish market last year created a surplus which drastically reduced prices to as low as 80.00ptas per kg. Now, with the new regime, we have managed to stabilise both the price and the flow of squid into Spain.

"There is no doubt that the success of our vessels in the Falklands this season has spurred others into building for the Falklands. Something like 100 newbuilding applications are in hand at the moment, about 60 of which have been approved to date.

"Control markets"

"The EEC countries need to control the input of fish into the market. Access to our market should be granted to those countries which treat our fishermen favourably, and those countries which do not treat us well, should not be given free access. This would help to open up world markets.

"There are eight fishing vessel owners' associations in Vigo. One of these is ARPOSOL which represents the interests of our traditional *Gran Sol* fleet. Under the terms of the Treaty of Accession to the EEC, a list of 300 Spanish vessels with the right to fish the Community waters was established. Our association represents almost 20 per cent of that fleet, which has traditional rights to fish off the west coast of Ireland and off the south coast of England. They should not be confused with the 'flag of convenience' operators, who belong to a separate association, ANASCO. We are concerned that the growing fishing effort of ANASCO members is directed at the same species as those our *Gran Sol* fishermen have traditionally fished.

"Under the terms of the Treaty of Accession, our *Gran Sol* members are subject to immense restrictions which

will make it very difficult for them to survive the transition period until 1992. It is our opinion that the increased fishing effort which is being made by a growing fleet of 'flag of convenience' vessels will further jeopardise stocks which are already under pressure, as well as the future of our *Gran Sol* and the traditional British fleets.

Loopholes

"We believe that the solution to the problem of unauthorised fishing in this region lies firmly with the British Government, who should act quickly to close the legislative loopholes which allow opportunists to flourish, at the expense of those who have traditionally fished and who have stayed within the law."

(For more up to date information on the Falklands fishery, see pages 4, 5)



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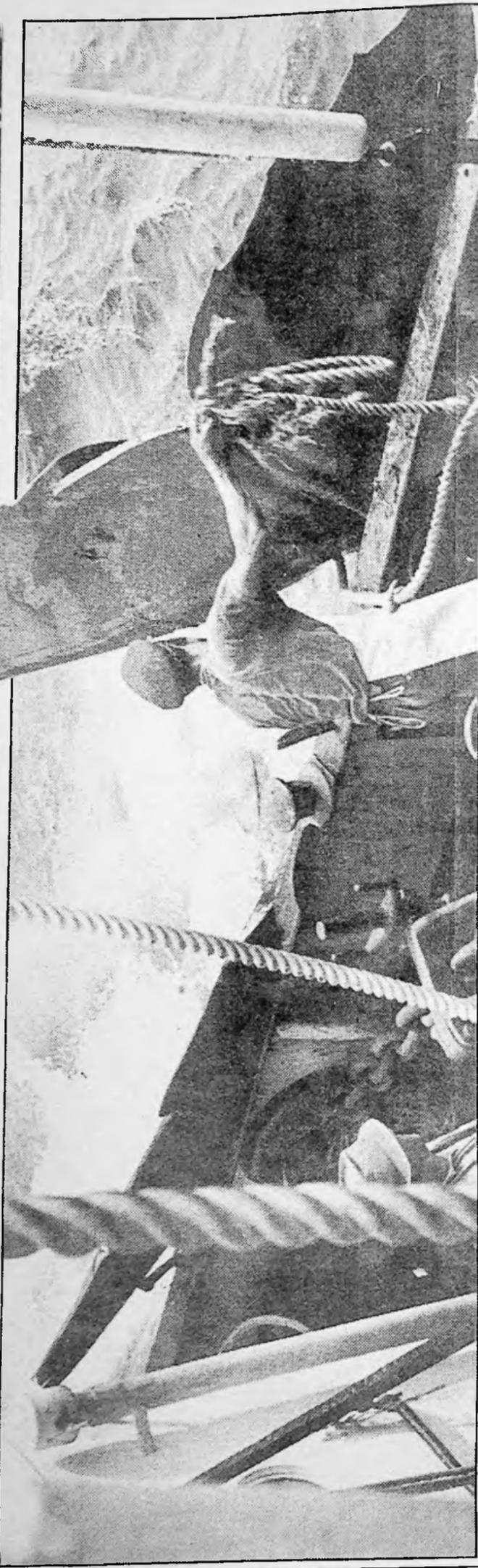
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31 MAY 1987

Comment and analysis of the news of the week

46 Russell Harty's notebook on Hitler's obsession with Southport and his Auntie Alice



Save the whale: 'They have not been treated as a renewable resource. They have been mined. The excavations have continued until the quarry became uneconomic,' says expert Dr Sidney Holt

WHY WHALES MUST DIE FOR MR SUZUKI

A FEW days ago the whaling ship Soviet Ukraine steamed into the Black Sea port of Odessa with its final prize, a minke whale. An orchestra played as the skipper, Vladimir Angelin, recited his own poem. Farewell to Antarctica. It was Angelin's final voyage.

Last week's announcement that the Soviet Union has at last ended commercial whaling caused conservationists to rejoice for the Russians had played a leading part in the plunder, to near extinction, of "great" whales such as the blue and right species. But the whale is far from saved. Japan remains by far the world's greatest whale-killer and consumer, and is deaf to conservationist pleas.

At the annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) in Bournemouth next month Japanese delegates are expected to insist on their right to go on catching 875 whales annually until the year 2000 for "scientific" purposes. The hunt must continue, they argue, so that whale stocks can be monitored. Conservationists, however, say that research is a cover to keep the whaling fleet in work until the time is ripe to expand whaling, once more. The flesh of whales killed for "research" ends up in the shops.

In the 1970s, after it became clear that whalers had virtually wiped out the great whales, the "eco-warriors" of Greenpeace and other groups dramatised the plight of the warm-blooded, intelligent creatures that have cruised the world's oceans for 50m years. Progress was spectacular.

The conservationists produced film of whales, speared by harpoons with 160lb explosive charges, writhing in blood-darkened seas and later, in huge factory ships, being sliced up with power saws.

Dr Sidney Holt, a world authority on whale ecology, says: "Down the years whales have not

been treated as a renewable resource. They have been mined. The excavations have continued until the quarry became uneconomic." He describes the Japanese claim that whales are needed for research as "humbug" and "a betrayal of science".

Holt believes that the number of whales has been brought so low that virtually all significant species are in decline. At a recovery rate of 2% a year, it may take up to a century for the blue and humpbacked species to recover.

The message has not been lost on a world waking up to environmental issues. Growing popular pressure prompted the IWC, which was set up after the second world war to manage world whale stocks, to impose progressive curbs on whaling. In 1982 it ordered a ban on commercial whaling until 1990.

Today, with Russia sidelined, only Japan, Korea, Norway and Iceland seem determined, in the cause of "science", to go on destroying whales. But the Japanese, by a wide margin, are the villains of the piece and are blocking the way to the real rescue of the whale.

Japan not only catches whales: it imports most of the whalemeat caught by other nations (7,000 tonnes last year). Norway and Iceland consume small amounts of whalemeat but, like Russia until last week, export vast quantities to Japan where, among some sections of society, the meat is regarded as a delicacy eaten at funerals and weddings.

Large-scale consumption of whalemeat in Japan did not begin until the late 1940s, when General Douglas MacArthur, the US military chief, commended it as a high-protein food.

The Japanese fishing industry

by Alexander MacLeod and Louise Branson

began to exploit the massive whale resources of Antarctica and the Pacific and offered a ready market to others. The Russians, as hungry for hard currency as the Japanese were for protein, invested heavily in a fleet of factory ships. Whales and whaling have since become a deeply ingrained part of Japanese commerce and politics. The vested interests involved are so great that leaders of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic party are too scared to disturb them.

The key figure in the resistance to curbs on the industry is Zenko Suzuki, a formidable backstage politician whose power base is in the fishing industry (to his countrymen he is Mr Fish), and who in the early 1980s was briefly prime minister. Suzuki heads his own influential faction in the Japanese parliament and has an intimate relationship with Taiyo, the world's largest fishing concern.

Because whaling, with an annual turnover of £50m, is an integral part of the huge Japanese fishing industry, curbs on whale catches are seen as a threat to fishing interests as a whole.

Suzuki has led the battle to provide Japanese whalers with subsidised fuel. He has managed to keep the price of whalemeat profitably high (£20 for a steak weighing about 12oz). Above all, he has remained ultra-sensitive to the fact that several Liberal-held parliamentary seats are in areas where the population is involved in whaling. A candidate in a whaling area who opposes the slaughter is doomed.

Suzuki himself comes from Honshu, an area where pro-whaling prejudice runs strong. Thus, although the number of Japanese directly involved in whaling is less than 2,000 out of a total population

of more than 121m (in an economy with full employment), Japanese politicians trifle with the issue at their peril.

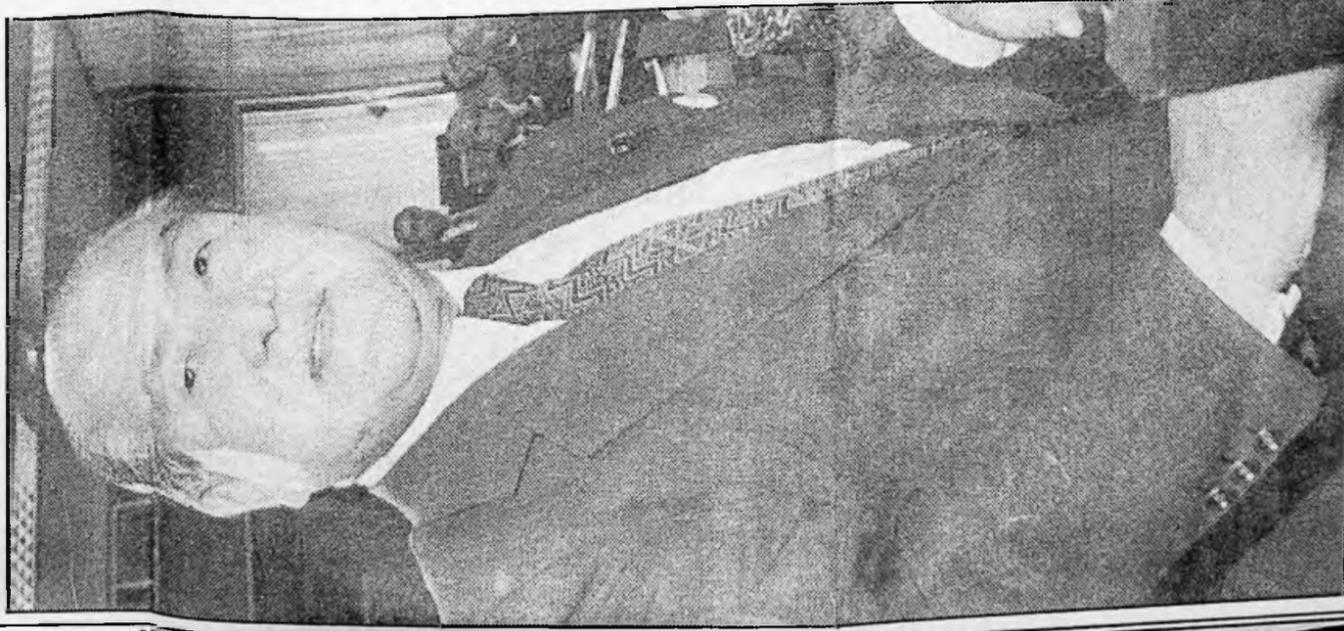
Japan is prepared to go to great lengths to try to defend an indefensible case. Akihiro Mac, a spokesman for the fisheries ministry, says that the current IWC moratorium on commercial whaling is based on "emotion". It is necessary, he says, to "take" substantial numbers of whales to prove that a ban is not needed.

Alan Thornton, a Greenpeace director, is convinced that Japan's long-term strategy is to maintain commercial whaling. He believes that it will keep its ships, crews and commercial infrastructure intact until 1990 when the current commercial ban is reviewed. It will then ask for the annual "scientific" catch to be validated as a commercial activity.

To carry out this strategy, Thornton says, the Japanese will apply economic pressure to weaker members of the IWC to secure enough supporting votes. A few years ago, when Panama proposed a ban on whaling, Japan threatened to cancel a sugar contract and persuaded the Panamanian authorities to sack their IWC commissioner.

At the IWC meeting in Bournemouth, much interest will focus on Tony Calio, the hard-driving American IWC commissioner who, since his appointment a year ago, has been building a powerful case against Japan.

The United States is the only IWC country with the clout to force Japan to toe the conservationist line. Calio hopes that the Reagan administration's current mood of disenchantment with Japan on trade questions will strengthen his hand. The mighty whale, meanwhile, remains a pawn of Japanese politics.



Zenko Suzuki: the former prime minister known as Mr Fish

NEWS OF THE WORLD
Sir Woodrow Wyatt - Comment

Sunday 31 May 1987

Don't trust Argies

ARGENTINA is now supposed to be a democracy. Last week President Alfonso caved in to the generals.

He has dropped the charges against officers who tortured prisoners for their political beliefs during General Galtieri's time.

Argentina could be run by Fascist generals again at any moment.

Yet Labour is pledged to hand the Falklanders over to them.

All the sacrifices our sailors, soldiers and airmen made would be as nothing.

The day Tebbit fell to earth

Tom Sharratt sees the
Tory chairman drop in

OSWALDTWISTLE he never seen anything like. The sun went in, the sky darkened over the Lancashire town, and it started spitting with rain as a helicopter descended from the clouds and landed on the only flat part of a cricket pitch that doubles as a toboggan run in winter.

Out sprang Mr Norman Tebbit, to the vast disappointment of a small crowd which had been expecting Miss Annika Rice. The was a quick handshake from Mr Ken Hargreaves, the Conservative candidate in the East Lancashire constituency of Hyndburn — Accrington was — and Mr Tebbit delivered a rapid homily on defence, the economy, and the Falklands to a nearby television camera.

Especially the Falklands. "The White flag has only once flown under this government," he declared, "and that was when the Argentinians raised it."

It all seemed a long way from Oswaldtwistle but the assembled Tories loved it, including Mr Michael Welsh, the Conservative MEP for Lancashire Central who had earlier tried in vain to conceal a large Labour banner on the boundary with his substantial presence and a picket line of Young Conservatives.

A priest and a vicar were waiting, too. Never one to miss a trick, Mr Tebbit went straight to Church, but did not pause in that village on his way to Accrington market. The 15 minutes of chaos which he inflicted on Friday commerce there did not endear him to the traders. "Get on yer bike and go back," he was told. "We want jobs round here," someone else said.

His smile undimmed, Mr Tebbit displayed a keen interest in towels, footwear, ready-made curtains, and ladies' briefs at 75p each or three for £2. There was

bonhommie for everyone. It all smelt a bit fishy, thanks to the rich aroma of kipper fillets, silver hake, and best Scotch plaice on a fish stall just round the corner.

Mr Hargreaves stuck to the party chairman like a limpet through all the hoo-ha and said his campaign was going well. Speaking as a man with a rock solid majority of 21 — it took five recounts to unseat Mr Arthur Davidson in 1983 — he said: "We feel that our support is holding up and the Labour Party's is not."

Mr Derek Spencer, who robbed him of the distinction of the smallest majority at the last general election by taking Leicester South with a margin of seven, may feel a keener breeze on the back of his neck, but not much. Mr Hargreaves is undismayed.

His Labour opponent, Mr Keva Coombes, is from Liverpool — a name which Mr Hargreaves hopes will bring a chill to Hyndburn hearts. "It would have been different with Arthur," he admits.

Mr Tebbit (Chingford, and a majority of 12,414) leaves. Mr Hargreaves thanks him for his help. He needs it.

Rights bill diluted

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

President Raul Alfonsín's legislation about human rights trials edged nearer to becoming an amnesty for accused Argentine military officers after the Senate inserted a crucial amendment yesterday.

But even with this last minute concession, it remained unclear whether the planned law would be enough to preserve the fragile truce between civilian Argentina and the armed forces since the Easter rebellion by army officers opposed to the trials.

After a debate lasting until dawn, the Senate voted 23 to 4 in favour of the bill, which argues that most military officers followed orders during the "dirty war", in which at least 9,000 people vanished between 1976 and 1983.

The bill originally proposed by President Alfonsín and passed by the Lower House of Congress two weeks ago, said "due obedience" — or the defence of following orders — should apply to officers below the rank of an army colonel or the equivalent.

But the Senate decided that this principle should also benefit colonels, generals, and other senior officers, provided they were not commanders-in-chief or held top positions such as regional chiefs or heads of prisons during the repression.

Junta disgrace

Buenos Aires (AFP) — Five former military junta members jailed for their role in a brutal campaign against leftists have been formally dismissed from the armed forces. They included two former presidents, Jorge Videla and Roberto Viola.

of Argentina

New capital for Argentina

BUENOS AIRES (AP) — A plan to move Argentina's capital from Buenos Aires 600 miles south to the twin cities of Viedma-Carmen de Patagones has won final congressional approval.

President Raúl Alfonsín says the move is necessary because Buenos Aires has become "an oversized megalopolis". He says it will create "a new country, in

which interior regions will gain a great deal more importance".

The transfer of tens of thousands of government workers will now start as early as next year. This will increase the population to 320,000 from the present 55,000 by 1990 and nearly 600,000 by 2025. The cost of the move is estimated at between £1.3bn and £8bn.

Patagonia capital for Argentina

By Andrew McLeod
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S Chamber of Deputies last night approved a draft law on the transfer of the capital from Buenos Aires to a coastal site in northern Patagonia.

Under the new law, which was passed by the Senate in March and approved by the Lower House by 146 votes to 17, the capital will be transferred to Viedma in Rio Negro province, and Carmen de Patagones, in Southern Buenos province.

The two towns face each other across the Rio Negro



which separates the two provinces.

In Government-commissioned reports on the proposed transfer, the army and air force had earlier

expressed their opposition to the Viedma-Carmen de Patagones site on the grounds that a maritime location would make the new capital virtually indefensible.

The navy backed the proposal, stressing the importance of a maritime site in view of Argentina's dispute with Britain over the Falklands (Malvinas) Islands and the British fisheries zone.

Approving the Bill last night, Deputies from the Peronist Opposition said they did so with reservations.

Senor Antonio Cafiero, the Peronist candidate for Governor of Buenos Aires, said: "Patagonia needs industries, not office chiefs, it needs factories, not desks."

UK 'sent secret team to Falklands in 1943'

By Gareth Parry

EVIDENCE of a secret expedition to reinforce British claims to the Falkland Islands at the height of the second world war is disclosed by a historian today.

Operation Tabarin, mounted not against the Germans but the Argentinians, sailed in 1943 with instructions to initiate a more or less continuous occupation of certain Antarctic bases in the Falkland Islands dependencies.

The Government blocked publication of the background to the policy as recently as 1983.

Peter J. Beck, an authority on Antarctica, says in the June issue of *History Today* that Britain's policy since the 1920s had been "to paint the whole Antarctic red," adding 5.5 million square miles to the Empire.

Operation Tabarin, named after the Bal Tabarin nightclub in Paris — allegedly because of the nocturnal and chaotic nature of the preparations for its departure — was meant to consolidate British title in the dependencies against previous and "imminent" Argentine infringements of British sovereignty. Those infringements, Beck remarks, were in some respects possessed of a childish character evidenced by frequent exchange of paper protests and the obliteration and repainting of national symbols.

The 14-man expedition left England in December 1943. After calls at Montevideo and the Falklands it reached Antarctica, where bases were established at Deception Island and Port Lockroy in February 1944. Ice conditions prevented any further bases being established until Tabarin's second season a year later.

Base huts, wireless telegraph stations and post offices, magistrates and specially over-printed Falkland Islands stamps for each dependency were established. The purpose of the stamps was political and legal rather than postal or philatelic, Beck says.

Cabinet documents on Operation Tabarin have been kept secret beyond the normal 30-year rule for disclosure.

When Beck was commissioned in 1983 to write about the issue for a British Antarctic Survey journal, his study was not cleared by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office because of the continuing sensitivity of the issue

Guardian Friday 29 May 1987

Lord Sutch forced to rave from the sidelines

By Sandra Barwick

SCREAMING LORD Sutch was uncharacteristically quiet as nominations for general election candidates countrywide closed at 4pm yesterday. Although he had reached Finchley's registration office with three minutes to spare his papers were not in order.

As a result His Lordship, who has stood in 12 elections, will not be joining Margaret Thatcher at the final count. Looking pale after a recent bout of flu, he murmured that he was disappointed, but that his Monster Raving Loony Party, which plans to privatise hot air from the House of Commons as a form of cheap heating, would be represented by a number of candidates in the West Country.

His failure must come as good news for two other candidates in Finchley, both of whom registered yesterday afternoon. Michelle St Vincent, 23, described by her agent as very attractive and a financial consultant, is standing as a representative of the Gold Party. Ken McKay, representing her, said that a tactical decision had been made to keep her manifesto secret until next week. "We are not stupid, like Lord Buckethead," he said.

His alternative Lordship, wearing black boots, a cloak and what appeared to be a black litterbin, had earlier made a dramatic arrival outside the offices in a hired Daimler which had cost his party £85.



DAVID ROSE

Party piece: Lord Buckethead, of the Gremloids Party, at the registration office in Finchley, north London. His Alternative Lordship is one of four people trying to unseat the Conservative candidate — Margaret Thatcher.

His spokesman and agent, Irving Rappaport, said Lord Buckethead's name was one of common usage. But he is unlikely to see his £500 deposit again unless the Gremloids Party, pledged to replace all nuclear weapons and the Trident programme by Inter-Galactic Starfighters and give all children free BMX bikes, sweets and ice-cream, wins

over a twentieth of votes cast. At the last election 11 candidates stood in Finchley. This time only five have entered the lists, including John Davies for the Labour Party and David Howarth for the Alliance.

In other constituencies representatives from the Official Fidgeytous Party (C A Humphrey, Hairwich), the

Only Official Best Party (C D Flee, North Bedfordshire), the Right of the Falkland Islanders to elect an MP to Westminster Campaign (J S Fish, Wells), Blaucmange Throwers (supported by Pamela Stephenson, comedienne), and the Capital Punishment Referendum Party have offered themselves to the electorate.

Environment ministers sidestep the ozone issue

Debora MacKenzie, Brussels

EUROPE'S environment ministers met last week in Brussels to consider eight different proposals to protect the environment in the EEC and elsewhere. Their discussions ranged from sulphurous pollution to that from pesticides. The proposal considered most important by many environmentalists, a protocol to protect the ozone layer, barely came up for discussion.

The protocol limits the use and production of chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). They deplete the ozone layer which protects life on Earth from harmful solar radiation. Ministers agreed to the protocol in Geneva last month (*New Scientist*, 7 May, p 20). Officials of the UN Environment Programme

expressed confidence that the EEC's environment ministers would approve it at last week's meeting, opening the way for signing the protocol at a further meeting planned for September.

But Britain's minister for the environment, William Waldegrave, said: "I won't announce the EEC's bottom line before the negotiations. There is no difference in our positions and that of other EEC countries on CFCs, but I won't say in advance what that position is."

In Geneva, the EEC rejected cutbacks in CFC production (specified in the draft protocol) that struck a compromise

between its position and the US's. West Germany and Denmark said in Geneva that they wanted heavier reductions. Britain and France opposed the cuts. A French delegate to last week's meeting in Brussels said that neither country had shifted position. Waldegrave ruled out a consensus on CFC reductions before the September deadline for signing the protocol. Officials of the UN Environment Programme said that there would be an informal meeting next month in Brussels.

Waldegrave told journalists that progress had been made on other pollution issues that, according to other participants, were not discussed at the meeting at all. Waldegrave claimed progress on the deadlocked proposal to impose limits on the pollutants emitted in car exhausts.

The EEC proposed a complex legal protocol in 1985 to limit emissions from cars of hydrocarbons, and sulphur and nitrogen oxides. It said that all new small cars should meet the standards by 1993, new medium-sized cars by 1991, and new large ones by 1989. Compromises both in standards and in schedules were made to placate car-manufacturing nations such as Britain, France and Italy.

EEC member states must approve the compromise unanimously before it becomes binding. Denmark refuses to approve it and demands tougher standards. Meanwhile, West Germany has applied the standards unilaterally to its own cars.

Last week, Waldegrave announced that Britain, France and Italy are "close to an agreement" to impose the regulations without waiting for an EEC agreement. Britain says it wants the rules to take effect sooner than the other two nations, but only backs them for small- and medium-sized cars. These can be fitted with "lean burn" engines which generate less pollution.

Britain opposes application of the standards to large cars, for which pollution filters called catalytic converters would be necessary. Britain says that this would block the technological development of cleaner, "lean burn" engines. But "we are prepared to soften our ideological objection to catalysts for large cars", says Waldegrave. "It is important that Britain, France and Germany act together on this." □

Did warm water kill Falkland penguins?

FISHING boats are catching squid off the Falkland Islands this week, limited for the first time by British quotas designed to conserve the fishery. But an American biologist has suggested that largely unstudied global weather patterns may have a more profound effect on local wildlife than fishing. If she is right, conservation in the South Atlantic could become a much more complex kettle of fish.

When hundreds of starving rockhopper penguins washed ashore in Argentina last spring, it was taken as evidence of overfishing around the Falklands (*New Scientist*, 6 November 1986, p 19). Dee Boersma of the University of Washington in Seattle says that at the same time, magellanic, gentoo and rockhopper penguins living close to the Argentine coast were thriving. The dead penguins were from the Falkland Islands.

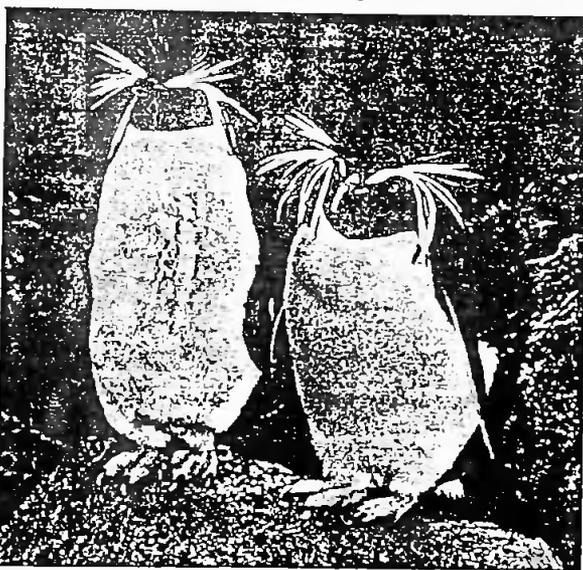
It could be that fish were depleted offshore by overfishing, but not inshore. But there is another possibility. For the whole period, says Boersma, the region's northwesterly winds were some 10 per cent stronger than normal. This would be enough, say climatologists, to push warm water at the sea's surface away from the Argentine coast and into the area around the Falklands.

Boersma says this would increase the deeper, cold water, and food, welling up along the coast, explaining why inshore penguins did so well that year. Warm water would "pile up" in the central Atlantic, however, just where the Falklands rockhoppers were failing to find food.

When a similar accumulation of warm water builds up off Peru during the periodic shift in Pacific winds called El Niño, fish either die or move south, causing local seabirds to die as well.

Boersma says that the penguins' deaths need not mean that squid were being overfished. Squid may simply have moved north, where waters were cooler at the time.

The wind and current shifted in the South Atlantic just as another El Niño was getting under way in the Pacific. Southeast



What starved the penguins—weather or overfishing?

winds off Peru were dying just as northwest winds were picking up off Argentina. Climatologists have begun to think that Atlantic weather anomalies, which could have important implications for African farmers as well as Falklands penguins, could be linked to winds in the Pacific. □

● Fishy events in the Falklands, p 44

Beavers to beat a path to Czechoslovakia

CZECHOSLOVAKIA's government is preparing to import an unspecified number of beavers from Norway to help to conserve areas of wetland.

The Czechs want to import the animals because of the benefits they bring to wetland environments. The dams they build create a kind of automatic irrigation system that mitigates the effects of drought or flood. Plant and animal life also flourish in beaver habitats. The consistent moistness in the habitat accelerates natural nutrition cycles. Fish and waterfowl benefit most of all. Scientists at the Institute of Experimental Biology in Bratislava in Czechoslovakia are managing the re-introduction of the beavers.

Several areas of marshland and deciduous forest in the Slovak republic will benefit from the scheme. It will restore popu-

lations of beavers that were wiped out by hunters in the 1850s.

The Norwegian beaver population, which at the turn of the century was the last surviving one in Europe, was one of the first species to be protected by law in Norway. Since the 1920s, it has been exported to Sweden and Finland. In Sweden, it has flourished to the point where it is now regarded as a pest. Last Christmas, the Swedish government launched a campaign promoting beaver meat as a Swedish delicacy. It urged Swedes to shoot a couple for Christmas lunch.

One reason why the beaver flourishes so well in Sweden is the virtual extinction in Scandinavia of its chief predator, the wolf. Extensive hydroelectric developments in Norway have probably suppressed the numbers of beaver in that country. □

newscientist

SQUID AND THE FALKLANDS FACTOR



Phoenix drowning • In the eye of the starling

Fishy events in the Falklands

Squid swarm off the coast of the Falklands, as do fishing fleets from Japan and Spain. Researchers want to find out if the squid shoals will survive this exploitation

Kenneth Patterson



A Japanese squid jigger fishes off the Falklands, lured by fat profits of \$2500 a tonne from squid

I CAME TO the Falklands nearly two years ago as a newly recruited fisheries scientist working for Overseas Development Administration and the government of the Falklands. The first impressions I keep of those days are of huge charging yellow machines dimly glimpsed through driving wind and rain as the contractors worked on the airport and the road. One of the first people I met on my assignment was John Reid, development officer for the Falkland Island government. In those days the fishery policy of the government was simple. John pointed out to me a bizarre-looking fishing boat tied up at the jetty and said, "Well, you're the fisheries man, there's a fishing boat; go and get on with it." My remit was to be a little vague for a while, but I went to look at the ship. It was like nothing I had seen before, being used to the British fishing boats. It was about 50 metres long with a white hull, fine-bowed and round-ended, and badly streaked with black slime that nearly obscured the name, *Fuki Maru No 55*. A fence of vertical grid sections with bright yellow reels at the top and incomprehensible machinery at the bottom surrounded the gunwales of the ship, almost obscuring the small deckhouse. No sign of nets or trawl winches, but two strings of large light bulbs hung along the

tops of the masts. A rising sun painted on a rusting sheet of metal stuck out over the stern of the ship.

I learnt quickly. The ship was a squid jigger, one of a fleet of 22 that fished in the Falklands that season. The ship's number did not signify that there were 55 ships in the fleet. Apparently when a Japanese fishing vessel is ready to be launched, the owners commission an astrologer to decide on the lucky number for the ship, this is then added to its name to ensure good fishing. Squid jiggers fish mostly for oceanic squid, particularly *Illex argentinus* in the South Atlantic, by attracting them with lights. The ships start fishing at dusk; sailors put a sea anchor consisting of a large parachute out over the bows and hoist a small triangular spanker sail at the stern. These hold the ship steady against the wind, and the crew can then lower the fence-like railings to a near-horizontal position. They then thread weighted lines out from the winch machinery over the yellow reels and into the sea, and switch on the fishing lights.

The ships look spectacular when lit up. They carry as much as 200 kilowatts of lamps and, on a moonless cloudy night, as far as 50 miles away you can see the swathes of light that reflect from the clouds. From a distance, a fleet of ships looks

Keeping the balance between fishermen and their prey

UNCERTAINTY about how fishing and natural variation in stocks of fish have balanced each other in past years, in general, means that historical data on a fishing industry are scarce. Methods of analysing fish stocks have to be simple. The principle is to obtain an age-distribution and a model showing growth for the stock.

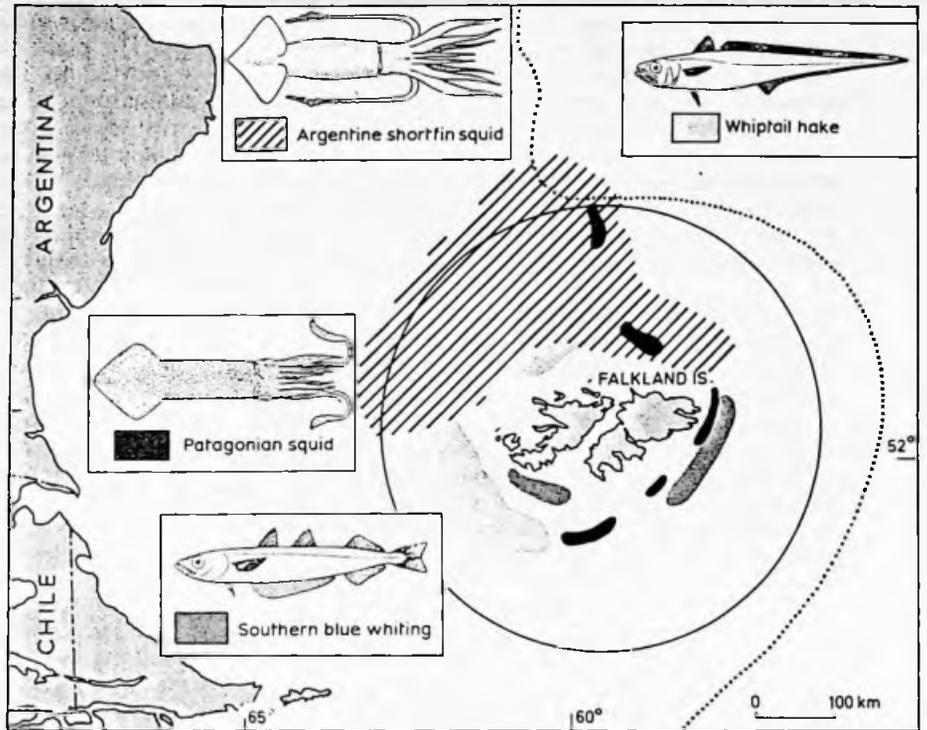
Researchers can assess the age of fish by taking out the bony balance organ of the inner ear, known as the otolith, making a section and counting the rings. In many stocks, the fish migrate between cold, deep waters in winter and warm, shallower waters in summer. Accordingly, the crystalline structure of new material added to the otolith changes with the time of year. This difference usually shows itself as a change from an opaque to a more translucent zone. When researchers section the otolith they can count the rings to determine the age of the fish. This method can reveal the age structure of a population.

If young fish have entered the population at a stable rate in past years, researchers can calculate the mortality rate in the population from the decline in the proportion of fish with increasing age. This mortality rate has a component due to fishing (F) and a component due to natural causes (M). From the same data biologists can calculate the rate at which fish grow, and devise a simple model.

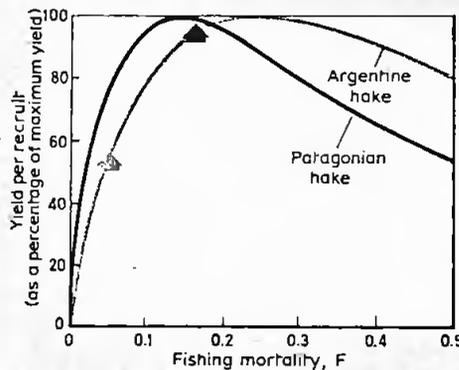
Researchers then arrive at an optimum level for fishing, that is, the level which returns the maximum weight of fish that can be caught without permanently reducing fish stocks. They do this by applying a standard mathematical model that predicts yield in weight for any given fish, taking into account the natural mortality and growth of the fish population, for the known ages at which fish are first caught.

Such a model can produce a curve (see Diagram) which shows the level of F that delivers an optimum yield. Among the hakes around the Falklands, the Argentine hake appears to be underfished in that an increase in F would yield more fish. But the Patagonian hake is fished at present at about the maximum yield. An increase or decrease in F would both decrease yield.

These methods are simple and assume that conditions stay the same and that samples are truly random, which is difficult to achieve in practice. Researchers can apply far better methods that take account of fluctuations in both the survival of young fish and the amount of fishing, if



The four main targets for fisheries and where fish are caught. The inner circle shows the Falkland Island Protection Zone, the outer line the economic zone Argentina claims



Yield models for the hakes. Arrows show mean values of fishing mortality, F

they know a historical series of information on age and size of catch.

It is harder to assess the status of squid. Squid lack otoliths; instead they have crystalline statoliths, looking like two sugar grains, that perform a similar function. The

squid grow rapidly and often migrate between very deep, cold waters by day and warm waters at the surface by night. As a result, statoliths may bear daily growth rings, which are difficult to read in such a small structure. An electron microscope can help researchers, but the method is normally too slow and expensive to apply to large batches of samples.

The yield model for hake and other fish is inappropriate for squid—the problem in assessing squid stocks is not how to balance natural mortality and growth over a long period, but how to balance growth within a year and the need to leave a sufficiently large stock of squid in the sea to spawn. Where the squid arrive in the fishing area at one time in the year, as *Illex* appear to, researchers can work out the effects of fishing by recording the decline in how many squid are caught as the season progresses. By plotting this decline, researchers can estimate how many squid were around at the start of the season, and document the rate of fishing.

like a row of moonrises along the horizon.

The fishing master operates an echosounder. When he sees squid are gathering under the ship he switches on the jigging machines. The computer-controlled winches drop the weighted lines to a preset depth and then wind them back in slowly, with a jerking, jigging motion. The line bears a series of large lures of coloured plastic with sharp barbless hooks that attract and impale the squid. The winches then pull the hooked squid inboard. As the hooks pass over the reel, they flick the squid off, down a chute that leads them to the processing deck. There the crew quickly pack the squid into aluminium trays which are frozen in blocks. The squid jigger can hold about 300 tonnes before it needs to unload.

I wondered why Japanese ships should have come so far to

fish for squid. It turns out to be a profitable business for them. The best market for the squid is at Hachinohe in Japan, where squid can be worth from \$1000 to \$2500 per tonne. Squid will be sold mostly to processors who turn it into small packets of snack foods, such as *ika-moromi* or squid in miso, *ika-mirin* or with red pepper and soy sauce, *yaki-ika* or squid roasted in strips, *ni-ika*, or boiled squid, and many other dishes. One ship with about 20 people in its crew can catch up to 20 tonnes per day. Profits are so high for squid fishing that a ship can pay for itself in two or three seasons. Fishing boats have caught around 100 000 tonnes of *Illex* around the Falklands in each of the past two years.

One question that I was asked constantly was whether the stocks were being overfished. Unfortunately, the invertebrate

squid have a short and unpredictable life cycle, posing even worse problems than fish when researchers try to assess the stocks. Researchers are interested in squid and other cephalopods because they could prove to be one of the world's greatest sources of untapped protein. Squid grow to their adult size in a year, making extremely efficient use of their food (*New Scientist*, 3 November 1983, p 332).

The *Illex* seemed to migrate into waters about 80 kilometres to the north of the Falkland Islands in about March, when they are about 20 centimetres long. In the next two months they grow rapidly and mate, probably during April and May. Squid copulate when the male introduces a specialised tentacle into the body cavity of the female. This arm, known as a hectacotylised arm, has along one side a groove that is lined with specialised suckers. The male passes several spermatophores (packaged sperm) into the female along this groove, and these attach to the inside of the body wall near the oviduct opening. By late May, the females reach 28 to 34 centimetres in length, their adult size. At this point, the spermatophores fertilise the eggs. The female squid are then ready to spawn. They lay their eggs in batches, in gelatinous masses on the seabed to the northwest of the Falklands. All the squid then die, both male and female. On hatching, the Falklands current probably carries the larvae northward where they feed and grow on the Patagonian shelf. Fishing for *Illex* is, therefore, seasonal. Replacement of stock each season depends on how many eggs the squid laid at the end of the previous season. Unfortunately, fishermen cannot rely on a steady amount of young squid keeping up the population as the squid are sensitive to small changes in climate—the numbers can fluctuate widely each year.

How then was I to evaluate if the squid were overfished? A useful rule of thumb used by some workers on the Canadian factory ship is that the stock should be managed to let at least 40 per cent of the adult squid escape at the end of fishing. These can spawn and keep up an adequate reserve of squid. After some time, I persuaded a few fishing companies to part with some data on their catches. I made a preliminary assessment of the squid stock, based on DeLury's method. This compares the rate at which squid are caught and the number of boats fishing in an area. While this is a rough method, it yielded the result that around 25 per cent of the squid stock remained after fishing. In 1986, I obtained much better data than in 1985, as the provisions of the Falkland government's regulations on transshipment, that is, the movement of fish from ship to ship, force disclosure of catch details. I calculated that about 17 per cent of the squid escaped capture, but again this was a crude method. The Marine Resources Assessment Group at Imperial College refined the method but came to a similar conclusion: that *Illex* was under threat.

The ones that get away

Meanwhile, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations had also studied this problem. The FAO has access to wider information than the Falklands government. The organisation will probably conclude that fishermen need not allow as much as 40 per cent of the squid to escape, and that the population can tolerate heavier fishing as long as the squid breed well.

If bad weather reduces survival of the young squid, then fishermen should remove only 60 per cent of the squid to be on the safe side. By this criterion, known as the 40 per cent escapement criterion, the stock was probably overfished in 1986 but not in 1985.

After I had been in Stanley a few months the rather frantic *Illex* season finished, and I started to look at the other types of fishing vessel. Most were Polish and Spanish stern trawlers of between 50 to 120 metres in length with crews of between 35 and 90 seamen. These ships had also caught *Illex* but had stayed on to catch various kinds of fish.

I started to pay attention to the other, perhaps slightly less glamorous, sides of the industry. Ships catch a smaller species

of squid, *Loligo gahi*, around the south and east of the Falklands. Fishing for *Loligo* begins in January and continues until October, at a depth of about 200 metres. Only trawlers can catch this squid as light has less attraction than it has for *Illex*. The main market for *Loligo* is Spain. Some squid are re-exported to Italy, France and Greece. Much Spanish "calamares" and Greek "kalamarakia" sold in restaurants to British tourists comes from the Falklands. Last year around 90 000 tonnes of *Loligo* were caught; so much that the market price nearly halved and some restrictions on sale were imposed.

If it is hard to say whether *Illex* are overfished, the situation is even more difficult for *Loligo*. Unlike *Illex*, these squid do not migrate: they probably stay close to the Falklands throughout the year. After two years of study, researchers reckon *Loligo* could also breed every year. It appears to spawn twice, once in May to June and again in October; this could reflect two distinct populations or simply be caused by a wide variation in one stock. Researchers are investigating these possibilities. Given such uncertainty, it is difficult to propose any sensible model for maintaining stocks. But it is surely a cause for concern when up to 80 large trawlers concentrate on a small fishing ground.

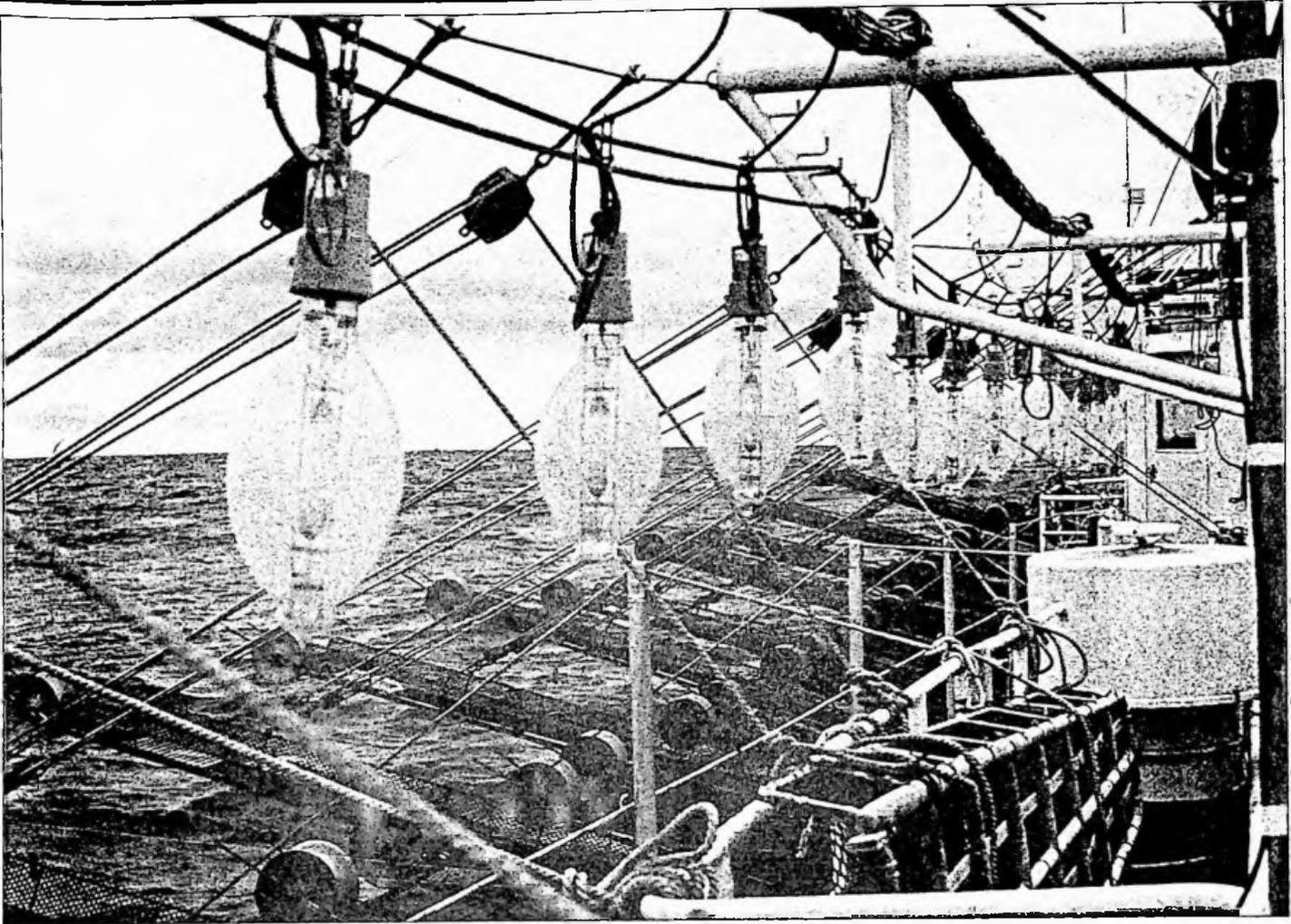
Fish with fins

The two species of squid, *Illex* and *Loligo*, together with a third, *Martialia hyadesi* are the chief resource of the Falklands for the fishing industry. But fish with fins also live in the sea round the Falklands: two species of hakes, *Merluccius polylepis* and *M. hubbsi*, southern blue whiting, and a deepwater whiptail hake or hoki, *Macruronus magellanicus*. One of these stocks appears to be in some need of conservation. Spanish trawlers operating near the Falklands originally came to the area to fish for the Patagonian hake, *Merluccius polylepis*, in 1982, as did the Polish and Soviet fleets in the late 1970s. It is difficult to obtain statistics for catches, but informal reports suggest that catches have fallen considerably since fishing began.

A simple analysis from a survey with which I was involved suggests that fleets are now exploiting these hake at about the maximum yield that they can sustain. Hake are slow-growing fish, so the large population of fish has probably fallen to a level where it just manages to replace fish that have been caught. The shoals are not increasing. Any further increase in fishing could well be termed overfishing on this stock. The other hake species, *Merluccius hubbsi*, has been fished less intensively, probably because it fetches a lower price.

Southern blue whiting, *Micromesistius australis*, and whiptail hake or hoki, *Macruronus magellanicus*, the two remaining fish, have poor taste and texture. They fetch far less on the market than the other species. Yet these fish provide cheap food, rich in protein, for poor countries or, alternatively, a fish paste known as *surimi*. This can be made into various foods such as "crab-flavoured" bars or pieces. Products like this are rapidly becoming more popular.

The northern blue whiting, *Micromesistius poutassou*, is a small and fairly short-lived fish—only a few live beyond six years. By contrast, the southern species can commonly live for 30 years, but most are between 15 and 19 years old. Surprisingly, fishermen catch few younger fish, which must worry fishing companies that depend on this fish. The level of exploitation has in recent years been fairly high but catches of older fish are unlikely to lead to serious overfishing: the old fish might as well be caught before they die from old age, as long as they have time to breed first. The fish has an interesting distribution pattern: for most of the year it ranges in small groups swimming in deep water from the northern part of the Argentine coastal shelf to as far south as the South Orkney Islands. During August and September, the fish congregate to spawn in dense shoals to the south of the Falkland Islands. Large trawlers can catch up to 120 tonnes each day during this time, although the average is far lower.



Above, powerful lights attract squid to the boats where jigging lines of plastic hooks (below) haul them in



Fishermen have recently caught the whiptail hake or hoki, *Macruronus magellanicus*, in increasing numbers around the Falklands. But the stock shows little sign of responding to fishing pressure yet. The fish live between the Falkland Islands and Tierra del Fuego, so only a part of the stock is caught around the Falklands.

My conclusion, therefore, is that *Illex* are overfished, the hakes, hoki and southern blue whiting are not, with the status of the *Loligo* stocks uncertain. However, the fishing industry is expanding. In recent years, pressure has increased on fish stocks in the most remote parts of the world. Most nations with coasts have enforced "exclusive economic zones" extending 200 miles from their coasts. Within these areas, the fishing industries are tightly controlled and highly taxed. Owners of the large factory ships that can catch and freeze fish find it difficult to get into these zones and to operate sufficiently profitably. At the same time, state subsidies to shipyards have allowed them to keep making vessels, so exacerbating the problem of overcapacity in this sector of the fishing industry.

Pressures such as these led to the development of the fisheries in the southwest Atlantic, including those around the Falkland Islands. Trawlers from Poland and the Soviet Union were the first to exploit this area, in the mid 1970s. The fleets sold hake and later squid on international markets all around the world, drawing considerable attention from other fishing fleets. The Spanish and Japanese fleets started fishing around the Falklands after 1982. The sustained and profitable catches made by these ships led to substantial increases in effort. In 1985, among other fleets, around 22 Japanese jigging vessels and some 10 Spanish trawlers fished in these waters; by 1986, this had increased to 86 Japanese jiggers and



Squid pour down shoots to the packers below deck. The catch feeds seafood fans from Tokyo to Torremolinos

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35 Spanish trawlers. Although catches of *Illex* in 1986 were not so good as in 1985 they remained profitable as, due to the poor supply, the price remained high. This gave the incentive for another large increase in fishing activity.

The industry that fishes for the southern blue whiting is also heading for trouble. The demand for *surimi*-based foods is growing rapidly; producers are diversifying away from the Alaskan pollack which has traditionally been the base for its production. Fishing for blue whiting will probably increase, as the food processors diversify, putting a strain on the supply of fish.

So by late 1986, the situation of the Falkland fisheries looked pessimistic. The stocks taken as a whole were, loosely speaking, on the verge of being overfished. The authorities had no plans to check the continued expansion of the fishing industry. Political and legal problems continued to hinder the British declaration of a fishing zone; but by this stage, the evidence was overwhelming that some action was needed. A licensing scheme came into force which has effectively contained the expansion. It allows the possibility of further limiting fishing.

Additionally, the Falkland Islands now receive substantial benefits in increased revenue. The Falkland Islands government is now setting up a fisheries department with help from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food in Britain to police the fishery and administer the licences. The revenue for licence fees will reach over £12 million a year, after paying for research and policing the licence system. For comparison, the total revenue from sheep farming, the islands' other main industry, is around £4 million annually. Falkland Islanders can now expect a new era of relative plenty as the progress of construction and development continues. □

Dr Kenneth Patterson is senior fishery observer for the Falkland Islands Development Corporation in Stanley. The views contained in this article do not necessarily represent those of either the British or the Falkland Island governments.

Argentina starts cattle buffer stock

By Tim Coone in Buenos Aires

THE ARGENTINE Government has put in operation a novel live cattle intervention stock scheme, aimed at smoothing out seasonal variations in supply especially during the winter months.

The scheme will enable the Government to buy up an estimated 150,000 head of cattle at today's prices, to keep them on the farm for several months longer and then release them onto the market when there is upward pressure on prices.

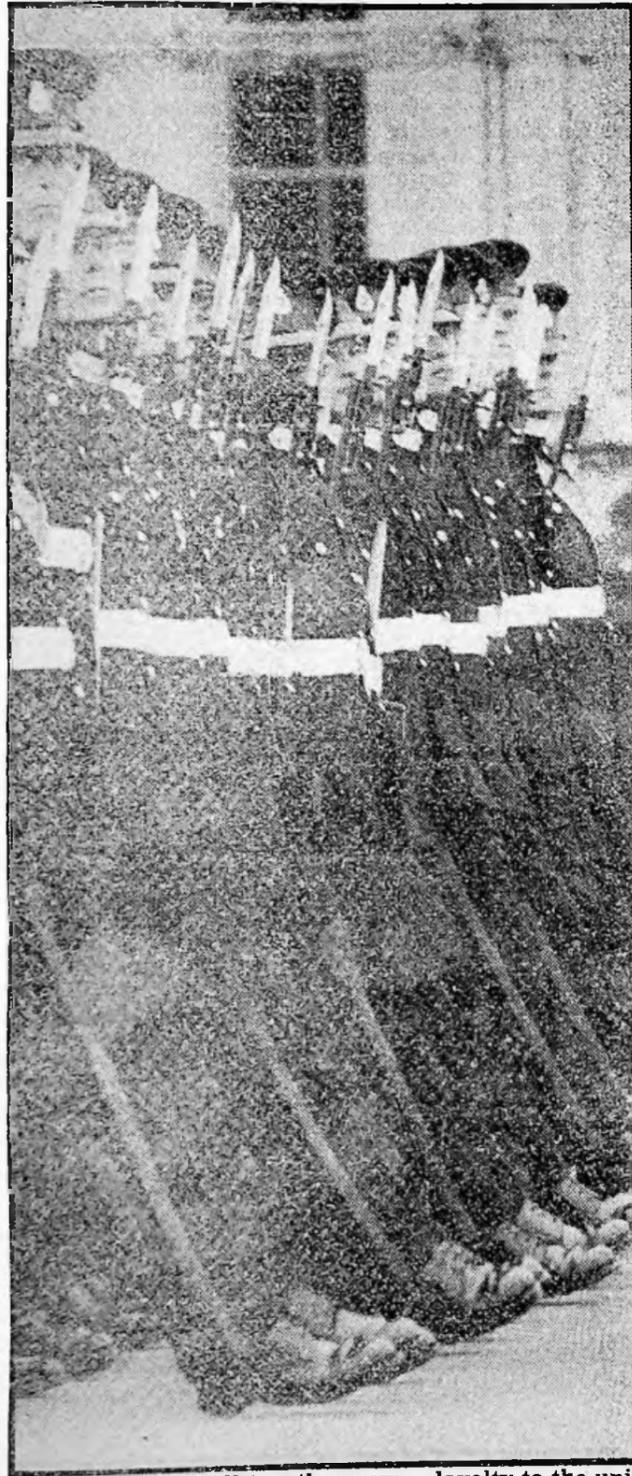
To participate in the scheme, the farmer must guarantee to keep his cattle on the farm for further fattening until they reach a required weight, which is higher than the usual for sending to the slaughterhouse. The difference in the final price paid for the animals, and that paid by the Government remains in the hands of the producer.

The scheme has met with criticism from farmers' representatives, however. They claim that the timing of the introduction of the scheme will have little effect on this southern hemisphere winter's supply of beef to the market, and that the Government is taking advantage of farmer's urgent need for cash for electoral purposes. Meat prices are influential in the consumer price index, comprising 15 per cent of the basket of goods. So seasonal variations in cattle supply have an important influence on the monthly inflation rate figures, and opponents of the scheme say that the Government aims to use it to keep down meat prices in the month or two before the mid-term elections this coming September.

● A resurgence of foot-and-mouth disease in Argentina has worried animal health and government officials, who have warned that up to 50 per cent of the total cattle herd of 50m animals is threatened by the disease.

The under-secretary of state for livestock production, Mr Carlos Valerga, said last week that the new outbreak of the disease was due to a hitherto unknown variety and that preparation of an efficient vaccine in sufficient quantities might take several months.

The regions most affected are in the provinces of Santa Fe, Buenos Aires, Cordoba and La Pampa.



Their own worst enemy

Why do men fight? Richard Holmes investigates as some of the worst battles of the Falklands war are commemorated

FIVE years ago tomorrow British soldiers of 2 Para and their opponents of the Argentinian 12th Regiment fought the battle of Goose Green.

With just over 2,000 combatants, about 60 of them killed, it was perhaps small change in the currency of war. Though it contrasts in scale and content, with major battles of the world's history, in one important sense the similarities are more striking than the differences.

Goose Green was a recent example — not the most recent, for it has been overtaken by clashes in the Middle East and the Gulf — of young men fighting to the death against other young men. In different circumstances, they might easily have been friends. It is tempting to use this to underscore the futility of war, to allow one's revulsion to obscure what many (I amongst them) regard as the morality of just defence. But the central question of Goose Green — or Gettysburg or Guadalcanal — is not whether war might have been averted. It is what made the men who met there fight.

Large issues generally matter least. Men are often inspired to volunteer. However, though patriotism may encourage enlistment, or foster support on the home front, for much of history an empty belly or a recruiting sergeant's patter were as likely to make a man join up.

Patriotism is remote in battle, and even the euphoria of August 1914 wilted in the trenches. More significantly, culture and ideology can help men fight by encouraging bravery and self-sacrifice, or creating an abstract image of a hateful enemy. Racial differences all too easily have the same effect, encouraging each side to deny the other's common humanity.

Training is crucial. It does more than make a man master of particular skills: it sets about the rearrangement of the values

he brings into the army and which may impede his ability to fight. I use the word "man" deliberately for, while women have increased their role in many armies, men feel uneasy at the prospect of women in battle.

The bonding process which goes on during and after training makes full use of what William Manchester calls "costume jewellery," and the tribal instincts of young men who need to feel part of a cohesive and successful team. Their status is marked by a symbol — be it tall bearskin or red beret.

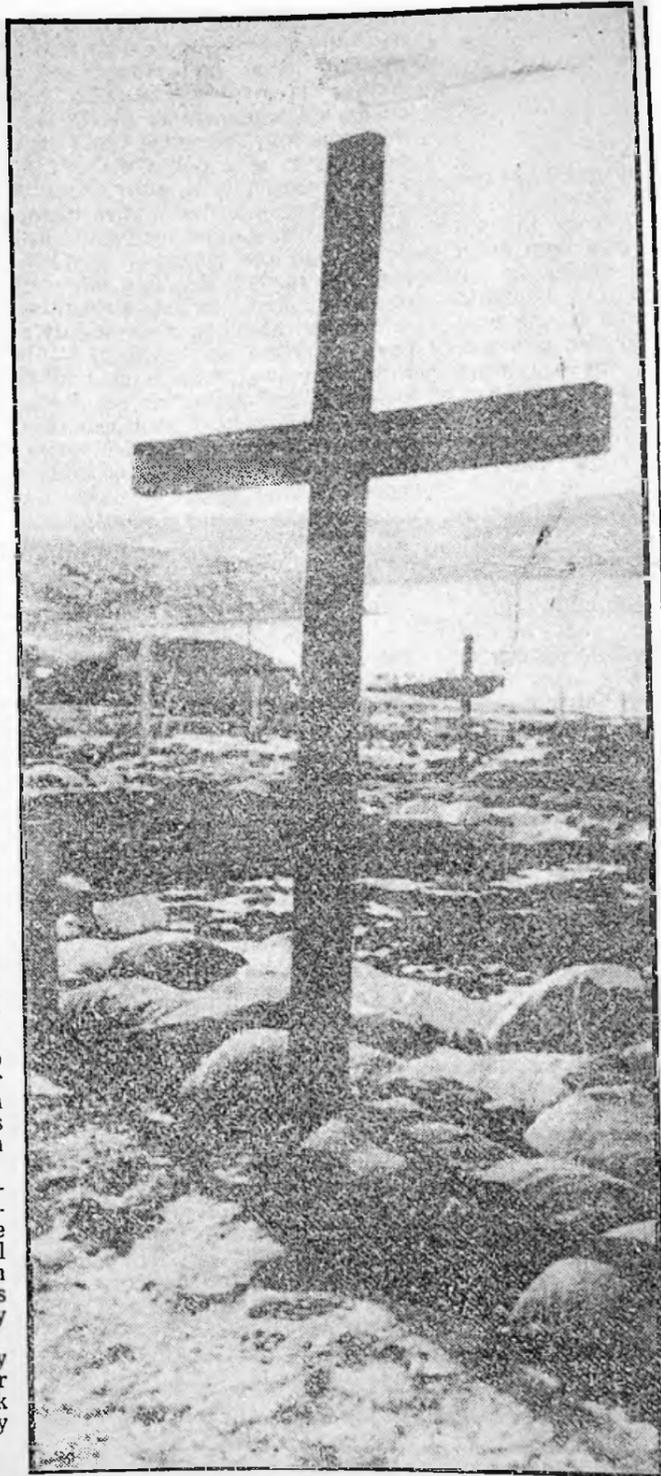
Not all soldiers are gripped by this compulsive tribalism. Some remain aloof; others, especially career officers and NCOs, develop a professional spirit which emphasises that it is their duty to fight.

Virgin soldiers are curious about battle; they wonder if they will cope with its stresses, and their leaders speculate on their own ability to make the right decisions. Indeed, leadership itself is a powerful ingredient of fighting morale. "If you want your men to fight to the death," said General George Patton, "then lead them."

There can be a darker side to get men to fight. For centuries soldiers used drink or drugs to blur the face of battle, and harsh discipline sometimes ensured that the risks of running away were scarcely less than those of fighting.

Some men relish excitement, enjoy testing their skills, or find pleasure in destruction. But most are kept brave by the little loyalties to units and leaders, and above all by "the bonds of mateship" linking men in the small groups whose performances is often — as it was at Goose Green — the key to victory.

In the last analysis men fight not chiefly because of patriotism, hatred for their enemy or infatuation with "the dark beauty of violence," though these may play their part. They fight for one another.



All together now — loyalty to the unit is important (Picture by Garry Weaser) but it can lead to death — grave of Colonel H. Jones, killed in the battle for Goose Green

The Daily Telegraph

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Slippery slope

THE ELECTION of Raúl Alfonsín as President of Argentina in 1983, after seven years of military rule, was a landmark in the swing towards democracy in Latin America. His Government not only restored civil liberties removed by successive juntas in their war against subversion but also supported the trials of their leaders. Five of the nine former military commanders have been sent to prison. In recent months, however, Sr Alfonsín's resolve to make a clean break with the past by prosecuting those accused of human rights abuses has wavered in the face of opposition from the armed forces. In December he set a deadline of February 22, the *punto final*, for the bringing of charges. This resulted in a large number being filed and by no means satisfied the military. At Easter there was a rebellion by middle-ranking officers who demanded an end to the trials. The President, with the backing of all political parties and the trade unions, faced the challenge of their *pronunciamiento* bravely by talking face-to-face with the rebel leader. The most serious threat to Argentina's democracy since 1983 had been met and it seemed to have emerged strengthened from the ordeal.

It is now clear that the victory was Pyrrhic. President Alfonsín has put before Congress a bill which would absolve junior and middle-ranking officers of human rights violations under the previous regimes on the grounds that they were obeying orders. This "due obedience" bill has already been passed by the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house, and is now before the Senate. But even this compromise has not mollified the military. General Caridi, appointed army chief of staff after the Easter rebellion, has said it should have gone much further.

We are thus witnessing the depressing spectacle of the Government yielding step by step to that section of society which disgraced the country in the late Seventies and early Eighties. What is the bottom of this slippery slope; an amnesty for all officers implicated in the "dirty war" and a pardon for imprisoned junta leaders? President Alfonsín's concern about further unrest in the armed forces is understandable but to give in repeatedly to their demands is gravely to weaken civilian rule.

Falklands fishing

Buenos Aires — A bilateral treaty between Moscow and Buenos Aires, allowing Soviet ships to fish in disputed South Atlantic waters, went into effect at the weekend as the trawler Janova left the Argentine port of Comodoro Rivadavia for the fishing zone near the Falkland Islands (Eduardo Cúe writes).

Another Soviet vessel, the Ritza, sails into port today.

Relatives of those seized during Argentina's military rule have lost hope of seeing justice done, writes Judith Evans

On the surface, the small town of Chacabuco, 250 kilometres from Buenos Aires, seems to be unaffected by the drama of Argentina's recent military rebellions or even the tragedies of the recent military dictatorship. But for two Chacabuco families the years since the 1976 military coup have been an unremitting fight against repression and an agony of waiting.

In the past few weeks the Ross and Rosetti families have begun to hope that their twin grandsons will be returned to them. The boys, now 10 years old, were born in a prison hospital to Lilliana Ross de Rosetti after she had been grabbed off the streets of nearby La Plata by armed men dressed in civilian clothing.

Guided by anonymous phone calls, the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a human rights organisation to which both the Ross and Rosetti grandmothers belong, has located a police officer they believe stole the twins. He is in Asuncion, Paraguay and legal efforts are under way to have the children returned and the officer, Samuel Miara, and his wife extradited to face charges. The families are hoping that pressure from abroad on the Paraguayan government and the Argentine administration's need to find a human rights "success" in an election year will tip the scales in their favour.

Lilliana, then a 21-year-old university student, was one of seven people from Chacabuco who disappeared in the Argentine Armed Forces' eight year-long dictatorship. But for the families the count is higher: two daughters-in-law from other towns, three grandchildren, the Rosetti twins, and the child of Eduardo Cagnola's wife, Lilliana Percyra.

"They were the best kids in town," volunteered the hotel café waiter, adding that they were all from fine, respected families. Chacabucans do not disagree. "But," says Teresa Cassino, sister of disappeared biochemistry student Jose Alberto Cassino, "the town people didn't believe us... they must have been up to something" was the attitude, she remembers bitterly.

The families say they were never ostracised or badly treated by their neighbours and fellow citizens after their young people vanished. Chacabuco simply became deaf and mute confronted with the tragedy. The local newspaper only published its first article on the Ross-Rosetti twins in recent months, although the case has been closely followed in the Buenos Aires press. The paper's director Julio O. De Nigris still refused to answer questions as to why the paper's silence has been so seldom broken since the return of civilian government.

More hurtful to the families, all Roman Catholics, has been the indifference of the local church authorities. Teresa Cassino's voice breaks and her eyes fill with tears as she explains that only on 27 April this year was her family allowed to celebrate a Mass for her missing brother's birthday. "And even now it had to be half hidden," she said. The Church's reaction is especially



Militant matriarchs: Argentine grandmothers lead a human rights group which investigates disappearance cases

Families living in an agony of doubt

hard on these Chacabuco families as all six of the disappeared young people had worked together in the Church of San Isidro's youth group throughout their schooldays.

For Daniel Fiori, one of a group of farmers drinking their Sunday morning coffee in the old café on the town square, the lack of sympathy and solidarity with the bereaved local families was easy to explain. "What we felt was more than fear, it was terror," he said.

Another local farmer is sceptical. "The kids went off to the university in La Plata. Who knew what they were up to?" he asked. Ramon Dauria, a police officer in the Province of Buenos Aires during the military government, thinks that the six young people from Chacabuco were, like many others, innocently taken in by left-wing ideas. For him, the repression was justified because Argentina was a geo-political target of international communism and without strong measures, he argues, "this would have become a Central America."

In spite of their differences in interpreting the past, the people of Chacabuco support the government of President Raúl Alfonsín. However, even within the families of the disappeared there are differences of opinion as to what policies the government should adopt to deal with the military refusal to be tried for human rights violations. Eida Trinchero de Rosetti, whose pregnant daughter-in-law disappeared and whose son had to go into exile, is convinced that an amnesty would be a "barbarity". "If they are pardoned," she says, "they will return." Her son-in-law, the



General Galtieri: ousted from the junta but acquitted of human rights charges

father of four sons, one of them just a year older than the missing twins, Ricardo Callone, is pensive. "If we insist on justice for the past, we will remain without a future," he says.

Obdulio Cagnola's son, together with his pregnant wife, disappeared from a Mar del Plata guest house on October 5, 1977. Mr Cagnola, a former bank employee, and his wife Nilda, have never heard another word about their son. A quietly spoken man, Mr Cagnola said, with an obvious effort to be impartial, "I don't think the government can do more than it has done, but I can't conceive of them not being tried".

Mrs Cagnola, tears falling silently down her cheeks, places her hand on her husband's knee, as if looking to give and receive support as he recalls that on the night of 29 May, 1984 he was listening of an Uru-

guayan radio station when he heard that three young men had been saved when a boat capsized. He thought he heard his son's name and began desperately to call the station. Unable to get through, on 11 June he wrote for more precise information. But the young man had been Edgardo, not Eduardo Cagnola. "I couldn't believe that he was alive, just across the river and hadn't let us know, but still," he said, eyes moistening, "there is always a light inside you that stays lit."

According to human rights organisations, there are between 9,000 and 15,000 such lights all over Argentina. For many the only hope that they could ever find out what happened to their loved ones was through information gathered in the trials of military and police officers accused of having participated in the disappearances. "If we had the body," said Teresa Cassino, "at least we could place flowers on the grave."

By this week the government hopes that the law to expand the number of accused exempted because they were following orders will have passed the Senate. The "due obedience" law is the government's response to the mutiny of Army officers who refuse to accept trials for human rights abuses committed in what Mr Rosetti calls "a war against the defenceless". Emilio Mignone, a human rights lawyer and father of a disappeared daughter, predicts that the majority will never face a court. In a weary tone he explains: "The people want justice but they also want peace." For six families in Chacabuco the peace of knowing is not likely ever to arrive.

A penguin's best friends

The couple fighting to save the original Falkland islanders . . .

DAN HALE and Kate Thompson have spent most of their married life living alone on the remotest of the Falkland Islands, linked to civilizations by a radio telephone and enjoying such mod cons as a generator to run the Amstrad.

It could have been an idyllic honeymoon for six months had they not spent most of their waking hours studying the diets of protesting penguins. Then there is the little matter of the wind, which threw 11-stone Dan six feet on one of its gustier days.

It is all, of course, in the name of science. Kate, 27, and Dan, 42, are working on a two-year project to ensure the survival of the Falklands' most numerous residents - penguins, albatrosses, cormorants and prion in the face of powerful fishing interests.

Penguins are, after all, the icon of the Islands, their faces on every conceivable tourist gift item. Now that Port Stanley's airport can take Tri-Stars, the islanders are preparing for a rush of naturalists, staying in the new tourist lodges and p-p-picking up a penguin.

Penguin Walk, near Port Stanley, is the big attraction. The penguins come out of the sea, waddle across a minefield, and disappear into their burrows, while the tourists watch fascinated, with their fingers in their ears.

It was, therefore, a matter of some concern when penguins started dropping dead for no known reason in large numbers. Since their stomachs were found to be empty, it was obvious they must have died from starvation. The warning bells started to ring.

Objective

'Actually', says Dan, here to spend six months in Cambridge analysing the team's findings with Kate, 'we found the penguins in a spanking condition . . . and believe me, their stomachs were not empty this season.'

Kate, piquantly, is the team leader, even if Dan does do most of the talking. Backed by organisations like World Wildlife Fund-UK, the couple are contracted to the Falkland Islands Foundation to provide diet data, with a budget of less than £50,000.

The birds are now at sea in the Falklands autumn, but Kate and Dan will return for their next breeding season, based on New Island, the nearest to Argentina.

They try, of course, to remain objective scientists.

'But you can't help thinking of them in human terms, can you?' says Dan. 'The rockhopper penguin stands with one flipper held out,



by JUNE SOUTHWORTH

for all the world as if he's a waiter showing you to your seat.

'After they've been incubating eggs for 15 days, they trek down to a rock-pool to clean themselves, and although you know that's all it is, when they're splashing about it's just like kids at the sea-side.'

They are not, it seems, at all like their picture on the chocolate wrapper, but are just as sweet. They like to come up to visiting scientists and peer closely at their person with their heads cocked on one side, and even, if they are gentoo penguins gently undress reclining persons.

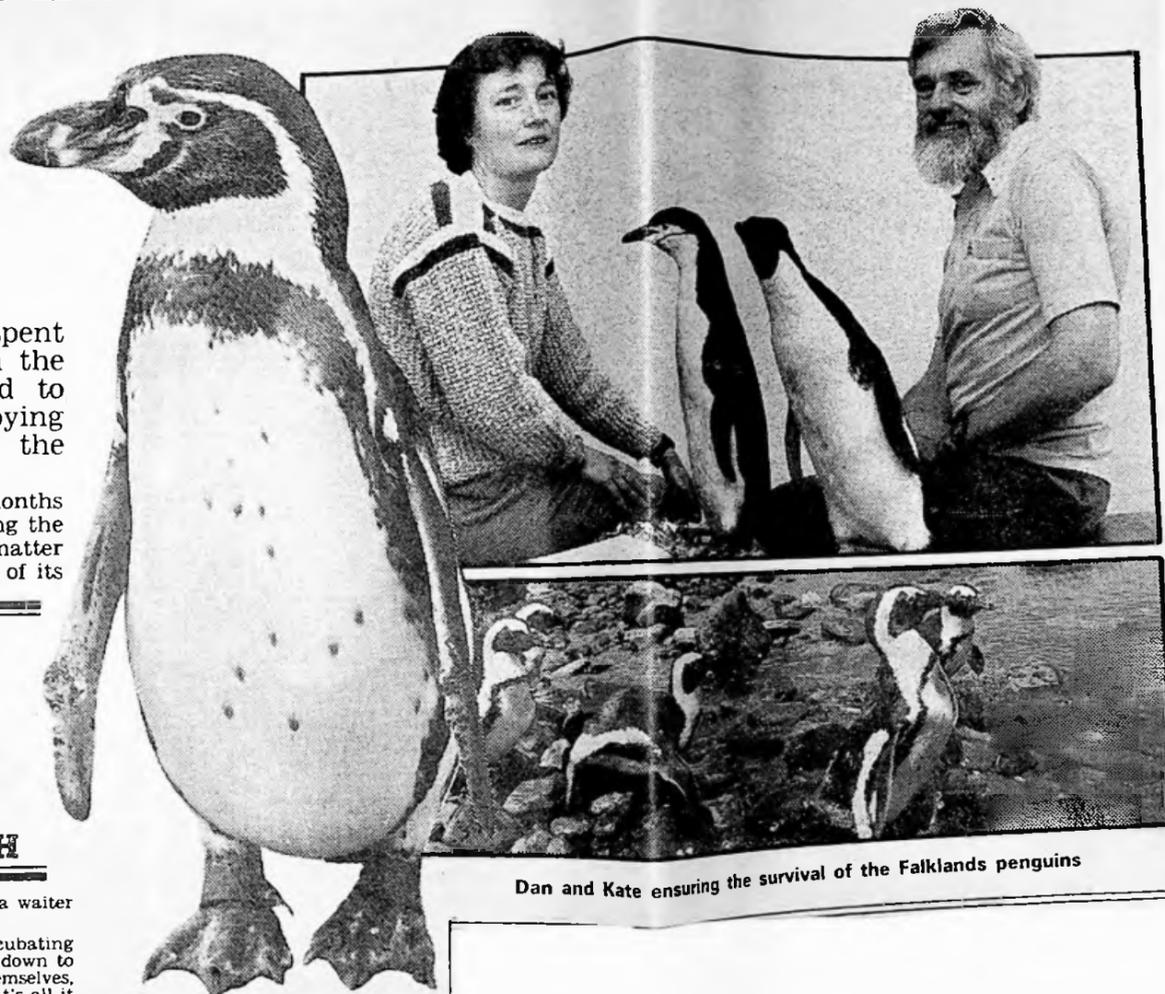
While a penguin is quite a handful, it takes two persons to hold a tiny wriggling blue-grey prion weighing no more than 150 grammes which wings in with tens of thousands of others at night-time 'like ghostly butterflies.'

The 150-mile Fisheries Exclusion Zone set up by the British (tactically avoiding The Argentine's fishing limits) issues 200 licences a season to boats from Japan, Russia, Korea, Spain, Taiwan and Britain.

The catch is unlimited, and data on the birds that feed on marine creatures like krill and squid and fish is urgently needed to ensure the controls are in everyone's best interest.

We don't know yet what killed off all those penguins, but once we know what they eat, how often, and where they find it, the battle is half won.

That is why Kate Thompson and Dan Hale — married only last July — went off to their remote island where the mail is dropped when a



Dan and Kate ensuring the survival of the Falklands penguins

military helicopter happens to be going their way, and everyone on the islands listens in when they make a telephone call. The only ordinary telephone is at Stanley, and that is so old you have to crank it.

Dan was born in Massachusetts and could be sunning himself in Cape Cod. Kate was born in Ulster. Both are Scottish by adoption, and worked on the island of Rhum studying Manx shearwaters before going to their even more remote island paradise where the 350-foot high centre drops alarmingly to the sea, spilling out sheer cliffs that are havens for seabirds.

Authority

The pair are vegetarians, which is just as well. Unlike the penguins, they won't eat squid.

How does Dan cope with Kate officially having the last word? 'When I was a ranger on Tayside, I had lots of people working under me,' he smiles. 'I can't tell you what a relief it is to have Kate take all the responsibility.'

'I never usurp her authority. We've worked together for five years and now we're stuck with each other . . . usually in the middle of nowhere with a load of penguins.'

Funny how human they can come to look after a while.

Argentina guarantees nuclear export controls

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

All Argentina's nuclear exports — including the controversial agreement with Iran disclosed a week ago — are and will be covered by international safeguards, according to a senior Argentine government official.

Dr Adolfo Saracho, the Director of Nuclear Affairs at the Argentine Foreign Ministry, said "the policy of the Government is not to supply any nuclear material or technology that is not covered by safeguards under the International Atomic Energy Agency."

Dr Saracho confirmed that the agreement with Iran, signed on May 5, covered the supply of a new reactor core and included deliveries of enriched uranium.

But he emphasised that this fuel material would be enriched only to 20 per cent, and would be delivered inside fully

assembled element rods for the reactor. "This is not a war material in any way," he said.

However, diplomatic observers here noted that the agreement might still raise eyebrows among the "London Club" group of major nuclear nations, whose members have banned nuclear trade with Iran because of the Gulf War.

As for earlier suggestions that Argentina might be willing to supply Iran with uranium enrichment technology Dr Saracho insisted: "We have no interest in that, not with Iran nor any other country."

But he said Argentina was continuing negotiations with the KWU group in West Germany on a project to complete a power station in southern Iran. At present the West German Government is not issuing export licences for nuclear deliveries to Iran, in line with the "London Club" policy.

Argentina can wait on Falklands

Buenos Aires (Reuter) — Trade and diplomatic relations with Britain could be re-established quickly if London agreed to talks that would include the Falkland Islands dispute, only much later, a senior Argentine official said.

"If the current government agreed to sit down for negotiations [on links], I am convinced that we would rapidly re-establish trade and diplomatic relations, and the question of sovereignty could be left for a later stage," Senate Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Adolfo Gass said.

Mr Gass, a member of the four-member parliamentary delegation which visited Britain in 1985 and a close associate of President Raul Alfonsín, said he hoped that the winner of the British elections would allow another Argentine parliamentary delegation to visit London.

Independent Saturday 23 May 1987

Argentines edge towards legal divorce

BUENOS AIRES — The Senate has approved a bill that would legalise divorce and thus remove Argentina from the handful of countries with no provision for it, **Reuter** reports.

The Catholic church has mounted a campaign against the bill, passed in the Senate on Thursday, and which must now be approved, with its minor amendments, by the Chamber of Deputies and signed by President Alfonsín to become law.

Argentines, some 91 per cent of whom are Catholic, have supported legal divorce by wide margins in opinion polls, despite the opposition of the church authorities.

Argentina ready to 'forget' Falklands

Buenos Aires: Trade and diplomatic relations with Britain could be re-established quickly if London agreed to talks that would not at first include the Falkland Islands dispute, a senior Argentine official said yesterday.

"If the current Government agreed to sit down for negotiations (on links), I am convinced that we would rapidly re-establish trade and diplomatic relations, and the question of sovereignty could be left for a later stage," the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, Mr Adolfo Gass, said.

Relations have been cut since the two countries went to war over the Falklands in 1982. "We just want a gesture — for them (London) to say 'Yes, at some stage we will discuss sovereignty'," Mr Gass said.

Mr Gass, a close associate of President Raul Alfonsin, said he hoped that the winner of next month's election would allow another Argentine parliamentary delegation to visit London for talks. He was a member of a four-member parliamentary delegation which visited Britain in 1985.

Meanwhile, the Argentine Senate has approved a bill that would legalise divorce. Argentina is one of few countries with no provision for divorce.

Argentina's Catholic Church has campaigned against the divorce bill which now must be approved in its amended form by the Chamber of Deputies and signed by President Alfonsin.

The Argentine population is 91 per cent Catholic, but legal divorce has been widely supported in public opinion polls despite church opposition.

The senators approved the bill clause-by-clause with the support of most of the ruling Radical Party after a long debate. They added minor amendments to the bill, which was overwhelmingly approved by the chamber of Deputies last August.

Many of the country's bishops threatened last year to deny Communion to the 122 deputies who voted in favour of the bill. They backed down after deputies criticised the Church for meddling in politics.

The Pope backed the campaign against divorce during his visit to Argentina last month.

Politicians estimate that up to two million married Argentines are living with people who are not their spouses.

Mr Alfonsin's Radical Party has a long anti-clerical tradition. Legislators for the party have backed the divorce bill in both houses of Congress along with the more progressive wing of the opposition Peronist party. — Reuter.

Argentine military abuses bill held up

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

A BILL before the Argentine Congress aimed at absolving junior- and middle-ranking officers from responsibility for crimes committed during military rule before 1983 has become bogged down in the Senate where conservatives want it extended to senior ranks.

In a secret session on Wednesday, the Defence Minis-

ter, Mr Horacio Jaunarena, and head of the intelligence services Mr Facundo Suarez, in an attempt to speed up approval of the bill, briefed legislators on unrest in the armed forces. Mr Jaunarena is believed to have said it was necessary "to avoid a repetition of the Easter weekend events."

Last month, army units led by junior officers took control

of several military bases in the capital and the north of the country, demanding an end to the human rights trials.

The lower house approved the bill last week. In the Senate, the ruling Radical Party does not have a majority and is facing difficulties with conservative opponents who want to see the bill extended to absolve senior ranks.

Second season Falkland fees set

LICENCE fees for the second season of the Falkland Islands fisheries have now been finalised by the islands' government.

The season, which runs from July 1 to December 31, is open to trawlers only and the 150-mile Falklands zone will be divided into two areas. The west area takes in waters west of 60deg. west and the east area includes grounds east of the 60deg. west line.

Fees are calculated for every 100 GRT and where a boat has a GRT not specifically set out in the table (right), the fee will be calculated on a pro rata basis.

Fees will vary according to whether a licence permits fishing for all species of fish or fin fish only and whether a licensed trawler carries surimi processing equipment.

The maximum licence fees in the west and east areas for all species is £9,722 per month; in the west and east areas for fin fish only, with surimi equipment permitted, it is £7,000 per month; and in the west area for

fin fish only, without surimi equipment, it is £4,611 per month.

Applications for licences should be submitted to the Falkland Islands Government by May 30. Alastair Cameron of the FIG's London office said a number of applications for the second season were received with those for the first, and there were more coming in now. Details of these and the number of grants to be issued will not be available until the end of the month at least, he told *Fishing News*.

Conservation

He said that the FIG was pleased with the way the first season had gone and there had been no policing problems with the 215 vessels fishing the zone.

Exact information on stocks in the zone has not yet been published by scientists but Mr. Cameron said catch levels were up to those of two years ago, suggesting that the new conservation regime was working. "The fishing companies involved

in the first season were happy with catches, which were particularly good in March and April," said Mr. Cameron.

The first season was based on the valuable *Hex* squid stocks to the north of the islands and large Far Eastern fleets of squid jiggers took the bulk of the licences. This season, *Loligo* squid is the catch, along with hake and blue whiting and, as only trawlers will be granted licences, the Far Eastern presence is expected to be much less.

Mr. Cameron said the FIG will try to accommodate interested companies as much as possible but could not say how many licences will be allocated. There is no conservation problem with fin fish but *Loligo* squid will have to be closely monitored before licences are handed out.

● **KEY:** Column A West and East areas all species; column B West and East areas finfish only; surimi equipment permitted; column C finfish only, surimi equipment not permitted. GRT (first column) Gross Registered Tonnage.

FEES FOR TRAWLERS IN POUNDS STERLING

GRT	A	B	C
200	2327	1434	932
300	3288	1786	1160
400	4136	2128	1383
500	4884	2458	1597
600	5544	2778	1805
700	6126	3086	2005
800	6639	3384	2199
900	7091	3672	2386
1000	7490	3948	2566
1100	7842	4214	2739
1200	8152	4468	2904
1300	8426	4712	3064
1400	8667	4946	3230
1500	8880	5168	3489
1600	9068	5380	3766
1700	9233	5580	4045
1800	9379	5770	4183
1900	9508	5048	4461
2000	9622	6116	4611
2100	9722	6274	4611
2200	9722	6420	4611
2300	9722	6556	4611
2400	9722	6680	4611
2500	9722	6794	4611
2600	9722	6896	4611
Maximum	9722	7000	4611

No licence will be given for less than two months.

Girls with the art of Survival!

by GARRY JENKINS

IT'S rush hour in London's Park Lane. Two well-dressed women gingerly weave their 'sensible' Sloane shoes through the melée.

Suddenly, Annie Price throws out a protective hand against the on-coming traffic — a hand that only weeks ago held Cindy Buxton's life dangling perilously on the end of a slender rope.

They are the trouble-shooting duo from ITV's award-winning all-girl Survival team — more at home in the world's most inhospitable outposts than in city centres.

Together, Cindy Buxton and Annie Price have seen off invading Argentine troops in the South Atlantic and survived a major earthquake.

Exactly five years ago they were

reluctantly making headlines worldwide, when they were rescued by Royal Marines from their island captivity. They had been filming King Penguins on the remote South Atlantic outcrop of South Georgia when General Galtieri's soldiers appeared.

'We don't go looking for danger,' Cindy says matter-of-factly. 'It just has a habit of finding us.'

'In our films we try to educate people about endangered or rare species and if we need to cross rivers or whizz down glaciers to make them, then that's what we do,' Annie says.

Danger did not have far to look for them recently, as they navigated a treacherous stretch of New Zealand's Manganui A-Te-Ao river in search of the elusive 'blue duck'. It almost cost Cindy her life.

'I was half way across when my foothold on a rock slipped and I was dragged towards a giant boulder that would have smashed my head open.

'Luckily Annie was on the bank with a rope, and saved me. But it was worth it, because the blue duck I was after had not been filmed before.'

For eight years now, the pair — Cindy, 36, with her film camera, and Annie, 38, taking stills photographs — have travelled together.

They are in London briefly to edit the first 12 months of material gathered in New Zealand, which will be shown on TV in a Survival Special later this year.

But, as Annie says, 'We are not heroes, we simply enjoy the challenge of our work.'

Despite that typical



The duck that nearly cost Cindy her life

understatement, Cindy and Annie concede that five years ago this week, heroism was a word with which they were inescapably linked. It was then that news of their remarkable experiences in the Falklands War began drifting back to Britain.

'I still can't believe what happened to us there,' reflects Annie.

Five years on, however, there are signs that the remarkable spirit of adventure may soon fade. Both women feel that their regular, lengthy disappearances from civilisation have taken their toll.

'Perhaps we will begin going away for months at a time, rather than for years.'

'Yes, you do tend to get awfully cut off from what is going on,' chips in Cindy.

'It was only the other day that someone explained to me that a yuppie isn't a sort of yoghurt ...'



Reluctant heroines: Cindy Buxton and Annie Price

Argentine guerrilla leader given life sentence

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

A FORMER Argentine guerrilla leader, Mr Mario Firmenich, was sentenced on Tuesday night to life imprisonment by a Buenos Aires court.

The one-time leader of the Montonero guerrilla organisation was charged with responsibility for the kidnapping of Juan and Jorge born in 1974, and for which a US\$60m ransom was reportedly paid. The Born brothers belong to a famous family company known as Bunge and Born, which has big interests in the international grain trade.

An executive and chauffeur of the group died in the kidnapping. Mr Firmenich has also been declared responsible for this.

The 30-year sentence comes in the midst of a controversy over government efforts to put an end to the trials of junior and middle ranking officers of the armed forces and police who committed human rights abuses during the repressive campaign against the guerrillas and other opponents of the military juntas

The Argentine senate was due to go into secret session yesterday evening to hear reports from the Defence Minister and head of the intelligence services regarding the state of unrest in the armed forces, before voting on a bill which would absolve all junior and middle ranks from responsibility for murders and torture carried out during military rule from 1976-83.

Third World debtors give wary welcome

THE Brazilian government, which with liabilities of \$4.6bn is the largest debtor of Citibank, owned by Citicorp, responded cautiously to the bank's decision to raise its reserves, while foreign bankers in the country appear divided over the measure, Ivo Dawway writes from Rio de Janeiro.

After a meeting with Mr Michael Kelland, president of Citibank in Brazil, Mr Luiz Bresser Pereira, the Finance Minister, issued a statement insisting that the step would not influence the country's negotiating strategy on its \$113bn foreign debt.

Citicorp's move, exactly three months to the day after Brazil's suspension of payments on its longer-term commercial debt, has provoked considerable unease in financial circles.

Some foreign bankers believe the move will open new options for resolving Brazil's debt crisis, but others suggest it will also inevitably weaken the country's tough negotiating stance in forthcoming debt talks, as yet without a scheduled date.

"It gives Citibank the flexibility to be either tougher or make concessions," one banker said. "I fear it means they

will be tougher."

But another foreign banker with a substantial exposure in Brazil said the measure was a positive step both for the country and its 350-odd creditor banks. "It means we are going to negotiate from a position of strength and coherence in a constructive way," he said.

Tim Coome writes from Buenos Aires: Official reaction in Argentina was muted, while the foreign banking community felt that Citicorp's decision will greatly strengthen the position of the banks in future negotiations on Latin American debt. Mr Richard Hanley, the president of Citibank, Argentina, however, was at pains to stress that "there is no question at all of taking a loss on Argentina's debt, or indeed of any country's debt. There will be no write-down of loans and we intend to continue negotiating solutions that will help to stimulate growth in these countries. We are willing to continue rehashing within the Baker context."

A senior executive of another US bank in Argentina warned, however, that Citicorp's move could provoke deeper divisions within the steering committee which Citicorp leads in the

various debt renegotiation rounds. "Many banks are terrified of provoking a confrontation with the debtors as their reserves are totally inadequate should one of the major debtors default.

"Citicorp tends to take a hard line with the debtors and it will now have a tremendous increase in bargaining power both with the debtors and within the steering committee."

David Gardner writes from Mexico City: senior central bank officials greeted Citicorp's move yesterday as reflecting the risk of their Third World exposure in their profits and finally recognising reality.

A senior Finance Ministry official said the move opened up new possibilities of more far-reaching solutions to the debt crisis and of offering longer term relief to debtor countries.

The official noted that in Mexico's recent negotiations with its creditor banks a range of longer term, more imaginative solutions to the country's debt burden—such as the partial capitalisation of interest or exit bond facilities for some creditor banks, could not be given serious consideration.

"With a regulatory environment which did not oblige (US) banks to adjust to the real value of their loans, these options were closed," the official said.

Officials say that Citicorp's lead in starting a "rational and orderly adjustment" of its Latin American debt portfolio should also in the longer term make US banks more inclined to resume voluntary lending. The thinking here is that in, say, three years the US banks' Latin American assets may only be worth perhaps half their current book value but "this portfolio will be real."

On that basis, the argument runs, banks will be more confident about resuming their normal lending function and good projects should have little problem in raising the capital.

In some quarters Citicorp's ability to make such massive loan loss provisions is seen as providing the clearest evidence yet that US banks have long been in a position to make greater concessions to sovereign debtors, and that they have been making "artificial" profits even as the secondary market was putting a much lower real value on loans to less developed countries.

Banks offered financing menu

MR MARIO BRODERSOHN, Argentina's Treasury Secretary, is offering banks what he hopes will be a tempting meal. He wants them to devour it quickly.

The bespectacled, pipe-smoking official, who has the air of an affable intellectual and a strong theoretical grasp of the developing world's debt problem, has turned salesman.

At meetings with bankers around the world, he has been urging them—with the help of International Monetary Fund and World Bank officials as well as leading bankers—to accept his country's \$32bn bank financing package.

The request for a \$30bn rescheduling and \$1.95bn new loan is a crucial test of the "menu" approach, under which banks and the borrower offer each other a range of alternative financing options.

The hors d'oeuvre, Mr Brodersohn quipped yesterday, is a juicy incentive fee for banks which commit themselves quickly. The main course includes what is known as a "carve-out." And for dessert, "exit" bonds.

All these are innovative elements of a package which was already something of a watershed and has taken on added significance since Citicorp, which heads Argentina's advisory committee organising the deal, adopted its new approach to Third World debt this week.

All parties to the five-year-old debt crisis have accepted—

Alexander Nicoll on Argentine efforts to secure a \$32bn package with bankers

with the painfully slow arrangement of a \$7bn loan for Mexico and Brazil's slide into new, as yet unresolved, payments problems—that the format of rescue packages was in need of drastic overhaul.

Mr Brodersohn has spoken not only of the need to find a longer-term solution to the problem of transfers of resources, but to speed up the procedures of existing mechanisms.

Argentina, he points out, set out on the road to refinancing last autumn when it opened negotiations with the IMF, and is awaiting the commitments of banks to their package before it can receive IMF money.

Hence the elements of the Argentine bank package, which could prove a model for other countries. They include:

- Fees of 3 of a percentage point if banks commit to provide new loans of \$1.95bn by June 17 and 1 by July 17.
- The "carve-out." This means that all Argentina's bank debt is being rescheduled instead of a situation whereby loans

mature in certain years. Argentina thus obtains a true seven-year grace at the beginning of the 19-year rescheduling, and scaled repayments of principal increasing each year so that 58 per cent of the \$32bn will be repayable after the year 2000.

• Debt-equity swaps. Though these are by no means new, the Argentine plan is extensive and linked in with other elements. It requires debt-holders to put in an additional \$1 of "matching funds" for each \$1 face value of debt swapped, but provides alternative means for the new money to be put in.

• One of these is through a \$350m investment fund which can use money advanced under the new loans.

• "Exit bonds." Banks are being offered, up to a maximum of \$5m each, 25-year, 4 per cent bearer bonds which would terminate their exposure, meaning that the debt replaced in this way would never again become subject to rescheduling on new money requests.

• "New money bonds." Banks may elect to make the new loan, up to a maximum of \$1m each, in the form of bearer bonds with the same terms as the new loan, similarly immune from rescheduling. This is aimed at small banks reluctant to take part in new loans.

Though most bankers do not question the concept of the package, they want to be sure that Argentina's economy is still on track and have been

The principal course for banks is a 'carve-out,' with exit bonds offered as a tasty dessert

watching negotiations on wages with concern. Mr Brodersohn has high hopes that the wage/price freeze can be lifted without an explosion in both, and that this should be achieved "without too much social tension."

Banks, mindful of the Mexican loan, are also concerned about "free riders"—banks which refuse to take part but must continue to be paid interest on old loans out of money lent by banks which do take part. In Argentina's case, there are fewer US regional banks.

Also, there is almost no "cushion"; banks have all been asked to put up 9 per cent of their exposure, and unless they all do so, the \$1.95bn new money target will not be met.

While banks assess their response, Mr Brodersohn can sit back at least for a moment. After visiting Tokyo, Washington, Toronto, Paris and Frankfurt last week, he is taking a day off in Rome tomorrow after completing three days of talks in Paris.

WAR REPORTING

During the Falklands War there were widespread accusations of media management. Five years on, a fuller picture is emerging, according to **Derrick Mercer.**

Media exclusion zones

On Monday, 5 April 1982, the flagship HMS *Hermes* left Portsmouth with its Harrier jump-jets and Sea King helicopters crammed on to the deck for the all the world's TV cameras to see. *Hermes* (and other ships of the Task Force) then came to a virtual halt in the English Channel to enable helicopters to complete loading supplies.

'We were not ready to leave,' said one admiral, 'but it was very important to give tangible evidence of military power to back up the diplomatic effort. It was very much a PR show—to show the Fleet leaving, both for British opinion, to rally them behind the ships, and as an expression of power for world opinion and the enemy.'

Although the Falklands crisis did not jeopardise the survival of the country, it did initially imperil that of the government. From the outset the government was acutely conscious of public relations. And at the forefront of official concern was television.

Ministers weaned on the medium were distinctly more enthusiastic about the prospect of television coverage than the military; they saw the positive possibilities of moulding public opinion as well as the pitfalls. The government therefore ordered first that TV crews should accompany the Task Force and, second, that experiments should be undertaken to try to resolve the technical problems which ensued.

Two separate technical problems emerged from this arrangement. The first was the need to stabilise the signal from a ship heaving in the sea and quite probably manoeuvring its course. The second was the difficulty of sending 'broad-band' television signals through satellites designed only for the 'narrow-band' transmission of voice and other non-video signals.

In the short-term, it was impossible to use commercial TV satellites from the ships. A ten-metre dish would have been necessary to operate at the fringes of the satellite ranges in the South Atlantic. The larger the dish, the greater the stabilisation problem and the greater the risk that the terminal would interfere with other signals and possibly radar defences.

Although it would have been pos-

sible to send signals from a powerful ground station in the South Atlantic to an Intelsat satellite, none existed in the area. One could have been shipped there, but the war proved to be too short for the option to be pursued.

This left the broadcasters totally dependent upon satellites and small-dish terminals which had not been designed to cope with television pictures. Experiments conducted jointly



ITN's Michael Nicholson with the Task Force: his channel was 'curiously unaffected by the rumblings of government discontent'

by MoD experts and the broadcasters showed that it was technically possible to transmit black-and-white television pictures through military terminals. The broadcasters and military, however, disagreed as to whether such a set-up was feasible in a time of war.

The overwhelming problem was television's rapacious demands upon satellite capacity. Black-and-white pictures would occupy as much room as 1,000 telegraph circuits, colour pictures around 2,000 circuits. To use the commercial maritime satellite, Marisat, for television would have meant it could not be used for anything else. Nor could Skynet 2, a British military satellite which covered part of the South Atlantic.

This left the American DSCS satellite, one of a military chain, which was in geostationary orbit over the Atlantic above the equator. Britain was allowed limited use of this satellite through a secret 'memorandum of understanding' with the Americans. It was more powerful than Skynet and its coverage could stretch to

the Falklands, if its beams were appropriately realigned.

DSCS was a crucial link in the communications chain between the United States and its armed forces overseas. An experiment using DSCS for television pictures had to be curtailed because of the drain on the satellite's power, even though all other users had been suspended.

One of the military secrets of the war was the fragility of communications between Britain and the South Atlantic. DSCS was already stretched beyond its theoretical capacity; its failure would have denied Britain any secure communications with the Task Force.

Admiral Sir John Fieldhouse, then commander-in-chief and now Chief of the Defence Staff, told me: 'When the question arose of shifting the satellite, I was not going to do that. If you play around with the satellite,

you might lose it for normal operations.'

The impasse between the military and broadcasters was total: television viewers had to rely on pictures sent back by sea to a relay station on Ascension Island. Recriminations continued long after the war, with the Ministry of Defence angrily rejecting allegations that they had not tried to solve the technical problems.

At the technical level, the charge appears unjust. Indeed, the co-operation between the MoD and the broadcasters was more successful than the Ministry stated during the war. Its blithe dismissal of 'unacceptable' picture quality stirred suspicions that there was a lack of political will to solve the problems.

If the fragility of communications links had been revealed to the editors at the time, it might have prevented some of the rancour. But by then the battle between the government and television had become a sideshow to the main conflict.

ITV was curiously unaffected by the rumblings of government discon-

tent. William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, did contact the Independent Broadcasting Authority to express the Cabinet's concern over a *TV Eye* interview with General Galtieri. It was the first official call of this kind in the IBA's lifetime, but otherwise ITV benefited from Whitehall anger over the BBC. This focused on two programmes: an edition of *Newsnight* in which Peter Snow appeared to doubt the veracity of British claims, and a *Panorama* which featured opponents of government policy.

After the war, ministers and civil servants sought to imply that the rows were little more than a chance for backbenchers to let off steam. Yet it would be a great error to accept this hindsight view without qualification. The controversy stemmed from a deep suspicion about the BBC which predated the war. Alleged errors of tone or content in the war merely confirmed in many minds those suspicions. Nor did public complaints about the lack of pictures dampen the anti-BBC mood. They were seen by one member of the War Cabinet as 'selfish humbug'. 'I was absolutely disgusted with the BBC. Oh God, yes, we all were—from Mrs T. down,' he said.

Another minister recalled: 'At the War Cabinet meeting there was a general hate of the BBC, whom we reckoned to be biased, and pro-ITN, whom we reckoned were doing much better. One minister said: "Well, you know, we give all this information to the bloody BBC and what do they do with it? We don't help ITN enough." And so John Nott said: "Oh well, I'll give them an interview today."'

The offer backfired. It was 25 May when *Coventry* and *Atlantic Conveyor* were hit and the Defence Secretary found himself committed to an interview in which he could announce only 'bad news'.

At a time when a government may be fighting for its survival, as well as fighting a military war, there will inevitably be tensions if broadcasters seek to assert their independence. In the Suez crisis of 1956, television technology was in its infancy. In the Falklands crisis of 1982, the technology was largely neutered by geography. A British government is unlikely to be so lucky again.

This article is adapted from The Fog of War by Derrick Mercer, Geoff Mungbam and Kevin Williams (Heinemann, £15.95). The Fog of War is a revised version of a study of relations between governments, the military and media commissioned by the Ministry of Defence from the Centre for Journalism Studies, University College, Cardiff.

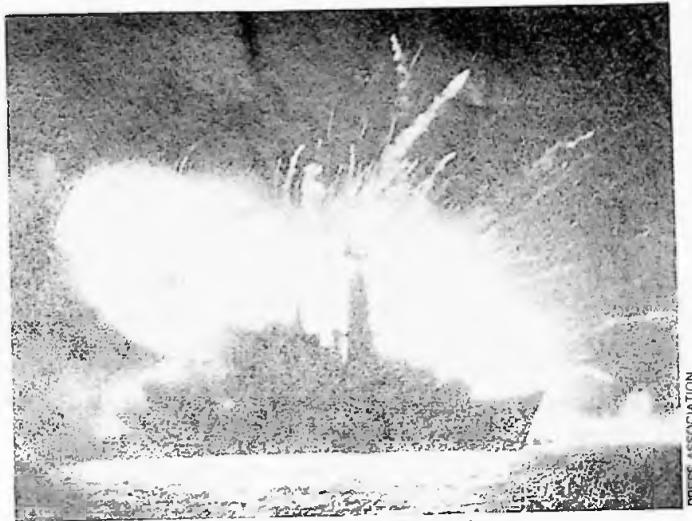
Michael Charlton **The Falklands War**

The diplomatic drift to a military collision

Britain was justified in sinking the *Belgrano*, says the Argentine admiral who sent the ship on its last 'military mission'. But should it have been necessary to go to war? Five years on, Michael Charlton gives his assessment.



Recapturing South Georgia



An Argentine bomb explodes on HMS *Antelope*

I once saw a major collision at sea from a dress circle seat, so to speak. It was on the cliffs above an arm of Sydney Harbour. Two ships on opposite courses—a tanker inward bound and a freighter outward bound—began to exchange views with occasional distressful hooting. The space between them steadily closed until—it all took quite a long time—they ploughed into each other. Until it actually happened it was almost impossible to believe that they would. But the fateful miscalculation had, no doubt, been made some time before.

Discussing the long history of Falklands diplomacy with the ministers who made the decisions and their Foreign Office advisers, reveals a similar stately progress towards a 'what needn't have happened, did' collision. Despite the Franks report, which maintained that the Argentine invasion could not have been foreseen (although it actually says the invasion of 2 April 1982), the many years of diplomatic zigzagging were taking place about a mean course of collision with Argentina. It was, after all, a long-standing dispute—in the 18th century, Britain, playing what a Labour foreign secretary of the 1960s, Michael Stewart, calls 'the game of imperial snatch', almost went to war over the Falklands with Spain.

Dr Johnson's comment about the islands in 1770 ('That of which we were almost weary ourselves we did not expect others to envy, and so imagined that we would be allowed to reside in Falklands Island the undisputed Lords of tempest-beaten barrenness') retained some of its superbly observed truth as late as 1982. We know now, of course, that Britain misjudged Argentina's obsession with the Falklands and failed to perceive the threat. And yet, Lord Chalfont, the Foreign Office minister who conducted the first, secret, negotiations over sovereignty with Argentina in the 1960s, specifically warned of danger in his report to Michael Stewart. 'I did not know how prophetic it

would be. I said that unless we came to some diplomatic conclusion they would choose the only alternative, which is military action.' When Michael Stewart put the proposal to the Cabinet to transfer sovereignty, 'One by one we all turned on him', in Barbara Castle's words, and Stewart, howled down in the House of Commons, withdrew his paper.

Lord Stewart himself says of that Cabinet meeting in December 1968: 'They took the plain British man-in-the-street's attitude more plainly and definitely than I did. Unlike me, they hadn't been soaked in the Foreign Office atmosphere.'

What was this 'atmosphere'? The Foreign Office consistently advocated a prudent withdrawal from a group of barren and near-derelict islands, for whose long-term defence and development British governments of various complexions, when pushed to it, were always unwilling to pay. A former head of the Foreign Office, Lord Greenhill, says of the Falklands context in the 1960s:

It was facing facts, really. Peaceful disengagement from Empire was a great achievement and we were extraordinarily lucky we were not challenged more actively while this disengagement was going on. One kept one's fingers crossed all the time. Supposing, for example, that some of the disputed islands in the Pacific had been taken over by the Russians, or the Chinese, and the Argentinians *had* been contemplating taking over the Falklands, how could we possibly have dealt with that situation? My own feeling is that we would have been subjected to the most terrible international humiliation—just like Anguilla, which made us look ridiculous.

The fact is, successive governments presented the Foreign Office with what golfers call 'an unplayable lie'. The Labour government of the 1960s wanted to uphold moral principles embodied in the United Nations charter, and

was prepared to accept the world body's verdicts. (By 1965 Argentina had won UN backing for a resolution calling upon Britain to settle the Falklands issue.) At the same time, it was determined to uphold the rights of even tiny minorities. According to Henry Hankey, who became the FO Under-secretary supervising Latin-American policy, the complete breakdown in these first negotiations made Argentina 'sore and irritated at our failure to come any way to meet them. They felt we had dangled something in front of them just to snatch it away ... they were rather menacing really ...' This was in 1968. To what does the Foreign Office confess? Robin Edmonds, a head of the Latin-American desk when negotiations began, and later an under-secretary, spoke of 'a negotiating hubris, of which I was as guilty as others'.

No politician had been more educated by the howling down of Stewart and Chalfont than James Callaghan. 'Do not touch this poisoned chalice ...' he minuted as Foreign Secretary in the 1970s. Ted Rowlands remembers the lecture he got from Callaghan on his appointment as Foreign Office minister: 'Beware the dots on the map, Jim told me. They can blow up and sometimes blow down ministers.' By the mid-Seventies there was some 'distressful hooting' in the South Atlantic as Argentina began to probe Britain's exposed position. The Argentine navy shot at the research vessel *Shackleton*, blockading her in Port Stanley. It also occupied British sovereign territory—Southern Thule in the remote, uninhabited, South Sandwich Islands—an event kept dark from the House of Commons for 18 months.

These acts of force succeeded in their aim. The Callaghan government was obliged to alter course and restore 'sovereignty' to the agenda once more. Ted Rowlands says: 'We agonised over it ... but we decided that the negotiating process was more important.' All the time the room for Britain to manoeuvre was narrowing. It was James Callaghan who pointed out to the Cabinet the realities of the changing balance of power, with Argentina training and equipping her armed forces to European standards. Denis Healey's review in the 1960s was being carried into effect. He had told the Commons then that, 'Britain would no longer undertake landings on a hostile shore outside the range of our land-based aircraft. We have decided not to keep the capability for such operations. We can't afford it, anyway, and it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which it would be politically wise to use it.'

By 1978 HMS *Ark Royal*, the aircraft carrier the Chiefs-of-Staff had advised would be necessary in any operation to retake the Falkland Islands, was on her last commission, and by the time the war came in 1982 she had been in the scrapyard for two years. Callaghan was arguably lucky in a sense that Mrs Thatcher was not. Admiral Lewin reflects: 'The Chiefs-of-Staff would have been perfectly within their rights to have said to Mrs Thatcher, "I'm sorry, Prime Minister, this is the war you told us we would never have to fight, and there is nothing we can do to help you".'

The Hong Kong solution was up and running in the last years of the Callaghan government and was put to the House of Commons by Nicholas Ridley in Mrs Thatcher's first term. He, too, was 'howled down'. With the Foreign Office clamouring for new instructions following Ridley's mauling, Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said, in effect, 'It can't be done'.

Foremost among the reasons was the resentment in the party over the outcome of the Rhodesian settlement.

By 1981, British strategic policy over the Falklands loses coherence. The major defence review of that year further curtailed the role of the surface Navy. It called for an end to what John Nott called 'the Task Force mentality'. But that was symbolised in the Falkland Islands commitment. I was given a glimpse by an Argentine admiral of the preamble to an early Argentine invasion plan for the Falklands. Its salient point was that Argentina was always confident of its ability to *take* the islands. The real problem was to *hold* them. For the British, therefore, deterrence lay, not in preventing a determined landing, but in the reasonable certainty that, if the islands were lost, they could be repossessed. Costa Méndez, the Argentine foreign minister in 1982, says of John Nott's 1981 Defence Review: 'We paid attention to that. My conclusion was that either Britain was losing interest in the area, or was compelled to leave it.'

Admiral Harry Train, the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), who 'debriefed' Admiral Anaya, the dominant figure in the junta (who is still in detention), for a classified American war study, recalls that Anaya had a perception of an eroding British will—coupled with John Nott's decision to inactivate 25 per cent of the Royal Navy's surface forces, there was an eroding maritime capability. Train adds: 'Anaya thought that he was just giving a "nudge to diplomacy" by landing in Port Stanley. He took the action he did because he did not believe Argentina would have to fight.' It was some nudge. General Vernon Walters, now the US ambassador to the United Nations, who accompanied American Secretary of State Alexander Haig on his shuttle diplomacy in search of a settlement, recounts a conversation with General Galtieri, the head of the junta. (Haig had sent Walters back after one meeting to make it clear once more to Galtieri that the British were serious and would attack if Argentina did not withdraw.) Walters recalls: 'Galtieri said to me: "That woman wouldn't dare!" I said to him: "That woman, General, has just let the [IRA] hunger strikers starve to death without flickering an eyelash, so I wouldn't count on that if I were you!"'

And so, with a last blast on the siren, onwards to collision. The *Belgrano* affair? For those who nibble the fruits of victory with the guilty conscience of Adam, there is Admiral Allara, who had negotiated with Ted Rowlands in the 1970s over the Falklands. When war came in 1982, he was the commander of Task Force 79, and he it was who gave the *Belgrano* her orders. 'The *Belgrano* and two destroyers were sent by me to the southern area ... to intercept British convoys which could be coming down from the Pacific. The *Belgrano* was attacked and sunk outside the exclusion zone, but I cannot censure the British attitude because it was a ship carrying out a military mission which was related to the conflict. Many people in this country and abroad have said it was a bad thing to sink the *Belgrano* but I, as a military man, cannot condemn the sinking of the *Belgrano*, which was in the area of operations.' □

Michael Charlton presents *The Little Platoon—the Long Struggle for the Falklands* on Sundays at 5.30pm on Radio 3.

Argentina clinches debt payment accord

BY ALEXANDER NICOLL, EUROMARKETS EDITOR

ARGENTINA yesterday clinched a \$2bn debt re-scheduling agreement with the Paris Club grouping of sovereign creditors, a key element in the country's extensive refinancing programme.

The agreement wins terms believed to be unprecedented for a Latin American debtor and will strengthen Argentina's case with commercial banks from whom it is currently seeking a

\$32bn rescheduling and new loan package.

Argentina debt falling due from January 1986 to June 1988 will be rescheduled over 10 years, including six years grace. Unlike Brazil and Mexico, Argentina has succeeded in having 100 per cent of principal and interest rescheduled both on arrears and payments still to come due.

The agreement is conditional

on Argentina finalising its International Monetary Fund programme, which in turn is dependent upon the bank package reaching the "critical mass" of acceptance, believed in Argentina's case to be more than 90 per cent of the total.

Separately, the World Bank's board has approved a \$500m loan to support Argentine export reforms, part of a \$2bn package of financing from the

Bank.

The Paris Club, which agreed an \$884m rescheduling pact with Zaire this week, is also scheduled to hold talks with Egypt.

The agreement is part of a series by major debtor countries with sovereign and commercial creditors which has helped to reduce concerns about the debt crisis and paved the way for Citicorp to adopt its new stance this week.

Paris Club reschedules \$2bn of Argentine debt

DEVELOPED country creditor governments, known as the Paris Club, have agreed to reschedule more than \$2bn (£1.18bn) of Argentine official debt due to have been repaid between January 1986 and the middle of 1988.

The agreement covers principal and interest and will stretch repayment over 10 to 15 years.

At \$53bn, Argentina's total external debt is the fourth largest in

the world. The World Bank has approved a \$500m loan for Argentina, one of the biggest loans ever made by the Bank.

On Monday Argentina finished explaining to European bankers its new financing proposals. It is asking for \$1.95bn in fresh loans, and offering "exit bonds" to the 120 banks who collectively hold less than 1 per cent of total lending to the country.

Argentina in nuclear deal with Iran

By Susan McLeod
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA has signed a \$5.5 million (£3.6 million) agreement for the sale of nuclear technology and an unspecified amount of enriched uranium to Iran, it was disclosed yesterday.

The secret agreement, signed on May 5 and reported in the latest issue of the foreign trade weekly *Nuestra Brochure*, includes the modification by Argentine experts of an experimental reactor at the University of Teheran, which would enable the reactor to operate at the internationally acceptable level of 20 per cent.

The 5-megawatt reactor, Iran's only research reactor, began operating in 1967 with combustible 93 per cent enriched uranium, a high-level uranium that can be used for making nuclear bombs.

The enriched uranium in the deal is produced at a plant in Pilconiyeu near San Carlos de Bariloche in the southern Argentine province of Rio Negro.

Political influence

Iran had previously failed in its efforts to acquire enriched uranium from the United States, Europe, Canada and Japan, the weekly said.

The reactor was built by United Nuclear Corporation of the United States but the U.S. Government cut off supplies of highly enriched uranium after the Iranian revolution of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Argentina already is training engineers for the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran, so the contract is considered a chance for the Argentine Government to gain political influence in the Middle East.

Nuestra Brochure said Argentina was negotiating the sale of an experimental reactor to Albania, along with an unspecified amount of nuclear fuel, was involved in negotiations to export nuclear technology to Indonesia, Albania and Morocco.

Argentina, Iran in N-power accord

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

A FORMAL agreement on nuclear co-operation was signed between Argentina and Iran at the beginning of the month, according to foreign ministry officials in Buenos Aires.

Under the agreement, Argentina is to modify a small research reactor in Tehran to enable it to operate with 20 per cent instead of 95 per cent enriched uranium, which will

be supplied by Argentina from 1989. The deal is worth \$5.5m (£3.2m), and operation of the research reactor and the transfer of the enriched uranium is to be carried out under safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Authority.

Details of the proposal were made public last March when it was revealed that Argentina, as part of an international

consortium, was tendering for a construction contract to complete the 1,000 MW Bushehr I nuclear power plant in Iran.

Argentina is due to complete construction of its \$180m enriched uranium facility this year, with which it will be able to produce about 500 kilograms of 20 per cent enriched uranium a year.

A last chance to rejoin the First World

By Malcolm Rutherford

A RATHER daring plan is under discussion in Argentina to produce a new constitution and restore the country to full democracy. Although it may not come off, it is worth airing before it withers because, if it were to succeed, it could transform the country and perhaps—by example—much of the rest of Latin America.

A common outside view is that Argentina is already democratic. The military departed from power shortly after the Falklands War and the country is ruled by the civilian government of President Raul Alfonsín. That is not quite how it looks from within.

At present, there is constitutional government, which has a particular meaning in Argentina. The civilians are in office; the military still has influence. It is an uneasy compromise. No-one can be sure who, if anyone, will come out on top.

At Easter, sections of the military rebelled against the Government's policy of prosecuting the armed forces for past atrocities. In the end, President Alfonsín faced them down, yet not without making concessions. The word "amnesty" may be a little strong, but certainly there will be far fewer prosecutions of the military—for their role in abducting and killing some 30,000 Argentine citizens in the late 1970s, early 1980s—than there would have been if the Easter uprising had not taken place.

The Government has also compromised on economic policy. It allowed pay increases this month before they were due. The annual inflation rate is no longer in triple figures, but is unlikely to be below 50 per cent this year. So it is not surprising that the administration looks a bit shaky.

Yet there is one thing on which almost everyone is agreed: no one wants another military takeover, or at least not yet. When the military rebelled, a common feeling was: "Oh God, not again!"

For the time being, the choice is between whether the civilian government trundles on doing nothing very much, except comprising, or whether it can bring itself to be more ambitious. The daring plan would be to go for a new constitution.

It could come about like this. The Government gets through

the next few months without undue difficulty because the necessary compromises have been made. There may also be some temporary alleviation of Argentina's debt problems at the meeting of the Club of Paris later this month. Congressional elections are due in September.

The Government then officially releases its bombshell. New elections will be called within six months, not for an ordinary congress but for a special constituent assembly to run for a maximum of one year in which the new constitution would be drafted.

The model would be that of the French Fifth Republic, as it has developed under the cohabitation between President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Chirac rather than under the early years of President de Gaulle when the presidency seemed all-powerful.

Such a constitution would create the office of Prime Minister and also the practice of parliamentary democracy. The President would be in the background, more a head of state than a head of government, ready to mediate—or, in British terms, to advise, encourage and warn—when necessary.

In Argentina, that would be an almost revolutionary development. The present constitution, going back to 1853, is heavily modelled on the American in the sense that it regards the country as a federation of states. But it is also in the old Spanish tradition in that it gives far greater powers to the presidency than exist in the US.

Presidential power in Argentina has not worked, either under military or civilian governments. Thus the aim is to make the great leap forward towards the sort of constitutions under which most Western European countries are governed.

It is a dream that may not be realised, partly because it is uncertain how many Argentinians want to undertake fundamental change. The belief in the idea of strong leadership runs deep, even if in practice leaders have often turned out to be weak, vacillating and incompetent. It is even doubtful whether President Alfonsín will reach the stage of the constituent assembly being elected, let alone approving a new constitution.

One of the main problems is how to persuade the armed forces gradually to relinquish their power and influence in the country. The most that the key reforming ministers will say is that the military is under control. The problem is far from being resolved.

A difficulty of which the reformers surrounding President Alfonsín may be less aware is that his Government will be in danger of losing civilian confidence if it compromises much further. It is all very well harbouring in private the idea of a modern democratic Argentina, but some time it will be necessary to go public—and with deeds rather than words. At present, President Alfonsín has forfeited some of the earlier respect he had from the civilised right and left.

The challenge is how to create a civil society, over-dependent on neither the military nor the Church. There could then be a stable state, capable of resolving the country's by no means insurmountable economic and social problems. The cavousel of change between military and civilian governments would be over.

Some of the auguries are favourable. The traditional rivalry between Argentina and Brazil is much less than it used to be. The two governments realise that their countries are going to have to sink or swim together. They have become alert to the danger of the Latin American equivalent of Euro-sclerosis and do not like the prospect. The cliché may be true: this is Argentina's last chance to rejoin the First World.

Narrow nationalism is out, so, by and large, is anti-Americanism. Above all, there is the insistence that democracy and economic development go hand in hand. The difficulty, the reformers admit, is in persuading Argentine society as a whole that a break with the past is possible.

If one ends on a note of scepticism, it is because they seem much better at explaining all this to a visiting journalist than to their own people. There may be something in the remark by an Argentine citizen that President Alfonsín is the creation of the western media and that nothing essential has changed. The next few months should tell.

Argentina and Iran sign deal on reactor

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA has signed a far-reaching nuclear cooperation pact with Ayatollah Khomeini's regime in Iran, and is already thought to be looking at other possibilities, including Albania.

The Argentine Government has said nothing about the deal with the Iranians or about negotiations with other countries. But reliable sources who disclosed last March that discreet talks were taking place with Tehran say the nuclear agreement was signed on May 5.

At the very least, they say, this agreement sets terms for a \$5.5 million reactor core for a nuclear research centre at Tehran University, as well as other unspecified "nuclear services."

But the aspect of the deal which raises eyebrows in diplomatic circles here is that the other "services" apparently include supplies of enriched uranium, a key material for developing a nuclear weapons capability.

Argentina has been producing limited quantities of enriched uranium at a plant in Patagonia for at least three years. The plant was built in total secrecy by the former military regime, which revealed its existence only a week before President Raul Alfonsin's elected Government took power in December 1983.

Sources say the plant should be capable some time next year of producing uranium enriched to 20 per cent, which they claim would be a relatively short and technically simple step away from weapons-grade material.

It is also suggested that the agreement paves the way for Argentina to transfer uranium enrichment technology and knowhow to the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran, the Ayatollah's state nuclear board.

Argentina was originally thought to be pursuing a contract to complete a power station in Iran in partnership with a West German company, Kraftwerk Union.

Observers warn that Argentine assistance in providing enriched uranium could help Iran to "close the nuclear fuel cycle," giving it a nuclear industry independent of world organisations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Iran ratified non-proliferation treaties under the Shah in 1970, but doubts persist over the nuclear intentions of the revolutionary regime which seized power nine years later and has been at war with Iraq for most of this decade.

The "London Club" of Western nuclear powers including Britain and the United States, has decided against nuclear trade with Iran while the Gulf War lasts.

Argentina refuses to ratify the Tlatelolco Latin American regional non-proliferation pact. Enrichment is just one of several highly sensitive Argentine projects outside IAEA controls.

Negotiations with Albania are likely to be regarded with as much alarm in Washington as the deal with Iran.

Any such move by the Albanians would be designed to loosen their traditional dependence on China.

Admiral's plea for Argentina

MAR DEL PLATA (AP) — The head of Argentina's navy has said his country needs to devise a permanent legal solution to end further "bloody clashes" over human rights prosecutions.

In a Naval Day speech on Sunday, Vice-Admiral Ramón Arosa said a "definitive solution" was needed so that "all Argentines can forget mutual aggravations" lingering from the former military regime. His remarks were the first by a military leader since the House of Deputies approved a presidential proposal on Saturday to exempt from prosecution all but the most senior officers accused of atrocities during the 1976-83 "dirty war" against suspected leftists, in which at least 9,000 people vanished.

Defence Minister Horacio Jaunarena said after the speech that the military "needs to overcome its past" and become a part of modern society, and should not work against the majority's wishes — a reference to last month's army camp rebellions.

Argentine human rights bill 'may lead to more military pressure'

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

Opponents of a controversial human rights bill being pushed through the Argentine Congress by the Government warn that it might open the way to further military pressure on the Government.

The "Due Obedience Bill," which will absolve all junior and middle ranks of the armed forces of responsibility for crimes of torture and murder carried out during the previous military regime, was approved by the Chamber of Deputies, the lower House, last Friday. It faces a further battle this week in the Senate where the Government lacks an overall majority.

Political observers expect that the Government will be able to win a slim majority, however, by negotiating with some small regional parties represented in the Congress.

The first signs of trouble with the proposal came at the weekend from General Jose Caridi, the new Chief of Staff of the army, who said that the bill was "helpful" but that "it should have gone much further regarding senior officers."

Opponents feel that the

armed forces will now press the Government for an amnesty of all officers involved in the "dirty war" of the 1970s, and even a pardon for the five leaders of the military juntas imprisoned in 1985.

According to retired General Lopez Meyer, the president of a dissident military organisation known as the Centre of Soldiers for Argentine Democracy "the Due Obedience Bill will not alleviate the tension with the armed forces. It will simply encourage them to demand

more. The next step will be to justify the "dirty war" to then obtain an amnesty, and later to continue intervening in the economic and political affairs of the country."

Gen Meyer said the Government's interpretation that junior ranks could not be held responsible for crimes committed when acting under orders "is totally different to our conception. The military code refers to service orders, and orders to torture and murder prisoners cannot be considered as service orders. These principles are taught at

military college."

President Raoul Alfonsín last week said he did not like the fact that the proposal would set free officers who have committed homicides and torture but argued that it was necessary to bring about a reconciliation between the armed forces and the rest of society. Mr Antonio Cafiero, leader of the Peronist opposition, said in last Friday's debate: "This bill is not a result of democracy's strength but of its weakness. It is a concession and will not achieve what it aims to."

Mr Oscar Alende, another opposition leader, warned that the proposal will encourage a repetition of the Easter weekend military rebellion, one of the aims of which was an end to the human rights trial and which will be partially achieved if the bill is passed.

He also claimed that the bill was anti-constitutional. All citizens are equal before the law under Argentina's legal system, and a constitutional appeal is inevitable if the bill is passed as it will create an exception for the military.

Falklands 'blue' baby flown to Montevideo

**By Our Port Stanley
Correspondent**

A baby born in the Falklands who is critically ill has been flown by the Royal Air Force to the Uruguayan capital of Montevideo for urgent medical treatment.

Simon Reid, a 'blue' baby received a blood transfusion in the Falklands. An RAF C130 Hercules aircraft of 1312 Flight based at Mount Pleasant was used for the 1,350 mile flight which took about six hours.

A military spokesman in the Falklands said everyone was grateful to the Uruguayan authorities for allowing the military aircraft to land in the capital. He publicly thanked the British hospital in Montevideo which specialises in baby care.

Rebels reject Alfonsin offer

by Maria Laura Avignolo
Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA'S armed forces are again close to insurrection as they try to panic the country into legalising the worst of the crimes they committed during their Dirty War. The forces want a blanket amnesty to include rapists, child kidnappers and the commanders who liquidated at least 9,000 people under military rule.

Driven by hatred of President Raul Alfonsin, the officer corps is united in trying to avenge the indignities it feels it has suffered since the armed forces surrendered power in 1983.

Officers have rejected the partial amnesty the president is trying to push through Congress — a concession he promised the military rebels who seized three army bases at Easter.

Officers now want immunity for 80 notorious figures who are still facing trial and the release of former military junta leaders who were imprisoned for human rights crimes.

"I would cut off my hand or resign rather than sign an amnesty like that," the president has told colleagues. But his weakness has been evident since army officers refused to put down the Easter insurrection. His

advisers fear another rebellion may be imminent.

A time bomb was found in an annexe of Congress as discussions on his limited amnesty began and the crisis is being fed by rumours of a coup. Most officers deny any ambition for power. Ironically, they would benefit from the rejected amnesty proposals which decree that all but a few were only obeying orders in the Dirty War.

"The idea of obedience makes us look like automatons, without willpower, which is intolerable," insisted an angry officer. "We knew what we were doing in the war against subversion."

Attacking the president on his other flank in Congress, the Peronist opposition and even some of his own Radicals accuse him of forgiving torturers. The lower house passed his amnesty bill after an angry debate early yesterday but it faces a fight in the Senate.

Caught between the military and the politicians, Alfonsin's advisers are showing signs of panic.

"The water is lapping around our necks. There is no more time. This must be dealt with. Everyone knows perfectly well the situation the country is in," said Cesar Jaroslavsky, a Radical deputy and a confidant of the President.

FALKLANDS
HELICOPTER
OPERATIONS

MILITARY FLIGHT
SAFETY

FLIGHT

INTERNATIONAL

WEEK ENDING 16 MAY 1987 195p



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FALKLANDS HELICOPTER OPERATIONS

MILITARY FLIGHT SAFETY

Falklands helicopter operations



Five years after the Falklands War the range of military helicopter operations is still extensive. **Eric Beech** reports from the Islands, with photographs by **Janice Lowe**.

The liberation of the Falkland Islands relied on the efficient utilisation of helicopters and the expertise of aircrew from all the British Services. During the conflict helicopters were used in nearly every operational role, from supporting ground forces to rescuing survivors from the *RFA Sir Galahad*. Since 1982 military helicopters have continued to play a vital role around the Falklands. The flying conditions have tested both aircraft and pilots, providing experience that would be difficult to equal elsewhere.

In the immediate post-war period military helicopter operations were dispersed around East Falkland, because Stanley Airport was reserved for the McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom interceptors and the Lockheed C-130 Hercules. A flight of Boeing Vertol Chinook HC.1s was based at Kelly's Garden near San Carlos. Westland Sea Kings HAR.3s were based at Navy Point, and Westland Scout AH.1s and Gazelle AH.1s used Port Stanley itself. Following the transfer of all remaining military facilities to Mount Pleasant earlier this year, the helicopter units moved into purpose-built accommodation at Mount Pleasant Airbase (MPA).

Rotary-wing assets currently comprise 72 Squadron, which is made up of the former Chinook and Sea King Flights; the Army Air Corps' Falkland Islands Squadron, flying Gazelles; and Bristow's Sikorsky S-61s operating on a contract from the Ministry of Defence. The flight of AAC Scouts left the Falklands at the end of 1986. The Fleet Air Arm's Westland Lynx HAS.2s and 3s are also to be seen around the Islands, operating from patrolling Royal Navy ships.

Helicopter operations at present fall into three broad areas. The support helicopter (SH) role is performed in the main by the Chinooks and Sikorsky S.61s, although the Sea Kings are sometimes assigned to this mission, having been fitted with the same cargo-lifting frame as used on the Westland Commando Sea King. However, the prime task of the Sea Kings is to provide search and rescue (SAR) coverage throughout the 150-mile Falkland Islands Protection Zone (FIPZ).



An Army Air Corps Gazelle hovers over Port Stanley. Until Mount Pleasant Complex was opened earlier this year the AAC's Falkland Islands Squadron was based at the town. As a communications flight, the aircrew are no strangers to the Islanders outside Stanley in the "camp"

The AAC's Gazelles are tasked as a communications and VIP flight.

The lifting capabilities of the Chinook have been extensively used in the Falklands. Indeed, many of the military facilities around the Islands could not have been built without them. Immediately after the war the priority was to construct the network of radar sites, radio relay stations, and other installations, often in some of the most inaccessible locations, to defend the Islands. Triple external load suspension from the Chinook, which is rarely if ever performed by other air forces, became the norm. The Chinooks still transport oversized loads, including Portakabins and the seemingly ubiquitous International Standards Organisation (Iso) containers. In strong winds underslung Iso containers can swing up alarmingly at almost 90° from the vertical. I watched one Chinook battling in such conditions to deliver an Iso to a mountain-top radar site, although for the crew the evolution was not exceptional.

The unpredictable and sometimes treacherous nature of the weather was highlighted in May 1986. A spring blizzard created a "white-out" for a Chinook flying on West Falkland and resulted in the aircraft crashing, with the death of 13 on board. However, the more recent Chinook crash, on February 25, in which all seven aboard lost their lives, occurred in good flying conditions. The Board of Inquiry is still to make its findings public, but preliminary investigations indicate that the Chinook, which was on a handling

sortie after servicing, entered a slowly increasing nose-down attitude and had not been flying at 50ft as originally reported.

Apart from the road constructed to link Port Stanley and Mount Pleasant, only rough tracks serve the other settlements on the Islands. Support helicopters are, therefore, the only realistic means of resupplying outlying installations and transporting personnel. A Chinook sortie often extends over eight hours, with refuelling from pillow tanks at prepared sites. The Bristow S.61s share these tasks.

The chartering of civil helicopters originated in 1983, when the Ministry of Defence was faced with a heavy requirement for support helicopters but had insufficient aircraft for the task. Bristow Helicopters won the MoD contract, and has had it renewed annually ever since. The Civil Aviation Authority has granted Bristow a dispensation to carry arms and ammunition and, as managing pilot Mike Bill says, "We are able to interpret civil rules to a greater extent... we don't have fire services on hilltops or have to leave a load sheet under a stone after a drop-off".

A Royal Navy Lynx HAS.2 flies over a Falklands settlement





Sea Kings of 72 Squadron provide 24hr SAR coverage throughout the FIPZ

Under the terms of the contract, Bristow personnel retain non-combatant status and are not required to fly tactically or at night. Nevertheless, Bristow training captain, Peter Nicholson, says that the operational environment "takes most pilots back to their military days... it's very therapeutic."

The Sikorsky S-61s, or "Eric's" as they are commonly called, have not been specially modified for the Falklands and retain the company's livery. However, to facilitate work with other military units, HF and Marine Band radios have been fitted. Each "Eric" is flown by two

captains, both with at least 5,000hr on type, and one loadmaster. Bristow, which does its own maintenance, claims to have a higher serviceability rate than the Forces' helicopters, and none of the S-61s have become Aircraft-On-Ground (AOG) during the contract. The Eric's have not suffered any real corrosion problems, but have been abraded by grit mixing with grease.

The Sea Kings occasionally undertake logistic support missions, although their prime role is to provide 24hr SAR coverage for the FIPZ. Unique in the RAF SAR fleet, they are painted in an overall dark sea grey instead of the usual canary yellow. The aircrew have been detached from 202 Sqn and, like their Chinook colleagues from 18 Sqn and 7 Sqn, come as

individuals to fill slot requirements.

During the day one Sea King is always available at 15min notice, reverting to 60min at night. In the last five years they have been called out to perform a wide range of SAR tasks. One flight involved flying 350 n.m. from base and refuelling from the *RFA Green Rover* to CasEvac an injured seaman from a North Korean vessel. Occasionally the odd, specialised mission is requested, testing the aircrews' skill and patience.

Helicopter pilots in the Falklands have a dispensation to fly down to 200ft in a headwind, because the frequent strong

winds make progress at higher altitudes virtually impossible. Sheeptams as well as Notams are, therefore, a feature of Falklands flying. While flying in formation with another Sea King at low level I was not surprised to hear the pilot, Flt Lt John Dean, call "sheep" as we approached a farm settlement. Neatly, the two Sea Kings broke left and right around the flock below, and a shepherd's painstaking work was saved.

The Chinooks and Sea Kings operating in the Falklands would be in the front line should Argentina try to invade again. Both types have, therefore, been fitted with radar warning receivers. Chaff and flare dispensers could also be fitted quickly should the need arise.

The combining of the Sea King and Chinook crews in one Squadron appears to work well. The Squadron's Commanding Officer always comes from a Chinook background. The present Boss of 72, Sqn Ldr Nigel Furniss, says: "When many SH and SAR aircrew join they often have predetermined views of each other's roles... there is a good rapport here, and a chance to see how the other side works. It all adds to the squadron spirit."

The Army Air Corps' Falkland Islands Squadron operates a flight of Gazelles, the "tinny-winnies" at MPA. The unit reckons to do twice as much flying as in Northern Europe; Commanding officer

An AAC Gazelle, one of the "tinny-winnies" at MPA





Above left One of the "wokka-wokkas" of the Falklands, a Chinook of 72 Sqn. Above right A Chinook deploys a platoon of the Irish Rangers and offloads stores. Below An "Eric", one of Bristow's S-61s, prepares for take-off

Maj Clive Lawrence compares the flying rate with that in Northern Ireland. Although the Squadron carries out communications and VIP flights, some coastal reconnaissance is fitted in when tasking permits. Probably the biggest single user is the military's civil liaison officer.

Flying conditions are sufficiently challenging to require that one of the AAC pilots is an instructor. As Maj Lawrence explains, "There is a total variety of task and weather down here ... in four days you can have four seasons." The Gazelles frequently operate at their wind, weight,

and endurance limits, up to a maximum 40kt at take-off. "You have to plan your route that much more carefully," comments Capt Andy Wellesley. "The mountains may not be very big, but they do chuck up much worse turbulence than in the United Kingdom."

The AAC's tasking, in common with other Falklands helicopter operations, does not require the practice of tactical low flying. Nevertheless, the AAC finds that there are opportunities for pilots to be stretched in other ways. Practice forced landings, for instance, are often performed



on rocky ledges bordering the sea, because the adjacent tussock grass can often be five or six feet high. Deck Landing Practice, a technique not taught at Middle Wallop, is carried out in the Falklands. The AAC's role often requires its aircrew to don immersion suits and land on RFAs and Royal Navy ships on patrol. The Fleet Air Arm also retains a presence around the Falklands. During *Flight's* visit, the Leander-class frigate *HMS Minerva* was on patrol, with her Lynx HAS.2 performing a range of duties including some communications flying.

The future of helicopter operations in the Falklands raises some interesting questions. The completion of MPA and the attendant reduction in the garrison's strength has already resulted in fewer helicopters being operated. There are clear requirements for the existing mix and numbers of the types deployed, although exactly who will carry out the tasks in the years ahead is uncertain.

While there will be a continuing need to keep Falklands defence expenditure to the minimum required to present an effective deterrent, decisions to cut helicopter force levels will not necessarily produce overall savings for the British defence budget. The costs of retaining the AAC Gazelles, for example, are not much more than if they were redeployed to Northern Europe. It is conceivable that the Ministry of Defence might put further work out to civilian contractors, although there will always be a requirement for military helicopters in the Islands.

The Falklands War was particularly notable for the range of conventional and unorthodox military functions performed by the helicopter. In maintaining the peace, helicopters have once again proved their versatility in some of the most challenging flying conditions in the world. ■

BBC and the Falklands issue

SIR—I should be grateful if you could enlighten me on the BBC's motives with regards to the Falklands situation.

Some time ago, I understand, a play written by Mr Curteis on the Falklands for publication by the BBC was turned down on the grounds that this might show Mrs Thatcher in a favourable light and an election was on hand. I heard words to this effect from Mr Goodchild on Radio 4.

Today (May 10) a General Election is imminent and tonight I listened to a programme on Radio 5 entitled "The Little Platoon—The Long Struggle for the Falklands." This treatment contained considerable political colour.

Where is the consistency? I must confess I am at a loss!

NOEL ROBINSON
Ruthin, Clwyd

What is the relationship between governments, the military and the media in times of war? How is news from the frontline censored? What are the guidelines for future wars? In two extracts from a new book DERRIK MERCER analyses some of the issues thrown up by five post war conflicts.

NC

The media on the battlefield

IF IT EVER comes to nuclear war in Europe, relations between the military and the media will assume minuscule significance. Even the kind of fighting which army chiefs class as "conventional" would be unlike anything which mankind has ever experienced.

"It is almost a misnomer to call it World War III because that implies some sort of extension to World War II. It is not that at all," said one of Britain's most senior military commanders. "The scope of what we are facing here in Europe is potentially enormous and very, very different to that which journalists may have experienced in following wars around the world since 1945."

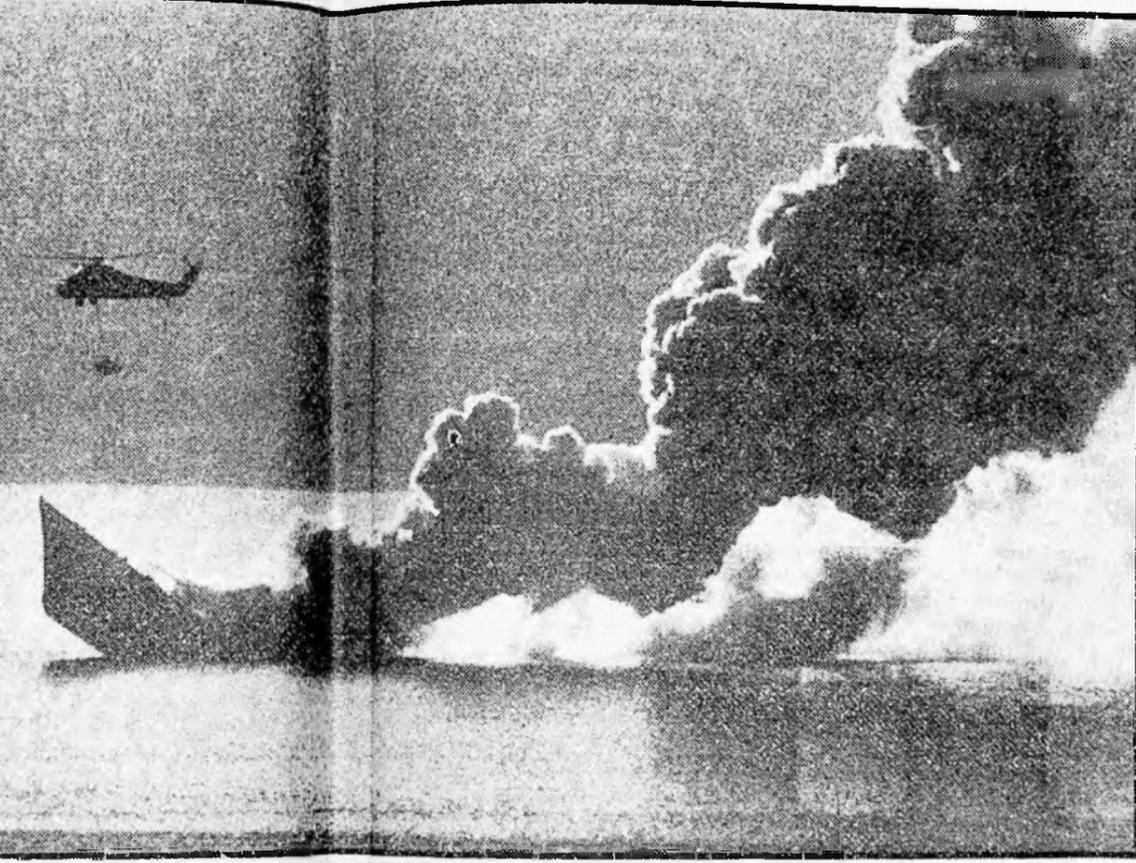
It will not be the kind of war reached by taxi where safari-suited journalists stand in the open to deliver their reports to camera. If reporters are to survive on the battlefield, they will need protective clothing, respirators and armoured transport as well as luck. This new kind of warfare will give the military power to control information through control of access.

But in a period of crisis or tension before hostilities, the advantages that the military possess in all-out war are dramatically reversed. There is unanimity among military commanders that a period of tension would be the most fraught of all circumstances for relations between governments, military and media.

In the early stages of a crisis, constitutional and legal barriers to censorship in countries such as the United States and West Germany would make it difficult for other Nato members to justify withholding information from their people. New communications technology makes it virtually impossible.

The Ministry of Defence's own communications experts said in unpublished evidence to the Beach committee on censorship: "If the right facilities are available collection and dissemination (of journalistic information) can be almost instantaneous. The right facilities will be increasingly available in the future."

Never have so many journalists been less susceptible to official controls than they are today. Satellite terminals suitable for speech and still pictures can be back-packed; those for television can be mounted on a van and are getting smaller — and therefore more mobile — each year. Direct broadcasting satellites transmitting to several countries will erode any one



Two views of a war: Ian McDonald the MoD conduit of the news to the British public and the Frigate, HMS Antelope, going down in a pall of smoke off the Falklands.

nation's ability to control information.

Two internal Whitehall reviews in 1971 and 1981 concluded that censorship was likely to prove counter-productive. In a confidential study in 1981 the Chiefs of Staff agreed: the proliferation of media outlets and the development of news gathering techniques could render censorship "impractical." Officially, the policy is to be one of guidance rather than control, but there are formidable sanctions within the secret contingency planning for war.

On the home front, Whitehall procedures for the transition to war are set down in the government's "war books" and revised every two years; they include varying degrees of control over the media. A committee on information policy, chaired by a cabinet minister, would co-ordinate government policy while a press working party would be headed by the Prime Minister's Chief Press Secretary.

Abroad, only maritime conflicts or those in remote areas offer the authorities a chance of imposing controls over access in circumstances short of all-out war. However, because information is accepted as a factor which can affect the course of bat-

tle, most military commanders now include information as a subject to be covered in all plans and orders. It is part of the military duty to prepare for the worst.

A media annex has thus been added to all MoD contingency plans for non-Nato operations. Their existence does not mean that a media party will be allowed to accompany the forces on an operation. Many of the annexes explicitly preclude an accompanying media party — as in plans to evacuate British nationals from hostile areas — while in others the size varies from six to around 30 journalists.

Contingency plans which do involve a media party are clearly more extensive with sufficient detail ("it should be noted that a TV crew moves with up to 200 pounds of freight") to ensure that the staff work provides adequate transport, equipment and subsistence. But the longest section of the media annexes are devoted to security or, as journalists would call it, censorship.

There are some general points about releasing information "as informatively and quickly as possible" but the standard stop list lists 12 subjects which may be restricted "without specific approval." Several of these

are not too contentious — for instance, details of military movements, operational orders, weapon capabilities and so on.

But two categories remained in the media annexes last year, despite being dropped from guidelines given to reporters covering an army exercise, Operation Lionheart, in 1985. These are:

1. Operational errors made by our own, friendly or enemy forces.
 2. Personal criticism of members of our Armed Forces or attached civilians.
- One Nato stop list devised for a US naval exercise in 1984 went even further. It sought to ban "any subject or treatment of a subject which would tend to lower the morale of friendly fighting forces or the public back home."

The feasibility of protecting morale divides the authorities as well as more predictably antagonising journalists. A majority of the British Chiefs of Staff and other senior military commanders interviewed for this study thought morale should be a factor in any guidelines for censorship or conditions for accreditation as war correspondents. But they differ on how the guidelines could be enforced and a few doubt

that protecting morale is practical at all.

It can too readily become an excuse to tinker with bad news, said one colonel: "You have to distinguish between unpalatable information and dangerous information." Lord Bramall, a former Chief of the Defence Staff, could see the attraction of seeking to protect morale, but added: "I think it would be difficult to achieve."

Any attempt to protect morale under the cloak of national security would certainly scupper the Ministry's desire to attain a consensus with the media. Nor is this the only source of potential conflict. The selection of journalists to be accredited as war correspondents will exclude powerful media empires.

In areas with independent access and commercial communications, accreditation will not enable the authorities to impose controls. Non-accredited journalists would simply miss additional briefings. But in more remote areas or in the later stages of a crisis, accreditation would be the ticket to the war zone.

The number of journalists to be accredited will vary according to the nature of the operation. But in areas where access can be controlled the minimum party

or pool being considered by planners in the MoD and Pentagon is similar. There will be one TV crew (cameraman, soundman) plus a reporter from each network (two in Britain, four in the US). At a pinch their sound tapes would be used for radio, but the authorities aim to include at least one specialist radio reporter.

Then there will be the news agencies — probably the Press Association and Reuters in Britain, definitely both UPI and AP in the United States. Britain, bruised by the Falklands experience, now also plans to take an agency not based in London, such as AP or UPI. Ideally, the pools would include a reporter and photographer from each agency. The Americans would also make one or two places available for its news magazines while Britain would like to take a regional journalist.

This makes a minimum party of between nine and eleven people, larger than indicated in some contingency plans yet without any representatives of the national or daily newspapers. The Pentagon backed down from its original proposal to exclude newspapers such as the Washington Post and New York Times. The politi-

cal strength of Britain's national press will similarly prevent its exclusion, but many of the MoD contingency plans propose no more than three places for all the national dailies and Sundays to squabble over.

Communications are another source of conflict. Without censorship, the military are wary of commercial links because they are insecure. Yet military links are invariably over-crowded and sometimes technically unsuitable for the media. Television is the most contentious area, partly because of official sensitivity.

Military planners say their satellites are already stretched to the limit so that television could only be accommodated at the expense of operational traffic. Politicians could overrule the military, although not for long; the next generation of military satellites will incorporate counter-measures for electronic warfare which will make it impossible for them to be used for broad-ban television transmission.

Talks between military planners and broadcasters on both sides have resulted in promises to transport the broadcasters' own equipment, but little else. There have been no equivalent discussions at Nato level because information is regarded as a matter for national governments — all 16 of them with their varying constitutions, laws and traditions.

However, there are elaborate plans for Nato press information centres, able to cope with up to 400 journalists. Forty-one such centres are proposed for Nato's Central European area alone. Compare those numbers with the total of 558 correspondents accredited for D-Day in 1944 or the 647 in Vietnam after the Tet offensive and you have one reason why information policy is accorded such priority by military leaders.

Not that this priority will ever be absolute. General Sir Martin Farndale, commander-in-chief of BAOR, is a strong advocate of providing facilities for the media. Up to a point. "My job is to win the battle, not to produce a bloody good story about a battle we had just lost," he said during an exercise in 1983.

Derrick Mercer, who was responsible for the British aspects of the study, is a former managing editor (news) of the Sunday Times and editor of Channel Four News. The above extracts are adapted from the Fog Of War by Derrick Mercer, Geoff Mungham and Kevin Williams, published by Heinemann at £15.95.

When the truth goes on manoeuv

"NO BACK-SEAT driving" was Whitehall's policy during the Falklands War, with military authority delegated by ministers to Fleet, the naval command headquarters at Northwood. But the practicalities proved more daunting than had been anticipated by a generation unaccustomed to war.

The government underestimated the extent to which its own announcements would be affected by enemy claims and media leaks; the military underestimated the political and diplomatic pressures to release information which they would prefer to conceal or, at least, to delay. As a result tensions developed between the political and military commands which contributed to inaccurate or incomplete information being given to the war cabinet.

It is not really disputed that information flow became a point of contention between the government and the military. What is more controversial is the allegation that, for all the genuine

difficulties of trail communications to the South Atlantic and other mitigating factors, born of an unexpected crisis, Northwood deliberately withheld some information from its political masters in Whitehall.

The charge is levelled with varying degrees of force — and blame — by most of the senior members of the Ministry of Defence. Sir John Nott, then Defence Secretary, emphasised the difficulties of communications but said: "One of the major headaches was the inadequacy and lack of information from the frontline."

"Very often it was not available at Northwood because it had not come back. Sometimes it was there and they wanted to hold it. Some of the information, they felt, would be damaging to release, but it was not ultimately a pure military decision. It was a decision for Whitehall (the commander-in-chief), Lewin (the chief of defence staff), myself and others: on the whole, I would always have followed

the advice of Lewin and Fieldhouse."

Sir Frank Cooper, then permanent under-secretary at the MoD, also said that rate information was a persistent problem of the war. Sir Frank views disputes over what should be released as an inevitable consequence of differing perspectives, but he adds: "What I think is unacceptable is that the whole truth is not made available to the Secretary of State."

Several people who held key positions at Northwood reported a widespread view that political pressure for more and quicker information was both unreasonable and insatiable. "Politicians will never be satisfied with the amount of information they get. They would always want more," said one senior officer.

At the highest levels the Northwood commanders (including non-navy officers) deny that they deliberately withheld information. Admiral Sir David Hallifax, then

nesses who were in a position to know acknowledged (non-attributably) that, at desk-officer level, information was at the very least delayed and sometimes withheld altogether. Information about the SAS and SBS was one area of self-imposed restraint. One of the Royal Navy's most senior officers sought to put the problems in perspective:

"Yes, there were occasions when Northwood preferred not to tell the MoD immediately what had happened and that is obviously very undesirable. It wasn't in any sense that Fieldhouse did not want to tell Lewin. That was certainly not so. But in the wider context there were times when there was a lack of trust on the Northwood side and they felt that if something went to Whitehall it would be leaked and that it would be prejudicial to what Northwood was trying to do."

"It should not be over-emphasized. It undoubtedly happened. The feeling was there and Northwood at times was not totally frank



Sir John Nott: "a headache of inadequate information"

Chief of Staff at Fleet, said: "There was no deliberate deception or withholding of information from the MoD because we feared they might leak it. I think our greatest suspicion was not so much with the MoD — that would be to draw things much too narrowly — but London generally and Westminster in particular."

Nevertheless several wit-

with the MoD. I think one ought to take note of it, not exaggerate it, and I think it was more important for what it said about attitudes than what it said about facts."

Unfortunately, one fact which was not fully communicated was the change of course of Argentine cruiser, General Belgrano. This was deemed to have strictly operational significance, but it had explosive political consequences in allowing John Nott to announce, wrongly, that the Belgrano had been "closing on" the Task Force.

Ultimately, it is the government's duty to ensure it has the machinery required to control the war and remain accountable to parliament. On the change of course of the Belgrano it clearly lacked accurate information, but there were other instances:

● The strategic or operational reasons why Admiral Woodward, the Task Force commander, wanted to delay an announcement about the loss of the Sheffield were

● Casualty figures from the attack on Sir Galahad and Sir Tristram were withheld to try and confuse the Argentines, but ministers thought the military wanted casualties to be over-estimated, the opposite of what General Moore, the land forces commander, had sought.

The success of the Falklands campaign has enabled many people in Whitehall to shrug aside the tensions exposed during the 74 days of that conflict. Yet there is no guarantee that an ad hoc approach would work so well again.

unknown to ministers and civil servants who attributed pleas for delay solely to concern for next-of-kin;

● The orders given to Brigadier Thompson, commander of 3 Commando Brigade, to secure the bridge-head at San Carlos and *prepare* to repossess the islands were misunderstood by the war cabinet which publicly chafed over the brigade's lack of momentum;

Rescue drama off Ascension Island as yacht sinks

BRITISH FORCES on Ascension recently became the centre of a rescue drama when a private yacht sank 30 miles to the south east of the volcanic island.

The yacht, the *Friia*, had left St Helena 800 miles off the African coast and was heading for Fort Lauderdale in Florida. The crew, Germans Franz Meinberger and Gunter Kremer had intended to call at Ascension but late on the Saturday night the yacht struck an object in the water and sank within minutes. Before taking to their dinghy the two yachtsman managed to put out a distress call which was picked up on nearby Ascension.

On the island personnel normally geared to supporting the air route to the Falklands took on a new role as the resident POL ship, the *Maersk Ascension* under its Master Captain George Daykin put to sea and, at dawn, a Hercules tanker captained by Flt Lt John Lines of 30 Squadron, Lyneham and crewed by airmen from Ascension as observers took off for the search area. The Hercules, call sign *Rescue One*, located the shipwrecked mariners to the southeast of the island and, after dropping survival equipment, directed the *Maersk Ascension* onto their position for the transfer to Georgetown, Ascension's administration centre.



Gunter Kremer



Franz Meinberger

Hopeful result of bird survey

Eight members of the RAF Ornithological Society took part in an expedition to Ascension Island in February to carry out the first bird survey since the British Ornithological Union visited the island in 1959.

Concern had been expressed by the International Council for Bird Preservation about the effects of activity during and after the Falklands War on the bird life particularly the Ascension frigate bird which is found nowhere else in the world.

The four species of land bird all appeared to be thriving possibly because much more of Green Mountain was covered with vegetation due to increased rainfall. The sooty terns, which nest close to the airfield, seemed to be unaffected by man. The white tern, usually called the fairy tern, breeds on Green Mountain.

Almost all the seabirds breed on a small island just off the easternmost point called Boatswain Bird Island which the expedition had permission to visit and they found most species present in large numbers without any immediate obvious threat.

"How stable the situation is for any species can only be determined by detailed studies but superficially at least there is no major cause for concern," says the RAFOS team leader, Sqn Ldr Mike Blair, of Brampton.

Ascension is also the breeding ground for the green turtle which lives and feeds off the Brazilian coast, 1,000 miles away. The beaches showed ample evidence of the turtles having dug their nests and laid eggs.

The island has many steep slopes; the lava fields were extremely rough going and the temperature was regularly above 100F so the programme of visiting and surveying as many square kilometres as possible was arduous.

The wideawake tern, more mundanely known as the sooty tern, gives Ascension its popular name but perhaps the most fascinating of the birds was the fairy tern, graceful and elegant yet a powerful flier. Nevertheless the tropic birds, with their long tail streamers, came a good second.

Although species are few in number some of them are present in thousands and, in the case of the sooty tern, hundreds of thousands. If man had not introduced cats in an attempt to keep the rats down the total number of birds would be in the millions.

Setback to Alfonsín trial move

From Eduardo Cué
Buenos Aires

The Argentine Congress yesterday began examining a proposed law that would halt most human rights trials against military officers, after the Chamber of Deputies refused to consider the legislation on an emergency basis.

The 132 to 77 vote in the Lower House on Wednesday against an immediate vote on the issue came as a surprise to the Government, which could not come up with the two-thirds majority necessary for a Bill to be considered without prior study by congressional committees. Approval of the legislation is now expected in two or three days.

The law proposed by President Alfonsín presumes that all officers below the rank of colonel acted under orders.

"I know that through this law the authors of extremely serious actions may remain free, and I don't like it," President Alfonsín said. "But it is also true that the legal responsibility for human rights violations falls primarily on those who conceived the plan and ordered that it be carried out."

Falklands party in Hull

Alfonsín in trouble over army trials

From Judith Evans
in Buenos Aires

PRESIDENT Alfonsín is facing a further political crisis over his law designed to limit the trials of army officers for human rights violations. As the President struggles to win enough political support to get the Bill through Congress, sources within the armed forces and the government are questioning whether anything short of a complete amnesty will satisfy the discontented officers.

The proposed law faces problems in Congress. The President's strategy was to conduct a rapid debate on Wednesday and move quickly to a vote, but this was dealt an initial blow when the draft failed to win the necessary two-thirds majority.

Although there is little doubt that the Bill will pass, this defeat was caused both by the reluctance of other parties to shoulder the law's unpopularity and by doubts about its effectiveness.

Five deputies from the President's own Radical Party voted against, while 18 others were absent. The Bill now goes to committee, but the hostility of an important faction of the opposition Peronist party will cause further problems.

Early estimates of the effect of the proposal suggest that some 230 higher-ranking officers, many of them retired, will still go to trial, and this is unlikely to satisfy the armed forces. Lower-ranking officers are pressing for a resolution by 29 May, Argentine Army Day.

Falklands party in Hull

EXECUTIVES from the Falkland Islands visited Hull recently to see the kind of industry that could be established in the islands.

Pictured (left to right) are David Taylor, retiring chief executive of the Falkland Islands Government, Simon Armstrong, general manager of the Falkland Islands Development Corporation, Dr. John Beddington, scientific adviser to the Falkland Islands Government and a director of Stanley Fishing Ltd, with Sid Jarvis, factory manager for Marr Frozen Foods of Hull.

The three visitors toured the Gillett Street fish processing plant after a board meeting of Stanmarr Ltd, the joint

company set up by the Falkland Islands and the Marr family companies to develop the South Atlantic fisheries.

The Falklands directors also saw the Andrew Johnson Knudston cold store opera-

tions, Globe Engineering (Hull) Ltd.'s ship management programme and technical developments, including squid jigging machine investigations by Marine Project Development Ltd.





NO one is keeping a closer eye on Argentina's attempt to prosecute its bloodthirsty and discredited generals than Cecil Parkinson, whose comeback draws ever closer.

In the early 1980s, Thatcher and Cecil — who was then Minister of Trade — targetted Argentina as Britain's key customer in Latin America. British businessmen were told: get out there and sell; anything, including tons of high-tech defence equipment. The torture was somebody else's business.

Such was Cecil's new-found passion for the ghoulish Argie generals that he flew there several times himself, starting five months after the March 1980 restoration of diplomatic relations, promising deals worth half a billion pounds for starters.

The problem, as everyone doing business then in Argentina knew, was that torture was only a sideline for the top brass who were much more interested in using their grip on the government to line their pockets. Business meant bribes, hefty ones; more than 15 per cent of total contract price laundered through European companies and arranged by an Argie confidant designated by the then President, General Viola. No bribes, no contracts:

including British ones.

Cecil could prove a key witness if the Argie government gets around to trying its generals for corruption.

But Cecil is not keen to be reminded, because his and Thatcher's commercial enthusiasm for the Argies had a direct impact on Britain's lack of preparedness for the Falkland's War.

One of the main reasons Thatcher persistently "overlooked" the mountain of intelligence evidence from MI6 and the Americans that the Argies were about to grab the Falklands was that she and Parkie thought they could be kept sweet by offering them good deals. It was a bit like trying to buy off Hitler by offering him cut-price Spitfires.

This lunacy reached astonishing heights in the winter of 1981-82, just prior to the March invasion of the Falklands. Just before Christmas 1981 Parkie was back in Buenos Aires helping British businessmen set up a major construction contract. At the same time the "Santissima Trinidad", Argentina's British-built high performance frigate, left Portsmouth stuffed to its gunnals with British-made weaponry and other defence goodies.

Then, only two weeks before the Argie invasion of April 1982, another ship left England carrying thousands of rounds of high explosive ammunition. The Argies unloaded this ship in Port Stanley, where they had recently arrived.

The firm which supplied the ammo, British Manufacture and Research Corporation, is based in Grantham, Thatcher's home town. Just before the Falklands invasion Thatcher gave the firm a Queen's Award for Export Achievement for the sale of the ammunition. And we all know where the ammunition went.

Alfonsín bill may absolve officers

BUENOS AIRES (AFP) — A bill absolving junior military officers from responsibility in the repression of the late 1970's and early 1980's was sent to the Argentine Congress on Wednesday by President Raúl Alfonsín.

In a surprise nationwide broadcast, Mr Alfonsín told Argentines that the bill was an effective step to peace and would put an end to the military problem.

The bill, which attempts to end the controversy over whether junior officers were carrying out orders during the so-called dirty war, would absolve all except those that abducted minors, raped, stole and falsified documents.

Last month, there was a partial military revolt in Buenos Aires and in the north of the country as officers demanded exemption for junior officers from prosecution.

About 450 active and retired officers are affected by the bill, which is reportedly supported by the Peronist opposition party and is expected to be approved. Mr Alfonsín's three-year presidency has been marked by the prosecution of former military leaders for alleged human right abuses.

Alfonsín tries to calm Army with law ending rights trials

From Eduardo Cué, Buenos Aires

In another effort to calm the deep discontent within the armed forces, President Alfonsín of Argentina yesterday announced legislation designed to end the human rights trials of more than 200 military officers.

The proposed law presumes that all officers below the rank of lieutenant-colonel acted on orders they could not refuse and as such, cannot be prosecuted for illegal acts including kidnapping, torture and murder which they may have committed during the military's fight against alleged left-wing subversion.

The legislation, introduced less than a month after an Easter weekend rebellion badly shook Argentina's 3½-year-old democracy, will automatically put an end to the vast majority of some 220 human rights cases.

In an effort to avoid legal appeals on individual cases, the law specifically prohibits the presentation of any evidence that a given officer acted on his own in committing illegal acts. The only exceptions involve the disappearance and torturing of minors, as well as robbery, rape or other actions committed for private gain.

Despite the urgency of the situation, the law faces an uncertain future in Congress. The liberal wing of the Peronist Party appears certain

to oppose the measure on grounds that it absolves those who participated in the torturing of suspects. A second problem is that the Supreme Court could declare the legislation unconstitutional.

It remains uncertain whether the Government's latest initiative will have the desired effect of calming a military convinced that nothing short of an amnesty decree will permanently resolve the crisis within the armed forces. Under the proposal introduced yesterday, at least some trials of high-ranking officers who issued orders or were in a position to refuse them are certain to continue.

"The Government has not understood that any judicial solution will always leave some problems unresolved," a high-ranking military officer said in an interview this week.

President Alfonsín has categorically ruled out an amnesty, but for almost a year he has vainly sought a formula to limit the number of officers who can be brought before the courts.

The last attempt was the so-called "final point" law hurriedly approved by Congress last December. That effort backfired when the nation's civilian courts used the 60-day statute of limitations imposed by the legislation to indict more than 200 military officers.

Argentina and US in talks on Gatt round

By Tim Coone in Buenos Aires

EXPLORATORY talks have taken place between the US and Argentine Governments over adopting a common approach in the current round of Gatt talks.

Mr Charles Blum, a senior US trade representative, and under-secretary at the White House, spent three days in Argentina this week, meeting local trade officials and representatives of the private sector.

He said later that his talks had been "constructive" and that there existed "room for significant collaboration" with Argentina in the current Uruguayan Gatt round.

The problem of protectionism and subsidies in agricultural trade was a "top priority for both Argentina and the US" and his Government's aims were threefold:

- ① To eliminate all export subsidies on agricultural products;
- ② To "disconnect" other government subsidies related to agricultural production in order to reduce world over-production;
- ③ To reduce import barriers to trade.

"Like Argentina, we are also a debtor nation and have to raise exports to service our debts," Mr Blum added. We have placed all our trading practices on the negotiating table without exception and in return we are asking our trading partners to do the same."

Mr Blum insisted that his talks in Argentina had been only preliminary and was not prepared to reveal *quid pro quo* that the US was seeking from Argentina before moving towards the reduction of US agricultural subsidies being sought.

However, economy officials in Buenos Aires say that in previous discussions, the US has been looking for a significant opening up of the Argentine market in services.

Argentine industry also benefits from substantial tariff protection which the government is at present reviewing as part of a series of policy measures aimed at streamlining the economy.

Labour Falklands plans

By Philip Webster, Chief Political Correspondent

A timetable under which a Labour government would reopen discussions with Argentina over the Falkland Islands, leading to discussions on sovereignty in about three years' time, is disclosed today.

Plans drawn up by Mr George Foulkes, Labour's spokesman on Latin America and the South Atlantic, envisage a request by Labour, once in office, for an early meeting with the Argentine government on neutral territory at junior ministerial level.

It would be attended by a member of the Falkland Islands Council. Its aim would be the restoration of full

diplomatic relations, the reinstatement of trading links, and an agreement on allowing relatives of the Argentine soldiers killed in 1982 to visit the islands.

The discussions would begin from the standpoint that Britain cannot afford indefinitely the "Fortress Falklands" policy being pursued by the present Government.

But Mr Foulkes, writing today in the journal *Co-operative News*, rules out simply handing over the islands.

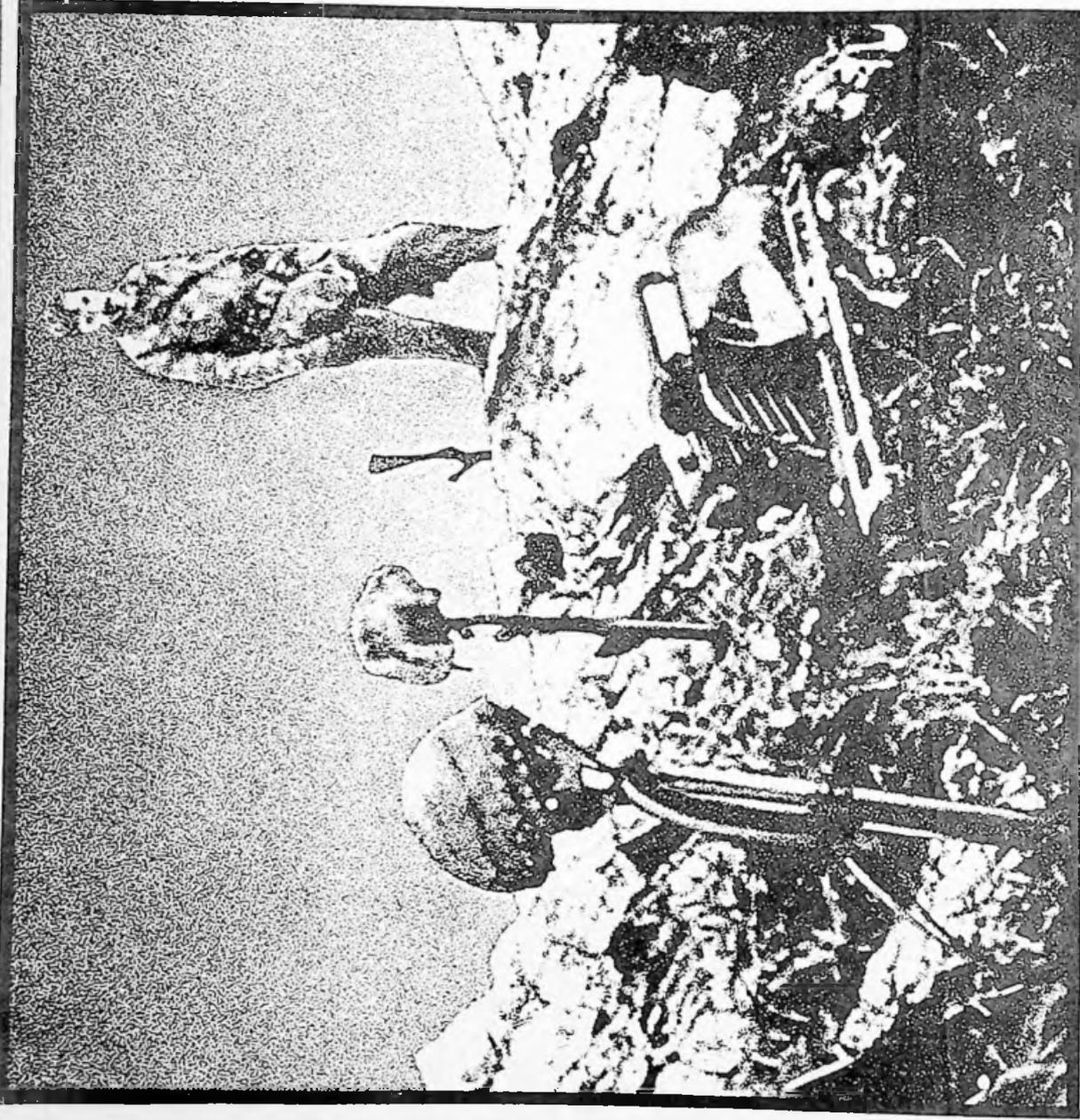
A Labour government would explore other possibilities, including giving Argen-

tina titular sovereignty while retaining British administration of the islands, a United Nations trusteeship, a lease-back arrangement or condominium status.

Mr Foulkes spells out for the first time how the detailed negotiations would take place.

After the initial talks there would be a meeting between senior Civil Servants to agree subjects for discussion.

Those would include fisheries conservation, transport links and access to Argentine markets for Falkland Islands produce.



On one level, Labour's policy towards the Falkland Islands is clear and unambiguous. The United Kingdom can not sustain indefinitely the undermining of our defence and foreign policies involved in the Conservative "Fortress Falklands" approach which has already cost £2.5 billion; the interests of the islanders are not well served by their being cut off from the possibility of using the nearest land mass for supplies and other economic needs; our trading and financial sectors will benefit from democratic stability in Argentina.

Therefore, we will seek to open discussions about the future of the Falkland Islands with a democratic government in Argentina without preconditions and without prejudging the possible outcome.

Some of the implications of this statement are obvious. Had the recent unrest led to a coup toppling Alfonsín our position would immediately have reverted to a refusal to discuss the matter with the military government. (Labour has not forgotten the way the former junta was fêted by the Conservative Government from 1979 to early 1982).

The fact that we are interested in discussing the future of the islands with Argentina emphatically does not mean we simply want to hand them over. It does mean that we recognise that there is more than one view about the



By **GEORGE FOULKES, MP**

status of the islands — ignoring this fact stores up future problems; acknowledging it opens up the possibility of achieving in time a settled, satisfactory solution.

So if, later this year, I become the junior minister in the Foreign Office with responsibility for Latin America and the South Atlantic, how do I proceed?

My first act will be to call for the files on the current secret discussions being held under the auspices of the United States. Secret talks have a place in diplomacy but, in principle, open government is preferable and, in this case, particularly desirable so that the islanders can know what is going on.

If these talks do provide a base to build on, and if the Americans are prepared to continue to sponsor discussions, then we would pursue them. (Two months ago I might have worried that Labour's

negotiations with the USA over the removal of their nuclear weapons from Britain might make it difficult for the USA to continue as intermediary over the Falklands. Now that the same end may be achieved by superpower agreement, this is less of a worry!)

If, however, these talks are bogged down, or the Americans wish to withdraw, there are two channels that immediately suggest themselves as acceptable conveners of discussions between ourselves and the Argentinians. One is the United Nations. The other is Switzerland, which handles our interests in Argentina, and/or Brazil which does the same here for Argentina.

Whichever route is appropriate, we would request an early, informal meeting at junior minister level on neutral territory. I would hope to have a representative of the Falkland Islands Council as part of my team at this meeting.

It would be wrong to seek too much from such a meeting but I would be keen on achieving three specific results. First, restoration of full diplomatic relations, so that we each have an ambassador in the other's capital. Second, formal normalisation of trading links, so that economic relations can begin to return to normal. Third, agreement on allowing relatives of the Argentinian soldiers killed in 1982 to visit the islands.

The next stage would be for our conveners to arrange meetings of

FALKLANDS

...Democracy.

discussion and the future

senior civil servants to agree a list of subjects for discussion. There are some that we would want to propose, such as fish conservation, transport links and access to Argentinian markets for Falklands Islands produce.

There are certainly items which the Argentinians would want on the agenda, of which sovereignty is the most predictable. I would hope that neither side would refuse to admit an item to the agenda on principle — the tricky part will be the order for discussion.

Perhaps the next step would be to identify two or three subjects that both sides are keen to discuss and establish expert groups to examine them and report. An obvious example is the question of fishing and conservation in the South Atlantic. Since the same fish can be caught at different times in different parts of the continental shelf, it is in no one's interest for fishing to be unregulated or unco-ordinated.

An interim agreement on licensing, fisheries protection and conservation covering the south-west Atlantic should be possible (though not necessarily easy).

These early steps might well take a couple of years. Meanwhile, other confidence-building steps would have taken place. Bilateral trade would have grown; some cultural and sporting exchanges would have taken place.

Perhaps senior ministers would have held

meetings at international gatherings such as the UN General Assembly. With a little luck and a lot of judgement there might be a growing atmosphere of trust in which the more contentious issues could be raised constructively.

And so, perhaps in 1990 give or take a year, what the Argentinians might refer to as sovereignty and we might prefer to call constitutional status would near the top of the agenda.

In the intervening years, the merits and demerits of several conceivable structures would certainly have received academic, journalistic and political scrutiny and new ideas may have emerged.

From the perspective of mid-1987, two possibilities seem unworkable in principle: continuing the *status quo* and just handing the islands over to Argentina.

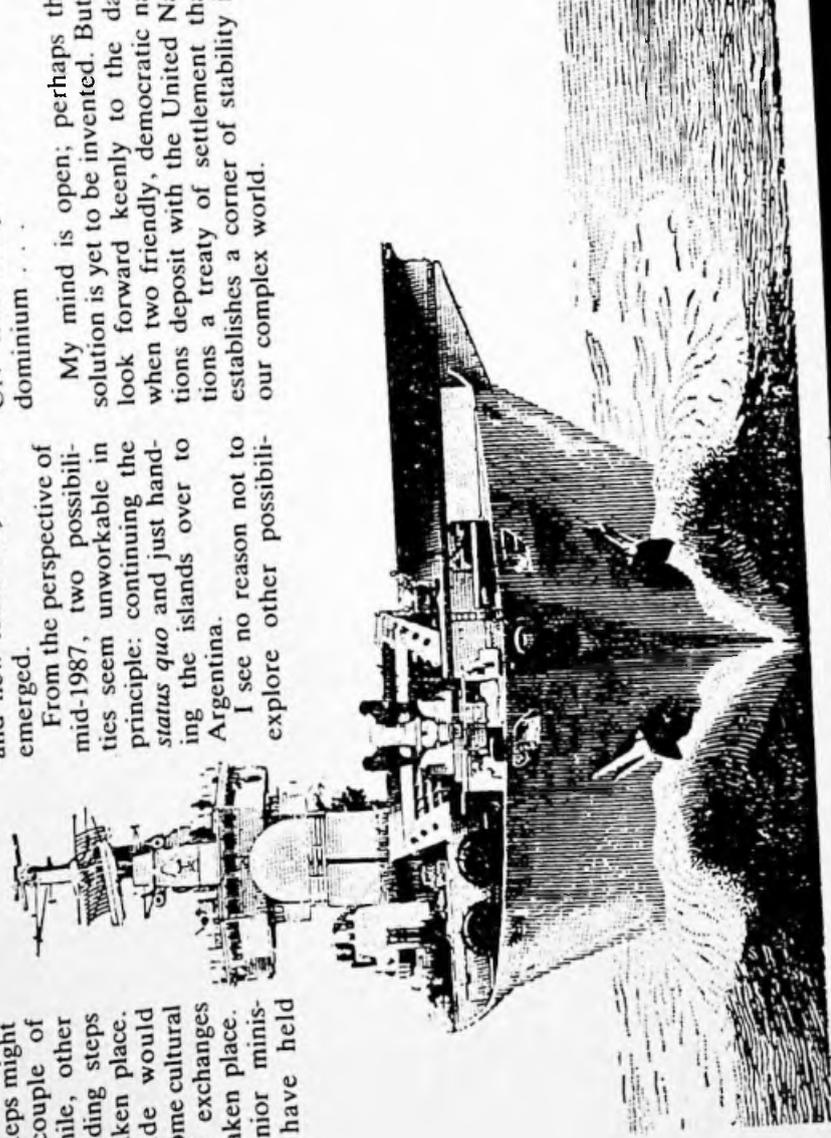
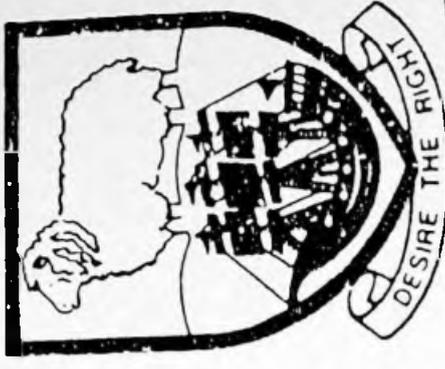
I see no reason not to explore other possibilities.

ties. The yardstick against which any proposal must be judged is that it must provide a lasting solution that provides an acceptable balance between the interests (which may or may not be the same as the wishes) of the United Kingdom, the Falkland Islanders and Argentina.

Examples of amicable settlements to disputed territories do exist. Within Europe, Sweden and Finland found a solution to their arguments over the Aland Islands that has led to great prosperity for the islanders. A similar separation of sovereignty and administration is one possibility for the Falklands. Other ideas have been canvassed: UN trusteeship, leaseback, con-

dominium . . . My mind is open; perhaps the solution is yet to be invented. But I look forward keenly to the day when two friendly, democratic nations deposit with the United Nations a treaty of settlement that establishes a corner of stability in our complex world.

The Falkland Islands



Atlantic island seizure kept quiet by London

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Correspondent

A former Labour minister with responsibility for the Falklands, Mr Edward Rowlands, said yesterday the occupation by Argentina of the British island of Southern Thule in 1976 was kept quiet to avoid a public row.

Mr Rowlands, MP for Merthyr Tydfil, was Minister of State at the Foreign Office when Argentina occupied the island, a British dependency 1,300 miles from Port Stanley. Parliament was not told until 18 months later.

The decisions not to make a stand and not to tell the public are thought to have been two of many factors which led to Argentina's invasion in April 1982. Mr Rowlands was asked yesterday in a radio interview why Parliament was not told.

"Because then we would have to make our minds up . . . it would become such an issue in itself it would have scuppered the whole of the negotiating process . . . you had to work out, was this

worth while?" he said. "We decided the negotiating process was more important."

Sir James Callaghan, then Prime Minister, said his Falklands policy in 1976 and 1977 was conditioned by Argentina's hostility to the earlier Shackleton Report, which proposed economic development of the Falklands. "I saw very little prospect of an improvement. My aim, therefore, was to keep the pot simmering without allowing it to boil over."

The handling of the Southern Thule incident has never been emphasized as a precursor of the Falklands war because decisions taken later under the Conservatives were given more prominence. Lord Franks's inquiry, published in 1983, particularly criticized the decision to withdraw the patrol ship HMS Endurance at the end of her 1981-82 tour.

The interviews were broadcast on Radio Three in the third of seven documentaries on Falklands diplomacy.

Alfonsin ready to make 'dirty war' concessions

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA'S Attorney-General, Mr Juan Gauna, has intimated that the Government does not consider middle-ranking officers guilty of human rights abuses when acting under orders from superiors.

In a report to the Supreme Court, published at the weekend, with a letter to President Raul Alfonsin, Mr Gauna gives the first indication of government policy regarding the future course of human rights trials.

The definition, the torture and assassination of prisoners by junior-ranking officers (those mostly below the rank of colonel) would be excluded from the list of charges in the trials where it can be proved that the officers were not exceeding orders.

Mr Gauna none the less recommended reform of military law preventing "blind obedience" to orders which would involve subordinates in a criminal act.

The issue has been controversial since the Government of President Raul Alfonsin came to power in December 1983 and began investigations into human rights abuses committed by security forces during military rule from 1976 to 1983, the so-called "Dirty War."

The military rebellion last

month was sparked when the federal courts began hearings against middle and junior-ranking officers. The rebels demanded an end to the trials of the junior ranks and Mr Gauna's latest interpretation of military and civil law is the first clear indication that the Government is preparing to make major concessions to the armed forces.

The Attorney-General's view differs considerably from that of the federal court judges who have already ruled that "aberrant acts," namely torture and homicide carried out by junior ranks, are punishable under civil law.

The judges are not obliged to heed the attorney-general's view in passing sentences in future trials, but the report will nonetheless influence the way in which state prosecutors act in the outstanding cases involving about 370 officers and junior ranks of the military and police.

Unrest continues in the armed forces and now extends to the navy. At an informal meeting at which the Secretary-General of the Navy was present, a senior naval officer told the Financial Times the navy would not tolerate the trials of middle and junior-ranking officers.

Fishing for a solution

● Fishing for a solution.

New ideas on the South Atlantic fishing dispute, which Argentine emissaries took to Washington last month for transmission to Britain by the State Department — continuing contacts opened five months ago — are so secret that only five top-ranking figures in Buenos Aires know about them. They were delivered orally because Dante Caputo, the foreign minister, has forbidden written memoranda.

He appears to be pursuing a technical solution to the Falklands fishing zone problem. His emissaries, still in Washington, have been asking about tonnage and policing of the zone. There is pressure on Caputo from President Alfonsín's advisers to open negotiations under the auspices of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, as Britain suggested last year.

Val Arnold-Ferster on the week's radio

Dots of war

THE LAST ELECTION, some say, was won by the Falklands Factor. So it may be a useful time to wonder how and why that war happened. For many of us, it came out of the blue. Yes, through the previous decades we may have been vaguely aware of a fuss somewhere in the South Atlantic. But a war? Men killed, burnt alive and drowned in cold seas? Others painfully maimed? Millions spent? All over a few thousand people in a handful of distant islands?

But plenty of people — in Parliament, in the Foreign Office and in the world of political lobbyists — knew about the Falklands and their problems, and had been busily engaged in trying to sort them out for some decades — “islands completely surrounded by advice” remarked Michael Charlton. And in his series, *The Little Platoon — The Long Struggle For The Falklands* (Radio 3, Sundays), Charlton is carefully disentangling the complicated threads of negotiation and political pressures that led up to the war.

It was, says Charlton, “an unclimbable molehill.” Sensibly, producer Cathy Wearing doesn't attempt to unravel the centuries-old historical background to the rival claims — we got plenty of that five years ago. This is a detailed examination, impressively organised and edited, of the whole process of negotiation, and how — in spite of undoubted intelligence, experience and, for the most part, goodwill — the process failed.

Inevitably, there is a great deal of defensiveness: Michael Stewart was convinced by the self-determinism argument; Julian Amery, with his imperial background, remembered the age-old maxim of the rich — don't sell land; Callaghan was frankly cynical.

Junior Minister Ted Rowlands was the most attractive. From a political background of building houses in Wales, he was swept in the wake of Callaghan (“The Foreign Office? Where is it?” he enquired on appointment) to watch, “the dots on the map” — those unconsidered world trouble spots that bring governments down. He inherited, poor chap, such “dots” as Guatemala and, of course, the Falklands. And he spoke with more honesty and more good sense about the problems there than the more senior politicians, or the FO mandarins. So far, a sort of super-whodunnit — but the corpses are, alas, only too real.

The voices of those Foreign Office mandarins were, I suppose, predictable: of the five we heard, three went to Oxford, two to Cambridge — and two of the five politicians went to Oxford. Simon Jenkins, in the latest of the *Pillars Of Society* series (Radio 4, Thursday and Wednesday), took a mildly waspish look at Oxford University and its complacent view of itself.

In view of the fact that about half the students still come from private education, there were some worries about the failure to attract pupils from ordinary schools — but even those who worried only wanted the cream of those pupils. And there were many more, far more passionately expressed, worries about money, since even Oxford feels the present pinch.

But the Oxford fundraisers contemplated the task of getting their rich and powerful supporters to dig into their pockets (and, no doubt, influence important committees) with enormous confidence. And no doubt they were right.

Next week, it's *The Co-op*. Will those pockets be as deep?

IN THE course of history, there are certain events which prove to be decisive in the destiny of a nation. The Easter rebellion by the Argentine army was precisely such an event.

Three weeks after the revolt, the Government of President Raul Alfonsin has yet to find a definitive solution to the crisis created when 100 or so junior commando and paratroop officers seized the Infantry School in Buenos Aires on Good Friday.

Hanging in the balance is the consolidation of a system founded on free elections and an independent judiciary, while the prospect of the armed forces continuing to be a power behind the throne — if not occupying the seat itself — remains a cause for concern.

It is now clear that the officers who launched the rebellion, demanding an end to the human rights trials in the country, were not an isolated group of disgruntled adventurers.

That much became obvious from a visit to neighbouring army units, where other junior officers openly expressed support; and by the fact that President Alfonsin was obliged eventually to negotiate the surrender of the rebels because other army units were reluctant to suppress them. Half of the Army chiefs of staff were later sacked for "failing to maintain command and control of their units", according to a close presidential aide.

The crisis had an even more serious dimension, says Mr Antonio Berhongaray, a ruling Radical Party Senator and chairman of the Senate Defence Committee. "Although the demands for an end to the trials were genuine for the most part, there were others behind the rebels, and utilising them, who had more concrete aims to prepare the ground for a military coup at a later stage."

In the event, the plotters were defeated by the fact that all the political parties, the business sector and trade unions closed ranks behind the President. And on the international plane, solid support for President Alfonsin was expressed by governments as diverse as the US, the Soviet Union and Cuba. The rebels were isolated.

So why did they rebel? One largely overlooked fact is that

The fires continue to smoulder

By Tim Coone in Buenos Aires

the Government itself helped to precipitate the crisis.

In an attempt to bring an end to the drawn-out process of human rights trials, which were creating a growing wave of unrest within the armed forces, a law was passed at the end of last year known as the *punto final*. It established a two-month time limit (ending in February) for the courts to initiate legal proceedings against officers and ranks suspected of abuses during the "dirty war" of the 1970s. During this period, more than 9,000 persons disappeared following arrest by the security forces and thousands more suffered torture.

The aim of the *punto final* was to limit the number of trials to between 20 and 30 exemplary cases of senior officers and notorious torturers, thereby satisfying some of the hue and cry for justice to be done while preventing a military rebellion. A former Defence Minister in the present government, Mr German Lopez, told the FT last year that such an agreement between the radical party and the armed forces dated back to before President Alfonsin took office in December 1983.

However, according to a federal court judge, instead of drastically reducing the number of trials, the time limit produced the opposite result. The courts were inundated with accusations against all ranks from generals to sergeants, but mostly against middle-ranking officers in charge of various local and regional operations

during the "dirty war."

Although many of the accusations were made on incomplete evidence, to ensure that justice was done the courts began investigatory hearings against more than 350 military and police personnel. This set the time bomb ticking and it exploded over Easter.

The problem for the Government is how to move forward now, surrounded by a minefield of legal and political obstacles created by the rebellion.

Demands during the mutiny included an end to the trials and dismissal of the Army high command. However, Mr Adolfo Gass, a leading Radical senator who talked to the rebels (and faced harsh criticism from his colleagues for doing so) says: "There is no doubt that the rebels were also demanding a total amnesty." This would have included the generals who led the juntas from 1976 and organised the "dirty war." They were imprisoned in 1985.

An amnesty has been ruled out, though, by Radical Party leaders. Instead a solution is being sought through defining a principle of "due obedience," under which junior officers might be absolved of blame for abuses on the basis that they were following orders.

On this point, however, Mr Gass says there are deep divisions within the party. In the trial last year of a police chief, General Ramon Camps, and five subordinates, the capital's federal court established that homicides and torture carried out by junior officers were



Soldiers of the 14th Airborne Infantry Regiment—a unit at the centre of the rebellion

punishable offences, although lighter sentences were passed reflecting a recognition of possible coercion by senior officers.

The sentences are being appealed in the Supreme Court and the Government's hope is that a favourable ruling will obviate the need for special legislation to acquit the officers. But according to one of the Camps trial judges: "Even if the Supreme Court were to make such a ruling, it is not binding on the federal courts. It would not substantially reduce the number of officers cited to testify." Each case would have to be appealed separately, which could take years.

Even more emphatically, he added: "If the President deems it politically necessary to safeguard the country's institutions by absolving the junior officers from responsibility in cases of homicide or torture, then it will have to be done by creating a new law through Congress, which the courts will then have to follow. Under existing law, such a ruling by the courts is not possible with-

out undermining the independence of the judiciary."

In the absence of unity within party ranks on the issue, intense discussions have been taking place as the President seeks support from leaders of the Peronist opposition. But Mr Diego Guellar, leader of the Peronist deputies in the Lower House, says "The Radicals will have to pay the political cost of introducing such a law. They will not receive support from us."

A quick solution is seen by the Government as imperative. In the absence of a legal or political brake to the trials, the spectre of renewed unrest in the barracks has sent the Government in the only other available direction—towards a coalition government including Peronist opponents.

Indeed, with hindsight, it appears that President Alfonsin saw the military crisis coming and that his offers last month to create a coalition government and include a trade union leader in his economic cabinet, were made with that danger in mind. The Social Contract, which he has been piecing together hastily with the trade unions (controlled by the Peronists) and business leaders, appears to involve abandoning price and wage controls and overturning the policies of his economic advisers, led by Mr Juan Sourouille, Economy Minister, who have nursed along the "Austral" austerity plan for almost two years.

Compromises on economy policy seem to be the likely price the Government will have

to pay in order to present a united civilian front should the army once again try to defy the system. The Easter rebellion was defeated because there was no support for it outside the army. If there is another mutiny, President Alfonsin is making sure no-one will stab him in the back if he once again has to appeal for national unity.

Should the army's "young Turks" be faced down by this strategy, Mr Berhongaray is confident that deeper problems in the armed forces' structure can be dealt with more easily. "Argentina's military has to be scaled down and its role redefined," he says, which would require reorienting its training programmes.

The armed forces' fundamental problem, he says, lies in the fact that, since the last Radical government was overthrown by a military coup in 1930, they have continually intervened in domestic politics and taken charge of internal security. A new defence law, to be discussed in Congress this debating season, aims to redefine the military's role as purely defensive against external threats.

Diplomacy has greatly reduced those threats. Two traditional "war hypotheses" are now almost non-existent following the resolution of the Beagle Channel dispute with Chile—and the signing of economic integration agreements with Brazil. Only the Falkland Islands dispute with the UK remains and the Alfonsin Government's commitment to a peaceful solution leaves the armed forces practically without a purpose.

Subsequent cuts in budget and manpower have further contributed to anxiety among the military. Mr Berhongaray believes these can be overcome by gradually ending conscription (only one in four youths are now conscripted) and professionalising the services through better education and more contact with civilian society.

On September 6, the country goes to the polls for mid-term elections. Electoral politics have already begun to fragment the fleeting cross-party unity experienced during the rebellion. The opposition Peronists appear intent on making the Government pay a high price for what they term its "ambiguous" policy on the armed forces.

A resurgence of unrest cannot be ruled out. And although a further rebellion would not in itself spell the end of Argentina's democracy, if it succeeded in forcing the President to utilise his power of pardon to absolve the accused military officers it would demonstrate once again the strength of the threat from behind the throne.

The Independent Saturday 9 May

By Euan Blair MP

Foreign Secretary, Foreign Office

On 23rd April 1982, the House of Commons was informed that the British Government had decided to send a task force to the Falkland Islands to reassert our sovereignty.

The House of Commons has since then been kept informed of the progress of the task force and the negotiations with the Argentine Government.

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When I asked the Minister of State for the Colonies, Mr. Geoffrey Howe, whether the British Government had decided to send a task force to the Falkland Islands to reassert our sovereignty, he replied that the British Government had decided to send a task force to the Falkland Islands to reassert our sovereignty.

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The Falklands crisis

Dear Sir,

Arthur Gavshon states that "HMS Conqueror's attack on the Belgrano . . . was the pivotal event of the Falklands crisis which turned a confrontation precipitated by the Argentine junta into a conflict." That is equivalent to saying that when the Polish army attacked German units in the aftermath of Germany's invasion of 1939, Poland was guilty of turning confrontation into conflict. Surely confrontation became conflict as soon as Argentina's forces invaded the Falklands . . . unless the British Government decided to surrender?

Yours faithfully,
N. Litton

Bury, Lancashire

The Inter Parliamentary Union At Work

By Capt Peter Shaw
General Secretary, British Group IPU

On the fifth anniversary of the Falklands invasion, Radio 4's *Today* programme and news bulletins gave wide coverage to the warmth of the Prime Minister's discussions with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, as well as recorded interviews from Buenos Aires. There was also mention of the severity of the previous day's budget introduced by the newly elected government in Dublin. Seemingly there was little to connect these events – to a selected few however, the British Group, IPU, was a common denominator. The Prime Minister first met Mikhail Gorbachev in December 1984 when he led the renowned delegation to London as a guest of the IPU. The invitation for the Prime Minister to visit Moscow was given to the Deputy Prime Minister, The Rt Hon Viscount Whitelaw CH MC, when he led the return IPU delegation to Moscow in May 1986.

One of the recorded voices from Buenos Aires, giving his views of the post-Falklands situation, was that of an Argentine parliamentarian who had both visited Westminster as a guest of the IPU in February 1986, and been party to the IPU-sponsored British-Argentine parliamentary discussions which had already taken place in Geneva, Lomé, Ottawa, Mexico City and Buenos Aires during IPU Conferences. By chance, at this same time, final preparations were in hand for the IPU to receive possibly the highest level parliamentary delegation from Dublin ever to visit Westminster. This was to be led by their new Speaker, and include in its ranks the former Prime Minister and former Ministers of the outgoing Irish Government.

With plans well advanced for the 1989 IPU Centenary Conference in London, it is opportune to reflect on the Nobel Peace Prize awarded in 1903 to the far-sighted British co-founder, Sir William Randal Cremer MP, who conceived the Union as a vehicle for international arbitration. Would he find satisfaction in the bridge-building endeavours of his successors nearly one hundred years later, when his brain-child now encompasses no fewer than 107 national parliaments, reflecting the entire spectrum of ideology? Today's British Group of the Union boasts 244 Peers and 530 Members from the Commons, and its activities can be no better summarised than in the speech made by its Chairman, David Crouch MP, to the Plenary Session of the IPU Conference in Buenos Aires in October 1986, as follows:–

'In May this year the British Group of the IPU sent a delegation to the Soviet Union. It was an important delegation consisting of fourteen Members of the British Parliament, led by the Deputy Prime Minister, Lord Whitelaw; the Deputy Leader was the Rt Hon Denis Healey, the Shadow Foreign Secretary. We were received by Mr Voss, President of the Supreme Soviet, and other members of the Soviet Parliament. We had extensive talks over a period of ten days, including a two-and-a-half hour meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, and a further two-and-a-half hours with President Gromyko. We talked of many things; of nuclear disarmament, nuclear tests and verification, and the Strategic Defence Initiative. We discussed economic problems and trade between our two countries, agricultural developments and, of course, the Chernobyl disaster.

When I raised the question of Human Rights with Mr Gorbachev he smiled and said 'Oh not that again.' 'It's no laughing matter', I replied. (It is no easy thing to say that to the General Secretary!) I told him that the denial of Human Rights in the Soviet Union was a dark cloud hanging over the consideration of all other matters; to all of us in the West it was of the greatest importance. He then promised that they would look into every case we presented to them. We have taken the matter up with Mr Voss and are grateful to him for investigating our submissions. That is an example of the IPU at work.

When Mr Shevardnadze, the Soviet Foreign Minister, was in London in July he told me that he would like us to keep talking with members of the Supreme Soviet – regularly. We agreed. We will be inviting them to send a small delegation to London before long. A Foreign Minister asking the IPU to help, that is another example – of the IPU at work.

In the last year we have talked to Hungarians, to Poles, to Czechs and to the East Germans. We have talked with the French, the Italians and the Irish. We have been to Gabon and to Somalia, where we saw the refugee camps for the starving people from Sudan. In all these talks and visits we were helping to build bridges of understanding between our nations. That was the IPU at work.

The British are a strange people. Many of our ex-colonies are here today at this IPU Conference as independent nations. We salute them, and we have close and friendly relations with them. We prefer a Commonwealth to an Empire. We believe in the right of people to self-determination. We cherish a belief in Human Rights. Those are the principles that guide the British people – of all parties.

For the British delegation there are two conferences taking place in Buenos Aires. There is the main IPU Conference and, in addition, beneath its umbrella we are having talks with the Argentine delegates. Britain has a dispute with Argentina. We are conferring with each other, it takes up all our spare time. Perhaps if we stayed long enough we might come near to solving the problem!

In February we invited the Argentine parliamentarians to talk with us in London. We have already talked in Geneva, in Lomé, in Ottawa and in Mexico City. The talking goes on and, I believe, the understanding gets better – if we can avoid the passion and rhetoric. It is certainly easier if it is left out!

Who is better at solving the problems between nations? Government Ministers, Diplomats, or Parliamentarians? The answer is it needs all three together. It is a trinity – or a troika, if you prefer it!

When Governments retire, like Achilles, to their tents, and diplomats leave their Embassies, it is the parliamentarians who must go on talking.

As Senator Leon of Argentina said, we must continue the dialogue. That is 'the logic of commonsense', to use the words of Argentine's President Alfonsín. That is what we are doing. Wish us luck! That is the IPU at work.'

Support for the Falklands fishing fleet

The government has announced support for the Falkland Islands fishing fleet. The fleet, which is the main source of income for the islands, has been hit hard by a combination of factors, including a decline in the number of fish and a shortage of crew. The government has agreed to provide financial support to help the fleet maintain its operations.

The support package includes a grant of £1 million to help cover the costs of fuel and maintenance. It also includes a loan of £2 million to help cover the costs of crew and other expenses. The government has also agreed to provide technical assistance to help the fleet improve its fishing techniques.

The support package is part of a wider effort to help the Falkland Islands economy. The government has also agreed to provide support for other sectors of the economy, including tourism and agriculture.



\$60m suit

A SECOND \$60-million-suit was filed yesterday against a fugitive former Argentine general by women who blame him for the murders of three relatives during military rule in the 1970s. The US District Court suit in San Francisco is similar to one filed a week ago against Carlos Suarez Mason by three people who said they were abducted, imprisoned, and tortured by military forces under his control. — AP.



The women who filed the suit are the daughters of three men who were killed during the Argentine military dictatorship in the 1970s. They claim that their father was killed by military forces under the control of Carlos Suarez Mason. The suit seeks damages for the loss of their father and for the suffering they have endured.

The suit is the second of its kind filed in the US District Court in San Francisco. The first suit was filed against Suarez Mason by three people who said they were abducted, imprisoned, and tortured by military forces under his control. The suit seeks damages for the loss of their father and for the suffering they have endured.



REEFER TRADES

Support for the Falklands fishing fleet

THE growth of the fishing industry around the Falkland Islands since the end of the conflict between the UK and Argentina has proved to be a valuable market area for the Greek reefer operator, the Lavinia Corporation. The Corporation is made up by four different companies, Laskaridis Shipping based in Piraeus, Italmar based in Las Palmas, Frigoship Chartering in Hamburg and Fleet Services in London, which collectively operate a support and transport operation for deep sea fishing fleets.

The Corporation's managing director, Mr A C Laskaridis, explained its involvement in the expanding fishing grounds of the Falkland Islands. Prior to 1983, he said, the only fleets involved in exploiting the fishing in the area were those of eastern bloc countries which had followed a lead

from the Polish fishing fleet in the 1970s. The eastern bloc fleets were always self supporting and therefore there was no market for Lavinia's services.

However, the situation changed in 1984 as Spanish owners, which were already customers of Lavinia, moved into the area on an experimental basis. So successful were the trials that the following year there was a substantial increase in the number of Spanish trawlers using the grounds. Close on the heels of the trawlers came the Japanese and Korean squid jiggers (a method of fishing for squid). Lavinia currently services a total of 42 trawlers from various European flags including France, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece, with the bulk of the vessels coming from Spain. However, more importantly, it also services a further 100 squid jiggers, 50 from Japan and 50 from Korea. The Falklands contracts have now proved to be a major source of revenue for the company, representing some 30 to 40 per cent of its overall turnover.

Lavinia's involvement with servicing the Japanese vessels has been in

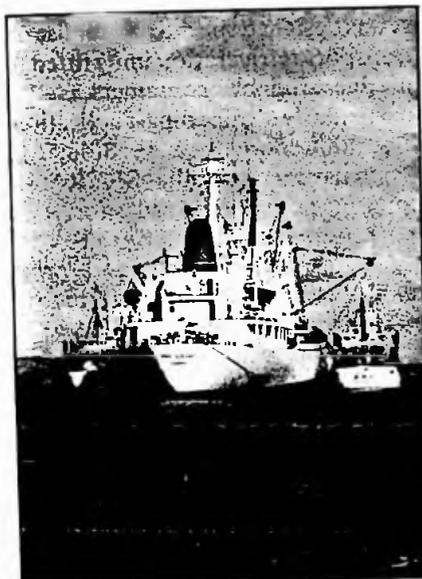
partnership with the UK company, J Marr of Hull, and Mr Laskaridis is full of praise for Marr's efforts in the area as a whole. He feels that were it not for Marr's lobbying there would not be a fishing zone in the Falklands,



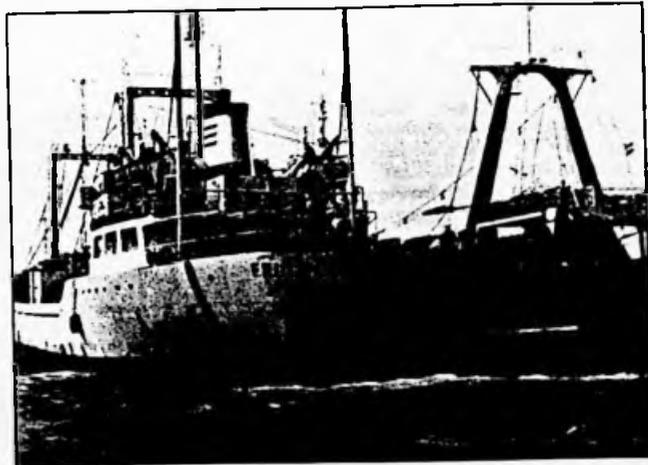
and he stresses the importance of the fishing zone for controlling the fishing in the area. The fishing limits currently stand at 150 miles, which is the same as the military exclusion zone.

Last year saw a licensing system brought in for those wishing to fish in the area and it appears to be operating reasonably well. However, he warns the authorities that they should be wary of who the licences are issued to. What the authorities should be looking for is those who are investing in the area for a long term future, not the companies setting out to make a "fast buck", he says.

Even though Lavinia is a service operation, and as such is not interested in obtaining a license to fish, the company is still looking at the possibility of a direct investment in the area.



Two squid jiggers lie alongside the Laskaridis vessel "Frio Oceanic" transferring their catch (top left). Laskaridis also keeps supply tankers on station in the Falklands' fishing grounds. The "Baltic Prosperity" is seen (bottom left) refuelling one of the fishery patrol vessels operating in the area. The Spanish stern trawler "Froxa" (bottom right) being supplied by "Frio Poseidon". (Top right) Frozen blocks of squid from the Falklands are discharged for their final destination.



Beating the Falklands jinx

FIVE years after the ink dried on General Menendez's Falklands surrender, hardly a trace of film or TV treatment on the conflict has seen the light of day. Why? Because of a peculiar jinx that seems to bedevil every project that's put forward.

The most celebrated non-event was Ian Curteis's TV play which the BBC turned down, allegedly for its right-wing bias. Then Argentinian director Luis Puenzo was on the point of filming a moving allegory about a British para and a dying Argie sharing a sheep hut in no-man's-land . . . but Puenzo's previous film *The Official Version* unexpectedly won an Oscar, and he was whisked to Hollywood, where he remained.

Next came Paul Greengrass (part-time amanuensis to Peter Wright) who narrowly failed to raise the capital for a Channel 4 film on one soldier's experiences of the war.

The Cannon Group got a trotter in the trough with their effort, speculatively entitled *The Falklands—The True Story*, but that's now been shelved because of their recent financial difficulties (since it was set to star Oliver Reed as Col H. Jones, a sigh of relief may be in order).

The BBC then got interested in Charles Wood's *Tumbledown*, which was due for production in January but got caught in the Curteis crossfire; latest reports insist it will start shooting (Richard Eyre directing) in September.

Which leaves as the only survivor,



The one that finally made it.

the oddest Falklands project of all. *Silent Heroes* (the publicity hoarding pictured above gives an impression of its subtlety) was made by the Welsh independent production company ABC, and shot in Wales, since the budget didn't stretch to the South Atlantic.

It will be shown out of competition at Cannes this year, and has just been bought for cinema distribution by Argentina. The Argies apparently, were happy with the "general tone," but asked for a few little changes about the way it ended. . . .

Britain and Argentina edge forward on fishing

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Correspondent

A second round of indirect contact between Britain and Argentina is under way, as predicted last week by *The Times*.

The Foreign Office has received a message relayed by the US State Department containing Argentinian suggestions for a Falklands waters fishing policy. While the contents have been kept secret it became clear yesterday that they merited careful and long consideration.

Whitehall sources described the Argentinian communication as containing "informal and preliminary ideas on the co-ordination and management of fisheries in the south-west Atlantic".

The significance of Argentina's reply to a British

message sent more than two months ago is that the contacts have survived their most delicate initial phase.

There were fears that as soon as they became known both governments would come under pressure not to be seen talking to each other.

The fact that three communications have been passed is thought to indicate that the implied ground rules are being respected.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, has always emphasized Britain's willingness to discuss a regional fishing policy for the South Atlantic with Argentina, provided that the sovereignty of the Falklands was not called into question.

DAILY MAIL
4 May 1987

Falklands fund to stay open

THE FUND set up during the Falklands War to care for the wounded and compensate the relatives of those killed, is being kept open for another year.

The South Atlantic Fund raised £17.3 million and was due to close in July with any money left being handed on to three benevolent organisations run by the Services.

But Commander Ken Steven has decided that he should administer the remaining £3.5 million for at least another year.

Argentines jostle for free tango as inflation runs deep

By Frank Taylor in Buenos Aires

THE CINEMAS, the night clubs and all but one of Buenos Aires's many theatres are more than half empty at every performance these days. The exception is the Alvear Theatre in Corrientes Avenue, once the glittering Broadway of Argentina.

At one o'clock every Thursday afternoon, crowds of people jostle for seats at the Alvear for a show which consists exclusively of tango music.

It is not that there has been a sudden burst of new interest in the saddest and most nostalgic of Latin American ballads. The reason for the show's popularity is that it is free—subsidised by the municipal authority.

"The economic situation in Argentina is appalling," said Pablo the young man who staffs the late shift at Mercurio's bookshop a little further along the avenue.

"Six years ago, we would keep open until after two in the morning. Now, come 10 pm, everyone goes home. Everyone is feeling strapped."

Signs of deterioration

The cyclical nature of the Argentine economy is well known. But this particular decline has been so steady and has run so deep that many Argentines say that they feel that their country is slipping backwards from being a thriving semi-industrialised nation and is in danger of becoming just another Third World nonentity.

Deterioration is everywhere. roads and pavements are slashed with trenches made by gas and telephone workmen and left unfilled, commuter trains serving the suburbs go uncleaned for weeks and reek of urine.

The telephone system is worse, if that can be possible, than it was 10 years ago when the Government assured everyone of the grand improvements that would come with the installation of a multi-million-pound communication network for the 1978 World Cup.

Few areas have direct dial phones and they cost a small fortune even when available. Most householders must spend hours, days or weeks trying to raise the international operator. The only alternative is to travel miles to make an overseas call from the telephone service's central office.

What really rankles is when visitors from Brazil express their incredulity at the tele-

phone system's inadequacies. Most Argentines never imagined they could be compared badly with Brazil in anything.

Inflation which was running at an annual rate of nearly 400 per cent when the military handed over power to the civilians in 1983, was brought under reasonable control for a time. But it is now beginning to take hold once again.

The Government's budget drawn up earlier this year was based on an assumed inflation rate of 42 per cent for 1987. But already, the indicators are that the real figure will be well over 100 per cent and probably as high as 150 per cent. And yet, Congress continues to discuss the budget without taking this into account.

The gathering inflation combined with the wages freeze has the powerful Peronist-controlled trade unions howling for President Alfonsín's blood. He, of course, blames the profligacy of the previous military regimes for saddling him and his Radical party with a £40,000 million external debt that is keeping the economy weighed down.

In a mess

But with crucial elections for the provincial governors and half the Chamber of Deputies in Congress coming up later this year, Senor Alfonsín will no doubt give ground and allow a sizeable across-the-board wage increase in order to win votes.

"The country is in a mess," said Senor Dante Loss, an adviser to the Peronist bloc in the Senate. "National production has slipped back to 1970s levels."

Senor Loss related the woes of his country over coffee in a cafe that once possessed a certain old-fashioned charm, but which is now simply dowdy.

In the street outside, businessmen clutching briefcases stood before the windows of foreign exchange shops as if mesmerised by the television screens showing the latest climb in the value of the dollar against the austral.

Meanwhile from the record shop two doors away came the strains of an old tango disc: "All the best times are in the past."

Getting the
message
across in
the Falklands
is now a
joint effort

Story by Lt Kit Lewis
Pictures by SSgt Kevin Langan

South Seas Signallers

APRIL Fools Day meant far more than practical jokes to members of the Royal Signals serving with 266 Signal Squadron (South Atlantic), for on that day the Falklands communicators disbanded and reformed as the Joint Communications Unit Falkland Islands.

Formed immediately after the 1982 conflict, 266 Signal Squadron was one of the longest serving units on the island. As a roulement or "trickle posting" squadron, there have been few Regular regiments in the Royal Corps of Signals that has not sent men and women to serve with 266 at one time or another.

Consequently it has packed a great deal into the past five years and has a proud history of providing communications to the men and women defending the islands.

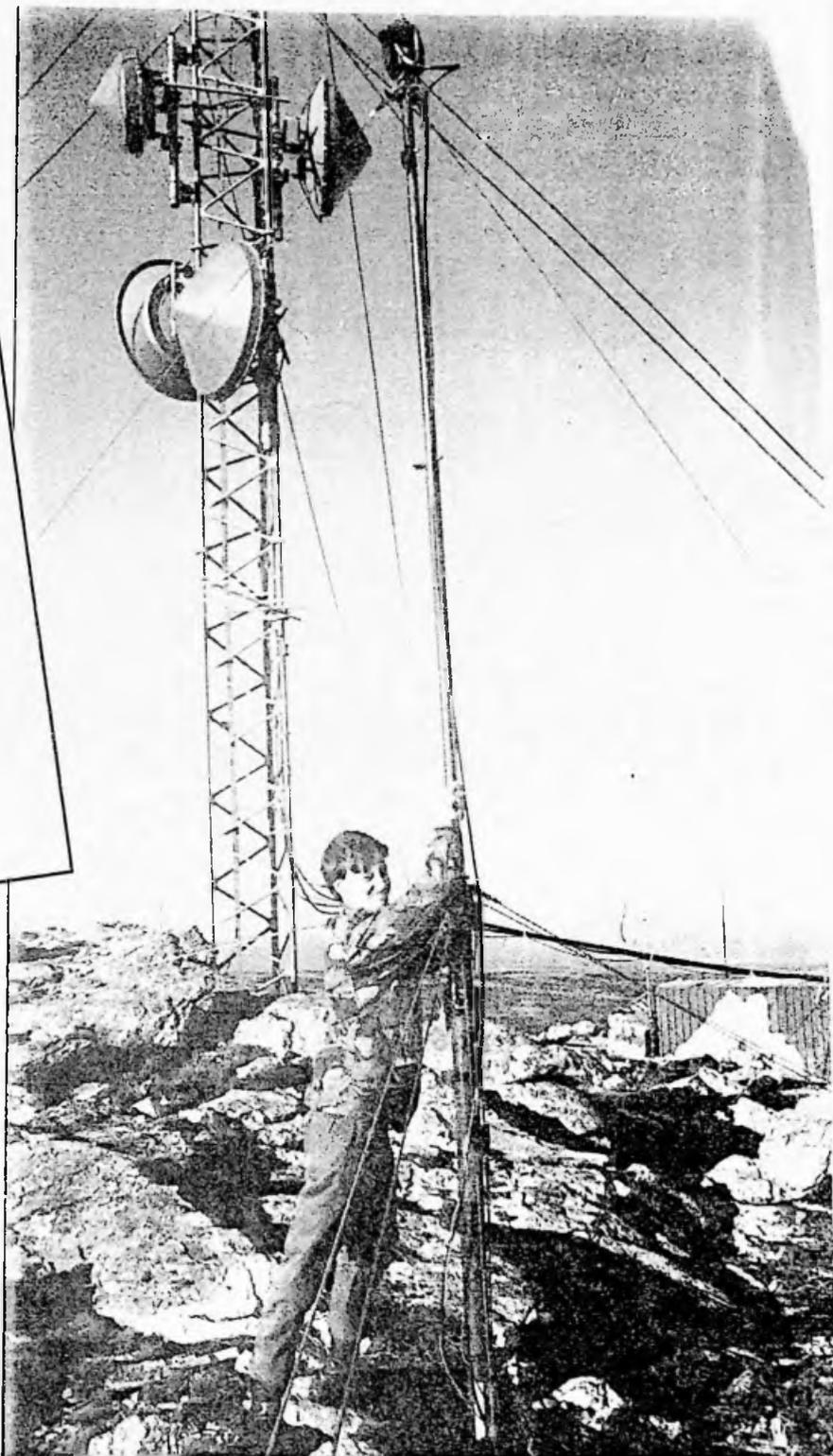
Commanded by Maj Tim Mountford, Royal Signals, the new unit is made up of communicators from all three Services, although the Royal Signals will provide the largest number.

Says Maj Mountford: "The new unit is going to break new ground. We have proved that we can manage and maintain communications on the islands as 266 Signal Squadron, and the challenge will

be to try and maintain the momentum and the skills that we already have in a tri-Service environment.

"We have a lot to learn from the other Services and vice-versa, but I am confident that we will not only succeed, but will thrive in this unique environment."

Based at Mount Pleasant and a stone's throw from the new airfield, the new unit controls one of the most up-to-date and comprehensive communications systems ever deployed by the Ministry of Defence.



On hill tops where the wind can reach hurricane force, the slightest error in mast siting, or a loose guy rope, can mean a loss of communications. Sig Dave Cooke makes good use of a sunny spell to begin some routine maintenance

Crabs,
Pongoes
and
Fish
heads
team up
in new
outfit



Fish heads, Pongoes and Crabs together! Sgt Roly Orchard RAF, Sgt Ian Scott Royal Signals, and PO Wren Kim Williams Royal Navy in the commcen at Mount Pleasant

The Falkland Islands Trunk System, more commonly known as FITS, was purchased "off-the-shelf" to rapidly provide fixed communications.

Although there were initial teething problems, FITS is now serving all the remote and sometimes isolated locations around the islands.

Several members of the new unit have hardly had time to appreciate the modern facilities available at the new Mount Pleasant complex. These men are the Royal Signals operators who man the permanent detachments on the remote mountain tops of the Falklands.

They spend the majority of their four month tour living in stark and inhospitable conditions maintaining vital radio links throughout the islands.

Despite the sometimes appalling weather and the isolation, the job is a coveted one and one which can bring its own rewards. Relying totally on helicopters for their every need, these detachments are friendly and welcoming

places as their visitors books' testify.

Four other communicators, however, can rightly claim to be the most isolated in the Forces. They serve in South Georgia and control the only link with the outside world.

The weekly Famgrams which keep those serving among the snowy peaks and glaciers in touch with their families and loved ones originate from the radio shack at King Edward's Point.

Picturesque surroundings and teeming wildlife are big attractions in South Georgia and members of the detachment have time to experience many of the varied and spectacular facets of the remote island.

The need to have men ready to move at short notice to cope with faults wherever and whenever they occur means that there are usually several teams of technicians at unmanned FITS sites at any one time.

These teams never know how long a repair will take until they arrive, and as the sites are usually on hill tops, the notorious Falklands weather often means



Mail is extremely popular at the isolated detachments, running a close second to the men who deliver it! Maj Clive Lawrence AAC hands over the "blueys" to Cpl Dusty Miller



Many of the remote sites have to produce their own power. LCpl Andrew Potter makes some fine adjustments to a generator

an enforced stay that can lead to food and water supplies running low.

SSgt John Smith, SNCO in charge of the teams, explains: "Survival is a real skill out here. We are dropped off to fix a fault and to all intents and purposes we are self-sufficient and have to deal with each problem as it arrives.

"It is exciting and often demanding work but it would only take a small mistake and things could get very serious very quickly."

It is in the commcen, the outlet for all the signal traffic that flows between the island and the UK, that the new Joint Service attitudes are most apparent. Despite having enough members of each Service to work Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force shifts, the men and women of the commcen chose to work mixed shifts, and so far the experiment has been an unqualified success.

PO Wren Radio Supervisor Kim Williams was posted to the Falklands commcen from HMS Mercury in Petersfield, Hants, and has enjoyed the first two and a half months.

"Working here is certainly different and as far as I'm aware it's a pretty unique commcen. Although we all come from different backgrounds, it doesn't take long to settle in, I think that the friendly inter-Service rivalry helps us a lot.

"We call the Army "Pongoes" and the RAF "Crabs" but they call us Navy "Fish heads" so no one minds!

"On the shop floor we just get on with it and pretty soon we are all working together. We soon find that we have a lot in common!"

On islands with a surface area equivalent to most of Southern England and with the only road running from London to Reading, there is a continual need to maintain the operational communications upon which the defence of the island rests.

That the work is being shared successfully between all three Services speaks volumes for the spirit of co-operation and the professional attitude of the communicators of the Southern Seas.

Alfonsin gives in to army

by Maria Laura Avignolo
Buenos Aires

HAUNTED by fears of another military rebellion, President Alfonsin of Argentina is preparing an immediate amnesty for hundreds of officers facing trial for human rights crimes committed during the "dirty war". It could be ready within a week.

The Easter rebellion last month by officers at three military bases — which terrified the Argentine public to an extent that is perhaps not fully appreciated overseas — has convinced Alfonsin that the country can no longer prevaricate in bowing to the inevitable.

The amnesty will extend only to officers below the rank of full colonel, and it will not amount to complete absolution. Between 50 and 80 officers accused of torture and kidnapping will be sent into immediate retirement after receiving their amnesty.

By express demand of the president, the first to go will be Alfredo Astiz, the notorious naval intelligence officer who was accused of kidnapping two French nuns and a Swedish teenager.

New Belgrano evidence

NEW EVIDENCE has emerged in the controversy over the sinking of the Belgrano in the Falklands war five years ago today. It appears to disprove claims that the Argentine cruiser was sunk to scupper a Peruvian peace plan.

According to Professor Lawrence Freedman, of King's College London, and Professor Virginia Gamba of the Strategic Studies Institute, Buenos Aires, writing in *The Independent* today, the Belgrano was sunk at a time of considerable confusion.

On 1 May, 1982, the British task force pretended to mount a landing to draw out the Argentine forces and discover their plans. It worked. The Argentines believed the British had been forced to withdraw and, expecting a lull, were responsive to Peru's proposals. But the British were keeping a

close watch for the Argentine navy, believed to be heading for the task force.

On 1 May, HMS Conqueror found the Belgrano. The task force commander, Admiral Woodward, asked London for permission to attack. That meant changing the rules of engagement, which happened well into the next day. There was a further delay before the Belgrano was sunk.

But, by then, the position had changed. The Argentine fleet had been ordered to withdraw. One reason was that it had spotted a British Sea Harrier flying overhead. The Harrier pilot had, however, reported that the Argentines were closing on the task force. This was the situation when the War Cabinet considered changing the rules of engage-

ment.

At 5am, the Belgrano began to turn back. Conqueror noted this but was unable to inform London until after it had been told of the change in the rules of engagement allowing the Belgrano to be sunk.

As to Peru's peace plan, Professors Freedman and Gamba feel it stood little chance. The Argentines and Peruvians believed that the US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, was speaking for Britain, but the Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, was unconvinced. In their view, the Belgrano incident is a classic example of the "fog of war" — when governments make decisions based on poor intelligence and a misperception of what the other side is thinking.

Full report, 9

Alfonsin calls for 'social pact' to defend democracy

BY TIM COONE IN BUENOS AIRES

PRESIDENT RAUL ALFONSIN yesterday made a passionate appeal to opposition political parties and the trades unions in Argentina to agree on a "social pact." He said this was the only way the country's democracy could be consolidated and protected.

This was President Alfonsin's first public statement since the Easter military rebellion by army officers and it underlines his concern that he may face a further challenge from the military over the unresolved issue of human rights trials.

Opening the new session of Congress, Mr Alfonsin said Argentina was "in a transition to democracy" and this meant the political parties had "an historic responsibility which

transcends any electoral period or term of government." The responsibility, he said, was to "reconstruct a country which has lost its direction."

Government, trades union and business leaders have been locked in negotiations over the past two weeks to lay the basis of a political and economic accord but have failed to agree.

Proposals by the industrialists and trade unions, supported by the Labour Ministry, are diametrically opposed to the policies pursued by the Economy Ministry, especially the price and wage freeze and tight monetary controls. Details have still not been released on a general wage increase that was approved last week against the wishes of the Economy Ministry.

Argentinian evidence shows the grim folly of war as an instrument of diplomacy



FIVE years after the sinking of the Argentine cruiser, the General Belgrano, the incident is still the subject of fierce controversy. The history has been written and rewritten. The Labour MP Tam Dalyell has tried to prove that the Belgrano was sunk deliberately to undermine a peace initiative by the President of Peru. Although unsuccessful in this, Mr Dalyell did manage to force the Government to admit that its original account was incorrect. In particular the Government had to withdraw its claim that the Belgrano was closing on the task force at the time it was attacked and acknowledge that it had turned to tail in the opposite direction hours earlier.

The question at the centre of the debate is this: was the war cabinet's decision to change the rules of engagement to allow the Belgrano to be sunk reasonable, given the information available?

The critics say the Government must have known of the changes in the positions of the Argentine fleet and of the promising state of the Peruvian peace initiative. The Government says neither of these things was known. And anyway, it says, the extra information would not have made a great deal of difference since the nature of the naval threat remained essentially the same, and the Peruvian initiative was not very promising.

Now we can reveal new information from Argentine sources which throws extra light on the events surrounding the sinking.

Much of the controversy has assumed that decisions were taken with perfect information instantly transmitted and correctly understood. Yet in conflicts such as this it is always difficult to respond to fast moving and confusing events, and to judge the political consequences of military actions taken for operational reasons. The Belgrano incident is a classic illustration.

The main events are well known (see below). It is striking evidence that each side saw military position completely differently on 2 May. To understand this, we have to analyse the British perspective on 1 May was to require special patrols on to the islands and navy to get a sense of their plans and capabilities.

To draw out the Argentine forces, the task force pretended to mount a landing. It succeeded. Argentine forces went on to the attack. There were air engagements, a failed attempt by an Argentine submarine to torpedo British ships and a failed attempt by the Royal Navy to catch the submarine, but no other naval engagements.

To the Argentine side, as they began their post-mortem late on 1 May and early 2 May, the position seemed better than they had anticipated. The long-range British attack on the Stanley airfield had failed to put it out of action. At least two Sea Harriers might have been downed and one destroyer badly damaged. Instead of recognising that the British had feigned to draw out Argentine forces, the assessment was simply that the British had tried and failed to land — and demonstrated a surprising incompetence.

On the morning of 2 May, therefore, the Argentine judgement was that the British had been forced to withdraw, at least for the moment. — in the words of General Galtieri later that day, they had "taken a holiday". For the Argentine leadership, therefore, the combination of an expected lull in hostilities and satisfaction with the performance of Argentine forces inevitably led to a receptiveness to new Peruvian proposals.

For the British task force commanders it was different. They had no reason to doubt the success of the bomber attack on Stanley airfield, and every reason to doubt the other Argentine claims with regard to the damage inflicted on warships and aircraft, and they were



Thatcher and Galtieri flank the stricken Belgrano. The two sides based their decisions of that fatal weekend on completely different assessments of the state of the conflict.

Belgrano torpedoed amid the fog of war

Lawrence Freedman and Virginia Gamba on the Falklands sore

Admiral Woodward had to wait. It took well into the next day before the rules of engagement were changed, and many more hours before the change was implemented and the Belgrano sunk.



By the time authorisation was received, the military position had altered; there was no longer an Argentine offensive underway. The most important change was that at around 02.00 on 2 May (local time) the Argentine fleet was ordered to withdraw. The Argentine commanders accepted that British warships apparently dedicated to this task were now available to hunt out the Argentine navy, which was in consequence at risk.

Admiral Allara, commanding the Argentine fleet from 25 de Mayo, had been unable to launch his Skyhawk aircraft because of a lack of wind and could not expect to do so until around noon. Meanwhile, he had been spotted by a British Sea Harrier. Vulnerable to British attack, Allara ordered withdrawal at 01.45. At 02.30, the Belgrano received this order. In a

ted the group led by the 25 de Mayo and given a warning that this group was closing in on the task force was in itself instrumental in leading the Argentine group to withdraw. It was difficult enough to keep track of events in the theatre of operations — even more so 8,000 miles away in Britain.

As we have seen, on 2 May the Argentine commanders were not expecting further engagements. They assumed a lull in combat would follow what they saw as a failed landing attempt and they expected British interest in that day's diplomatic activity. This explains their surprise and shock on news of the loss of the Belgrano. The news prevented Argentine acceptance of Peruvian proposals that evening. But it is doubtful if any initiative could have succeeded on 2 May.

The Peruvian initiative was accepted in good faith in Buenos Aires because it was more sympathetic to Argentine concerns, especially with regard to the influence the islanders would be allowed to have over the final diplomatic settlement, and the British (as well as Argentine) absence from an interim Administration. The assumption that the previous day's operation had gone badly for Britain made an expectation of a conciliatory attitude from London entirely credible.

But Britain had not adopted a more conciliatory attitude, far from it. However, the impression that Britain was prepared to listen was bolstered in Peru and in Argentina by the

belief that the US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, was virtually speaking for Britain and that his agreement to the Peruvian initiative was tantamount to a British agreement.



President Belaunde referred to "they" when speaking. Argentine leaders about contacts with Washington and put great stress on the fact that the Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, was in Washington at the time.

But Mr Haig had no such authority. The evidence suggests that he was unable to convince Mr Pym that there was much new in the initiative. And by the time Mr Haig knew that Argentina's President Galtieri was favourably disposed, Haig was no longer in contact with Mr Pym.

Mr Haig tried to phone Mr Pym before he left for New York, to urge him to take the proposals seriously. But the call was taken by the British Ambassador, Sir Nicholas Henderson, who promised serious consideration but explained that this would need to take place in London.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Peruvian initiative was largely the result of Mr Haig's desire to salvage something from the failed diplomacy of the previous month and President Belaunde's wishful thinking. Although the British war cabinet did become more receptive to the Peruvian ideas but they eventually accepted leaned toward the established British view, just as version the Argentine government may become close to accepting on 2 May leaned towards its established concerns.

If anyone lost an opportunity it was probably Argentina in not accepting favourable proposals which could have proved very difficult for Britain to ignore, especially given Haig's backing and the erosion of international support after the sinking of the Belgrano. It is also clear that the effect on national pride which fuelled determination to reach a retaliatory posture the next day in Buenos Aires probably affected the decision.

What conclusions can be drawn? The sides based their military and political decisions throughout that weekend on completely different assessments of the state of the conflict. This demonstrates the difficulty of crisis management when communications are poor. This is far less rare than many strategic theorists might hope. Why battle has commenced, the problems grow because of the need to take decisions with regard to their operations, as well as their political consequences. This experience, along with many others in this dispute, is sobering for those who expect that in crisis and war, military action can be closely controlled and used to reinforce diplomacy.

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TWO DAYS OF GROPING TOWARDS THE KILL

war cabinet agreed to a change in the rules of engagement which was eventually communicated to HMS Conqueror which had been trailing the Belgrano since the previous day. At four in the afternoon local time (16.00 BST), the Belgrano was attacked.

Meanwhile, President Belaunde of Peru was trying to pick up the pieces of Haig's diplomacy. He put a simplified version of the Haig plan to the Argentine leader, General Galtieri, on the morning of 2 May. Through the day, senior Argentine and Peruvian figures discussed these ideas. Although the Peruvians were in close touch with Haig who was in turn in touch with Francis Pym, British Foreign Secretary, there was no direct Peruvian contact with Britain. Those Argentine leaders involved were attracted by the Peruvian ideas, and encouraged by their apparent endorsement by the United States and, by implication, the United Kingdom. By the evening, Argentine officials were starting to put these ideas to the full junta for consideration when news came of the loss of the Belgrano and the discussion was suspended.

By 29 April, the diplomatic efforts of US Secretary of State Alexander Haig had ground to a halt and the US had "titled" in favour of Britain. Two days later, on 1 May, Britain launched air attacks against Argentine positions on the Falklands followed later by naval bombardment. The Argentine forces in return mounted attacks against the task force. By midnight (in the South Atlantic, 04.00 BST) on 1 May, the British action had ceased and, not long after, it was decided to withdraw the Argentine fleet. However, this was not appreciated in London. At 1.00 BST, the

Democracy is secure, says Alfonsin

By Frank Taylor
in Buenos Aires

PRESIDENT Alfonsin yesterday praised the "enormous maturity" of the Argentine people in helping him confront and overcome last week's mutiny by a group of army officers.

The revolt, he said, had presented his administration with a grave constitutional crisis, but through their actions, the ordinary people had shown their commitment to a democratic future.

"One country died and another was born during those days of crisis, he declared.

Opening a new session of Congress, Senor Alfonsin, who was elected to office in 1983 after the military's fall from grace, drew applause when he went on: "This democracy is irreversible. The rifle does not offer hope, nor does it offer justice. It offers only death".

New capital

Senor Alfonsin made it plain that he intends to press ahead with controversial proposals for reforming the Constitution and for moving the capital from Buenos Aires to Viedma, in Patagonia.

The first is aimed at giving Argentina a parliamentary system, with a Prime Minister as well as a Head of State.

The second is an attempt to dilute the enormous political, economic and cultural power which Buenos Aires wields over the rest of the country and which has been blamed for keeping vast reaches of Argentina under-developed.

Argentine air force 'celebrates' Falklands

By Frank Taylor in Buenos Aires

THE ARGENTINE air force, which has emerged from the aftermath of the Falklands conflict and human rights scandals in far better shape than the other two services, raised its visibility and spirits yesterday with a series of ceremonies at bases around the country.

Parades were held and speeches delivered to commemorate the first major attacks on the British Task Force around the Falklands five years ago.

In a statement read out at all the bases, Air Force Chief of Staff Brigadier Ernesto Crespo spoke of the "evident victory of our men before the powerful British Task Force.

'New guidelines'

"The performance of our pilots won the respect of all specialised forces and gave new guidelines to Nato naval aviation strategy, as well as to the Warsaw Pact and other military alliances."

Brig. Crespo's words echo the general feeling of the Argentine public towards the air force.

The courageous actions of the Argentine pilots during the conflict won them the respect of the general populace.

The air force's first big attack on the British naval force was on May 1, 1982. The commemoration ceremonies were brought forward a day so as not to conflict with today's May Day holiday and speech to Congress by President Alfonsin.

According to Argentine records, the British force was located 150 miles from the islands in the early hours. After British planes had carried out bombing raids on Argentine positions on the islands, the Argentine air force launched attacks in which 62 aircraft took part.

"The British received 20 tons of bombs on their ships and were obliged to pull back from the zone of conflict," say the records. Argentina lost 14 pilots in what is still referred to as the air force's "baptism of fire."

Total air force losses in the war were 36 officers, 14 non-commissioned officers and five conscripts.

As the Argentine armed

forces seek to regain their former place in society after the Falklands defeat and the shame of the human rights trials, they welcome encouragement from many quarters.

They were especially heartened yesterday by a speech delivered by the American ambassador, Mr Theodore Gildred, who said it was time to "restore the confidence and pride" of the services.

One aspect of "civilian control" that is making some Argentines uneasy was demonstrated two nights ago.

A car-load of men dressed in civilian clothes arrived at the house of Senor Eduardo Frola, a lawyer who has defended right-wing extremists accused of plotting against the Alfonsin government and who now has the case of Lt-Col Aldo Rico, who carried out a short-lived mutiny last week.

The men said they had a warrant for Senor Frola's arrest. But he was not at home and they went away empty-handed.

Yesterday, senior police and intelligence officials denied at a habeas corpus hearing that any warrant had been issued for Senor Frola's arrest.

Army officer is arrested

A dismissed Argentine army major was arrested yesterday after appearing in court on charges of human rights violations two weeks after sparking an officer rebellion against rights trials when he ignored a first summons, court sources said.

Ex-Major Ernesto Barreiro was being held at a military unit after declining to testify in a hearing at the federal court of Cordoba. Barreiro is charged with six counts of torture and one of torture followed by death.—Reuter.

Major is forced to face court

From Eduardo Cué
Buenos Aires

It took a military rebellion, an unprecedented show of popular support for democracy, a courageous President and two weeks of hiding, but former army Major Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro finally made it to court.

Dressed in civilian clothes to denote his new status as a former military officer, Señor Barreiro appeared on Wednesday evening before the same Federal Appeals Court in the northern city of Córdoba.

He had refused to recognize the court's authority only two weeks ago.

His failure to appear before the court to answer charges of human rights violations he allegedly committed during the former military regime sparked an insurrection by officers of the 14th Airborne Infantry Division, where Major Barreiro had hidden.

That rebellion ended the following day when the major fled the garrison, but by then officers at the Campo de Mayo base near Buenos Aires had taken over a military academy.

The ex-officer's reappearance came as Argentina waited eagerly for President Alfonsín's speech today before the opening session of Congress.

The event will mark the first time the President has formally addressed the nation since he defused the Easter weekend crisis by flying to the Campo de Mayo base and ordering more than 100 rebel officers to surrender.

Since then the Government has been hoping for a Supreme Court ruling on the concept of due obedience — in other words, how far responsibility passes down the chain of command for obeying illegal orders.

The Government has been hoping that such a ruling would limit the number of active duty officers who can be tried.

Officer in custody

From Jeremy Morgan
in Buenos Aires

Major Ernesto Barreiro, who sparked an officer rebellion in Argentina two weeks ago, was yesterday held in custody after giving himself up to a civilian court.

He turned up last night at the same court in Cordoba, the city 500 miles north-west of here where the army revolt began, which he had refused to recognise after it ordered him to testify on human rights crimes under the former military regime.

Major Barreiro has been named in connection with six torture cases and one "death following torture" at the Argentine army's La Perla secret gaol during the regime's "dirty war" after the coup d'état in 1976.

Disobeying the court order, Major Barreiro took refuge at an airborne infantry barracks outside Cordoba on April 15—and plunged President Raul Alfonsín's Government into a confrontation with what now appears to have been the larger part of the army officer corps.

Major Barreiro's whereabouts have been unknown since he vanished from the Cordoba barracks on Good Friday,

£15m raised for Falkland victims

MORE than £15 million has been contributed to the South Atlantic Fund, the charity set up to help victims of the Falklands war, it was announced yesterday.

The contributions came from "all sections of the community, both at home and abroad," says the fund's annual report.

Up to scratch

After the recent military rebellion in Argentina against President Raúl Alfonsín, the head of the security police was rebuked for his organisation being so inefficient that it had not known what was on the way.

On the contrary, Facundo Suarez replied.

The security police were excellently briefed. Unfortunately, the officer who received the information had a rather compelling reason for failing to pass it on — he was one of the conspirators himself.

Argentine major in court after mutiny

CORDOBA (AFP) — The cashiered army major whose refusal to appear in a civilian court touched off the Easter week military rebellion in Argentina, came out of hiding and appeared in the federal court here on Wednesday.

Major Ernesto Barreiro was forced out of the army on 15 April after refusing to appear in court on charges of violating human rights during the dirty war of 1976-1983. He argued that he had only obeyed orders, a defence known legally as "due obedience", and officers in Córdoba and at the Campo de Mayo base outside Buenos Aires rebelled in support of him.

Major Barreiro, who had taken refuge with the mutinous soldiers, had been missing until he appeared in court on Wednesday.

At the same time in a Buenos Aires civil court, the former head of state, General Jorge Videla, admitted in writing his full responsibility for the 1976 *coup d'état* which overthrew the elected government of President María Estela Martínez de Perón. But

General Videla reiterated that he did not recognize the authority of civil courts to judge him.

General Videla, Admiral Emilio Massera, and Brigadier General Orlando Agosti, who made up the first military junta which took power after the coup, were charged in 1984 with the crime of rebellion. The supreme court ruled in early April that the civil judiciary should try the case. A similar case has been pending against Lieutenant Colonel Aldo Rico, one of the leaders of the Easter week mutiny.

The civil courts are seeking to try Colonel Rico for rebellion, while military courts want to try him for his role in leading a four-day mutiny at Campo de Mayo.

Argentine government officials last week had said President Alfonsín was seeking a decision from the judicial branch upholding the concept of "due obedience", under which officers who obeyed superiors while committing atrocities during the dirty war would not be prosecuted for their crimes.

New Permanent Secretary

Mr John Caines, formerly a Deputy Secretary at the Department of Trade and Industry, joined the Overseas Development Administration as its Permanent Secretary on 16 April in succession to Sir Crispin Tickell who has taken up his new appointment as the United Kingdom's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York.

Mr Caines, who is 53, was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He joined the then Ministry of Supply in 1957, where he held posts concerned with the electronics industry and aviation overseas policy and served for a time as Civil Air Attaché, Middle East. In 1968 he acted as Secretary to the Roskill Commission on the third London airport, and was subsequently appointed Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry. In 1974 he was promoted Under Secretary in the Department of Trade with responsibility for trade with the Middle East and Africa.

Between 1977 and 1980 Mr Caines was Secretary of the National Enterprise Board. He then returned to the Department of Trade on promotion to Deputy Secretary in charge of trade relations and exports and Chief Ex-



John Caines CB

ecutive of the Overseas Trade Board. In 1983, after a period with the Central Policy Review Staff, he returned to a range of Deputy Secretary responsibilities in the Department of Trade and Industry including competition, industrial policy and financial services.

St Helena: A new ship to replace the RMS St Helena, which has operated the regular service between Britain and its island dependency of St Helena in the South Atlantic since 1977, will be built in a British shipyard. The 125-berth mixed passenger/cargo vessel is expected to meet all St Helena's estimated passenger and cargo needs for the foreseeable future, except for petrol which will be supplied under separate arrangements. Minister for Overseas Development Christopher Patten told Parliament in December that the ODA was setting in motion competitive tendering arrangements for design and construction of the vessel, which will have a cargo capacity of up to 1,500 tonnes — including 400 tonnes to meet the island's diesel fuel requirements.

Fifth Shellfish International Marketing Conference held in the Princess Sofia Hotel in Barcelona, Spain, from April 6 to 8.

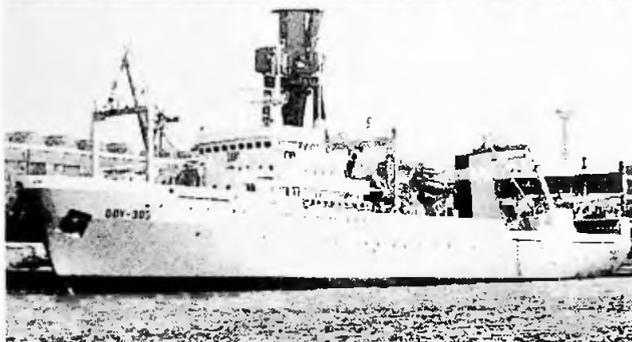
Lopez Veiga of the vessel owners federation in Vigo who said that Spanish operators in the waters around the Falkland Islands, fearing depletion of the squid resource through overfishing, had welcomed the British enforcement of a 150-mile fishing zone.

He was followed by a discussion panel on South Atlantic squid. Participants in the panel included E.



Enrique Lopez Veiga was one of the three participants in a panel discussion of South Atlantic squid.

NEW VESSELS FOR DALMOR



New generation Polish factory trawler — the 94 metre long *Dalmor II*.

THE 94-metre long *Dalmor II*, which has been operating in the Gdynia based fleet of the Dalmor high seas fishing enterprise since early this year, is a new generation of factory trawler, versatile and with fishing and processing capacities which should keep Poland among the top fish producers.

Designated a B408/II trawler, the *Dalmor II* was built in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. She is 85 metres long bp, has a breadth of 15.9 m and a draught of 5.6 m. Deadweight capacity is 1749 tons and she has accommodation for a crew of more than 80.

Her main engine is a model 6ZL 40/48 Zgoda-Sulzer medium-speed diesel which develops 4350 hp and is said to be noted for low fuel consumption. It is a fully automatised unit with a partly unmanned power plant.

The new stern trawler is designed to produce fillets as

well as gutted and headed whole fish frozen in blocks.

There are four Baader filleting lines in the ship's factory — two 188, a 181 and a 190 — as well as a line for hand gutted fish. Waste from the filleting and gutting lines is reduced to meal in a shipborne plant.

Among the modern aids installed in the ship are a satnav receiver and also a satcom system to enable her to make use of the worldwide Inmarsat satellite communications network.

A second ship, the *Altair*, has followed the *Dalmor II*. She was commissioned last month.