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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 October 1982

Dear Idm,

Falklands at the General Assembly

In my letter of 22 October I said that we would be recommending that the Prime Minister send messages to Community Heads of Government once the results of the discussion in the margin of the Foreign Affairs Council on 25 October were known. You will have seen that Mr Pym went over the ground again in Luxembourg very firmly. We now recommend that the Prime Minister should send messages to the other Heads of Government and I enclose a draft, tailored for the various countries, for this purpose. To have the maximum impact, these should issue on 27 October, to allow time for a proper consideration in capitals.

You may have noticed the omission of India from the list of countries in my letter of 22 October. Our High Commissioner was doubtful about the utility of a message to Mrs Gandhi. We have reflected on this further and are inclined to think that the Prime Minister might nevertheless like to consider sending a message. It seems right, at a time when we are intervening at the highest level with so many other Commonwealth and Non-Aligned countries, that we should make our views plain to India, as a leading member of the Commonwealth and as the in-coming Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. I enclose a draft for the Prime Minister's consideration.

Yours ever

John Holmes

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Private Secretary

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[TO EC PARTNERS EXCEPT GERMANY]

' . Next week sees the start of a debate on the Falkland Islands at the United Nations General Assembly with the vote due on 4 November. I am writing to ask you for your understanding and support.

[GERMANY ONLY]

Although we are to meet in only a few hours time I thought I should send you this message about next week's debate on the Falkland Islands at the United Nations since I am writing today to the Heads of other Community governments on the same subject.

[TO ALL]

2. The Argentine draft resolution calling upon us to enter into negotiations about the sovereignty dispute is wholly unacceptable to the British Government and the British people after the events of the Spring. Argentina envisages only one possible outcome to any such negotiations: the transfer of the Islands to herself against the wishes of the people who live there. ~~To support her in the vote would be to encourage her in this unprincipled ambition and to delay the prospect of putting an end to the dispute. The way forward does not lie through the passage of such resolutions but through the encouragement of an evolution of thinking in Argentina.~~

*This ~~is also~~
would be an
outright denial
of the principle of
self-determination
and should not
be encouraged in
any way.*

[FRANCE, ITALY,

[FRANCE, ITALY, NETHERLANDS]

3. There is much support for our position in many parts of the world. But I have been most concerned to learn that consideration is being given in France/Italy/The Netherlands to voting with Argentina on 4 November. Voting with the aggressor in the recent conflict in this debate would simply not be understood in this country and would inevitably be ~~widely~~ seen as unfriendly. [FRANCE ONLY: We would never take sides against France in a vote on an issue of comparable concern to France at the United Nations.] I urge you most strongly at least to abstain when the vote is taken. [FRANCE ONLY: We were most grateful for French support during the conflict itself. I very much hope that you will not abandon the principles to which you held then, whatever reasons may be advanced for a change.]

[IRELAND]

There is much support for our position in many parts of the world. I very much hope I can look to Ireland not to side with Argentina against Britain in the coming debate.

[GERMANY, DENMARK, BELGIUM]

There is much support for our position in many parts of the world. But I have been most concerned to hear that some of our partners may be considering voting with Argentina. This would simply not be understood in this country and would give a most unfortunate impression of the meaning of the Community and the willingness of partners to stand by each other when vital interests are at stake. I feel sure I can rely on the Federal Republic/Denmark/

Belgium not to lend its weight to this hypocritical Argentine manoeuvre. I hope you will use your influence with other Community partners to discourage them from doing so either.

~~LUXEMBOURG~~, GREECE]

There is much support for our position in many parts of the world. But I have been most concerned to hear that some of our partners may be considering voting with Argentina. It is good to know of the robust attitude that Luxembourg/Greece is taking. I shall be most grateful to you if you can use your influence with other Community partners to discourage them from voting with Argentina.

TO MRS GANDHI

I greatly appreciate your kindness in inviting me to stop in Delhi on my return from the Far East and I very much valued the talk we had. I hope it will not be long before we can find another opportunity to meet again, however informally.

I know that you will not mind my taking the opportunity to ask for your help in a matter of importance to me. Argentina has ^{had} tabled a draft resolution at the United Nations which calls on us to enter into negotiations about the future of the Falkland Islands. You will understand that after the events of the spring this is wholly unacceptable to the British Government and people. Argentina envisages only one possible outcome to any such negotiations: the transfer of the Islands to herself against the wishes of the people who live there. To support her in the vote would be to encourage her in this unprincipled ambition and to delay the prospect of putting an end to the dispute. The way forward does not lie through the passage of such resolutions but through the encouragement of an evolution of thinking in Argentina.

There is much support for our position in many parts of the world, including many Commonwealth and Non-Aligned countries. I feel sure that you share my attachment to the principle of self-determination, which Argentina refuses to recognise, and I hope that

/ you will

you will instruct the Indian representative in New York
to abstain on, if not vote against, the Argentine draft.

Argentina : Relations.