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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 1110

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OF 211830Z NOVEMBER 35
MY TELNO 1079: FALKLANDS AT UNGA 40

1. INTENSIVE LOBBYING HERE BEARS OUT THE PRELIMINARY JUDGEMENTS IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE. WE ARE HAVING SOME SUCCESS IN PREVENTING THE ARGENTINES FROM GETTING A WIDE AND REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF CO-SPONSORS FOR THEIR QUOTE SOFT UNQUOTE RESOLUTION. INDIAN AGREEMENT, GIVEN THEIR NON-ALIGNED STATUS, WOULD BE A CONSIDERABLE BLOW TO US. IF WE CAN HOLD IT ONLY TO YUGOSLAVIA AND ALGERIA APART FROM LATINIS WE SHALL HAVE DONE PRETTY WELL.

2. THE ARGENTINE DRAFT HAS BEEN FAVOURABLY RECEIVED ALMOST UNIVERSALLY AND AS IT STANDS WILL CERTAINLY CARRY BY A LARGE MAJORITY (WELL ABOVE THE CRITICAL 100 MARK). THE ARGENTINES ARE USING A QUOTE SOFT SELL UNQUOTE. THEY ARE PUTTING IT AROUND THAT THERE HAS BEEN A REAL CHANGE IN THEIR POSITION AND THAT PRESIDENT ALFONSIN HIMSELF IS INVOLVED IN THIS STRATEGY WHICH IS AIMED NOT SO MUCH AT A VICTORY IN THE UN AS AT GETTING CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS GOING ON A BASIS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. THE ARGENTINES ARE MAKING MUCH OF THEIR OMISSION OF THE WORD QUOTE SOVEREIGNTY UNQUOTE AND ARE CLAIMING THAT OUR AMENDMENT TO INSERT QUOTE SELF-DETERMINATION UNQUOTE IS BOTH UNNECESSARY AND HARSH. IT IS UNNECESSARY THEY ARE SAYING BECAUSE THE PHRASE QUOTE ALL ASPECTS UNQUOTE REFERS AS MUCH TO SELF-DETERMINATION AS TO SOVEREIGNTY. MOST DELEGATIONS ARE INCLINED TO TAKE THESE ARGENTINE CLAIMS AT FACE VALUE.

3. WE ARE GETTING A GOOD RESPONSE IN PRINCIPLE TO OUR PROPOSED AMENDMENTS ON SELF-DETERMINATION, BUT FEW DELEGATIONS ARE COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO VOTING IN FAVOUR. IT WILL BE A GREAT HELP IF WE CAN SPEEDILY LET IT BE KNOWN THAT OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS, INCLUDING THE FRENCH AND ALSO OUR NATURAL ALLIES SUCH AS THE AMERICANS, AUSTRALIANS AND CANADIANS, WILL VOTE IN FAVOUR. ASSUMING THIS IS ACHIEVED THE CRITICAL GROUP WILL THEN PROBABLY BE THE AFRICANS. AND SOME INTENSIVE WORK IN AFRICAN CAPITALS WILL PROBABLY BE REQUIRED. I ASSUME WE SHALL GET REASONABLY GOOD SUPPORT FROM THE ARABS AND THE PACIFICS, BUT THERE WILL BE A TENDENCY AMONGST THE CARIBBEANS TO ABSTAIN. THE SOONER WE CAN GET THE BAND WAGON FOR OUR AMENDMENT ROLLING, THE BETTER FOR OUR PROSPECTS.

4. THERE ARE ONE OR TWO RUMOURS OF POSSIBLE ARGENTINE COUNTER-AMENDMENTS, EG THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. SINCE SUCH AMENDMENTS WOULD PROBABLY HELP US BY MAKING IT EASIER FOR DELEGATIONS TO APPEAR IMPARTIAL BY VOTING FOR BOTH AMENDMENTS, I AM SCEPTICAL THAT THE ARGENTINES WILL TRY THIS. THEIR BEST COURSE WILL BE TO STICK WITH THEIR PRESENT SOFT RESOLUTION. I GUESS THEY WILL PUT IT DOWN ON FRIDAY POSSIBLY AT A TIME DESIGNED TO MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR US TO GET OUR AMENDMENTS CIRCULATED BEFORE MONDAY. THE ARGENTINES HAVE TOLD THE AUSTRALIANS THAT THEY RECKON THEY CAN SEE OFF OUR AMENDMENTS.

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5. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I RECOMMEND THAT OUR LINE IN LOBBYING AND IN OUR SPEECH (WHICH WILL OPEN THE AFTERNOON SESSION ON 26 NOVEMBER) SHOULD BE A MIXTURE OF HARD AND SOFT. WE SHOULD BE HARD IN INSISTING THAT THERE IS NO CHANGE IN OUR POSITION AND THAT WE WILL VOTE AGAINST THE ARGENTINE DRAFT AS IT STANDS. TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR OUR SELF-DETERMINATION AMENDMENTS WE TOO WILL NEED TO USE A QUOTE SOFT SELL UNQUOTE SO AS TO AVOID FRIGHTENING DELEGATIONS INTO THE BELIEF THAT WE ARE INVEIGLING THEM INTO A CONFRONTATIONAL POSITION. WE SHALL NEED TO STRESS THAT THE UK'S BASIC OBJECTIVE IS TO PLACE ON RECORD OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, OUR COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVING NORMAL CIVILISED RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA VIA DISCUSSION OF THE PRACTICALITIES AND TO AVOID DISCUSSION ON SOVEREIGNTY. WE NEED TO STRESS THAT IF ACTION AT THE UN IS TO BE IN ANY WAY HELPFUL THERE MUST BE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. BOTH MUST BE ABLE TO GO FORWARD TO TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EXISTING POSITIONS. ACCORDINGLY WE SHOULD SUGGEST THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD CALL UPON THE GOVERNMENTS OF ARGENTINA AND THE UK TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS ON PRACTICAL MEASURES TO RESTORE MORE NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

6. THE LINE THE ARGENTINES TAKE IN OPENING THE DEBATE AND WHAT THE BRAZILIANS SAY IN INTRODUCING THE RESOLUTION ON BEHALF OF THE SPONSORS WILL BE IMPORTANT. I HAVE DISCUSSED THE POSITION WITH THE BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR. HIS COMMENTS BEAR OUR THE INFORMATION IN BRASILIA TELNO 446. HE IS PREPARED TO MAKE A SHORT SPEECH INTRODUCING THE RESOLUTION WITHOUT EXPLICITLY SETTING OUT THE BRAZILIAN VIEWS. HE WILL SAY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ARE WELL-KNOWN AND HAVE NOT CHANGED. HE IS PREPARED TO DESCRIBE THE RESOLUTION AS PROCEDURAL NOT SUBSTANTIVE. HE MAY ALSO BE PREPARED TO SAY THAT IT IS PUT FORWARD WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF EITHER SIDE. HE MIGHT CONCEIVABLY BE PREPARED TO SAY THAT THE RESOLUTION COVERED SELF-DETERMINATION AS MUCH AS IT DID SOVEREIGNTY.

7. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE HAVE A SOFT LATIN RESOLUTION AND THAT IT PASSES WITH A LARGE MAJORITY WITH OR WITHOUT OUR AMENDMENT, A STATEMENT BY THE SPONSORS ON THE FOREGOING LINES WILL PRESUMABLY BE HELPFUL. IT SHOULD ENABLE US TO MAINTAIN SUBSEQUENTLY THAT THERE IS VERY WIDE SUPPORT, INCLUDING AMONGST THE LATINS, FOR THE PROPOSITION THAT SELF-DETERMINATION IS AN INEXTRICABLE PART OF THE DETERMINATION OF THE FUTURE OF THE FALKLANDS. - 2 -

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8. SINCE WE HAVE ONLY THREE FULL LOBBYING DAYS LEFT BEFORE THE DAY OF THE VOTE, I HOPE THAT THE RESULTS OF OUR HIGH-LEVEL LOBBYING IN CAPITALS ON BEHALF OF OUR AMENDMENTS CAN BE RELAYED HERE WITH ALL SPEED. I AM ADDRESSING A MEETING OF THE TWELVE AT 1530Z TOMORROW FRIDAY. WE MAY BE ABLE TO MAKE PLAY OVER THE WEEKEND WITH ANY COMMITMENTS RECEIVED.

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