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## WITHDRAWAL SHEET

### **Ronald Reagan Library**

Collection Name	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE				Withdrawer		
		DDIA (04/00/1000	05/04/1000		MJD		
File Folder	ARGEN	FINA (04/28/1982-	05/04/1982)		FOI	-	
					F163		
Box Number	26				VEI 12	GEL	
ID Doc Type	Doc	ument Descriptio	n No Pag			Restrictions	
39503 CABLE	2801	00Z APR 82		1	4/28/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-1-4				
39504 CABLE	2803	02Z APR 82		1	4/28/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-2-3				
39505 CABLE	2813	07Z APR 82		1	4/28/1982	B1	
	R	`11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-3-2				
39506 CABLE	2819	16Z APR 82	÷	2	4/28/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-4-1				
39507 CABLE	2901	45Z APR 82		2	4/29/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-5-0				
39508 CABLE	2921:	56Z APR 82		2	. 4/29/1982	B1	
	R	2/22/2019	M1962/1				
39509 CABLE	2920	22Z APR 82	,	3	4/29/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-7-8				
39510 CABLE	3003	00Z APR 82		2	4/30/1982	B1	
,	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-8-7				
39511 CABLE	3005	44Z APR 82		2	4/30/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-9-6				

#### The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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### **Ronald Reagan Library**

Collection Name	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE			;	Withdrawer		
				-,	MJD 7/27/2007		
File Folder	ARGENT	INA (04/28/1982-0	5/04/1982)		FOI		
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Box Number	26				VEI 12	GEL	
ID Doc Type	Docu	iment Description		of ges		Restrictions	
39512 CABLE	.30052	7Z APR 82		2	4/30/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-10-4				
39513 CABLE	301433	3Z APR 82		1	4/30/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-11-3				
39514 CABLE	301751	IZ APR 82	•	1	4/30/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-12-2		•		
39515 CABLE		5Z APR 82		3	4/30/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-13-1				
39516 CABLE	031900	DZ MAY 82		1	5/3/1982	B1	
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39517 CABLE	031522	2Z MAY 82		2	5/3/1982	B1	
	PAR	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-15-9; 3/19/2018 M1962 #3		7		
39518 CABLE	03041	1Z MAY 82		4	5/3/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-16-8	•		•	
39519 CABLE	032030	6Z MAY 82		1	5/3/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-17-7				
39520 CABLE .	03211	1Z MAY 82		2	5/3/1982	B1	
	R	11/7/2017	NLR-748-26-13-18-6				

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### **Ronald Reagan Library**

<b>Collection Name</b>	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY	FILE Withdrawer
		MJD 7/27/2007
File Folder	ARGENTINA (04/28/1982-05/04/1982)	FOIA
		F1637
Box Number	26	VEIGEL
		12
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Doc Date Restrictions
		Pages
39521 MEMO	JAME RENTSCHLER TO WILLIAM CLARK	3 5/4/1982 B1
	RE THE FALKLANDS	

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2567 1180103 O 280100Z APR 82ZFF4 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3438

SECRET BUENOS AIRES 2567 NODIS E.O. 12065: RDS 1 4/27/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, PSDC, AR, UK, US SUBJ: SECRETARY'S MESSAGES: PRISONER REPATRIATION AND EXCLUSION ZONE WARNING REFS: STATE 113053; STATE 113054

1. SECRET-ENTIRE TEXT

2. I SENT BOTH MESSAGES IN WRITING TO GALTIERI AND PASSED ON THROUGH HIS AIDE THE SECRETARY'S ORAL RESERVATION WITH RESPECT TO THE POSSIBLE BRITISH REACTION TO THE REQUEST ON THE EXCLUSION ZONE. WE ALSO MADE AVAILABLE TO THE NAVY THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SECOND MESSAGE ON THE PRISONERS.

3. THE NAVY CONTINUES TO HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THE PRISONER NUMBERS THE BRITISH ARE REPORTING. WE NOTE THAT UK AMBASSADOR GRAHAM IN NATO PUT THE TOTAL NUMBER AT 196, INCLUDING 38 CIVILIANS (USNATO 2784). SHLAUDEMAN

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SEGRET

PAGE Ø1 SIT446	BUENOS AIRES 2569 DATE Ø4/28/82	DTG: 280302Z APR 82 TOR: 118/0343Z	PSN: 002279
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NODIS E. O. 12065: TAGS: PBOR, SUBJ: FALKL REF: BUENOS	BUENOS AIRES 2569 RDS 1 4/27/Ø2 (SHLAUDEMAN, F MILI, UK, FA, AR ANDS CRISIS: JUNTA CONTINUES AIRES 2566		
1. SEGRET -	ENTIRE TEXT		
ME AT 2345 RECALLING H STEP OUT OF THAT UNFORT ME A DECISI DELIBERATIO	OF INTERIOR SAINT JEAN TELES HOURS LOCAL TO SAY THAT THE A HIS COMMITMENT TO ME, HAD ASKI THE CONTINUING MEETING TO LI UNATELY IT WAS STILL NOT POS CON. SAINT JEAN DESCRIBED THE DNS AS VERY "COMPLEX". HE SAIN HE HAD SOMETHING.	PRESIDENT, ED HIM TO ET ME KNOW SIBLE TO GIVE ONGOING	
STORY THAT ARGENTINES AIRES, HERE SPOKESMAN F	ARGENTINE NEWS AGENCY IS CAR OUR PROPOSAL WAS DELIVERED T SIMULTANEOUSLY IN WASHINGTON BY ME TO ENRIQUE ROS (SIC). OR THE ARGENTINE DELEGATION DESCRIBING THE PROPOSAL AS "U	O THE AND BUENOS AN ANONYMOUS IN WASHINGTON	

SECTET

END OF MESSAGE FOOTER

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PAGE Ø1 BUENCS AIRES 4 28 2571 DTG: 281307Z APR 82 PSN: 002887 DATE 04/28/82 SIT444 TOR: 118/1412Z DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: SIT EOB: WHSR COMMENT: D. O. 'S: UL SAW LDX COPY MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: FLASH DE RUESBA #2571 11813Ø8 Z 281307Z APR 82 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3441 T BUENOS AIRES 2571

NODIS FOR AMBASSADOR ENDERS E.O. 12065 RDS-1 4/28/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, UK, FA, AR SUBJECT: FALKLANDS DISPUTE

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. ROS JUST TOLD ME THAT COSTA MENDEZ WILL DELIVER THE GOA'S RESPONSE IN WASHINGTON. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, ROS SAID THAT THE RESPONSE MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING TODAY BUT HE CANNOT BE SURE. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BRITISH HAVE SO FAR FAILED TO RESPOND FROM THEIR SIDE. FINALLY, HE SAID HE HAD INFORMATION FROM LONDON THAT HMG WILL BE ISSUING AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT WITHIN HOURS. SHLAUDEMAN

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED Automity M2-748-001332 X/ NARA DATE

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 2584 SIT229 DATE Ø5/Ø3/82 DTG: 281916Z APR 82 PSN: ØØ3483 TOR: 118/21Ø8Z

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MESSAGE:

I MMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2584 118193Ø O 281916Z APR 82 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3451

S E C R T BUENOS AIRES 2584 NODIS E. O. 12065: RDS-1 4/28/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, UK, FA, AR SUBJECT: FALKLANDS CRISIS: ARGENTINE NEGOTIATING POSITION

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THE STATEMENT THIS MORNING BY PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SPOKES-MAN BALTIERREZ THAT "PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PROPOSAL IS UNDER STUDY, THE DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS REMAIN OPEN" FOLLOWED HEAVY MORNING PRESS PLAY OF STATEMENTS COMING FROM THE ARGENTINES IN WASHINGTON THAT THE JUNTA HAD REJECTED THE PROPOSAL AND THAT THE GOA COULD NOT NEGOTIATE FURTHER WHILE THE BRITISH FLEET CONTINUED ITS MENANCING ADVANCE. THE GOVERNMENT HERE DECIDED TO PLAY IT PRUDENTLY FOR THE MOMENT LEAVING THE DOOR SLIGHTLY OPEN WHILE TRYING TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF REASONABLENESS.

3. I HAVE NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESS ACCOUNTS FROM WASHINGTON ACCURATELY REFLECTED THE INITIAL REACTION HERE. BUT THE LENGTHY MEETINGS AND CONSULTATIONS THROUGH THE DAY AND NIGHT YESTERDAY EVIDENTLY PRODUCED A DECISION FOR CAUTION. THE PROPOSAL WAS STUDIED THROUGHOUT THE AFTERNOON AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF INTERIOR MINISTER SAINT JEAN (ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER); IT WAS HASHED

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

OVER BY THE STAFFS OF THE THREE ARMED SERVICES; THE JUNTA THEN MET FROM 2030 TO 2400 HOURS AND A WORKING GROUP INCLUDING THE SECRETARY GENERALS OF THE THREE SERVICES AND UNDERSECRETARY ROS CONTINUED ON AFTERWARD. I DOUBT VERY MUCH THAT ANY VERY SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS WAS EVER GIVEN TO ACCEPT-ING THE PROPOSAL. RATHER, THE EFFORT MUST HAVE BEEN TO TRY TO COME UP WITH A RESPONSE AND A COURSE OF ACTION THAT WOULD KEEP THE NEGOTIATING OPTION OPEN AND BURNISH ARGENTINA'S IMAGE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. IT IS ALSO HIGHLY LIKELY THAT THE JUNTA WANTED TO AVOID ANY RESPONSE AT ALL UNTIL THE OAS RESULTS WERE IN.

4. WE HAVE SEEN A NUMBER OF REPORTS EMANATING FROM WASHINGTON AND LONDON ABOUT PURPORTED DISARRAY AND CONFLICT WITHIN THE JUNTA. THERE CLEARLY HAVE BEEN DIFFERENCES, PARTICULARLY ON HOW FAR TO GO IN THE

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# SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DTG: 281916Z APR 82 PSN: ØØ3483

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY. BUT THE THREE CINC'S HAVE FROM THE OUTSET BEEN IN AGREEMENT ON THE FUNDA-MENTAL: ARGENTINA MUST BE SEEN AS ACHIEVING CERTAIN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE MALVINAS, PRESENT OR FUTURE. THEY HAVE CALCULATED THAT ANYTHING LESS WOULD MEAN THEIR OWN DEMISE. THE GOA'S CLUMSY DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AND THE NECESSITY TO CONSULT WITHIN THE MILITARY SERVICES HAS CREATED CONFUSION AND A SENSE OF INSTABILITY IN THE GOA. BUT AS LONG AS THE QUESTION IS SOVEREIGNTY, I WOULD EXPECT THE JUNTA TO HOLD PRETTY WELL TOGETHER.

5. WE HAVE SEEN NEWS ITEMS AND REPORTED OURSELVES ON EVIDENCE THAT GALTIERI HIMSELF IS ON SHAKY GROUND. IT IS TRUE THAT, UNLIKE MRS. THATCHER, HE IS SCARCELY RIDING HIGH (LONDON 9138). THE CRISIS HAS ERODED HIS PREEMINENT POSITION WITHIN THE JUNTA; THE GOA NOW SHOWS MORE THE APPEARANCE OF THE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IT HAD UNDER VIOLA AND VIDELA. BUT GALTIERI IS PROBABLY SAFE ENOUGH AS LONG AS THE CRISIS PERSISTS AND HE DOES NOT APPEAR TO GIVE WAY. THIS GOES AS WELL FOR THE OTHER TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. IN SUM, I DO NOT THINK MUCH HAS CHANGED. SOVEREIGNTY IS STILL THE ISSUE. THE REST CAN BE NEGOTIATED, NO MATTER HOW HARD A LINE ADMIRAL ANAYA AND SOME OF THE OTHERS TAKE FROM TIME TO TIME. THAT WILL HOLD TRUE ONLY, OF COURSE, UNTIL THERE IS SERIOUS BLOODSHED IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC. I STILL THINK THE ARGENTINES WILL

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

FIGHT IF THEY HAVE TO, AND WILL GIVE A FAIRLY GOOD ACCOUNT OF THEMSELVES. NEGOTIATIONS THEREAFTER WILL BE A WHOLE NEW GAME. SHLAUDEMAN

BUENOS AIRES 2584

DTG: 281916Z APR 82 PSN: 003483



## SECRET

DTG: 290145Z APR 82 PSN: 004104 TOR: 119/0415Z PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 5266 SIT220 DATE 05/03/82 \_\_\_\_ DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 ----WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP SIT FONT RENT EOB EOB: WHSR COMMENT: MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #5266 1190147 0 0 290145Z APR 82 ZFF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACT IMMEDIATE 5174 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 3860 BT CR.5 T STATE 115266 SE NODIS E. O. 12065: RDS-3 4/28/12 TAGS: PBOR, US, FA, UK, AR SUBJECT: FALKLAND ISLANDS: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH COSTA-MENDEZ 1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT. THE SECRETARY MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER COSTA MENDEZ 2. THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 28. AMBASSADORS ENDERS AND FIGUEROA AND MR. SERVICE (NOTETAKER) WERE PRESENT.

3. THE ESSENTIAL MESSAGE COSTA-MENDEZ CONVEYED WAS THE FOLLOWING: THE GOA BELIEVES THE RIO TREATY MFM RESOLUTION STRENGTHENED ITS POSITION WITH ARGENTINE AND WORLD OPIN-ION, BUT REALIZES THERE ARE ONLY TWO OPTIONS FOR RESOLVING THE FALKLANDS DISPUTE: A CONTINUATION OF THE U.S. EFFORT OR THROUGH THE U.N. THE U.N. ROUTE WOULD REQUIRE MAJOR RE-ADJUSTMENTS IN ARGENTINE FOREIGN POLICY WHICH THE GOA DOES NOT WANT TO MAKE (AND COSTA-MENDEZ EVEN LESS), AND THE OUTCOME WOULD BE UNCERTAIN. THEREFORE, ARGENTINA WANTS

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

THE U.S. EFFORT TO CONTINUE. HOWEVER, IT CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS; THE GOA HAS DIFFICULTIES WITH WHAT IT PERCEIVES AS LACK OF A DEADLINE FOR RESOLVING THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE, WITH THE ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE INTERIM PERIOD, AND WITH THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION ARTICLE, PARTICULARLY THE REFERENCE TO THE WISHES AND INTERESTS OF THE INHABITANTS.

4. THE SECRETARY TOLD COSTA-MENDEZ THAT ONLY THE U.S. IS IN A POSITION TO ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION. HE UNDERSTOOD THE REFERENCE TO ADJUSTMENTS IN ARGENTINA'S FOREIGN POLICY, BUT DID NOT BELIEVE ANY ARGENTINE GOVERN-MENT COULD UNDERTAKE A CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIETS. AS FOR THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL, THE SECRETARY TOLD COSTA-MENDEZ THAT WE SEE NO PROSPECT FOR ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES

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#### PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 5266

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BEING ACCEPTED BY THE BRITISH. THE UK HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH IT AS IT STANDS; HOWEVER, IF THE GOA AGREES TO THE PROPOSAL, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN PREVAIL UPON THE UK TO ACCEPT, PROVIDED FULL-SCALE FIGHTING HAS NOT YET BEGUN. ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION (THE SECRETARY STRESSED AGAIN THAT THE BRITISH ARE KEEPING THEIR PLANS TO THEMSELVES), A BRITISH ATTACK COULD BEGIN AS EARLY AS FRIDAY.

THE SECRETARY AND ENDERS WENT OVER THE THREE POINTS 5. COSTA-MENDEZ HAD LISTED AS STUMBLING BLOCKS, POINTING OUT THAT THE ESSENTIAL CONCERNS OF THE GOA HAVE BEEN PRE-SERVED WITH ONLY MINOR MODIFICATIONS FROM THE TEXT AT THE TIME THE SECRETARY DEPARTED BUENOS AIRES. IN OTHER RESPECTS, PARTICULARLY THE REFERENCE TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDS COMPANY, THE TEXT HAS BEEN IMPROVED. IT IS IN OUR JUDGMENT A FAIR AND REASONABLE PROPOSAL, ONE WHICH THE U. S. CAN STAND BEHIND. THE SECRETARY THEN TOLD COSTA-MENDEZ THE PROBLEM BOILS DOWN TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE GOA HAS CONFIDENCE IN THE ROLE OF THE U.S. HE TOLD COSTA-MENDEZ THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT ACT FOR THE U.K., THAT WE HAVE OUR OWN INTERESTS AT STAKE, BOTH IN EUROPE AND IN THAT LATIN AMERICA, AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBTS WHERE THIS PROCESS WILL LEAD AND WILL BE COMPLETED WITHIN THE PRESCRIBED TIME PERIODS. HOWEVER, IF THE GOA CONCLUDES DEFINITIVELY THAT IT CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL, WHERE SHOULD ALSO BE NO DOUBT THAT THE U.S. WILL HAVE TO

SECSTATE WASHDC 5266 MESSAGE (CONTINUED): DTG: 290145Z APR 82 PSN: 004104

COME DOWN STRONGLY ON THE SIDE OF THE UK.

5. COSTA-MENDEZ SAID HE WOULD CONSULT WITH HIS GOVERNMENT AND GET BACK TO THE SECRETARY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH THE MOST ESSENTIAL CHANGES THAT THE GOA REQUIRES IN THE PRO-POSED AGREEMENT. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT WE MUST HAVE THAT RESPONSE TONIGHT. HAIG-

SECSTATE WASHDC 5266

DTG: 290145Z APR 82 PSN: 004104



## SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

SIT189 DATE 05/03/82 TOR: 119/2323Z DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP EOB SIT FONT RENT PUBS EOB: WHSR COMMENT: R E D T A G MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2637 1192215 O 292156Z APR 82 ZFF4 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3482

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 2637

S E C R E T BUENOS AIRES 2637 NODIS E. O. 12065: RDS-1 4/29/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, ECON, UK, FA, AR SUBJECT: FALKLANDS CRISIS: U.S. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AS THE DEPARTMENT NO DOUBT REALIZES, THE ARGENTINE REACTION TO THE IMPOSITION BY THE U.S. OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON THIS COUNTRY WOULD BE OF AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT ORDER THAN THE RATHER MUTED RESPONSE TO THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE EC, AUSTRALIA, CANADA AND NEW ZEALAND. THE GOA AND MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE ARGENTINES TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT WE WILL SUPPORT THE UK POLITICALLY IF THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS FAIL. OUR ASSISTANCE TO THE BRITISH IN INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND LOGISTICS IS ALREADY ASSUMED AND, ALTHOUGH GALLING TO THE ARGENTINE MILITARY, CAN CONTINUE TO BE SWALLOWED IF WE ACT QUIETLY.

3. BUT ANNOUNCEMENT OF U.S. ECONOMIC SACTIONS WOULD BE A TERRIBLE BLOW, EVEN MORE SYMBOLICALLY THAN MATERIALLY. THE ARGENTINES IN THEIR CURRENTLY AGITATED STATE WOULD TAKE IT AS A DECLARATION HOSTILITIES. IT MIGHT WELL DO ALMOST AS MUCH TO PRESERVE THIS COUNTRY'S FRAGILE NATIONAL UNITY AS THE ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH FLEET. IT WOULD CERTAINLY PUT AN END TO OUR CAPACITY

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

TO ACT AS A NEGOTIATING INTERMEDIARY - AND SOME KIND OF NEGOTIATED OUTCOME WILL BE REQUIRED, EVEN AFTER SIGNIFICANT FIGHTING. U.S. SANCTIONS WOULD ALSO IN MY JUDGEMENT PRECLUDE FOR A LONG TIME TO COME EXERCISE OF INFLUENCE BY OUR FRIENDS HERE - AND WE STILL HAVE QUITE A FEW, ALMOST ALL OF WHOM ARE MODERATES. OTHERS WILL MEASURE THE PROBABLE IMPACT ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA, BUT MY OWN EXPERIENCE IN THE REGION SUGGESTS THAT SANCTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA WOULD DO US DAMAGE IN ALMOST EVERY COUNTRY.

4. ONE ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF U.S. SANCTIONS IS THAT THEY WOULD BE THE FINAL BLOW TO A REELING ARGENTINE ECONOMY AND IN TURN WOULD BRING DOWN GALTIERI. THAT SEEMS TO ME HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE AND, IN ANY EVENT, I THINK THE ADVENT OF A GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY BITTER-

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## SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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END WARRIORS THE MORE LIKELY OUTCOME SHOULD GALTIERI FALL IN THE PREVALING CIRCUMSTANCES. I DOUBT THAT THE ARGENTINES ARE GOING TO CAVE IN BEFORE THEY ARE SEVERELY BLOODIED IN BATTLE AND DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SANCTION BY US WOULD BRING THEM TO THEIR KNEES MORE QUICKLY.

5. I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO GAUGE THE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS THAT MUST GO INTO A DECISION ON SANCTIONS. I AM AWARE THAT THEY ARE IMPORTANT. BUT I DO FEEL IT MY OBLIGATION TO CALL ATTENTION TO WHAT WILL SURELY BE THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR U.S. INTERESTS HERE IN THE EVENT OF SUCH A DECISION. SHLAUDEMAN

## SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø3 BUENOS AIRES 2629 DTG: 2920222 APR 82 PSN: 005719 DATE Ø5/Ø3/82 SIT185 TOR: 120/0047Z DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 \_\_\_\_\_ WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP FONT SIT EOB EOB: WHSR COMMENT: CHECKLIST MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2629 1192100 0 292022Z APR 82 ZFF-4 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3474 INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE 5186 AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE 8057 AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 1633 AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 2376 AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1227 USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 119 BT SECRET BUENOS AIRES 2629 EXDIS E. O. 12065: RDS-1 4/29/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, UK, FA, AR SUBJECT: FALKLAND CRISIS: THE PUBLIC AND MILITARY MOOD REF: LONDON 9138 1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT.) 2. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE PUBLIC MOOD HERE IS INCREASINGLY PESSIMISTIC. BUT GLOOM AND SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE MALVINAS

PESSIMISTIC. BUT GLOOM AND SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE MALVINAS ADVENTURE DO NOT MEAN THAT THE JUNTA CAN BE SEEN AS BACKING DOWN -- QUITE THE CONTRARY. THE MILITARY ARE DIFIANT AND, IN THE CASE OF THE NAVY AT LEAST, ANXIOUS FOR GLORY. DESPITE THE DARK OUTLOOK, MANY ARGENTINES APPEAR GRATIFIED THAT ARGENTINA IS NOW ON CENTER STAGE. NATIONALIST HOPE THE CRISIS WILL BRING A NEW SENSE OF NATIONHOOD TO THIS FRUSTRATED COUNTRY. END SUMMARY.

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

3. UNLIKE MRS. THATCHER (REFTEL), GALTIERI'S PUBLIC SUPPORT AT THIS JUNCTURE IS SHAKY AND HIS CAPACITY TO DETERMINE EVENTS SEVERELY RESTRICTED. IN THE ABSENCE OF OPINION POLLS AND IN AN INTIMIDATING CLIMATE OF INFLAMED NATIONALISM, THE UNDERLYING PUBLIC MOOD IS MORE DIFFICULT TO READ HERE THAN IN BRITAIN. BUT WE NOTE GROWING CYNICISM ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS ACTIONS -- A FEELING AT FIRST CONFINED TO THE MORE SOPHISTICATED MODERATES BUT NOW QUITE WIDESPREAD THAT GALTIERI AND HIS COLLEAGUES BLUNDERED BADLY IN SEIZING THE MALVINAS FOR NARROW REASONS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS. WE ALSO SENSE FEAR AND DEFEATISM AS THE BRITISH FLEET APPROACHES. NO ONE SEEMS TO BELIEVE THE NAVY'S TALES OF SPIRITED AND CONTINUING RESISTANCE ON SOUTH GEORGIA; AND THE CROWD AT TUESDAY NIGHT'S CGT RALLY WAS NOTABLY UNENTHUSIASTIC. MANY OF OUR SOURCES IN THE BUSINESS

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITIES ARE SUNK IN GLOOM, CONVINCED THAT THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY IS BEING WRECKED.

4. BUT THE SIGNS OF THIS DARK MOOD DO NOT MEAN THAT THE GOA COULD AFFORD TO BE SEEN AS BACKING DOWN UNDER THE THREAT OF THE BRITISH FLEET. MOST ARGENTINES, TAUGHT FROM CHILDHOOD THAT IT IS SO, BELIEVE THE MALVINAS RIGHTFULLY BELONG TO THIS COUNTRY. HOWEVER THE MORE SENSIBLE MAY QUESTION THE DECISION TO INVADE, WITH-DRAWAL WITHOUT AFFIRMATION OF ARGENTINE SOVEREIGNTY WOULD BE TAKEN AS BETRAYAL OF THE NATION BY THE MAJORITY HERE. GALTIERI AND THE REST OF THE JUNTA UNDOUBTEDLY MAVE UNPLEASANT VISIONS OF ANGRY PERONIST MOBS IN THE STREETS IF THAT WERE TO OCCUR.

5. THE JUNTA MUST CONCERN ITSELF MORE WITH THE STATE OF OPINION WITHIN THE MILITARY. ARGENTINA'S ARMED FORCES, PARTICULARLY THE KEY OFFICER CORPS OF THE ARMY, HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF ILL-DISCIPLINE AND REFUSAL TO ACCEPT WITHOUT CHALLENGE CONTROVERSIAL DECISIONS FROM THE TOP. THE MOOD IN THE MILITARY, AS BEST WE CAN READ IT, IS AT THE MOMENT VERY HARD-LINE. ALTHOUGH THE GOA HAS TALKED ABOUT FULFILLING THE TERMS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 502 AND OF WITHDRAWING ITS TROOPS FROM THE MALVINAS IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATED INTERIM SETTLEMENT, WE ARE BY NO MEANS CERTAIN THAT AN ORDER TO WITHDRAW WOULD BE OBEYED -- NOR ARE WE CERTAIN THAT THE JUNTA HAS

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

EVER SERIOUSLY CONTEMPLATED WITHDRAWAL, DESPITE ITS PROTESTATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY AND THE DESIRE FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME. EVEN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IS NOW TELLING FOREIGN DIPLOMATS HERE THAT THE TROOPS COULD ONLY WITHDRAW IF ARGENTINE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE ISLANDS WERE "GUARANTEED."

6. THE ARGENTINE NAVY IS IN A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT SITUATION. THAT SERVICE PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN UN-SEATING EX-PRESIDENT VIOLA AND PUTTING GALTIERI IN HIS PLACE. ADMIRAL ANAYA PRESSED FOR THE MALVINAS ADVENTURE AND WAS PROBABLY INSTRUMENTAL IN MAKING UP GALTIERI'S MIND IN FAVOR OF THE RECKLESS MOVE. THE NAVY IS NOW THREATENED WITH IGNOMONY WHEN THE TRUTH OF WHAT HAPPENED ON SOUTH GEORGIA BECOMES KNOWN. GALTIERI WOULD BE TURNING HIS BACK ON A SOURCE OF CRITICAL SUPPORT IF HE WERE TO TRY TO DEPRIVE THE NAVY OF THE CHANCE TO REDEEM ITS HONOR.

7. CURIOUSLY MIXED WITH THE FEAR AND PESSIMISM HERE -- AMONG BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIANS -- IS NOTICEABLE SATISFACTION AND EVEN PRIDE AT FINDING ARGENTINA THE FOCUS OF SO MUCH INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION. THIS IS A COUNTRY THAT CONSTANTLY BEMOANS ITS FAILURE TO ACHIEVE THE GREATNESS THAT APPEARED TO BE ITS FUTURE 60 YEARS OR SO AGO. NATIONALISTS IN THE MILITARY AND ELSEWHERE HAVE IDENTIFIED ARGENTINA'S LACK OF TRUE NATIONAL INTEGRATION -- THE ABSENCE OF AN AWARENESS OF NATIONHOD -- AS A PRIMARY CAUSE OF THAT FAILURE. THEY SEE THE CONFRONTATION WITH THE UK AS THE INSTRUMENT WITH WHICH TO FORGE NATIONHOOD. (WE FIND NATIONAL UNITY HERE STILL SUPERFICIAL AND DOUBT THAT THE PRE-SCRIPTION WILL WORK.) FINALLY, THE NATIONALIST HAVE SUDDENLY STOPPED DESCRIBING ARGENTINA AS EUROPEAN, AS SOMETHING OF AN ENCLAVE IN LATIN AMERICA. FOR THEM ARGENTINA HAS NOW RETURNED TO THIS CONTINENT AND IS DEFENDING ALL OF LATIN AMERICA. NONE OF THIS AUGURS WELL FOR PEACE. SHLAUDEMAN

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON 13

#### Mr President

Attached is a draft press statement Al proposes for your consideration on the Falklands.

He would deliver it from the State Department at 11:30 today.

It will be discussed at the 9:30 NSC meeting today. Please note in particular the sanctions listed on page 4.

Bud McFa

PRESS STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR. Unit

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The South Atlantic crisis is about to enter a new and dangerous phase, in which large-scale military action is likely. I would like to bring you up to date on what we have done, and why, and what we must now do.

Prom the putset of the crisis, the United States has been guided by the basic principle of the rule of law. We have made a determined effort to restore peace through implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 502. That Resplution calls for:

--- an end to hostilities;

-- the withdrawal of Argentine forces from the islands; and

- a diplomatic settlement of the fundamental dispute.

The United States made this extraordinary effort because the stakes in human lives and international order required it. A fundamental tenet of United States foreign policy is that change in the world must not result from the use of force. The collapse of that principle could only bring chaos and suffering. We also made this effort because the crisis raised vital issues of hemispheric solidarity at a time when Communist adversaries seek positions of influence on the mainland of the Americas and latent territorital disputes in much of the hemisphere call for unity and the resolute defense of principle.

We acted as well because the United States has the confidence of the parties. The United Kingdom is our closest ally, and Prime Minister Thatcher's Government looked to us to pursue a peaceful solution. We have also recently developed a better relationship with Argentina, as part of our success in revitalizing the community of American states. President Galtieri also requested our involvement.

Under the direction of President Reagan, I participated in many days of intense discussion with the parties -- in London, in Buenos Aires, and here in Washington -- in search of a framework for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 502. Our initial aim was to clarify the position of the parties and to offer suggestions on how those positions might be reconciled. We took no position on the merits of either the British or Argentine claims to the islands.

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As the prospects for more intense mostilities arose we put forth a American proposal. It represented our best estimate of what the two parties could reasonably be expected to accept, and was based squarely on our own principles and concern for the rule of law.

We regard this as a fair and sound proposal. It involves: a cessation of hostilities; withdrawal of both Argentine and British forces; termination of sanctions; restoration of interim local Administration; procedures for encouraging cooperation in the development of the Islands; and a framework for negotiations on a final settlement, taking into account the interests of both sides and the wishes of the inhabitants.

We had reason to hope that the United Kingdom would consider a settlement along the lines of our proposal, but Argentina informed us yesterday that it could not accept it. Argentina's position remains that it must receive an assurance now of eventual sovereignty, or an expanding de facto role in governing the islands.

The United States has thus far refrained from adopting measures in response to the seizure of the islands that could have interfered with our ability to work with both sides in the search for peace. The British Government has

- 3 -

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shown complete understanding for this position. Now, however, in light of Argentina's failure to accept a compromise, we must take concrete steps to underscore that the US cannot and will not condone the use of force to resolve disputes. 'The President has therefore ordered:

- -- the suspension of all military exports to Argentina;
- -- the withholding of certification of Argentine eligibility for military sales;
- -- the suspension of new Export-Import Bank credits and guarantees; and

-- the suspension of Commodity Credit Corporation loans. The President has also directed that the United States will respond positively to requests for materiel support for British forces. There will, of course, be no direct US military involvement.

American policy will continue to be guided by our concerns for the rule of law and our desire to facilitate an early and fair settlement. The United States remains ready to assist the parties in finding that settlement. A strictly military outcome cannot endure over time. In the end, there will have to be a negotiated outcome acceptable to the interested parties. Otherwise, we will all face uppnding hostility and inservrity in the South Atlantic.

## SECRET

### WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DTG: 300300Z APR 82 PSN: 005973 PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 6645 SIT183 DATE Ø5/Ø3/82 TOR: 120/0443Z DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 \_\_\_\_\_ WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP SIT FONT RENT EOB FOR. WHSR COMMENT: NODIS/CHECKLIST MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #6645 1200308 O 300300Z APR 82 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACT IMMEDIATE 0000 SECRET STATE 116645 NODIS E. O. 12065: RDS-3 4-29-02 (BREMER, L.P.) TAGS: AR, FA, UK SUBJECT: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER COSTA MENDEZ 1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT) THE FOLLOWING LETTER FOR COSTA MENDEZ WAS DELIVERED 2. TO THE ARGENTINE EMBASSY AT 10:30 P. M. APRIL 29 FOR TRANSMITTAL TO COSTA MENDEZ IN NEW YORK. THE EMBASSY WILL ALSO TRANSMIT TEXT DIRECTLY TO BUENOS AIRES. BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR NICANOR:

Stario

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 29. I DEEPLY REGRET THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS STILL NOT ABLE TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL FOR A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION THAT WE HAVE DEVELOPED IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH YOURSELF AND PRESIDENT GALTIERI AND WITH BRITISH LEADERS.

I UNDERSTAND YOUR CONTINUING CONCERNS. I HAVE COME TO HAVE A DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE ARGENTINE COMMITMENT

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

TO THIS NATIONAL CAUSE, AND FOR THE FRUSTRATION YOU HAVE FELT IN THE LONG YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS. BUT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR THAT A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES COULD NOT SATISFY THE MOST BASIC DEMANDS OF EITHER, AT LEAST DURING THE INITIAL PERIOD DURING WHICH FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AND PEACE REESTABLISHED.

I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR EXPRESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND SATISFACTION WITH THE EFFORT I HAVE UNDERTAKEN AT THE DIRECTION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN. WE DID SO NOT ONLY OUT OF OUR FRIENDSHIP FOR BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT BECAUSE OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST REQUIRED US TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT FURTHER CONFLICT. WE HAVE BEEN GUIDED IN THIS EFFORT BY UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 502, BY OUR OWN FIRM PRINCIPLES REGARDING THE USE OF FORCE, AND BY THE IMPERATIVES OF THE RULE OF LAW.

SEGRET

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IN CARRYING OUT THIS DIFFICULT TASK, WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO TREAT BOTH COUNTRIES ON AN EQUITABLE BASIS. THE PROPOSAL WE PRESENTED TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ON TUESDAY MORNING IS A FAIR AND REASONABLE SOLUTION. WE ARE CONV-INCED THAT IT WOULD HAVE BROUGHT PEACE AND THAT ITS LONG TERM RESULTS WOULD HAVE BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO YOUR GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

WHILE WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND, AND WILL DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO ASSIST SUCH A SOLUTION, WE HAVE NOW ENTERED A NEW PHASE IN THIS DIFFICULT AND TRAGIC CONFRONTATION. AS WE DISCUSSED YESTERDAY, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT SUPPORT THE SETTLEMENT OF SUCH DISPUTES BY THE USE OF FORCE. IN THIS RESPECT, IT WAS YOUR GOVERN-MENT WHICH PRECIPITATED THE CRISIS BY ITS USE OF FORCE APRIL 2.

ACCORDINGLY, I WILL MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT APRIL 30 EXPLAINING OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND NOTING YOUR GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL WE PUT FORWARD. I WILL POINT OUT THAT WE HAD REASON TO HOPE THAT THE UK GOVERNMENT COULD CONSIDER A SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES WE PROPOSED. I WILL ALSO INDICATE THE STEPS THE U.S. BELIEVES IT MUST NOW TAKE IN THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY FIELDS.

SECSTATE WASHDC 6645 MESSAGE (CONTINUED): DTG: 300300Z APR 82 PSN: 005973

IN ADDITION, BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF HOSTILITIES, WE ARE TODAY ADVISING AMERICAN CITIZENS NOT TO TRAVEL TO ARGENTINA. IN THAT REGARD, I AM CONCERNED THAT UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION MAY NOT BE FULLY UNDERSTOOD IN ARGENTINA AND THAT SOME ELEMENTS MAY TAKE ACTIONS THAT COULD ENDANGER THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF U.S. CITIZENS. IF THAT SHOULD HAPPEN, THE REACTION IN THIS COUNTRY WOULD BE SWIFT AND OVERWHELMING. PRESIDENT GALTIERI ASSURED ME DURING MY MOST RECENT TRIP TO BUENOS AIRES THAT ALL PRECAUTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN TO PREVENT ANY SUCH INCIDENTS AGAINST OFFICIAL OR PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZENS. WE DEPEND ON THAT ASSURANCE AND ON THE DETERMINATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA TO FULFILL ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW.

I MUST TELL YOU FRANKLY THAT WE WILL BE CONSIDERING OTHER MEASURES IN THE COMING DAYS WHICH WOULD HAVE EVEN GREATER IMPACT ON YOUR COUNTRY AND OUR RELATIONS. I HOPE THAT IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO TAKE SUCH ADDITIONAL STEPS, BUT YOU MUST KNOW THAT WE ARE CONSIDERING THEM AND THAT IF THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE, THEY WILL BECOME A VERY REAL POSSIBILITY.

I PRAY THAT YOUR PEOPLE AND THOSE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM CAN BE SPARED THE HARDSHIP AND HUMAN TRAGEDY OF RENEWED CONFLICT. WE REMAIN PREPARED TO ASSIST IN ACHIEVING A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION AT ANY TIME YOUR GOVERNMENT BELIEVES WE COULD AGAIN SERVE THAT ROLE. SINCERELY, ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR. END TEXT. HAIG

## SECRET

### WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 6672 DTG: 300544Z APR 82 PSN: 006077 TOR: 120/0646Z SIT181 DATE 05/03/82 \_\_\_\_\_ -------DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP FONT SIT EOB EOB: WHSR COMMENT: MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #6672 1200554 O 300544Z APR 82 ZFF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE 5194 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 3929 BT SECRET STATE 116672 NODIS E.O. 12065: RDS-3 4-29-02 TAGS: FA, UKUS, AR SUBJECT: FALKLAND ISLANDS: COSTA MENDEZ LETTER 1. (SEGRET - ENTIRE TEXT.) FOLLOWING IS TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM FOREIGN 2. MINISTER COSTA MENDEZ DELIVERLD BY AMBASSADOR TAKACS TO ENDERS APRIL 29. BEGIN TEXT: MR. SECRETARY: WE HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE DOCUMENT THAT YOU TRANS-MITTED TO US, COMPARING IT WITH PREVIOUS PROPOSALS AND WITH THE POINTS OF VIEW THAT WE HAVE MAINTAINED IN OUR VARIOUS MEETINGS. THAT ANALYSIS REVEALS SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES, SOME OF WHICH RAISE PROBLEMS THAT MUST BE OVERCOME. MESSAGE (CONTINUED) : AS MY GOVENRMENT HAS ALREADY INDICATED TO YOU, ARGENTINA' S OBJECTIVE IS THE RECOGNITION OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE MALVINAS ISLANDS. THAT CENTRAL ELEMENT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS IS THE ULTIMATE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN BY MY COUNTRY AND. AS I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF STATING TO YOU ON MANY OCCASIONS, IS FOR US AN UNRENOUNCEABLE GOAL. ALONG WITH THE QUESTION ON SOVEREIGNTY, THE CURRENT CRISIS RAISES THE IMMEDIATE NEED TO ESTABLISH A PROVISIONAL REGIME FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLANDS AS AN ESSENTIAL STEP IN THE PROCESS OF SEPARATING THE TWO MILITARY FORCES AND AS A REASONABLE PAUSE IN VIEW OF THE LOGICAL IMPOSSI-BILITY OF FORMALLY AGREEING UPON THEIR FINAL DESTINY AT THIS TIME.

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THE TALKS THAT WE HAVE HELD HAVE BEEN FUNDAMENTALLY BASED ON THESE TWO QUESTIONS -- RECOGNITION OF SOVEREIGNTY AND REGIME OF PROVISIONAL ADMININIRATION. THE REMAINING PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED MORE READILY IF THERE IS AGREEMENT ON THE TWO POINTS THAT I HAVE JUST MENTIONED.

WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT BOTH ARE CLOSELY RELATED. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE RECOGNITION OF OUR SOVEREIGNTY ARE IMPRECISE, WE DEEM NECESSARY, IF WE WISH TO AVOID A RETURN TO THE FRUSTRATING SITUATION THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO APRIL 2, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MECHANISM THAT GIVE US GREATER POWER FOR THE ADMINISTRAITON OF THE ISLANDS.

IF, ON THE CONTRARY, IT WERE CLEAR THAT ARGENTINE SOVEREIGNTY WILL ULTIMATELY BE RECOGNIZED, WE WILL BE MORE FLEXIBLE WITH RESPECT TO PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE DOCUMENT THAT YOU SENT FALLS SHORT OF ARGENTINE DEMANDS AND DOES NOT SATISFY ITS MINIMUM ASPIRATIONS ON EITHER OF THE TWO POINTS. ON THE CONTRARY, UNFAVORABLE CHANGES HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED IN BOTH. REGARDING ADMINISTRA-TION OF THE ISLANDS, THE NUMBER OF ARGENTINE REPRESENTATIVES HAS BEEN REDUCED, AND THERE IS NO LONGER THE POSSIBILITY OF INCREASING MY COUNTRY'S CONTROL IN THE EVENT THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE QUESTION DRAG ON WITHOUT A SOLUTION BEING FOUND. WE THUS FACE THE DEFINITE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

POSSIBILITY THAT A PREDOMINATELY BRITISH ADMINISTRATION WILL BE ESTABLISHED WITH NO FIXED TIME OF EXPIRATION. AS CONCERNS THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY, ALL PRECISION REGARDING THE CONCEPT OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY HAS BEEN ABANDONED, AND A NEW ELEMENT HAS BEEN INTRODUCED, A VITAL REFERENDUM TO DETERMINE THE "WISHES" OF THE INHABITANTS, IN OPEN OPPOSITION TO UNITED NATIONS

RESOLUTION 2065 AND TO THE POSITION UNWAVERINGLY MAINTAINED BY ARGENTINA.

YOU REALIZE, MR. SECRETARY, THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THESE CHANGES. IN MY OPINION, OTHER FORMULAS MUST BE FOUND, -A TASK FOR WHICH WE WILL ALWAYS REMAIN AT YOUR DISPOSAL. THEY SHOULD REFLECT THE EQUILIURIUM TO WHICH I REFERRED EARLIER IN ORDER TO BALANCE ADEQUATELY THE DATA REGARDING THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY WITH PROVISIONS FOR THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLANDS. THESE PROVISIONS SHOULD BE OF FIXED DURATION AND ALLOW FOR PROGRESSIVE ARGENTINE PARTICIPATION OR, FAILING THAT, OF SUCH PRECISION THAT THEY ASSURE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTSOF ARGENTINA WITHIN A GIVEN PERIOD OF TIME.

IF THIS ARGENTINE POSITION WERE UNDERSTOOD, AGREEMENT WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY FACILITATED, AND THE FINAL DRAFTING OF THE DOCUMENT WOULD PRESENT NO INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES.

SECRET

I THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR ARDUOUS EFFORTS, AND ASSURE YOU, MR. SECRETARY, OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

NICANOR COSTA MENDEZ. END TEXT. HAIG

### SEGRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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3. I REPEATEDLY ASKED HIM WHAT HE SAW AS A WAY OUT OF THIS IMPASSE. HIS RESPONSE WAS, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, THAT THERE SHOULD BE A STAND DOWN TO GIVE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS. I JUST AS REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT SUCH A BACK OFF WOULD GIVE ARGENTINA THE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

VICTORY IT SOUGHT.

ON THE PROPOSAL.

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4. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION, AND ON MY OWN INITIATIVE, I SUGGESTED TO GALTIERI THAT THE GOA MIGHT ANNOUNCE UNILATERALLY A WITHDRAWAL OF ITS TROOPS FROM THE MALVINAS AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND AS A GESTURE OF GOOD FAITH. HE SEEMED TO TAKE THIS SUGGESTION SERIOUSLY, WROTE IT DOWN, BUT SAID AGAIN, AS HE HAD SEVERAL TIMES BEFORE, THAT HE WAS ONLY ONE OF THREE WHO MADE THESE DECISIONS.

5. I RECOMMEND MOST STRONGLY THAT WE NOT REPEAT NOT ANNOUNCE THE MEASURES CONTEMPLATED UNTIL I HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO FOLLOW UP WITH GALTIERI TOMORROW MORNING. I THINK THERE IS STILL A CHANCE, ALTHOUGH A SLIGHT ONE, THAT WE CAN HOLD THESE PEOPLE OFF.

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5. BOTH ARMA AND I (AND GALTIERI PARTICULARLY LISTENED TO THE FORMER) BORE DOWN VERY HEAVILY ON THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR ARGENTINA NOT REPEAT NOT TO TAKE THE FIRST OFFENSIVE ACTION. GALTIERI SAID THAT HE HAD ALREADY STOPPED SUCH ACTIONS THREE TIMES IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, BUT INDICATED THAT HE COULD NOT DO SO FOR MUCH LONGER. HE MADE A POINT, AS WE ALL KNOW, THAT THE NAVY IS HUNGRY FOR ACTION. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE ARGENTINES PLAN TO RE-SUPPLY THE ISLANDS TOMORROW (APRIL 30) BY AIR ESCORTED BY MILITARY AIR CRAFT.

7. GALTIERI SEEMED TO ME AND TO ARMA ANXIOUS TO FIND A WAY OUT WITHIN THE VERY TIGHT CONSTRAINTS IN WHICH HE OPERATES. HE SAID AGAIN THAT ARGENTINA WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST ONE TO FIRE AND EMPHASIZED TO US THAT HE HAS SPENT CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL CAPITAL IN PREVENTING THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES FROM GOING ON THE OFFENSIVE. HE CLOSED THE CONVERSATION BY PROMISING TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUGH WITH ME, PARTICULARLY ON THE IDEA OF A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MALVINAS. I THINK THAT WE MAY HAVE GOTTEN THROUGH TO HIM AND IF WE ARE ABLE TO OFFER HIM A LITTLE TIME THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO MOVE FORWARD. SHLAUDEMAN

END OF MESSAGE FOOTER

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### SEGRET

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DATE 05/03/82 DTG: 301433Z APR 82 PSN: 006656 PAGE Ø1 BUENOS AIRES 2658 TOR: 120/1507Z SIT178 DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 ------------WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF JP VP WHLR SIT EOB EOB: WHSR COMMENT: RED TAG MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: FLASH DE RUESBA #2658 1201434 Z 301433Z APR 82 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3494 S\_F C R E T BUENOS AIRES 2658 NODIS EO 12065: RDS-1, 3 4/30/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, UK, FA, AR SUBJECT: FALKLANDS CRISIS: -GALTIERI'S POSITION REF: BUENOS AIRES 2640 1. S - ENTIRE TEXT. 2. I WENT BACK TO SEE GALTIERI THIS MORNING. HE SAID HE HAD THOUGHT OVER MY SUGGESTION OF A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWL AND HAD DISCUSSED IT EARLY THIS MORNING BY TELEPHONE WITH THE OTHER TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. THEIR CONCLUSION WAS

THE OTHER TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. THEIR CONCLUSION WAS THAT ARGENTINA COULD NOT RPT NOT TAKE SUCH A STEP UNILATERALLY BECAUSE IT WOULD APPEAR TO BE CEDING TO U.S. PRESSURE. GALTIERI MADE A POINT OF SHOWING ME THE HEADLINE IN TODAY'S "CONVICCION," WHICH READS "REAGAN OPTS FOR MRS. THATCHER." IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, HE CONFIRMED THAT THIS REFLECTED THE NAVY'S POSITION.

3. GALTIERI SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ANNOUNCE WITHDRAWL OF ARGENTINE TROOPS FROM THE LAMVINAS IF HE COULD GET SOMETHING SIMULATANEOUSLY FROM THE OTHER SIDE. HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT THAT MIGHT BE BUT THOUGHT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE A STATEMENT FROM LONDON INDICATING A BRITISH DISPOSITION TO MATCH HIS MOVE.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

4. I SAID THIS APPEARS UNLIKELY BUT I WOULD PASS IT ON. GALTIERI LEFT ME IN NO DOUBT THAT HE WANTS PEACE. HE ALSO LEFT ME IN NO DOUBT THAT HE IS UNDER EXTREMELY HEAVY PRESSURE FROM THE NAVY. I SHOULD NOTE THAT HIS NAVAL AIDE IN THE CASA ROSADA TRIED TO PREVENT ME FROM SEEING THE PRESIDENT BY REFUSING TO PASS ON THE CALL ASKING FOR AN INTERVIEW.

5. WITH RESPECT TO A POSSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION BY GENERAL MEYER, I THINK THAT WOULD ONLY BE USEFUL IN THE EVENT WE HAD SOMETHING TO OFFER FROM THE BRITISH SIDE. IN THAT CASE, IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL INDEED. SHLAUDEMAN

SECRET

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## SECRÉT WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

 PAGE Ø1
 BUENOS AIRES 2674
 DTG: 3Ø1751Z APR 82 PSN: ØØ7178

 SIT651
 DATE Ø5/11/82
 TOR: 12Ø/2Ø35Z

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WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: MCF WHLR JP VP SIT EOB FONT RENT EOB:

WHSR COMMENT:

Dec.

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2674 1201759 O 301751Z APR 82 ZFF4 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3503

SECRET BUENOS AIRES 2674 NODIS FOR AMBASSADOR ENDERS E. O. 12065: GDS 4/30/88 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, ASEC, AR SUBJ: EMBASSY SECURITY

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE, I INTEND TO KEEP THE EMBASSY AS EMPTY AS POSSIBLE TOMORROW AND SUNDAY. THIS MEANS THAT WE WILL SUSPEND OUR SITREPS FOR THE NEXT TWO DAYS AND REPORT ONLY ESSENTIAL, URGENT ITEMS. SHLAUDEMAN

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED Autom N 2-148-7673-12-2 W CA NARA DATE 14

 PAGE Ø1 OF Ø3 BUENOS AIRES 2668
 DTG: 31

 SIT17Ø
 DATE Ø5/Ø3/82
 TOR: 1

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DTG: 311606Z APR 82 PSN: 007188 TOR: 120/2041Z

39515 24

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: CKLS FONT RENT EOB: WHSR COMMENT: CHECKLIST

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2668 1201726 O 311606Z APR 82 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3498

CONFIDENTIAL BUENOS AIRES 2668 EXDIS E.O. 12065: RDS: 4:30/97 (RUSER, C.W.) OR-M

TAGS: PBOR, MILI, AR, FA, UK SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH ARGENTINE AIR FORCE CHIEF OF STAFF JUAN GARCIA

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN CONVERSATION WITH DCM, AIR FORCE CHIEF OF STAFF GARCIA STATED: -- ARGENTINA WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST TO OPEN FIRE; -- THE ARGENTINE MILITARY RESPONSE WOULD BE GRADUATED; I.E., IT WOULD DEPEND ON THE NATURE AND SCALE OF THE BRITISH ATTACK; -- AN ATTACK ON PORT STANLEY AIRPORT WOULD TRIGGER A FULL-SCALE ATTACK ON THE FLEET ITSEL'F; -- ALMOST ANY ENGAGEMENT WAS LIKELY TO LEAD TO RAPID ESCALATION.

3. UNDER QUESTIONING GARCIA SEEMED TO RULE OUT A MAJOR PREEMPTIVE STRIKE AGAINST THE BRITISH TASK FORCE AT THIS TIME, ALTHOUGH NOT COMPLETELY SO. GARCIA REITERATED THE FAMILIAR ARGUMENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT PRESENT A PEACE PLAN TO ITS PEOPLE THAT DID NOT ASSURE SOVEREIGNTY. CLEARLY, GARCIA WAS NOT CANDID CONCERNING PRESSURES BY THE NAVY FOR A PREEMPTIVE STRIKE AGAINST THE BRITISH FLEET. END SUMMARY.

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

4. ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 29, DCM WAS INVITED BY AIR FORCE CHIEF JUAN GARCIA, A LONGSTANDING FRIEND, FOR A DIS-CUSSION OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. GARCIA SAID THE BRITISH HAD ALREADY LANDED SOME COMMANDOS FROM SUBMARINES. THE ARGENTINE FORCES WERE TRYING TO FIND THEM. IF THESE TROOPS WORE UNIFORMS, THEY WOULD BE TREATED ACCORDING TO THE INTER-NATIONAL LAW OF PRISONERS OF WAR. IF THEY TRIED TO MINGLE WITH THE ISLAND POPULATION MEASURES TO CONTROL CIVILIANS WOULD BECOME NECESSARY. GARCIA ALLEGED TE ARGEN-TINE FORCES DID NOT HAVE AN IDENTITY SYSTEM FOR CIVILIANS IN PLACE AND THUS THE FORCES COULD NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN ISLANDERS AND BRITISH TROOPS. DCM EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT GARCIA STATEMENT, THE ISLAND POPULATION WAS SMALL AND CERTAINLY THE ARGENTINE TROOPS KNEW THE ISLANDERS BY NOW, WHETHER THERE WAS A FORMAL IDENTITY SYSTEM OR NOT. GARCIA REMAINED FIRM. ANY MILITARY AUTHORITY WOULD TAKE MEASURES

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# CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø3 BUENOS AIRES 2668 DTG: 3116Ø6Z APR 82 PSN: ØØ7188 TO PROTECT ITS FORCES UNDER SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES.

5. GEN. GARCIA CLAIMED THAT ARGENTINA WOULD NOT INITIATE HOSTILITIES. WAS IT NOT POSSIBLE TO STOP THE BRITISH AND TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS. IF ATTACKED, THE ARGENTINE RESPONSE WOULD DEPEND ON THE NATURE AND SCALE OF THE BRITISH OPERATIONS. ARGENTINA WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BEGIN ITS OWN MILITARY OPERATIONS WITH A FULL-SCALE ATTACK AGAINST THE BRRITISH FLEET SUCH AS IF THE BRITISH ESTABLISHED A LIMITED BEACHHEAD OF 100, 5000 OR 1,000 MEN, HE CLAIMED. MUCH DEPENDED ON CIRCUMSTNACES. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, A HIGH RISH OF RAPID ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING. (GARCIA PROFESSED CONSIDERABLE RESPECT FOR THE TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES OF THE HARRIER AIRCRAFT AND HE ALSO SHOWED AWARENESS THAT THE SHIPS WERE HEAVILY DEFENDED WITH ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILERY.) AN ATTACK ON PORT STANLEY AIRPORT WOULD TRIGGER A GULL-SCALE RETALIATORY

6. DCM SAID THAT IF THE ARGENTINES WISH TO AVOID A BRITISH ATTACK THERE MUST BE A LEAP FORWARD IN THE NEGOTIA-TIONS--ACEEPTANCE OF THE SECRETARY' PLAN. A WILLIGNESS TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WAS NOT ENOUGH; WE COULD NOT STOP THE BRITISH. GARCIA (WHO WAS WELL VERSED WITH THE ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF THE DRAFT'S SAID HE WAS CONVINCED ACCEPTANCE OF TUESDAY'S DRAFT WAS IM-POSSIBLE; THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT GO TO ITS PEO-PLE WITH AN AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT EXPLICITLY ENSURE SOVEREIGNTY.

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

7. GARCIA ADMITTED THAT THE BRITISH THREAT OT INTRODUCE VULCANS WAS AN ELEMENT NEVER FORESEEN BY THE ARGENTINES WHEN THE INVASION WAS PLANNED. HE TOOK IT SERIOUSLY. HE WONDERED, HOWEVER, ABOUT BRITISH ABILITY TO REFUEL ON ITS OWN THESE AIRCRAFT TWICE DURING THE FLIGHT. (COMMENT: THIS MAY HAVE REFLECTED CONCERN THAT THE US MIGHT PROVIDE REFULING OR THAT CHILE MIGHT PROVIDE ACCESS.) IF THE VULCNAS ATTACKED MAINLAND AIRBASES, THE ARGENTINE MIRAGES WOULD TRY TO TAKE THEM DOWN. THEY ALSO COULD WITHDRAW TO BASES IN THE INTERIOR NEARER THE CHILEAN BORDER. GARCIA CLAIMED THAT ARGENTINA HAS CMNI-DIRECTIONAL RADAR AT THESE AIRFIELDS. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH ARGENTINAS HAS A 200-MILE RADAR CAPABILITY OUTWARD FROM THE COAST, IN FACT, ARGENTINA PERFORMED VERY POORLY AGAINST ELECTRONIC OFFENSIVE COUNTERMEASURES DURING LAST YEAR'S UNITAS EXERCISES.) HE WARNED THAT SUCH ESCALATION WOULD BRING "OTHER POWERS" INTO THE CONFLICT, AT LEAST INDIRECTLY. DCM EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM THATTHE SOVEITS WOULD IN ANY WAY INVOLVE THEMSELVES IMILITARILY IN THE CONFLICT.

8. IN RESPONSE TO A DIRECT QUESTION, GEN. GARCIA DISCLAIMED THAT ARGENTINA WAS CONSIDERING AT THIS TIME A MAJOR PREEMPTIVE STRIKE WITH ALL ITS FORCES AGAINST THE BRITISH TASK FORCE.

9. COMMENT: THE THESIS THAT ARGENTINA WILL NOT FIRE THE FIRST SHOT IS THE PRESENT OFFICIAL LINE. ALTHOUGH GARCIA SEEMED CINDID, THERE EVIDENTLY IS CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM THE ARGENTINA NAVY TO ATTEMPT A MAJOR STRIKE BEFORE ALL THE UNITS OF THE BRITISH TASK FORCE HAVE REACHED THE SCENE. FURTHERMORE, A FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE GUALIFIED THIS POSITION IN STATING THAT IF THE BRITISH VESSELS COME "TOO CLOSE" TO THE ISLANDS, ARGENTINA WOULD OPEN FIRE. DCM IN HIS COMMENTS SOUGHT TO DISCOURAGE A PREEMPTIVE STRIKE, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE BRITISH WERE EXCEEDINGLY CONSCIOUS OF SUCH A POSSIBLE ATTEMPT. SHLAUDEMAN

### CONFIDENTIAL

# CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø3 OF Ø3 BUENOS AIRES 2668 DTG: 3116Ø6Z APR 82 PSN: ØØ7188

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BUENOS AIRES 2668 DTG: 311606Z APR 82 PSN: 007188

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PAGE Ø1 USDAO BUENOS AIRES Ø324 SIT888 DATE Ø5/11/82	DTG: Ø319ØØZ MAY 82 PSN: Ø11Ø49 TOR: 123/21Ø1Z
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WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:	
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WHSR COMMENT: REDTAG	
MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:	
NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS	
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USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN	
CONFIDENTEX NOFORN Ø324 N SUBJ: EMERGENCY EVCUATION OF DOD DEPE REF: A. DIAM 100-1 B. JTR VOL I. CHAP 12	
D. JIR VOL 1, CHAP 12	

1. (C/NOFORN) IN ACCORDANCE WITH REFS A AND B, EMERGENCY EVCUA-TION OF DOD DEPENDENTS TO MONTEVIDEO UY HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED BY COM.

2. (C/NOFORN) THE FOLLOWING DOD DEPENDENTS WILL BE EVCUATED TO MONTEVIDEO LATE 3 MAY 1982: JULIE PITT, WIFE OF COL ROBERT W. PITT, USAF GAIL D. SMITH, WIFE OF COL JACK C. SMITH, USA JACK C. SMITH III, SON OF JACK C. SMITH, COL, USA DONALD M. SMITH, SON OF COL JACK C. SMITH, USA

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

AMY ANNE W. SMITH, DAU OF COL JACK C. SMITH, USA MARY MITCHELL, WIFE OF CAPT RICHARD F. MITCHELL, USN MICHAEL S. MITCHELL, SON OF CAPT RICHARD F. MITCHELL, USN DAVID H. MITCHELL, SON OF CAPT RICHARD F. MITCHELL, USN JAMES R. MITCHELL, SON OF CAPT RICHARD F. MITCHELL, USN ANA MARIA SMITH, WIFE OF MAJ LAWRENCE A. SMITH, USAF ANA MARIA J. SMITH, DAU OF MAJ LAWRENCE A. SMITH, USAF RUTH L. ROMERO, WIFE OF SMSGT ARMANDO P. ROMERO, USAF TIVO M. ROMERO, SON OF SMSGT ARMANDO P. ROMERO, USAF PATRICIA LEIGH SHOUM, WIFE OF MSGT ROBERT SHOUM, USAF TERI L. MCCABE, WIFE OF IS2 MARTIN P. MCCABE, USN MARY GUTIERREZ, WIFE OF MAJ RODOLFO D. GUTIERREZ, USA

3. (C/NF) ESTIMATE TIME OF DEPARTURE: 1700L THRU 2100L, 3 MAY 82. REVW ON 3 MAY 2002

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DECLASSIFIED ANIMONTHY MR-748-76-73-140

# SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

 PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2
 BUENOS AIRES 27Ø8
 DTG: Ø31522Z MAY 82 PSN: Ø1Ø8Ø3

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 DATE Ø5/11/82
 TOR: 123/1819Z

 DISTRIBUTION:
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WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: CKLS RENT FONT EOB:

WHSR COMMENT: REDTAG

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2708 1231540 O 0315222 MAY 82 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3529

INFO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE 8077 AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE 4793 USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE BT

SECRET BUENOS AIRES 2708 EXDIS MILITARY HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE E.O. 12065: RDS-1 5/3/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: AEMR, PTER, PINS, ASEC, AINF, AFSP, AR SUBJ: EVACUATION CONTINGENCY PLANNING REF: BUENOS AIRES 2248

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AS I TOLD AMBASSADOR ENDERS ON THE TELEPHONE, WE HAVE A REPORT FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE THAT THE MOOD IN THE TOP LEVELS OF THE MILITARY HAS TURNED VERY UGLY AGAINST THE U.S. THE STORY IS THAT THE CRUISER "BELGRANO" WAS "PULVERIZED" WITH HEAVY LOSS OF LIFE. ALLEGEDLY, THE U.S. LOCATED THE SHIP FOR THE BRITISH AND GAVE ITS PERMISSION FOR THE USE OF A "SPECIAL WEAPON" AGAINST THE "BELGRANO" (THE IMPLICATION BEING A NUCLEAR WEAPON). THE SOURCE ADVISED ONE OF OUR ATTACHES "TO GET OUT OF TOWN."

3. WE ARE MAKING APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATIONS TO REMIND THE GOA OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SECURITY

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

OF THIS MISSION AND ITS PERSONNEL. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE "BELGRANO" INCIDENT AND WHAT SEEMS TO ME THE LIKELIHOOD OF NEW NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, I REQUEST THE DEPARTMENT'S AUTHORIZATION TO DECLARE THE POST IN PHASE II OF THE RELEVANT EMERGENCY LEVELS. I ASK FOR AUTHORIZATION FOR THE DEPARTURE OF DEPENDENTS OF OUR MILITARY PERSONNEL, BOTH DAO AND MILGP, GIVEN THE UNDERSTANDABLE ANXIETY AMONG THESE OFFICERS. I ALSO REQUEST AUTHORIZATION TO PREPARE FOR THE REDUCTION IN NON-ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL AND THEIR DEPENDENTS AS INDICATED IN PARA TWO REFTEL. THE DEPENDENTS OF OUR MILITARY WILL DEPART BY ROAD OR FERRY FOR MONTEVIDEO ONCE THE DEPARTMENT HAS GIVEN ITS APPROVAL. WE SHALL BE IN TOUCH WITH THE DEPARTMENT ON THE METHOD AND TIMING FOR THE LARGER EVACUATION. SHLAUDEMAN

SEGRET

DECLASSIFIED NLRR MI962 # 39517 BY FW NARA DATE 3/19/18

## SECRET . WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 27Ø8 DTG: Ø31522Z MAY 82 PSN: Ø1Ø8Ø3

39517

J .

DOS REVIEWED 15-May-2013: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION

PAGE ØI OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 2708 DTG: 0315222 MAY 82 PSN: 010803 DATE 05/11/82 TOR: 123/1819Z SI T 8 8 9 DISTRIBUTION: REPT 1001 WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION SIT: CKLS RENT FONT EOB: WHSR COMMENT: REDTAG MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS CIA REVIEWED 16-May-2013: NO OBJECTION TO RELEASE AS SANITIZED MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2708 1231540 O Ø31522Z MAY 82 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3529 INFO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE 8077 AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE 4793 USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE RT. S E C R E T BUENOS AIRES 2708 EXDIS MILITARY HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE E. O. 12065: RDS-1 5/3/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: AEMR, PTER, PINS, ASEC, AINF, AFSP, AR SUBJ: EVACUATION CONTINGENCY PLANNING REF: BUENOS AIRES 2248 (S-ENTIRE TEXT.) AS I TOLD AMBASSADOR ENDER 25x1N THE TELEPHONE. THE MOOD IN THE TOP LEVELS OF THE MILITARY HAS TURNED VERY UGLY AGAINST THE U.S. THE STORY IS THAT THE CRUISER "BELGRANO" WAS "PULVERIZED" WITH HEAVY LOSS OF LIFE. ALLEGEDLY, THE U.S. LOCATED THE SHIP FOR THE BRITISH AND GAVE ITS PERMISSION FOR THE USE OF A "SPECIAL WEAPON" AGAINST THE "BELGRANO" (THE IMPLICATION BEING A NUCLEAR WEAPON). ONE OF OUR ATTACHES "TO GET OUT OF TOWN." 3. WE ARE MAKING APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATIONS TO REMIND THE GOA DF ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SECURITY MESSAGE (CONTINUED) : OF THIS MISSION AND ITS PERSONNEL. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE "BELGRANO" INCIDENT AND WHAT SEEMS TO ME THE LIKELIMOOD OF NEW NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, I REQUEST THE DEPARTMENT'S AUTHORIZATION TO DECLARE THE POST IN PHASE II OF THE RELEVANT EMERGENCY LEVELS. I ASK FOR AUTHORIZATION FOR THE DEPARTURE OF DEPENDENTS OF OUR MILITARY PERSONNEL, BOTH DAO AND MILGP, GIVEN THE UNDERSTANDABLE ANXIETY AMONG THESE OFFICERS. I ALSO REQUEST AUTHORIZATION TO PREPARE FOR THE REDUCTION IN NON-ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL AND THEIR DEPENDENTS AS INDICATED IN PARA TWO REFTEL. THE DEPENDENTS OF OUR MILITARY WILL OEPART BY ROAD OR FERRY FOR MONTEVIDEO ONCE THE DEPARTMENT HAS GIVEN ITS APPROVAL, WE SHALL BE IN TOUCH WITH THE DEPARTMENT ON THE METHOD AND TIMING FOR THE LARGER EVACUATION.

SHLAUDEMAN

No Objection To Declassification in Part 2013/06/04 : NLR-748-26-13-15-9

STATISTIC TRANT

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 27Ø8

DTG: Ø315222 MAY 82 PSN: Ø1Ø8Ø3

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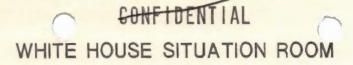
No Objection To Declassification in Part 2013/06/04 : NLR-748-26-13-15-9

# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001	
WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:	
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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:	
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACT IMMEDIAT	E 5234
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7497 BT	
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 EXDIS E.O. 12065: RDS-1 5/2/02 (ENDERS, THOM TAGS: AR, FA, UK, US SUBJECT: LETTER OF FORMAL PROTEST FROM CO SECRETARY OF STATE	1AS 0. 1
1 (ENTIRE TEXT).	
2. THERE FOLLOWS THE UNOFFICIAL TRANSLA SUPPLIED BY THE ARGENTINE EMBASSY OF ORI SPANISH LANGUAGE LETTER FROM FOREIGN MIN COSTA MENDEZ TO SECRETARY OF STATE DELIV EVENING OF MAY 2.	GINAL NISTER
3. BEGIN TEXT:	
MAY 2, 1982	
MR. SECRETARY OF STATE,	
MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :	
I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO THE ST MADE ON APRIL 30, BY YOUR EXCELLENCY ON OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT REGARDING TH CONF BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND THE UNITED KINGDO SOUTH ATLANTIC REGION.	BEHALF FLICT
'HE STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE ASSERTIONS AND ANNOUNCES MEASURES THAT A GOVERNMENT CANNOT OVERLOOK WITHOUT STAT OBJECTIONS WE DEEM PROPER.	MY
THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AME BESIDES BEING HIGHLY UNFRIENDLY, IS SURF ONLY HOURS BEFORE SAID STATEMENT WAS DEL THE UNITED STATES WAS ACTING IN THE ROLE FRIEND OF THE PARTIES, ASSISTING THEM IN	PRISING. LIVERED, E OF A

CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL



PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 8584

DTG: 030411Z MAY 82 PSN: 009956

SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED, JUST AND HONORABLE SETTLEMENT. NOW, INVOKING THE FAILURE OF ITS ENDEAVORS, THE UNITED STATES TAKES UP THE UNILATERAL DEFENSE OF ONE OF THE PARTIES AND IMPOSES UNACCEPTABLE SANCTIONS UPON ARGENTINA. THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE OBVIOUS GOAL OF BENDING OUR RESOLVE, TENDS TO IMPOSE BY FORCE ON US THOSE SOLUTIONS THAT WOULD SUIT THE VERY PECULIAR OBJECTIVES (MUY PARTICULARES MIRAS) THE U.S. GOVERNMENT UPHOLDS ON THE ISSUE.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE ATTRIBUTES TO ARGENTINA THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, REMARKING OUR INABILITY TO REACH A COMPROMISE. HE SAYS NOTHING ABOUT THE BRITISH INTRANSIGENCE NOR ABOUT THE AGGRESSIVE WAY IN WHICH IT IS BEING EXPRESSED. IT IS IRRELEVANT FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT -- CONTEMPORARY TO HIS STATEMENT -- A POWERFUL AIR AND NAVAL BRITISH FORCE WAS COMPLETING PREPARATIONS TO ATTACK MY COUNTRY. ON THE CONTRARY, THE SECRETARY OF STATE DEEMS EQUITABLE TO COOPERATE WITH THE AGGRESSION BY PROVIDING THE BRITISH FORCES WITH THE MATERIAL SUPPORT THEY WOULD REQUEST. THIS CONSTITUTES A CURIOUS WAY TO COOPERATE IN AVOIDING THE AGGRAVATION OF THE CONFLICT.

SECSTATE WASHDC 8584 MESSAGE (CONTINUED) : DTG: Ø3Ø411Z MAY 82 PSN: ØØ9956

I CANNOT DO ANYTHING LESS THAN TO REJECT THE ASSERTIONS OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AS WELL AS THE ATTITUDE WHICH IS ITS CONSEQUENCE. MY GOVERNMENT CAN DEMONSTRATE THAT IT HAS GONE FAR BEYOND THE UNITED KINGDOM IN ITS WILL TO COMPROMISE AND ITS PREPAREDNESS TO NEGOTIATE ; DISPOSICION NEGOCIADORA'. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS BE TRANSFORMED IN AN EXERCISE THE RESULT OF WHICH MUST NECESSARILY BE OUR SURRENDER AND THE RENUNCIATION OF OUR MOST FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

ARGENTINA DID NOT REJECT THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. DURING A MEETING, THE SECRETARY OF STATE HIMSELF ADMITTED THAT WE WERE NOT BOUND TO ACCEPT THOSE PROPOSALS AS A PACKAGE DEAL AND THAT OUR COMMENTS WOULD BE WELCOME. WE PROCEEDED TO DO SO HOURS BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF STATE ISSUED HIS DECLARATION. WE STATED THEN OUR DISPOSITION FOR A DIALOGUE AND OUR GOOD WILL TO EXPLORE FORMULAS LEADING TO A SOLUTION.

THE U.S. ATTITUDE TAKES PLACE AT A TIME WHEN THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE AMERICAN NATIONS, MEETING IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE, EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT FOR ARGENTINA'S POSITION AND CALL FOR AN END TO HOSTILITIES. IT IS THEREFORE SURPRISING THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 8584 SIT132 DATE Ø5/Ø3/82	TOR: 123/Ø432Z
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION Ø2 OF Ø2 EXDIS ;HIMSELF, REFERS TO HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARI BEING ONE OF THE BASIC GUIDING PRINCIPLE (US) CONDUCT, WHEN IN FACT HIS ATTITUDE OF PLAINLY IGNORING SUCH SOLIDARITY.	TY AS S FOR
THE SECRETARY OF STATE CANNOT IGNORE THA GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WILL LEAVE DEEP THE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. ARGENTINE PEOPLE WILL NOT UNDERSTAND FORGET THAT IN ONE OF THE MOST CRITIC OF ITS HISTORY, AND IN CONTRAST WITH THE SOLIDARITY RECEIVED FROM ALL ANGLES OF T CONTINENT, THE UNITED STATES HAS CHOSEN SIDES WITH A NON HEMISPHERIC POWER. BY	RACES ON THE NOR CAL HOURS E THE TO TAKE

SIDES WITH A NON HEMISPHERIC POWER, BY COOPERATING WITH ITS AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS. I DO NOT BELIEVE GOING BEYOND MY COMPETENCE BY ADDING THAT THE UNITED STATES' ATTITUDE WILL ALSO SERIOUSLY DAMAGE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER NATIONS OF AMERICA. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED, I EXPRESS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, IN THE NAME OF MY GOVERNMENT, THE MOST FORMAL PROTEST FOR THE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

TERMS INCLUDED IN THE DECLARATION OF APRIL 30, WHICH I JUDGE UNFRIENDLY AND INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE GOOD RELATIONS OUR COUNTRIES MAINTAINED UP TO THE PRESENT.

ACCEPT MR. SECRETARY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

- - - (SIGNED) NICANOR COSTA MENDEZ

CONFIDENTIAL

END TEXT. HAIG

## CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 8584 DTG: 030411Z MAY 82 PSN: 009959

SECSTATE WASHDC 8584 DTG: 030411Z MAY 82 PSN: 009959

CONFIDENTIAL

# CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DTG: Ø32Ø36Z MAY 82 PSN: Ø11784 PAGE Ø1 SECSTATE WASHDC 8988 SIT879 DATE Ø5/11/82 TOR: 123/2234Z DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001 ------------\_\_\_\_\_ WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP SIT EOB FONT RENT EOB: WHSR COMMENT: FYI MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #8988 1222045 0 0 032036Z MAY 82 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACT IMMEDIATE 5252 INFO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE 6616 AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE 3398 USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE 2683 BT CONFIDENTIAL STATE 118988 EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR SHAUDEMAN FROM UNDERSECRETARY KENNEDY E.O. 12065: GDS 5/3/88 (KENNEDY, RICHARD T.) TAGS: AEMR, PTER, PINS, ASEC, AINF, AFSP, AR SUBJECT: EVACUATION CONTINGENCY PLANNING REF: BUENOS AIRES 2708

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE DEPARTMENT APPROVES YOUR REQUEST TO DECLARE THE POST IN PHASE II OF YOUR EMERGENCY ACTION PLAN AND AUTHORIZES THE DEPARTURE OF DEPENDENTS OF MILITARY PERSON-NEL, BOTH DAO AND MILGRP, TO MONTEVIDEO. THE EMBASSY SHOULD ADVISE MONTEVIDEO, INFO THE DEPARTMENT, OF THE NAMES OF ALL EVACUEES, METHOD OF DEPARTURE AND ETA MONTEVIDEO.

3. FOR MONTEVIDEO: CONFIRM EVACUEES ACTUAL ARRIVAL IN MONTEVIDEO, EXACT LOCATION AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS.

4. YOU SHOULD ALSO PREPARE TO RELEASE NON ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL AND THEIR DEPENDENTS. WE WILL AUTHORIZE THEIR

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

. .

DEPARTURE DEPENDING ON YOUR ASSESSMENT OF ANY FURTHER DETERIORATION IN THE THREAT LEVEL. HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 8988

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### CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 2726 DTG: Ø32111Z MAY 82 PSN: Ø11211 SIT887 DATE Ø5/11/82 TOR: 123/23012 DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUESBA #2726 1232114 O Ø32111Z MAY 82 ZFF4 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3540

0 NEIDENTAL BUENOS AIRES 2726 EXDIS

FOR ENDERS FROM SHLAUDEMAN E.O. 12065: RDS-1 5/3/02 (SHLAUDEMAN, HARRY W.) OR-M TAGS: PBOR, MILI, AMER, PTER, PINS, ASEC, AINF, AFSP, AR SUBJECT: SINKING OF "BELGRANO" REF: BUENOS AIRES 2724

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AS REPORTED REFTEL, ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SINKING HAS NOW BEEN MADE. WE UNDERSTAND THE ARGENTINE NAVY IS BACKGROUNDING THE PRESS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE DETECTION AND SINKING OF THE SHIP WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY SATELLITE INFORMATION PROVIDED BY US TO THE BRITISH. THIS IS NOT YET ON THE WIRE HERE AND MAY NOT APPEAR BECAUSE OF MEDIA FEAR THAT TO PUBLISH THE STORY WOULD VIOLATE SELF-CENSORSHIP DECREES IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. I HAVE DENIED THE ALLEGATION IN AN OFFICIAL NOTE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND WE WILL TRY TO KNOCK IT DOWN WITH THE PRESS WHEN AND IF RAISED WITH US. I THINK THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DENY IT FORMALLY IF THE STORY CROPS UP THERE. AS I INFORMED YOU EARLIER, THE NAVY SIMPLY REFUSES TO ACCEPT OUR DENIAL. BUT WE HAVE TO DO WHAT WE CAN. THE LOSS OF SO MANY MEN AND THE ATTEMPT TO PIN THE TRAGEDY ON US PUT THIS MISSION IN JEOPARDITY.

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

3. WE NOTE PYM'S COMMENTS AND OTHER REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON INDICATING THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW U.S. MEASURES AGAINST ARGENTINA. I URGE THAT WE REFRAIN FOR THE TIME BEING. SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD IN MY JUDGMENT BE LIKELY TO MAKE THE ARGENTINES MORE INTRANSIGENT RATHER THAN MORE MALLEABLE AT THIS POINT, AND IT WOULD HIT HERE IN WHAT WOULD BE AN INFLAMED ATMOSPHERE. SHLAUDEMAN

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## CONFIDENTIAL . WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 BUENOS AIRES 2726 DTG: Ø32111Z MAY 82 PSN: Ø11211

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BUENOS AIRES 2726

DTG: Ø32111Z MAY 82 PSN: Ø11211

MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3074

WICHASSEEN 39521 MW

ACTION

May 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK FROM: JAMES RENTSCHLER/DENN'S BLAIR/ROGER FONTAINE SUBJECT: The Falkland Islands: What Now?

Situation

The sinking of the Belgrano brings the South Atlantic conflict to an alarmingly new and perhaps desperate stage, one which throws into sharper relief the negative strategic factors which the U.S. will increasingly confront as the hostilities persist. We are in a situation where only an act of sanity may now save not only the belligerents from further loss, but larger U.S. strategic interests as well.

With this in mind, your own private "Falklands Task Force" provides a rundown of judgments we consider relevant and outlines what we consider to be the necessary act of sanity (which really depends on the U.K., by far the saner of the two disputants at this point). In brief, we feel the moment has been reached in this conflict when the Brits can declare victory on the military level and demonstrate some magnanimity with a political offer designed to stave off an Argentine Götterdämmerung (in which we would all substantially suffer). Urgency is now the issue: as this goes to press the wires are reporting another Vulcan attack on Port Stanley ....

Key Judgments

- -- Contrary to British hopes, tightening the screws on Argentina will not make them more amenable to negotiations. On the contrary, Galtieri is a high-stakes gambler who will keep putting chips on the table as long as he has them, hoping for the lucky strike to bail him out;
- -- What is true of Galtieri is probably also true of anyone who succeeds him (with the possible exception of Orfila, who might favor a diplomatic route but whose margin of maneuver would be tightly constrained by the military).
- -- Continuation of the British blockade with sporadic military action will result in a grave setback to all our policies

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in this hemisphere as Latin American positions harden, while tying the Royal Navy down 8,000 miles away from its NATO responsibilities.

-- Now that we have come down on the British side, our leverage with Mrs. Thatcher is greatly increased; we are a de facto partner in the enterprise and can use that position to push our own interests in ways denied to us in our previous "honest broker" role.

#### Proposal

-- That the United States initiate another peace offer, this time through the OAS. The offer would link ultimate Argentine sovereignty after a reasonable protracted period (say, 20 years) with immediate withdrawal of Argentine troops and a third country or mixed administration during the transition between now and then.

#### Rationale

- -- To the U.K., the plan offers a chance to escape from having to defend the Falklands forever, should the Brits succeed in retaking them. The 20-year grade period will allow the Falklanders sufficient time to make up their minds to become Argentinian or emigrate, or otherwise take advantage of whatever resources and options the Brits can put at their disposal during the period in question -- a kind of qualified self-determination (the Brits must -- and probably do understand that the desires of 1800 sheepherders cannot eternally dictate the larger strategic interests of the United Kingdom, let alone the United States). Part of the agreement could also be a bill of rights for the Falklanders.
- -- To Argentina, the plan offers a way to realize its core objective of ultimate sovereignty. It will not have the sovereignty by the end of 1982, as it had wished, but that is the price it pays for losing a war Argentina itself precipitated. Galtieri (or a successor regime) is implored to accept this plan by a unanimous resolution of the OAS, it will have a face-saving way to do so.

#### Implementation

-- We need to clear this plan with the Brits first. It should be done by private message to Mrs. Thatcher -- we do not need more shuttle diplomacy now. -- We then need to send a message from the President to Galtieri once it looks as if the plan is gaining momentum.

#### **RECOMMENDATION:**

- OK NO
- \_\_\_\_\_
- That you discuss the above outline with Secretary Haig, with a view toward gearing the diplomatic machinery in that direction.

### National Security Council The White House RECEIVED Package # 3074

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TO CLARK INCLASSIFIED

FROM RENTSCHLER

BLAIR

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04 MAY 82

KEYWORDS: FALKLAND ISLANDS GREAT BRITAIN

FONTAINE

ARGENTINA

SUBJECT: PRESENT SITUATION IN FALKLAND ISLANDS

\*\*\*\* ACTION: FOR DECISION DUE: 06 MAY 82 STATUS X FILES FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO CLARK

COMMENTS

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