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University Dr. Moulay Tahar -Saïda-

Faculty of Literature, Languages and Arts

Department of English language and literature



## **Falklands war**

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### **Presented By:**

- Hadjam Amel
- Djebli Abdelhafid

### **Advised By:**

Mrs. Gacem

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***Dedication***

*To my mother and father, source of my happiness and success in life.*

*May ALLAH bless them.*

*To my brothers and my sisters for their unconditional support and encouragements to  
pursue my interests.*

*To my friend, who has been so supportive and encouraged the fulfillment of this work.*

*To all those who believed in me and pried for my success.*

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*First we thank ALLAH for his help and guidance.*

*Special thanks to our teacher supervisor Mrs.GAcEM, who helped and advised us, as  
well as all our teachers.*

*We dedicate this humble work to: our parents, our brothers and sisters.*

*All of my family.*

*Without forgetting our dearest friend.*

### *Abstract*

The Falkland war was fought in 1982 between the United Kingdom and Argentina over the sovereignty of a small group of islands in the south Atlantic.

Nationalisms played a key role in this conflict, since the prestige of each nation was at stake. The British press was a key mechanism in the promotion of nationalist identities during the war, triggering patriotic feelings and serving as a vehicle for political propaganda. The year 2012 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the war, amidst a revival of the conflict due to the Argentine demand that the issue of sovereignty be reconsidered; the purpose of this research is to explore how the discourse of nationalisms were constructed and developed by the British presses regarding the commemoration of the war. The thesis will offer an analysis of language and press imagery of a selection of tabloid and quality British national newspapers of the year 2012.

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Many countries like Spain, France, Argentina, and Britain claimed their sovereignty over the Falkland Island.

These claims had caused many conflict between the dispute countries, one of the most famous modern dispute was between Argentina and Britain.

The Falkland Islands are a group of barren, rocky islands in the Southwest corner of the Atlantic Ocean. These islands have been a subject of territorial dispute over their sovereignty. Spain, France, Argentina and Britain claimed their sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. These claims had caused many conflicts between the disputed countries. One of the most famous modern dispute was between Argentina and Britain.

The British government had established its first settlement in the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic 1833. The sovereignty over these Islands has made a strong conflict between Britain and Argentina; the later declared that the Islands depended on " Islas Malvinas" are an Argentine colony that inherited from Spain. Despite the distance that is about 8070 Miles, the islanders preferred to be under British control up to this day.

The Falkland War that occurred between March and June 1982 ,was a culmination of a long-standing dispute over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands between Britain and Argentina. It was an example of the decisive and successful use of force to achieve any strategic objective. The war was caused by miscalculation and miscommunication as well as failed diplomacy and the breakdown of deterrence. The war started when the argentine Junta under General Galtieri's leadership used the military power in invading the Falkland Islands. The islands that were considered as a

British military dependency. Both countries tried diplomatically to find a peaceful settlement on the Falkland Islands, but all of negotiations were failed.

Britain at that time was suffering from political and economic decline which made the nation too weak. The British conservative government under the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher lost popularity within both British public and the conservative party. The political environment in Great Britain witnessed many problems and crisis due to the policies that Margaret Thatcher followed, these problems made the deteriorating situation even more complex. Many of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's economic reform policies instituted in 1980 and 1981 were unpopular. Relative British military power was weakening due to the shrinking budgets. Many riots appeared in Great Britain; they wanted to change the government. The Britons considered Thatcher's conservative government as the weakest government in Britain after the Second World War. So the British government wanted to reject the impression of being weak and irresolute in matters concerning the lives of its citizens, because a weak government could hardly be expected to convince in universal political debates.

Margaret Thatcher faced a lot of problems at home, so she turned her interests abroad especially in the Falkland War to tie up her opponents at home and also to cover her failure in some internal issues. Britain was victorious in war, and the outcome was the death of 255 British, but above all, Margaret's popularity highly raised at home due to the victory in the Falklands, that later assured her a second term in office, something which was not assured at the beginning of the war. Also she escaped an embarrassing failure following her transatlantic instincts.

The Falklands War is considered as one of Thatcher's greatest achievement. This achievement was well used by Thatcher in resolving the British internal problems. Although she had a little political experience, she was successful in resolving her political crisis. Thatcher had proved in the Falklands War that such foreign affair could be a successful mean to achieve a domestic objective. As a result of the victory in the Falklands War, the British internal situation became more stable. And Britain regain its self-confidence again as one of the greatest nations in the world.

I choose this topic because in our studies, we did not emphasize on Thatcher domestic politics, we have dealt with foreign policy in general. When I read some articles about Thatcher, I found that she was very successful in her policies, especially using such foreign affairs to achieve a domestic objective; and that is what I am going to study.

To study this topic, we are going to ask two main questions that will help us to understand Thatcher policy. We want to know whether the Falkland War proved to be a successful mean to achieve domestic political objectives or not, and what were its main impacts on the British domestic politics ?.

In addition to that, this research paper intends also to investigate some specific research questions on that subject: how did the Falkland War impacts on British domestic policy?, what were the main British responses toward the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands?, how did Margaret Thatcher manage to win the war on both sides: external and internal?, and what were the main changes in the British domestic politics after the war?

To answer these questions, the work will be divided into Three chapters. The first one will be descriptive, we are going to describe and discuss the Political history of

the Falkland Islands from their first discovery to the Argentine-British conflict. Then we are going to give and discuss the background of the Falklands War, to be easier to the reader to understand, then we move to mention the reasons for fighting the war in both countries.

The second chapter deals with the British attitude toward the invasion, and its internal situation during that period. the chapter is divided into four sections: the first one deals with Thatcherism and reformatations, then British responses toward the Argentine invasion of the Falklands, and how it managed to win the war. finally we will see the British public opinion toward the Falklands War.

In the last chapter, we will discuss and analyse the main reasons that helped Britain to win the war, and the positive impacts of the Falklands War on the British domestic politics. In addition to that, we are going to define the new term that appeared during the Post-Falklands period "the Falklands Factor". Finally we are going to prove whether the war was a success for Thatcher or not.

References that are used in this research include many books, the memoir of Margaret Thatcher *The Downing Street Years* that includes a detailed description of her political life. We take also her speeches from her website which contains an official documents of her years in Downing Street. We used also articles from internet.

# CHAPTER ONE

## BACKGROUND OF THE FALKLAND WAR

## **1.1. Introduction**

War had traditionally been constructed as masculine domain, promoting references to masculinity with a glorification of violence in the name of honor of one's country. The discourse of war is gendered, marking a sharp division in the different roles sexes play: men go to battle women stay at home caring for the home and the family, there are, however notable exceptions to this patriarchal nationalist discourse; such as world war I and II when women took over men's jobs in the factories, agriculture and running the industries. The Falkland war and its media representation have been studied as an example of the maintenance of gendered categories.

## **1.2. The political economy of the Falklands island**

### **1.2.1. First Discovery**

The discovery of the island according to the British captain John Davis was the one who first sighted them, the Argentina tend to favor the argument that Malvinas were discovered by a Portuguese named Alvaro de Mosquito, other sailors, such as Vespucci Magellan Sebald Deweert and Hawkins, have also been mentioned as being the another and thus the issue is still unresolved, consequently Spaniards, the British, the Dutch and Portuguese are all possible candidate; the first country to build a settlement on the Islands were British, the British shipping had make extensive and uninterrupted use of the Islands from 1766, the Falklands were claimed for the united province in 1820 and this was followed by a settlement in 1823 and the undisturbed use until 1833, the British appeared in 1833, 55 years after they abandoned West Falkland, and ejected all the legal Argentine settlers so that they could place an implanted population from Britain onto the Falkland islands. But the reason is in 1496 Math 5th, King Henry VII, in defiance of the both the Pop's grant, and the treaty of Tordesillas, provides letters patent to John Cabot giving:

*"full and free authority, faculty and power to sail to all parts, regions and coasts of the Eastern, Western and Northern sea, under our banners, flags and ensigns, with five ships or vessels of whatsoever burden and quality they may be, and with so many and with such marines and men as they wish to take with them in the sail ships, at their own proper costs and charges, to find, discover and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and Infidels in whatsoever part of the world places, which before this time were unknown to all Christians..."*

In 1498-July 25th, the Spanish Ambassador in England Don Pedro de Ayala, writes to the court of Spain; "I think your Majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents, which he was informed by some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for the same purpose last year, and found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made...The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships, in search of the islands of Brazil and the seven cities,...I have seen on a chart the direction which they took and the distance they sailed, and I think that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses already possess...I write this because the King of England had often spoken to me on this interest in it...I told him that in my opinion, the land was already in the possession of your majesties; but thought I gave him my reasons he did not like them".

In 1507 the German cartographer, Martin Waldseemuler, using information garnered from Portugal, published his map of the world. He shows islands near the coast of South America, close to 50° latitude. 9 years later Juan Diaz de Solis, a Spanish navigator, steps ashore on land to the South of the Rio de la Plata. In 1519 August 10th; Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese explorer employed by Spain sets sail for South America in his quest to find the Western route to the spice islands of the Pacific and the Indies. He is



accompanied by Estevo Gomes, a Portuguese Captain, who deserts the expedition and returns to Spain. 3 years later, September 6th, the battered remains of Magellan's expedition arrive back in the Circolus Antacticus, Spain would later claim that Gomez discovered the Falkland Islands when he emerged from the Magellan Strait en route back to Spain, and that his crew named the Islas de Sanson y de Los Patos.

However, this claim was not published before 1756, raising doubts about its authenticity. Charts and maps were kept particularly by Spain and Portugal, as state secrets so that the competition did not know had been discovered, nor where.

The English, the French; and the Dutch, on the other hand, were quick to announce their discoveries; giving them a head start when disputes arose. Spain was also inclined to be expensive in its claims, so that where it landed on an unknown coast; it claimed the whole continent that the coast were part of. In 1588 the Spanish Armada, sent to invade England, is defeated by good Seamanship, good luck and bad weather.

### **1.2.2. The Islands**

Importance from the British view remains primarily about exploitation of the natural resources lie oil and controlling key points in the South Atlantic. The Royal Navy used the islands as a base in World War I and II for operations against the German Navy. As the technology exist today to monitor the world from the space, and Britain's Royal Navy is its shadow of its former self. This position is tenuous, Britain still sees the Islands as physical base, but in the future the priority will be for economic. Not military reasons the Islands reported abundance of natural resources including commercial fishing grounds (oil and gas), and tourism potential. Make them an attractive possession as previously discussed the Islands are also well positioned to support activities in Antartica and the pass to the South Pacific.



**Image 01:** Map of Falkland Islands

### 1.2.3. Geographic Surface

The Falkland Islands are located approximately 500 kilometers to the east of the tip of Cape Horn in the south Atlantic and South Georgia is located a further 1290 kilometers east of the Falkland islands the south Atlantic position means Falkland experience a harsh weather pattern with continual winds and generally low temperatures with averages ranging from 7°C to 10°C with overcast conditions dominate the physical geography of the Falkland islands is a series of stunted mountainous areas with relatively light vegetation boggy areas and rugged coast lines covering approximately 12,000 square kilometers the islands of east Falkland is less severe in geography than west Falkland and surrounding other approximately 340 smaller islands generally exhibit features similar to the main island to which they are closest the major settlements on the islands during the war were at Stanley and Goose Green both of which are on east Falkland and both of which were key considerations for the British operational planners.

#### 1.2.4. Earliest dispute

The 15th century may seem a little early for the dispute over the Falkland Islands to have started, after all, there had not been discovered not by Europeans at least but roots of this war starts way back then when a Pope, Alexander VI, took it upon himself to divide the unknown world; giving the larger portion to Spain, he was Spanish of course, but that apparently was not relevant, what was relevant is that Spain believed that it had incontestable ownership of everything to South down the globe. They would hold on to that belief for nearly 300 years.

Argentina has of course long disputed British sovereignty over the Islands; we have absolutely no doubt about our sovereignty which had been continuous since 1883. Nor have we any doubt about the unequivocal wishes of the Falkland Islanders, who are British in stock and tradition, and they wish to remain British in allegiance. We cannot allow the democratic rights of Islanders to be denied by the territorial ambitions of Argentina (quoted in Barnett 28)

Any restriction imposed by the Nootka Sound Convention died in 1796 as a result of Spain's declaration of war. Spain's ability to hold on to its claimed territory in South America is virtually destroyed by the Napoleonic wars, initially an ally of Bonaparte, Spain (stood between him and Portugal, so he turned on Spain and forced its Kings to abdicate in his favor.

Watching from afar, the Spanish colonies were unsure how to react. They have also been watching the development of the USA since its revolution with some interest.

Ferdinand was desperate to get his dominions back under control, but while Buenos Aires has prevaricated, Paraguay, Chile, and Venezuela had declared their total independence.

Britain was sympathetic to Ferdinand's dilemma, but it also saw trading opportunities

and preferred to sit of the fence while Spain of Friendship did not fully reinstate the Nootka Sound Convention on its restriction.

### **1.2.5. The Conflict leading up to War**

The absence of serious constant and effective diplomatic talks increased the tension among the two nations and gave way to misleading presuppositions, on 19 March 1982; the Argentine flag was raised at South Georgia (a Falklands dependency) by a group of Argentines who were sent to work there, in a somewhat confusing incident that was interpreted by the British authorities as a provocation. The Junta ordered the invasion on 2 April. The operations was quick and the British military reaction of decadency to send a task force alongside a submarine to the South Atlantic, in the following weeks there was intense diplomatic activity while the main expeditionary force assembled and sailed troops were being reinforced, reaching a total number of 10.000 soldiers. The British counterattack began with the retaking of South Georgia (21-26 April) and the bombing of the local airport at Stanley, followed by the crucial Sinking of the ARA General Belgano (2 May). Argentine air attacks hit and sunk British destroyers HMS Sheffield (4 May), Ardent (21 May). Coventry and Atlantic Conveyor (25 May) British forces advanced east wards across the Island while the Argentines prepared to defend Stanley; the capital City. The final serious land battle took place between, 11 and 13 June around the mountains surrounding the capital. On 14 June British forces reached the outskirts of Stanley. The Argentines still had some 8000 troops and supplies there, but their moral was diminishing as consequences, Argentine commanders agreed to negotiate the surrender on the evening of 15 June. Repeated mistakes due to disorganization poor military strategy together with a severe lack of training and weapons make Argentina lose war (Regan 182-183 and guber 112)

As regards the reasons for going to warn the official vision given by both nations was

that it was for a ‘Just cause’ over the possession of the Islands since they believed they formed part of their national territory.

The Argentines have always claimed that the Islands were inherited from Spain after the independence of 1816 but were taken from them by the British won, on the other hand felt obliged to defend their colonial subjects from any foreign aggression. Moreover, the British could not allow themselves to be threatened by a dictatorial regime, since that would have made Thatcher’s government look weak and therefore lose ground in international politics. As Barnett claims “Thatcher’s political image had been constructed around the projection of determination, resolution and iron fidelity to national defense “1982:29”. Argentine leaders also considered geopolitical reasons in 1980; Chile had won the dispute over the Beagle channel, so there was a growing concern about the strategic position of Argentina in South America. Besides, some members of Argentines government believed that there was good potential for exploring the natural resources on the area, such as trill fishing and oil (Lindfod 3)

### **1.3. The Falkland War Background**

#### **1.3.1. Geography and Background**

In response to Argentine’s invasion of British territories of South Georgia and Falkland islands on 2 April 1982. Great Britain dispatched, at short notice, an amphibious task group to the South Atlantic to reinforce the British sovereignty over and regain possession of their islands. Designed operation corporate, the repossession of the islands was to be achieved by either demonstration of intent, or actual combat to execute this operation. Great Britain deployed a naval task group, commanded by Rear Admiral John Woodrward, RN. Approximately 8000 miles

The force was required to operate over long times of communication to reinforce its land force from its continental mainland. The success of operation corporate can be seen as

the classic example of the conduct of operational maneuver from the sea that and clearly indicates the advantages of such operational design for the conduct of expeditionary operations driving upon a tradition of Maintenance supremacy and strong political will, and in recognition of the likelihood of a landing the British forces commenced planning early to conduct on amphibious lodgment. The problem was not so much to conduct a landing, but where and how to achieve the necessary operational environment to enable such activity against a heavily fortified and numerically superior opponent.

British planners sought detailed information about the Argentinean forces arrived against them, about possible landing sites, and about what and how the Argentines sought to defend the islands. Through the identification of the key Argentinean strengths, or as Clausewitz described as the central of gravity, the British forces developed a plan for joint military action targeted and reduced the Argentinean.

In 1982, the Argentinean military Junta of present Leopoldo Galtieni seeking to create political stability for his government saw the issue of the Falklands sovereignty as a political solution. Galtieni and his senior officers, Navy Admirals Jorge Anaya and Air Force Brigadier general Basilio Lami Doza planned the military occupation of the Falklands islands if the negotiations with Britain regarding the sovereignty of the Falklands failed to resolve the issue.

#### **1.4. The Falklands Invasion**

The Falkland war one of the most famous modern dispute was between Argentina and Britain, the two countries entered in negotiation to find peaceful settlements but they failed the Falklands war had a historical and economic background for both disputed countries. This section will deal with the background of the Falkland war and the Argentine invasion. That will divide into two subsections the first one is dealing with events that influenced Argentina to thought about retaking the Falkland Islands. In the second one we are going to

deal with the Argentine invasion of Islands, from the beginning until the total control.

#### **1.4.1. The Impact of The Events That Make Argentina Retake The Falklands**

On 1982, the year that the Argentine government under General Galtieri decided to invade the Falklands islands, the decision was made according to some reasons which motivated and helped the Argentine Junta. In this section we have the events that motivated the Argentine government to retake the Falkland islands.

**The Argentine internal Problems:** The both countries had been going through severe crisis by the time war broke out and there was a great deal of public discontent, in 1982 Argentina took the opportunity to regain and establish a settlement of this Islands hoping to destroy the British rule in there.

Argentina's government wanted to unify the public opinion against one common enemy, that action was taken to mask the internal problems the Argentina witnessed and faced at home in 1982. Argentines suffered a lot in 1980's decade especially in the economic field starting from bankrupt and ending with the increase of inflation that reached 130 %.

The Argentine new government started to solidify its position, using ways, the government also helped to establish a group of terrorists to continue its ideological war, as a result of "Dirty War", the Argentine policies were unpopular and hateful. Furthermore, the political policies had caused an economic decline (SOMA 7- 8)

On 3th March 1982, there was a rebellion against the Military rule in Argentina led by the personist labor union, but it was a great failure for that union.

#### **1.4.2. The Purpose of United Nations**

To maintain international peace and security and to that end : To take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and the

suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. Adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen the universal peace.

To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

#### **1.4.3. The Position of United States (The Role)**

The United States administration quickly dismissed the Argentine claim of militarization of US states department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland saying “The UK had made clear to us and to Argentines that what they are engaged in a Naval capacity is normal and is typical for this time of year. However, the US’s position on British sovereignty over the Falklands is less than helpful, with this official position being recognized in fact United Kingdom administration of the islands but take no position regarding sovereignty. Considering the overwhelming desire of the Falkland Islanders to remain British, the fact that the Islands have been continuously British since 1833 (before many US states became part of the Union and the alliance between the US and the UK), there is no justification for the US not to recognize British sovereignty over the Falkland nor is it reasonable for the US Acting Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs,



Roberta Jacobson, to call on the UK to negotiate a diplomatic solution with Argentina at this British territory, there is nothing to negotiate when the United States demanded help from Argentina to stop and fight the spread of communism in Latin America, General Galtieri hoped that the president Reagan would also help him to recapture the Falkland Island and stop the British resistance.

Argentina government decided to regain the Islands and destroy the British existence there (Sked and Chris 395)

The Argentine government believed that the United States would not support Great Britain so, without that they would regain the Falkland Islands easily.

The world knows many changes in all fields' economies, political, and social at the end of the WWII, the effects of the WWII on Britain were profound both at home and abroad.

Great Britain was financially exhausted and heavily in debt to the United States of America (Gamba 60-67)

The United States of America took control over the service of Sterling, this action made Britain even weaker. As a result of this weakness, Britain could not defend its far colonies, so the United States forced Britain to abandon its empire by threat of economic collapse. So Argentina was motivated by the decline of the British Empire to regain the Falkland Islands (Gamba 60-67).

#### **1.4.4. British First Steps**

Great Britain, the former colonial power engages in war in order to defend the self determination of the Islanders. Those critical of the Prime Minister, such as Anthony Barnett, claim that Margaret Thatcher was demagogically using the wishes of the Islanders for her own benefit, the arguments of self determination is rejected by the Argentinians who consider that its territory is colonized by a foreign power, the

citizens who are colonizers cannot legally justify their possession of that land.

The Commander of the British Royal Marines decided to put his small forces on the BAS (British Antarctic Survey) based at King Edward point. The British Marine were sent for many purposes : to strengthen the British presence in South Georgia, to protect the BAS as Grytviken, and also to keep control over the Argentine Scrap metal at Leigh Whaling Station.

The Argentine workers raised their national flag on the land, in which Britain refused of being humiliated on a land under its authority (Freedman 11-12).

The Argentine government sent the group of scrap metal merchants which was landed at Leith to challenge the British sovereignty there. The commander of the British Royal Marines lieutenant Mill was warned that the Argentine would assault them, he was ordered to starts shooting any Argentine landing on South Georgia if they were armed and without warning, the British government in the Falklands and in London wanted to have exact information about the Argentine personal movement (Middlebrook 10).

In the first April a group of four men went to Jason Bridge to look what the Argentineans were doing there, the government of the Falklands announced that the invasion of South Georgia was eminent, the first step that was taking by Mill's was to hit the Argentine troops and retreat to Grytviken here he could start his final attacks from the mountains (Freedom 11-12).

The struggle between Britain and Argentina started on April 2 1982, Britain called that conflict the "Falklands War" whereas Argentina named it as "La Guerra De la Malvinas" the war began with an excepted assault of the Argentinean troops in the Falklands and South Georgia, but at the end the Argentinean troops returned to its main lands on June 13th, 1982, the Falkland war brought changes in both countries; the rise of Margaret Thatcher and decline of the dictatorship in Argentina (Kaufman and Macpherson 348)

#### 1.4.5. Deception of South Georgia

In New York, Argentina's prime minister, says in an off-cuff remark, that Argentina is now at war, this is not confirmed by his Government in Buenos Aires. The BBC report anti British demonstrations in Buenos Aires while in Venezuela shipping workers boycott British ships.

April 26th, Australian's Prime Minister issues a press statement:

*"The British Government decision to use force to re establish its administration in South Georgia is a natural consequence on the invasion of the Falklands and South Georgia by Argentineans forces, and the failure of Argentina to comply with demands of the united nations, security council withdraw its forces. Argentina has refused to take affective action to circumstances to justify the use of force. The Argentine government continued to reinforce its military action should therefore not have come as a surprise..."*

Margaret Thatcher pens a memo to Secretary Haig:

*"The repossession of South Georgia of course alters the situations regarding the tremendous efforts you are making to produce negotiate settlement of the present crisis. On the one hand there is the important change that the Falkland Islands dependencies are no longer occupied by Argentina on the other hand the successful British military action should bring home to Argentina her interests in negotiating seriously for a settlement..."*

A defense area is declared around the task group as it sails south. Argentine troops stationed at Leith, on South Georgia surrender.

Margaret Thatcher warns, in a speech to parliament that the time for diplomacy is running out, "The Falklanders" loyalty to Britain is fantastic. If they wish to stay British we must stand by them, democratic nations believe in the right of self determination...The people who live there are of British stock. They have been there for generations, and their wishes are the most important thing of all. Democracy is about the wishes of the people"

The OAS meets in Washington consultation under the Rio treaty began...Today. Most Rio treaty signatories were represented...Costa Mendez' violent speech was followed by

warm applause. A firm statement by Haig that force had been used by an American State and Security Council Resolution 502 laid down the basis for a settlement was greeted with total silence.

#### **1.4.6. Reasons for War:**

The reasons given to engage on the battle as they are exposed the newspapers for the thirtieth anniversary of the war several examples can be found in the press discourse of 1982 outlining legitimate reasons for the fighting of war. As will be shown below, most of these arguments are still used thirty years later. Theses discussion in this section is connected with two of the rules from Jus and Bellum. Those of “Juste cause” and “right intention”, for juste cause the main reasons are: the right to self defense against aggression once the British territory had been seized and the right to self determination of the inhabitants of the territory which had been usurped and to restore justice.

#### **1.4.7. Territorial integrity:**

The reasoning behind his argumentations lies in the assumption that the Islands are undoubtedly British because they have formed part of the British overseas territory since 1833, in this scenarios, war as necessary for the maintenance of the territorial integrity, this was a key point emphasized by the press in 1982 to convince the public opinion of the right to fight for the Islands. This idea can be summarized in the following quote:”We [The British] occupied the Falklands when they were completely empty in 1833 and 94% of the population can trace their ancestors back to Britain, some of them through six generation” (Brown, Daily Express 3 April. 1982: 9. it is what nothing that “occupy” is a verb that conveys as negative meaning: occupations are usually unlawful and done by force. This quotation coming from a British source is very contradictory and significant. The same line of thought concerning the defense of the territorial integrity still applies in the 2012

discourse of the press, as will now be demonstrated with examples from the Corpus. The year 1983 is of key historical importance in the world because it is the year that the British first took possession of the island: it marks the beginning of the British uninterrupted hold of the territory. 1833 is a year remembered for the anniversary and mentioned in some article. For example Ian Daily writes in the Daily mail that the Falklands have belong to Britain since 1833 the Falklands have been under continuous British rules since 1833 except for the invasion by the General of Argentina's 1976-1983 dictatorship.

### **1.5. Conclusion**

Since 1630 until 1833 Spain, France, and Britain have established settlements on the Falkland Islands all of these countries considered that Falklands Islands were empty. The richness that can help in their economic, but Britain was the only one country which succeeded in taking over its sovereignty that stated until 1982. We can say that Argentine government found causes and events that helped to put it claims and task the opportunity of British suffering at home to retake theses islands again.

Although the Argentine invasion took place British conservative government under Thatcher's leadership was not silent. The British response toward the invasion took in the same time the diplomatic and military. In the second chapter we are going to deal with the British internal situation under the Tories, then the step of the Falkland war.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE BRITISH INTERNAL  
PROBLEMS AND THE  
STEPS OF THE  
FALKLAND WAR.

## **2.1. Introduction**

Even the hard political and economic problems of the British government, Britain did not accept the Argentine invasion there were many motivations that can help the Argentine Junta to regain the Islands by military force, British global power was declined during the 80', it was the major motivation.

British government took this affaire as its own mission. Their vision was clear because they wanted to attend their goals with two sides, diplomatic then military. The second Chapter is divided into four sections.

The first section : british problems, the second section : the british managments of the falklands dispute, the third section : British Military Responses, the fourth section : British Public Opinion.

## **2.2. The British Problems**

Previously, 1979, the British political circumstances might have been quickly approaching to junction; those legislatures that he did the country for a long time had been replaced by, new one. Margaret Thatcher the new prime minister wanted to math a solid country furthermore recuperate the British power by adopting a strict domestic and foreign policies, this section will partitioned under two parts over which we are sitting off on examine the British Political what's more financial circumstance.

### **2.2.1. Political Affairs**

After the Second World War end, Britain seen a political what is more financial disintegration strip the decay of the empire. Throughout those period that continued the war, Britain seen an extreme crises, the new preservationist

administration might have been decided should reverse the thing that it observed similarly as a national decrease including: social unrest high inflation.

Thatcher and her conservative government followed many strict political policies in their attempt, at the early 1980's Thatcher begun a conservative arrangements to end the trade unions which were dominating the British politics. Many attacks were launched on the union political tenacity. Furthermore, the cabinet government was declined under Thatcher's conservatism, within her conservative party. She passed many strict laws; the dissent within the party was punished hardly and loyalty to parliament became more important during Thatcher's years (Moris 2).

Thatcher first term saw a radical experiment in monetarism but previous wage agreements under labor were honored; and the government backed down from several industrial confrontations. During the Thatcher years, economic policy seemed to favor services over manufacturing and the decline of manufacturing. But Thatcher's economic acolytes, speaking and writing in the 1970's about Britain's 'decline'. Was thinking, among other things, of this country's industrial decline, but manufacturing decline continued nonetheless, as it did in most capitalist countries.

### **2.2.2. Economy and Taxation**

The British economy was destroyed after the Second World War, the British government was confusing to find a key for this great problem, when Thatcher took office in 1979, she wanted to change and reverse the British economic decline, Thatcher's economic policies was strict and influenced by monetarist thinking. Thatcher achieved little beyond taxes cuts for the rich and spending cuts for the poor,



she increased interest rates to show the money's growth and thereby the expenditure on some departments such as: housing and education (Reitan 30)

Thatcher's domestic economic policies were considered as a strong failure of the new British government, in which it resulted in huge amount of unemployment. These reformatations had caused a strong opposition in Great Britain both "wets" within the conservative party and labors (Floud and Johnson 392)

The British people and parties were in doubt over Thatcher's economic policies. That opposition resulted in many riots in Great Britain such as: the Briston riots and 1981 riots, these riots were a result of the public rejection of the social unrest during the tories period, the British people considered her as the weakest prime Minister and ramped against the government demanding her resignation because she lost her position before them (Flound and Johnson 392).

#### Domestic Consequences of Thatcher's Policies:

The British people were not with policies of the conservative government. It was deeply unpopular this fact clear when Thatcher herself get the woest popularity rating for any British Prime Minister since the Second World War. This was what made Thatcher policies. (Nunn 137)

After applying Thatcher policies, the public started revealing disaffection. A racial tension appeared in urban violence on the streets of Manchester, London, and Liverpool. These riots were organized by Thatcher's opposition including opposition's parties. It continued in 1982, when the Argentine Junta invaded the Falkland Islands in April 1982. This action took the attention of the British public toward their dependency (Nunn 137).

### **2.2.3. Margaret Thatcher response**

Another aspect to consider related to the decision taken by Prime Minister to engage on the war Daily Mail positions itself strongly in favor of the late Prime Minister. In its editorial of 3 April titled “Cameron must heed the Falklands lessons”. The newspaper supports Thatcher’s policies and intentions.

It was triumph of will on the part of Prime Minister who put principles before political expedience. Defying the Fain threats and naysayers all around her [...]. Margaret Thatcher believed only one thing matters when Argentine invaded British territory: a monstrous wrong had to be put right [...] she was richly rewarded for staying true to her convictions. For victory brought her the 1983 Tory landslide. Enabling her to oversee the Thatcher revolution that put the economy back on its feet (Daily Mail, 3 Apr. 2012: 14).

## **2.3. The British Management of the Falkland’s Dispute**

The Argentine invasion that took place on the Falkland Islands considered as a kind of impression on the British Government, Thatcher wanted to reject any kind of being weak government. Great Britain took the liberty on the Falklands Islanders as it main mission because it considered them British citizens. So, we divided this second session into two parts the British.

### **2.3.1. The British Diplomatic Responses**

During the planning for the landing on the Falkland Islands, a number of different options and locations were considered. It was decided early on that occasion there would not be a deliberate attack at the Argentinean forces on the Falklands due to the assessed risks of such an operation, the British conservative government wanted to

find a negotiated settlement with Argentina. Due to British problems at home, British public believed that the nation could not fight the war that what made Britain asked for support from the United Nations and United States. We want to know whether the British diplomatic responses as enough to end the conflict or not.

### **2.3.2. Support for Argentina and Britain**

#### **2.3.3. Support for Argentina**

Haig's mission was the international support that Argentina received. Although the Latin American countries would eventually withdraw support for the invasion, their initial support added to Junta's confidence during April's negotiations. This added confidence made the Junta less willing to yield to Britain's minimum demands, which were to remove its occupying forces before talks about the future of the Islands could continue.

#### **2.3.4. Support for Britain**

When the Argentine invasion took place in South Georgia it developed the Argentine treat to Britain and resulted a strong support from the United Nations, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), EEC (European Economic Community) and many other countries. (Smith 20).

When Haig first met Thatcher after the Argentine invasion, he told her that president Galtieri would not survive in office if the British task force made it all the way to the Falkland Islands. Thatcher responded by saying that she would not survive if the forces were stopped. It was difficult for the United States to support one between Britain and Argentina. (Smith 20).

### **2.3.5. Effort for Negotiation Settlement**

For the first time the negotiation in united nations were undertaken between Argentina and Great Britain, in 1964, but progress was halted due to British disinterest, in 1968 Britain lobbying against the process of negotiations with Argentina was effective, so the British foreign office withdraw the proposal to negotiate over sovereignty. The 37 years have yielded no significant progress. In 1982, Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister proposed a leaseback compact this convention granted Argentina sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, but the administration would be British, this proposal faced a strong position from the Falklanders that most of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands would be stopped for 25 years, but the Argentine government refused all of these proposals (Regan 151-152).

After the Argentine invasion, Britain took all its effort to avoid war and find a peaceful settlement. The Falkland issue was the main discussion of the British Parliament. And the United Nations, Alexander Haig was the first who took the effort to end the dispute peacefully; his thoughts were discussed between Britain and Argentina. The British government decided to accept High's ideas as a last solution whereas; Argentina refused that solution after High's failed diplomacy. The next steps were taken by the president of Peru Blaumde introduced many proposals to end the conflict, but the Argentine refused each time.

### **2.3.6. Failure of Diplomatic Negotiations**

There were several attempts to try and reach a peaceful solution after the invasion and just before the British counterattack. The first intervention came from the USA by President Reagan and his secretary of state General Alexander Haig. Reagan's

intervention was well received in the UK and in Argentina. On 7 April 1982 the national newspaper. The Clarin welcomed the news and published the following in its editorial;

“La propuesta del president norteamericano Ronald Reagan de interponer sus Buenos oficios a fim de lograr una solution pocifica en el pleito que la Argentina sostiene con el peino unido par la reconquista de las islas Malvinas [...]. Cnstituye una movedad de sumo interes [...]” (Clarim 7-4)

[U.S president Ronald Reegan’s proposal to make good use of his office in order to obtain a peaceful settlement of the dispute that Argentina maintains with the UK over the control of the Falklands Islands [...] is very interesting and is to be welcomed.]

## **2.4. British Military Responses**

The negotiation with Buenos Airos failed, so the British decided to retake the Falklands Islands by military force. Margaret Thatcher ordered the preparation of the task forces wanted destroy the Argentine establishments on the Islands as soon as possible. They followed many tactical strategies during the attacks.

### **2.4.1. Preparation of Task Forces**

The British government stopped the diplomatic relations with Argentina when they failed in negotiations. Margaret Thatcher declared to impose many economic sanctions on Argentina including: freezing thee Argentine assets in British banks, and embargoing the arms sales to Argentina. These sanctions made Argentine weaker than before. It would not be supported especially by arms. So, Britain took the opportunity and started preparing the task forces to attack the Falklands Islands when Argentina

heard that. The government took a precaution by reinforcement the Islands with more forces (D'Amor 14).

## 2.4.2. Sending the Task Force

### *Preparation for the War*



**Image 02 : Falklands War timeline map**

The focus will be on both sides preparations for the war and aspects of the war, and securing of strong alliance partners. These tool issues were significant because the Falklands war lasted only 74 days from the occupation of Stanley. The Capital of the Falkland Islands, by Argentina, to its recapture by British forces.

Because the war ended so quickly, sudden changes in armaments and international relations which could have had any significance were difficult to carry out, which

meant that military preparedness prior to the start of the war and relationships with alliance partners had a more significant impact on the war.

Despite the fact that the United Kingdom and Argentina had held prolonged negotiations over their territorial claims to the Falklands Islands, their differences were too diametrically opposed, and this eventually led to war, in such situation, one might expect both countries had made a great effort to prepare for war. Since neither the British nor the Argentina forces had considered that war would actually break out or that it would occur in the manner that it actually did, however, neither country had prepared to any extent if at all. From the British point of view. Most of its citizens did not even know where the Falklands were until the war broke out. The Falkland issue had never been viewed as an important matter in Britain, which meant preparation of any kind had not been made in terms of weapons, organization, or training which would be suitable for fighting specifically in the Falklands. In addition, since the end of the Second World War, Britain had downsized its navy because of its long-term economic troubles in 1971, it had scrapped its policy to maintain a military presence in the British commonwealth and former colonies east of the Suez, furthermore, following revision of British defense policy in 1981 contributing to NATO operations in Europe became the primary of the British forces. Thereafter, weapons which would have been useful in a fight in the South Atlantic were steadily eliminated.

As for the Argentinean forces, conventional logic suggest that they should have been fully prepared militarily. Since they initiated the hostilities. Argentina was certainly eager occupying the Falklands Islands and it did take control of the Islands in just one day, on April 2, 1982 yet the country's armed forces had never thought about how to defend the Islands after seizing them. Argentina had believed that

Britain was declining imperial power which was reducing its armaments accordingly, and therefore would not mount a counteroffensive against Argentine occupation of the Falklands, the war was therefore unanticipated by both sides, which meant that both were unable to commit weapons which were ideal for the theater or the detail below.

Jorge Anaya, Commander-In-chief of the Argentine navy, was one of the most hawkish of those within Argentina's military Junta who advocated the occupation of the Islas Malvinas. The Argentine navy considered one of the most capable navies in all of Latin America. Compared to Royal Navy, however, which was still one of the world's foremost navies; there was quite a gap in terms of both equipment and training.

First the Argentine Navy was almost completely unprepared for anti-submarine warfare. In April, the British established a blockade around the Falklands Islands, 200 Nautical miles off its coast, which completely severed maritime communications between the Islands and the Argentine mainland, with the exception of few ships which managed to penetrate the blockade. In addition, on May 2 the ARA (Armada de la Republica Argentina) General Belgrano, an Argentine Cruiser, was sunk by the British nuclear submarine HMS Conqueror.

Thereafter, the Argentine navy never ventured beyond Argentina's territorial waters. Since the Argentine navy retired to the safety of Argentina's territorial waters without seriously engaging in anti-submarine warfare. Which is one of the most important missions of any modern navy, it was guilty of not only military ill-preparedness negligence. But virtually of a crime against the Argentine nation, especially in view of the fact that it was an enthusiastic proponent of the seizure of the Malvinas in the first place.





**Image 03 :** weapons the falkland war

Second Argentina did not make the preparations which would have enabled it to maximize the effect of its various weapons. The ARA Venticino de Mayo, Argentina's only aircraft carrier, had a top speed of 25,25 knots (about 45 Km/h) when it was completed in Britain in 1945. During the Falkland war, however, the Vessel was only able to achieve Knots. In addition, the Argentina Navy had purchased two modern type 209 diesel submarines from West Germany 1974. One of these, the ARA Sulta had just come back from an overhaul in Argentina's Naval Shipyards when the war broke out but it made too much noise while submerged and could not be used in the war. Argentina was unable to fix this problem before the war's end. The other submarine, the ARA San Luis, had no problems as functioning

Vessel and patrolled the sea around the Falkland Islands. It did have problems its torpedos control system. However, which rendered it enable to hit any British ship during these patrols, even though it actually fired Torpedos at them a number of times.

Argentina's naval air force also failed to prepare for the war. The Naval air force became the first in the world to sink an enemy ship in actual combat with the AM.39 Exocet air-to ship sea-skimming Missile. Which caught the world's attention, the Argentine Navy only had a total of five Exocet in its Arsenal during the war. However, and only five aircraft, Super Etendard, capable of launching them (moreover, one such Super Etendard was cannibalized for Spare parts, which left only four aircraft that could actually take part in the fighting).

The Naval air force had originally planned to purchase 14 Super Etendars and 20 Exacet missiles from France. Since, however, the British eventually sent a task force of more than 100 Vessels, including transport ships, Argentina could have deterred the Royal Navy's fleet only if it had several hundred Exocet missiles and several dozen Super Etendards (along with several Tanken aircraft capable of aerielly refueling them).

The Argentine navy itself did not understand the revolutionary nature of the Exocet weapons system, which is added proof that the navy had not considered British counteroffensive to recapture the Falklands. The Argentine air force also failed to prepare for the Falklands war in a number of ways. First, immediately after the occupation of the Falklands. The Argentine air force did not extent the runway at Stanley airport, which was the only paved Sunway in the Falklands, this runway was only 4100 feet long (approximately 1250 meters), which rendered it adequate only for

emergency landings by jet fighters and attack aircraft. The Argentine air force should have transported materials, machinery, and construction workers and constructed a 10,000 foot (3000 meters) runway, along with aircraft bunkers, before the Royal Navy could establish a naval blockade. If the airport had been converted into a more effective military air base, the Royal Navy's task force probably would not have been able to approach the Falklands as easily as it did. However, the Argentine air force never realized this.

The use of outdated aircraft by the Argentine air forces' main fighter plane was the Mirage III, while its air-to-air missiles were the Matra R 530, Matra R550 and Shafir 2. The Royal Air Force's sea harrier FRS.

It was not all that new itself. Given that it was based on the original Harrier. The model deployed by the Royal Air Force, however, had a thrust-to-weight ratio of more than 0.9. This was superior to the thrust-to-weight ratio of the Mirage III, which was somewhere between 0.5 and 0.7 (with after burner). The British also had AIM-9L air-to-air missiles, which were generation newer than the missiles used by Argentina.

Finally, the Argentine air force had not expected to engage in anti-ship warfare. Argentina had assigned responsibility for defending Argentina from attacks from the sea to its navy in 1969, when it determined its missions and division of responsibilities among its army, Navy and air force. As a result, the Argentine air force hastily conducted training in attacking ships at sea with conventional bombs only after the war began. The haste with which training was conducted was reflected in the air force's combat performance. For example, even when the air force managed to hit a British warship with bombs in an ultra-low level attack, the bombs often failed to explode because the

fuses were incorrectly set. The Argentine air force managed to directly hit British warships approximately 28 times, but 18 to 20 of these failed to detonate.

The Argentine army's lack of preparation can be seen in the fact it allowed these war to begin in April one of the Argentine military's problems was caused by its conscription system. Argentine males had to serve one year (actually ten months) during the year in which they turned 19 years of age, after which time they were considered reserve soldiers that could be called up at any time in a national emergency. The Argentine army's year began in January when its officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, prepared for the incoming group of conscripts for that year. The Argentine system did not separate its unlisted personal into ranks. Infantry regiments normally began training in February when the draftees for that year arrived, and the release of draftees began as the end of the year approached the status of the draftees was low, and they were never prompted. During the Falklands war, the Argentine army's soldiers consisted almost entirely of the cohort of draftees born in 1963 some 90.000 of the Army's total of 130.000 personal were draftees, with similar numbers for the navy and air force being 18.000 out of 36.000 and 10.000 out of 19.500 respectively.

The drawback of this conscription system was that the army's unit was perpetual training organizations for first year draftees, regardless of the existence of professional core of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Joint training involving different units was rarely mistaken, let alone training in combined armed operations. The combat readiness of unites was especially low for the first few months of every year, when the combat readiness of units was at its lowest.

Upon being told they were to be deployed to the Falklands, some Argentine units even replaced their draftees that had just been inducted in 1982 with reservists that had completed their training the previous year.

And we have also, a closer look at lack of military preparations on the part of the British forces, as noted earlier, after the British reviewed their national defense policy in 1981, the role of the Royal Navy was to operate as component of NATO strategy. Its most important mission would be to conduct anti-submarine operations against the Soviet in the Northeast Atlantic. As result, the Royal Navy came to place less emphasis on amphibious operations, and possessed only amphibious ship, the HMS Fearless, when the Falklands war began. Her sister ship the Intrepid, had just been retired and was about to be scrapped. The Intrepid was saved from this fate and quickly repaired its previous crew re-assembled, and it sailed from Britain for the Falklands on April 26 a poor economy forced Britain to abandon its policy of projecting its military "east of Suez" in 1971, after which Britain instead on combating Soviet naval forces in the Eastern Atlantic, as a result, the country's last remaining aircraft carrier capable of accommodating Conventional Take Off and Landing (CTOL) aircraft was retired in 1979 the only Royal Navy aircraft carriers which took part in the Falklands war were two Anti-Submarine warfare (ASW) air force and helicopters. In addition, these two carriers could not operate early-warning aircraft this was because of the two carriers were supposed to operate in the eastern Atlantic, where air support could be provided from ground bases. However the only aircraft in the Royal Air Force capable of actually flying from their ground bases to the Falklands were the Vulcan bomber, Nimrod patrol aircraft, Victor Tanker aircraft, and Hercules transport aircraft. These could reach the Falklands only by aerially refueling enroute, and could not stay in the air space around the Falklands for any

sustained period of time, this proved to be a major problem for fleet air defense and extension. The maintenance of air superiority in the areas around the Falklands islands.

The Royal navies' defenses were not designed to withstand concentrated air attack from small attack air craft. The Royal navy's defenses had been designed to counter cruise missiles launched from long-range Soviet bombers, Soviet nuclear submarines and Soviet nuclear weapons.

Both military forces thus were ill prepared as they entered the war. One side proved itself superior, however and emerged as the Victor at war's end. What made the difference? Some observations have noted that the British were adept at overcoming problems through self-innovations and improvisation, and displayed these traits at joint operations level. Others have commented that, in particular, the excellent training, preparation, leadership, skills, boldness, and strong determination on the part of British made the difference.

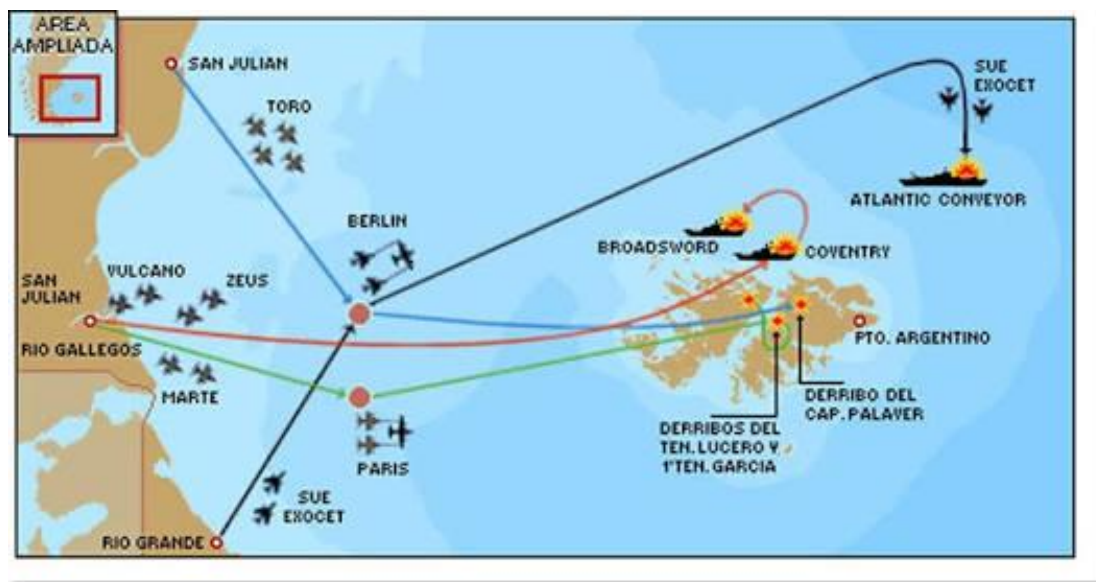
#### **2.4.3. Falkland Victory**

Argentines lost the 1982 war, and their brutal military dictatorship collapsed as a result to be replaced by the democracy persists in Buenos Aires up to this day (Hastings, Daily mail 3 Apr 2012 : 28-29).

The Daily Telegraph believes that June 14, 1982, was not only a day of liberation for the Falkland Islanders but also for the Argentines. It brought the end of the murderous military Junta that had ruled for many years, thereby enabling Argentina to become the democracy it remains to this day (Daily telegraph. 14 June. 2012 : 28).

After many battles at Stanley frontlines, a ceasefire was declared on 14 June 1982. The Argentine commanders surrendered at the same day. After that, on 20th June, the British forces took the South Sandwich Islands. That was considered the last remote of the Falklands, the 74 day of the conflicts ended with the Argentina's surrender. After the British amphibious and ground operational objectives for operational corporate had been attained except for air supremacy. (Moro 317).

With help of both: USA and Chile, the British army, navy and air forces defeated the Argentine Junta in the Falklands. Britain's victory in the war laid to the loss of 255 British servicemen. Britain at the time would sacrifice with longer number of men to liberate the Falklands territory. British victory was considered not only a victory against the Argentine Junta, but also a victory against one of the dictatorial regimes in the world. (Gardiner 1).



**Image 04 : Falklands War maps**

## **2.5. British Public Opinion**

The British people didn't accept to live under that social unrest. They had shown a strong opposition to be conservative government. Thatcher turned her interest abroad in which she was successful in turning the public attention. The Briton's opinion was depended on both the internal problems and the war in the Falklands in politician. Common people and the slanders also we want to know whether the Britons supported Thatcher in the war or not.

### **2.5.1. The British Politicians**

The British politicians emphasized only difficulties that Britain faced domestically during the conservative period. They even considered the South Atlantic non-important colony. They saw that it was not a necessity of maintaining presence there. Do fighting a war for keeping these islands which were located thousands of Miles away from the UK, was fought of difficulties. (Dorman 76-77).

The British politicians seemed that they wanted to abandon that territory. They believed that they could not fight that war without at least the tactic support of the USA. They saw that the British internal problems are most important than the Falklands. (Territory 76-77).

### **2.5.2. British Common People**

When the Argentine invasion took place on the Falklands, the British people did not accept to send the task forces that due to the internal economic and social situation, whereas, when the war begun and the Argentine Junta was destroyed, a Seventy Six percent of those questioned people believed that even the high financial costs of 255 British servicemen, it was correct to send the task forces. (Dening 14).



	14 April 1982	21-21 April 19982	23-24 April 1982	03-05 May 1982	25-26 May 1982
	%	%	%	%	%
YES	67	65	65	72	89
NO	24	25	26	22	10
Don't know	09	09	10	06	01

### *Analysis*

The table from IPSOS MORI demonstrates the British public supports of the Falkland's war. It is clear that the British public supported the war against Argentina. The percentage reached 89% for YES in May 1982, in opposite it was 10% for NO. We can say that British public support was increasing between April and May 1982, so they believed that sending the task forces was a correct decision.



**Image 05 :** Falklands referendum - Islanders vote on British status

### **2.5.3. Self Determination**

From the British point of view, the Falklands conflict is not a problem of colonization but a problem of self determination, Francis Toase argues that before April 1, 1982, the United Nations recommended that both countries should negotiate to solve the issue. The general assembly indorsed Argentina's contention that the removal of British rule from Malvinas was in keeping with spirit of decolonization, but this United Nations statement neglects the Islanders right of self determination. The United Nations called for peaceful negotiations, so if Argentina choose to interpret this resolutions as justifying the use of forces. Then this was Argentina's miscalculations and not the United Nations fault.

General British experience in managing war and diplomacy overwhelmed Argentine colonial claims. Edmund York states that Suez and Rhodesia had been "close run thing" for the credibility, and the survival of the commonwealth. The Malvinas crisis in 1982 engendered fears caused by previous colonial experiences. During 7 April commons, Denis Healy asserted "the argument" was about property rights; in the Falkland it is about human rights, at Suez the British violated the united charter. In the Falklands crisis the Argentines have violated the United Nations charter.....Suez offers no precedent here.

### **2.6. Conclusion**

It was very unfortunate that war finally broke out in the Falklands Islands. Both sides genuinely wanted to avoid war, a fact they demonstrated by participating in a month of frustrating negotiations. Why, then did fighting begin? Why did 1054 soldiers have to die for these remote and sparsely populated Islands? It would be

irresponsible not to assign responsibility for an outcome as drastic as the outbreak of war. Who or what was responsible for the Falklands Islands war?

In considering such a question, it is important to distinguish between moral responsibilities and historical responsibility. The question of moral responsibility assigns blame. Whoever is morally responsible for the war is guilty of starting the fight and causing the death. Not historical forces led to the outbreak of war, none of which is easily attributable to one person or group. Diplomatic principles relating to the cold war. The president of aggression, difficulties in negotiation, and the need to remain in power are the main historical negotiation and end to war but none of these issues implicates particular person or group.

CHAPTER THREE  
THE IMPACT OF THE  
FALKLANDS VICTORY  
ON BRITISH DOMESTIC  
POLICIES

### **3.1. Introduction**

The successful British operations to repossess the Falkland islands and South Georgia in 1982 has been used to draw many lessons, when the Falklands war ended with a victory for Britain it became the greatest achievement for the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the victory led to a new era in the British history. Britain gets itself self-confidence again after many decades of post colonial decline. The Falklands victory also considered as a most significant event during the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. There were many changes appeared during the post-Falklands period. The Falklands war had a strong impact on Britain, a especially on both, foreign and domestic sides.

This final chapter is divided into three sections, the first one is dealing with the new term that appeared in post-Falklands period which was “The Falklands factor” when we are going to analyze the impact of the media during the Falklands war, whether it helped Thatcher in domestic issues or not. The last section is dealing with the main impacts of the Falklands war on the British domestic politics, politically and economically.



**Image 06 :** A captured Argentine soldier is led away under close guard by a British paratrooper

### **3.2. Why fight a war**

On April 5, 1982 a British naval task force set sail from Portsmouth headed for the South Atlantic and on April 7, the British announced a 200 Miles exclusionary zone around the islands. At this point the Junta had no choice but to realize that their gamble had failed and that their action had provoked a military response, the stated goal of foreign negotiations was a failure. The Junta found itself on the verge of going to war with one of its oldest allies and one of the most powerful nations in the

world. However, the regime found itself playing a two level game, and had cornered itself domestically, finding itself in the domain of gains among its “constituency”.

### **3.2.1. Just war considerations**

War and its justifications have always been controversial. Why do modern societies still need to resort to violence as a means to solving conflicts? Just war theory is a age-old concept with a set of principles that define a fair war and try to explain in which cases wars should be fought. Some of the rules and concepts in modern just war theory date back to the late fourth and early fifth century though most of the beliefs from the vast historical tradition that has stretched over the centuries with roots in several cultures around the globe. As Steven Coleman define it.

### **3.2.2. The media in the Falkland war**

The media, the government and the Falklands crisis 1983, by BBC journalist Robert Harris, provides a detailed account of the several problems encountered by the British government and the media regarding the coverage of the war, with a description of accreditation process of the 29 journalists that managed to secure a place in the warships setting sail for the battlefields. Moreover, Harris gives an overall impression of the role of the press during the conflict and denounces some of the mainly on TV and reporters covering the war rather than the written press, he claims that there was a great deal of government and military control on journalists with the task force, as well as censorship over filming: the Navy did not want “unfavorable” publicity. As the technical drawbacks continued for so long, many reporters were forced to send their news reports from Buenos Aires. This fact was not welcomed by the British government. Both the BBC and ITN news casters were very

careful when reading about events on the war. And they did not display nationalist feelings openly. This war criticized by members of parliament, for example conservative MP Robert Adely accused the BBC of being “General Galtieri’s fifth Colum in Britain” (Harris 75)

A similar account of the management of the media during the battle is the one produced by Valerie Adams of the department of war studies at King’s College University, London. In the media and the Falklands campaign (1986) Adams studies the role of the media’s expert commentators during the war. She argues that the military and the ministry of defense exercised almost complete control over the limited number of journalist with the task force while the government had a monopoly in the propagation of news about the war. Adams points out that the Falklands war the first overseas war for Britain which received modern media attention as the previous campaign had been the Suez expedition of 1956.

### **3.2.3. The Falkland Islanders**

During the conflict, the idealization of the Islanders and their way of life was used as another powerful tool to create favorable public opinion for the retaking of the Falklands, according to Thomas Melchionne (1989 : 70), the Social construction of the images of the islanders reveals deep fantasies about the British press has popularized the nation that the Kelpers are “more British than the British”, which had led to certain misconceptions, after British people from the UK who visit the Falklands expect that Kelper life will mirror contemporary rural English society, and this is not always the case. (Mechionne 33)



### **3.3. The Falkland Impacts on British Politics**

Britain witnessed many events that were considered as a results or effects of the Falkland war. As we have said, the Falkland victory had impacted the British domestic politics on the domestic side, it had two kinds of impacts: political and economic.

#### **3.3.1. Political Effects**

After the British victory in the Falklands war, Britain witnessed many changes in internal politics. It was affected by the beginning of the war as well as its victorious end. The political effect of the Falkland war had been divided into five subsections: Resignations, 1983 Elections Victory, Justification of Thatcher's Policies, Developing Thatcherism, and the Rise of Thatcher's popularity.

#### **3.3.2. Resignations Movement**

When the Argentine invasion took place on South Georgia, the head of the diplomatic service was dismissed. The British government witnessed complicated resignations movement. Both of Lord Carrington and Sir Humphery Atkins abandoned their offices. Later on, they were followed by Richard Luce, Francis Pym was appointed as a new foreign secretary, because he was much respected in both the conservative party and the commons. Pym started his new missions which were about the Argentine invasion of the Falklands; Pym always tried to give the exact information to the British parliament (Blundell 115-116).

The response of Margaret Thatcher of Lord Carrington's resignation appeared in this quotation that we took from her speech.

“I spent a lot of time on Saturday in Sunday try to persuade him [lord Carrington] not to put in his resignation. He felt that he had been head of department responsible for the policy, the policy had failed and therefore it was a matter of honor that he should go, that’s the one I ground on which I am not at liberty to refuse because it would make it difficult for him. It was with great regret, he’s been marvelous foreign secretary. I’ve been with him on so many occasions, he’s sturdy and bonny fighter for Britain, a very gallant officer and we shall miss him.” (Thatcher 1982)

The Falklands issues was the most important diplomatic debate that would be discussed in the British parliament in the United Nations, the British government appointed sir Anthony Parson as an ambassador of United Nations, due to his experiences in resolving the diplomatic issues. From these actions, the British government wanted to find a peaceful settlement in the Falklands islands. But all of those actions were failed due to the Argentine military decision. (Freedman 39-40)

### **3.3.3. Victory of 1983 Elections**

After the end of the Falklands war with victory, the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called for the general elections in 1983. The Faklands war considered as the most significant event that led to the success of the conservative government. Thatcher’s party won the biggest landslide since 1945 and aquired 397 seats labor’s 209. On the other hand the labor party witnessed the most electoral decline since 1918 due to both, the Falklands factor and their opposition to Thatcher’s policy toward the Falklands. The Falklands victory embed Thatcher’s personal position within her party, which allowed her to call foe the general election whenever she wants, she would not be obliged to accept the elections call again. Furthermore, the Falklands success made the conservative look more particularly strong on defense. (Evans 25-26)

The so-called “Falklands factor” played an important role in the conservative government’s recovery of the popularity and supports, British votes had supported the conservatives because they saw in Thatcher and her government the appropriate powerful leader. British people changed their opinion when the government stood up against dictatorial foreign power. The conservative government had no contrition of raising the patriotic flag and fighting the Falklands war. The tide of the public opinion began to turn after the victory. Britons believed in Thatcher’s policies which allowed the beginning of economic recovery. (Evans 26-27)

A poll was taken just seven days before the 1983 general elections showed a great support for the conservative government. That poll also showed 44% of electorates believed that the Falklands victory or what called “The Falkland Factor” would help the conservative party in winning the 1983 general elections. Despite that, 13% thought that the Falklands war would be an obstruction in the Tories path to win the elections.

The Falklands victory was considered as only one kind of the conservative government success. Less than 1/3 of conservative candidates mentioned the Falklands victory in their campaigns. So the general elections showed how the British people turned their opinions from oppositions to support the conservatives and their policies. On the other hand it was catastrophe for the labor party and its policies (Campbell 203)

#### Justification for Thatcher’s Policies:

The way that the Falklands victory was significant for the conservative’s success was how it was used as justifications for Thatcher’s domestic policies and principles.

In Thatcher's major speech after total recapture of the Falkland Islands, she proclaims that "we have to see that the spirit of South Atlantic -the real spirit of Britain – is kindled not only by war but can be now fired by peace". Thatcher had linked the Falklands war to everything else that the British conservative government was suffering at home. We have ceased to be a nation in retreat; we have instead a new found confidence. Born in economic battles at home and found through 8000 Miles away. (Vinem 150)

Margaret Thatcher took opportunity of the Falklands victory in which she lionized the task forces and denounce strikes that were appeared in Britain at that time. Thatcher also called for a national economic revival by using her conservative economic policies. The conservative government was successful in using the Falklands victory as a shield, in which they could justify their political and economic actions. (Vinem 150)

For instance, Thatcher condemned striking railway workers by suggesting that their actions were not belonging to the new Victorians nation. Another example was the parallel that Thatcher created between the task forces who fought the Falklands war and the security forces that fighting terrorism in Northern Ireland. Thatcher was successful to courage the military forces and unifies the United Kingdom. (Vinem 150)

### **3.3.4. Developing Thatcherism**

After the victorious Falkland war, Thatcher remained as a Prime Minister for a second term, she begun the project of Thatcherise Britain with the Falkland Factor contribution. So Falkland's success was mainly exploited as an emotional black mail

to develop Thatcherism and advance Thatcher's programs which included the attacks on unions. (Wyatt 3)

For Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the Falklands victory was considered as a proof that the government was working for the nation, or more specifically Thatcherism begun its successful actions. Thatcher believed that the Falklands war showed what could be achieved by conventions and persistence. The government also used the victory as an evidence on foreign trade that Britain had been transformed into one the greatest powers on the world again. (Wyatt 3)

### **3.3.5. Rise of Thatcher Popularity**

Great Britain had emerged from the Falklands war as a global power again, o did Thatcher herself. Despite that Thatcher's little political experience she ended the war with victory.

The Falklands despite had ended through her managements inside and outside Britain. It was through the Falklands and its military end she earned the title "The Iron lady". Before the Falklands dispute started, many members within the conservative party believed that Thatcher was atomic. They always criticized her: she was a woman, not from the ruling class. She had no political experience and she was out of step with the traditional conservative policy. (Numm 137)

As a result of the victorious end of the Faklands war, Thatcher became the powerful leader of the conservative party, and she was glorified as "warrior queen". The Falklands victory allowed Thatcher to get great respect of British public.

She was closely associated with military victories rather than her unpopular budgets or the Buxton riots in 1981. Margaret Thatcher was considered as the

responsible for the Falkland victory, not the government furthermore the victory secured Thatcher's position within the conservative party allowing her to prepare to procedures of her second terms' radical policies (Numm 136-138).



**Image 07 :** Margaret Thatcher

### **3.4. Economic effects**

After the Falkland victory, Thatcher became a powerful and respected prime minister .she was allowed to change many policies and continue her programs. One of these beating the miners and reforming the unions.

#### **3.4.1. Beating the Miners**

When Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister she promised to revive the British industry. Many departments and offices were suffering from Thatcher's policies. One of these departments was the national coal board, it was scaling down the British industry, as well as the miners union, the national union miners, and they

were turning into militant associations. Thatcher followed strict policies to end these strikes; she was supported by the British public especially after the Falkland victory. The victory was used as a shield to end the miners strike. (Heyk 300)

Arthur Scargill, a strong socialist who was devoted to miners at work and mining communities intact. Arthur was assembling the miners and preparing for the revolution. It appeared that not all of the mining region would support the strike. The others believed that Thatcher was doing the rights, The British people were convinced that Thatcher would save the country as she did when the Argentine invasion took place on the Falklands islands. During the summer of 1984, they were many serious combats between the miners and police. The miners were led by Thatcher's opposition; we can say that the strike was an expected long fight between the militant unions and Thatcherites. (Hayk 300)

The miners' revolution was not considered as industrial dispute between the Tory government and the miner unions. It was nearly an insurrection; Thatcher was successful in crushing that strike, due to the strong public support especially after the Falkland victory.

### **3.5. Military effect**

#### **3.5.1. New Defense Policy**

The Falkland war was considered as the biggest series of Naval assaults after the Second World War in the Pacific Ocean. Britain demonstrated powerful military forces in that war against Argentina as a result; the conservative government followed a new defense policy especially after the victorious war. (Campbell 160-189)

The Falklands military victory allowed the British government to be a great militarized country following a new military defense policy. Britain under Thatcher umbrella acquired new developed defense issues, such as placing of the Cruise missiles and the acquisition of trident nuclear deterrent. The Tories after the Falklands war had an authority on defense that labors or alliance could not match. (Campbell 169-189)

During and after the Falklands war, the British defense spending as increased by 29%. Yet in Thatcher's second term in office. The defense budget fell by 12% after the Falklands war, the demands for British manufactured materials of defense export increased. These demands allows the conservatives government the developed its defense policy. (Campbell 160-189)

The Falkland war had a strong impact on the British defense policy. Thatcher in her speech to United Nations presented the British nuclear strategy. After the victory in the Falkland war, Britain started developing the nuclear deterrent. British public opinion was with the conservative government. However, the labor and alliance parties opposed the government's choice. Those parties presented Thatcher's opposition at home and supported the disarmament strategy. (Thatcher 100)

The victory that gave Thatcher the opportunity to convince the Britons of her policies and how she was handling the issues. Without Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Great Britain could still be under the gripe on the unions, holding the government and industry. Thatcher was successful to end the minors strikes and liberating her conservative government from the impression of being a controlled government. (Blundell 121-125)



### **3.5.2. Reforming the Unions**

Before 1970's, labors had strengthened the rights of the unions, they made them an obligatory member in the labor government. When Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister, she decided to weaken these arrangements her policies intended to give more power and rights to individual workers. Thatcher's aims were focused on the unions reformations.

She forces many difficulties in her way especially from those who opposed her way in handling the matters. After the Falklands victory and 1983 general elections, Thatcher was able to do what she programmed in the previous year about reforming and decreasing the power of the unions. (Blundemm 127-128)

Now, Thatcher decided to eform the unions because she was fed up pf their strikes. Her strategy was to break down the closed shop and apply demorcary on the unions, and giving the right to the individual workers. Thatcher passed many laws and acts in which she strengthen the power of the individual workers.

Without both British public and individual workers support, Thatcher would not be successful in reforming the unions. The overall consequences of Thatcher's reformation of the unions was the total reformation of Great Britain's labor market. (Blundell 128-130)

### **3.5.3. Lessons**

The successful British operation to repossess the Falkland islands and South Georgia in 1982 has been used to draw many lessons, both for the conduct of amphibious operations, as well as for the conduct of modern warfare, especially modern meantime warfare.

The major lesson to be drawn from the conduct of operation CORPORATE in regards to OMFTS is the importance joint operation for OMFTS. Without an integrated joint environment the successful conduct of OMFTS had potential to be limited in its ability to achieve its operational.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

The Falklands war was considered as the most significant event during the 1980's in which it gave Britain its real position among the universal powers it turned Margaret Thatcher from the most unpopular Prime Minister into a world celebrity. The victory had a great impact on the British domestic politics

In which it assured Thatcher a second term in office, something was not expected at the beginning of the war.

It is clear that the Falkland war victory was the major event that effected Thatcher's government. In the early 1980's, the conservative government was in a difficult situation. The Falklands victory was significant for Thatcher's government for many reasons, political and economic. It enabled the victory of 1983 elections and raised Thatcher and the conservative public support. Economically, the victory allowed Thatcher to apply a new defense policy and both: reforming the unions and striking the miners.

Also the Falklands victory had many other political and economic effects. These effects made British public supported Thatcher and her way of handling the issues. So Thatcher was successful in using the Falklands war to gain the public support again.

# GENERAL CONCLUSION

The dispute over the Falkland Islands goes back to the first sighting by Europeans during the 16th century even then, Englishmen, Spaniards, and Dutchmen, claimed their discovery first. These claims became very important issue between the countries that landed in the Falklands Islands. One of these countries is Argentina, Argentina inherited Spanish claims over dictator government had never giving up their claims.

When the Argentine invasion took place, the British government under the conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher did not keep quite.

Firstly, the British government tried diplomatically to resolve the issue of the Falklands. Thatcher was successful to get the world sympathy. It appeared in imposing sanctions and boycotting any Argentine export. When the diplomatic attempt failed, British government started preparing the task forces as a military solution to recapture the Falklands Islands.

Britain before the Falkland war was suffering from an erosion of its political and economic powers. The British empire was declined, especially after the Second World War. When Margaret Thatcher took office as a Prime Minister she promised to reverse the British decline following many strict policies. A specially the economic ones had caused a strong opposition of her. Thatcher's economic policies had resulted in a social unrest within the nation. The opposition was supported by most of British people.

At the 14th June 1982, Great Britain officially retook the Falkland Islands after many navals and battles against Argentine Garrison. The Argentine establishment on the Islands was destroyed. The entire world accepted the result and encouraged to develop the Falklands Islands. Great Britain was victorious in the war due to Thatcher's managements of the conflict from negotiations till the military victory.

Although Margaret Thatcher had a little political experience, she was successful in handling the issue of the Falklands. First, she tried a diplomatic solution while the government was preparing the task forces. Then organized the military attack. Thatcher's policies had secured the victory in the Falkland war and then getting the British public support.

The Falklands war had many effects on both countries Britain and Argentina. We can say that it had a strong positive impact on Britain. Great Britain won the war which allowed it to gain its real position among the universal powers and its self-confidence, on the domestic side.

The changes that appeared after the victorious war was considered very important in the British victory. Before the Falkland war, Margaret Thatcher suffered a lot from rising opposition at home.

All British public demanded her resignation. Whereas, after the victory the British supported her way in handling the conflict, they had begun to believe in her policies.

The Falklands war was considered as a hugely significant event for the conservative government and also Thatcher herself. The victory contributed particularly in the 1983 general elections. It provided a secured platform for another four years for Thatcherism. Thatcher had the landslide majority of seats in the elections and defeated the oppositions which were both the labor party and alliance. Margaret Thatcher was helped by what the politicians call "The Falklands Factor". Thatcher took the opportunity of the political victory to continue her program.

The Falklands victory was also integrated in the governments discourse; it became a successful means to justify Thatcher's policies and principles. The victory also gave Thatcher a strong position and reputation within the conservative party and the government. The position that Thatcher gained allowed her to be more conservative. The Falklands victory was the main factor that gave success to Thatcher's conservative government. It was an important event in the way that it both created the conditions of the success and empowered the Tories to continue its path of success.

## Glossary

- **Sovereignty** : N complete power to govern a country.
- **Barren** : not able to produce crops or fruits,not ^roducing any thing useful or successful.
- **Islas Malvinas** : the falklands islands in spanish
- **Tory** :member of the conservetive party.
- **Junta** : **a military or political group that rules a country after taking power by force** : « the country's ruling military junta »
- **Propaganda** : N (disapprov) information spread in order to gain support for a political leader,party,etc.
- **Bristol** : a seaport in avon, in SWengland, on the avon river near its confluence with the severn estuary
- **Antartica** :(the antartic) very cold regions around the south Pole.

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