

## APPENDIX A

See Table [A.1](#).

**Table A.1** Career destinations of graduates of Oxford University (1917–2004) % of graduates *Source* Annual Reports of the Appointments Committee, University of Oxford

|  | 1917 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1958 | 1962 | 1975–1976 | 1980–1981 | 1998 | 2004 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------|-----------|------|------|
| Education                                    | 67   | 54   | 62   | 39   | 39   | 28   | 30   | 40        | 40        | 41   | 48   |
| Government<br>(including public<br>services) | 33   | 24   | 14   | 29   | 17   | 8    | 7    | 9         | 9         | 8    | 9    |
| Industry                                     | 0    | 12   | 20   | 11   | 33   | 50   | 46   | 20        | 25        | 24   | 27   |
| Publishing                                   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 3    | 3    | 4    | 4         | 2         | 2    | 3    |
| Accountancy/<br>Law                          | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 5    | 16        | 15        | 7    | 3    |
| Other  | 0    | 10   | 4    | 21   | 8    | 11   | 7    | 11        | 10        | 18   | 10   |

## APPENDIX B

**Table B.1** Educational background of diplomatic service and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) officials (in order of diplomatic rank for period under study 1973–1982) (Source *Who's Who* and *Who Was Who*)

| <i>Name</i>      | <i>Education<sup>a</sup></i>                    | <i>Position in FCO</i>   | <i>Club membership</i> |
|------------------|---|--|------------------------|
| Michael Palliser | Wellington College<br>Merton College,<br>Oxford | 1975–1982:<br>Permanent Under<br>Secretary of FCO and<br>Head of Diplomatic<br>Service<br>1982: Special Advisor<br>to Prime Minister<br>during Falklands<br>Campaign | Bucks                  |
| Reginald Secondé | Beaumont College<br>Kings College,<br>Cambridge | 1973–1976:<br>Ambassador to Chile  | Cavalry and Guards     |
| Derick Ashe      | Bradfield College<br>Trinity College,<br>Oxford | 1975–1977:<br>Ambassador to<br>Argentina   | Travellers, Beefsteak  |

(continued)

**Table B.1** (continued)

| <i>Name</i>             | <i>Education<sup>a</sup></i>   | <i>Position in FCO</i>   | <i>Club membership</i>                                |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|
| Anthony Williams        | Oundle School<br>Trinity College,<br>Oxford  | 1980–1982:<br>Ambassador to<br>Argentina   | Beefsteak, Canning                                    |
| John Hickman            | Tonbridge School<br>Trinity Hall,<br>Cambridge   | 1982–1987:<br>Ambassador to Chile  | Garrick   |
| Anthony Parsons         | Kings School,<br>Canterbury<br>Balliol College,<br>Oxford  | 1979–1982:<br>UK Permanent<br>Representative to the<br>United Nations  | Royal Overseas<br>League                              |
| Anthony Acland          | Eton College<br>Christ Church,<br>Oxford   | 1972–1975: Principal<br>Private Secretary<br>to Foreign and<br>Commonwealth<br>Secretary   | Brooks's  |
| Duncan Watson           | <b>Bradford Grammar<br/>School (direct grant<br/>grammar school)<sup>b</sup></b><br>New College Oxford                           | 1972–1975: Deputy<br>Under Secretary of<br>State   | Travellers, Royal<br>Commonwealth<br>Society, Leander |
| Donald Maitland         | George Watson's<br>College<br>Edinburgh<br>University  | 1974–1975: Deputy<br>Under Secretary of<br>State<br>December 1979–June<br>1980: Deputy to the<br>Permanent Under<br>Secretary of State |   |
| Derek Day               | Hurstpierpoint<br>College<br>St Catharine's<br>College, Cambridge  | 1979: Assistant Under<br>Secretary of State,<br>FCO<br>1980: Deputy Under<br>Secretary of State,<br>FCO                                | Hawks   |
| Donald Keith<br>Haskell | <b>Portsmouth<br/>Grammar School<br/>(direct grant gram-<br/>mar school)<sup>b</sup></b><br>St Catharine's<br>College, Cambridge | 1975–1978: Chargé<br>d'Affairs and Consul<br>General, Santiago   | Hawks   |

(continued)

**Table B.1** (continued)

| <i>Name</i>               | <i>Education<sup>a</sup></i>  | <i>Position in FCO</i>  | <i>Club membership</i>               |
|---------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| John Shakespeare          | Winchester College<br>Trinity College,<br>Oxford                                  | 1973–1975:<br>Counsellor and<br>Consul-General,<br>Buenos Aires<br>1976–1977: Chargé<br>d’Affaires, Buenos<br>Aires             | Garrick                              |
| Hugh Carless              | Sherborne School<br>SOAS, London<br>Trinity Hall,<br>Cambridge                    | 1973–1977: Head<br>of Latin America<br>Department, FCO<br>1977–1980: Chargé<br>d’Affaires Buenos<br>Aires                       | Travellers, Royal<br>Mid Surrey Golf |
| Eric Anglin               | <b>No information</b>   | 1976–1978: Consul-<br>General, Buenos Aires<br>1978–1979: Chargé<br>d’Affaires, Santiago  |                                      |
| Henry Hankey              | Rugby School<br>New College,<br>Oxford  | 1969–1974: Assistant<br>Under Secretary of<br>State   |                                      |
| Robert H. G.<br>Edmonds   | Ampleforth College<br>Brasenose College,<br>Oxford                                | 1974–1977: Assistant<br>Under Secretary of<br>State   | Turf                                 |
| George Hall               | <b>Highbury County<br/>School (grammar)</b><br>Trinity Hall,<br>Cambridge         | 1977–1979: Assistant<br>Under Secretary of<br>State   | Bucks                                |
| John Ure                  | Uppingham School<br>Magdalene College,<br>Cambridge<br>Harvard Business<br>School | 1977–1979: Head<br>of South American<br>Department, FCO<br>1981–1984: Assistant<br>Under Secretary of<br>State for the Americas | White’s, Beefsteak,<br>Pilgrims      |
| George William<br>Harding | Aldenham School<br>St John’s College,<br>Cambridge                                | 1979–1981: Assistant<br>Under Secretary of<br>State   |                                      |

(continued)

**Table B.1** (continued)

| <i>Name</i>           | <i>Education<sup>a</sup></i>                                       | <i>Position in FCO</i>   | <i>Club membership</i>    |
|-----------------------|--|--|---------------------------|
| Richard Dales         | Chigwell School<br>St Catherine's<br>College, Cambridge            | 1973: FCO<br>1974–1977: Assistant<br>Private Secretary<br>to the Foreign and<br>Commonwealth<br>Secretary                  | Oxford and<br>Cambridge   |
| Roderic Lyne          | Highfield School,<br>Hants<br>Eton College<br>Leeds University     | 1979: Assistant Private<br>Secretary to Secretary<br>of State for Foreign<br>and Commonwealth<br>Affairs                   | Travellers                |
| John Chick            | <b>School not cited</b><br>St John's College,<br>Cambridge         | 1978–1981:<br>Commercial<br>Counsellor and<br>Consul General,<br>Buenos Aires  |                           |
| Peter Summerscale     | Rugby School<br>New College,<br>Oxford<br>Harvard University       | 1971–1975: First<br>Secretary and Head of<br>Chancery, Santiago,<br>Chile  |                           |
| Andrew Murray         | Glenalmond College<br>Edinburgh<br>University                      | 1979–1981: Head<br>of Chancery, Buenos<br>Aires  |                           |
| John Murray<br>Hunter | Fettes College<br>Clare College,<br>Cambridge                      | 1971–1973: Head<br>of the Latin America<br>Department, FCO   |                           |
| Robin Fearn           | Ratcliffe College<br>University College,<br>Oxford                 | 1979–1982: Head<br>of South America<br>Department, FCO<br>1982: Head of<br>Falkland Islands<br>Department, FCO             | Oxford and<br>Cambridge   |
| Adrian Sindall        | <b>Battersea Grammar<br/>School</b><br>Did not go to<br>university | 1976–1979: Assistant<br>Head of Latin America<br>Department, FCO<br>1982–1985: Head<br>of South America<br>Department, FCO | English-Speaking<br>Union |

(continued)

**Table B.1** (continued)

| <i>Name</i>         | <i>Education<sup>a</sup></i>   | <i>Position in FCO</i>   | <i>Club membership</i>                                |
|---------------------|--|--|---|
| Arthur Collins      | <b>Purley Grammar School</b>   | 1974–1977: Assistant Head of Latin America Department                                    | Hove  |
| Christopher Hulse   | <b>Woking Grammar School</b><br>Trinity College, Cambridge   | 1981–1982: Assistant Head of Defence Department, FCO                                     |   |
| Robert John Chase   | Sevenoaks School<br>St John's College, Oxford  | 1982–1983: Assistant Head, South America Department, FCO,                                | Oxford and Cambridge                                  |
| David Joy           | <b>Hulme Grammar School, Lancs, (direct grant grammar school)<sup>b</sup></b><br>St Catharine's College, Cambridge | 1982–1984: Counsellor, Buenos Aires  | Oxford and Cambridge                                  |
| Dennis Amy          | <b>Southall Grammar School</b>   | 1978–1983: First Secretary (Commercial), Santiago  |   |
| Robert A. E. Gordon | King's School, Canterbury,<br>Magdalen College, Oxford   | 1978–1983: First Secretary, Santiago   |   |
| David Spedding      | Sherborne School<br>Hertford College, Oxford   | 1972–1973: Embassy, Chile  |   |
| John Illman         | <b>Reading School (grammar)</b><br>St Andrews University   | 1975–1979: Embassy, Buenos Aires   | Royal Commonwealth Society, Candlewick Ward           |
| Dudley Ankersen     | Hereford Cathedral School<br>Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge  | 1978–1981: Second Secretary, Buenos Aires<br>1982–1985: Falkland Islands Department, FCO | Athenaeum, MCC, Penguins International Rugby Football |

(continued)

**Table B.1** (continued)

| <i>Name</i>         | <i>Education<sup>a</sup></i>   | <i>Position in FCO</i>                            | <i>Club membership</i>                 |
|---------------------|--|---|--|
| Howard Pearce       | City of London School<br>Pembroke College, Cambridge   | 1975–1978: Third Secretary, Embassy, Buenos Aires |  |
| Richard Gozney      | Magdalen College School<br>St Edmund Hall, Oxford  | 1978–1981: Embassy, Buenos Aires                  |  |
| Christopher Crabbie | Rugby School<br>Newcastle University<br>Liverpool University<br>Corpus Christi College, Oxford | 1973–1975: FCO                                    |  |
| Kay Coombs          | <b>School not cited</b><br>University of Newcastle upon Tyne                                   | 1974–1975: Latin American Department, FCO         |  |
| Susan Binns         | Keighley Preparatory School<br>Harrogate College,<br>London School of Economics (LSE)          | 1975–1978: FCO                                    |  |
| Thomas Malcomson    | <b>School not cited</b><br>University of Glasgow   | 1978–: FCO  |  |
| Gordon Duggan       | <b>Liverpool Collegiate School (grammar)</b><br>Lincoln College, Oxford                        | 1979–1980: FCO                                    | United Oxford and Cambridge University |
| Colin Bright        | Christ's Hospital<br>St Andrew's University  | 1979–1983: FCO                                    |  |
| Roland Hedley Smith | <b>King Edward VII School (grammar)</b><br>Keble College, Oxford                               | 1980: FCO   |  |

<sup>a</sup>Schools which accepted non-fee paying pupils are highlighted in bold<sup>b</sup>Direct grant grammar school at the time when the official attended, now independent school



## APPENDIX C

**Table C.1** Britain and ‘ethical’ foreign policy: unilateral action taken by Britain on arms sales

|                     | <i>Action taken by United Kingdom</i>   | <i>United Nations action</i>   |
|---------------------|---|--|
| South Africa (1961) | Arms sales guidelines introduced: licences should not be granted for weapons that could be used for internal repression |  |
| South Africa (1964) | Arms embargo imposed  | 1963 UN Security Council votes for voluntary arms embargo (UK abstains)<br>1977: UN mandatory arms embargo |

(continued)

**Table C.1** (continued)

|                           | <i>Action taken by United Kingdom</i>   | <i>United Nations action</i>  |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| Rhodesia (1965–1966)      | Ban on all exports and most imports, following Universal Declaration of Independence for a white minority regime led by Ian Smith (1965)  | 1965: UN Security Council calls on UK to take all necessary action to prevent a Universal Declaration of Independence<br>Dec. 1966: UN Security Council imposes mandatory selective sanctions, including oil and arms |
| Vietnam/US (1966–1967)    | British government restricts sales of lethal weapons and herbicides to the United States that could be used in Vietnam  |   |
| India and Pakistan (1965) | Restrictions on arms sales, during Indo-Pakistan war (1965)   |   |
| Chile (1974–1980)         | Arms embargo on Pinochet regime   |   |
| Uganda (1972–1979)        | 1972: suspends most aid, following Uganda's expulsion of 49,000 Asians<br>1976: breaks diplomatic relations<br>1979: suspends shipment of luxury goods for Ugandan military   |   |
| 1978 El Salvador          | British government cancels export licence for 15 armoured vehicles for El Salvador on human rights grounds and fears that they could pose a threat to neighbouring British territory, Belize. (Only example of British government breaking an existing arms contract) |   |

(continued)

**Table C.1** (continued)

|                  | <i>Action taken by United Kingdom</i>  | <i>United Nations action</i> |
|------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Argentina (1979) | Arms sales guidelines introduced: licences should not be approved for weapons that could be used for internal repression or pose a threat to the Falklands |                              |
| Iran (1979–)     | Arms embargo after Iranian revolution  |                              |
| Argentina (1982) | Full trade sanctions after Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands  |                              |
| Iraq (1984–1988) | Restrictions on arms sales to regime of Saddam Hussein   |                              |

<sup>a</sup>The UK has imposed arms sales restrictions on other countries multilaterally through the UN or EU

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PRIMARY SOURCES

### **The National Archives (TNA), London**

Cabinet Office Records: CAB 128, 129, 130, 148, 292.

Department of Energy Records: EG 14, POWE 63.

Department of Trade Records: BT 241.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office Records: FCO 7, 40, 46, 58, 76, 96.

Ministry of Defence Records: DEFE 24, 68.

Prime Minister's Office Records: PREM 16, 19.

Treasury Records: T 383.

### **Other Archives**

Labour History Archive, Manchester, Chile Solidarity Campaign papers.

Peter Shore Archives, London School of Economics.

Senate House Archives, University of London, Pamphlet collection, N320.

### **Interviews with the Author**

Alan Angell, Academics for Chile, 22 August 2017.

Alan Charlton, former ambassador to Brazil, 3 December 2014.

Ann Wright, Argentina Support Movement, 25 March 2015.

Bob Sommerville, former trade unionist at Rolls Royce, East Kilbride, 9 April 2014.

Bob Waugh, Committee for Human Rights in Argentina, 10 May 2017.

Christopher Roper, Argentina Support Movement, 27 March 2017.

David Michael, former businessman in Argentina, 27 April 2015.

David Stephen, former advisor to David Owen, 26 November 2014.

- Former British embassy official in Buenos Aires who prefers not to be named, 17 December 2014.
- Former minister in Margaret Thatcher's government, 3 June 2015.
- Gordon Hutchison, Joint Working Group for Refugees, 6 October 2014.
- Jimmy Burns, journalist, 3 March 2015.
- John Keenan, former trade unionist at Rolls Royce, East Kilbride, 9 April 2014.
- Julia Napier, Cambridge Committee for Human Rights in Argentina, 17 November 2014.
- Mike Gatehouse, Chile Solidarity Campaign, 13 June 2013.
- Richard Gozney, former embassy official in Buenos Aires, 20 March 2015.
- Roy Broughton, Argentina Support Movement, 30 April 2017.
- Stan Newens, former Labour MP, 17 June 2015.
- The Rt Hon. Frank Dobson MP, 9 October 2013.
- The Rt Hon. Lord Owen, former foreign secretary, 3 November 2014.
- Vicky Grandon, Argentina human rights campaigner, 28 March 2017.
- Wendy Tyndale, Chile Committee for Human Rights, 7 January 2015.

### **Other Interviews**

Interviews with former diplomats and officials from the British Diplomatic Oral History Programme (BDOHP), Churchill Archives Centre, University of Cambridge.

### **British Government Publications**

- Britain and Latin America* (London: Central Office of Information), published in the years 1968, 1973 and 1989.
- Business Monitor MO4, Census of Overseas Assets* (London: HMSO, 1984).
- Falkland Islands Review*, Report of a Committee of Privy Counsellors, Chairman: The Rt Hon. The Lord Franks (London, HMSO: 1983).
- Overseas Transactions, Business Monitor* (London: HMSO), published in the years 1979, 1982 and 1984.
- Report of the Committee on Representational Services Overseas*, chaired by Lord Plowden (London: HMSO, 1964).
- Report of the Review Committee on Overseas Representation*, chaired by Sir Val Duncan (London: HMSO, 1969).
- Review of Overseas Representation*, Report by the Central Policy Review Staff (London: HMSO, 1977).

### **Publications by Other Governments and International Organisations**

- Covert Action in Chile 1963–1973*, US Senate, Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, 18 December 1975, 94th Congress, 1st Session.
- Direction of Trade Statistics* (Washington: International Monetary Fund) published in the years 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981.

**Memoirs and Speeches**

- Benn, Tony, *Against the Tide: Diaries 1973–1976* (London: Hutchinson, 1989).
- Benn, Tony, 'Obstacles to Reform', in Ralph Miliband, Leo Panitch and John Saville (eds.), *The Socialist Register 1989* (London: Merlin Press, 1989).
- Benn, Tony, *Conflict of Interest, Diaries 1977–1980* (London: Hutchinson, 1990).
- Benn, Tony, *The End of an Era, Diaries, 1980–1990* (London: Hutchinson, 1992).
- Callaghan, James, *Time and Chance* (Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1988).
- Carrington, Peter, *Reflect on Things Past* (London: Fontana, 1988).
- Cassidy, Sheila, *Audacity to Believe* (London: Fount, 1978).
- Castle, Barbara, *The Castle Diaries, 1964–1976* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
- Cripps, Stafford, Hugh Dalton, Harold Laski, S.K. Ratcliffe, A.L. Rowse, and Bernard Shaw, *Where Stands Socialism Today?* (London: Rich and Cowan Ltd., 1933).
- Crossman, Richard, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister. Volume I, Minister of Housing, 1964–1966* (London: Hamish Hamilton & Jonathan Cape, 1975).
- Dalyell, Tam, *One Man's Falklands* (London: Cecil Woolf Publishers: 1982).
- Dell, Edmund, *Brazil: The Dilemma of Reform* (London: The Fabian Society, June 1964).
- Donoughue, Bernard, *Downing Street Diary with Harold Wilson in No. 10* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005).
- Douglas-Home, Alec, *The Way the Wind Blows: An Autobiography* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1978).
- Healey, Denis, *The Time of My Life* (London: Michael Joseph, 1989).
- Heath, Edward, *The Course of My Life: My Autobiography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1998).
- Heffer, Eric, *Never a Yes Man* (London: Verso, 1991).
- Livingstone, Ken, *You Can't Say That* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011).
- Luard, Evan, *Human Rights and Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1981).
- Luce, Richard and John Ranelagh, *Human Rights and Foreign Policy* (London: Conservative Political Centre, 1977).
- Luce, Richard, *Ringing the Changes, A Memoir* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 2007).
- Mason, Roy, *Paying the Price* (London: Robert Hale, 1999).
- Nott, John, *Here Today, Gone Tomorrow: Recollections of an Errant Politician* (London: Politicos, 2002).
- Owen, David, *Human Rights* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978).
- Owen, David, *Time to Declare* (London: Penguin, 1991).
- Owen, David, *Time to Declare: Second Innings* (London: Methuen, 2009).
- Ridley, Nicholas, *My Style of Government: The Thatcher Years* (London: Hutchinson, 1991).
- Thatcher, Margaret, *Margaret Thatcher: The Autobiography* (London: Harper Press, 2013).
- Thatcher, Margaret, *Statecraft* (London: Harper Collins, 2011).
- Thatcher, Margaret, *The Downing Street Years* (London: Harper Collins, 1993).
- Thatcher, Margaret, *The Path to Power* (London: Harper Collins, 2012).
- Wilson, Harold, *The Governance of Britain* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976).

## SECONDARY SOURCES

**Books About Argentina and the Falklands/Malvinas**

- Abudara Bini, Oscar, et al., *Malvinización y Desmentirización: Un Aporte Económico, Político y Cultural en el Marco de la Patria Grande* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Fabro, 2013).
- Abel González, Martín, *The Genesis of the Falklands Malvinas Conflict: Argentina, Britain and the Failed Negotiations of the 1960s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Anderson, Duncan, *The Falklands War 1982* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002).
- Arancibia Clavel, Patricia, and Isabel de la Maza Cave, *Matthei: Mi Testimonio* (Santiago: La Tercera-Mondadori, 2003).
- Arévalo, Oscar, *El Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1981).
- Armony, Ariel C., *Argentina, the United States and the Anti-Communist Crusade in Central America 1977–1984* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1997).
- Balmaceda, Rodolfo, *La Argentina Indefensa: Desmalvinización y Desmalvinizadores* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Los Nacionales, 2004).
- Beck, Peter, *The Falklands Islands as an International Problem* (London: Routledge, 1988).
- Berasategui, Vicente E., *Malvinas: Diplomacia y Conflicto Armado, Comentarios a la Historia Oficial Británica* (Buenos Aires: PROA AMERICAN Editores, 2011).
- Betts, Alexander, *La Verdad Sobre Las Malvinas: Mi Tierra Natal* (Buenos Aires: Emece Editores, 1987).
- Biangardi Delgado, Carlos Alberto, *Cuestión Malvinas, A 30 Años de la Guerra del Atlántico Sur* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2012).
- Bicheno, Hugh, *Razor's Edge: The Unofficial History of the Falklands War* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2006).
- Borón, Atilio, and Julio Faúndez, *Malvinas Hoy: Herencia de un Conflicto* (Buenos Aires: Puntosur, 1989).
- Boyce, George, *The Falklands War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Burns, Jimmy, *The Land that Lost its Heroes* (London: Bloomsbury, 2002).
- Canclini, Arnoldo, *Malvinas - su Historia en Historias* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Publicaciones Navales, 2008).
- Canclini de Figueroa, Judith Ana, and Silvia Ruth Jalabe (eds.), *Década de Encuentro, Argentina y Gran Bretaña 1989–1999* (Buenos Aires: Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, 2001).
- Castro Sauritain, Carlos, *Las Relaciones Vecinales de Chile y La Guerra del Atlántico Sur* (Santiago: Editorial Mare Nostrum, 2006).
- Christie, Clive, *Nationalism and Internationalism: Britain's Left and Policy towards the Falkland Islands, 1982–1984* (Hull: University of Hull, Hull Papers in Politics, No. 37, April 1985).

- Chubrétoovich, Carlos, *Las Islas Falkland o Malvinas: Su Historia, La Controversia Argentina-Británica y la Guerra Consiguiente* (Santiago: Editorial La Noria, 1987).
- Cresto, Juan José, *Historia de las Islas Malvinas: Desde su Descubrimiento hasta Nuestros Días* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2011).
- Dale, Iain, *Memories of the Falklands* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2002).
- Danchev, Alex, *International perspectives on the Falklands Conflict: A Matter of Life and Death* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992).
- Del Paso, Fernando, *El Va y Ven de las Malvinas* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012).
- Dodds, Klaus, *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire* (London: IB Tauris, 2002).
- Donaghy, Aaron, *The British Government and the Falkland Islands, 1974–1979* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Escudé, Carlos, and Andrés Cisneros, *Historia General de Las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina, Tomo XII, La Diplomacia de las Malvinas, 1966–1989* (Buenos Aires: CEPE/CARI/Nuevohacer, 2000).
- Escudé, Carlos, and Andrés Cisneros, *Historia General de Las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina, Tomo XIV* (Buenos Aires: CEPE/CARI/Nuevohacer, 2000).
- Ferns, H.S., *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).
- Freedman, Lawrence, and Victoria Gamba-Stonehouse, *Signals of War: The Falklands Conflict of 1982* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990).
- Freedman, Lawrence, *The Official History of the Falklands Campaign, Volume 1* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Freedman, Lawrence, *The Official History of the Falklands Campaign, Volume 2* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Fox, Robert, *Eyewitness Falklands: A Personal Account of the Falklands Campaign* (London: Mandarin, 1992).
- Galasso, Norberto, *Aportes Críticos a la Historia de la Izquierda Argentina, Tomo II, 1961–2001* (Buenos Aires: Nuevos Tiempos, 2007).
- Gamba, Virginia, *Malvinas Confidencial* (Buenos Aires: Comité Pro-Soberanía de las Malvinas, 1982).
- García, Diego F. and Mike Secar, *Hors de Combat: The Falklands-Malvinas Conflict in Retrospect* (Nottingham: CCCP, 2009).
- Gilly, Adolfo, and Alan Woods, Alberto Bonnet, *La Izquierda y la Guerra de Malvinas* (Buenos Aires: CEICS Ediciones RYR, 2012).
- Graham-Yooll, Andrew, *The Forgotten Colony: A History of English-Speaking Communities in Argentina* (Buenos Aires: LOLA, 1999).
- Graham-Yooll, Andrew, *Imperial Skirmishes: War and Gunboat Diplomacy in Latin America* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2002).



- Grant, Ted, *Falklands Crisis: A Socialist Answer* (London: Militant Pamphlets, 1982).
- Gustafson, Lowell, *The Sovereignty Dispute over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Hastings, Max, and Simon Jenkins, *The Battle for the Falklands* (London: Pan Books, 2010).
- Hill, Christopher, and Stelios Stavridis (eds.), *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy: West European Reactions to the Falklands Conflict* (Oxford: Berg, 1996).
- Hennessy, Alistair, and John King, *The Land that England Lost: Argentina and Britain, a Special Relationship* (London: British Academic Press, 1992).
- Honeywell, Martin, and Jenny Pearce, *Falklands/Malvinas: Whose Crisis? Latin America Bureau Special Brief* (London: LAB, 1982).
- Hunter Christie, E. W., *The Antarctic Problem* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951).
- Jones, Charles, *European Bankers and Argentina, 1880–1890* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Centre of Latin American Studies Working Papers, Business imperialism series, No. 3, 1970).
- King, Doreen, *The Falklands (Malvinas) War—As Told by the British Media* (Chelmsford: Opran Publications, 2009).
- Laborde, Julio, and Rina Beraccini, *Malvinas en el Plan Global del Imperialismo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Anteo, 1987).
- Laver, Roberto, *The Falklands/Malvinas Case: Breaking the Deadlock in the Anglo-Argentine Sovereignty Dispute* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2001).
- Lorenz, Federico, *Las Guerras por Malvinas* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2006).
- Lorenz, Federico, *Malvinas: Una Guerra Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2009).
- McManners, Hugh, *Forgotten Voices of the Falklands* (London: Ebury Press, 2007).
- Middlebrook, Martin, *The Falklands War 1982* (London: Penguin, 2001).
- Moro, Rubén Oscar, *La Trampa de Malvinas: Historia del Conflicto de Atlántico Sur* (Buenos Aires: Edivern, 2005).
- Nadra, Fernando, *La Religión de Los Ateos: Reflexiones sobre el Estalinismo en el Partido Comunista Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Puntosur, 1989).
- Norden, Deborah, *The United States and Argentina: Changing Relations in a Changing World* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
- Ollier, María Matilde, *De la Revolución a la Democracia: Cambios Privados, Públicos y Políticos de la Izquierda Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009).
- Palermo, Vicente, *Sal en las Heridas: Las Malvinas en la Cultura Argentina Contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2007).
- Phipps, Colin, *What Future for the Falklands?* Fabian Tract 450 (London: Fabian Society, July 1977).

- Richardson, Louise, *When Allies Differ: Anglo-American Relations during the Suez and Falklands Crises* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996).
- Rock, David, *Argentina 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987).
- Rock, David, *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860–1916* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002).
- Sheinin, David, *Argentina and the United States: an Alliance Contained* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006).
- Silenzi de Stagni, Adolfo, *Las Malvinas y El Petróleo* (Buenos Aires: Editora Theoría SRL, 1983).
- Smith, Wayne, *Toward Resolution? The Falklands/Malvinas Dispute* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991).
- Till, Geoffrey, *Understanding Victory, Naval Operations from Trafalgar to the Falklands* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2014).
- Tulchin, Joseph S., *Argentina and the United States: A Conflicted Relationship* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1990).
- Vargas Otto, et al., *La Trama de Una Argentina Antagónica: Del Cordobazo al fin de la Dictadura* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Agora, 2006).
- Verbitsky, Horacio, *Malvinas: La Última Batalla de la Tercera Guerra Mundial* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2002).
- West, Nigel, *The Secret War for the Falklands: The SAS, MI6 and the War Whitehall Nearly Lost* (London: Little, Brown & Company, 1997).
- The New Argentina: Planning for Profits in the 1980s* (New York: Business International Corp., 1984).

### Books About Chile

- Alegria, Vicente, *The General and his Nemesis: The Struggle for Human Rights and the Arrest of General Pinochet in London* (London: Escaparate Ediciones, 2001).
- Altman, David and Sergio Toro, Rafael Piñeiro, *International Influences on Democratic Transitions: The Successful Case of Chile* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Working Paper No. 86, 2008).
- Beckett, Andy, *Pinochet in Piccadilly: Britain and Chile's Hidden History* (London: Faber and Faber, 2002).
- Blakemore, Harold, *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics 1886–1896* (London: Athlone Press, 1974).
- Brody, Reed, and Michael Ratner, *The Pinochet Papers: The Case of Augusto Pinochet in Spain and Britain* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000).
- Chavkin, Samuel, *Storm over Chile, The Junta Under Siege* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1985).

- Christiaens, Kim, Goddeeris, Idesbald & Rodríguez García, Magaly (eds.), *European Solidarity with Chile, 1970s–1980s* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014, pp. 187–207).
- Couyoumdjian, Juan Ricardo, *Chile y Gran Bretaña: Durante la Primera Guerra Mundial y la Posguerra: 1914–1921* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1986).
- Davis, Madeleine (ed.), *The Pinochet Case, Origins, Progress and Implications* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2003).
- Del Pozo Artigas, José (ed.), *Exiliados, Emigrados y Retornados, Chilenos en América y Europa, 1973–2004* (Santiago: Ril Editores, 2006).
- Dinges, John, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York: New Press, 2005).
- Dorfman, Ariel, *Exorcising Terror: The Incredible Unending Trial of General Augusto Pinochet* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).
- Edmundson, William, *A History of the British Presence in Chile: From the Bloody Mary to Charles Darwin and the Decline of British influence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Edmunson, William, *The Nitrate King: A Biography of Colonel John Thomas North* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Falcoff, Mark, Arturo Valenzuela and Susan Kaufman Purcell, *Chile: Prospects for Democracy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1988).
- Fernandois, Joaquín, *Mundo y Fin de Mundo, Chile en la política mundial 1900–2004* (Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005).
- Garcés, Joan E. et al., *La Intervención de Estados Unidos en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial 30 Años, 2003).
- Garretón, Manuel Antonio, *Transición Hacia la Democracia en Chile y Influencia Externa: Dilemas y Perspectivas*, Kellogg Institute Working Paper 56 (Notre Dame, IN: Kellogg Institute, 1986).
- Gustafson, Kristian, *Hostile Intent: US Covert Operations in Chile* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007).
- Harmer, Tanya, *Allende's Chile and the InterAmerican Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
- Haslam, Jonathan, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide* (London: Verso, 2005).
- Huneus, Carlos, *The Pinochet Regime* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2007).
- Jones, Ann, *No Truck with the Chilean Junta!* (Canberra: Anu Press, 2014).
- Kornbluh, Peter, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2003).
- Kay, Diana, *Chileans in Exile. Private Struggles, Public Lives* (London: Macmillan, 1987).
- Mayo, John, *British Merchants and Chilean Development 1851–1886* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987).

- Moss, Robert, *Chile's Marxist Experiment* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973).
- Muñoz, Heraldo, *The Dictator's Shadow: Life under Augusto Pinochet* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).
- Muñoz, Heraldo, and Carlos Portales, *Elusive Friendship: A Survey of US-Chilean Relations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991).
- O'Brien, Thomas, *The Nitrate Industry and Chile's Crucial Transition 1870–1891* (New York: New York University Press, 1982).
- O'Shaughnessy, Hugh, *Pinochet: The Politics of Torture* (London: LAB, 2000).
- Petras, James, and Morris Morley, *The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Overthrow of the Allende Government* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).
- Petras, James, and Fernando Ignacio Leiva, *Democracy and Poverty in Chile: the Limits to Electoral Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).
- Purcell, Fernando, and Alfredo Riquelme (eds.), *Ampliando Miradas: Chile en un Tiempo Global* (Santiago: RiL Editores/Instituto de Historia, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009).
- Puryear, Jeffery, *Thinking Politics: Intellectuals and Democracy in Chile, 1973–1988* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- Ramírez Necochea, Hernán, *Historia del Imperialismo en Chile* (Santiago: Editora Austral Ltda, 1960).
- Sigmund, Paul E., *The United States and Democracy in Chile* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- Uribe, Armando, *The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1975).
- A Study in Exile: A Report on the WUS (UK) Chilean Refugee Scholarship Programme* (London: World University Service, 1986).
- Inversión Extranjera y Empresas Transnacionales en la Economía de Chile (1974–1989)*, *Estudios e Informes de la Cepal*, 86 (Santiago: ECLAC, 1992).

### Other Books

- Adonis, Andrew, and Stephen Pollard, *A Class Act: The Myth of Britain's Classless Society* (London: Penguin, 1998).
- Alden, Chris, and Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012).
- Aldous, Richard, *Reagan and Thatcher: The Difficult Relationship* (London: Arrow, 2012).
- Ashworth, Lucian, *International Relations and the Labour Party: Intellectuals and Policy Making from 1918–1945* (London: Tauris, 2007).
- Baylis, John and Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Blasier, Cole, *The USSR and Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983).

- Baumann, Fred E. (ed.), *Human Rights and American Foreign Policy* (Gambier, OH: Public Affairs Conference Center, Kenyon College, 1982).
- Beck, Peter, *The International Politics of Antarctica* (London: Crook Helm, 1986).
- Belton, Neil, *The Good Listener* (London: Phoenix, 1999).
- Bethell, Leslie, *George Canning and the Independence of Latin America* (London: The Hispanic and Luso Brazilian Councils, 1970).
- Bonsor, Nicholas, *Britain and Latin America: Economic Prospects* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, Occasional Papers 13, 1996).
- Bielor, Andreas, and Werner Bonefeld, Peter Burnham, Adam David Morton (eds.), *Global Restructuring, State, Capital and Labour: Contesting Neo-Gramscian Perspectives* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- Brzoska, Michael, and George A. Lopez (eds.), *Putting Teeth in the Tiger: Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes* (Bingley: Emerald Group, 2009).
- Brown, Matthew (ed.), *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).
- Budd, Adrian, *Class, States and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, *British Trade with Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, Occasional Papers No. 19, 1998).
- Burk, Kathleen, *Old World, New World: The Story of Britain and America* (London: Abacus, 2007).
- Burnham, James, *The Managerial Revolution* (New York: Putnam, 1942).
- Busby, Joshua, *Moral Movements and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Byrne, Paul, *Social Movements in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- Callaghan, John, *The Labour Party and Foreign Policy* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007).
- Cain, P. J., and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688–2000* (London: Pearson, 2001).
- Cannadine, David, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London: Papermac, 1996).
- Cannadine, David, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin, 2000).
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979).
- Carlsnaes, Walter and Stefano Guzzini (eds.), *Foreign Policy Analysis* (London: Sage, 2011).

- Chandler, David, and Volker Heins, *Rethinking Ethical Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Chomsky, Noam, *Human Rights and American Foreign Policy* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1978).
- Coker, Christopher (ed.), *The United States, Western Europe and Military Intervention Overseas* (London: Macmillan, 1987).
- Cockett, Richard, *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think-tanks and the Economic Counter-revolution, 1931–1983* (London: Harper Collins, 1995).
- Corthorn, Paul, and Jonathan Davis (eds.), *The British Labour Party and the Wider World: Domestic Politics, Internationalism and Foreign Policy* (London: Tauris, 2008).
- Cox, Robert, *The New Realism: Perspectives on Multilateralism and World Order* (London: Macmillan, 1997).
- Cox, Robert, and Timothy Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Crozier, Brian, 'We Will Bury You', *Studies in Left-Wing Subversion Today* (London: Tom Stacey Ltd., 1970).
- Crozier, Brian, *A Theory of Conflict* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1974).
- Crozier, Brian, *Strategy of Survival* (London: Temple Smith, 1978).
- Crozier, Brian, *The Minimum State: Beyond Party Politics* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979).
- Deo, Nandini, and Duncan McDuie-Ra, *The Politics of Collective Advocacy in India: Tools and Traps* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2011).
- Dickie, John, *Inside the Foreign Office* (London: Chapman's, 1992).
- Dinges, John, and Saul Landau, *Assassination on Embassy Row* (London: Writers and Readers, 1981).
- Dodds, Klaus, *The Antarctic: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Dudley Edwards, Ruth, *True Brits: Inside the Foreign Office* (London: BBC Books, 1994).
- Dumbrell, John, *The Making of US Foreign Policy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).
- Dumbrell, John, *A Special Relationship: Anglo-American Relations in the Cold War and After* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2001).
- Engstrom, Par, 'The Inter-American Human Rights System and US–Latin American Relations', in Juan Pablo Scarfi & Andrew Tillman, *Cooperation and Hegemony in US–Latin American Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Fairlie, Henry, edited by Jeremy McCarter, *Bite the Hand that Feeds you: Essays and Provocations* (Newhaven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

- Fawcett, Louise, and Eduardo Posada-Carbo, *Britain and Latin America: Hope in a Time of Change?* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, Research Papers, No. 44, 1996).
- Foweraker, J., *Theorizing Social Movements* (London: Pluto Press, 1995).
- Ferguson, James, and Jenny Pearce, *The Thatcher Years: Britain and Latin America* (London: LAB, 1988).
- Flood, Patrick James, *The Effectiveness of UN Human Rights Institutions* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998).
- Freedman, Lawrence, *The Politics of British Defence, 1979–1998* (London: Macmillan, 1999).
- Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 2012).
- Gamble, Andrew, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).
- Gamble, Andrew, and Steve Ludlam, Andrew Taylor, Stephen Wood, *Labour, the State, Social Movements and the Challenge of Neo-Liberal Globalisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
- Gaskarth, Jamie, *British Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
- Giugni, Marco, *Social Protest and Policy Change* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).
- Giugni, Marco, and Doug McAdam, Charles Tilly (eds.), *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- González, Francisco, *Dual Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Institutionalized Regimes in Chile and Mexico, 1970–2000* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
- Grandin, Greg, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006).
- Grabendorff, Wolf, and Riordan Roett (eds.), *Latin America Western Europe and the US: Re-evaluating the Atlantic Triangle* (New York: Praeger, 1985).
- Gunder Frank, Andre, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, rev. edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).
- Guttsman, W. L., *The British Political Elite* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968).
- Guttsman, W. L. (ed.), *The English Ruling Class* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).
- Hennessy, Peter, *The Great and the Good: An Inquiry into the British Establishment* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1986).
- Hill, Christopher, *Cabinet Decisions on Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Hill, Christopher, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Hill, Dilys, *Human Rights and Foreign Policy: Principles and Practice* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).



- Hirst, Paul, and Graham Thompson, *Globalization in Question* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).
- Hitchens, Christopher, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger* (London: Verso, 2001).
- Hudson, Valerie, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).
- Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, and Jeffrey J. Schott, Kimberly Ann Elliot, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1990).
- Humphreys, R. A., *Latin America and the Second World War: 1939–1942* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1981).
- Jenkins, Simon, and Anne Sloeman, *With Respect, Ambassador: An Inquiry into the Foreign Office* (London: BBC Books, 1985).
- Jones, Charles, *International Business in the Nineteenth Century: The Rise and Fall of a Cosmopolitan Bourgeoisie* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf, 1987).
- Jones, Owen, *The Establishment and How They Get Away With It* (London: Penguin, 2015).
- Jones, Ray, *The Nineteenth Century Foreign Office, An Administrative History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).
- Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).
- Knox, K., and T. Kushner (eds.), *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives during the Twentieth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1999).
- Laski, Harold, *The Labour Party and the Constitution* (London: Socialist League, 1933).
- Little, Richard, and Mark Wickham-Jones, *New Labour's Foreign Policy: A New Moral Crusade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- Livingstone, Grace, *America's Backyard: The US and Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine to the War on Terror* (London: Zed Books, 2009).
- Louis, W. R., *The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976).
- Lowenthal, Abraham F. (ed.), *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).
- McAdam, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Meisel, James, *The Myth of the Ruling Class: Gaetano, Mosca and the Elite* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1958).
- Miller, Nicola, *Soviet Relations with Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Miller, Rory, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Longman, 1993).



- McKercher, B. J. C. (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft* (London: Routledge, 2012).
- McKercher, B. J. C. and D. J. Moss (eds.), *Shadow and Substance in British Foreign Policy, 1895–1939* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984).
- Moorhouse, Geoffrey, *The Diplomats: The Foreign Office Today* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977).
- Mosca, Gaetano, *The Ruling Class* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939).
- Moss, Robert, *The Collapse of Democracy* (London: Abacus, 1977).
- Muñoz, Heraldo, *El Fin del Fantasma: Las Relaciones InterAmericanas después de la Guerra Fría* (Santiago: Hachette, 1992).
- Nel, Philip, and Janis van der Westhuizen, *Democratizing Foreign Policy? Lessons from South Africa* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004).
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe Schmitter, Laurence Whitehead, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy, Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- Otte, T. G., *The Foreign Office Mind: The Making of British Foreign Policy 1865–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Pareto, Vilfredo, *The Mind and Society* (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1935).
- Parry, Geraint, *Political Elites* (Colchester: ECPR Press, 2005).
- Phythian, Mark, *The Politics of British Arms Sales Since 1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- Phythian, Mark, *The Labour Party, War and International Relations, 1945–2006* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- Platt, D.C.M., *Finance, Trade and Politics in British Foreign Policy, 1815–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
- Platt, D.C.M. (ed.), *Business Imperialism, 1840–1930, An Inquiry Based on British Experience in Latin America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
- Roberts, Kenneth M., *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru* (California: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- Rowe, Cami, *The Politics of Protest and US Foreign Policy: Performative Construction of the War on Terror* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Sampson, Anthony, *Anatomy of Britain* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1962).
- Sampson, Anthony, *The New Anatomy of Britain* (New York: Stein and Day, 1972).
- Sanders, David, *Losing an Empire, Finding a Role: British Foreign Policy since 1945* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
- Schultz, Lars, *National Security and United States Policy toward Latin America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- Skidmore, David, and Valerie Hudson, *The Limits of State Autonomy, Societal Groups and Foreign Policy Formulation* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).
- Smith, Karen, and Margot Light (eds.), *Ethics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

- Steiner, Zara, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
- Snyder, Richard, and H. W. Bruck, Burton Sapin, *Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).
- Theakston, Kevin, *The Labour Party and Whitehall* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Theakston, Kevin (ed.) *British Foreign Secretaries since 1947* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Tsebelis, George, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work* (Princeton, NJ: Russell/Sage Foundation, University Press, 2002).
- Vincent, Raymond John, *Human Rights and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Vital, David, *The Making of British Foreign Policy* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968).
- Walldorf, William, *Just Politics: Human Rights and the Foreign Policy of the Great Powers* (London: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- Watt, D. C., *Personalities and Policies: Studies in the Formulations of British Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century* (London: Longmans, 1965).
- Whitehead, Laurence (ed.), *International Dimensions of Democratization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Wright, Thomas C., *State Terrorism in Latin America: Chile, Argentina and International Human Rights* (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, 2007).
- Wright Mills, Charles, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).
- Wyn Jones, Richard (ed.), *Critical Theory and World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000).
- Britain and Latin America: An Annual Review of British-Latin American Relations* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1978).
- Britain and Latin America: An Annual Review of British-Latin American Relations* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1979).
- Europe and Latin America: An Annual Review of European-Latin American Relations* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1980).

### Journal Articles

- Alemán, Eduardo, 'Policy Gatekeepers in Latin American Legislatures', *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48 (2006), 125–155.
- Amunátegui Solar, Domingo, 'Orígenes del comercio inglés en Chile', *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 103 (1943), 83–95.
- Angell, Alan and Susan Carstairs, 'The Exile Question in Chilean Politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 9 (1987), 148–167.
- Bawden, John R., 'Cutting off the Dictator: The United States Arms Embargo of the Pinochet Regime 1974–1988', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 45 (2013), 513–543.

- Cain, P. J., and A. G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I. The Old Colonial System, 1688–1850', *Economic History Review*, 39 (1986), 501–525.
- Cain, P. J., and A. G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850–1945', *Economic History Review*, 40 (1987), 1–26.
- Denzau, Arthur, and Robert Mackay, 'Gatekeeping and Monopoly Power of Committees: An Analysis of Sincere and Sophisticated Behavior', *American Political Science Review*, 27 (1983), 740–761.
- Friedman, Max Paul, 'Retiring the Puppets, Bringing Latin America Back in: Recent Scholarship on United States-Latin American Relations', *Diplomatic History*, 27 (2003), 621–636.
- Fry, Geoffrey, 'The British Diplomatic Service: Facts and Fantasies', *Politics* (1982), 4–8.
- Gallagher, John, and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' *Economic History Review*, 6 (1953), 1–15.
- Gaskarth, Jamie, 'Where would we be without rules?, A virtue ethics approach to Foreign Policy Analysis', *Review of International Studies*, 37 (1) (2011), 393–415.
- Gaskarth, Jamie, 'Interpreting Ethical Foreign Policy: Traditions and Dilemmas for Policy Makers', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 15 (2013), 192–209.
- Giugni, Marco, 'Political Opportunities from Tilly to Tilly', *Swiss Political Science Review*, 15 (2009), 361–368.
- Goldsmith, Jack, and Eric Posner, 'International Agreements: A Rational Choice Approach', *Virginia Journal of International Law*, 44 (2003), 113–143.
- Hildebrandt, Timothy, and Courtney Hillebrecht, Peter Holm, Jon Pevehouse, 'The Domestic Politics of Humanitarian Intervention: Public Opinion, Partisanship and Ideology', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 9 (2013), 243–266.
- Hoffman, Stanley, 'Reaching for the Most Difficult: Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Goal', *Daedalus*, 112 (4) (1983), 19–49.
- Hyam, Ronald, 'The Colonial Office Mind, 1900–1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 8 (1979), 30–55.
- Joly, Daniele, 'Britain and its Refugees: The Case of Chileans', *Migration* (1987), 91–108.
- Jones, Charles, "'Business Imperialism" and Argentina, 1875–1900: A Theoretical Note', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 12 (1980), 437–444.
- Ortega, Alejandro, 'International Effects on the Democratic Onset in Chile', *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, 6 (2010), 28–39.
- Patrick William Kelly, 'The 1973 Chilean Coup and the Origins of Transnational Human Rights Activism', *Journal of Global History*, 8 (1) (2013), 165–186.

- Roniger, Luis, and Mario Sznajder, 'Comunidades del exilio y su dinámica institucional diferenciada: un análisis comparativo de las diásporas políticas chilenas y uruguayas', *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 27 (1) (2007), 43–66.
- Tripodi, Paolo, 'General Matthei's Revelation and Chile's Role during the Falklands War: A New Perspective on the Conflict in the South Atlantic', *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 26 (2003), 108–123.
- Von Stein, Jana, 'Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance', *American Political Science Review*, 99 (2005), 611–622.
- Wilkinson, Michael D., 'The Chile Solidarity Campaign and British Government Policy towards Chile, 1973–1990', *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 52 (1992), 57–74.

### Unpublished Conference Papers and Dissertations

- Bayle, Paola, '*La Diáspora de una Población Calificada: el Exilio Académico Chileno en el Reino Unido*', unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Argentina, 2010.
- Burk, Kathleen, 'The Relationship between Great Britain, the United States, Argentina and the Falkland Islands/Las Malvinas', paper delivered at a colloquium 'The Falklands/Malvinas War Thirty Years After', at the Institut des Amériques, Paris, and the University of Pau, 16–19 October 2012.
- Gideon, Jasmine, 'Health and Wellbeing among Chilean exiles in London: A research Agenda', Birkbeck College, 2015. <https://ageingandmigration.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/gideon-ageing-and-migration-pp.pdf>.
- Parsons, Michael, 'The Falklands/Malvinas War and the United States,' paper delivered at a colloquium 'The Falklands/Malvinas War Thirty Years After', at the Institut des Amériques, Paris, and the University of Pau, 16–19 October 2012.

# INDEX

## A

Academics for Chile, [41](#), [48](#)

Aid

to Chile, [21](#), [35–38](#), [40](#), [46](#), [48](#), [49](#),  
[53](#), [58–61](#), [64](#), [79](#), [86](#), [92](#), [93](#),  
[100](#), [106](#), [115](#), [129](#), [135](#), [148](#)

Alginat Industries, [173](#), [212](#)

Allara, Rear-Admiral Walter, [194](#)

Allende, Hortensia Bussi de, [76](#), [101](#),  
[102](#), [112](#)

Allende, Salvador, [4](#), [35](#), [38](#), [49](#), [74](#),  
[76](#), [101](#), [234](#)

Ambassador

Restoration of British ambassador  
to Argentina (1979), [122](#), [152](#),  
[181](#)

Restoration of British ambassador to  
Chile (1980), [36](#), [40](#), [85](#), [88](#),  
[89](#), [91–94](#)

Social background of British ambas-  
sadors, [6](#), [8](#), [57](#); Argentine  
Ambassador to the United  
Kingdom, *see* Carlos Ortiz de  
Rozas; British ambassadors  
to Chile, *see* John Hickman

(1982–87); John Heath  
(1980–82); Reginald Secondé  
(1973–76); British Ambassador  
to Argentina, *see* Anthony  
Williams (1980–82)

Withdrawal of British ambassador to  
Argentina (1976), [164](#)

Withdrawal of British ambassador  
to Chile (1975), [2](#), [9](#), [35](#), [40](#),  
[71–73](#), [115](#)

Amery, Julian, [45](#), [54](#)

Amnesty International, [18](#), [48](#), [93](#), [94](#),  
[101](#), [103](#), [104](#), [117](#), [135](#), [140](#),  
[144](#), [151](#), [199](#)

Amy, Dennis, [93](#), [96](#), [247](#)

Angell, Alan, [31](#), [41](#), [44](#), [48](#)

Anglo-Argentines in Argentina  
attitudes to the military regime,  
[135–136](#)

Anglo-Chileans in Chile  
attitudes to Pinochet regime, [52](#),  
[70–73](#)

Antarctica

British interest in oil and minerals in  
Antarctica, [24](#), [217–220](#)

- links to Falklands claim, [2](#), [206](#),  
[218](#), [220](#), [227](#)  
*see also* Antarctic Treaty; British  
Antarctic Territory (BAT)
- Antarctic Treaty, [61](#), [217–220](#), [239](#)
- Apartheid, [215](#), [233](#)
- Aquitaine, [166](#)
- Argentina Support Movement (ASM),  
[139](#), [140](#), [172](#)
- Arms embargo  
on Chile, [2](#), [35](#), [36](#), [38–41](#), [85](#), [89](#),  
[91](#), [94](#), [96–97](#), [106](#), [115](#), [122](#),  
[131](#), [233](#), [234](#)  
on South Africa, [18](#), [41](#), [249–251](#)  
unilateral British arms embargos,  
[249–251](#)
- Arms sales  
to Argentina, [21](#), [25](#), [122](#), [145–](#)  
[147](#), [150–153](#), [181](#), [188–189](#),  
[191–198](#), [227](#), [234–235](#), [237](#),  
[239](#)  
to Chile, [8](#), [9](#), [21](#), [25](#), [35–36](#),  
[38–40](#), [47–49](#), [79](#), [85](#), [93–95](#),  
[98–99](#), [106](#), [108](#), [122](#), [153](#),  
[194](#), [198](#), [234](#), [237](#)  
to El Salvador, [250](#)  
restrictions on sales to Argentina,  
[151–153](#)  
violations of guidelines on arms  
sales to Argentina, [123](#), [153](#),  
[189–198](#), [195–198](#)  
violations of guidelines on arms sales  
to Chile, [108](#)
- Ashland Oil, [164](#), [176](#)
- Avebury, Eric [Lord], [151](#), [198](#)
- B**
- Bader, Sir Douglas, [190](#), [202](#)
- Bamber, Helen, [101](#)
- Barclays, [134](#)
- Baring Brothers, [100](#), [134](#)
- Barlow, Sir John, [175](#)
- Beagle channel, [105](#)
- Beausire, William, [74](#), [92](#), [103](#)
- Belgrano, The*, [107](#), [113](#)
- Bell, Tim, [88](#)
- Bennett, Frederic, [94](#)
- Benn, Tony, [4](#), [7](#), [24](#), [26](#), [33](#), [45](#), [57](#),  
[58](#), [63](#), [65](#), [80](#), [121](#), [161](#), [166](#),  
[168](#), [172](#), [178](#), [223](#)
- Berrill, Kenneth, [210](#), [218](#), [229](#)
- Bevin, Ernest, [7](#)
- Bindman, Geoffrey, [75](#)
- Binns, Susan, [75](#), [248](#)
- Black, Conrad, [88](#), [110](#)
- Blair, Tony, [2](#)
- Board of Trade, [69](#), [184](#)
- Booth, Albert, [147](#)
- Braine, Bernard, [198](#)
- Brazil, [9](#), [13](#), [15](#), [36](#), [75](#), [132](#), [154](#),  
[179](#), [215](#), [216](#), [235](#)
- Bright, Colin, [186](#), [229](#), [248](#)
- British Aerospace (BAE), [99](#), [150](#),  
[184](#), [192](#), [193](#)
- British Antarctic Survey, [135](#), [219](#)
- British Antarctic Territory (BAT), [70](#),  
[184](#), [218–220](#)
- British Argentina Campaign, [140](#), [156](#),  
[172](#), [179](#), [198](#)
- British Broadcasting Company (BBC),  
[50](#). *See also* *Panorama*
- British-Chilean Chamber of  
Commerce, [52](#)
- British Embassy in Buenos Aires,  
[129](#), [144–145](#), [191](#), [223](#). *See also*  
John Shakespeare; Hugh Carless;  
Anthony Williams
- attitudes to Argentine dictatorship,  
[129–132](#), [133](#), [135](#), [140–142](#),  
[144–45](#), [153](#), [181–182](#),  
[187–188](#)
- attitudes towards refugees, [136](#),  
[141](#), [144](#)

- divisions within the Embassy, 144–145
- human rights reporting, 145, 182–183
- response to Panorama broadcast on torture in Argentina, 136–137
- British Embassy in Santiago, 39, 73, 85, 92. *See also* Amy, Dennis; Heath, John; Secondé, Reginald
- attitude to Pinochet coup, 85
- relations with Anglo-Chilean community, 73
- social ties with Pinochet regime officials, 39, 92
- British Nationality Bill, 1981, 125, 205, 225
- British Nationality Bill, 1983, 225
- British National Oil Corporation (BNO), 209, 213, 229
- British Petroleum (BP), 9, 100, 134, 135, 163–166, 177, 209
- and Falklands oil, 165, 170, 209, 210
- British Shipbuilders, 146, 147, 150, 190
- Brown, Gordon, 47, 54
- Buenos Aires Herald*, 136, 156
- Bunster, Alvaro, 50
- Buxton, Lord, 219, 226, 231, 232
- C**
- Callaghan, James, 2, 23, 58, 59, 72, 80, 83, 115, 123, 125, 126, 131, 140, 146, 154, 164, 177
- Canberra bomber planes, 108, 191
- Canning, George, 13, 29
- Canning House, 17, 116, 162, 185, 208
- Carless, Hugh, 49, 54, 59–61, 69, 72, 78, 80, 83, 117, 132, 136, 140, 143, 145, 150, 154, 167, 174, 176, 177, 181, 184, 186, 200, 216, 228, 245
- Carrington, Lord (Peter Carrington), 24, 80, 85, 89–91, 93, 100, 126, 182, 185, 191, 198, 207, 208, 210, 211, 218, 219, 222, 226
- Carter, Jimmy, 18, 21, 38, 90
- Cassidy, Sheila, 64, 71–73, 83, 92, 93
- Castle, Barbara, 24, 33, 58, 80
- Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), 48, 117, 140
- Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR), 48
- Chapman Pincher, Harry, 190
- Chartered Consolidated, 100
- Chevron, 166
- Chilean armed forces, 40, 61, 87, 97, 107, 113
- Chilean navy, 60, 61, 64, 99, 107
- Chilean Supporters Abroad, 87, 88
- Chile Committee for Human Rights (CCHR), 38, 39, 48, 58, 109
- Chile Solidarity Campaign (CSC), 11, 22, 32, 48, 49, 54, 58, 68, 76, 77, 99, 102, 117, 118, 121, 138, 139, 175
- Christian Aid, 48
- Christians for a Just World, 49
- Class
- of FCO officials, 6–8, 57, 117, 174, 175, 206, 220
- relevance to foreign policy-making, 3, 5, 237
- Committee for Human Rights in Argentina, 140, 156, 172, 179, 198
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), 53, 171
- Communist Party. *See* Euro-communism
- Communist Party of Argentina (*Partido Comunista de la Argentina*), 121, 156

Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), 139  
 Conlan, Bernard (MP), 171  
 Conservative Party, 12, 35, 42, 52, 89, 90, 181, 185, 187, 201, 221, 234, 236  
 Consolidated Goldfields, 100  
 Cox, Robert, 5, 26, 136, 156. *See also* *Buenos Aires Herald*  
 Crabbie, Christopher, 51, 76, 248  
 Cran, Bill, 50  
 Cripps, Stafford, 4, 26, 57  
 Crossman, Richard, 4, 26, 57, 78  
 Crozier, Brian, 87, 110  
 Cubillos, Hernán, 73, 94, 110

## D

*Daily Mail*, 70, 88, 93, 111  
*Daily Telegraph*, 66, 70, 109, 150, 159  
 Dalyell, Tam, 172, 223  
 Day, Derek, 192, 203, 244  
 De Castro, Sergio, 94  
   meeting with Parkinson, Cecil, 94  
 Defence attaché, British, 85, 98, 203  
   appointment to Chile, 85, 98  
   in Argentina, 105  
 Dell, Edmund, 65, 69, 81, 133, 147, 149, 158  
 Department of Energy, 124, 134, 164–169, 177, 206, 209–211, 213, 214, 218, 227, 238  
 Department of Trade, 64–66, 89, 117, 134, 147, 149, 185, 188, 235  
 Dependencies of Falkland Islands (South Georgia and Sandwich Islands), 167, 219  
 Desire Petroleum, 166, 170  
 Douglas-Home, Alec, 46, 53, 80  
 Duncan Report, 15, 27, 30, 117

## E

East Kilbride dispute. *See* Rolls Royce, aero-engine dispute  
*Economist, The*, 25, 86, 100  
 Edmonds, Robin, 154, 175, 176  
*Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP), 138  
 Elections, 4, 35, 46, 53, 57, 58, 88, 89, 91, 106, 131, 152, 171, 181, 182, 184, 185, 199, 201, 234  
   general election 1979, 91  
   general election February 1974, 46, 53, 58  
   general election October 1974, 58  
 Elf, 166  
 Elites, 6, 10, 28, 37, 38, 125, 191, 236  
*Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada* (ESMA) [Naval Mechanical School, Argentina], 148  
 Esso, 134, 209  
 Ethical foreign policy, 18, 19, 30, 35  
 Euro-communism, 20  
 European Economic Community (EEC), 21, 39, 89, 141, 183  
 Evans, Moss, 65, 94  
 Exocet missiles, 151  
 Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD), 44, 91  
 Export Credit Guarantees, 85, 91  
 Export Guarantee Advisory Council, 91

## F

Fairlie, Henry, 9, 28  
 Falkland Islands, 1, 2, 5, 11, 23–25, 32, 33, 60, 61, 122–127, 132, 142, 146, 147, 151, 152, 158, 161–167, 169–171, 173, 175–178, 180, 184, 187, 190–193, 200, 208, 210–217, 219, 221, 227–232, 238, 239, 246, 247, 251



- Anglo-Argentine sovereignty talks, 24, 163, 164
- Argentine military threat to, 1, 147
- British economic and strategic interest in, 2, 23, 24, 124, 238
- Labour left position on, 172
- and oil, 2, 24, 25, 124, 161, 163–167, 169, 170, 176, 210–214, 219, 220, 227, 238
- Falkland Islands Committee (FIC), 11, 171–173, 175, 179, 206, 223, 224, 226, 236
- Falkland Islands Company, 162
- Falklands War, 1, 2, 22–25, 32, 36, 39, 85, 88, 105–109, 113, 123, 146, 148, 151, 166, 169, 170, 179, 181, 189, 190, 200, 205, 214, 220, 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 231, 238, 239
- Chile's support to UK during, 41
- FCO. *See* Foreign Office/Foreign & Commonwealth Office
- Fearn, Robin, 96, 97, 105, 107, 183, 191, 192, 197, 201, 213, 229, 246
- Flannery, Michael (MP), 198
- Foot, Michael, 63
- Ford, Gerald, 21, 67, 73
- Foreign Office/Foreign & Commonwealth Office
- attitude towards campaigners, 9, 49, 50, 53, 99, 101–103, 117
- educational background of recruits, 6–8, 10, 243
- membership of private clubs, 9, 243–248
- relations with the media, 50, 78, 136–138, 174–175, 183
- response to coup in Argentina, 21, 129–132, 138
- response to coup in Chile, 46–53
- Foreign Policy Analysis, 5, 25, 26
- France, 20, 31, 40, 41, 46, 67, 106, 217
- Freedman, Lawrence, 23, 32, 105, 113, 126, 175, 178, 232
- Friends of the Falklands, 175
- Frow, Brian (Air Commodore), 226
- G**
- Galtieri, Leopoldo (General), 181, 205
- Game theory, 11, 12, 28
- Gatehouse, Mike, 48, 76, 179, 204
- Gate-keepers, 11, 28, 119, 138. *See also* Veto-players
- GEC, 10, 69, 135, 145, 148, 184, 186, 202, 208
- Germany, 38, 40, 41, 46, 67, 109
- Gibraltar, 127, 170, 215, 225
- Gilmour, Ian (Lord Privy Seal), 90, 91, 95, 202, 232
- Griffin, Anthony. *See* British Shipbuilders
- Griffiths, D.H., 163, 165
- Griffiths report on Falklands oil, 163, 165
- Guerrillas, 130, 136–138. *See also* *Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP); Montoneros
- H**
- Hall, David, 174, 175
- Hankey, Henry, 50, 51, 54, 60, 80, 245
- Harris, Robin, 87
- Hart, Judith, 48, 53, 59, 76, 78, 80, 94, 172, 198
- Hart, Steve, 48
- Hawker Hunter aircraft, 47, 52, 64. *See also* Rolls Royce, aero-engine dispute
- Hawker Siddeley, 149, 186

Heath, Edward, 4, 35, 46, 80  
 Heath, John (British Ambassador to Chile 1980–82), 94–97, 99, 103  
 Heffer, Eric, 45, 63, 81  
 Hickman, John, 244  
*HMS Endurance*, 60, 125, 126, 176, 205, 224, 226, 232, 236  
 Howell, David, 210, 211, 229  
 Hunter Christie, Bill, 174  
 Hunt, Rex, 203, 224, 225, 230, 232  
 Huntrods, Guy, 134, 155, 208  
 Hutchison, Gordon, 156, 157, 179

## I

Imperialism, 14, 37, 172  
 Informal empire, 13, 14, 29  
 Informal social networks, 3, 5, 9, 12, 42, 73, 100, 116, 135–136, 184, 237  
 Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), 86, 100  
 Investment  
   British investment in Argentina, 14, 131, 135, 145–146, 183–184, 187, 208, 234  
   British investment in Chile, 40, 61, 68, 70, 100, 119  
   British investment in Latin America, 13, 16, 124  
   international investment in Chile, 39, 40, 68

## J

Jack, James (Scottish TUC head), 54  
 Johnson, Paul, 88  
 Joint Working Group for Refugees, 41, 44, 48, 144, 157, 179  
 Jones, Jack, 63, 76, 81  
 Joseph, Keith, 94

## K

Kast, Miguel, 100  
 Kelvin Resources, 164  
 Kent, Bruce, 49  
 Kent, Sir Peter, 163  
 Kissinger, Henry, 21, 43, 143

## L

Labour Party, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 21, 26, 45–47, 50, 52, 53, 57–59, 63, 66, 67, 77, 80, 90, 95, 102, 115, 117–119, 121, 131, 138, 140–142, 144, 151, 152, 157, 160, 172, 173, 179, 198, 233, 235, 237  
   National Executive Committee, 58, 118, 144, 172, 199  
   views on Argentine dictatorship, 121–122, 132, 138–140, 144, 173  
   views on Falklands dispute, 125–126, 170–173  
   views on Pinochet regime, 35, 39, 41, 45, 47–48, 58–60, 63–64, 121, 138–140  
 Lamont, Norman, 2, 88  
 Lancaster House Agreement. *See* Rhodesia  
 Lapsey, Sir John, 175  
 Laski, Harold, 4, 6, 26, 57  
 Latin America Bureau (LAB), 17, 30  
*Latin American Newsletter*, 17, 139  
 Lawson, Nigel, 214, 219, 230  
 Leaseback, 123, 124, 163, 165, 167, 168, 175, 206–210, 212–214, 216, 221–227, 235, 236, 238  
 Letelier, Orlando, 38, 93  
 Lewin, Admiral Sir Terence, 150  
 Livingstone, Ken (MP), 102  
 Lloyds Bank, 68, 99, 134, 155, 162, 208

London Metal Exchange, 100  
 London School of Economics (LSE),  
 48, 139, 248  
 Love, Colonel Stephen, 193  
 Luce, Richard, 18, 24, 30, 33, 100,  
 103, 193, 199, 204, 206, 208,  
 226, 228, 231  
 Lynx helicopters, 108, 123, 193, 196

## M

Mandelson, Peter, 2  
 Martínez de Hoz, José, 133, 155, 201  
   meeting with Margaret Thatcher,  
   122, 186  
   visits to Britain, 185  
 Massera, Admiral Emilio, 148  
 Matthei, Fernando (General), 105,  
 109  
 Midland, 134  
 Military sales. *See* Arms sales  
 Military training, 9  
 Military visits, 25, 149, 150, 158, 159,  
 239  
   of Argentine officers to Britain,  
   148–150, 188–189  
   of British officers to Argentina, 25,  
   149, 150, 205  
   of Chilean officers to Britain, 99  
   destruction of British files contain-  
   ing military visits, 25, 148,  
   149, 239  
 Millan, Bruce, 143, 147, 158  
 Ministry of Defence, 7, 16, 60, 64, 89,  
 94, 97–99, 117, 123, 147, 158,  
 184, 189, 193, 216, 227, 236  
 Mobil, 166  
 Montgomery, Viscount, 162, 185, 208  
 Montoneros, 130, 137, 138  
 Moore, Charles, 222, 231  
 Morgan Grenfell, 99, 100  
 Moss, Robert, 86, 109, 110

Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, 198  
*Movimiento Peronista Montonero. See*  
 Montoneros  
 Mulley, Fred, 147, 152, 158

## N

National Association for Freedom  
 (NAFF), 66, 86, 87  
 NATO, 215, 216  
 Natwest, 134  
 Newens, Stan, 19, 63, 154, 172, 179,  
 198  
 Nixon, Richard, 21, 37

## O

Ogden, Eric (MP), 171  
 Oil  
   in Antarctica, 2, 24, 25, 124, 206,  
   218–220, 227, 238, 239  
   around the Falkland Islands, 2,  
   23–25, 123, 124, 161–170,  
   175, 209–214, 219, 221, 227,  
   238, 239  
 Oil companies, 209, 213. *See also*  
   British National Oil Corporation  
   (BNOC); British Petroleum (BP);  
   Shell  
 Ortiz de Rozas, Carlos, 24, 208, 212  
 O'Shaughnessy, Hugh, 51, 55, 187  
 Owen, David, 7, 18, 23, 30, 65, 78,  
 81, 104, 125, 127, 147–149,  
 151, 152, 158, 167, 168, 170,  
 171, 179, 226  
 OXFAM, 48, 117

## P

Palliser, Michael, 149, 159, 225, 243  
*Panorama*, 50, 51, 136

Parkinson, Cecil, 85, 93, 94, 97, 111, 181, 185, 186, 190, 202  
 Parsons, Anthony, 90, 184, 200, 244  
 Perón, Isabel, 122, 129, 132, 138, 139, 234  
 Peronism, 9, 129, 138, 234. *See also* Montoneros; Perón, Isabel  
   Labour Party view on, 9, 138  
 Pettifer, Julian, 50  
 Phipps, Colin (MP), 166, 177, 209  
 Piñera, José, 100  
 Pinochet, Augusto, 2, 31  
   arrest in London, 15, 22, 85, 87  
   coup, 2  
   meeting with Cecil Parkinson, 97  
   meeting with Mrs. Thatcher, 181  
   regime, 2  
 Plessey, 96, 184, 186, 195  
 Pucara planes, 190  
 Pym, Francis, 108, 190, 191, 202, 230

## R

Reagan, Ronald, 21, 38, 217  
 Rees, Peter, 100, 109  
 Refugees, 20, 35, 39–41, 44, 73, 79, 85, 115, 122, 136, 141, 144, 199. *See also* Academics for Chile; Joint Working Group for Refugees; World University Service (WUS)  
   from Argentina, 122, 136, 139, 141, 144  
   from Chile, 20, 35, 39, 41, 47, 61, 79, 85, 122, 144, 234  
 Latin America refugee programme, 122, 144, 234  
 policy towards Chilean refugees  
   under Edward Heath, 35, 39, 47  
 policy towards Chilean refugees  
   under Thatcher, 41, 85, 122

policy towards Chilean refugees  
   under Wilson and Callaghan, 35, 39, 41, 61, 79, 144, 234  
 Rhodesia, 18, 41, 88–91, 93, 215, 250  
 Ridley, Nicholas, 80, 88, 91–95, 98, 100, 101, 103, 117, 182, 183, 190, 192, 199, 203, 207, 208, 211, 212, 218, 221, 222, 225, 232  
 Roca-Runciman pact, 15  
 Rockhopper Exploration PLC, 170  
 Rolls Royce, 64–66, 69, 70, 78, 79, 81, 99, 119, 149, 184, 189  
   aero-engine dispute, 64. *See also* Hawker Hunter aircraft  
 Rothschild, 9, 100, 116, 184  
 Rowlands, Ted, 72, 77, 83, 132, 133, 142, 151–153, 165, 170, 174, 177  
 Royal Navy, 60, 125, 147, 148, 173, 195, 216, 224  
 Royal Ordnance, 113, 197  
 RTZ, 100  
 Russia. *See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

## S

Samuel Montague, 100  
 Sandelson, Neville, 7  
 Sandwich Islands. *See* Dependencies of Falkland Islands (South Georgia and Sandwich Islands)  
 SAS, 107, 113  
 Scargill, Arthur, 102  
 Secondé, Reginald, 43, 47, 51, 52, 59–60, 65, 67, 71–73, 81, 243  
 Shackleton, Lord, 164, 175, 219, 226, 231  
 Shakespeare, John, 126, 130, 132, 137, 145, 154, 156, 245  
 Shell, 70, 99, 134, 162, 164, 184, 209

Smith, Knight, 102  
 Social class. *See* Class  
 Social movements, 3, 11, 19, 28, 42, 58, 117, 118, 122, 237. *See also* Gate-keepers; Veto-players  
   political opportunity structures, 11  
   political process theory, 11  
 Social networks. *See* Informal social networks  
 Solari Yrigoyen, Hipólito, 199, 204  
 Soref, Harold, 45  
 South Africa, 18, 41, 44, 78, 152, 215, 249, 216, 249  
 South Georgia. *See* Dependencies of Falkland Islands (South Georgia and Sandwich Islands)  
 Spain, 2, 20, 39, 46, 86  
 Spanish Civil War, 35, 63, 233  
 Standard Chartered Bank, 100  
 Stingray Torpedo, 189, 196  
 Straw, Jack, 25, 86  
 Submarines (sales to Chile), 19, 47, 62–64, 98, 190

**T**

Tate & Lyle, 184  
 Tebbit, Norman, 101, 112  
 Thatcher, Margaret, 2, 4, 23, 24, 32, 36, 41, 47, 54, 85–88, 94, 98, 100, 105, 109–111, 122, 123, 125, 126, 181, 182, 184–187, 191, 200, 201, 205–207, 210, 212, 221, 222, 228, 229, 231, 234, 236  
*The Times*, 86, 110, 137, 156  
 Torture, 36, 50–52, 64, 71, 73, 74, 85, 92, 101, 103, 136, 149, 182, 189  
   of Sheila Cassidy, 64, 71, 72, 92, 93  
   of William Beausire, 74, 92, 103  
 Total, 14, 16, 37, 44, 62, 101, 119, 170, 172, 221

Trade  
   British trade with Argentina, 8, 9, 13–15, 122–123, 131, 135, 138, 145–152, 182, 183–187, 189–198, 207–208, 224, 227  
   British trade with Chile, 13, 15, 39, 40–41, 52, 58, 59, 61, 68–70, 76, 85, 89–90, 92  
   British trade with Latin America, 13–15, 16, 162, 170, 221, 227  
   international trade with Chile, 39–40  
 Trades Union Congress (TUC), 47, 140  
 Trade unions, 11, 17, 20, 36, 42, 47, 48, 52, 58, 65, 66, 68, 70, 76, 78, 90, 93, 117, 119, 138, 139, 153, 156, 179, 185, 233, 235.  
   *See also* Rolls Royce, aero-engine dispute; Trades Union Congress (TUC); Transport and General Workers Unions (TGWU)  
   attitude to arms sales in Argentina, 153  
   attitude to arms sales in Chile, 47  
   response to coup in Chile, 20, 48, 138  
 Transport and General Workers Unions (TGWU), 63, 65. *See also* Jones, Jack  
 Tyndale, Wendy, 48, 54  
 Type 42 frigates, 123, 146, 150, 190, 193, 195

**U**

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 91, 215  
   relations with Argentina, 215  
 United Nations, 18, 39, 41, 75, 85, 108, 109, 123, 141, 162, 166, 183, 234, 244, 249

- British attempts to soften UN stance  
on Chile, 109
- Convention on the Law of the Sea,  
166
- Resolution on Falklands dispute,  
123
- Special Rapporteur on Chile, 39,  
109
- UN Commission for Human Rights,  
109, 141
- UN General Assembly, 109  
and the United States, 38
- United States, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22,  
37–39, 42, 43, 46, 67, 79, 90,  
125, 139, 215–217, 230, 250.  
*See also* Carter, Jimmy; Ford,  
Gerald; Kissinger, Henry; Letelier,  
Orlando; Nixon, Richard; Reagan,  
Ronald
- Ure, John, 77, 91, 92, 104, 107, 117,  
120, 137, 152, 177, 182, 225,  
245
- Uruguay, 9, 75, 132, 154, 235
- V**
- Varley, Eric, 147, 158
- Veto-players, 12
- Videla, Jorge Rafael (General), 139
- Viscount Boyd of Merton, 175
- Visits, 134, 145, 149, 200, 207, 239.  
*See also* Martínez de Hoz, José;  
Military visits  
of Argentine politicians to Britain,  
133–135, 184–186  
of British business representatives  
to Argentina, 10, 69, 99, 133,  
135, 145–150, 184, 186, 190,  
194–197, 208  
of British defence sales officials to  
Argentina, 147, 150  
of British politicians to Argentina,  
85, 93, 94, 97, 181, 185–187,  
190  
of British politicians to Chile, 85,  
93, 94, 97, 99, 181, 186, 190  
of Chilean politicians to Britain, 94,  
100
- Vosper Thorneycroft, 133, 146
- Vulcan bomber, 192, 193, 196
- W**
- Wallace, Stuart (Falkland Islands coun-  
cillor), 212
- Walters, Alan, 86, 100
- Williams, Anthony, 145, 187–188,  
201, 225, 244
- William Whitelaw
- Wilson, Harold, 2, 18, 57, 58, 63, 80,  
81, 115, 131, 177
- Wimpey, 186
- World Cup 1978, 140, 142, 198  
*World in Action*, 50, 51
- World University Service (WUS), 41,  
44
- Y**
- YPF, 166, 209
- Z**
- Zimbabwe. *See* Rhodesia