



PM/80/25

THE PRIME MINISTER

CONFIDENTIAL

*Premier Amador*

*The Foreign & Commonwealth Secretary mentioned this to you yesterday. He intends to stick to well trodden ground. The Gibraltarans are content.*

Gibraltar

*ms*

*Amador 2/4*

1. My minutes of 13 August and 6 September 1979 set out the main lines for my exchange with the Spanish Foreign Minister last Autumn.
2. The present situation is unsatisfactory. As you will have seen from the main telegrams, which have been circulated to members of OD, matters have moved a good deal more slowly than I then anticipated. The Spanish restrictions on Gibraltar, the medium-term effects of which are becoming evident, remain in force. We are still a long way from concluding a package under which the restrictions would be lifted and political talks initiated without compromising our commitment to the people of Gibraltar that there will be no change in sovereignty against their freely and democratically expressed wishes.
3. After a reasonably satisfactory exploratory meeting with Senor Oreja in New York last September, subsequent attempts through the Ambassador at Madrid to build on Senor Oreja's own proposals got nowhere. At the end of January the Spanish Government produced a "document on Gibraltar" which was generally unhelpful and again tried to trade the gradual lifting of restrictions against progress towards the restoration of Spanish sovereignty; they did not concede the essential point that Gibraltarian wishes must be decisive. Whilst no doors have been slammed, subsequent exchanges at official level have made little progress. Meanwhile Spanish negotiation for accession to the European Community is moving towards the detailed stage and already we have arranged for markers to be put down which will enable us at the appropriate time to ensure that the Community raises with Spain the incompatibility,

/as we see it

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as we see it, between the restrictions on Gibraltar and Community membership. The time when all these issues should be set out clearly at the political level has now come and I have therefore agreed to meet Senor Oreja in Lisbon on 10 April when we shall both be attending a meeting of the Council of Europe.

4. Developments in Brussels are unlikely by themselves to change Spanish policy. A package agreement under which restrictions would be lifted, talks or negotiations initiated and practical cooperation between Gibraltarians and Spaniards set in train remains the only way in which progress is likely to be made and a row damaging to the interests of both countries avoided. The Spaniards lay much stress on using the term 'negotiations'. I believe that it may be possible to reach agreement to qualify this in a way acceptable to the Gibraltarians.

5. Matters having moved more slowly than I had hoped, there will be no need at my talks with Senor Oreja in Lisbon to go beyond the framework suggested in my earlier minutes. I would not expect at this stage to go into details over practical matters of cooperation on the ground at Gibraltar over such issues as joint use of the airfield and port. I shall tell Senor Oreja without reservation that no British Parliament would ratify Spanish Accession to the EC if by that time restrictions were not lifted. I shall hope to establish whether the package approach, under which restrictions would be lifted and political talks initiated without compromising on sovereignty, might be negotiated.

6. I have been in touch over the foregoing through the Governor with the Chief Minister and leader of the Opposition at Gibraltar, who are now firmly reinstalled after the recent general election. They are content.

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7. I am copying this minute to other members of OD and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'C' with a flourish underneath.

(CARRINGTON)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

2 April 1980

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Gibraltar

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

3 April 1980

Gibraltar

The Prime Minister has seen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute to her of 2 April on this subject. She is content with the line the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary proposes to take.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to members of OD Committee and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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*Gibraltar*

FM MADRID 310830Z

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 33 OF 31 JANUARY 1980

INFO ROUTINE (PERSONAL) GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR

CALL ON SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. SR OREJA RECEIVED ME THIS MORNING ALONE FOR AN UNUSUALLY LONG INTRODUCTORY VISIT. HE SPOKE FORCIBLY ABOUT HIS ADMIRATION FOR BRITAIN, HIS CONVICTION THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE A GREAT DEAL IN COMMON, AND HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE LEADERSHIP GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOURSELF IN THE WESTERN REACTION TOWARDS SOVIET AGGRESSION. HE SAID HE WAS EXTREMELY ANXIOUS TO MAKE PROGRESS OVER THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE, THE ONLY CLOUD IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. HE WAS CONVINCED THAT TOO MUCH ATTENTION SHOULD NOT BE PAID TO STATEMENTS OF THE LEGAL POSITION ON BOTH SIDES. THESE MUST BE ALLOWED TO LIE ON THE TABLE WHILE OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOWED PRIVATELY THE POLITICAL WILL TO ENGENDER THE NECESSARY MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. HE HAD TAKEN HEART FROM HIS CONVERSATION WITH YOU IN NEW YORK LAST SEPTEMBER AND ALSO LOOKED FORWARD TO CONTINUING WITH ME THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS HE HAD ESTABLISHED WITH MY PREDECESSOR.

2. OREJA SAID THAT SINCE WE HAD PUT OUR POSITION DOWN IN A PIECE OF PAPER, THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON WOULD ALSO BE COMMUNICATING A STATEMENT OF SPANISH VIEWS. BUT HIS MAIN EMPHASIS WAS NOT ON THIS ASPECT. HE WENT ON TO SPEAK FORCIBLY ABOUT HIS EARNEST HOPE TO MEET YOU IN PERSON AGAIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IT WOULD BE BEST TO ARRANGE THIS IN NEITHER MADRID NOR LONDON BECAUSE, ONCE THE PRESS GOT WIND OF IT, IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO AVOID GIVING REPLIES WHICH WOULD NOT MAKE PROGRESS EASIER. I SAID THAT I HAD SEEN YOU BEFORE LEAVING LONDON AND COULD ASSURE OREJA THAT YOUR POSITION REMAINED EXACTLY AS IT HAD BEEN LAST SEPTEMBER IN NEW YORK, NAMELY THAT YOU WERE READY TO CONSIDER WITH HIM POSSIBLE WAYS OF MAKING PROGRESS OVER GIBRALTAR. WE THEN PARTED WITH FRIENDLY PROTESTATIONS ON THE MINISTER'S PART OF HIS STRONG PERSONAL DESIRE TO MAKE PROGRESS OVER THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE THROUGH PATIENT DIPLOMACY BASED ON MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

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3. AT NO POINT DID OREJA REFER, AS DID THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON TO ME TWO WEEKS AGO, TO THE ALLEGED SPANISH DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE PAPER HANDED OVER BY MY PREDECESSOR ON 28 DECEMBER. INDEED HE GAVE ME A STRONG HINT THAT THE SPANISH COMMENTS ON OUR PAPER WERE NOT TO BE TAKEN TOO LITERALLY. HIS WHOLE EMPHASIS WAS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF AN EARLY PERSONAL MEETING WITH YOU. HE AGAIN MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE MEETING IN LISBON VON ABOUT 9 OR 10 APRIL. HE SUGGESTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS MIGHT TAKE A SHORT TRIP TO ESTORIL ONE AFTERNOON WITH ONLY A COUPLE OF ADVISERS ON EITHER SIDE.
4. EVEN ALLOWING FOR THE NORMAL COURTESY SHOWN TO A NEW AMBASSADOR OREJA'S RECEPTION OF ME WAS REMARKABLY FRIENDLY. I THINK IT WAS DELIBERATELY DESIGNED TO INDICATE HIS PERSONAL WISH TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OVER THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE WITHOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON GOVERNMENTAL POSITIONS KNOWN ONLY TOO WELL ALREADY.
5. PLEASE SEE MY TWO IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAMS ON OTHER SUBJECTS, NOT TO GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR.  
PARSONS

Repetition to Govt. GIBRALTAR  
referred for departmental decision,  
repeated as requested to other posts.

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