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DESKBY 260800Z

FM FCO 251824Z JUN 82

TO IMMEDIATE GOVERNOR GIBRALTAR (PERSONAL)

TELEGRAM NUMBER PERSONAL 56 OF 25 JUNE

INFO IMMEDIATE MADRID

MADRID TELNO 371: PARTIAL FRONTIER REOPENING

1. AS YOU KNOW FROM DISCUSSIONS HERE EARLIER THIS WEEK OUR INITIAL VIEW IS NOT TO OPPOSE PEREZ-LLORCA'S IDEA ABOUT OPENING THE FRONTIER TO PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC ONLY. TO DO SO WOULD PUT US IN AN UNTENABLE POSITION. BUT IT MUST BE A GENUINELY UNILATERAL CONCESSION MADE AT SPANISH INITIATIVE (PARA 3 OF MADRID TELNO 359 CASTS SOME DOUBT ON THIS). OPENING TO PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC MAY BE WELCOME IN GIBRALTAR AS A MEANS OF REESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH THE CAMPO: BUT IT DOES NOT REMOVE THE KEY RESTRICTIONS. WE WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS IN RETURN. CONFIRMING WHAT WE HAVE ALREADY SAID ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF SPANIARDS WHEN THE FRONTIER IS OPENED POSES NO PROBLEM. BUT ANY ADDITIONAL MOVES ON OUR PART WOULD.

2. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VIEWS DESKBY 0830Z ON 28 JUNE FOLLOWING WHICH WE SHALL CONSIDER WHAT INSTRUCTIONS TO SEND TO MADRID.

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FROM GIBRALTAR 251620Z JUNE
TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO PERSONAL 88 OF 25 JUNE
INFO PRIORITY MADRID
MADRID TELNO 371: GIBRALTAR

1. ON THE BASIS OF EARLIER REMARKS BY PEREZ LLORCA
I HAD ALREADY SOUNDED HASSAN AND ISOLA ON THE POSSIBILITY OF THE
BORDER OPENING FOR PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC. ON HUMANATARIAN GROUNDS
(THE POSSIBILITY OF FAMILY REUNIONS) NONE OF US WOULD WISH TO
OPPOSE SUCH A SPANISH MOVE (NOR INDEED COULD WE AS OUR GATE
REMAINS OPEN). HOWEVER, THE ATMOSPHERE IN GIBRALTAR HAS BEEN
UTTERLY SOURED BY SPAIN'S FURTHER REFUSAL TO HONOUR ITS
COMMITMENTS AND THERE IS NO REPEAT NO POSSIBILITY OF EITHER MAN
BEING WILLING TO OFFER ANY CONCESSIONS IN RETURN, TO EVEN
ATTEMPT TO LOOK FOR CONCESSIONS WOULD REAWAKEN ALL THE FEARS
OF GRADUALISM AND UNDERLINE OUR EFFMRTS NOT TO APPEAR IN THE
ROLE OF DEMANDEUR.

2. AN OPENING FOR PEDESTRIANS (ALTHOUGH PROBABLY OF BENEFIT
TO SPAIN) MIGHT HIGHLIGHT THE STUPIDITY OF PRESENT RESTRICTIONS
AND LEAD TO THEIR EROSION. THIS COULD PERMIT A GRADUAL EASING
WITHOUT FORCING THE SPANIARDS TO JUMP AN UNDULY STIFF HURDLE
IN ONE. THUS IF PEREZ LLORCA RETURNS TO THE SUGGESTION, I
BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD RE POND FAVOURABLE IF NO STRINGS ARE
ATTACHED

JACKSON

[THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED]

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 371 OF 25 JUNE

INFO IMMEDIATE GOVERNOR GIBRALTAR (PERSONAL)

INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS

INFO ROUTINE PARIS, WASHINGTON.

MY TELEGRAM NO. 362 : GIBRALTAR

AT THE ROYAL RECEPTION LAST NIGHT THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER SAID TO ME THAT IT HAD BEEN ONE OF THE WORST WEEKS EVER FOR SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY. HE DID NOT KNOW HOW LONG HE HIMSELF WOULD REMAIN IN OFFICE. THE MEETING WITH THE COMMUNITY IN LUXEMBOURG LAST MONDAY HAD BEEN A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT. (BASSOLS AND OTHERS HAVE TOLD ME THAT, AFTER THE MEETING, IT WAS ONLY WITH DIFFICULTY THAT THEY RESTRAINED PEREZ LLORCA FROM PROPOSING THAT SPAIN HERSELF SHOULD PROPOSE A PAUSE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, TO AVOID A PUBLIC REBUFF.) PEREZ LLORCA ADDED THAT MITTERRAND'S VISIT TO MADRID HAD BEEN A FAILURE. FRENCH OPPOSITION TO EARLY SPANISH ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY WAS NOW ONLY TOO APPARENT.

2. THE MINISTER CONTINUED THAT THE GENERAL LINE TAKE BY THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ON THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY (SEE GIBRALTAR TELEGRAM NO 39) HAD CONFIRMED THE SPANISH CABINET'S IMPRESSION THAT THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN NO MOMENT TO TRY TO NEGOTIATE WITH HMG. NEVERTHELESS HE WAS GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR THE ATTITUDE YOU HAD ADOPTED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. THE GOVERNMENT WERE NOW ANXIOUS THAT HE SHOULD MAKE PROGRESS WITH THE IDEA OF AN EARLY UNILATERAL GESTURE OVER THE GIBRALTAR FRONTIER. HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH ME SOON NEXT WEEK THE POSSIBILITY OF OPENING THE FRONTIER TO PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC. (THIS IS THE THIRD OCCASION ON WHICH PEREZ LLORCA HAS RECENTLY MENTIONED THIS IDEA, LAST REPORTED IN MY TELEGRAM NO. 359). THE MINISTER SAID THAT ONE SERIOUS POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE TO CATCH SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION BY SURPRISE BY SUDDENLY OPENING THE FRONTIER FOR PEDESTRIANS WITHOUT PREVIOUS ANNOUNCEMENT. I SAID THAT WAS ALL VERY WELL BUT HE MUST NOT ALSO CATCH THE GIBRALTAR GOVERNMENT BY SURPRISE. PEREZ LLORCA AGREED. SOMEWHAT UNGUARDELY, HE SAID THAT HE COULD OF COURSE CONSULT SIR JOSHUA HASSAN DIRECT. BUT HE WOULD PREFER TO DO SO THROUGH ME.

3. I AM FLEEING TO BARCELONA FOR THE WEEKEND. BUT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE BY EARLY NEXT WEEK THE GOVERNOR'S APPRECIATION OF THE POSSIBLE ATTITUDE OF THE GIBRALTAR CHIEF MINISTER TO THIS IDEA, TOGETHER WITH THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHETHER I SHOULD ALLOW PEREZ LLORCA TO GIVE IT A RUN. HIS MOTIVES ARE PRESUMABLY TO ALLAY LOCAL DISCONTENT WITH THE CONTINUED CLOSURE OF THE FRONTIER AS WELL AS TO SHOW AT LEAST SOME MOVEMENT IN SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY, NOW BELEAGUERED ON SEVERAL FRONTS. (MY AMERICAN COLLEAGUE SAYS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR RENEWAL OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN BASES AGREEMENT, NOW OVERDUE, ARE STILL DELAYED.)

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4. I WOULD SEE SOME DIFFICULTY IN REJECTING THE IDEA OUT OF HAND BECAUSE :

- A) THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT COULD THEN USE IT PUBLICLY AS AN EXAMPLE OF THEIR APPARENTLY REASONABLE ATTITUDE, WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY INFLUENCE OPINION WITHIN THE CAMPO;
- B) WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT THE BORDER WAS NEVER SHUT ON OUR SIDE. IF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT UNILATERALLY DECIDE TO OPEN THEIR FRONTIER TO PEDESTRIANS ONLY, IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO STOP THEM.

5. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THERE WOULD IN FACT BE MERIT IN ALLOWING PEREZ LLORCA TO PURSUE HIS IDEA OF OPENING THE FRONTIER SOON TO PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC, THOUGH WITH THE FOLLOWING RESERVATIONS:-

- A) WE WOULD CONCEDE NOTHING SUBSTANTIVE IN RETURN. CLARIFICATION OF OUR EXISTING COMMITMENT ON JANUARY 8 (PARA GRAPH 3 OF MY TELEGRAM 359) NEED NOT BE REGARDED AS COMING WITHIN THIS CATEGORY.
- B) WE SHOULD NOT APPEAR AS DEMANDEUR BECAUSE, GIVEN THE RELATIVE SIZES OF SPAIN AND GIBRALTAR, OPENING OF THE FRONTIER TO PEDESTRIANS WITHOUT CARS WOULD BE OF MORE PRACTICAL CONVENIENCE TO SPANIARDS THAN TO GIBRALTARIANS.
- C) THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT WOULD NEED TO AVOID ANY SUGGESTION THAT THIS WAS A REVERSION TO THE OLD DISCREDITED IDEA OF OPENING THE FRONTIER ONLY BY GRADUAL DEGREES IN PARALLEL WITH PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, IT SHOULD BE SEEN AS A DEMONSTRATION OF INTENT TO FULFIL THE LISBON AGREEMENT IN ITS ENTIRETY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT, AS PUBLICLY AGREED BETWEEN YOU AND PEREZ LLORCA.

6. FROM CONVERSATIONS AT THE SAME RECEPTION WITH SEVERAL OTHER CABINET MINISTERS AND WITH THE LEADER OF THE SOCIALIST OPPOSITION (FELIPE GONZALEZ) I RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION FROM BOTH SIDES THAT AN IMMEDIATE ELECTION WAS NOT EXPECTED BECAUSE OF THE THREE PUBLIC DIVERSIONS OF THE WORLD CUP, THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS AND THE PAPAL VISIT IN MID-OCTOBER. AFTER THAT THE SITUATION WOULD BE FLUID. THE GOVERNMENT'S VERY WEAKNESS AND THE OPEN DISSENSIONS WITHIN THE RULING PARTY MIGHT ENCOURAGE THE UCD TO HANG ONTO POWER FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. IT WAS SUCCESSFUL GOVERNMENTS WHO CALLED SNAP ELECTIONS AND EVEN CABINET MINISTERS DID NOT SEEM TO THINK THAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAME INTO THAT CATEGORY.

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