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FM FCOLN TO MADRI
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FM FCO
TO DESKBY 211600Z MADRID
TELNO 80
OF 201035Z FEBRUARY 86
AND TO DESKBY 211600Z BONN
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO

SPAIN/NATO: POSSIBLE PRIME MINISTERIAL MESSAGE TO FRAGA

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO FRAGA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SIGNED LETTER ON THE PARTY NET FOLLOWS BY BAG.
2. BEGINS: DEAR SENOR FRAGA, I VERY MUCH ENJOYED OUR MEETING IN JULY LAST YEAR, WHEN I RECALL WE SPOKE ABOUT SPAIN'S PLACE IN NATO.

AS YOU KNOW, MY GOVERNMENT AND PARTY GREATLY VALUES SPANISH MEMBERSHIP OF THE ALLIANCE. I HAVE ACCORDINGLY BEEN FOLLOWING THE DEBATE ON THIS QUESTION CAREFULLY, AND ALTHOUGH I RECOGNISE THAT THE REFERENDUM IS A MATTER PURELY FOR THE SPANISH PEOPLE, I DO WANT TO LET YOU KNOW HOW CONCERNED I AM ABOUT THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL OF US OF A NEGATIVE RESULT ON 12 MARCH. SPAIN HAS RECENTLY IDENTIFIED HERSELF EVEN MORE CLOSELY WITH WESTERN EUROPE BY JOINING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THIS WAS A STEP WE ALL WELCOMED AND I FEEL IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY BOTH FOR SPAIN AND FOR THE SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE IF SPAIN WERE NOW TO RELINQUISH HER PROPER PLACE IN THE NATO FAMILY. I BELIEVE THE IMPORTANCE OF SPAIN'S CONTINUED CONTRIBUTION TO

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THE ALLIANCE TRANSCENDS PARTY CONSIDERATIONS. I DO HOPE THEREFORE THAT, AS LEADER OF ALIANZA POPULAR, A PARTY WITH WHICH THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY HAS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO FIND A WAY BEFORE THE REFERENDUM TAKES PLACE OF PUTTING YOUR OWN WEIGHT BEHIND THE PROPOSITION THAT SPAIN SHOULD REMAIN WITHIN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. I AM SURE THIS WOULD MAKE A MAJOR DIFFERENCE TO THE OUTCOME ON 12 MARCH AND THEREFORE TO SPAIN'S FUTURE IN THE EUROPEAN FAMILY OF NATIONS.
YOURS SINCERELY, MARGARET THATCHER. ENDS.

3. FOR BONN: PLEASE INFORM TELTSCHIK OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE AND SAY THAT SHE BELIEVES THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH A MESSAGE WOULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED IF CHANCELLOR KOHL WERE ABLE TO TAKE PARALLEL ACTION WITH FRAGA.

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PS/ LADY YOUNG

MR DEREK THOMAS

MR DAUNT



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 February 1986

Dear Charles,

*Yes - as
stems*

*amended
message?*

Prime Minister

Agree to attached

*CDP
20/2*

Spain/NATO: Possible Message to Sr Fraga

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe in the State Department, Charles Thomas, has reported to us an approach the Americans have had from the Spanish Prime Minister. Gonzalez told the Americans he was now very pessimistic about the referendum outcome, and asked for their help with the Spanish opposition (who are recommending abstention, not because they oppose NATO membership but because they do not want to assist Gonzalez and his government out of a political difficulty). Thomas added that President Reagan had therefore sent a personal message to Sr Fraga, asking him to play a more positive role in the NATO referendum. The response had been politely negative. According to Thomas, Gonzalez had also suggested that it might still be possible to win Fraga round, if the UK and FRG also put pressure on him.

The pessimism attributed to Gonzalez in this report is in line with other Spanish assessments we have recently received. These suggest that the prospects for an affirmative result are poor and that in the event of a negative vote Gonzalez would not be likely to try to reverse the position in a general election (though Gonzalez himself is reported to have said in a Spanish radio interview yesterday that he would be willing to fight an election on the NATO issue).

Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary tackled Fraga on this issue during his visit to Britain in July last year and the Foreign Secretary is under no illusion as to the likelihood of a message succeeding now. But in view of the importance of the subject and of the unfortunate precedent that Spanish withdrawal from NATO would establish, Sir Geoffrey Howe believes that there is a good case at this juncture for a personal message from the Prime Minister to Fraga on party channels.

We have consulted the Ambassador in Bonn. He thinks that Chancellor Kohl, who has not received a similar approach from the US, might be willing to act in concert with the Prime Minister. If the Prime Minister agrees to send a message, Sir Julian, who is having breakfast with the Chancellor's Personal Adviser tomorrow, could on her behalf suggest that Kohl should follow suit.

The text of a draft message is in the attached draft telegram to Madrid and Bonn.

*Yours ever,
Colin Budd*

C D Powell Esq
No.10 Downing Street

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

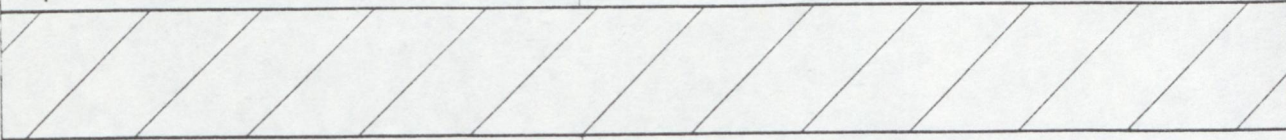
OUT TELEGRAM

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9	INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO
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11	SPAIN/NATO: POSSIBLE PRIME MINISTERIAL MESSAGE TO FRAGA
12	
13	1. Please pass the following message from the Prime Minister to
14	Fraga as soon as possible. Signed letter on the party net
15	follows by bag. <i>Senor Fraga</i>
16	2. Begins: Dear Margel , I very much enjoyed our meeting in
17	July last year, when I recall we spoke about Spain's place in
18	NATO.
19	
20	As you know, my Government and Party greatly values Spanish
21	membership of the Alliance. I have accordingly been following
22	the debate on this question carefully, and although I recognise
23	that the referendum is a matter purely for the Spanish people, I
24	did ^{do} want to let you know how concerned I was ^{am} about the possible
25	consequences for all of us of a negative result on 12 March.
26	Spain has recently identified herself even more closely with
27	Western Europe by joining the European Community. This was a
28	step we all welcomed and I feel it would be a tragedy both for
29	Spain and for the solidarity and security of Western Europe if

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		Catchword: Spain	
File number	Dept SED	Drafted by (Block capitals) M J LYALL GRANT	Telephone no 233 4842
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<<<< ^{NDW}
 Spain were to relinquish her proper place in the NATO family.
~~I recognise that this faces you with some difficult decisions.~~
~~But~~ I believe the importance of Spain's continued contribution to
the Alliance transcends party considerations. I do hope
 therefore that, as leader of Alianza Popular, a party with which
 the British Conservative Party has a close relationship, you will
 be able to find a way before the referendum takes place of
 putting your own weight behind the proposition that Spain should
 remain within the Western Alliance. I am sure this would make a
 major difference to the outcome on 12 March and therefore to
 Spain's future in the European family of nations.
 Yours sincerely, Margaret Thatcher. Ends.

3. For Bonn: Please inform ^{ts} Telschik of the Prime Minister's
 message and say that she believes the effectiveness of such a
 message would be greatly enhanced if Chancellor Kohl were able to
 take parallel action with Fraga.

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*File No
adv P Cadork*

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 February 1986

SPAIN/NATO: MESSAGE TO SENOR FRAGA

Thank you for your letter of 20 February proposing a message from the Prime Minister to Senor Fraga urging him to play a more positive role in the NATO referendum.

The Prime Minister is content to send a message slightly revised and agrees that Chancellor Kohl should be invited to follow suit. The telegram to Madrid and Bonn can therefore be despatched in the form enclosed.

CHARLES POWELL

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

MS



(1)

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

I hope that you
will agree to
attached proposal.

I think that everything
possible needs to be
done to persuade
Fraser to be more
open towards NATO,
if not in the referendum
itself at least in the
elections which will probably
follow!

CDP 2072

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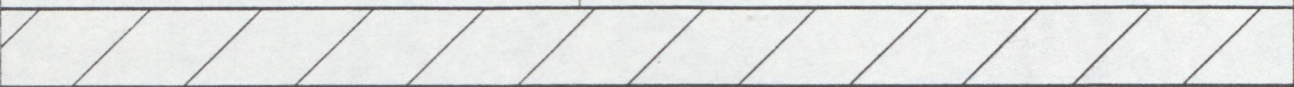
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3	I believe the importance of Spain's continued contribution to
4	the Alliance transcends party considerations. I do hope
5	therefore that, as leader of Alianza Popular, a party with which
6	the British Conservative Party has a close relationship, you will
7	be able to find a way before the referendum takes place of
8	putting your own weight behind the proposition that Spain should
9	remain within the Western Alliance. I am sure this would make a
10	major difference to the outcome on 12 March and therefore to
11	Spain's future in the European family of nations.
12	Yours sincerely, Margaret Thatcher. Ends.
13	
14	3. For Bonn: Please inform Teltschik of the Prime Minister's
15	message and say that she believes the effectiveness of such a
16	message would be greatly enhanced if Chancellor Kohl were able
17	to take parallel action with Fraga.
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