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DESKBY 040900Z

PS/10. DOWNING STREET

FM MADRID 031800Z MARCH 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 143 OF 03 MARCH

INFO IMMEDIATE GOVERNOR GIBRALTAR (PERSONAL)

MIPT: GIBRALTAR

1. MORAN'S PREVIOUS REMARKS TO ME (MY TELNO 94) AND THE FULL TEXTS OF HIS STATEMENTS IN FEBRUARY TO THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS AND SENATE (JUST AVAILABLE AND SUMMARISED IN HEAD OF CHANCERY'S LETTER OF 2 MARCH TO CODRINGTON IN THIS WEEK'S BAG) GIVE AN ONLY TOO CLEAR IDEA OF HIS VIEWS ON GIBRALTAR. THEY BEAR OUT THE VIEW THAT HE IS RELUCTANT TO IMPLEMENT THE LISBON AGREEMENT FOR THE REASONS I EXPLAINED RECENTLY TO THE DEPARTMENT IN LONDON. THESE ARE IN PARTICULAR:-

- A) THE RENEWAL OF MOROCCO'S CLAIM TO CEUTA AND MELILLA:
- B) INCREASING CRITICISM IN SPAIN OF THE GOVERNMENT AND HIMSELF PERSONALLY:
- C) THE FACT THAT PARTIAL PEDESTRIAN OPENING HAS LEFT GIBRALTAR MORE IN THE POSITION OF A DEMANDEUR:
- D) HIS CURRENT PERCEPTION OF THE DEGREE OF BRITISH FLEXIBILITY.

2. IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH ME TODAY (REPORTED BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM) MORAN FURTHER REINFORCED THESE VIEWS. HE AGAIN SPOKE OF THE NEED FOR GRADUALISM. AND HE AGAIN IMPLIED THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE TO THE IMMEDIATE OPENING OF GIBRALTAR AIRPORT FOR TOURIST TRAFFIC AT THE START OF ANY NEGOTIATIONS. I WARNED HIM THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TO CONTEST THESE POINTS WITH HIM.

3. HOWEVER, HIS SPEECHES TO THE TWO FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES CONTAIN POSITIVE AS WELL AS NEGATIVE POINTS. THE PLUS POINTS ARE:-

- i) UNLIKE HIS PREDECESSORS, HE IS ALIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INCIPIENT GIBRALTARIAN PERSONALITY AND LOCAL NATIONALISM BORN OF THE YEARS OF RESTRICTIONS. HE REALISES THAT THIS CAN ONLY BE REDUCED BY A PROCESS OF OSMOSIS AND THE EASING OF RESTRICTIONS.
- ii) ALTHOUGH HE INSISTS ON TABLING THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY (WHICH HE IS IN EFFECT ENTITLED TO DO UNDER THE TERMS OF THE LISBON AGREEMENT) HE FULLY ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THERE CAN BE NO RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE FIRST ROUND. INDEED HE ACCEPTS THAT IT WILL TAKE TIME.

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4. THE NEGATIVE POINTS ARE:-

- i) THERE WILL BE NO IMMEDIATE FULL LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TRANSIT FOR TOURISTS VIA GIBRALTAR AIRPORT. HE EMPHASISES THAT THE LATTER IS BUILT ON THE ISTHMUS AND THEREFORE NOT CEDED UNDER THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.
- ii) HE CONSIDERS THE LISBON AGREEMENT 'AMBIGUOUS' AND AS BADLY CORRECTED BY THE EXCHANGE OF NOTES OF JANUARY 1982, THUS IMPLYING REPUDIATION OF THE BASIS OF THAT AGREEMENT IE, FULL LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS AT THE SAME TIME AS THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS.
- iii) HE HINGES THE SUCCESS OF THE LISBON AGREEMENT ON THE PERSONAL POLICY OF LORD CARRINGTON AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF 1980 WHICH HAVE BEEN SWEEPED AWAY BY THE FALKLANDS.
- iv) BEFORE BEGINNING NEGOTIATIONS HE INSISTS ON A CLEAR IDEA OF THEIR PRECISE OBJECTIVE.

5. COMMENT. TAKEN AT ITS FACE VALUE, MORAN'S CONCEPT OF THE LISBON AGREEMENT IS SO INCOMPATIBLE WITH OUR OWN THAT THE CHANCES OF IMPLEMENTING IT WOULD SEEM VERY SMALL. THIS CONCLUSION MIGHT NEVERTHELESS BE PREMATURE, GIVEN MORAN'S DONNISH APPROACH TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND LACK OF ATTENTION SO FAR TO BASIC REALITIES. THUS HE APPEARS TO FIND NO INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN SPANISH MEMBERSHIP OF NATO AND ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS OF THE NON-ALIGNED INCLUDING THE FORTHCOMING SUMMIT IN NEW DELHI. IT ACCORDINGLY REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW LITERALLY WE SHOULD TAKE HIS COMMENTS. ALL THE MORE REASON THEREFORE FOR YOUR RECEIVING HIM SOON.

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