

DESKBY

051300

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR LUCE

PS/LORD TREFGARNE

PS/PUS

MR GIFFARD

MR WRIGHT

MR ADAMS

MR GILLMORE

MR URE

HD/S AM D (STANDARD DIST.+A.D. FI.)

HD/DEFENCE D

HD/NEWS D

HD/UND

HD/PLANNING STAFF

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IMMEDIATE
ADVANCE COPY

GRS 900

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 051300Z

FM MADRID 051149Z APRIL 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 176 OF 5 APRIL

INFO IMMEDIATE GOVERNOR GIBRALTAR (PERSONAL)

MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING TELEGRAM

FALKLAND ISLANDS AND GIBRALTAR

IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE UNREALISTIC FOR ME TO CARRY ON TRYING TO NEGOTIATE A TEXT FOR SINTRA AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED. NEVERTHELESS I WILL TRY TO KEEP CUENCA IN PLAY PENDING YOUR CONSIDERED INSTRUCTIONS.

2. I SUPPOSE THAT IN THE WORST CIRCUMSTANCES APRIL 20 MIGHT BE JUST ABOUT THE TIME WHEN ARMED CONFLICT WAS IMMINENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND ARGENTINE NAVIES. INFORMED POLITICAL OPINION HERE WOULD RECOGNISE THAT THE ARGENTINE DICTATOR REPRESENTS THE SAME SORT OF OUTMODED MILITARY MENTALITY THAT IS NOW ON TRIAL IN SPAIN FOR ATTEMPTED INSURRECTION. NEVERTHELESS,

~~TRIAL IN SPAIN FOR ATTEMPTED INSURRECTION. NEVERTHELESS,~~
UNFORTUNATELY THE MAJORITY OF PUBLIC OPINION WOULD PROBABLY BE
AGAINST US HERE.

3. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS FAR FROM CERTAIN THAT PEREZ-LLORCA WOULD FEEL ABLE TO MEET YOU AT SINTRA. NOR WOULD THE OPENING OF THE GIBRALTAR FRONTIER BE EASY IN TERMS OF SPANISH OPINION.

4. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE GIBRALTAR SITUATION ON OUR SIDE MIGHT BE EVEN GL

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RG YOUR OWN POSSIBLE UNWILLINGNESS TO BE PRESENT AT SINTRA. I AM WELL AWARE OF THE FEELING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE DANGER OF YOUR APPEARING TO EMBARK ON A PROCESS WHICH COULD END IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE HANDING OVER OF GIBRALTAR TO SPAIN. SUBJECT TO THE VIEWS OF THE GOVERNOR, THE GIBRALTARIAN PEOPLE MAY NOW ADOPT A MUCH LESS WELCOMING ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OPENING OF THE FRONTIER, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE DANGER OF INCIDENTS, EG THROUGH GROUPS OF SPANISH VISITORS RAISING THE SPANISH FLAG ON THE ROCK AND BEING PELTED FOR THEIR PAINS.

5. I RECOMMEND THAT IF POSSIBLE A SUBSTANTIVE DECISION ON THE VIABILITY OF THE APRIL 20 OPERATION SHOULD BE POSTPONED ON EITHER SIDE FOR A SHORT TIME TO SEE HOW THE FALKLAND ISLANDS SITUATION DEVELOPS.

6. MEANWHILE WE HAVE A TACTICAL PROBLEM. IN THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES I SEE EVEN GREATER DIFFICULTY IN MY TRYING TO NEGOTIATE WITH CUENCA A DRAFT STATEMENT FOR USE AT SINTRA. ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO ABANDON THE ATTEMPT. IN THAT CASE IT WOULD BE BEST TO SEND A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES WHICH I COULD DELIVER ORALLY.

7. I CANNOT CONCEAL MY REGRET, YOU WOULD SAY, THAT YOU FELT UNABLE TO GIVE ACTIVE SUPPORT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO A RESOLUTION WHICH DID NO MORE THAN CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ARGENTINE FORCES FROM THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE ANGLO-ARGENTINE DIFFERENCES THROUGH A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION. I HAD HOPED THAT YOU WOULD BE ABLE TO GO ALONG WITH THIS COMPROMISE, IN VIEW OF SPAIN'S NEW AND VALUABLE IDENTITY AS A DEMOCRATIC EUROPEAN NATION OPPOSED TO THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE FOR THE SOLUTION OF BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROBLEMS. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ARE SURELY BASED ON THAT ESSENTIAL PROPOSITION. NEVERTHELESS I DO UNDERSTAND YOUR

BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROBLEMS. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ARE SURELY BASED ON THAT ESSENTIAL PROPOSITION. NEVERTHELESS I DO UNDERSTAND YOUR DIFFICULTIES, INCLUDING YOUR HISTORIC TIES WITH ARGENTINA AND YOUR KNOWN VIEWS ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WHICH IN OUR OPINION SUBORDINATE TO THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS. I APPRECIATE THE MESSAGES YOU HAVE SENT ME AND THE LINE TAKEN IN PUBLIC BY YOUR PRIME MINISTER THAT CONCLUSION ARISING FROM THE FALKLAND ISLANDS ISSUE COULD NOT BE REASONABLY BE DRAWN IN THE CASE OF GIBRALTAR.

8. THE MESSAGE WOULD CONTINUE AS FOLLOWS. I SHARE YOUR STRONG WISH TO MAKE A SUCCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LISBON AGREEMENT ON GIBRALTAR SO LONG PLANNED FOR APRIL 20. NEVERTHELESS IT WOULD ONLY BE REALSITIC TO AGREE BETWEEN OURSELVES THAT, WITH PUBLIC FEELING RUNNING VERY HIGH, THE DIFFICULTIES ARE NOW GREATLY INCREASED. I AM NOW BEGINNING TO WONDER WHETHER IT WILL BE FEASIBLE TO AGREE ON COMMON LANGUAGE FOR A STATEMENT AT SINTRA, AND CERTAINLY IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT YOU AND I SHOULD UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER COMPLETELY AND SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE AN AGREED LINE IN PUBLIC. I SUGGEST THAT IT WOULD BE ENOUGH FOR OUR JOINT PURPOSES TO MAKE CLEAR THE FOLLOWING RESULT FROM SINTRA :

- (A) WE MET IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LISBON AGREEMENT TO START NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT OVERCOMING ALL THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, INCLUDING OF COURSE THE CENTRAL POLITICAL ISSUE
- (B) WE SAW THIS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF A NEW ERA ARISING FROM SPANISH MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE ALLIANCE.
- (C) WE RECOGNISE AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN RESOLVING OUR DIFFERENCES OUR JOINT DEMOCRATIC RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS AND WELL-BEING OF THE GIBRALTAR PEOPLE. I AGREED TO STUDY ANY PROPOSAL YOU MIGHT MAKE FOR THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE TERRITORY, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR OWN ASSURANCES TO THE PEOPLE OF GIBRALTAR EXPRESSED IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE GIBRALTAR CONSTITUTION.
- (D) VIEWING THE NEGOTIATIONS NOW STARTED AS A CONTINUING PROCESS, WE DECIDED TO REINFORCE THE NORMAL MACHINERY OF DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS BY SETTING UP WORKING GROUPS UNDER OUR PERSONAL DIRECTION. ONE OF THESE GROUPS (PROBABLY MEETING IN PRACTICE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL) WOULD CONSIDER ANY POLITICAL PROPOSALS YOU MIGHT MAKE, WHILE OTHERS WOULD DEAL WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC LINKS. ANY PRACTICAL PROBLEMS FOLLOWING UPON THE RESTORATION

POLITICAL PROPOSALS YOU MIGHT MAKE, WHILE OTHERS WOULD DEAL WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC LINKS, ANY PRACTICAL PROBLEMS FOLLOWING UPON THE RESTORATION OF DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS, AND DEFENCE COOPERATION.

9. IN DELIVERING THIS MESSAGE I SHOULD HAVE TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT YOU WERE NOT COMMITTED TO GOING AHEAD ON APRIL 28 AT ANY PRICE. IN THE LAST INSTANCE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD TO SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF GIBRALTAR AND THIS WAS NOW YOUR IMMEDIATE PRIORITY. NEVERTHELESS, IN SPAIN'S OWN INTEREST, IT WOULD BE A GREAT PITY TO LOSE THIS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS AND GET RID OF THE FRONTIER RESTRICTIONS WHICH HAD ACTUALLY MILITATED AGAINST SPAIN'S OWN DESIRE TO GET CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE OF GIBRALTAR.

10. THE ADVANTAGE OF THIS APPROACH IS THAT IT WOULD RESCUE US FROM PRESSURE TO AGREE A JOINT STATEMENT AT SINTRA, WHICH COULD PRESENT SEVERE DIFFICULTIES AT HOME, AS WELL AS GREAT PROBLEMS OF TEXTUAL DRAFTING.

11. PLEASE PASS ADVANCE COPY TO GOODISON AND HEAD OF SED.

PARSONS

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SENT/RECD AT 05/1247Z PJ/JW