

SUBJECT

cc master  
EPS



24 BELGRAVE SQUARE  
LONDON SW1X 8QA

SPANISH AMBASSADOR

18th November 1983

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 191<sup>A</sup>/83

Dear Mr. Butler,

I enclose the text of a message from the President of the Spanish Government, Don Felipe González, that is being handed to the British Ambassador in Madrid at this moment, which I have been instructed to forward to the Prime Minister without delay.

I should be most grateful, therefore, if you would kindly ensure that this is handed to Mrs Thatcher as soon as possible.

*Very sincerely*

*Jose J. Puig de la Bellacasa*  
JOSE J. PUIG DE LA BELLACASA

Mr F.E.R. Butler,  
Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON SW1.



Madrid, 18th November 1983.

Dear Prime Minister,

The six years that have elapsed since the 28th July 1977, when Spain presented her request to accede to the European Community, have shown clearly that the obstacles which have arisen during the negotiations are basically derived from the problems that exist within the Community itself.

Aware of this situation, the European Council of Heads of State and Government have examined these problems at successive meetings, aiming to make an effort at the highest level to carry forward both the internal reform of the Community and its enlargement.

At the meeting held in Stuttgart last June, the European Council took an important decision on this point, when it agreed that the "negotiations for accession with Spain and Portugal should proceed with the aim of concluding them in such a manner that the Treaties of Accession might be submitted for ratification at the time that the results of the negotiations on the future financing of the Community are submitted".

The Stuttgart Summit, therefore, established a connection between these two processes, so that in future no thought can be given to the true reform of the Community without at the same time carrying out its enlargement. Briefly, as from Stuttgart the solution of the Community crisis and its enlargement are but two facets of the same political project: the necessary revitalising of the construction of Europe.

The best proof of the willingness of the Community Countries to build Europe lies precisely in their capacity to carry out its enlargement, including those European countries which, like Spain, wish to participate fully in this historic task.

The Spanish Government has repeatedly stated that the accession to the European Communities is a prime objective of its foreign policy. This opinion is shared by the General Cortes, which have also defined Spain's integration within the Community as a national matter.

My Government, therefore, looks to a clear attitude on the part of the Member States and of the Community Institutions which will make possible within a reasonable period of time Spain's integration into the European Communities. Anything else would be a grave historical responsibility on the part of the Community towards the Spanish people.

You may be sure that Spain will never renounce her legitimate aspiration to participate in the building of Europe. Nevertheless, as President of the Spanish Government I am concerned that frustration may take over my country's public opinion, which has serious doubts regarding the existence of a true political will on the part of the Community to see the completion of the Accession procedure.

For this reason, and due to the proximity of the European Council to be held in Athens, I have decided to write to you with the aim of establishing exactly the position of your Government on this matter, and to what extent I can look for a positive response at the forthcoming Summit.



I hope that in overcoming existing difficulties the Athens European Council will take decisions that will enable the negotiations for Accession to be concluded during the course of the coming year, and that in this way our integration within the Community may become a definite fact on the 1st January 1986.

For my part, I think the moment has arrived to give practical effect to the many expressions of political will made by the Community Members at the highest level.

In any event, I should be most grateful if your reply could be as frank and precise as possible. I wish to know clearly the attitude of each and every one of the Governments, and of the Community as a whole, in order that I may report with exactitude to the Spanish people and take the decisions that are shown to be necessary.

I avail myself, Prime Minister, of this opportunity to assure you of my highest consideration.



Estimada Señora Primer Ministro:

Los seis años que han transcurrido desde que el 28 de julio de 1977 España presentara su solicitud de adhesión a las Comunidades Europeas han puesto de manifiesto que los obstáculos con los que tropiezan las negociaciones se derivan fundamentalmente de los problemas que la Comunidad tiene plantados en su seno.

Consciente de esta situación el Consejo Europeo de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno ha abordado estos problemas en reuniones sucesivas con el propósito de hacer un esfuerzo al más alto nivel para llevar adelante tanto la reforma interna de la Comunidad como su ampliación. En su reunión de Stuttgart en junio pasado el Consejo Europeo adoptó una trascendental decisión a este respecto al convenir que las negociaciones de adhesión con España y Portugal deberán proseguir con el fin de concluir las de forma tal que los tratados de adhesión puedan ser sometidos a ratificación en el momento que sean presentados los resultados de la negociación sobre la financiación futura de la Comunidad.

La Cumbre de Stuttgart por tanto estableció una conexión entre ambos procesos de modo que en adelante no puede pensarse en la realización de una auténtica reforma de la Comunidad sin que al propio tiempo se lleve a cabo su ampliación. En síntesis, a partir de Stuttgart la superación de la crisis comunitaria y la ampliación de la Comunidad no son sino dos facetas de un mismo proyecto político: El necesario relanzamiento de la construcción europea. Precisamente la mejor prueba de la voluntad de los países comunitarios de construir Europa radica en su capacidad de llevar a cabo la ampliación de la Comunidad incorporando a aquellos países europeos que como España desean participar plenamente en esta tarea histórica.

El Gobierno español en repetidas ocasiones ha manifestado que considera la adhesión a las Comunidades Europeas como un objetivo prioritario de su política exterior. Esta opinión es compartida por las Cortes Generales que han definido asimismo la integración de España en la Comunidad como un asunto de Estado.

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Mi Gobierno por ello espera una actitud clara por parte de los Estados miembros y de las instituciones comunitarias que haga posible en un plazo razonable de tiempo la integración de España en las Comunidades Europeas. Lo contrario representaría una grave responsabilidad histórica de la Comunidad respecto del pueblo español.

Puede Vd. tener la seguridad de que España no renunciará a su aspiración legítima de participar en la construcción de Europa. Sin embargo como presidente del Gobierno español me preocupa que la frustración se adueñe de la opinión pública de mi país que abriga serias dudas de que exista una auténtica voluntad política comunitaria de que se complete el proceso de adhesión.

Por este motivo y ante la proximidad del Consejo Europeo de Atenas he decidido dirigirme a Vd. con el fin de conocer exactamente cual es la posición de su Gobierno en torno a esta cuestión y en que medida puedo esperar una respuesta positiva de la próxima Cumbre. Confío que, superando las dificultades existentes, el Consejo Europeo de Atenas tome las decisiones que permita que las negociaciones de adhesión concluyan en el transcurso del próximo año y que de este modo nuestra integración en la Comunidad pueda tener su culminación definitiva el uno de enero de 1986.

Por mi parte creo llegada la ocasión de que se pongan en práctica las reiteradas manifestaciones de voluntad política hechas por las instancias comunitarias al más alto nivel.

En todo caso mucho le agradecería que su respuesta fuera lo más franca y precisa posible. Deseo conocer con claridad la actitud de cada uno de los Gobiernos y de la Comunidad en su conjunto al objeto de poder informar puntualmente al pueblo español y en este sentido adoptar las decisiones que se revelen como necesarias.

Aprovecho esta ocasión Señora Primer Ministro para reiterarle las seguridades de mi más alta consideración.





CC HMT  
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10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

18 November 1983

Spanish accession to the European Community

RS  
I enclose a copy of a message which the Ambassador of Spain delivered to No. 10 this afternoon.

I should be grateful if you could arrange to let me have a draft reply in due course.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to John Kerr (H.M. Treasury), Robert Lowson (Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

A. J. COLES

Roger Bone, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



LUK 736/25  
PDW F 38/225

IMMEDIATE

RECEIVED  
BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION  
NEW DELHI  
CHANCERY REGISTRY  
26 NOV 1983  
DUPLICATES

OF LETTERS  
OF ENCLOSURES  
LOCATION

CLASSIFIED

TOP COPY  
ONLY

See T 191A/83 of 18.11.83

OO NEW DELHI  
GRS 791  
RESTRICTED  
FM F C O 251615Z NOV 83  
TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 910 OF 25 NOVEMBER  
FOR PS/PM FROM PS.

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF DEPT WAS  
RECEIVED FROM MADRID TELNO 631 OF 18/11

INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS  
INFO SAVING EC POSTS, LISBON

SPAIN/EC: MESSAGE FROM GONZALEZ TO COMMUNITY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT  
1. OUR TRANSLATION OF GONZALEZ'S MESSAGE TO COMMUNITY HEADS OF  
GOVERNMENT IS GIVEN BELOW. ORIGINAL (IN SPANISH) ADDRESSED TO  
PRIME MINISTER FOLLOWS BY BAG.

" DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

THE SIX YEARS WHICH HAVE PASSED SINCE SPAIN PRESENTED ON 28 JULY  
1977 ITS REQUEST TO ACCEDE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAVE SHOWN  
THAT THE OBSTACLES WHICH IMPEDE THE NEGOTIATIONS DERIVE  
FUNDAMENTALLY FROM THE PROBLEMS WITH WHICH THE COMMUNITY IS FACED  
INTERNALLY.

CONSCIOUS OF THIS SITUATION THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL HAS ADDRESSED THESE  
PROBLEMS AT SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS IN ORDER TO TRY, AT THE HIGHEST  
LEVEL, TO PUSH FORWARD BOTH THE INTERNAL REFORM OF THE COMMUNITY AND  
ENLARGEMENT.

AT ITS MEETING IN STUTTGART LAST JUNE THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL TOOK  
A MOST IMPORTANT DECISION IN THIS RESPECT IN AGREEING THAT "THE  
ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL WILL BE PURSUED  
WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CONCLUDING THEM SO THAT THE ACCESSION  
TREATIES CAN BE SUBMITTED FOR RATIFICATION WHEN THE RESULT OF THE  
NEGOTIATING CONCERNING THE FUTURE FINANCING OF THE COMMUNITY  
IS SUBMITTED".

THE STUTTGART SUMMIT THUS ESTABLISHED A CONNEXION BETWEEN BOTH  
PROCESSES SO THAT THENCE FORWARD AN AUTHENTIC REFORM OF THE COMMUNITY  
HAS BEEN INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT THE SIMULTANEOUS ACHIEVEMENT OF  
ENLARGEMENT. IN SHORT, FROM STUTTGART ONWARDS, A SOLUTION TO THE  
CRISIS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY AND ENLARGEMENT HAVE FORMED TWO ASPECTS  
OF THE SAME POLITICAL PROJECT: THE ESSENTIAL RE-LAUNCHING OF THE  
TASK OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE.

THE PRINCIPAL PROOF OF THE WILLINGNESS OF COMMUNITY COUNTRIES TO  
UNDERTAKE THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE LIES PRECISELY IN THEIR  
ABILITY TO BRING ABOUT THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY BY  
INCLUDING THOSE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH, LIKE SPAIN, WISH TO PLAY  
A FULL PART IN THIS HISTORIC TASK.



ON REPEATED OCCASIONS THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED THAT IT CONSIDERS ACCESSION TO THE COMMUNITY AS A PRIORITY OBJECTIVE IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY. THIS VIEW IS SHARED BY THE SPANISH PARLIAMENT WHICH HAS LIKEWISE INDICATED THAT IT REGARDS SPANISH INTEGRATION INTO THE COMMUNITY AS AN AFFAIR OF STATE (ASUNTO DE ESTADO IE A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE). FOR ITS PART MY GOVERNMENT EXPECTS THAT MEMBER STATES AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS WILL ADOPT A CLEAR POSITION WHICH WILL PERMIT WITHIN A REASONABLE SPACE OF TIME THE INTEGRATION OF SPAIN INTO THE COMMUNITY. THE CONTRARY WOULD REPRESENT A GRAVE HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY BY THE COMMUNITY TOWARDS THE SPANISH PEOPLE. YOU MAY REST ASSURED THAT SPAIN WILL NOT GIVE UP ITS LEGITIMATE ASPIRATION TO TAKE PART IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE. NEVERTHELESS, AS PRIME MINISTER OF SPAIN, I AM CONCERNED THAT FRUSTRATION IS SPREADING AMONG PUBLIC OPINION IN MY COUNTRY TO THE POINT WHERE SERIOUS DOUBTS ARE ENTERTAINED AS TO WHETHER THERE EXISTS A GENUINE POLITICAL WILL ON THE PART OF THE COMMUNITY THAT THE PROCESS OF ENLARGEMENT SHOULD BE COMPLETED.

FOR THIS REASON AND GIVEN THE PROXIMITY OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN ATHENS, I HAVE DECIDED TO APPROACH YOU IN ORDER TO LEARN EXACTLY WHAT IS THE POSITION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT AS REGARDS THIS QUESTION AND TO WHAT EXTENT I MAY EXPECT FROM THE NEXT SUMMIT A POSITIVE REPLY.

I TRUST THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AT ATHENS WILL, IN OVERCOMING THE EXISTING DIFFICULTIES, TAKE THE DECISIONS WHICH WILL ALLOW THE ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS TO BE CONCLUDED IN THE COURSE OF NEXT YEAR AND THUS PERMIT OUR INTEGRATION INTO THE COMMUNITY TO BE COMPLETED DEFINITELY BY 1 JANUARY 1986.

FOR MY PART I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE REPEATED MANIFESTATIONS OF POLITICAL WILL MADE BY COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

I SHOULD IN ANY EVENT BE GRATEFUL IF YOUR REPLY WERE AS FRANK AND AS PRECISE AS POSSIBLE. I WISH TO KNOW WITH CLARITY THE ATTITUDE OF EACH OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY IN ITS TOTALITY IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO INFORM THE SPANISH PEOPLE IN GOOD TIME AND IN THIS CONNEXION TO TAKE THE DECISIONS WHICH WILL SHOW THEMSELVES TO BE REQUIRED. ACCEPT, PRIME MINISTER, THE ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION FELIPE GONZALEZ''

2. IDENTICAL MESSAGES HAVE BEEN SENT TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF OTHER COMMUNITY COUNTRIES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN LONDON WILL ALSO HAVE DELIVERED A COPY TO NO10 DOWNING TREET.

3. THE FACT THAT THE MESSAGE HAS BEEN DESPATCHED - AND THE TEXT- WILL BE RELEASED TO THE SPANISH PRESS THIS EVENING.

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