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FROM MADRID 231130Z JUL 1984

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 392 OF 23 JULY

INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS, DUBLIN, PARIS, GOVERNOR GIBRALTAR (PERSONAL).

INFO SAVING OTHER EC POSTS, LISBON.

MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING TELEGRAM:  
SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY

1. MORAN'S REMARKS MAY REFLECT THE CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY IN POLITICAL CIRCLES HERE ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR MINISTERIAL CHANGES EITHER DURING OR SOON AFTER THE SUMMER BREAK. THE FONTAINEBLEAU SUMMIT WAS GENERALLY CONSIDERED TO HAVE STRENGTHENED MORAN'S POSITION, BUT RUMOURS THAT HE MIGHT BE ONE OF THE CANDIDATES FOR DISMISSAL HAVE BEGUN TO REAPPEAR RECENTLY. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT HE SHOULD TAKE ANY OPPORTUNITY TO PUBLICISE HIS SUCCESSES. IN ADDITION, IF CHANGES DO TAKE PLACE SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, IT IS NATURAL THAT HE SHOULD WISH TO MAKE SUCH REMARKS BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS DESERT MADRID EN MASSE FOR THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS.

2. MORAN'S COMMENTS ABOUT GIBRALTAR ARE SURPRISINGLY EXPLICIT AND OPTIMISTIC. THEY FURTHER BUTRESS THE VIEW PUT TO ME BY BERDEJO AFTER THE LAST ROUND OF LEGAL TALKS ON 13 JULY (MY TEL NO 381) THAT MORAN HAS INDEED MADE UP HIS MIND TO PUSH FOR ACCEPTANCE OF ADVANCE IMPLEMENTATION AS THE BEST BARGAIN SPAIN IS LIKELY TO GET - AND THE LISBON PROCESS AS THE CONTEXT IN WHICH SPAIN WILL RAISE THE ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY.

3. FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING  
GORDON LENNOX

GIBRALTAR

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FM MADRID 231140Z JUL 84

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SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY

1. DIARIO 16 (LIBERAL, POPULAR) GIVES FULL-SCALE COVERAGE IN ITS SATURDAY EDITION TO AN INTERVIEW WITH MORAN. SUBJECTS COVERED INCLUDE HIS RELATIONS WITH GONZALEZ, GUERRA AND BOYER, THE RECENT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH FRANCE, EC ACCESSION, NATO AND GIBRALTAR. WHILE DISCLAIMING ANY KNOWLEDGE ABOUT A RESHUFFLE OF THE GOVERNMENT, MORAN DESCRIBES THE INTERVIEW AS HIS POLITICAL TESTAMENT AND THE BALANCE OF NEARLY TWO YEARS AS FOREIGN MINISTER.

2. DETAIL. RELATIONS WITH HIS COLLEAGUES.

MORAN DENIES THAT HIS RELATIONS WITH THE MONCLOA ARE INDIFFERENT. HE STRESSES THAT BY VIRTUE OF BOTH PERSONALITY AND INCLINATION GONZALEZ PLAYS A MAJOR ROLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. NEVERTHELESS FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES MUST BE ASCRIBED TO THE GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE. THE GOVERNMENT RECORD IS MARKED BY MORE SUCCESSES IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS THAN BY FAILURES. IN PARTICULAR THERE HAS BEEN NO 'MORAN ERROR'.

3. MORAN STRESSES THAT HIS RELATIONS WITH GUERRA ARE CLOSER THAN WITH BOYER. HE DESCRIBES THE FORMER AS 'MULTI-FACETTED' AND AS A 'FREEWHEELING PLAYER'. BOYER IS CONTRASTED AS A FIRST-CLASS TECHNICIAN, A CLEAR INTELLIGENCE AND COOL ANALYTICAL POWER INCLINED ON OCCASION TO TRESPASS ON HIS COLLEAGUES' RESPONSIBILITIES.

4. RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

MORAN IS QUOTED AS SAYING HE HAS LITTLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S RECENT SUCCESSES ON THE ANTI-TERRORIST FRONT. AT THE SAME TIME THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH FRANCE, IN PART, AT LEAST AS CONCERNS THE EC NEGOTIATIONS, AS A RESULT OF GOOD SPANISH INFORMATION ABOUT FRENCH INTENTIONS. MORAN CLAIMS HIS SHARE IN THE GENERAL CREDIT FOR THE UNTHAWING.

EC

5. MORAN NOTES THAT THE TARGET DATE OF 30 SEPTEMBER FOR THE ENDING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT BE ADHERED TO. WHAT MATTERS IS RATHER THE RATIFICATION PERIOD. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS 'SHOULD NOT COINCIDE WITH OTHER EVENTS', FOR EXAMPLE A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE. IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT CHIRAC HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT SPANISH ACCESSION.

/NATO

NATO

6. THE REFERENDUM IS 'ESSENTIAL' NOT LEAST FOR THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE NATURE OF THE QUESTION TO BE PUT HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED. MORAN HAS DISCUSSED THE ISSUE MANY TIMES WITH GONZALEZ WHO IS WELL AWARE OF MORAN'S VIEW: THE FORMULA WILL BE DECIDED BY A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE, TO BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER AFTER THE REFERENDUM.

GIBRALTAR

7. 'THE SITUATION IS BETTER THAN IT WAS. THE LISBON DECLARATION OF 1980 WAS INTERPRETED IN AN UNBALANCED WAY AND THEREAFTER MATTERS WERE COMPLICATED EVEN MORE BY THE FALKLANDS WAR. THE BALL OF WOOL HAS TO BE UNDONE AND THE KNITTING BEGUN AGAIN. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CONTACTS IN THESE TWO YEARS, I CAN NOW SAY, THROUGH BOTH DIPLOMATIC AND TECHNICAL CHANNELS. I WOULD LIKE TO ADD THAT GREAT BRITAIN OBSERVED WITH INTEREST THE SIGNATURE OF THE DOCUMENT BETWEEN FELIPE GONZALEZ AND RAOUL ALFONSIN IN MADRID WHICH RECOGNISES FOR THE FIRST TIME THE DESIRABILITY OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION FOR THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. THE CLIMATE HAS CHANGED. FOR EXAMPLE SPAIN WAS ONE OF THE FEW COUNTRIES WHICH WERE WARNED BEFORE-HAND THAT CONVERSATIONS WERE ABOUT TO BEGIN BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE ARGENTINIANS IN BERNE. RETURNING TO GIBRALTAR: WITH EFFECT FROM THIS AUTUMN WE WILL BE ABLE TO DISCUSS ALL ISSUES WITH GREAT BRITAIN INCLUDING THAT OF SOVEREIGNTY. THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN OBJECTIVE OF SPANISH DIPLOMACY.'

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

GORDON LENNOX

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