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cc RT  
EP

PRIME MINISTER

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VISIT TO SPAIN: INTERVIEWS

You are giving a curtain-raiser interview for your visit to Spain to Spanish television tomorrow. The practical arrangements are set out in the attached note.

The FCO have provided some suggested answers which may be rather fuller than you want. They are in the folder. The main points you will want to get across are:

- the significance of your visit - the first ever by a British Prime Minister - and of The Queen's State Visit next month. This marks a new epoch in our relations;
- our respect for Spain as a great civilisation;
- the vast numbers of British tourists who now visit Spain (8 million last year) and our regret at the hooligan behaviour of a minority among them;
- our wish for closer co-operation with Spain, within the European Community and on defence. We are very pleased that Spain came into NATO: we now want to see closer military co-operation between Spain and other NATO members;
- the importance in this context of the American role in Europe's defence and your hope that Spain will not endanger this by seeking any further reduction in American bases in Spain;
- we very much hope that Spain will shortly confirm its intention to participate in the European Fighter Aircraft;

- how much we appreciate our co-operation with Spain on terrorism. But you cannot comment on the matters before the Gibraltar coroner;
- our views on Europe. Stressing our wish - which we believe Spain shares - for Europe to be outward-looking.

The main difficult issue is of course Gibraltar. You will want to be quite careful in what you say, so as to avoid stimulating controversy at the time of your visit, with the result that the Gibraltar problem dominates it. You might say:

- Gibraltar is now the only contentious issue in a rapidly developing relationship. It should not be allowed to overshadow the good aspects of that relationship;
- there are strongly held views on each side, as there have been for some 300 years. It is bound to take time to build new understanding between the two communities on each side of the border - and it will require effort by both of them;
- the Brussels Agreement provided for regular bilateral discussions at the level of Governments, accompanied by practical co-operation at local level. It commits both Governments to work together to resolve their differences;
- the Airport Agreement shows that Britain and Spain can work successfully together over Gibraltar. But we have always made clear that we would not impose the agreement on Gibraltar against the wishes of its people;

- we have given a firm commitment to the people of Gibraltar to respect their wishes on sovereignty (1969 Gibraltar Constitution, copy attached);
- as the Spanish Foreign Minister said recently, "It is necessary to allow the passing of time to do its work."

On the question about NATO and WEU, you will want to say that we look forward to early agreement in NATO on the guidelines which will govern the Spanish contribution. In the long-term we hope that the Spaniards will consider becoming fully integrated into NATO's military structure. As regards WEU, we hope that the negotiations for Spain's membership can be completed during the British Presidency which runs until next June. But we shall only get enlargement of WEU agreed if it can be shown genuinely to enhance Europe's common defence. This means we would like to see an increase in Spain's defence expenditure to a level comparable to that of other major European countries. Moreover, WEU membership involves a commitment to help defend other WEU countries, which means Spain being ready to engage its forces outside its border.

One last point: you will not want to mention on television our decision to participate in EXPO 92 in Seville. This is a surprise which we are saving for your speech in Spain next week. You might simply say that we are well aware of the importance of the event and will be considering our participation.

C.D.P.

CHARLES POWELL

14 September 1988

cc BVP

PRIME MINISTER

Tomorrow afternoon you are to give an interview to Spanish Television (TVE) to be broadcast on Monday evening as a curtain raiser to your visit. It will be broadcast as a current affairs 'special' in their "Documentas" series and will review UK/Spanish relations.

The interviewer will be Felipe Sahagun, the Head of TVE's International News Department, who will be coming from Madrid. He will be accompanied by their London correspondent **Juan Carlos Arias**.

The interview will be for 30 minutes. They will obviously wish to ask you about your forthcoming visit and that of the Queen, Gibraltar, EMS and Europe in 1992, how you see relations developing with a new US President, sanctions against South Africa and Spain's role in NATO and WEU.

Time permitting, they would also like to ask you whether there are any important goals you still have to achieve in your political career and finally, what has impressed you about Spain and the Spanish from what you have read and what you are particularly looking forward to seeing in Spain?

Detailed briefing on their questions is attached. As you will see, Gibraltar does not dominate, but they feel obliged to raise the issue. It is an opportunity to put the subject in the perspective of the visit.

The interview will take place in the White Room at 4.15 pm. A make-up girl, Heather Squires, will be available to assist with your make up at 4.00 pm.

*Sarah Charman*

Sarah Charman  
Press Office

September 14 1988

## PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH SPANISH TELEVISION: 15 SEPTEMBER

1. Your visit to Spain and the visit in the next few weeks by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, are both the first official trips to our country by British Prime Minister and a Chief of State of England. For this single reason, they are, no doubt, historic.

What fruits would you like to come out of these visits?

I hope that my own visit to Spain and the State Visit next month will provide a tangible demonstration of the healthy state of Anglo/Spanish relations. Spain's decision to remain in NATO and your membership of the European Community has brought your country to the forefront of western democracies. We have many common interests and I am greatly looking forward to my talks with Sr Gonzalez. I hope that my visit will provide the basis for even closer contacts between our two countries in the future, particularly during the Spanish Presidency of the European Council of Ministers.

2. During the official visits of their Majesties the King and Queen of Spain to the United Kingdom in April 86, the Queen of England and the Spanish King made a call to the governments in our two countries for a solution of the differences about Gibraltar "in a spirit of friendship and cooperation".

What are the main steps taken since then and, most important, what can be done in the near future?

Gibraltar is the only contentious issue in our bilateral relationship. Both governments are keen that our differences should be resolved as rapidly as possible and are committed to working together towards this objective. We have made significant progress over the last few years with the signature of the Brussels Agreement and, last December, the agreements on Gibraltar Airport, the ferry service and arrangements at the land frontier. These agreements show how we can work together in the spirit of friendship and cooperation you have described. The present situation is the product of nearly 300 years of Anglo/Spanish differences and it will take time to build a new understanding between the communities on

both sides of the frontier. But both sides remain committed to the framework of bilateral discussions, accompanied by practical cooperation at local level, which was established under the Brussels Agreement.

3. Do you find any valid point in a possible Royal Gibraltar, with sovereignty shared by the British and Spanish Crowns if the solution were acceptable to the majority of both Gibraltarians and Spaniards?

I believe that we have to look at the question of Gibraltar primarily from the human rather than the legal or constitutional angle. The key is to rebuild the confidence and trust between the people of Gibraltar and their Spanish neighbours which were shattered by so many years of enforced separation. Until we can do this, it will be difficult to devise any revised constitutional arrangements which will be acceptable to the people of Gibraltar.

4. Spain is involved at the moment in negotiations or conversations to define its final role in NATO and the Western European Union. In both is the United Kingdom an important member.

What does your government expect Spain to contribute in those organisations?

Spain's decision to join NATO in 1981, firmly endorsed by the referendum held in 1986, marked an important step in the process by which Spain is taking her rightful place in the affairs of Europe; and we warmly welcome it.

The current discussions in both NATO and WEU are intended to take that process further. In NATO, Spain is now discussing the military contribution to the common Western defence which she could make alongside those Allies which participate in the Integrated Military Structure. The most substantial contributions seem likely to be in the naval and air defence fields. We welcome these and hope that it will be possible to reach agreement very quickly on the practical arrangements governing their employment.

In discussions taking place with WEU, Spain has indicated that she can accept the obligations in the modified Brussels Treaty and the

WEU Platform. Spain's acceptance of Article V of the Treaty, which commits all WEU members to defend each other at their borders if attacked, would further strengthen her commitment to the common defence. Spain could also make a valuable contribution to developing ideas in the WEU Platform, and for example, the maintenance of adequate defence contributions by all the Europeans.

5. A stronger European Monetary System will be one of the objectives of the Spanish EC Presidency next year.

In what conditions would your government support a European Central Bank and the inclusion of the pound in the European Monetary System?

The Hanover European Council in June established a group to look at further concrete steps towards the progressive realisation of economic and monetary union. I hope the study will indeed focus on practical and achievable steps. Britain is a leader in this area, having removed all controls on capital movements and abolished foreign exchange controls some eight years ago. Our decision in August to launch a major new programme of British Treasury Bills, denominated in ecu, demonstrates our practical support and encouragement for the wider use of the ecu. These initiatives put Britain ahead of most other EC states who talk about a European central bank or a common European currency. The fact is, you do not need a single European currency, or a European central bank, to achieve progress towards a monetary union.

Sterling is a member of the EMS already. But we do not think it would be in the economic interests of either Britain or Europe for the Pound to join the ERM, when we are sure that the balance of advantage for all concerned points clearly towards membership. *its exchange rate mechanism at present. Britain will join the ERM*

6. Both Spain and the UK have been fighting terrorism for years. The UK against IRA, Spain against ETA. Both Spain and the UK have followed similar paths in that fight, political solutions, police or security measures and international cooperation.

Has this international cooperation been productive between the UK and Spain? If so, in what ways or cases?

International cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral remains one of the major weapons in the global fight against terrorism. We share cooperation with Spain in Europe, - within the TREVI network, - and in a number of international fora, in addition to our bilateral exchanges. We value highly our bilateral contacts, for example earlier this year Spanish assistance enabled us to foil the IRA bombing attempt in Gibraltar and Spanish police located the huge IRA Semtex bomb the effect of which would have been devastating (killed and injured in the 100's) if it had been successfully detonated.

7. How far do you think a state subject to the rule of law may let its servants go on combatting those who do not suffer from such scruples?

However immoral and outrageous the acts perpetrated by these criminals (and terrorists such as the IRA and ETA are criminals and not political revolutionaries or freedom fighters), we do not believe it is in our interests to respond to their illegal activities by also going outside the law. Our intention is to apprehend such people and have them brought before the courts to stand trial for their crimes as they deserve.

8. Thatcherism has become more than a policy. It is today a doctrine, meaning by that, a set of guidelines which you yourself set out in 1968 in these words; personal responsibility and decision, more independence of the individual from government and a comparative reduction in the role of government. Isn't it time to apply correctives to those principles 20 years later?

9. Privatisation, cutting public spenditure and taxes, reducing the power of trade unions and raising defense spending have been often mentioned as the keys to your success in government. Yet in many respects this policy remains only the creed of the successful - those with jobs, or rich, while it is less appreciated in the areas of the country where unemployment remains high and the poor, more poor.

What do you have to say to this second half?

10. You have won in three general elections (1978, 1983 and 1987), won a war against Argentina, presided over a real economic revolution and survived at least a very serious attempt on your life.

Are there still any really important goals to be achieved in your political career?

11. In the last few years you have been a very special middle-woman or intermediary between the leaders of the two superpowers. The relations between President Reagan and Secretary General Gorbachev helped to bring fresh air to our frail international society.

With presidential elections in the United States in a few weeks, what do you expect from the new US President in order to keep that momentum alive?

I am not sure I like your description of me as an intermediary. It suggests that Britain's political position is somehow between those of the Soviet Union and the United States. On the contrary, Britain is of course a fully committed member of the NATO alliance and a wholehearted supporter of Western values and ideas, which have been so effectively championed by President Reagan. In any case, the superpowers do not need an intermediary when their relationship is as generally constructive as it is at present. What is true is that Anglo/Soviet relations are better now than at any time since the Second World War and that Mr Gorbachev and I have been able to talk to each other openly and usefully about the common problems we face. This has perhaps contributed to the current health of East-West relations. I hope that the next American President will build on the progress made possible by President Reagan's firm but positive leadership on these issues. The framework for this is certainly there. We all want to see Mr Gorbachev's reforms make further progress and bring greater freedom and prosperity to the Soviet people, and greater security for us all. But at the same time our

dialogue with the Russians must continue to rest on the sure defence which is the first responsibility of all democratic governments, and on a clear vision of Soviet military capabilities and deployments.

12. Your government has very often taken a particular view or position when the subject of sanctions against South Africa has come up for discussion or debate. Why is that?

First let me say that I find apartheid abhorrent. I, like so many others, want to see it abolished. But I do not believe that imposing punitive economic sanctions against South Africa would help bring about a peaceful end to apartheid. Instead, sanctions would make those who oppose change more intransigent, and would make a bad situation much worse. We must concentrate our efforts instead on positive policies: dialogue, persuasion and aid.

13. What does a realist like you think about this suddenly peace-loving world, with half a dozen regional conflicts (from Afghanistan to Angola) coming to a stop or changing its nature through long-awaited negotiations?

The point is that the parties to regional conflicts are coming to realise that military invasion, occupation and threat bring no dividends. Peace is won not through force or terror but political and economic responsibility and hard-headed negotiation.

Afghanistan provides the best example of this. It is an admission of the defeat of military means used to support an unrepresentative regime. The Afghans must now be allowed to choose their own government free from further outside pressure.

Elsewhere we welcome progress ranging from the Gulf, to Angola, to Cambodia. Cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of foreign troops are the first indispensable elements in the solution of regional conflicts. But we are fooling ourselves if we think we can rest there. Stability will only be guaranteed if people are allowed to exercise the right of self-determination.

The easing of international tension is due in large part to the

improvement in East/West relations. My Government have worked hard to help achieve that, with our Community partners. We should be determined now to work for further progress in those and other even more difficult regional issues, to insist on full implementation of the relevant Security Council Resolutions and to give our full support to the UN Secretary General.

Such determination may also bring about an end to other international burdens that afflict us all - terrorism and drug abuse - as well as bring stability and prosperity to parts of the world that have been denied them too long.

14. You have been criticised many times for not having enough faith in Europe, for being too dependent on the US, for being critical of the dreams and ideals other Europeans have in an economically integrated Europe by 1992.

What kind of Europe would you consider the best possible by then, which is just over three years from now?

Britain is as committed to Europe as any other member state. The EC is the vehicle chosen by the people of Europe to advance our prosperity and security. Europe has to be ready to help ensure its own security and to compete economically. Europeans must cooperate closely on the things we do better together than singly. But we must not forsake the rich diversity of all our background, our cultural heritage, our traditions: these are of Europe's vitality and inventiveness, from which sprang our past achievements and in which lies our hope for the future.

To achieve these goals a more united Europe should preserve diversity and encourage liberty and enterprise. The aim of 1992 is an important leap forward to achieve Treaty goals. Completion of the Single European Market should mean less regulation; freedom for enterprise; growth; jobs. I want Europe to be economically stronger, competitive world-wide and to lead the way in opening up the international trading system. Europe must strengthen its voice on the world stage.

15. I understand you are a good night-bird and an impenitent reader.

What, if any, of your readings has impressed you more about Spain or the Spaniards? As a tourist in Spain, what places or people would you like to see?