

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 259501

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 259501 SENT MADRID DATED OCT 31.

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 259501

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, SP

SUBJECT: U.S. POSTURE DURING THE TRANSITION

- -

FROM THE SECRETARY

1. THE U.S. POSTURE DURING THE TRANSITION WILL BE EXAMINED CLOSELY FOR ITS SIGNALS REGARDING OUR LONG-TERM POLICIES TOWARD SPAIN DURING AND AFTER THE TRANSITION. INITIAL GUIDANCE ON THIS ISSUE FOLLOWS. I WILL WANT TO REVIEW THE SITUATION WITH YOU HERE PERSONALLY, AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES IN SPAIN PERMIT.

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2. THE BASIC U.S. OBJECTIVE IN SPAIN REMAINS THAT OF

STRENGTHENING OUR BROAD POLITICAL AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH A SPAIN MORE CLOSELY LINKED TO THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. IN ACHIEVING THAT OBJECTIVE, THE GENERAL POSTURE OF YOUR MISSION, TAILORED OF COURSE TO SUIT SPECIFIC AUDIENCES, SHOULD REFLECT THE FOLLOWING BASIC ELEMENTS:

-- THE U.S FAVORS EVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL CHANGES ON TERMS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN AND LEADPNG TOWARD A MORE OPEN AND PLURALISTIC SOCIETY.

-- WE CONSIDER THAT A GRADUAL APPROACH OF THIS KIND IS IMPORTANT BOTH TO PRESERVE STABILITY IN SPAIN AND TO DEVELOP HEALTHY RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND WESTERN EUROPE.

-- WE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY EFFORTS DURING THE PAST YEAR TO OPEN THE SYSTEM TO GREATER PARTICIPATION AND WE WELCOME THE PROSPECT OF FURTHER EFFORTS UNDER THE NEW LEADERSHIP COMING TO POWER.

-- WE FAVOR NO PARTICULAR POLITICAL SOLUTION OR PARTY WITHIN THE BROAD RANGE OF DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT, BUT ANTICIPATE THAT THE TRANSITION WILL BE IN THE HANDS OF ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE.

-- WE WOULD VIEW COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN A FUTURE SPANISH GOVERNMENT AS AN UNHEALTHY DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY DAMAGE TIES WITH US AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE.

-- THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN WILL CONTINUE TO EMBRACE CLOSE COOPERATION IN MANY FIELDS AND COULD, IN OUR VIEW, HELP PROVIDE THE CONFIDENCE NECESSARY FOR MOVES TOWARD MORE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

-- IN THIS PROCESS, THE U.S. WILL PLAY A STABILIZING AND SUPPORTIVE ROLE, AND WILL COUNSEL AGAINST ANY EFFORTS TO PRESS FOR FASTER CHANGES WHICH MIGHT FORCE THE PROCESS BEYOND REALISTIC LIMITS AND RISK SEVERE REACTIONS.

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3. THE MOST SENSITIVE AND IMPORTANT ASPECT OF OUR POLICY WILL BE THE WAY WE WORK WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP AS IT CONFRONTS THE DIFFICULT PROCESS OF POLITICAL LIBERAL-IZATPON AT A REASONABLE PACE. IN OUR CONTACTS WITH OFFICIAL SECTORS, INCLUDING THE MILITARY, WE MUST MAKE THEM AT ONCE CONFIDENT OF OUR SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING, EVEN AS WE ENCOURAGE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO PERMIT POLITICAL EVOLUTION. WE WILL NEED TO EMPHASIZE THE CONTINUITY AND

STRENGTH OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AS WELL AS POINT OUT THE IMPORTANCE THAT SUSTAINED (EVEN IF GRADUAL) LIBERALIZATION HAS FOR SPAIN'S FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE WESTERN COMMUNITY.

4. THE MISSION ALSO MUST HAVE CONTINUING BUT DISCREET CONTACTS WITH OPPOSITION GROUPS, INCLUDING THOSE REASONABLY MODERATE GROUPS NOW FORCED TO OPERATE ILLEGALLY.

HOWEVER, ALL CONTACTS WITH THE OPPOSITION SHOULD BE MONITORED CAREFULLY IN ORDER TO AVOID LEAVING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE WOULD FAVOR ANY PARTICULAR PARTY. WE HOPE THAT ALL DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUPS WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE POLI-

TICAL PROCESS, AND THAT THEY WILL WORK FOR REALISTIC GOALS AND NOT SEEK SWEEPING CHANGES OVERNIGHT. THE RANGE AND DEPTH OF YOUR POLITICAL CONTACTS WILL OBVIOUSLY NEED TO BE CONTINUALLY ASSESSED IN LIGHT OF THE POSTURE THAT THE TRANSITION REGIME ADOPTS.

5. FINALLY, WE RECOGNIZE THAT SPAIN'S FUTURE WILL BE OF DIRECT INTEREST TO THE WESTERN EUROPEANS, AND THAT THE EUROPEAN LEADERS WILL PLAY A PROMINENT ROLE IN SETTING THE PACE IN MULTILATERAL WESTERN CONTACTS WITH SPAIN. YOU WILL WANT TO MAINTAIN CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS WITH YOUR WESTERN EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES IN MADRID. THE APPROACH OUTLINED IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS SHOULD BE EXPLAINED TO THEM WITH THE AIM OF ENCOURAGING THEM TO PROCEED IN SIMILAR FASHION RATHER THAN HOLDING BACK OR STIRRING UP THE SPANISH LEFT IN HOPES THAT FULL PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY COULD BE INSTALLED SOON.

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6. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD HOPE THAT WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN JUAN CARLOS' INSTALLATION AND FRANCO'S FUNERAL ON THE BASIS OF A POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE FUTURE, NOT IN TERMS OF RECRIMINATION ABOUT THE PAST. THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF EUROPEAN LEADERS AT THIS TIME ALSO WILL BE IMPORTANT. KISSINGER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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