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PREM 19/2558

Anglo-Turkish Relations. The Prime Minister sent a message of congratulation to the New Prime Minister, Mr Demirel.

TURKEY

November 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
		5.1.84		12/6/87			
19.11.79		27.11.84		8.7.87			
30.11.79		30.1.84		11.10.87			
18.5.81		28		8.7.87			
3.6.81				\ /			
July 1981		16/8/84		PTI			
17.3.82		24.8.84		ENOS			
12.4.83		21.12.83		\ /			
26.4.83		20.7.84					
4.5.83		23.1.85		PREM 19/2558			
19.5.83		1.2.85					
5.7.83		4.2.85					
7.7.83		11.3.85					
21.7.83		4.10.85					
4.10.83		4/10/87					
27.10.83		31/10/85					
31.10.83		16.1.86					
14.11.83		4.10.85					
9.12.83		27.5.86					
16.12.83		30.6.86					
21.12.83		24.9.86					
		10.10.86					
		12.11.86					
		13.2.87					
		16.2.87					

PART 1 ends:-

MEETING RECORD (MOD) 8.7.87.

PART 2 begins:-

FCO to COP. 9.10.87

Foreign and Commonwealth Office documents

Reference: Diplomatic Report No.53/84 DD53/84
Description: Mr Özal's First Eight Months: Her Majesty's
Ambassador at Ankara to the Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Date: 20 July 1984

The above FCO documents, which were enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed.

Such documents are the responsibility of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. When released they are available in the appropriate FCO CLASSES.

Signed J. [Signature]

Date 7.3.2016

PREM Records Team



MO 6/12L

NOTE FOR THE RECORD OF A DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE DEFENCE SECRETARY
AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF TURKEY, 7TH JULY 1987

Mr Halefoglou, accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador and officials, called on Mr Younger for 45 minutes on 7th July. HM Ambassador in Ankara, Head of Sec(NATO/UK)(P) and RMD 4 were present.

Industrial Co-operation

2. After an exchange of greetings, Mr Halefoglou said that so far as he was concerned there were no political issues between us. The main point he wanted to make was that trade between Britain and Turkey should grow. The UK was seventh among Turkey's foreign trading partners; it should rank higher. British businessmen should be aware of developments in Turkey in the last few years, and the prospects for the next few years. The whole nature of the Turkish economy was changing; whereas it used to be agriculturally based, now industrial goods accounted for 75% of Turkey's exports. This remarkable change was not widely known even within Turkey. Turkish industrialists had pressed for Turkey to apply to join the European Community, whereas only a few years ago they had been against. 70-80% of Turkish industry would be able to compete within the Community framework. The Bosphorus bridge projects illustrated the change: it was an Anglo/German consortium that had built the first Bosphorus bridge in 1973, but each of the consortia that had competed for the second bridge had contained a Turkish construction firm and it was a Japanese/Italian/Turkish consortium that had won the competition. When it came to a third bridge, no doubt the Turkish element would be even stronger.

3. A huge project was under way in Southern Anatolia to build dams for electricity generation and for irrigation. Again, Turkish firms were participating extensively. It was no longer possible to look on Turkey simply as a customer who would buy this or that item; Turkey was an industrial partner which stood ready to co-operate in exploring markets at home and abroad. The F16 project, in which Turkey would be enjoying an increasing share of production, was a case in point. He drew an analogy between Thatcherism and Ozalism; Turkey looked at the UK's success and was encouraged by it. This was the right moment for the two countries to co-operate with each other. All the right ingredients were there. It was a pity that Britain had not secured the contract for the second Bosphorus bridge, but there were other possibilities.



4. The Defence Industrial Fund, about which Mr Younger would have been briefed when he was in Turkey, provided a good basis for Turkish partnership in defence projects.

5. Mr Younger said that this was an excellent message. He was happy to hear the account that Mr Halefoglu had given and Britain would be glad to play its part. As to defence projects, he had been delighted that we had been able to increase the credit available for Warrior. He hoped that this would enable the sale to be completed. Mr Halefoglu did not respond directly to this; he said that defence purchasing was not his specific field. Mr Younger asked about the prospects of selling jointly produced products to other countries in the area. Mr Halefoglu said that Turkey's special geographical position, close to the Middle East and at the same time in Europe, gave it unique opportunities and influence. Turkish stability commanded the respect of its neighbours in the Middle East. Turkey was setting an example of how a state could be both Muslim and secular. This was, he felt, the key to many problems in the Middle East; it might, for example, provide the model for an eventual solution in the Lebanon.

The Gulf

6. Mr Younger enquired about the visit to Turkey by the Prime Minister of Iran. Mr Halefoglu said that Mr Mussavi had made two main points: Iran wanted to separate the Gulf issue from the war - there should be freedom of navigation in the Gulf, while the war nevertheless continued; and secondly he had wished Turkey to pass on Iran's complaint that the United States had blocked the delivery of military spares for which Iran had already paid. Turkey had passed on this message, and passed back the United States' negative answer. Mr Younger doubted whether issues of the freedom of navigation in the Gulf and of the war could be considered separately from each other. He asked whether, if Iran deployed SILKWORM in the Gulf, this would be in Mr Halefoglu's view with the object of using them as a bargaining counter or to prevent Kuwaiti or Iraqi passage. Mr Halefoglu said that it was difficult to read the Iranians' minds but he tended towards the former view. Mr Younger commented that any deployment would carry great dangers. Mr Halefoglu said that the Iranians for their part were very reluctant to confront the Russians in the Gulf. There was a sizeable Iranian minority in the Soviet Union, in Soviet Azerbaijan. Mr Younger said that the UK was very concerned about the Gulf situation. He briefly described the Armilla Patrol, which had been stepped up. Mr Halefoglu said that the danger point in the Gulf was being approached. If a SILKWORM was used against a US warship, would the US mount an operation analogous to that against Qaddafi last year? He had asked the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary what he thought the outcome would be of the UN Security Council discussion. If Iran refused to comply with the UN Security Council Resolution the next step should be sanctions. The Iranians



bought arms from many places: North Korea, Brazil, Spain, Eastern European countries. Mr Younger said that our own policy against selling arms to Iran was very strict.

Aegean Disputes

7. Mr Younger said that he was glad to see that a degree of caution was now being exercised over the Aegean. Mr Halefoglou said that he had discussed this with Sir Geoffrey Howe. Mr Papandreou had played a dangerous game over oil exploration but the immediate crisis had been defused. Turkey and Greece were now exchanging verbal messages. Mr Papandreou was talking personally to the Turkish Ambassador. The object was to agree terms of reference for a meeting between the two sides. He thought that Mr Papandreou was personally happy that the oil exploration issue had been defused but unfortunately Papandreou wished all other activities against Turkey to continue.

European Parliament Resolution on Armenia

8. The resolution of the European Parliament on Armenia was a case in point. It was sad that Britain and France had "helped to bring about" that result. President Evren had reacted very sharply and strongly to the vote. He had said that NATO had a duty to defend the territorial integrity of allies. He had been very angry. Mr Younger said that it was impossible to control the members of the European Parliament. We too had had silly resolutions passed against us. Mr Halefoglou said that the distinction between European Parliamentarians and Governments was unfortunately lost on the public. It would help enormously with Turkish public opinion if we could "do something about" these resolutions.

9. Mr Younger said that he had paid a most successful visit to Turkey in April, and thanked Mr Halefoglou for his part in it. Mr Halefoglou said that high level visits in each direction should be more frequent. Turkey for its part would be more than happy if Mrs Thatcher could make even a short visit. It would be very helpful to Turkey.

J. F. Howe

8th July 1987

(J F HOWE)
PS/S of S



Distribution:

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PS/Prime Minister
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Mr Woolley, Cabinet Office
HM Ambassador, Ankara (c/o Head of
Southern European Department, FCO)



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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 July 1987

Dear Lynn,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF TURKEY

The Prime Minister received the Turkish Foreign Minister this morning. Mr. Halefoglu was accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador and by his Special Adviser, Mr. Günden. H.M. Ambassador at Ankara was also present.

The Prime Minister recalled Mr. Ozal's very successful visit to the United Kingdom. She had found her talks with him stimulating. Their views were very similar and both recognised the need for sound economic policies as the basis for everything else. Mr. Halefoglu said that Mr. Ozal had asked him to convey in person his congratulations upon the outcome of the General Election.

Turkey and Europe

Mr. Halefoglu said that Turkey wanted to be anchored in the west once and for all and a member of all the European institutions. Membership of the European Community would be the final step in this process. The Prime Minister expressed surprise that there were any longer difficulties in getting across the message that Turkey was a part of Europe. It seemed entirely natural and acceptable to us. We were accustomed to working with Turkey in NATO and the Council of Europe. Mr. Halefoglu said that he was nonetheless constantly being pressed as to whether Turkey's real vocation was in Europe or Asia, and on what would happen if Turkey's application for membership of the European Community were rejected. The Prime Minister said that it was better not to answer hypothetical questions.

Mr. Halefoglu recalled Turkey's application for membership of the European Community and expressed gratitude for Britain's help to Turkey in the Council of Europe and during the British Presidency of the Community. The Prime Minister said that Turkey's application would inevitably take a long time to process. It was as well to recognise this. Indeed it was probably in Turkey's own best interests. Mr. Halefoglu suggested that it would be better to say that consideration of Turkey's application would take a while. The Prime Minister said that it was only realistic to acknowledge that it would be a considerable while. Mr. Halefoglu said that he recognised that it might take up to two years for the

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Commission to give its opinion. The important thing was that the procedure had been engaged. The Prime Minister said that it would be a mistake to stir up opposition in the Community to Turkey's application by agitating for progress. The Community still faced the problem of digesting Spain and Portugal. Long transition periods had been set for both countries and it would be many years before they were fully absorbed into the Community. Their membership made more acute existing problems with agricultural surpluses. This was bound to affect the pace at which Turkey's application was considered. Moreover, as a relatively poor country, Turkey would obviously expect considerable financial help from the Community. It was difficult to envisage this until the Community had solved its internal problems and brought the CAP under control. But there must be no question of an affront to Turkey. Mr. Halefoglou conceded that consideration of Turkey's application and eventual negotiations would be a very long process. The Prime Minister's formulations were helpful because they made clear that the reasons for this lay at least as much with the Community as with Turkey.

Bilateral relations

Mr. Halefoglou spoke of the enormous changes which were being wrought in Turkey. The pace of industrialisation was extraordinary. Where six or seven years ago 60 per cent of Turkey's exports were agricultural, now 75 per cent were industrial. Turkey was entering the phase of privatisation and liberalising foreign investment. His Government very much wanted to see a stronger British presence in Turkey. They would also like to renew their invitation to the Prime Minister to pay an early visit to see the changes for herself. An entirely new and different Turkey would emerge over the next eight to ten years.

The Prime Minister said that she would gladly visit Turkey. Her programme for the remainder of this year was already full but she would look forward to a visit in 1988. She shared the wish to see greater trade between Britain and Turkey. We were particularly interested in the contract for armoured personnel carriers, for which we had offered Warrior. She was writing to Mr. Ozal about this. But the experience of the second Bosphorus Bridge still rankled. It had been a particular indignity. Mr. Halefoglou said that Turkey was now planning a third bridge. He understood that the United Kingdom was best placed to secure it. The Prime Minister said that we had been best placed for the second bridge but that had not stopped the Japanese from taking it from us. She continued to find Japan's tactics in these matters, as well as its wider trade policies, unacceptable. Mr. Daunt pointed out that this decision was proving expensive for Turkey because the Japanese loans were dominated in Yen.

Middle East

The Prime Minister asked Mr. Halefoglu his views on the situation in the Gulf. Mr. Halefoglu said that Moussavi had recently visited Turkey. He had given no sign that there was any change in Iran's conditions for ending the Iran/Iraq War, although he seemed to want to draw a distinction between the situation in the Gulf and the wider war. Moussavi had asked the Turks to pass a message to the Americans to the effect that they still wanted spare parts for aircraft and ammunition for which they had paid. There had been a very negative response from the Americans. Mr. Halefoglu added that the army in Iran were gradually winning back prestige. They would eventually have a political role to play in Iran when the present regime collapsed. This was one reason why the present leadership kept them well away from Tehran.

European Parliament

Mr. Halefoglu drew attention to the outrage in Turkey at the European Parliament's recent resolution dealing with the Armenian question. People simply did not understand how such a resolution could be allowed to pass and asked why Turkey's friends had not prevented it. The Prime Minister pointed out that the European Parliament frequently passed resolutions which were highly objectionable to the United Kingdom on matters such as Northern Ireland. It was better to ignore them.

I am copying this letter to Alex Allan (H.M. Treasury), John Howe (Ministry of Defence), Timothy Walker (Department of Trade and Industry) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,
Charles Powell

CHARLES POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER

You are to see the Turkish Foreign Minister tomorrow. He will be accompanied by the Ambassador and by his foreign affairs adviser. He is by reputation a charming man, and was formerly Ambassador in both Bonn and Moscow.

Generally we stand well with the Turks and the meeting should be an easy and friendly one. The trick to be won at this meeting is to convey general understanding of Turkey's reasons for seeking membership of the EC, but not to hide the difficulties. It would be a mistake to promise support; it would be misleading the Turks to suggest that they have any significant chance of success yet.

① You will want to start by recalling the success of Mr Ozal's visit to the United Kingdom, and enquire after his health.

② You might go on to deal with wider East/West issues mentioning your forthcoming visit to Washington. The prospects for a US/Soviet summit and the Alliance's success in reaching an agreed position on INF.

③ You should also mention the high priority which we attach to making progress in the Middle East - on which the Turks see themselves as having a special role - emphasising the need to support the Peres/Hussein position on an international conference. You might also mention our efforts to promote a UN Security Council resolution on the Iran/Iraq war.

④ I should leave it to him to raise EC membership. He certainly will. You can remind him of how much work the United Kingdom has put into normalising EC/Turkey relations, especially during our Presidency. There is bound to be a pause now, while the Commission consider Turkey's application and give their opinion (this may well be a matter of years). In the

meantime we hope that the Turks will make greater use of the provisions of the existing Association Agreement, which offers scope for industrial co-operation, co-operation on research and development etc. You will want to add that the Turks must be aware of all the difficulties and obstacles. Having got their application in, they would be wise to lie low and let matters rest for a while.

6 You should have a brief word about Cyprus. He may be agitated about the recent report of the House of Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee, which recommends freezing Turkey's EC application until there are significant moves towards a Cyprus settlement. We do not see any such linkage. Progress on Cyprus is going to require willingness by both sides to make concessions. Greeks at least as much as Turks. In fact, little is likely to happen until the Cyprus Presidential elections are over, later this year.

7 On the bilateral front, you will want to draw particular attention to GKN's offer of Warrior to meet Turkey's armoured personnel carrier requirement. The Government are offering generous credit support. The Turks owe us a big contract (after the Bosphorus bridge).

He may press you to take up the invitation to visit Turkey. You might say that you hope to be able to do so next year. If he mentions a possible State Visit by President Evren, you should say that we have this very much in mind.

A brief is in the folder.

C.D.P.

C. D. P.

7 July 1987



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 July 1987

Dear Charles,

CALL BY THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER: 8 JULY

The Prime Minister has agreed to receive Mr Vahit Halefoglul, the Turkish Foreign Minister, at 10 am on Wednesday 8 July. Mr Halefoglul will be accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador, Rahmi Gumrukcuoglu, and by a Special Adviser at the MFA, Mr Gunden. I hope that it will be possible for Timothy Daunt, our Ambassador in Ankara, to be present.

I attach a personality note on Mr Halefoglul. He is an effective and impressive interlocutor who can be relied upon to convey back to his colleagues, including Mr Ozal, what he is told here.

The Turks attach considerable importance to official visits of this kind as an indication of their acceptability within Europe. Much will be made in the Turkish press of the reception accorded to Mr Halefoglul by the Prime Minister. Mr Halefoglul will also have two sessions of talks with the Foreign Secretary and will be calling on the Secretaries of State for Defence and Trade and Industry.

Our Aims for the Visit

Our relations with Turkey are probably as good as they have ever been. We have no serious bilateral problems or foreign policy differences. We see Mr Halefoglul's visit as an opportunity to:

- a. underline the importance we attach to Turkey as a partner and NATO ally;
- b. press for an increased share of the Turkish market and to lobby on behalf of British companies bidding for projects in Turkey;



- c. avoid any formal commitment of support for Turkish membership of the EC but to encourage the Turks, while waiting for the Commission opinion, to work for progress under the Association Agreement;
- d. acknowledge Turkey's continued progress on human rights and towards full democracy, and press for further efforts;
- e. urge flexibility and the need for progress on the Cyprus dispute;
- f. ensure continued dialogue with Greece over Aegean problems.

Bilateral Relations

The Prime Minister might like to concentrate on our bilateral relations, and in particular refer to the interest of British companies in securing a greater share of the Turkish market. The Turkish government make no secret of the fact that political considerations weigh heavily in the award of major contracts to foreign firms. In the light of the support we have given the Turks in European bodies in recent years, they now owe us a few contracts, eg GKN (armoured personnel carriers) and AMEC (Ankara natural gas project).

Turkey/EC

We would expect Mr Halefoglu to press Turkey's case for eventual membership of the EC. This should provide an opportunity for the Prime Minister to urge the Turks to maintain and build on the progress that has been made on human rights. This subject continues to attract public and parliamentary attention, particularly in the European Parliament.

Mr Halefoglu can be expected to thank the Prime Minister for the UK's help in ensuring that, despite Greek objections, the April Foreign Affairs Council referred Turkey's EC membership application to the Commission for an opinion in accordance with normal procedure. He may lobby for further UK support for Turkey's application, but is unlikely to press too hard, since the Turks accept that the Commission will need time to produce their opinion. When the Council do come to consider the Commission opinion, most member states will clearly have reservations. Turkish membership



alongside that of Greece could virtually paralyse Community decision-taking; it would open up difficult problems over freedom of movement within the Community for Turkish workers; and it would impose a heavy additional burden on the EC budget. In the circumstances, the Foreign Secretary considers that we should avoid giving any commitment to support Turkey's application.

It will be worth underlining the hard work which the UK has put into the normalisation of EC/Turkey relations over the past 18 months, especially during our Presidency, when, despite Greek objections, we held the first Association Council meeting at Ministerial level. While their membership application is being considered, we want to encourage the Turks to work with the EC to make greater use of the provisions of the existing Association Agreement. Mr Halefoglu may argue that the prospect of Customs Union offered by the Association Agreement would not be to Turkey's advantage, with none of the (mainly financial) benefits from full membership to offset the effects on the Turkish economy of European competition. But the Agreement also offers scope for industrial cooperation, investment promotion, and cooperation on research and development.

Mr Halefoglu may also ask that the UK disassociate itself from the European Parliament's recent Armenian resolution (attached) which the Turkish Government have seen as an active encouragement to terrorism (it was passed shortly before the massacre of 30 villagers by Kurdish separatists). The Prime Minister will wish to express sympathy and understanding and explain that the UK sees no sense in trying to apportion blame for the events of 1915. We recognise the progress which has been made in establishing democracy and improving human rights under the current Turkish Government and are confident that this progress will continue. But we should say that it is not our practice to comment publicly on resolutions of the European Parliament. The EP's views cannot be taken to reflect those of member states: we have not commented even on resolutions critical of us eg on Northern Ireland and Sellafield.

Visits

If Mr Halefoglu raises again the question of an invitation for the Prime Minister to visit Turkey, the Foreign Secretary hopes the Prime Minister, who would be assured of a warm welcome, might say that she hopes to be



able to take up the invitation soon. If asked about the possibility of a State Visit by President Evren, the Prime Minister could say that we will keep this very much in mind. You should know that we hope to arrange this for next year but are not yet in a position to confirm this to the Turks.

Cyprus

On Cyprus, we remain concerned at the lack of progress. We hope that once next year's Presidential elections are over, the Secretary General will be able to make progress on his initiative. Both sides will need to cooperate actively with him. It is not too early to start thinking about how to make the most of this opportunity. Mr Halefoglou may raise the FAC report on Cyprus, published on 2 July. The government will respond formally in due course. But Mr Halefoglou may seek reassurance that we shall not accept the FAC's recommendations that consideration of Turkey's EC application should be frozen until significant moves are made towards a settlement in Cyprus. The Prime Minister could say that we have no intention of establishing such a linkage, not least because progress depends as much, if not more, on the willingness of the Greek side to make concessions. But clearly member governments are bound to have the situation in Cyprus in mind when they are to consider the Commission's opinion.

Aegean

The Prime Minister might welcome the continuing dialogue between Mr Ozal and Mr Papandreou on the Greek/Turkish Aegean disputes, which began in the wake of last March's crisis.

Powell,

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

HALEFOGLU, VAHIT

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Born Antakya in 1919. Member of a very prominent Hatay family. Graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences, Ankara University in 1942. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1943. Military service from 1944-46. Various diplomatic posts in Vienna and Moscow until from 1953-59 he was first secretary, then counsellor, then chargé d'affaires in the Turkish Embassy in London. Turkish Ambassador to Beirut (1962-65) and the Hague (1966-70). From 1970-72 he was Deputy Secretary General in charge of political affairs at the MFA. He was special escort to the Queen during her visit in 1971 and made an honorary KCVO. From 1972-82 Ambassador to Bonn, and from 1982-83 to Moscow. He was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs on the formation of the Ozal government in December 1983. He won a parliamentary seat in the September 1986 by-elections.

Halefoglu is a polite and personally charming man with a quieter, more measured style than his predecessor, Turkman. Although now also a parliamentarian he retains more the air of a diplomat. He has no power base within the Motherland Party and has not sought one. He accepted his position as Minister for Foreign Affairs more from a sense of national duty than for any other reason. Gives impression of great sincerity, particularly as regards his wish to see a real improvement in Turkey's relations with the West. At same time he is a strong defender of Turkey's policies and positions. Because of this aloof and rather detached approach to political life, there have been many rumours of his imminent dismissal but so far he has outlived them all. His expertise in foreign relations is a rare commodity for the government and although he does not always see eye to eye with Ozal, Halefoglu is thought to enjoy the support of President Evren. His family own considerable amounts of land in the Hatay and Halefoglu enjoys returning to his farm in Antakya to relax in the countryside.

He is married with two children and speaks French, English, German and Arabic.

10. Armenian question

Doc. A2-33/87

R. H. copy to PW in Armenia (2) via Mr D. Chilcott Ankara

RESOLUTION

2 other recipients of the tel of today.

*Div/L
7/6*

on a political solution to the Armenian question

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Saby and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 2-737/84),
- having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Kolokotronis on the Armenian question and the declaration of 24 April as Armenian Genocide Day (Doc. B 2-360/85),
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-33/87),

A. having regard to:

- the motion for a resolution by Mr Jaquet and others on the situation of the Armenian people (Doc. 1-782/81),
- the motion for a resolution by Mrs Duport and Mr Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 1-735/83), and
- the written question by Mrs Duport on the Armenian question¹,
- the resolution of the Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs, meeting within the Council of 13 November 1986 on the protection of Europe's architectural heritage,² including that outside the territory of the Community,

B. convinced that recognition of the identity of the Armenian people in Turkey as an ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious minority follows on from recognition of its own history,

C. whereas the Armenian side regards these events as planned genocide within the meaning of the 1948 UN Charter,

D. whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,

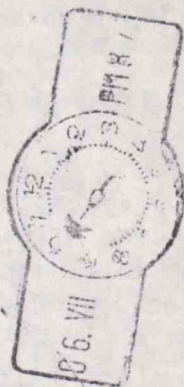
E. whereas, to date, the Turkish Government, by refusing to recognize the genocide of 1915, continues to deprive the Armenian people of the right to their own history,

*cc. D. Lawrence, SED
A. Gillon, Research
M. Hatfull, ECDA(E)*

- F. whereas the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation nor received due compensation,
- G. whereas the recognition of the Armenian genocide by Turkey must therefore be viewed as a profoundly humane act of moral rehabilitation towards the Armenians, which can only bring honour to the Turkish Government;
- H. profoundly regretting and condemning the mindless terrorism by groups of Armenians who were responsible between 1973 and 1986 for several attacks causing death or injury to innocent victims and deplored by an overwhelming majority of the Armenian people,
- I. whereas the obdurate stance of every Turkish Government towards the Armenian question has in no way helped to reduce the tension,
1. Believes that the Armenian question and the question of minorities in Turkey must be resituated within the framework of relations between Turkey and the Community; points out that democracy cannot be solidly implanted in a country unless the latter recognizes and enriches its history with its ethnic and cultural diversity;
 2. Believes that the tragic events in 1915-1917 involving the Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the convention on the prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948; Recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of genocide;
 3. Calls on the Council to obtain from the present Turkish Government an acknowledgement of the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915-1917 and promote the establishment of a political dialogue between Turkey and the representatives of the Armenians;
 4. Believes that the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by the Young Turk government, its reluctance to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, the maintenance of Turkish occupation forces in Cyprus and the denial of the existence of the Kurdish question, together with the lack of true parliamentary democracy and the failure to respect individual and collective freedoms, in particular freedom of religion, in that country are insurmountable obstacles to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community;

(5)

- Conscious of those past misfortunes, supports its desire for the development of a specific identity, the securing of its minority rights and the unrestricted exercise of its people's human and civil rights as defined in the European Convention on Human Rights and its five protocols;
6. Calls for fair treatment of the Armenian minority in Turkey as regards their identity, language, religion, culture and school system, and makes an emphatic plea for improvements in the care of monuments and for the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey and invites the Community to examine how it could make an appropriate contribution;
 7. Calls on Turkey in this connection to abide faithfully by the provisions for the protection of the non-Muslim minorities as stipulated in Articles 37 to 45 of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which, moreover, was signed by most Member States of the Community;
 8. Considers that the protection of monuments and the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey must be regarded as part of a wider policy designed to preserve the cultural heritage of all civilizations which have developed over the centuries on present-day Turkish territory and, in particular, that of the Christian minorities that formed part of the Ottoman Empire;
 9. Calls therefore on the Community to extend the Association Agreement with Turkey to the cultural field so that the remains of Christian or other civilizations such as the ancient classical, Hittite, Ottoman, etc., in that country are preserved and made generally accessible;
 10. Expresses its concern at the difficulties currently being experienced by the Armenian community in Iran with respect to the Armenian language and their own education in accordance with the rules of their own religion;
 11. Condemns the violations of individual freedoms committed in the Soviet Union against the Armenian population;
 12. Condemns strongly any violence and any form of terrorism carried out by isolated groupings unrepresentative of the Armenian people, and calls for reconciliation between Armenians and Turks;
 13. Calls on the Community Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews;
 14. Commits itself to making a substantial contribution to initiatives to encourage negotiations between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;
 15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the European Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the EEC/Turkey Association Council and the Turkish, Iranian and Soviet Governments and the UN Secretary General;





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 June 1987

Dear Mike,

EDD
12/6

Visit of the "Prime Minister" of the "Turkish Republic
of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) (12-22 June)

Colin Budd wrote to you on ^{at 11am} 12 November last year about the visit of Mr Denktash, "President" of the "TRNC", suggesting that Private Secretaries warn their Ministers not to accept invitations which might involve meeting Mr Denktash. I enclose a copy for ease of reference.

We now understand that the "TRNC Prime Minister" Dr Dervis Eroglu will be in the United Kingdom from 12-22 June and that his engagements will include meetings with some MPs, a public lecture and a reception at the Sheraton Park Tower Hotel on 18 June. For the reasons given in Colin Budd's letter I should be grateful if you could advise your Ministers not to accept any invitations which might involve meeting Dr Eroglu.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell at No. 10 and to Private Secretaries to Ministers in Whitehall Departments.

Yours sincerely,
L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

Mike Eland Esq
PS/Lord President of
the Council

CONFIDENTIAL

(21) SED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 November 1986

WSC 027/9
17 NOV 1986
229/4

[Signature]
+ p. 12/11

Dear Joan,

Meeting at House of Commons Between
Sir Frederick Bennett MP & Mr Denktash

The Leader of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus, Rauf Denktash, is visiting London from 16-17 November. Ministers in your Department may receive invitations from Sir Frederick Bennett MP to the House of Commons on 24 November for a meeting with Denktash, who is apparently described on the invitations as "President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". As you know, we do not accept Denktash's claim to be "President" of a separate state in Cyprus; nor does any other country apart from Turkey.

The Greeks and Greek Cypriots are objecting strongly both to the fact of the Sir Frederick Bennett meeting, and in particular to the wording of the invitations. We have made clear to them that Sir Frederick Bennett is perfectly entitled to hold a meeting at the House of Commons with Denktash, and that this has no implications for HMG's policy, which is not to recognise the "TRNC". However, the Foreign Secretary believes it would be wise on this occasion entirely to disassociate HMG from the meeting and I should be grateful if you would advise your Ministers not to accept this invitation or any other which might involve a British Government Minister meeting Denktash during his visit.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell (No 10) and to all Private Secretaries to Ministers in Whitehall Departments.

Yours Sincerely,
Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

Miss Joan MacNaughton
PS/Lord President of the Council

CONFIDENTIAL

TURIC67 : Relations, Nou 79



OUT TELEGRAM

		Classification	Caveat	Precedence
ZCZC	1	ZCZC		
TC	2	UNCLASSIFIED		
CAVEAT	3	DEDIP		
FM	4	FM FCO		
TO	5	TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA		
TELNO	6	TELNO		
OF	7	OF		
AND TO	8	AND TO IMMEDIATE ISTANBUL		
	9			
	10			
	11	Following from Charles Powell, 10 Downing Street.		
	12	Your telegram number 146: Viscount Moore's visit to Turkey.		
	13	I do not know what went wrong. I passed on the details		
	14	given to me. I have spoken to Lady Moore who assures me that		
	15	her husband travelled to Istanbul on 3 May, but does not		
	16	have flight details. She is trying to contact him and will		
	17	ask him to explain himself to the Consulate General. Failing		
	18	that, I will speak to him on his return and let you know what		
	19	he has to say. Naturally I am sorry for the embarrassment		
	20	caused to the Consulate General.		
	21			
	22	HOWE		
	23			
	24	YYYY		
	25	MAIN		
///	26	NO DISTRIBUTION		
//	27	No. 10		
/	28			
	29	NNNN		
YYYY			Catchword:	
MAIN	File number	Dept No. 10	Drafted by (Block capitals) CHARLES POWELL	Telephone no 930 4433
ADDITIONAL	Authorised for Initials Date/time			
NNNN	despatch by:			
	For COD use only	Comcen reference	Telegram number	Processed by

229 5950
637 2424

GRS 132

UNCLASSIFIED
FM ANKARA
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 146
OF 041150Z APRIL 87
INFO PRIORITY ISTANBUL

FCO PLEASE PASS TO NO 10 DOWNING ST.

FOR CHARLES POWELL

VISCOUNT MOORE'S VISIT TO TURKEY.

1. FOLLOWING THE REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE, THE CONSULATE-GENERAL IN ISTANBUL ARRANGED FOR VISCOUNT MOORE TO BE GIVEN VIP FACILITIES AT THE AIRPORT (THE ONLY WAY THAT THINGS CAN BE GUARANTEED TO WORK HERE). AND TO BE MET BY A MEMBER OF THE CONSULATE-GENERAL STAFF. IN THE EVENT HE DID NOT ARRIVE OFF THE BA FLIGHT ON 3 MAY. ON CHECKING, HIS NAME COULD NOT BE FOUND ON THE PASSENGER LIST.

2. THE CONSULATE-GENERAL ARE INEVITABLY EMBARRASSED AT HAVING PULLED OUT ALL THE STOPS FOR A NON-EVENT AND IT WOULD HELP IN RECOVERING THEIR POSITION WITH THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES AND BA STAFF TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO VISCOUNT MOORE.

BACHE

YYYY

AOHPAN 0021

NNNN

MINIMAL
SEO

COPIES TO:
MR POWELL, NO 10
DOWNING ST.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1987

CCP

CD
5/3

Dear Charles,

Message to the Prime Minister from Mr Ozal

/ I enclose a reply from Mr Ozal to the Prime Minister's
/ message of 16 February (copy attached) which wished him
a speedy recovery from his recent heart by-pass surgery in
the United States.

We understand that Mr Ozal's surgery has been a
success, and that he is likely to return to Turkey on
8 or 9 March.

Yours ever,

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

UNCLASSIFIED

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RR ATHEN
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161640Z FEB
GRS 107

UNCLASSIFIED
FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA
TELNO 47
OF 161640Z FEBRUARY 87
INFO ROUTINE ATHENS, NICOSIA, WASHINGTON

MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO MR. OZAL

1. PLEASE DELIVER VIA MR OZAL'S OFFICE THE
FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER:
BEGINS. 'I WAS VERY SORRY TO HEAR THAT YOU HAD HAD TO
HAVE BY-PASS SURGERY IN HOUSTON RECENTLY, AND HOPE THAT
IT WILL NOT BE VERY LONG BEFORE YOU MAKE A FULL AND
COMPLETE RECOVERY. WARM REGARDS.' ENDS.

HOWE

OCMIAN 7948

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LIMITED
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ECD(E)
PROTOCOL.D

PS
MR THOMAS
MR RATFORD.
PSIPUS
PS/LADY YOUNG.

1
UNCLASSIFIED

TURKEY: Relations: Nov 1979



TURKISH EMBASSY

LONDON

1075/5-38-87

The Turkish Ambassador presents his compliments to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and has the honour to request that the enclosed message from His Excellency Mr. Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey to the Right Honourable Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, be forwarded to its high destination.

The Turkish Ambassador avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs the assurance of his highest consideration.

London, 27 February, 1987



Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.

SUBJECT
CC MASTER
OPS

TI

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
STANDARD 125A187.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MARGARET THATCHER MP
PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY SINCERE THANKS FOR YOUR
KIND MESSAGE WISHING A SPEEDY RECOVERY AFTER MY RECENT
SURGERY.

PLEASE ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, MY BEST WISHES FOR YOUR
PERSONAL HEALTH AND HAPPINESS AS WELL AS THE EXPRESSION
OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

TURGUT OZAL
PRIME MINISTER OF THE
REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

WBJECT
COMASTER
OPS

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T18187

UNCLASSIFIED

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161640Z FEB
GRS 107

UNCLASSIFIED
FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA
TELNO 47
OF 161640Z FEBRUARY 87
INFO ROUTINE ATHENS, NICOSIA, WASHINGTON

MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO MR OZAL

1. PLEASE DELIVER VIA MR OZAL'S OFFICE THE
FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER:
BEGINS. 'I WAS VERY SORRY TO HEAR THAT YOU HAD HAD TO
HAVE BY-PASS SURGERY IN HOUSTON RECENTLY, AND HOPE THAT
IT WILL NOT BE VERY LONG BEFORE YOU MAKE A FULL AND
COMPLETE RECOVERY. WARM REGARDS.' ENDS.

HOWE

OCMIAN 7948

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PS
MR THOMAS
MR RATFORD.
PS/PUS.
PS/LADY YOUNG.

1

UNCLASSIFIED

10 am.



Recd.
8th July

10 DOWNING STREET

Messrs

Ed. You please

find me $\frac{1}{2}$ hour

to the Turkish

Foreign Minister

in the period

6-8 July

CDR

16/2



FILE
DA
LPC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 February 1987

MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter of 13 February proposing that the Prime Minister should send Mr. Ozal a message following his heart operation in Houston. I am sure that she would be ready to do so and the message enclosed with your letter may be despatched (but please substitute "warm regards" for "kind regards").

(Charles Powell)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SRW

010

✓ PC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 February 1987

Dear Charles,

Message to Turkish Prime Minister

After his visit to Washington from 4-8 February, the Turkish Prime Minister went into a Houston hospital, where he was expected to have a check-up for a long-standing heart condition. It was something of a surprise when it was later announced that Ozal had just had by-pass surgery, which was apparently successful. He will be in hospital for at least 10 days.

The Foreign Secretary recommends that the Prime Minister be asked to send a message to Ozal. This gesture would be much appreciated by the Turks, particularly in the light of Ozal's visit to the UK last February. I attach a draft.

Yours ever,

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

DSR 11 (Revised Sept 85)

message
DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM: Prime Minister
DEPARTMENT:
BUILDING:

TEL. NO:

ROOM NO:

Reference

Your Reference

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

TO:

Copies to:

Mr Ozal

SUBJECT:

DRAFT MESSAGE TO TURKISH PRIME MINISTER

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

CAVEAT

"I was very sorry to hear that you had had to have by-pass surgery in Houston recently, and hope that it will not be very long before you make a full and complete recovery. Kind regards"

Enclosures flag(s)





FILE
DA
PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 December 1986

**VISIT TO THE UK BY THE TURKISH
FOREIGN MINISTER**

Thank you for your letter of 23 December asking whether the Prime Minister would agree to see the Turkish Foreign Minister next year. We are under fresh pressure to reduce the number of foreign visitors in the Prime Minister's diary and I am most reluctant to see any exception made for visiting Foreign Ministers. As you know the Prime Minister has already agreed to see the Spanish Foreign Minister.

(Charles Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GA



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 December 1986

Dear Charles,

Visit to the UK by the Turkish Foreign Minister

The Foreign Secretary has invited Mr Halefoglu to make an official visit to Britain in the early summer of 1987, as part of our policy of strengthening our bilateral relations with Turkey and keeping her firmly anchored to the Western Alliance.

Although the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr Ozal, visited the UK in February this year, this will be the first visit by a Turkish Foreign Minister for nearly four years. It will be in return for the visit to Ankara made by Sir Geoffrey Howe in February 1985. In view of the importance that both we and the Turks attach to our relationship and the role we have played in trying to normalise Turkey's relationship with Western Europe, the Foreign Secretary would be grateful if the Prime Minister would be prepared to receive Mr Halefoglu during his visit. Sir Geoffrey was received in Ankara by both Mr Ozal, and President Evren. If the Prime Minister agrees to this call, we would envisage her touching on EC questions and Cyprus as well as our bilateral and commercial relations. It would also be an excellent opportunity for her to reiterate our views on human rights.

We could offer alternative dates for Mr Halefoglu's visit, 5-7 May or 6-8 July. Which would best suit the Prime Minister?

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street



010
CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 November 1986

CD3
12/11

Dear Joan,

Meeting at House of Commons Between
Sir Frederick Bennett MP & Mr Denktash

The Leader of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus, Rauf Denktash, is visiting London from 16-17 November. Ministers in your Department may receive invitations from Sir Frederick Bennett MP to the House of Commons on 24 November for a meeting with Denktash, who is apparently described on the invitations as "President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". As you know, we do not accept Denktash's claim to be "President" of a separate state in Cyprus; not does any other country apart from Turkey.

The Greeks and Greek Cypriots are objecting strongly both to the fact of the Sir Frederick Bennett meeting, and in particular to the wording of the invitations. We have made clear to them that Sir Frederick Bennett is perfectly entitled to hold a meeting at the House of Commons with Denktash, and that this has no implications for HMG's policy, which is not to recognise the "TRNC". However, the Foreign Secretary believes it would be wise on this occasion entirely to disassociate HMG from the meeting and I should be grateful if you would advise your Ministers not to accept this invitation or any other which might involve a British Government Minister meeting Denktash during his visit.

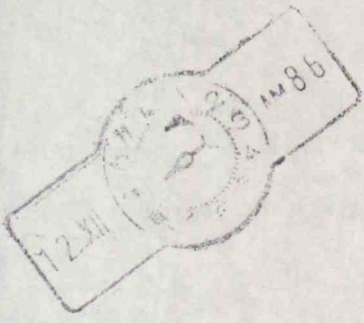
I am copying this letter to Charles Powell (No 10) and to all Private Secretaries to Ministers in Whitehall Departments.

Yours Sincerely,
Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

Miss Joan MacNaughton
PS/Lord President of the Council

CONFIDENTIAL



From Lord Wolfson

TELEPHONE: 01-636 4080

Prime Minister,

P. O. BOX 1BZ

UNIVERSAL HOUSE

251-256, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD

LONDON, W1A 1BZ

TELEX 27652

10th October, 1986

R11/10

Dear Prime Minister,

I am most grateful for according me the honour of representing you at the Memorial Service for the victims of the murderous attack in Istanbul.

The service was deeply moving, prayers being in the form of the Anglo-Portuguese liturgy with a part in the Turkish variety. A particularly poignant event was the blessing of a young boy, a refugee in Istanbul, who, but for having been taken for questioning by the Turkish police, would have been in the synagogue on the fatal day. Another member of the congregation had lost his grandfather in the outrage.

The tragedy gives special emphasis to your determined attempts to rid the world of the scourge of terrorism. I know the congregation was sincerely appreciative of your sympathy and condolences.

On a personal note may I wish you a happy birthday, and I hope you have fully recovered from your unfortunate accident. Many congratulations on a sparkling keynote speech on the final day of a highly successful and positive conference. It is the opening stage of an election campaign that will be vital to the security and prosperity of the nation, and I firmly believe you will lead the party to a unique third victory in succession.

*Kindest regards,
Yours sincerely,
Leonard Wolfson*

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
10 Downing Street,
London, SW1

010
CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 September 1986

MB
Dear Charles,

Prime Minister

cop
28/9.

Turkey: Ambassador's Farewell Call on President Evren

I am enclosing a copy of Ankara telno 457 which records Sir Mark Russell's farewell call on President Evren. You may wish to draw the Prime Minister's attention to paragraph 9.

The Ambassador was able to get across a number of important points, not least on EC/Turkey relations and on international cooperation to combat terrorism. The Turks have made clear on a number of occasions their appreciation of our support. The fact that Anglo-Turkish relations are so warm owes much to Mark Russell's skill. As you know, he is returning to take over from John Whitehead.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

GR5770
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM ANKARA

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 457

OF 191517Z SEPTEMBER 86

INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS, ATHENS ANAU NICOSIA, WASHINGTON
INFO ROUTINE ALL OTHER EC POSTS, UKDEL NATO, UKDEL STRASBOURG

FAREWELL CALL ON PRESIDENT EVREN

SUMMARY

1. THE CONVERSATION COVERED TERRORISM, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, THE EC AND THE NEED FOR TURKISH RESTRAINT AND STATESMANSHIP. THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY WARM IN HIS APPRECIATION OF BRITAIN'S ROLE AND UNDERSTANDING FOR TURKEY'S PROBLEMS. GREETINGS TO THE QUEEN AND PRIME MINISTER.

DETAIL

2. I PAID MY FAREWELL CALL ON PRESIDENT EVREN THIS AFTERNOON.

TERRORISM

3. AFTER EXPRESSING HIS APPRECIATION IN VERY WARM TERMS ABOUT ANGLO/TURKISH RELATIONS AND THE ROLE BRITAIN HAD PLAYED IN BRINGING ABOUT THE NORMALISATION OF TURKISH RELATIONS WITH THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE COMMUNITY, THE PRESIDENT SPOKE OF THE UNDERSTANDING WHICH BRITAIN HAD SHOWN OVER THE CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE MILITARY INTERVENTION OF SEPTEMBER 1980. THIS LED HIM INTO A FAIRLY LENGTHY STATEMENT ON TERRORISM, INCLUDING THE NEED FOR THE CLOSEST INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND HIS SUPPORT FOR THE USE OF THE DEATH PENALTY FOR TERRORIST CRIMES (HE TOOK THE SAME LINE WITH YOU IN FEBRUARY 1985). HE SPOKE WITH SOME INDIGNATION OF THE REFUGE WHICH TURKISH TERRORISTS GUILTY OF CAPITAL OFFENCES WERE ABLE TO FIND IN FEDERAL GERMANY. THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO EXTRADITE THEM BECAUSE OF THE DEATH PENALTY IN TURKEY.

4. HE SAID THAT WE WERE AT ONE ON THE NEED TO COMBAT TERRORISM AND FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO THAT END. SUCH COOPERATION WAS BEING BUILT UP BETWEEN THE UK AND TURKEY AND WE WISHED TO DEVELOP IT. WE DID NOT HAVE THE DEATH PENALTY IN THE UK. CONSIDERATION HAD BEEN GIVEN AT VARIOUS TIMES TO ITS RETURN. BUT PARLIAMENT HAD VOTED AGAINST. THE RISK OF CREATING MARTYRS WAS A VERY REAL ONE.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

5. BRITAIN HAD INDEED TRIED TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING OF TURKEY'S DIFFICULTIES. WE WELCOMED THE VERY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS MADE OVER DEMOCRATISATION AND ERADICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. WE WANTED THAT PROGRESS TO CONTINUE. RECALLING WHAT YOU HAD SAID TO THE PRESIDENT DURING YOUR VISIT HERE AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S

CONFIDENTIAL

/REMARKS

REMARKS TO MR OZAL IN LONDON, I SAID THAT CONTINUING PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS WAS ESSENTIAL TO THE STRENGTHENING OF TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH EUROPE. EUROPE FELT DEEPLY ON THE SUBJECT.

6. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT TURKEY WANTED FULL RELATIONS WITH EUROPE. HER RIGHTFUL PLACE WAS AS A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. HE DID NOT KNOW WHEN THAT WOULD HAPPEN. BUT THAT WAS TURKEY'S AIM. THIS GAVE ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASISE THE IMPORTANCE OF A STEP BY STEP APPROACH. REFERRING TO YOUR 'GREEN LIGHT' STATEMENT IN BRUSSELS, HE SAID THAT THE ASSOCIATION COUNCIL OPENED THE WAY TO TACKLING THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS. IT WAS NOT ONLY A QUESTION OF GREEK OPPOSITION. THERE WERE OTHER PROBLEMS, NOTABLY FREE MOVEMENT OF LABOUR, AND DIFFERENT ISSUES AFFECTED DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. THE ONLY WAY WE COULD SEE OF MAKING PROGRESS WAS THROUGH THE GRADUAL APPROACH AND NOT ATTEMPTING TO RUSH THE ISSUES.

RESTRAINT IN FOREIGN POLICY

7. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD. HE KNEW THAT TURKEY COULD RELY ON CONTINUING BRITISH SUPPORT. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO A FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND CONCLUDED BY THANKING ME AND WISHING ME WELL.

8. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME REMARKS IN CONCLUSION. HE COULD INDEED COUNT ON CONTINUING BRITISH SUPPORT AND HE WARMLY APPRECIATED WHAT HE HAD SAID. BUT, AS HE HAD INDICATED EARLIER, THE TASK FACING TURKEY AND HER FRIENDS WAS NOT EASY. TURKEY COULD FACILITATE THIS BY HER STATESMANSHIP. SHE HAD SHOWN SUCH STATESMANSHIP THROUGH MR DENKTASH'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PROPOSALS. SHE HAD SIMILARLY SHOWN STATESMANSHIP AT THE ASSOCIATION COUNCIL AND RESTRAINT IN THE AEGEAN. PATIENCE WOULD NOT ALWAYS BE EASY BUT PRECIPITATE MOVES COULD ONLY DAMAGE TURKEY'S INTERESTS AND HANDICAP HER FRIENDS.

MESSAGE TO THE QUEEN AND PRIME MINISTER.

9. FINALLY THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS WARMEST GREETINGS TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND THE PRIME MINISTER.

RUSSELL
AOHPAN 4057

LIMITED
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SCD
PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR EGGAR
PS/PUS
MR THOMAS
MR RATFORD

2.
CONFIDENTIAL



Royal Institute of Public Administration

RIPA

Director-General: William Plowden
3 Birdcage Walk, London SW1H 9JH
Telephone: 01-222 2248

Charles Powell Esq.
10 Downing Street
London
SW1

CDD.
8/7

30 June, 1986.

Dear Charles

Visitors from Turkish Prime Minister's Office

Many thanks for spending time last week with our visitors from Ankara. They appeared well satisfied with all their meetings and what they had learned there - even though somewhat taken aback by some of the differences between our system of government and theirs. It was good of you to spare the time to help us make their visit a success.

Yours ever

William

William Plowden



Post Office
New York

Address of recipient

Dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst. in relation to the matter mentioned therein. The same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration and they will advise you as soon as a decision has been reached.

Yours faithfully,
John Doe



Visit by 4 Turks
(Met by CDP)

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

Modern
Diplomats

Points for Turks

1. Introduce
2. Describe PM's office.
 - Privy office : 5
 - Press :
 - Honours & Appointments (Peterson)
 - Policy Unit.
 - Policy Unit + M. Secy.
3. Nature of people who staff.
 - origins
 - length of service
 - effect on career prospects
4. Non-political nature
 - matter of debate in this country.
5. Constitutional role: non-existent.
6. What we actually do.

- rde derives from proximity
- reponer physio.
- ultra instructus

010
With Compliments

Charles Powell

|| Please bring forward
on 20 June
am

RIPA

Royal Institute of Public Administration

3 Birdcage Walk, London SW1H 9JH Telephone: 01-222 2248

Royal Institute of Public Administration

RIPA

Director-General: William Plowden
3 Birdcage Walk, London SW1H 9JH
Telephone: 01-222 2248

Professor Brian Griffiths
10 Downing Street
London SW1

23 May, 1986.

Dear Professor Griffiths

Visitors from Turkish Prime Minister's Office

We have been asked by the Technical Cooperation Service of OECD to arrange a programme of visits next month for four officials from the Turkish Prime Minister's Office, who want to study the working of equivalent departments here. Given the relative importance of Britain's relationship with Turkey, plus the fact that they will have spent the previous week looking at government institutions in France, we are doing our best to arrange a really satisfactory programme for them in London.

I enclose a list of the issues in which they are interested. You will see that many of these are matters for the Treasury, the Management & Personnel Office, the Cabinet Office and the secretariat at No.10 (I am in touch with Charles Powell). But it seems obvious that the visitors would benefit greatly from hearing, in addition, about the work of the Policy Unit. Would there be any chance that either you or one of your colleagues could spare the inside of an hour to do this? I am quite sure that it would be useful and greatly appreciated.

They will be here from 23-27 June inclusive. 24 or 25 June would suit them best. We will spend 23 June giving them as extensive an introductory briefing as is possible from outside, so they should not need to ask the most basic questions. They will be accompanied by a representative of the RIPA and, if necessary, by an interpreter.

Yours sincerely

William Plowden

William Plowden

encl.

SUGGESTED LIST OF TOPICS
TO BE COVERED DURING THE VISITS
OF THE OFFICIALS FROM THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTRY

I. LEGAL SETTING AND POLITICAL REALITY

Constitutional setting.

The relationship between Parliament and the Executive (including aspects of regionalisation of the legislative process). Who takes the initiative in policy-making (the government alone or together with the majority in the Parliament)?

The party political scene. Aspects of political coalitions (continuous "coalition negotiations" for most major political decisions?)

Policy "frameworks" (stringency of party programmes for political decision-making; stringency of the Prime Minister's "opening speech" in Parliament after an election for political decision-making).

Position of the Prime Minister and/or the President/Queen.

Selection of Ministers. Degree of ministerial independence after Ministers have been selected. Degree of Prime Minister's control and command over Ministers (general guidelines or day-to-day control?).

Locus of final decision (according to the Constitution and the reality)?

II. GOVERNMENT'S STRUCTURE

Number of Ministries: distribution of political responsibilities.

Types of Ministries (from small policy ministries to "superministries").

Typical Ministry (hierarchy; use of "cabinets" or private offices or political advisers; top management, including whether civil servants or political appointees; how they normally relate to central offices such as a Prime Minister's Office or Cabinet Office).

Special role of the Ministry of Finance?

Does a special "State Planning Organisation" (or similar organisation for economic and social planning, or a strong central advisory unit on social and economic policy matters) exist, as is the case in Turkey? If yes, how is it incorporated into the decision-making process of the government? What is its relationship with the Prime Minister's Office?

Which other public bodies such as advisory councils or commissions (for instance economic advisory councils) exist which influence political decisions? What is their real power and influence? Have they been a positive or negative experience in the country's recent history?

III. WORKING OF OFFICES AT THE CENTRE OF GOVERNMENT

(Prime Minister's Office, or Cabinet Office, or equivalent, notably in all offices which relate to the Head of Government.)

Size of such offices. What percentage of manpower is really involved in the decision-making process? How many really give political or administrative advice? How many collect and process political and governmental information? How many are purely technical staff?

Structure of such offices. Does the structure reflect the ministerial system? (For instance, at least one unit in the Prime Minister's Office covering -"sitting vis-à-vis"- each Ministry or groups of Ministries.) Concept of a "mirror structure".

Evolution and degree of flexibility for change. Are the structures flexible or fixed and set down in a law?

Staffing policies. Is the Prime Minister's Office an attractive place to work in because of higher pay, chances for faster promotion? Is there a rotation of personnel between the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministries?, or a permanent career within the Prime Minister's Office? Advantages and disadvantages of rotation or lack of it? Special examination for candidates who want to work in the Prime Minister's Office (at the time of recruitment or promotion)? The relationship between political appointees and civil servants. Does the Prime Minister have the right to appoint and pay a number of advisors from outside the Civil Service?

Role of the Undersecretary or Permanent Secretary. (meaning the highest ranking civil servant in the Prime Ministry fully responsible for managing the Prime Minister's Office). Does all information and advice from the Prime Minister's Office pass through his desk on its way to the Prime Minister? Is he officially charged with the coordination of overall government policy? Can he convene the Undersecretaries of other Ministries in order to coordinate government policy or to prepare cabinet meetings? Can he talk directly to individual Ministers in order to coordinate government policy? Does he have an assigned role in crisis management?

Relationships between the Prime Minister's Office and Parliament. Is there a special political appointee in the Prime Minister's Office who ensures the relationship with the parliamentary majority? Or is the Undersecretary himself expected to fulfill this role? Does the Prime Minister reserve this role for himself? Do civil servants from the Prime Minister's Office have the right to attend parliamentary committee meetings?

IV. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT

(This subject may best be covered through the examination of a concrete example of a government initiative/project, for instance a change in taxation.)

Does the Ministry which prepares the legislative text have to consult the other concerned Ministries before presenting the text to the Cabinet of Ministers?

Must the Prime Minister's Office be notified of a new initiative? When? How?
Is there any formalised information system at the Prime Minister's Office to monitor the preparation and implementation of new initiatives (projects, laws, etc.)? Is there a special unit for this role? Does it keep track of what is coming up for Cabinet consideration and what has been completed in the course of a legislative period? How does this unit relate to other units of the Prime Minister's Office and to the specialists?

Is there a specialist in the Prime Minister's Office for any new governmental initiative? Does his work combine the political and juridicial/legalistic aspects of the initiative? Or is there a separate juridicial division with which he has to cooperate?

The specialist's relationship with other ministries. (Special allies; designated contact points; getting to know Ministry officials; exchanging information.)

Is there a formalised time limit (a week for example) for the Ministries to submit to the Prime Ministry the proposals (initiatives, laws, projects, etc.) which they wish to be included in the Cabinet's agenda, so that the specialists at the Prime Ministry have enough time to examine them and give advice?

If there is a separate "Planning Organisation" (as mentioned in Part II), what is the nature and form of cooperation and coordination (and conflict?) between these advisory institutions and the Prime Minister's Office?

Advising the Prime Minister on policies. How one hears of or decides on issues needing advice? Channels of advice and information to and from the Prime Minister, e.g. correspondence, individual memoranda.

How the advice function is structured within the Prime Ministry? Units or independent advisors? How do they relate to the rest of the office?

Final agenda of Cabinet meetings. Who fixes it? The Prime Minister himself? The Prime Minister on the advice of the Undersecretary of the Prime Ministry? Is there a last chance to mediate between Ministries before the Cabinet meeting, for instance by way of a meeting of the Undersecretary of the Prime Ministry with all other Undersecretaries?

Feedback to the Prime Minister's Office. How do the specialists get the feedback of what has been decided in the Cabinet meetings? Are the Cabinet minutes or records of decisions circulated or made accessible to the civil servants in the Prime Minister's Office?

Formalised internal meetings. Is there a daily meeting between the top civil servants in the Prime Minister's Office? If yes, does the Undersecretary use this meeting to direct the day-to-day activity of the Prime Minister's Office and also give the necessary feedback to top civil servants?

Government information system. Is there a unit in the Prime Minister's Office which manages information for public communications and press relations?

Crisis management. What are the ground rules, communication structures and facilities for crisis management?

Internal co-ordination. Distribution of correspondence or memoranda; staff meetings; staff officers to top management.

Delegation of decision-making and control.

Work plans for daily affairs or business/activity lists.

Uses of technology. For instance special communications networks; use of desk-top computers; electronic mail.

V. OVERALL PUBLIC PERSONNEL POLICIES.

Scope. (Different degrees and levels of "public service".)

Career groups. Their educational prerequisites.

Control of overall pay and numbers.

Recruitment; promotion; career paths.

Training (pre-service and mid-career).

Pay levels, incentives, personnel assessments and rewards.

Mobility. Rotation, especially between Ministries and between the Prime Ministry and other Ministries.

Personnel management in an individual ministry.

VISITORS TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE

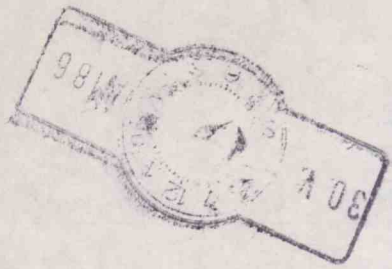
France: 16th - 20th June, 1986
United Kingdom: 23rd - 27th June, 1986

Mr. Sener MACUN
Deputy Undersecretary
The Prime Ministry

Mr. Esref SENALP
Adviser at the Prime Ministry

Mr. Nevzat DEMIRTAS
Secretary General of the Council of Ministers
The Prime Ministry

Mr. Necmettin BILEN
Deputy Director General
General Directorate for Laws and Decrees
The Prime Ministry



UNCLASSIFIED

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OCMIAN 4174
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OO ANKAR
FM FCOLN TO ANKAR
041500Z OCT
GRS 109

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T173AA/85

*Ce Master
ops*

UNCLASSIFIED
FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA
TELNO 265
OF 041500Z OCTOBER 85

LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER FROM MR OZAL

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR OZAL'S OFFICE:

BEGINS:

'DEAR PRIME MINISTER,
THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND LETTER OF 5 SEPTEMBER CONCERNING THE MOTHERLAND PARTY'S RECENT ADMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC UNION.

I AM NATURALLY DELIGHTED THAT YOUR PARTY IS NOW A MEMBER OF THE EDU AND LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING FULLY WITH YOU IN THAT FORUM.

WITH BEST WISHES,
MARGARET THATCHER.'

ENDS.

2. A COPY OF MR OZAL'S LETTER DATED 5 SEPTEMBER, UNFORTUNATELY NOT RECEIVED BY THE FCO UNTIL 25 SEPTEMBER, FOLLOWS BY BAG.

HOWE
LIMITED
SED
PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR EGGAR

COPIES TO:

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST.

1

UNCLASSIFIED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 October 1985

Stephen Sherbourne Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Stephen

1. Here is the original letter from the Turkish Prime Minister to the Prime Minister. As you will see, it was sent to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office but only received on 25 September. Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I propose to authorize the transmission of the draft message to Mr Ozal. It has the approval of CCO and of Southern European Department here. Perhaps you would confirm.

Yours ever,

Adam

Adam Fergusson

Mr. Sherbourne
Re reply can issue

CDP
Mr Powell 4/R.

This is the first time I have seen this correspondence. I understand from Fergusson that Le Las might CCO advise on the draft reply. But you ought to see the reply before it is sent. I suggest you authorize the transmission of the letter.

SP 2/10..

subject
ccops
master.



Mr. Adam Ferguson (K195c)

10
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T158B/85

We spoke. You agreed
to make this on as a
priority matter. We shd.
be happy to arrange
transmission of any
message the P. on approval.
I attach a look-stry. reply.

ANAVATAN PARTISI
GENEL MERKEZI

R. L. Hutson 27/3

Sayı :
Konu :

5 9 5
...../...../198

2/14
TCO

13

Mrs. Margareth Thatcher
Prime Minister

15

Dear Prime Minister,

It gives me a singular pleasure to thank you for myself and on behalf of the Motherland Party's members for your kind assistance for our admission in E.D.U.

I believe that E.D.U. constitutes a precious platform where by democratic ideals peace and economic prosperity are cherished for a better world and where various issues can be resolved through direct dialogue. I would like to inform you that the Motherland Party will honor its responsibilities in contributing to the full realization of the E.D.U. objectives.

On the other hand there is no doubt that our country and our party will certainly draw benefits from our admission to E.D.U.

It should also be mentioned that by our inclusion in the European Democrat Union, E.D.U. will be all the more strenghtened, considering Motherland Party's 8 million electorates and almost a million membership.

In closing, once again I would like to express our sincerest appreciation for your trust and gracious help in admitting our party to this most eminent family.

Turgut ÖZAL
Chairman of the Motherland Party

Cfe



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 March 1985

Dear Charles,

Possible Visit by the Prime Minister to Turkey

In my letter of 1 February I promised to let you have the Foreign Secretary's considered views on a visit to Turkey by the Prime Minister after his return from his own visit to that country.

In the event the Turks did not press the question and indeed only raised it in a way which allows us time for full consideration of its manner and timing. The Foreign Secretary's view is that the Prime Minister should not visit Turkey for the time being because, following closely on his own, it would give the appearance of being unduly supportive of a government which, whilst a good NATO ally, has a human rights record which still causes us concern.

High level contact with the Turks could be maintained in the near future by an unofficial visit here by the Turkish Prime Minister. Chatham House have indicated a willingness to invite him to address one of their meetings and we shall encourage them to do so. This will enable us to arrange a full programme of calls without the possible political embarrassment (human rights again) of having him here as an official guest of government. The question of a visit to Turkey by the Prime Minister could then be looked at in the light of the value of Ozal's visit. On present form we would hope the Turks may have improved their international reputation sufficiently to allow for the Prime Minister to think of a visit towards the end of 1986.

Yours ever,
Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Turkey: Pels. Nov 79

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 February, 1985

NBPM
CDP
1/2.

Dear Charles,

Possible Visit by the Prime Minister to Turkey

Thank you for your letter of 23 January.

As you know, the Foreign Secretary is visiting Turkey from 11 to 13 February. He has noted the Prime Minister's comments and will let her have his considered views shortly after his return. It now seems probable that the Turkish Prime Minister will pass on to the Foreign Secretary during this visit an invitation to the Prime Minister to visit Turkey. If so Sir Geoffrey will express thanks and undertake to convey the invitation to Mrs Thatcher.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 1000 NEW YORK, N.Y.



21 FEB 1988





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 January, 1985

POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO TURKEY

The Prime Minister has noted the suggestion in Ankara telegram number 47 that she might visit Turkey later this year or early next. She has commented that she is not keen to do this at present; and as you know it would in fact be very difficult for her to fit it in this year. But she has not reached a considered view on this and were the Foreign Secretary to make a strong recommendation that she should go, I am sure that she would be prepared to consider this.

(C.D. Powell)

L. Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CHECKING ON HT NOW

IMMEDIATE

ADVANCE COPY

DWF F 026/22

LFG 147/22

OO FCO

RR #STANBUL

GRS 1250

CONFIDENTIAL

FM ANKARA 221000Z JAN 85

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 047 OF 22 JANUARY

INFO ROUTINE #STANBUL

MY TWO #PTS: SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT; FURTHER HIGH LEVEL EXCHANGES. *telegrams dismissed in the*

SUMMARY

1. HALEFOGLU HAS PROPOSED A STATE VISIT TO THE UK BY PRESIDENT EVREN THIS YEAR. THIS IS PRESUMABLY A NON-STARTER. BUT I RECOMMEND THAT WE SHOULD NOW CONSIDER FURTHER HIGH LEVEL EXCHANGES ON THE LINES OF A VISIT TO TURKEY BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND A STATE VISIT TO THE UK BY THE PRESIDENT TOWARDS THE END OF HIS TERM. HALEFOGLU WILL EXPECT TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT. I SUGGEST AT THE TETE-A-TETE SESSION.

DETAIL

2. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION ABOUT YOUR PROGRAMME BELEN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY HALEFOGLU TO PUT THE FOLLOWING TO ME.

3. IT WAS NEARLY FOURTEEN YEARS SINCE HM THE QUEEN HAD VISITED TURKEY AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT NOW FELT THAT THE TIME WAS RIGHT FOR PRESIDENT EVREN TO PAY A STATE VISIT TO THE UK. TURKISH/UK RELATIONS WERE VERY GOOD AND A VISIT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL WOULD SERVE TO UNDERLINE THIS IN AN UNMISTAKABLE WAY. HALEFOGLU VERY MUCH HOPED THEREFORE THAT YOU WOULD COME TO ANKARA WITH AN INVITATION FROM THE QUEEN FOR A STATE VISIT BY PRESIDENT EVREN AT THE END OF THIS YEAR. BELEN ADDED THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO INVITE THE WEST GERMAN PRESIDENT TO TURKEY IN 1986.

4. I SAID THAT MR HALEFOGLU HAD MENTIONED THE QUESTION OF HIGH LEVEL EXCHANGES TO ME SOME MONTHS AGO, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT BY PRESIDENT EVREN (SEE MY TELS NOS. 319 AND 320 OF 18 JUNE LAST). HE HAD, HOWEVER, THEN SPOKEN TO ME IN TERMS FIRST OF AN INVITATION TO MRS THATCHER, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A VISIT TO THE UK BY THE PRESIDENT. I ASKED WHETHER HALEFOGLU HAD MENTIONED

PS

PS/ Lady Yang

PS/ Renta

Hd/ S&S

Hd/ Protocol D

MR. EGERTON

~~Mr. Egerton~~

Mr Jenkins

x7

PS/ NO 10

Prime Minister

You will want to be aware that a

possible visit by you to Turkey is being



edp 22/1

Not been approved

THE UK BY THE PRESIDENT. I ASKED WHETHER HALEFOGLU HAD MENTIONED MRS THATCHER IN MAKING THIS NEW PROPOSAL. BELEN REPLIED THAT IN SPEAKING TO HIM, MR HALEFOGLU HAD DISCUSSED ONLY THE HEAD OF STATE PROPOSAL.

5. STRESSING THAT I WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, I SAID THAT A FULL STATE VISIT TO THE UK AT SUCH SHORT NOTICE WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. THE NUMBER OF SUCH VISITS IN ANY ONE YEAR WAS, I THOUGHT, LIMITED TO THREE AND THEY WERE PLANNED A LONG WAY IN ADVANCE. WE DID, HOWEVER, ARRANGE TWO TYPES OF VISITS FOR HEADS OF STATE, FULL STATE VISITS AND 'OFFICIAL'. I EXPLAINED THE DIFFERENCE. GIVEN THAT UNDER THE TURKISH CONSTITUTION PRESIDENT EVREN, WHILE NOT HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT, WAS MORE THAN A TITULAR HEAD OF STATE, E.G. HE CHAIRED THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND SOMETIMES MEETINGS OF THE CABINET, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO ENVISAGE AN 'OFFICIAL' VISIT WITH ITS GREATER EMPHASIS ON TALKS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER ETC. IF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WISHED TO THINK IN TERMS OF AN EARLIER RATHER THAN LATER VISIT BY PRESIDENT EVREN TO THE UK THE IDEA OF AN OFFICIAL VISIT MIGHT BE WORTH CONSIDERING. BELEN TOOK NOTE BUT THOUGHT THAT HALEFOGLU'S IDEA WAS A FULL STATE VISIT AND HE REPEATED THE HOPE THAT YOU WOULD COME WITH A SUITABLE INVITATION.

COMMENT

6. I HAD IN ANY CASE BEEN INTENDING TO PUT TO YOU SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT FUTURE HIGH LEVEL VISITS. THE MOMENTUM OF ANGLO/TURKISH RELATIONS IS BEING STEADILY BUILT UP AND YOUR VISIT FOLLOWING THOSE OF LORD BELSTEAD, MR HESELTINE AND MR PATTIE AND ON THE COMMERCIAL SIDE BY THE DUKE OF KENT AND HIS MISSION ARE MAJOR STEPS IN THAT PROCESS. WE CAN MAINTAIN THIS IN A VARIETY OF WAYS. THERE ARE FURTHER, THOUGH LOWER LEVEL, TRADE MISSIONS SCHEDULED FOR THIS YEAR AND A HIGH LEVEL SEMINAR ON INVISIBLES IS BEING ARRANGED FOR MAY. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL IS VISITING ALSO IN MAY AND I UNDERSTAND THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAVE SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF GENERAL STANIER OR PERHAPS ONE OF THE OTHER SERVICE CHIEFS COMING TO TURKEY IN THE SUMMER. THE PROCESS WOULD BE REINFORCED BY FURTHER MINISTERIAL VISITS. MR HALEFOGLU HAS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE LADY YOUNG AND THERE IS ALSO A PROPOSAL OUTSTANDING FROM THE TURKISH MINISTER OF CULTURE THAT LORD GOWRIE MIGHT COME. AT AN APPROPRIATE MOMENT MR CHANNON MIGHT BE ANOTHER POSSIBILITY. ALL THIS WOULD BE VERY WELCOME HERE. BUT THE CLEAREST SIGNAL WE COULD GIVE OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH THE UK AND WITH WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF VISITS AT THE PRIME MINISTER AND SUBSEQUENTLY HEAD OF STATE LEVEL.

7. I SUGGESTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF MY TELNO 320 THAT A VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN 1985 MIGHT BE JUSTIFIED. I THINK NOW THAT IN TERMS OF OUR OVERALL INTERESTS HERE SUCH A VISIT WOULD BE TIMELY. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT KOHL IS SCHEDULED TO COME HERE IN MAY AND OZAL WILL BE GOING TO WASHINGTON IN APRIL.

8. I KNOW THAT THE PRESSURES ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S DIARY ARE FORMIDABLE AND THAT SHE CAN ONLY VISIT A FEW COUNTRIES IN ANY YEAR. BUT IF SHE HAS PLANS TO VISIT ANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA E.G. IN THE SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER BEFORE THE CONFERENCE SEASON I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE INCLUSION OF TURKEY COULD BE

SEASON I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE INCLUSION OF TURKEY COULD BE CONSIDERED. IF THAT TIMING IS NOT POSSIBLE WE MIGHT LOOK AT THE FIRST HALF OF 1986.

9. AS REGARDS PRESIDENT EVREN, I ASSUME THAT ON SCHEDULING GROUNDS ALONE A STATE VISIT IS NOT A STARTER BEFORE 1987 OR 1988. BUT NOW THAT HALEFOGLU HAS RAISED THE MATTER MORE FORMALLY WE SHALL NEED TO CONSIDER THE PRINCIPLE. SIR JULIAN BULLARD POINTED OUT THE POLITICAL AND PRESENTATIONAL PROBLEMS IN HIS MINUTE TO SED OF 23 MARCH 1984 AND ALSO MENTIONED THE IDEA OF AN OFFICIAL VISIT. I THINK THAT THE TURKS WOULD REGARD THAT AS A SECOND BEST AND WOULD PREFER TO WAIT FOR A FULL STATE VISIT IF THEY KNEW THAT ONE COULD BE ARRANGED DURING PRESIDENT EVREN'S TERM OF OFFICE WHICH IS NOT UP UNTIL NOVEMBER 1989 (SEE ALSO PARAGRAPH 3 OF MY TELNO 320). I SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD NOW LOOK AT THIS LATTER POSSIBILITY. A STRONG CASE COULD BE MADE IN FAVOUR OF A STATE VISIT IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR LONG TERM POLICY OF STRENGTHENING TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND A LATER DATE WOULD ALLOW MORE TIME FOR PROGRESS HERE ON DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. A GENERAL ELECTION WILL HAVE TO TAKE PLACE BY NOVEMBER 1989 AT THE LATEST.

RECOMMENDATION

10. I RECOMMEND ACCORDINGLY THAT WE SHOULD NOW THINK IN TERMS OF:-

- (A) A VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO TURKEY WITH AUTUMN THIS YEAR OR THE FIRST HALF OF NEXT YEAR AS POSSIBILITIES SEMI COLON
- (B) A STATE VISIT BY PRESIDENT EVREN TO THE UK TOWARDS THE END OF HIS TERM OF OFFICE.

THERE WOULD NOT, I IMAGINE, BE TIME FOR DECISIONS ON THESE PROPOSALS TO BE TAKEN IN ADVANCE OF YOUR VISIT BUT IN YOUR TETE-TETE SESSION WITH HALEFOGLU YOU MIGHT GO OVER THE POSSIBILITIES WITH HIM. HE WILL IN ANY CASE EXPECT SOME DISCUSSION ON HIS PROPOSAL.

RUSSELL

NNNN

TURKISH EMBASSY
LONDON

1075/3-312-83



The Turkish Ambassador presents his compliments to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and has the honour to request that the enclosed message from His Excellency Mr. Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, to The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., may be forwarded to the Prime Minister.

The Turkish Ambassador avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State the assurance of his highest consideration.

London, 21/7 December, 1983.



Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Downing Street,
SW1A 2AL

SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 227^a/83

THE RT.HON. MARGARET THATCHER, M.P.,
PRIME MINISTER

*Master
ops*

I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT TO YOUR EXCELLENCY
MY SINCERE THANKS FOR YOUR KIND MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS
SENT TO ME UPON MY APPOINTMENT AS PRIME MINISTER OF THE
REPUBLIC OF TURKEY.

I AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONFIRM MY
SINCERE HOPE THAT THE CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WHICH
EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE FURTHER STRENGTHENED.

TURGUT OZAL
PRIME MINISTER OF THE
REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

13 JAN 1964

11 12 1 2 3
4 5 6 7 8 9
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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

16 December, 1983

A.J.C. ^{14.}/₁₂

f.a.

Her Hon.

In your letter of 9 December to Peter Ricketts you confirmed that messages might be sent from the Prime Minister to the incoming and outgoing Prime Ministers of Turkey.

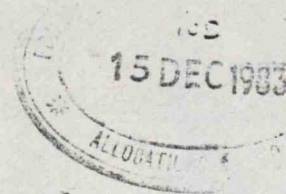
The Turkish Embassy have now forwarded the attached reply from the outgoing Prime Minister, Mr Bulend Ulusu.

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

TURKISH EMBASSY
LONDON

1075/4-608-83



The Turkish Ambassador presents his compliments to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and has the honour to request that the enclosed message from His Excellency Mr. Bulend Ulusu to The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., may be forwarded to The Prime Minister.

The Turkish Ambassador avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs the assurance of his highest consideration.

London, 13th December, 1983.



Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Downing Street,
SWIA 2AL

THE RT.HON. MARGARET THATCHER,M.P.,
PRIME MINISTER

I AM VERY THANKFUL FOR YOUR GRACIOUS MESSAGE
OF DECEMBER 9 1983.

AS I AM ABOUT TO RELINQUISH MY RESPONSIBILITIES
AS PRIME MINISTER I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS
TO YOU MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING
OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT DURING THE DIFFICULT PERIOD THAT
TURKEY HAS GONE THROUGH.

NOW, HAVING ACHIEVED THE GOAL OF RESTORATION OF
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY, I AM CONFIDENT THAT
CO-OPERATION WILL CONTINUE TO FURTHER DEVELOP BETWEEN THE
NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, REFLECTING
OUR TRADITIONAL TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH,WE BELIEVE, ARE STRONG
ENOUGH TO ENDURE THE TESTS OF CURRENT QUESTIONS OF COMMON CONCERN.

WITH MY BEST WISHES,

SINCERELY YOURS,

BULEND ULUSU

TURKEY : Relations

Nov 79

116 DEC 1983



SUBJECT cc Master
Ops

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

TOP COPY
R. P. A. M.
D. K. 2

SERIAL No. T 207 AA/83

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5975 - 2

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WST 020/9	
12 DEC 1983	
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DESKBY 091300Z

FM FCO 091215Z DEC 83

TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA

TELEGRAM NO 335 OF 9 DEC 1983

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGES TO (1) MR OZAL AND (2) MR ULUSU FROM THE PRIME MINISTER:

1. 'MY DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

I SEND YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR RECENT ELECTION VICTORY AND ON YOUR APPOINTMENT AS THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WHICH EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL CONTINUE TO FLOURISH UNDER YOUR WISE ADMINISTRATION.

YOURS SINCERELY, MARGARET THATCHER'

2. 'YOUR EXCELLENCY,

AS YOU RELINQUISH THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER WHICH YOU HAVE HELD WITH SUCH DISTINCTION SINCE 1980 I SHOULD LIKE TO OFFER YOU THE BEST WISHES OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND OF MYSELF FOR THE FUTURE.

YOURS SINCERELY, MARGARET THATCHER.'

HOWE
NNNN
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PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
SIR J BULLARD
MR JENKINS

14 DEC 1983





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 December 1983

This is to confirm my telephone conversation earlier today when I told you that the Prime Minister has agreed to the dispatch of the following messages:-

- a) To the Spanish Prime Minister (Roger Bone's letter of 8 December).
- b) To the Venezuelan President-elect (your letter of 7 December).
- c) To the new Prime Minister of Turkey and the outgoing Prime Minister (your letter of 8 December).

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Prime Minister.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Agree both messages?A.S.C. P.
12

8 December 1983

John Thur.

M

Turkey: Appointment of new Prime Minister

Following the elections in Turkey on 6 November, President Evren has now invited Mr Gurcut Ozal, as Prime Minister elect, to form a government. It will probably assume office on 9 or 10 December. The Prime Minister may wish to send a message of congratulations to Mr Ozal, and a farewell message to the outgoing Prime Minister, Mr Bulend Ulusu. I enclose drafts.

Mr Ozal's Motherland Party won a decisive victory in the elections. Although these elections fell short of being fully democratic (restrictions were put on both parties and candidates) they were nevertheless conducted fairly and the Turkish voter was offered a clear political choice. They represent an important step to the restoration of full democracy. The Motherland Party was not the Generals' preferred choice. But Turkish voters have, in fact, probably chosen the best of the candidates on offer. Mr Ozal is an economist of international standing and the architect (as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of State for Economic Affairs from 1980-82) of Turkey's recent economic recovery. The size of the turn-out at the elections and of Mr Ozal's majority (he gained 45 per cent of the vote) amounts to a significant vote of confidence in him.

So far as we are aware, Mrs Thatcher has never met the outgoing Prime Minister, unless she did so when he attended the Royal Wedding in 1981. Although an appointee of General Evren's military government, he has proved to be the effective head of an administration which has restored stability, revived the economy and steadfastly maintained Turkey's commitment to the Western Alliance despite what the Turks would regard as the unfriendly behaviour by some of their NATO allies, the Council of Europe and the EC. Mr Ulusu is likely furthermore to continue to be an influential figure in Turkey. A farewell message to him would therefore be appropriate.

/I should

CONFIDENTIAL



I should be grateful if you would let me know if the terms of the messages are approved so that we can send the texts to the Embassy in Ankara for delivery as soon as possible.

Yes
R B Bone

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

The Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

HE Mr Bulend Ulusu

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

As you relinquish the office of Prime Minister which you have held with such distinction since 1980 I should like to offer you the best wishes of Her Majesty's Government and of myself for the future.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

The Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

HE Mr Turgat^u Ozal^u

Copies to:

Prime Minister (designate) of the

Turkish Republic

PRIVACY MARKING

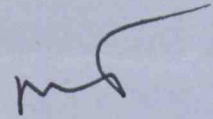
SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

I send you my warmest congratulations on your recent election victory and on your appointment as the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic.

I am confident that the close and friendly relations which exist between our two countries will continue to flourish under your wise administration.



Enclosures—flag(s).....

CONFIDENTIAL



CY/0

A.S.C. 15

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

h.a.

The Rt Hon Paul Channon MP
Minister for Trade
Department of Trade and Industry
1 Victoria Street
LONDON SW1H 0ET

14 November 1983

Dear Minister

TURKEY: DIESEL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 7 October to Timothy Raison. I have also seen Mr Cole's letter of 17 October and Timothy Raison's reply of 24 October.

It is of course regrettable that the Germans should have secured this contract against a more competitive British bid by offering an excessively generous aid and credit package. I agree with Timothy Raison that this particular case is not a matter of sufficient importance to warrant the Prime Minister's personal intervention, but it would be useful if he could raise the general question of the wasteful competition in mixed credits when he meets his German counterpart in Bonn next month.

Whilst I fully understand your disappointment at the loss of this particular contract, I think we must be careful not to draw hasty conclusions for our general policy on mixed credits from what has happened in this case. As Timothy Raison points out, the Germans here were offering aid from their bilateral programme in conjunction with export credit. ATP is not designed to match the sort of grant element that such a combination is likely to produce. The final UK offer in this case was already way above the agreed subsidy threshold for ATP cases and any further improvement could not possibly have been justified in economic terms. Nor do I follow your argument that we might have won the contract if the UK aid offer had been made earlier - ie. as an initiation. It seems more likely that this would just have started the aid auction from a higher base. It is not in our overall interest to be seen to be using mixed credits more aggressively. We have always recognised that if a mixed credit war ever broke out in earnest (eg. with full US participation) the UK simply has not got the resources to compete. This is why we should in my view be seeking every means of securing international agreement to restrict the use of mixed credits and similar techniques.

CONFIDENTIAL

Finally, we should not forget that the successful German tender includes a substantial UK sub-contract. Had we succeeded in securing the main contract for the British bid by a massive increase in our already generous ATF offer, we might now be in some difficulty to explain why we had spent £8-9m to buy £15m exports for Brush when we could have had £7m exports for GEC at no cost to the British taxpayer.

I am copying this letter to recipients of the previous correspondence.

Yours sincerely

J. G. G. G.

for PETER REES

[Approved by the Chief Secretary]

Turkey
Anglo-Turk. Relat.
Nov. 79.

15 NOV 1897



CONFIDENTIAL



file

kw

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

31 October, 1983

EX: FCO
HMT
DTI
CO

TURKEY: DIESEL ELECTRONIC LOCOMOTIVES

Thank you for your letter of 27 October.

The Prime Minister has noted that both your Department and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office agree that it would not be productive for the Prime Minister to raise this matter with the Federal German Chancellor but that certain points will be pursued through official contacts.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the other members of EX and to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

A. L. COLES

J. Rees, Esq.,
Department of Trade and Industry

BR

C. No.

②



DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET

TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-215 5144
SWITCHBOARD 01-215 7877

From the Minister for Trade

John Coles Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
London SW1

mt

27th October 1983

Dear John

Prime Minister

I think this is the right way to handle it - given all the issues we have to raise with Chancellor Kohl. A.J.C. - 25/10

TURKEY: DIESEL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES

Thank you for your letter of 17 October asking whether the Prime Minister should raise the above case with Chancellor Kohl in their forthcoming meeting.

Although the German action in this instance contrasts with the posture stance they tend to adopt in international discussions on mixed credits, both we and the FCO agree that it would not be productive for the Prime Minister to raise the case with the West German Chancellor. There are certain points which will, however, be pursued through official contacts. More important, the case shows that we must be sharper in countering the tactics of our competitors, particularly when they appear to be part of a concentrated campaign to secure orders for their industry in a way that puts ours in jeopardy.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries of other members of EX and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely,

Jonathan Rees

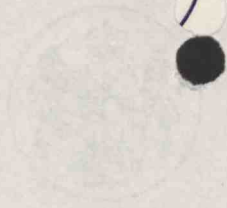
JONATHAN REES
Private Secretary to the
Minister for Trade (PAUL CHANNON)

CONFIDENTIAL

22.8 OCT 1985

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TURKEY
Anglo/Turkish
Relations
Nov. 79





OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
ELAND HOUSE
STAG PLACE LONDON SW1E 5DH

Telephone 01-213 5409

From the Minister

24 October 1983

The Rt Hon Paul Channon MP
Minister for Trade
Department of Trade and Industry
1 Victoria Street
LONDON SW1

Await JTI and FCO.

*ARL 25
/w.*

Dear Paul

TURKEY: DIESEL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES

Thank you for your letter of 7 October. I, too, am concerned about the Germans' actions in this case. It indicates both how easy it would be to slip into a credit race; and how expensive it can be to win. We need to bear in mind that Germany has a far bigger aid programme to Turkey than we do, and along with France and Japan, a far larger aid programme than ours world-wide.

I am not sure that I can agree with your implication that there was too little flexibility in our actions on this case: I think we acted both flexibly and promptly. After all, our original offer had a grant element of just over 25 per cent whereas the German offer we were "matching" had a grant element of only 20 per cent.

The real problem is that we finally found ourselves not in the business of matching mixed credit finance on the usual basis, but money which was largely a very soft aid loan with an admixture of buyer credit, producing a much higher grant element. ATP is not designed for that kind of operation. Save in exceptional cases I think it is unwise to offer under the ATP UK packages with grant elements substantially in excess of the usual norm of some 25 per cent to buy business: you will recall that the Treasury were unhappy even that the final British matching offer amounted to a 36.5 per cent grant element. Where our competitors are utilising normal aid money in their bid I do not think it is possible for a combination of ATP grant and ECGD credit to win an 'auction' for the business. In this case the German money was, we understand, in part aid funds for Turkey unallocated from previous years' aid programmes used to top up the DM20 million from the 1983 programme. The Turks could have proposed other ways of using this to the Germans. Our own offer involved new money, with the aid (ATP) grant available to the Turks only for this contract - this ought to have weighed heavily in our favour. It is a pity that this was not made amply clear to the Turks or, if it was, that it weighed so little with them; perhaps they were seeking a way of allocating unused German aid funds.

/I welcome



I welcome the Prime Minister's interest in this (No 10's letter of 17 October). I do not myself think that the present case would merit the matter being raised at Prime Ministerial level. The successful German offer does not involve any breach of the OECD agreements on mixed credits. Nevertheless, our concern about the increasing competitive use of mixed credits and the way in which developing countries can play off one donor against another is well illustrated by this case. I hope to be able to use the opportunity of my bilateral discussions in Bonn on 21 November to raise the general question.

I am copying this letter to the recipients of yours.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'T' followed by 'R' and 'AISON'.

TIMOTHY RAISON

TURKEY: Anglo-Turkish Pets

Nov. 79

24 Oct 1983





N. B. P. A.

A. J. C. 24.

MO 6/12

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AND HE MR ULUSU, PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY,
HELD IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
AT 0950 HOURS ON 18TH OCTOBER 1983

Present:

The Rt Hon Michael Heseltine MP
Secretary of State for Defence

His Excellency Mr Bülend Ulusu
Prime Minister

His Excellency Mr R M Russell CMG
HM Ambassador, Ankara

His Excellency Mr Haluk Bayülken
Minister of Defence

Mr J N H Belloch
DUS (P)

Brigadier General M Okçu

Mr N H R Evans
APS/Secretary of State

1. The Prime Minister said that he was very glad to see Mr Heseltine. His visit would contribute to the excellent relations between Britain and Turkey. The Turkish government was grateful for the support which they had received from Britain since they had come to power on 12th September 1980. Britain had adopted a more friendly disposition towards Turkey than had the rest of Europe. The Turks sometimes had difficulty in presenting themselves internationally. These problems stemmed from Turkey's geo-political situation. He often used the analogy of a game of football with players and spectators. For example in Western Europe the game was played on grass and when, for example, the Netherlands were playing, the French applauded. Turkey however played on a field of soil and her neighbours, the USSR, Bulgaria and Greece would boo and throw bottles. There were differences of culture and background between the Western European and Turkish situations. Britain understood this and he wished to express his thanks for the understanding which Britain had shown since 1980, in connection with Turkey's EEC application, in the OECD and elsewhere. There had been connections between Britain and Turkey for 400 years.



2. Continuing the Prime Minister said that the political situation in Turkey was now stable. The need now was to achieve economic stability. So far as external relations were concerned he recalled that he had spoken with a high placed Soviet official at the funeral of President Brezhnev. The official had said that he was responsible for Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. Iran was becoming ripe fruit for Russian picking. Greece had not been mentioned. He also recalled that King Fahd had said to him that the Saudis saw Turkey as a strong bastion against aggression and subversion. Turkey had a very important role to play in NATO with her armed forces of over half a million men. The need for strong defences was not in doubt. But strong defences had to be based on a sound economy and Turkey wished to be part of the Economic Community of Europe. They co-operated well with Europe on military matters within the NATO alliance. But economic co-operation within the EEC was not satisfactory. Turkey's exports to the EEC were blocked by France and Greece. It was necessary to get a better balance between economic and military co-operation.

3. The Secretary of State said that he was grateful for the exposition of Turkey's place in the world which the Prime Minister had given. Britain was sympathetic to Turkey's problems. In particular we recognised the importance of Turkey's contribution to the NATO alliance and the pivotal position of Turkey on the Southern Flank. It was inevitable that there would be pressure from those countries with secure democracies on those countries where the democratic system was less soundly based. He was glad that Turkey was now taking steps to begin to restore her democratic system. But she would not avoid criticism from Western nations until democratic freedoms had been fully restored. There was no doubt that controls on the number of parties who were allowed to participate in the forthcoming Election would not help. But, equally, there was a great opportunity for Turkey to articulate the significant steps she was making to return to full democracy. He accepted the Prime Minister's geographical analysis of Turkey's position and he was very glad to be able to come to Turkey to see and listen. He had already discussed with Mr Bayülken the opportunities which existed for greater military and industrial collaboration between Britain and Turkey. Britain could not afford to be a charity but there was certainly scope to see what more we could do to assist Turkey and members of his delegation were meeting with Turkish officials that morning with this in mind.

4. The Prime Minister said that the primary goal of government was to ensure the welfare of the people. He had recently visited Malaysia and Singapore. Singapore had a GNP of \$50 billion and an advanced infrastructure. This was based on a period of nearly 30 years of stable government under Mr Lee Kuan Yew who had originally been a Communist. Every country developed systems and institutions appropriate to its own circumstances. Turkey had to develop her own democracy. As Ataturk had said "we always look like ourselves". Greece was a democracy. But he had heard it said that Colonel Qaddafi had invested a lot in Mr Papandreou's Election victory and had offered to do what he could to mend relations between Greece and Turkey. It was incompatible to



have democracy and support from Colonel Qaddafi. He was glad to hear of the discussions that were taking place between British and Turkish officials. He had served in Lord Mountbatten's Headquarters and had great respect for British military officers. We should do all we could to develop bilateral relations between the UK and Turkey.

5. The Secretary of State said that he also hoped that links would improve. The recent exercises in the Mediterranean had been an open demonstration of alliance unity. He hoped to foster training and procurement collaboration between Britain and Turkey. Britain would do all she could to assist with the modernisation of Turkish armed forces: he had learned with pleasure of the purchase of the Rapier and Sea-Skua systems by the Turkish armed forces. These provided evidence of the opportunities for mutual trade and co-operation. The essence of the matter was to establish what the real requirements of the Turkish forces were. Collaboration was not just a matter of Memoranda of Understanding or pieces of paper. He would want to review this question himself. There were areas such as chemical warfare training where he knew that we would be able to help. On his side he would naturally be glad, as he had already mentioned to Mr Bayülken, if the Turks would decide to purchase the Tornado system.

6. The Prime Minister said that he had no doubt that bilateral relations in the defence, economic and cultural fields would continue to develop. He repeated that he was grateful for Mr Heseltine's visit and he asked the Secretary of State to convey his best wishes, and those of the Turkish people, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, for whom they had great respect and admiration.

7. The meeting ended at 1030.

3

Ministry of Defence

21st October 1983



DISTRIBUTION:

PS/Prime Minister —

PS/Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary

HM Ambassador, Ankara



MO 6/12

N.B.P.R.

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

A.P.C. 24/10.

RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AND THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER, MR TURKMEN,
HELD IN THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY
AT 0915 HOURS ON 18TH OCTOBER 1983

Present:

The Rt Hon Michael Heseltine MP
Secretary of State for Defence

Mr İlter Turkmen

His Excellency Mr R M Russell CMG
HM Ambassador, Ankara

Brigadier General M Okçu

Mr J N H Blelloch
DUS(P)

Mr N H R Evans
APS/Secretary of State

1. After an initial exchange of pleasantries the Secretary of State raised the question of a possible declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriots. Mr Turkmen said that he was somewhat surprised to hear of Britain's attitude. A Turkish Federated Cypriot State existed at present and UDI would not be a tragedy. The Turkish government was trying to persuade Mr Denktash to exercise restraint because of the emotional reaction which would follow a declaration. But a declaration would not change the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean and the fact remained that the Turkish Cypriots had the right to self determination. Naturally his government would like to see a peaceful partnership between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus and they supported the Secretary General's initiative. But they could only seek to persuade Mr Denktash, not to control him. The use of force was out of the question and his stand would be supported by Turkish public opinion. The Greeks had not been able to control Mr Makarios in 1974.



2. The Secretary of State said that Britain was involved as a guarantor power and viewed the deteriorating situation with concern. The inter-communal talks between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots were the only way forward and they should proceed on the basis of the UN initiative. Our concern was at the political level. A Turkish Cypriot declaration of independence was unnecessary and provocative. The Greeks would certainly take offence and the prospect of a successful settlement would have been jeopardised. The Turks would be placed on the wrong foot.

3. Mr Turkmen said that he believed that a row in the UN could be avoided. He understood Britain's position as a guarantor power. But it was necessary to go back to 1974. Then, faced with a Greek takeover, the Turkish Prime Minister had flown to London to invoke British assistance as a guarantor power, but nothing had resulted. The recent actions of Mr Papandreu in NATO meant that it was the Greeks who were on the wrong foot. His government would continue to urge Mr Denktash to tone down his statements and actions but, realistically, there was nothing they could do to restrain him. Mr Papandreu's efforts to push the Greek Cypriots to break off the talks and to try to get an international solution had been a major cause of the present situation. We could not ignore the fact that there were two nations in Cyprus.

4. Turning to the Middle East Mr Turkmen asked whether it was true that Britain had two aircraft carriers in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Secretary of State said that, coincidentally, HMS HERMES had a planned exercise in the area and HMS INVINCIBLE had been on passage through the Eastern Mediterranean on her way to the Far East. Mr Turkmen said that so far as he could see there was no change in the underlying position in the Iran/Iraq conflict. In particular the Iranian attitude had not changed. He had asked the Iranian Prime Minister about the possibility of her oil supplies being cut off as a result of the Gulf conflict. The Prime Minister had replied that Iran had been without oil for 1500 years. Mr Palme had made efforts to bring the two sides together but had failed. Iraq would suffer more damage from an attrition war. In this connection he believed that it would be difficult for the Iraqis to use EXOCET near the Kharg Island terminal. The Secretary of State and DUS(P) confirmed that EXOCET was a sea-skimming missile which was generally less effective close to the land. It could have a deterrent effect although it was possible that the Iranians might get around the threat to international tankers by using their own ships to shuttle oil down the Gulf to tankers moored off the Straits of Hormuz. In answer to a question about arms sales, the Secretary of State said that British policy was not to supply weapons to combatants. Mr Turkmen commented that the French were not so scrupulous. The Secretary of State said that the industrial pressures for such sales were considerable and should not be underestimated.



5. The meeting ended at 0945 hours.

3

Ministry of Defence

20th October 1983

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RMD4
Head of IP2
Head of DS12
Head of DS13
PO Tornado
FCO (Defence Dept)

PS/Prime Minister
PS/Foreign and Commonwealth
Secretary

HM Ambassador, Ankara

CONFIDENTIAL

FIVE 84



cc: fco, ce no.
HMT
DTI
CO

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

17 October, 1983

Turkey: Diesel Electric Locomotives

The Prime Minister has seen Mr. Channon's minute of 7 October to Mr. Raison.

Mrs. Thatcher has asked whether she ought to take up with Chancellor Kohl the manner in which official German backing for Krauss Maffei secured the Turkish contract against the bid from Brush Electrical Machines.

It will clearly be necessary to consider whether this case merits high level intervention by the Prime Minister with the German Chancellor, given all the other issues on which we shall need German help in the coming months. I should therefore be grateful if your reply on this matter could be co-ordinated with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of other members of EX and Sir Robert Armstrong.

A. J. COLES

Jonathan Rees, Esq.,
Department of Trade and Industry



CCNO

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-215 5144
SWITCHBOARD 01-215 7877

From the Minister for Trade

The Rt Hon Timothy Raison MP
Minister for Overseas Development
Overseas Development Administration
Eland House
Stag Place
London SW1E 5DH

Prime Minister (4)

AT
10/10

John - Can
we take this up
with Kohl?

7 October 1983

Dear Tim

TURKEY: DIESEL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES

I have received strong representations from Hawker Siddeley to offer further support for their attempt to win an order for 50 diesel electric locomotives for the Turkish State Railways against German and Japanese competition. A copy of their latest letter is attached. Although it is now too late to take further action, the case is illustrative of the practices of our competitors and I feel that I should bring the circumstances to the notice of you and EX colleagues.

Briefly the background is as follows. Brush Electrical machines, a Hawker Siddeley subsidiary manufacturing railway locomotives, tendered earlier this year for a £18M contract for locomotives for the Turkish Railways. Their bid was the lowest in price, beating both the Germans and Japanese. A German company, Krauss Maffei with GEC Traction as their sub-contractor, emerged as the main competitor, principally because of their ability to offer a mixed credit backed by the German Government. In order to maintain Brush on an equal footing, we sought agreement to an allocation from the ATP Fund with a normal grant element of 25.1%. It soon became clear, however, that our terms would not be sufficiently attractive since the German aid offer covered some 55% of the contract value (approximately 36% grant element). It was with some difficulty that officials were eventually able to agree an increase in the ATP offer to a level of 36% grant. In response, however, the Germans again increased their aid to 66.5% of contract value (approximately 44% grant element). On that basis Turkish Railways have decided to award them the contract.

Because I am advised that there is no prospect of our now re-opening the negotiations, I am not seeking agreement to our matching the latest German terms. There are nevertheless certain aspects of the case which I believe should be noted:

- (a) At all points the Brush bid was the most competitive in terms of price and their technical specification was fully in line with Turkish requirements, unlike the Japanese for example. Moreover, there was a very powerful industrial and commercial case for our backing the company's efforts.

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- (b) The West German government showed no inhibition about using aid, in the form of mixed credit, to secure this strategic order. We can confirm Hawker Siddeley's claim that they have adopted similar tactics to break into a number of developing markets which formerly have been traditional purchasers of British railway equipment. The French and Japanese, as well as other countries, also follow such an approach.
- (c) Throughout the competition, the UK limited itself to trying to match the West Germans, thereby allowing them the initiative at every stage.
- (d) The underlying purpose of each German offer was to offset the greater competitiveness of the Brush bid: the level of their aid was deliberately set so as to preserve a differential in price/financial terms favourable to their chosen supplier.
- (e) Their underlying commercial motive was further evident from their refusal to disclose the precise terms of their offers: it was only late in the day that Brush, by various means were able to establish that an improved offer had covertly been made.

It is cases like this which, in my view, justify the need for a strong ATP facility which can be used flexibly and confidently. The actions of the West Germans on this occasion certainly put into perspective the fears which are sometimes expressed that the use of mixed credits on our part might encourage a credit race. I am afraid that the conclusion has to be that mixed credits are already a normal element within our competitors' export strategies.

Finally, I should record that GEC Traction will gain an order worth £7M as a result of the success of Krauss Maffei. This, however, is nowhere near the value or the importance of the order to Brush, our only manufacturer of large main-line locomotives, whose order book is virtually empty and who will have to declare a substantial number of redundancies unless further work can be won in the near future.

I am sending copies of the correspondence to members of EX Committee, to Sir Robert Armstrong and to our Ambassador in Ankara.

PAUL CHANNON

 **Hawker Siddeley Group**
Public Limited Company

32 DUKE STREET, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON SW1Y 6DG

phone: 01-930 6177 Cables: Hawksidly London SW1 Telex: 919011 Hawsid G

DEL: NFT

27th September, 1983.

The Hon. Cecil Parkinson, M.P.,
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry,
Whitehall House,
Victoria Street,
London, S.W.1.

RECEIVED IN
S.O.S. FOR
INDUSTRIES OFFICE

Dear

Secretary of State,

50 DIESEL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES FOR
TURKISH STATE RAILWAYS (T.C.D.D.)



The final stages of evaluation are now taking place in Ankara and the award of order is expected to be finalised within a matter of days. The latest situation report at the end of last week indicates that both the British and German offers are technically acceptable and while the British offer is the most competitive, we appear considerably more expensive than the Germans after application of the Government-supported finance. Strong indications prevailing suggest that this factor alone will enable the German company to obtain the business.

The finance offers at present lodged with T.C.D.D. and Turkish Ministry of Finance are :-

A. British Offer (Brush Electrical Machines Ltd.)

36.5% of Contract Value in grant aid free of interest charge and capital repayments.

63.5% of Contract Value against 10 years Buyer Credit at 11.75% interest p.a. (Pound Sterling Contract) or 9.25% interest p.a. (D.M. Contract).

B. German Offer

66.5% of Contract Value in aid over 30 years at 2% interest p.a. with a 10 year grace period.

33.5% of Contract Value against 10 years Buyer Credit at 8.75% interest p.a.

3257

Rt.Hon. Cecil Parkinson, M.P.

27th September, 1983.

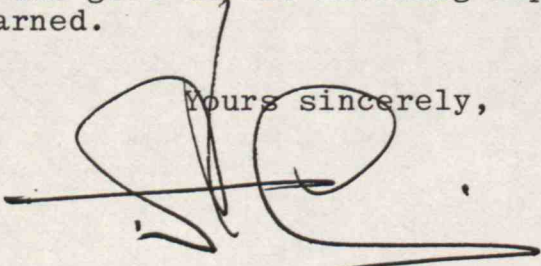
We are very disturbed to see the German Government, apparently as a matter of national policy, endeavouring to dominate railway business for German firms with extensive and prearranged aid programmes, and this is having far reaching effects upon our traditional business.

Closely following on similar successful German Government moves in Egypt, Zambia, East Africa and Indonesia, we now see similar patterns emerging in Pakistan and Thailand. It would, therefore, seem important to head off their efforts in Turkey where we have all the other aspects apart from finance to our advantage.

This export order is particularly important to Brush Electrical Machines Ltd. and the U.K. in that it will provide continuous employment for our workforce and that of our British sub-contractors. In addition, it would present us with a great platform from which we believe much future business will ensue from many areas of the world where we are expending much of our time and money.

I recognize that the recommendation from the post in Ankara is that any further move would be "counter-productive". I recognize that the state of O.E.C.D. consensus negotiations makes the timing difficult. Maybe most significantly, I recognize the sensitivity created by the current "aid debate". If you will forgive me, Secretary of State, for echoing the Prime Minister's words in Ottawa yesterday, "Britain must now have the right price, the right quality and the right delivery to live in the world". I make no apology for making a last approach to you in this environment. Brush Electrical Machines has demonstrated on this bid, the lowest price, the best technical presentation and the delivery will be on time. I am, I believe, entitled to ask you to take one final look at the situation to see whether H.M.G. can give us the matching support that I feel we have earned.

Yours sincerely,


... (T.W.B. Sallitt)
Director.



CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT
cc Master

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

29 July 1983

Thank you for your letter of 27 July and for the briefs for Mr. Turkmen's call on the Prime Minister. I enclose a record of yesterday's meeting.

W. F. S. RICKETT

Roger Bone Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND
THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER HELD AT 1800 HOURS
ON 28 JULY AT 10 DOWNING STREET

Present:

Prime Minister	Mr Turkmen
H.E. Mr Mark Russell, HM Ambassador, Ankara	H.E. Mr. Rahmi Gumrukcuoglu
Sir Anthony Parsons	Mr. Baki Ilkin
Mr. T. Flesher	

Opening the meeting the Prime Minister expressed her thanks to Mr. Turkmen for his personal intervention in the case of the two British bird-watchers recently released from Turkish prison. For his part the Foreign Minister said that he was pleased to play a part.

The Prime Minister enquired about the timetable for a return to democracy. The Foreign Minister said that the military government remained committed to Parliamentary democracy. Elections would be held on 6 November. The major problem was a proliferation of parties. Although not all would be able to participate, a particular difficulty was that the two major parties on the right had not been merged. If this continued

/there

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there was a danger that the instability of the last Parliament which had led to military intervention would be reproduced in the new Parliament. It was however possible that they might merge after the election. The Government were doing all they could to produce a stable situation after the election by excluding from Parliament parties which secured less than a ten per cent share of the vote. The election campaign itself would shortly be beginning; it should be free from the kind of disruption by Armenian terrorists which had characterised recent months, since the Armenians were incapable of operating efficiently inside Turkey.

Cyprus

The Prime Minister asked about the Turkish view of the situation in Cyprus. She had understood that Turkey did not want a permanent separation and she hoped therefore that the Turkish Government would seek to persuade Mr. Denktash from taking any steps which would undermine the possibility of a territorial and constitutional settlement and in particular a federation. It was with that aim in mind that the British Government wished to encourage continued work through the good offices of the United Nations Secretary General. Perez de Cuellar was a man of great integrity and the British Government were seeking to persuade him to play a greater part in Cyprus. The Foreign Minister said

E.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

-3-

that it had never been the policy of the Turkish Government to encourage partition although it would have been easy in 1974. Turkey supported the concept of federation. Nine years of experience of the present situation however demonstrated that the Greek Cypriots were not yet ready for separation. They wanted the power to change the status quo after a settlement. The demilitarisation of Cyprus deprived the Turks of a military guarantee of a settlement. The Turkish community would discuss a territorial settlement but they would need firmer guarantees than had been proposed so far. The Turkish Government would encourage Mr. Denktash to continue to negotiate but he was inevitably frustrated after nine years of impasse. A further failure of the inter-communal talks might convince him that there was no way out but independence. If the Greek Cypriots were serious about negotiations they would lift the economic restrictions on the Turkish sector. The Turkish Government would not object to a greater involvement by Perez de Cuellar. They would need however to be reassured that such an involvement would not lead to a change in the framework of the negotiations; in particular they would need to be convinced that intervention by the United Nations Secretary General would be based on results in the Security Council rather than the General Assembly. It was difficult to be optimistic. A new generation of Greeks and Turks had grown up in Cyprus with no contact with each other.

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/NATO Secretary General

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-4-

NATO Secretary General

The Prime Minister raised the question of the next Secretary General of NATO. She wished to promote the claims of Lord Carrington who was head and shoulders above other candidates. The Foreign Minister agreed that Lord Carrington was a very strong candidate. He thought however that some countries might prefer a Secretary General representing a small country rather than a large one. The Prime Minister said that any Secretary General of NATO would need political clout and that there was no doubt that Lord Carrington had such a quality.

Turkish Economy

In response to a question from the Prime Minister about the state of the Turkish economy, the Foreign Minister said that Turkey had done very well in the last two years. Inflation was down from over 100 per cent to 25 per cent and despite the world recession there had been a growth of 4 per cent both in 1981 and 1982. Exports had grown 65 per cent in 1981 and 25 per cent in 1982, although this year the performance would be not as good. The major increase in exports had been to the Middle East although Turkey wished to export more textiles to this country. The major problem was the heavy debt repayments

CONFIDENTIAL /which

which were due in 1985/86. Although banks were now beginning to give Turkey credit again it would be vital that the new government did not waste the work done by the present regime. The Foreign Minister noted that Iran had become a vital market for Turkish goods. Iran and Libya however were experiencing difficulties in meeting payments.

Iran/Iraq War

The Prime Minister asked Mr. Turkmen for his assessment of the state of the Iran/Iraq war. The Foreign Minister said that in his view Iran would now go back to the 1975 agreement and would give up her claims to Iranian territory. Iran would however not give up until Saddam Hussein was disposed. Indeed it seemed likely that the war would not end until either Hussein or Khomeini left the scene. The Prime Minister commented that the scale of the casualties on either side seemed incredible. The Foreign Minister said that Iran was an entirely different world today. It was based on the logical conclusion of the Shia philosophy which made a cult of martyrdom. Such a cult fuelled an extraordinary fanaticism which sent 14 year olds into battle. Khomeini himself was reported to be entirely cut off from the rest of the world and would not see any foreign visitors. The supremacy of the Mullahs was complete. Only a leftist revolution or an army coup could dispose the regime. The Tudeh /party

party was however too weak and the army too short of able generals to make this conceivable.

Concluding the meeting the Prime Minister said that she very much hoped that relations between Turkey and this country would improve and in particular that they would be able to keep in touch through NATO meetings.

28 July 1983

R. COLES

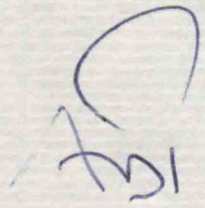
VISIT OF THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER

I have seen the FCO brief. I suggest that the Prime Minister might raise the following points.

Sympathy for the Turks over the Armenian terrorism question, particularly in the light of yesterday's attack on the Embassy in Lisbon. Mention that we have our problems too following the sentencing of the Armenian terrorist in London. Hope that the Turks will exchange any intelligence information with us.

Cyprus. Hope that the Turks will stop the Turkish Cypriots doing anything silly like opting for UDI. Hope that the intercommunal talks can get back on track quickly. Mention that we will be urging the Secretary General to involve himself more closely. We are not optimistic, but the intercommunal talks provide the only hope for progress, slender as it may be.

Iran/Iraq. Turkey is the only country which has succeeded in maintaining good relations with both sides. How do the Turks see the situation developing? What will be the result of the present Iranian offensive in Kurdistan? How do they regard the stability of the present Iranian regime? Any chance of a peaceful settlement to the war?


A.D. PARSONS
28 July 1983

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VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR ILTER TURKMEN
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
27-31 JULY 1983

ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN
(to be read in conjunction with programme attached)

ARRIVAL

When the aircraft doors open a representative of the British Airports Authority will accompany the greeting party to the Aircraft. The Turkish Ambassador will board the aircraft and escort His Excellency Mr Ilder Turkmen to the tarmac where he will present the following (in order):-

Mr Roy Whitney MP - Under Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

Mr Turhan Firat - Minister Counsellor, Turkish Embassy

Mr R M Russell - Her Majesty's Ambassador at Ankara

Brigadier Alan Cowan - Secretary, Government Hospitality
Fund

Group Captain Philip Heal - Government Hospitality Fund

TRANSPORT

The car plan throughout the programme will be as follows:

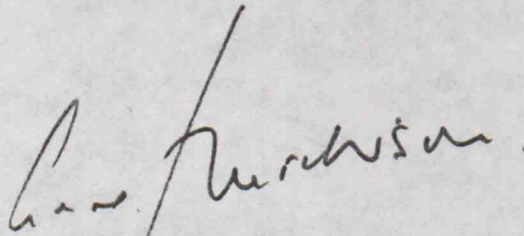
1. Foreign Minister
Turkish Ambassador
Special Branch
2. Police back-up car
Group Capt Heal
3. Grenada
British Ambassador
Mr Ilkin

4. Grenada

Mr Ersun
Mr Özüiker

5. Police back-up car

The Foreign Minister will be accompanied by his official Suite throughout the programme.



Miss Anne Hutchison
Inward Visits Section
Protocol and Conference Department

25 July 1983

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

DISTRIBUTION

10 Downing Street
Private Secretary (4)
Press Office (4)
Turkish Embassy (6)

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Baroness Young
Mr Whitney
Sir J Bullard
Mr C M James
Mr Wilson - SED
SED (6)
News Dept (6)
Resident Clerk
Miss Lothian (2)
PCD Dept (8)
Heads of Mission (1)
Mr R M Russell (2)
TMA's Office

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Secretary of State (2)

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 July 1983

John Stan

Turkish Foreign Minister's Call: 28 July: 6pm

/ I enclose briefs for Mr Turkmen's call on the Prime Minister tomorrow.

Mr Turkmen would like to be accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador, Mr Gumrukcuoglu, and one other adviser. We will let you know his name as soon as possible. On our side, Mr Mark Russell, HM Ambassador at Ankara, and Mr James are free to attend if the Prime Minister wishes.

As you know, Mr Turkmen is having talks with the Secretary of State tomorrow between 5pm and 6pm.

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing St

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VISIT OF TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER: 28 JULY

INTRODUCTION

1. This is the first official visit to the UK by any Turkish Minister since the military takeover in September 1980. Mr Turkmen has had talks with Ministers on several occasions both in London (on private visits) and elsewhere. He last visited London privately in summer 1982. President Evren visited the UK as Chief of Staff in March 1980.
2. The last visit to Ankara by a British Minister was by Lord Belstead in January this year for celebrations to mark the four hundredth anniversary of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations. Professor Ozdas, a Turkish Minister of State, made a reciprocal visit to London in May and met the Prime Minister.
3. Mr Turkmen is a former career diplomat. He speaks excellent English and is sophisticated and lucid. Straight-forward and normally easy to do business with, he is prepared to express himself forcefully if he thinks it necessary.
4. Turkmen attaches great importance to calling on the Prime Minister and will be grateful that a call proved possible. He will have had talks with Mr Heseltine at 9.00am and with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary of State at 5.00pm on 28 July. He is to call on Lady Young at 11.45am on 29 July and will be given various hospitality during his stay. He leaves London on Sunday 31 July.

UK Objectives

5. (a) To show our continuing support for Turkey during a period of strained relations with the West and thereby maintain our position of (limited) influence.
(b) To encourage return to democracy and respect for human rights.
(c) To help maintain Turkey's western orientation and within that to improve her relationship with the European Community whilst discouraging an early application for full membership.

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Likely Turkish Objectives

6. (a) To reinforce the UK's special relationship with Turkey;
- (b) To use the visit to lend respectability to the present Turkish Government and their policies;
- (c) To seek support in dealing with Armenian terrorism;
- (d) (possibly) to enlist our support in EC matters and against Greece over Cyprus and the Aegean.

Background and Tactics

7. The strategic and political importance of Turkey has been enhanced by the instability of south-west Asia. Since the military takeover in 1980 there has been much criticism of Turkey in Western Europe. Our own sympathetic dealings with the Turks have helped to prevent them feeling entirely disillusioned and isolated. There is some risk that, if constantly rebuffed, there could be a shift in Turkey's European orientation.

8. The talks might begin with internal developments in Turkey (Annex A). As the Turks had expected, the run-up to elections (due on 6 November) is proving difficult. Action taken against new political parties and the press and alleged human rights violations have caused much public concern in the West. But the Turks seem to show little regard for others' opinion and handle public relations very badly. It would be useful to encourage the speedy return to democracy.

9. Turkey's dispute with Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean (Annex B) affects our interests over Cyprus and NATO. On Cyprus we should encourage the Turks to ensure that the Turkish Cypriots co-operate fully with the UN Secretary General, resume the intercommunal talks, do not declare independence and are realistic and flexible. We should say that we have similarly impressed on Kyprianou the need for a real effort to work for a solution and to avoid present divisions becoming permanent. We favour greater involvement by the Secretary General (about which the Turks have doubts). Over Aegean questions, we should encourage restraint and the resumption of the Greek-Turkish dialogue which has not properly restarted after being broken off by Papandreou in 1981.

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10. Bilateral Relations (Annex C) between the two governments are generally excellent. 1983 is the 400th anniversary of the start of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations. The one potential problem, the detention of two British birdwatchers, has effectively been resolved as a result of Turkmen's personal intervention: they arrive in London on the same flight as Turkmen. There is nothing we need raise. But Turkmen will probably refer to Armenian Terrorism. The points in Annex C can be drawn on as required.

11. In discussing Turkey/EC relations with Turkmen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will have sought to advise the Turks gently to think hard, and sound out other EC member states, before putting in an early application for full EC membership. An application would be bound to fail, and the consequences for Turkey's relations with the West could be serious.

12. A Fact Sheet on Turkey is at Annex D.

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ANNEX A

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VISIT OF TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER 28 JULY

TURKEY INTERNAL

POINTS TO MAKE

Return to Democracy

1. Continue to watch developments in Turkey with interest and understanding. Welcome continuing process of return to democracy. Hope elections will take place, as planned, in November.



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ESSENTIAL FACTS

Return to democracy

1. Turkish authorities adhering to timetable for return to democracy. A new Constitution was adopted by an overwhelming majority (91%) in referendum on 7 November 1982.
2. President Evren (elevated to office under temporary provisions of Constitution) has set 6 November as date for elections; but has threatened postponement. In their determination to rid country of old politicians and their influence, Generals have banned one of new political parties and vetoed the membership of many of founders of the others.

Human Rights

3. Allegations of human rights violations continue. Turkish authorities maintain that, unlike their civilian predecessors, they have made genuine efforts to investigate allegations and bring culprits to court. Some police officers have been convicted. Law and order has improved considerably since 1980.

Trials

4. Western public opinion concerned by mass trials: in particular those of DISK (Confederation of Revolutionary Trades Unions) leaders, members of the Peace Association and Kurds. Military prosecutor has demanded death sentence of 68 of accused in DISK trial.

Economic Developments

5. Turkey's economic recovery continues on the basis of the present stability programme introduced in 1980. Progress in reducing inflation and the balance-of-payments deficit has been impressive. Growing international confidence in Turkey. Recently raised a US\$200m loan on the international financial markets. Should be helped by recent IMF decision to approve further one year stand-by agreement for the period 1983-84. Some ECGD cover resumed (see Annex C). But momentum behind recovery may now be slowing down.

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VISIT OF TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER: 28 JULY

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

POINTS TO MAKECyprus

1. Intercommunal talks are best way forward. Understand frustration caused by recent UN debate (which we opposed). But danger that present divisions will become frozen if realistic progress is not made.
2. We fully support the UN Secretary General's efforts and welcome his intention to increase his own involvement. I made these points to President Kyprianou on 26 July. Impressed on him need for real effort to work for solution. Otherwise present divisions will become permanent.
3. Ankara should encourage Turkish Cypriots to put to the Secretary General their views on how a settlement might be reached.
4. Declaration of independence in northern Cyprus would have a catastrophic effect on the intercommunal talks. Referendum would be almost as damaging. Rightly or wrongly Turkish Cypriot side (and Turkey) would be blamed by international community for wrecking talks. No question of HMG recognising independent North Cyprus. You should continue to use your influence with Denktash against proclaiming independence or holding referendum.

Aegean

5. Concerned at continued tension and lack of dialogue. Disputes and problems over exercises weaken NATO.
6. Welcome recent meetings of Foreign Ministers and proposal for talks on economic relations and tourism. Important to create right climate of trust. Believe key to improved relations is Cyprus.

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/US



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US Bases Agreement with Greece [If raised]

7. Believe you need have no cause for concern over the bases agreement. Appears to be nothing in it detrimental to Turkish security. Turkey will receive a great deal of military aid. Papandreou's claims about agreement are made for internal reasons and are undoubtedly exaggerated. What matters is the substance of the agreement, and the sooner it ceases to be a public issue the better for all concerned (ie US Government, NATO, Turkey).

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ESSENTIAL FACTS

Cyprus

1. Intercommunal process now at a low ebb. Following UN debate Turkish Cypriots refuse to return to the negotiating table unless treated as 'equal partners' by Greek Cypriots. Turkish Cypriots also continue to make threatening noises about unilateral declaration of independence and referendum to test Turkish Cypriot views (bound to be in favour). We have made our attitude quite clear, by demarches in Ankara and Nicosia. There is no question of our recognising an independent Turkish Cypriot state. A declaration would ruin prospects for the intercommunal dialogue.

2. It is unlikely that the intercommunal talks will be resumed soon. UN Secretary General has instructed his Special Representative in Cyprus, Dr Gobbi, to lie low for a while. Perez de Cuellar has said he will strengthen his own involvement in the Cyprus problem. But his is unlikely to take any initiatives such as a visit to Cyprus in the next month or so.

3. Elections in Turkey likely to lead to a government which, because it has to respond to public opinion, will be more intransigent on Cyprus. Any solution will require considerable pressure by Ankara on Turkish Cypriots to make territorial and other concessions which are necessary.

Aegean

4. Long standing complex of disputes over Aegean matters include territorial sea, airspace, Flight Information Regions, continental shelf and demilitarisation of islands. Particular causes of trouble in the last 12 months have been:

(a) Airspace. Greece claims 10 miles rounds the island in the Aegean but the Turks only recognise 6 miles, the same as Greek territorial sea. From time to time the Turks fly into the disputed zone.

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/(b)



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- (b) Territorial sea. The Greeks claim the right to extend their territorial sea in the Aegean to 12 miles. The Turks have made clear that this would be a casus belli since it would make the Aegean virtually a Greek lake.
- (c) Demilitarisation of islands. The Turks dispute the Greeks' right to militarise the islands of Lemnos and Samothrace. Greek insistence on the inclusion of the island of Lemnos in NATO exercises, despite NATO's policy of not including areas in dispute between allies, has led to the cancellation of several NATO exercises in the last year.

5. A regular dialogue was broken off by Papandreou when he came to power in October 1981. Efforts since then to restart the dialogue have so far proved largely unsuccessful, although the two Foreign Ministers met in Paris on 9 June.

6. Disputes seriously weaken NATO: damage the cohesion of the southern flank and individual disputes make it very difficult to hold effective exercises involving both Greece and Turkey.

US Bases Agreement with Greece

7. Greek-US agreement on bases in Greece, not yet published, was initialled on 15 July. Turks object to any implied reference to Turkey in this agreement either through references to a balance of power in the region or to the ratio of military aid to Greece and Turkey. Papandreou has made remarks which suggest there may be such references in the agreement. But in fact Americans have not conceded anything new of significance. Military aid to Turkey will continue at a high level. Excessive Turkish complaints will only annoy US and fuel Greek suspicions..

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VISIT OF TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER: 28 JULY

BILATERAL RELATIONS

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Fitting your official visit here should be in year of four hundredth anniversary of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations. Welcomed Professor Ozdas' (pronounced OEZ-DASH) visit here in May.

British Birdwatchers

2. Glad the two British birdwatchers have been allowed to leave Turkey. Grateful for your personal intervention.

ECGD Cover [If Raised]

3. Our Embassy at Ankara will have told your authorities of ECGD's decision to establish medium term cover for Turkey very shortly. Hope this will help to increase bilateral trade.

Armenian Terrorism [If raised]

4. Deeply distressed by murder of Mr Aksoy in Brussels earlier this month. Share concern at escalating level of Armenian terrorism. Must not let it get out of hand. Our determination demonstrated by trial of Bedros and Gregorian in London.

5. Hope liaison between our security services can be built on and expanded.

6. Question value of action in multilateral fora. Main emphasis should be on effective bilateral cooperation.

7. [If raised] We have no reason to believe Armenian terrorists use Cyprus for training purposes.

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Defence Cooperation [If raised]

8. Welcome recent signing of a Rapier contract. No doubt you have discussed question of defence cooperation with Mr Heseltine.



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ESSENTIAL FACTS

1. Lord Belstead visited Ankara in January to attend celebrations organised by our Ambassador (Sir Peter Laurence, now retired) to mark four hundredth anniversary of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations. Professor Ozdas, a Minister of State (Deputy Prime Minister equivalent) came for Turkish Embassy's celebrations here in May. Prime Minister attended reception at Turkish Embassy.

British Birdwatchers

2. Two British birdwatchers (Albrecht and Buisson) were arrested on Turkish side of border with Greece on 5 June. Charged with travelling, taking photographs and birdwatching in military zone without authorisation. Trial has been delayed. Following personal intervention by Turkmen, judge ordered on 22 July that defendants could leave country pending outcome of security investigation. Charges still stand.

ECGD Cover

3. ECGD resumed short-term cover in March after withdrawal of normal cover in 1977. ECGD have now agreed to establish a measure of medium term cover with British bankers taking part in a 50/50 risk-sharing arrangement. Decision not yet publicised, pending settlement of ECGD's administrative arrangements.

Armenian Terrorism

4. Armenian terrorists, demanding official admission by Turkish Government of the 'Armenian genocide' in last decade of Ottoman Empire and an independent Armenian in eastern Turkey, have pursued campaign of violence since 1973. Latest incidents earlier this month: assassination of Turkish diplomat in Brussels; fatal bomb explosion at Orly airport; and defusing of bomb in London.

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5. Trial in London of two Armenian terrorists plotting to assassinate Turkish Ambassador just concluded. Gregorian found not guilty on all charges. Bedros sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment on fire arms charges but cleared on main charge of conspiracy to murder. Armenian terrorists previously threatened to attack British targets unless these two released.
6. Turkey calls for international action to combat the problem. She has tried to raise it in NATO and tried to gain admittance to TREVI (EC counter terrorism forum). In our view, multilateral fora ineffective and cumbersome for exchanging views on policy and tactics. Also not an appropriate channel for intelligence.
7. We have told Turks we could not tolerate Turkey's use of retaliatory 'hit squads', and that we very much doubt their assertion that Armenian terrorists are trained in Cyprus.

Defence Cooperation

8. Turkish Armed Forces signed Rapier missile contract in June worth £146m. BAe anticipate prospect of further sales of Rapier and sales of Sea Skua missile, and possibly Tornado and Harrier.
9. Turks have suggested further industrial defence cooperation following earlier granting of free licence to them for manufacture of 105mm tank gun. They have put forward specific proposals which MOD are studying. Turkmen will probably have raised this with Mr Heseltine (Meeting at 9am on 28 July)

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FACT SHEETTHE REPUBLIC OF TURKEYDEMOGRAPHY

Population	46.8 million (preliminary)
Growth	2.3% per annum
Distribution	Urban 44.2%; rural 55.8%. Predominantly in the West and Central Anatolia
Religion	Turkey is a secular state. Some 98% of the population is Moslem, predominantly Sunnis.
Language	National and official - Turkish. Kurdish is also spoken in the East.

POLITICS Military rule since September 1980. Elections due 6 November 1983.

GEOGRAPHY

Area	779,452 square kilometres
Neighbours	USSR (NE), Iran (E), Iraq, Syria (SE), Greece, Bulgaria (W and NW).
Capital	Ankara (2,203,729).
Principal cities	Istanbul (2,853,539); Izmir (753,749); Adana (568,513); Bursa (466,178).
Principal port	Istanbul

ECONOMY

Basis	Agricultural and Industrial
GDP (1982)	US\$ 52.5 bn
GDP growth rate	1.9% per annum (1977-82)
GDP per capita	US\$ 1,122 (1982)
Balance of Trade (1982):	(minus) US\$ 2,988 million
Balance of Payments on current account (1982):	(minus) US\$ 1158 m
Gross official reserves (1982):	US\$ 925 million
Budgetary deficit (1980):	(minus) US\$ 722 million (1.6% GNP)
Inflation (consumer prices, Istanbul, average 1982):	32.7%

TRADE

Total Merchandise Exports (cif) (1982)

Principal commodities Textiles and clothing, processed agricultural products, tobacco, cotton, cereals, nuts, dried fruit.

Total Merchandise Imports (cif) (1982)

Principal commodities Crude oil, non-electrical machinery, chemicals, oil products, iron and steel.

TRADE WITH UNITED KINGDOM

	<u>1977</u>	<u>1982</u>
Exports to UK	£56.7m	£207.8m
Imports from UK	£210.2m	£213.1m

DEFENCE

Defence expenditure of US\$ 3.1 bn in 1981 represented 4.5% of GNP, an increase of 0.3% over 1980. Principal suppliers of NATO military aid: United States and FRG.

MJ

22 July 1983

Visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister

Thank you for your letter of 18 July.

As I told you on the telephone yesterday, the Prime Minister could see Mr. Turkmen for 30 minutes at 6 p.m. on 28 July.

AJC

B.J.P. Fall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Prime Minister



leaving in mind that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office
is the last day before Parliament London SW1A 2AH
rises, do you wish to see the
Turkish Foreign Minister for 30 minutes
at 5.00p.m. on 28 July?

18 July 1983

A.J.C. 15/7.

I can't if I
am going to see the hobby
Wed-day. no

Dear Sir,

Visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister: 27-30 July

The Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr Ilter Turkmen, is visiting the UK as a guest of Her Majesty's Government from 27 to 30 July. He is due to have talks with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Lady Young. The Turks have told us that Mr Turkmen would appreciate a courtesy call on the Prime Minister.

The Turkish Government, of which Mr Turkmen is an important senior member, warmly welcomed the Prime Minister's election victory and set considerable store by a continuing close relationship with Her Majesty's Government. A call on the Prime Minister would help emphasise the importance we attach to relations with Turkey, and to the course of developments within Turkey in the immediate future. Sir Geoffrey Howe thinks that it would be desirable for the Prime Minister to see Mr Turkmen if a convenient time can be found.

I understand that the Prime Minister might be free briefly at 5.00 pm on 28 July.

Yours ever
E

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

MJ


5 July 1983

The Prime Minister has asked me to convey to you her warm thanks for the album of photographs which you sent to her yesterday. She is delighted to accept the album as a souvenir of her visit to your embassy on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister sends her best wishes to Your Excellency and to Madame Gumrukcuoglu.

AJC

His Excellency Mr. Rahmi Gumrukcuoglu.



THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR

43, BELGRAVE SQUARE

LONDON, SW1X 8PA.

4th July, 1983.

Dear Mr. Coles,

As you will recall my wife and I gave a Reception to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister very kindly honoured us with her presence.

Our Press Department has prepared a small album containing some of the photographs of the Prime Minister taken on that historic occasion. I wonder if I may seek your good offices to have it presented to the Prime Minister as a souvenir of her visit to our Embassy, the memory of which we shall always cherish.

Nothing will make us happier than if she would be kind enough to accept it.

Yours sincerely,
R. Gülmürükçüoğlu

Rahmi Gülmürükçüoğlu

Mr. A. J. Coles,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
S.W.1.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 July, 1985

Mr. [unclear]
Mr. [unclear]

Hand del. [unclear]
[unclear] No 10.

Ran 1/3

Dear Charles,

Turkey

In his letter of 17 June about the Bosphorus Bridge Peter Ricketts promised advice on Mr Ozal's invitation to the Prime Minister to visit Turkey. You will also recall our previous correspondence resting with my letter of 11 March when it was the Foreign Secretary's view that the Prime Minister should not visit Turkey for the time being. Meanwhile Kohl, Tindemans and Andreotti have paid or are about to pay visits to Ankara whilst Ozal has been well received in Washington, Tokyo and Bonn.

Sir Geoffrey Howe is anxious that we should not lose ground to others in Turkey by appearing unwilling to develop our contacts following his own visit to Ankara in February. Nevertheless, there are two factors, apart from diary considerations, which lead him to conclude that the Prime Minister should not at this stage commit herself irrevocably to a visit to Turkey. Firstly the Turks have just promulgated a law giving additional significant powers to the police which have been widely seen as a retrograde step on the otherwise steady progress towards greater respect for Human Rights. An early announcement of a visit by the Prime Minister could give rise to domestic criticism which might undermine part of the purpose of such a visit. A further argument is that at present we seem unlikely to be able to provide the scale of export credit finance Turkey seeks and for which the Turks would certainly press if the Prime Minister were to go to Ankara.

The Foreign Secretary believes however that in responding to Ozal's invitation we should avoid any suggestion of rejection. If the Prime Minister agrees, our Ambassador in Ankara would be instructed to convey to Mr Ozal personally the Prime Minister's thanks for the invitation and say that she very much hopes to be able to visit at some time, although it is not now possible to say when. For our own planning purposes, Sir Geoffrey Howe suggests that we should think in terms of a possible visit by the Prime Minister late next year.

Sir Mark Russell had earlier welcomed the suggestion in my letter of 11 March that Ozal might initially be invited by Chatham House allowing us to

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build



build a programme of calls round such an invitation. He now agrees with our view that given the level of Ozal's reception elsewhere such an arrangement would be inappropriate. Unless Ozal was genuinely stopping over in London, eg en route to UNGA, when Chatham House could be used, we believe he should be invited to pay an official visit. As regards timing the Foreign Secretary is inclined to favour the period October to December of this year with the invitation being launched in the early autumn if we are satisfied that concern about the Human Rights issue has receded adequately.

I should be grateful if you would let me know if the Prime Minister is content for us to proceed on this basis.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

file 500
19 May 1983

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 18 May.

She very much enjoyed your Reception on 4 May on the occasion of the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Britain.

A. J. COLES

His Excellency Mr. Rahmi Gümrukçüoğlu

4

TURKISH EMBASSY

LONDON

18th May, 1983.

Paul Mills

Dear Prime Minister,

18/5

May I have the honour and the pleasure of conveying to you our feelings of deep appreciation for your kindness in attending our Reception on the 4th May on the occasion of the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Britain.

The memory of the presence of the most distinguished and highly esteemed Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at our Embassy on that evening will live with us for a long time to come. I am sure we were not wrong in interpreting this personal contribution from you as a sign of the importance that the British Government attaches to the maintenance of the ties of friendship and alliance between our two countries, a feeling which is totally reciprocated by the Turkish Government and the Turkish people.

Now that you have taken the important and historic decision for Britain to hold the General Election, may I take this opportunity to wish you every success in the forthcoming elections and express the hope that we will continue to enjoy your support and co-operation in further developing these relations to the mutual benefit of our two countries, when you return to power after the 9th June.

Please accept, Prime Minister, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

Rahmi Gümürkçüoğlu

Rahmi Gümürkçüoğlu

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
S.W.1.

TURKISH EMBASSY AND BBC - MEDIA

The Turkish Embassy approached me today about this evening's reception. They are planning for cameras - Turkish media with British connections - to be there to film first your arrival and reception; and second to film a more formal introduction to guests in an ante-room to the reception. I raised no objections.

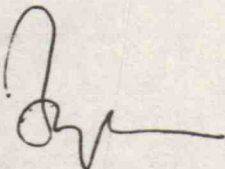
The Embassy also said that they hoped you would say a few well chosen words - literally one or two sentences - into a microphone for use on the Turkish media. Again I thought it politic not to raise any objections. You might say something to this effect:

"I am absolutely delighted to be here at this reception to mark the 400th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom.

It is a great pleasure to meet your Minister of State and Ambassador and all those attending. I very much appreciate being invited."

So far as the BBC are concerned they have asked if there would be any objection to your arrival at the Television Centre being filmed for news purposes. I raised no objection, on the understanding that there would be no attempt to get an interview.

Content?



B. INGHAM

4 May 1983



covering RESTRICTED

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 May 1983

John

400th Anniversary of Anglo-Turkish
Diplomatic Relations


/ I enclose a background note for the Prime Minister's use in preparation for her attendance at the Turkish Ambassador's reception on 4 May.

John
R B Bone

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

covering RESTRICTED


RESTRICTED

TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION: WEDNESDAY 4 MAY

BACKGROUND NOTE

The Reception

1. Mr Gumrukcuoglu (pronounced GOOM-RUEK-CHU-OLU) and his wife are hosting this reception to mark 400 years of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations. The first English Ambassador to Turkey, William Harborne, presented his credentials at the Sublime Porte on 4 May 1583.

Professor Ozdas


2. Professor Ozdas (pronounced URZ-DASH), Minister of State (equivalent of Deputy Prime Minister in Government hierarchy) is attending the celebrations with his wife. His responsibilities are the environment, science and nuclear power. He will have called on Ministers at the Department of the Environment (the Rt Hon Tom King MP) and at the Department of Education and Science (Mr William Shelton MP). Lord Belstead is hosting a lunch for Professor Ozdas on 6 May. The latter's programme also includes calls on the British Council and the Royal Society and a seminar at the School of Oriental and African Studies on the history of Anglo-Turkish relations.

Bilateral Relations

3. The Turks regard Britain as their best friend in Europe because of our sympathetic understanding of the Turkish regime's efforts to restore law and order and democracy. The military intervened in a bloodless coup in September 1980. General Evren became President for seven years in a national referendum on a new constitution in November 1982. Elections are due in November this year.

4. Trade figures are improving in parallel with Turkey's impressive economic recovery. In 1982 UK exports were £218m (f.o.b) and imports £208m (c.i.f). ECGD restored limited short-term cover in March. Community action to limit Turkish textile imports is the only bilateral trade problem. The UK has supplied

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£15m bilateral aid annually since 1979. This year's aid agreement for £15m project aid (likely to be used on a lignite mining project) is due to be signed in Ankara on 3 May.

Mr Denktash

5. Mr Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader, who is in London on a private visit, will be at the reception. We do not recognise the 'Turkish Federated State of Cyprus' of which he is the self-styled 'President'. But we have informal dealings with him as the Turkish Cypriot leader and it would not imply recognition of the 'TFSC' if the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State spoke to him in this capacity.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

26 April 1983

400th Anniversary of
Anglo/Turkish Diplomatic Relations

Would you please refer to my letter of
12 April.

The Prime Minister has now decided to
accept the Turkish Ambassador's invitation to
attend the Reception on Wednesday, 4 May and
I have replied accordingly direct to the
Ambassador.

Mrs. Thatcher would expect to be able
to spend about thirty minutes at the Reception.

R.B. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

26 April 1983

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 7 April and to say that she has much pleasure in accepting your invitation to her to attend your Reception on 4 May to celebrate the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom.

Mr. Thatcher regrets that he will not be able to be present on this occasion.

His Excellency Mr. Rahmi Gümrukçuoğlu

PRIME MINISTER

400th Anniversary of Anglo/Turkish diplomatic relations

The Turkish Ambassador has invited you to a Reception on Wednesday 4 May to celebrate this event. We did not reply earlier because of the possibility that the disarmament debate might take place on that day. It is now almost certain that the debate will be a week later.

There were celebrations of the 400th anniversary in Ankara in January. The Turkish Prime Minister and other senior Ministers attended a dinner given by the British Ambassador. The Turks are very protocol conscious and hope that you will be able to put in an appearance at their Reception in return.

You are dining with George Howard at the BBC that evening. Would you be prepared to spend 30 minutes at the Turkish Reception first?

Yes

A.J.C.

cf. already noted in diary CS-26/4

1) Caroline to see

2) Julia

to return with invitation from Turkish Ambassador.

25 April 1983

A.J.C. 26/4.

856
}

file



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

12 April 1983

400th ANNIVERSARY OF ANGLO-TURKISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Thank you for your letter of 11 April proposing that the Prime Minister should attend the Reception which the Turkish Ambassador will give on Wednesday 4 May to celebrate 400 years of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations.

The Prime Minister wishes to postpone a decision on this matter until it is clear whether or not there will be a disarmament debate on that day. We shall therefore revert to the matter later this month and at that point reply to the Turkish Ambassador's invitation, which we had already received before I saw your letter.

A. J. COLES

R. B. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

8



Prime Minister

You are dining with George Howard at the B.S.C. on 4

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

May.
Will you spend 30 minutes at the Turkish reception first?

11 April 1983

A.S.C. $\frac{11}{4}$

John Thur...

It is possible that we shall have the dinner on that day

400th Anniversary of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic Relations

The Turkish Ambassador will shortly be inviting the Prime Minister to a reception on Wednesday 4 May to celebrate 400 years of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic relations.

In January, HM Ambassador at Ankara organised celebrations to mark the same event. (The first English Ambassador, William Harborne, left for Turkey in January 1583 and presented his credentials at the Sublime Porte on 4 May the same year). Lord Belstead attended the Ankara celebrations. These included a dinner at which the Turkish Prime Minister and other senior Ministers were guests.

The Turks attach great significance to these celebrations. They regard Britain as their best friend in Europe because of our sympathetic understanding of the Turkish regime's efforts to restore both law and order and democracy. They are also exceptionally protocol-conscious and very much hope that the Prime Minister will think it appropriate to attend the Turkish Ambassador's reception here in London since their Prime Minister attended the equivalent dinner at our Embassy in Ankara.

I understand that the Prime Minister has a meeting that day which may last until 6.30 pm and a dinner engagement at 7.30 pm. The Ambassador's reception, which will be attended by a Turkish Minister of State, Dr Ozdas, is from 6.30 pm to 8.30 pm at his Residence (Portland Place). If, despite the pressure of her other engagements, the Prime Minister were able to put in a brief appearance at the Ambassador's reception, it would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated.

/Mr Pym

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Mr Pym has also been invited to attend. He, too, has another evening commitment, but we shall be recommending that he attends for the first part of the reception.

Your own

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'R B Bone', written in a cursive style.

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

TURKISH Ambassador



15/4

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 April 1983

I enclose a letter to the Prime Minister from the Turkish Ambassador. He invites her and Mr. Thatcher to a Reception to mark the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister has another engagement that evening which would make it impossible for her to attend this Reception. I should however be grateful for your advice on whether she should suggest that a Foreign Office Minister might represent her at the Reception. Since the Turkish Embassy have been pressing for an early reply it would be helpful to have your advice by 15 April.

W.F.S. RICKETT

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

da



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 April 1983

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 7 April, and for inviting the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher to the Reception to mark the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom.

I will place your letter before the Prime Minister and you will be sent a reply as soon as possible.

W.F.S. RICKETT

His Excellency Mr. Rahmi Gümrtükçüoğlu

THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR

43, BELGRAVE SQUARE

LONDON, SW1X 8PA.

7th April, 1983.

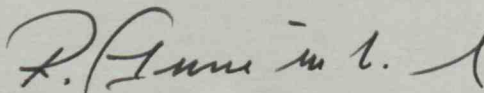
Dear Prime Minister,

I have the great pleasure of enclosing herewith an invitation to you and Mr. Denis Thatcher to a Reception that my wife and I are organising on the 4th May, 1983, to celebrate the 400th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom.

Dr. Nimet Özdaş, the Minister of State, will be coming from Turkey to attend the Reception on behalf of the Turkish Government.

My wife and I would be very happy, and consider it a great privilege, if you and Mr. Thatcher would honour us with your presence at our Embassy on this occasion of historic significance for our two countries.

Yours sincerely,



Rahmi Gürmüklüoğlu

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
S.W.I.

On the occasion of the 400th Anniversary
of the establishment of diplomatic relations between
Turkey and the United Kingdom

The Turkish Ambassador
and Madame Rahmi Gümriükçüoğlu

request the pleasure of the company of

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher and Mr. Denis Thatcher
at a Reception on Wednesday 4th May 1983 at 6.30-8.30 pm
at 69 Portland Place, W1N 3AJ

R.S.V.P. (regrets only)

Private Secretary,

43 Belgrave Square, SW1X 8PA

01-235 5252

Please present this card.



Stamps (4)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 March 1982

Prime Minister

mt A.S.C. 17/3
A.S.C. 22/3
h-a

Dear John,

Death of Mrs Evren

I enclose the text of a message from the Turkish Head of State thanking the Prime Minister for the message of condolences she sent him recently on the death of his wife.

Yours ever

John Holmes

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

SUBJECT

T

cc master
ops

TURKISH EMBASSY

LONDON

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 48/82

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.
Prime Minister.

"EXCELLENCY

I AM DEEPLY TOUCHED TO RECEIVE YOUR KIND MESSAGE
OF CONDOLENCES AND SYMPATHY ON THE OCCASION OF
THE PASSING AWAY OF MY WIFE FOR WHICH I EXTEND
TO YOUR EXCELLENCY MY HEARTFELT THANKS."

General Kenan Evren
Head of State of the
Republic of Turkey.



Faint, illegible text in the upper left quadrant, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.



17 MAR 1982

Turkey

HL

5 March 1982

Death of Mrs. Evren

Thank you for your letter of today's date. The Prime Minister agrees that the message which you enclosed should be sent on her behalf.

JOHN COLES

Francis Richards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SW



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 March 1982

Dear John,

Death of Mrs Evren

The Ambassador at Ankara has reported that Mrs Evren, wife of the Turkish Head of State, died on 3 March after a long illness.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has considered carefully who would be the most appropriate sender of a message of sympathy. The Queen does not normally send messages where (as in this case) the Head of State concerned is not known personally to her. Although the Prime Minister is not General Evren's counterpart, he believes that it would be right for a message of condolence to be sent by the Prime Minister to General Evren.

/ I enclose a draft telegram of instructions to the Ambassador at Ankara, containing a suggested text.

Yours ever,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing St

SUBJECT

OUT TELEGRAM

cc master ops

Classification and Caveats
UNCLASSIFIED

Precedence/Deskby
IMMEDIATE

ZCZC
GRS
CLASS
CAVEATS
DESKBY
FM FCO
PRE/ADD
TEL NO

1 ZCZC

2 GRS

3 UNCLASSIFIED

4

5

6 FM FCO

7 TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA

8 TELEGRAM NUMBER

9 YOUR TELNO 54: DEATH OF MRS EVREN

10 1. Please send to General Evren on the Prime Minister's behalf

11 the following message:

12 Begins. I was so very sorry to hear of the death of your

13 wife after her long illness. Please accept my deepest

14 sympathy. Ends.

15

16 CARRINGTON

17 NNNN

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 38^A/82

///
//
0-1

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution Limited SED PCD NEWS DEPT PS PS/LPS PS/PUS
Drafted by (Block capitals) F N RICHARDS		cc: Mr Bullard Mr Goodison
Telephone number 233 4831		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

15 MAR 1982



Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH TURKISH PRIME MINISTER, MR BULEND ULUSU:
JULY 1981

Points to Make

Anglo-Turkish Relations

1. Value close relations with Turkey. Glad that Lord Privy Seal made successful visit in April: first European Minister to go as guest of new Turkish Government.

Internal Political

2. Understanding for predicament posed by widespread terrorist violence and economic crisis prior to September 1980. Glad British parliamentarians have spoken up for Turkey in Council of Europe Assembly and European Parliament. Using our influence with European partners to explain the need to allow Turkey's rulers time to rectify situation and restore democracy.

3. Welcome convening of Constituent Assembly in October. But some important Europeans (notably FRG and France) under strong domestic pressure over total exclusion of political party members, and over 90-day detention and maltreatment/torture reports. Impact of demand for death sentences on over 50 trade unionists.

4. Very important no breach between Turkey and her European friends. Britain will continue to help but hope you will not over-react to criticism and will try to meet it when legitimate.

5. When might new Constitution be ready and elections take place?

Economic

6. Encouraged by signs of improvement in Turkish economy. Right medicine producing results. Programme must be adhered to.

Cyprus

7. Post-election period a unique opportunity. Need for courageous and flexible approach by both sides. Great concern it should not be wasted. Would be big plus for Turkey. Encouraged that Turkish side to table territorial proposals. Hope they will be generous. That would put Greek Cypriots under pressure over constitutional issues. Important that Turkish Cypriots negotiate seriously and accept UN guidance. Not neglecting to get right message across to Greek Cypriots.

/NATO



CONFIDENTIAL

NATO

8. Turkish contribution vital. Welcomed statesmanlike attitude over Greek reintegration. Wish could do more to help over equipment - done what we can, as over economic aid.

GREECE

9. How view prospect of Papandreou doing well in Greek elections in autumn?

BACKGROUND

ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS

1. Mr Uluşu representing General Evren at Wedding.
2. Lord Privy Seal visited Turkey 26-30 April at invitation of Foreign Minister. First visit by West European Minister since coup.

INTERNAL/POLITICAL politics.

3. 1979/80 rising political violence, economic crisis and prolonged parliamentary deadlock. Terrorist killings near 20 per day by September 1980. General Evren became Head of State in bloodless coup on 12 September 1980. Under service commanders in National Security Council Uluşu (Navy Chief until August 1980) heads a Council of Ministers of technocrats and retired officers. Leaders pledged to restore democracy, after putting an end to political violence and reforming the Constitution and the electoral and party systems. Terrorism deaths down to less than one a day. On 23 October a Constituent Assembly from which all political party members excluded meets to start process of drawing up new Constitution and key legislation. Elections unlikely before 1983.
 4. Widespread allegations of torture - some evidence to substantiate. Criticism of detention of terrorist suspects for up to 90 days without charges. Clamour over recent call for death sentences on 52 leftist
- /(DISK)



(DISK) trade unionists charged with subversion of Constitution by violence. Turkish Government says torture allegations investigated and culprits punished. Generals increasingly resentful of foreign criticism.

5. European Parliament adopted resolution in April 1981 calling for suspension of Turkey's relations with the Community unless a return to democracy was initiated within two months. Also threat to conclusion of new financial protocol with EC. Calls for Turkey's exclusion from Council of Europe. British Conservative members conspicuously helpful to Turks but FRG Government have delayed disbursement of economic and military aid because of Bundestag opposition. Pressure also on new Mitterrand Government, particularly over trade unionists' trial. Evident danger of relations souring. Doubts over 1982 aid exercise (when £1 billion will again be needed). Some scope for British help as go-between.

Economic

6. Austerity programme since early 1980 aimed at reducing inflation and role of public sector, increasing exports and giving emphasis to market forces. Generals have continued same policies. Recent indications of improvement (eg. inflation down from over 100% to 35%). Temptation for Turkish relax (unemployment over 20%).

7. OECD members pledged US\$940m aid for 1981. UK contribution £15m, as in 1979 and 1980. But UK financial commitment much larger - includes rescheduling of official and officially guaranteed debts, contributions to Community aid, bilateral project aid and technical cooperation. Big ECGD losses (and no prospect of renewing cover until Turks stop defaulting).

Cyprus

8. Ulusu also seeing the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, largely to discuss Cyprus.

9. Intercommunal talks entering decisive stage following elections in Cyprus: if there is no progress by time of UN General Assembly debate

/and



and Greek elections in October/November, breakdown likely. But good opportunity before. Requires Turkish Cypriot offer on territory (18% of population hold nearly 40% of island) and resolute UN leadership. Turkish Foreign Minister has promised UK and US that offer will be made. But Turkish Cypriot leader (Denktash) is publicly intransigent. Denktash in Ankara and will need very firm Turkish Government pressure if real negotiation to be possible. Turks habitually say foreign Governments should not interfere - or confine pressure to making Greek Cypriots see reason. But conscious that lack of any offer on territory puts them in poor light. [Not for disclosure] Close consultation UK, FRG, France and Italy and separately with US on coordinated action to help the UN (which must stay in the lead at least presentationally).

10. Growing concern in recent years of weakness of SE flank of NATO. Improvement with Greek military reintegration late 1980, over which Turkish generals showed admirable flexibility. Turkish equipment deficiencies serious. British contribution to NATO aid scheme modest (gift of surplus stores).



ULUSU, BULEND

Prime Minister.

Born Istanbul 1923.

Graduated from Naval War School in 1952. 1958-73 served successively in Malta, Chief of Operations, War Fleet Commander, Chief of Staff Naval Forces, Fleet Commander. 1974 promoted Admiral, member of Supreme Military Council. 1975 Under-Secretary of Defence, 1977 Commander Turkish Navy. Retired only weeks before the coup in September 1980 and appointed Prime Minister by General Evren, which cancelled his proposed appointment as Ambassador to Italy.

Married with one daughter. Sophisticated, very able, charming to meet, pro-British and NATO.

Speaks English and Italian.



TURKEY: BASIC STATISTICS

1. Population and Land Area

(a)	Land Area	780,576 km ²
(b)	Population (October, 1980 census)	45.2 mill
(c)	Population Growth Rate (1976-1979)	1.9 % pa

2. Economic

(i)	<u>Gross National Product</u>	1979
(a)	Total	60,159 US \$mill
(b)	Growth Rate	1.7 % pa
(c)	Per Capita	1,358 US \$

(ii) Overseas Finance

(a)	<u>Exchange Rates</u>	1977	1978	1979	1980	Currency
	£1 Sterling =	31.422	46.609	65.935	176.880)	
	US\$ =	18.002	24.282	31.078	76.038)	Lira

(b)	<u>Balance of Payments</u>	1979	Estimate 1980	US \$ mill
	Exports	2261	2910	
	Imports	-5096	-7200	
	Invisibles & Transfers (net)	1158	1162	
	Current Account	-1650	-3128	
	Capital Account	680	2562	
	Balancing Item			
	Overall Balance	-970	-566	

(iii) Foreign Trade

(a)	<u>Main Exports</u>	1975	1980	%
	Hazelnuts	11.0	13.6	
	Cotton	16.4	11.1	
	Tobacco	13.1	8.0	
	Manufactured products	26.7	28.8	
(b)	<u>Main Export Markets</u>	1975	1980	%
	FRG	21.8	20.8	
	Italy	5.9	7.5	
	USSR	5.3	5.8	
	France	4.4	5.6	
	USA	10.5	4.4	
	(UK)	(5.0)	(3.6)	



(c)	<u>UK Trade with: Turkey</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>		
	Total UK Exports	143.5	147.1	£ mill	
	Real Growth of Exports (five years ending)	15.3	-11.9	% pa	
	Position in UK Export League Table	31st (cf 152)	44th (of 151)		
(iv)	<u>Development Aid</u>				
(a)	<u>Reported Aid Receipts (ODA)</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	US \$ mill	
	From: DAC Countries on a bilateral basis	154.0	458.8		
	(of which, UK)	(-30.0)	(91.0)		
	Multilateral Organisations	24.0	126.0		
(b)	<u>Aid per Head</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	US \$	
	(i) Turkey	4.2	13.2		
	(ii) All LDC's	7.31	n/a		
(v)	<u>Inflation</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	% pa
	Consumer Price Index	61.9	63.5	94.3	

Sources: OECD: C/WP2 (81) 3 (12/3/81)
 International Financial Statistics
 March 1981
 OECD Geographical Distribution of
 Financial Flows
 IMF Direction of Trade

TURKISH EMBASSY

LONDON

1075/6Ek-116-81

Turkey
Kg. V. 3/6
T 84/81

The Turkish Charge d'Affaires a.i. presents his compliments to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and has the honour to request that the enclosed message addressed to the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, may be conveyed to its high destination.

The Turkish Charge d'Affaires a.i. avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs the assurance of his highest consideration.

London, June 1981



Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of
State for Foreign & Commonwealth
Affairs,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London, S.W.1.

010
SUBJECT

TURKISH EMBASSY
LONDON

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T. 84/81

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of Great Britain & Northern Ireland

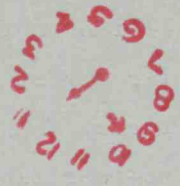
It is with great pleasure that I received your kind message of 19 May sent to me on the occasion of Atatürk centennial.

With a clear vision in foreign policy, Atatürk attributed particular importance to fostering friendly relations between Turkey and Great Britain and thus paved the way to closer co-operation and mutual understanding between our two countries.

On behalf of my Government and the Turkish nation, I avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere wishes for the continuous success of Her Majesty's Government as well as the prosperity and happiness of the British people.

Bülend Ulusu
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Turkey

R 3/6/81



- 3 JUN 1981

SUBJECT



As requested in this afternoon B.F.'s

With the compliments of

Mike Stead

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

LONDON, SW1A 2AH

SUBJECT

Order 1 p.c. (27)
Tubner
Bryce

TOP COPY

UNCLASSIFIED

10869 - 2

UNCLASSIFIED
DESKBY 190700Z
FM FCO 181550Z MAY 81
TO IMMEDIATE ANKARA
TELEGRAM NUMBER 81 OF 18 MAY
INFO PRIORITY ISTANBUL

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T.77B/81

ATATURK CENTENARY: MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
1. THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR RECENTLY ENQUIRED ON INSTRUCTIONS
IF THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD SEND A MESSAGE ON THE OPENING OF
THE ATATURK CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS ON 19 MAY.
2. PLEASE TRANSMIT IMMEDIATELY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM
THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER. BEGINS:
ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF CELEBRATIONS TO MARK THE
CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF KEMAL ATATURK, I SEND THE BEST WISHES
OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE. THE WORK OF ATATURK AS A
GREAT STATESMAN AND THE FOUNDER OF MODERN TURKEY IS WIDELY
RECOGNISED IN BRITAIN. AS TURKEY'S FIRST PRESIDENT HE BECAME A
CLOSE AND RESPECTED FRIEND OF BRITAIN. WE SALUTE HIS MEMORY AND
WISH ALL FORTUNE TO TURKEY AND HER PEOPLE. ENDS.
TEXT MAY BE RELEASED AFTER DELIVERY, WHICH YOU SHOULD REPORT BY
TELEGRAM.

CARRINGTON [COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST.]
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LIMITED PS/LPS
SED PS/PUS
INFO DEPT MR BULLARD
NEWS DEPT MR FERGUSSON
PS



File AH

10 DOWNING STREET

Turkey

From the Principal Private Secretary

18 May 1981

RESTRICTED

Dear Sir,

ATATURK CENTENARY :
MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

As I explained to George Walden on the telephone this morning, the Prime Minister thought that the third and fourth sentences of the draft message to the Prime Minister of Turkey which you sent to Michael Alexander with your letter of 15 May 1981 were not entirely appropriate. She would therefore like both sentences deleted. Fortunately, this change does not upset the flow of the message, the middle sentences of which will now read:

" The work of Ataturk as a great statesman and the founder of modern Turkey is widely recognised. As Turkey's first President he became a close and respected friend of Britain. . . ."

Yours m,

Avic Whinn.

F N Richards Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

AH

RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 May 1981

Dear Michael,

Needs *insert*

Ataturk Centenary: Message for the Prime Minister

The Turkish Ambassador, on instructions from his government, has suggested that the Prime Minister might like to send a message at the opening of the celebrations on 19 May to mark the centenary of the birth of Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey.

According to the Turkish Ambassador, the FRG, the United States and Canada are also being approached in similar vein as 'friends of Turkey'.

The celebrations are of particular significance to the Evren Government since the armed forces regard themselves as the traditional guardians of Ataturk's principles and the guarantors of his democratic legacy to Turkey.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary recommends that the Prime Minister should send a message. It would help to preserve our influence with the Turkish regime following the successful visit which the Lord Privy Seal made there at the end of April. Lord Carrington thinks it important that we should be able to influence the Turks over their policies, particularly towards defence-related matters and South-West Asia. I enclose a draft message, which would, if the Prime Minister agrees, be telegraphed to the Ambassador at Ankara for delivery with an explanation of the request made by the Turks in London.

Yours ever,
Francis Richards
(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing St

RESTRICTED

16 MAY 1981





MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY
FOR DELIVERY ON 19 MAY 1981

On the occasion of the opening of celebrations to mark the centenary of the birth of Kemal Ataturk, I send the best wishes of the British Government and people. The work of Ataturk as a great statesman and the founder of modern Turkey is widely recognised. ~~in Britain~~. We acknowledge the debt which Turkey owes to him for its commitment to the democratic system, and its membership of the Western Community. We remember that he first found fame fighting against us as a skilled and honourable foe in the defence of Gallipoli, when British and Turks came to respect each others' fighting qualities. As Turkey's first President he became a close and respected friend of Britain. We salute his memory and wish all fortune to Turkey and her people.

*The development
of its own
political system
and for*

TURKEY. (2)



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

30 November 1979

Prime Minister
Mr. Punt

Dear Michael,

Handwritten signature/initials

The message of congratulations from the Prime Minister to the Turkish Prime Minister was delivered earlier this week. You may have seen (Ankara telno 672) that Mr Demirel twice told the British Ambassador in Ankara that he was much impressed by its warmth. We have now received through the Turkish Ambassador in London Mr Demirel's reply to Mrs Thatcher, which is attached.

Handwritten signature/initials

(G G H Walden)

M O' D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

TURKISH EMBASSY

LONDON

1075/3 - 354 - 79

The Turkish Ambassador presents his compliments to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and has the honour to request that the enclosed message from Mr. Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, to The Rt.Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., Prime Minister, may be forwarded to its high destination.

The Turkish Ambassador avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs the assurance of his highest consideration.

London, 28th November, 1979.



Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Downing Street,
SW1A 2AL

IRISH AIR MAIL

30 NOV 1979



SUBJECT

T 155/79T

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T155/79T

THE RT.HON. MRS. MARGARET THATCHER, M.P.,
PRIME MINISTER.

I HAVE RECEIVED WITH GREAT PLEASURE YOUR KIND MESSAGE
OF CONGRATULATIONS SENT TO ME ON THE OCCASION OF MY APPOINTMENT
AS PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY.

ON THIS OCCASION, I WISH TO CONVEY TO YOU MY SINCERE
THANKS AS WELL AS MY BEST WISHES.

SULEYMAN DEMIREL
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC
OF TURKEY.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

19 November, 1979.

Turkey: Message to the New
Prime Minister

The Prime Minister has seen and approved
the message enclosed with your letter to me
of 15 November.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

P. Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Turkey

APR



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Pm's Minister

Agree to L?

15 November 1979

Ans, 16/11

Yes no

Dear Michael,

Turkey: Message to New Prime Minister

Mr Demirel has just been appointed Prime Minister of Turkey. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary advises that it would be appropriate for the Prime Minister to send a short message of congratulations to Mr Demirel once his government has received a vote of confidence in the National Assembly. The exchange of such messages is normal practice between Allied Governments and there is no reason why we should run the risk of offending the Turks by neglecting them on this occasion. I attach a draft message which would, if you agree, be despatched to Ankara for delivery by the Ambassador at the appropriate moment.

Mr Demirel's Justice Party is 41 seats short of an absolute majority in the Turkish National Assembly but has assurances of support from the two smaller right-wing parties. Assuming that it receives a vote of confidence early next week, the prospect is that the new government will hold office until well into next year and quite possibly until 1981, when the next general elections are due: the Assembly cannot be dissolved except by its own majority vote. Although strong administration seems unlikely, Mr Demirel's new Government may at least be no weaker than the coalitions of the past nine years.

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR DEMIREL

Please accept my warm congratulations on your return to office as Prime Minister.

You have assumed office at an important time and I look forward to our Governments working closely together in a spirit of true friendship and cooperation.

On behalf of the British Government I wish you every success.



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