



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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24 March 1988

Dear Charles,

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to open
later files

Prime Minister's Visit to Turkey: Speeches

With your two letters of 21 March you sent over drafts of the speeches which the Prime Minister will make in Ankara and Istanbul. The Foreign Secretary believes these drafts are largely on the right lines. I wrote to you earlier proposing amendments to passages in both speeches on European Community aspects. Stephen Ratcliffe is, I understand sending DTI comments on the Istanbul speech separately. The following are our own suggestions for amendment for the non-EC sections. They incorporate many of those proposed by Timothy Daunt (Ankara telnos 162, 163 and 164 - copies attached)

Ankara Speech

Page 6: Omit "in the Crusades and".

Page 9: Insert after "history", "Only last month you celebrated the heroic defence of the Straits - masterminded by Ataturk - against Britain and her allies in 1915."

Page 11: Amend 4th sentence to read "Your exports to us were up by over 40% last year".

Page 12: Omit 2nd sentence.

Add at end of last sentence "Number two is, however, now nearing completion, thanks to British design, much British civil engineering and large quantities of British Steel."

Page 13: Insert new first sentence: "I am interested in other sorts of bridge-building too:".

Amend 3rd sentence to read "But there are four particular issues which I want to touch on".

/Page 14:

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Page 14: Amend first sentence to read "We want to see a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, which will satisfy the needs and wishes of the two communities there".

Page 15: Delete "the new" and "of Cyprus", so that it reads ... "from President Vassiliou, who ...

Page 16: After "progress." Add "And in my view Turkey has a real interest, as she looks towards the future, in a settlement".

Add, after third line, new paragraphs:

"Secondly, I turn to the Middle East. Turkey is uniquely placed to help resolve the bitter and bloody conflicts there. The Occupied Territories are in turmoil. The status quo is not sustainable. We know the fundamental principles for a settlement, and believe that an International Conference offers the best way forward. We welcome and support US efforts to help the parties reach agreement. I am sure, Mr Prime Minister, you will use your influence with the parties to urge them not to reject this opportunity.

We remain deeply anxious about the war between your two close neighbours, Iran and Iraq. I am appalled by recent reports of chemical weapons being used, killing innocent civilians. I know how hard you have been trying to bring the parties to the negotiating table. We must all go on working to end this war."

In line four, delete "Second"; substitute "Thirdly"

Page 17: Amend 3rd sentence to read "But we also agreed that there is as yet no sign of the Soviet threat to NATO being reduced and that we therefore need to keep our own forces and weapons up to date at all levels, including nuclear."

Page 18: In second line, delete "there"; substitute "in the Soviet Union".

Page 21: Amend first sentence to read "That is of course literally true, and it brought you in the 16th Century, and again in the 17th, to the gates of Vienna".

/Page 26:

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Page 26: If Mr Ozal proposes a toast to HM The Queen, the Prime Minister should of course propose one to the President of the Turkish Republic.

Istanbul Speech

Pages 1, 6 and 20: Amend "Mr Mayor" to read "Lord Mayor".

Page 3: Insert "British" before "Prime Minister".

Page 4: Amend "waters of the Bosphorus" to read "waters of the Straits".

Amend last sentence to read "and so it remains today despite two great bridges, soon perhaps to be followed by another".

Insert new Page 5 "Today more and more British visitors are seeing Istanbul for themselves. I am one of them. Like all of them, I am overwhelmed by your magnificent city. This morning I crossed the Bosphorus to visit the military cemetery at Uskudar - a most moving sight - and saw the famous field hospital where Florence Nightingale nursed wounded ~~British and~~ Turkish troops during the Crimean War. This afternoon I look forward with immense anticipation to visiting the Topkapi Palace and Aya Sofia, two of the jewels in Istanbul's crown. Our lunch today in a splendid Ottoman kiosk is another of the highlights of my visit and one for which I am most grateful".

FCO
amendment
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Page 7: Delete second sentence. Insert "You are also providing parks and walk-ways where once there were derelict factories. I look forward to my visit this afternoon to one of the largest water treatment schemes in the world at Yenikapi, a major project in which I am glad to say British companies are playing a significant part. We too are proud of our record in urban renewal. London's Docklands is one of the biggest and most successful such projects in the world. And today in the River Thames, after many hundreds of years, fish are swimming again as it flows through London".

Insert new immediately following paragraph:

"Another problem which London and Istanbul have in common is traffic congestion. Here again, you are pressing

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ahead with major schemes to improve the situation. A key element in your strategy is, I know, the Besiktas-Samatya Highway. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that two British companies, Tarmac and Wimpey, in partnership with Turkish and other firms, have been chosen for this key project".

Page 8: In second line delete "success"; substitute "revival".

Amend first complete sentence to read "I know that many whom you have invited today are responsible for Turkey's commercial success, and I am delighted to meet them and hear at first hand about your economic progress".

Page 10: After "Any major economy in Europe" add "Turkey apart."

Page 14: After semi colon in line 4 insert 'you, Lord Mayor, met the members of a high-level mission from the Confederation of British Industry during their visit to Istanbul last month;'

Page 15: In first line delete 'Trade'; insert 'Industrial'.

Page 16: Delete lines 7 and 8. Insert 'we feel that this is an area in which we can work together much more than we do at present'.

Pages 15-17: Delete from "British companies are involved in" to "bridge-building too".

Substitute: "Our trading and industrial links are growing. And I confidently believe the pace will accelerate as Turkey progresses in its industrialisation and as our businessmen get to know each other better. British contractors are well placed to win major projects in Turkey. I attended yesterday the ground-breaking ceremony for the Ankara Natural Gas project and I am sure that is only the start. Quite apart from roads and hotels where our construction companies are already active, British firms are competing to undertake projects in such diverse areas as health, radio communications, radar, water treatment, urban transport schemes, computerisation, coal mines. They are also involved in joint ventures, one of which - Land Rover - I shall be visiting this afternoon. This is only a sample.

/"Britain

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"Britain is now a leader in many high technology fields. Our Defence industry is outstanding and we know that the opportunities for co-operation range far wider than our present activities."

Delete last line of Page 20, first line of Page 21 and first word of line 2.

Younger

L Parker

(L Parker)
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MIPT: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: ISTANBUL SPEECH

1. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENTS:

- (A) PARAS 1 6 AND 20. DALAN LIKES (SINCE HIS VISIT TO LONDON) TO BE ADDRESSED AS ''LORD MAYOR''.
- (B) PARA 2. INSERT ''BRITISH'' BEFORE ''PRIME MINISTER''.
- (C) PARA 4. AMEND ''THE WATERS OF THE BOSPHORUS'' TO READ ''THE WATERS OF THE STRAITS'', AND THE LAST SENTENCE TO READ : ''AND SO IT REMAINS TODAY DESPITE TWO GREAT BRIDGES, SOON PERHAPS TO BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER....'' (THE SECOND BRIDGE IS NOW VIRTUALLY COMPLETE).
- (D) ADD A NEW PARA 5 ON THE LINES OF :
''TODAY MORE AND MORE BRITISH VISITORS ARE SEEING ISTANBUL FOR THEMSELVES. I TOO AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE SOMETHING OF YOUR MAGNIFICENT CITY. THIS MORNING I CROSSED THE BOSPHORUS TO VISIT THE MILITARY CEMETERY AT USKUDAR - A MOST MOVING SITE - AND SAW THE FAMOUS FIELD HOSPITAL WHERE FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE NURSED WOUNDED BRITISH AND TURKISH TROOPS DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR. THIS AFTERNOON I LOOK FORWARD TO VISITING THE TOPKAPI PALACE AND AYA SOFIA, TWO OF THE JEWELS IN ISTANBUL'S CROWN. OUR LUNCH TODAY IN A SPLENDID OTTOMAN KIOSK IS ANOTHER OF THE HIGHLIGHTS OF MY VISIT, AND ONE FOR WHICH I AM MOST GRATEFUL''.
- (E) PARA 6. AFTER ''ACHIEVING THAT.'' DELETE REMAINDER OF PARAGRAPH AND SUBSTITUTE: ''YOU HAVE ALREADY MADE GREAT PROGRESS, IN CLEANING UP THE GOLDEN HORN AND PROVIDING

PARKS AND WALK-WAYS WHERE ONCE THERE WERE DERELICT FACTORIES. I LOOK FORWARD TO MY VISIT THIS AFTERNOON TO ONE OF THE LARGEST WATER TREATMENT SCHEMES IN THE WORLD AT YENIKAPI, A MAJOR PROJECT IN WHICH I AM GLAD TO SAY THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT BRITISH TECHNICAL AND CONSULTANCY INVOLVEMENT. WE TOO ARE PROUD OF OUR RECORD IN URBAN RENEWAL - LONDON'S DOCKLANDS IS ONE OF THE BIGGEST AND MOST SUCCESSFUL SUCH PROJECTS IN THE WORLD. AND TODAY IN THE RIVER THAMES, AFTER MANY HUNDRED OF YEARS, FISH ARE SWIMMING AGAIN AS IT FLOWS THROUGH LONDON''.

- (F) INSERT AFTER PARA 6: ''ANOTHER PROBLEM WHICH LONDON AND ISTANBUL HAVE IN COMMON IS TRAFFIC CONGESTION. HERE AGAIN, YOU ARE PRESSING AHEAD WITH MAJOR SCHEMES TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION. A KEY ELEMENT IN YOUR STRATEGY IS, I KNOW, THE BESIKTAS-SAMATYA HIGHWAY, AND IT IS A SOURCE OF GREAT SATISFACTION TO ME THAT TWO BRITISH COMPANIES, TARMAC AND WIMPEY, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH A CONSORTIA, HAVE BEEN CHOSEN FOR THIS KEY PROJECT''.
- (G) PARA 7. SUBSTITUTE ''ECONOMIC REVIVAL'' FOR ''ECONOMIC SUCCESS''.
- (H) PARA 8. AMEND TO READ ''.....MANY WHOM YOU HAVE INVITED TODAY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR TURKEY'S COMMERCIAL SUCCESS, AND I AM DELIGHTED TO MEET THEM AND HEAR AT FIRST HAND ABOUT YOUR ECONOMIC PROGRESS''.
- (I) PARA 15. AMEND LINE 3 TO READ: ''.....THIS YEAR: YOU, LORD MAYOR, MET THE MEMBERS OF A HIGH LEVEL MISSION FROM THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRY DURING THEIR VISIT TO ISTANBUL LAST MONTH: AND IN OCTOBER.....''
- (J) PARA 16. THIS SHOULD READ: ''..... A MAJOR TURKISH INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION AT THE BARBICAN....''
- (K) PARA 18. THE REFERENCE TO SELLING DEFENCE EQUIPMENT IS A LITTLE BLUNT. WE SUGGEST: ''WE FEEL THAT THIS IS AN AREA IN WHICH WE CAN WORK TOGETHER MUCH MORE THAN WE DO AT PRESENT.''
- (L) PARA 20. THE TURKS NOW PROPOSE THAT SPEECHES SHOULD BE

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AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LUNCH, THE PRESS THEN LEAVING THE ROOM (MY MINUTE OF 17 MARCH COPIED TO CONFERENCE SECTION). AS A RESULT, THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK FOR NO MORE THAN, SAY, 15 MINUTES, WITHOUT THEN TAKING QUESTIONS. THE THIRD SENTENCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD THEREFORE BE DELETED.

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MIPT: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: ANKARA SPEECH

1. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENTS:

(A) PARA 7. THE REFERENCE TO 'THE CRUSADES' SEEMS GRATUITOUS: IT IS A DIRTY WORD HERE AND IT IS NOT STRICTLY TRUE THAT BRITAIN AND TURKEY FOUGHT EACH OTHER IN THEM.

(B) PARA 10. IT WOULD GO DOWN WELL IF THE PRIME MINISTER ADDED A NEW SECOND SENTENCE ON THE LINES OF: 'ONLY LAST MONTH YOU CELEBRATED THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE STRAITS - MASTERMINDED BY ATATURK - AGAINST BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES IN 1915.'

(C) PARA 12. WHATEVER THE AGREED WHITEHALL LINE ON BOSPHORUS III, WE SEE ADVANTAGE IN STRESSING THE SIGNIFICANT BRITISH CONTENT IN BOSPHORUS II. YOU MIGHT AMEND AS FOLLOWS: 'WELL, IT'S BEEN A CASE OF ONLY ONE BRIDGE SO FAR, ALTHOUGH NUMBER TWO IS NOW NEARING COMPLETION, THANKS TO BRITISH DESIGN, MUCH BRITISH CIVIL ENGINEERING, AND LARGE QUANTITIES OF BRITISH STEEL.'

(D) PARA 13. VASSILIOU'S CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER, ARRANGED AT SHORT NOTICE, WAS ALWAYS GOING TO BE SENSITIVE FOR THE TURKS (MY TELNO 140). IT WILL BE MORE SO SINCE IT IS NOW CLEAR - AND THE TURKISH HAVE NOTED THAT DENKTASH WILL BE IN LONDON AT THE SAME TIME BUT WILL NOT MEET MRS THATCHER. IF THERE IS A SHARP REACTION FROM THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, IT MAY BE BEST TO OMIT THE SENTENCE 'MAY I ALSO SAY THAT.....PRESENT IMPASSE'. IF NOT, THE REFERENCE TO HIS VISIT COULD BE RETAINED, BUT I WOULD BE HAPPIER IF THE PRIME MINISTER REFERRED TO 'A VISIT FROM PRESIDENT VASSILIOU' RATHER THAN TO 'A VISIT FROM THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS'. THIS PARAGRAPH MIGHT IN ANY CASE INCLUDE A FIRM REMINDER TO THE TURKS THAT IT IS IN THEIR INTERESTS TO WORK FOR A SETTLEMENT, AND NOT TO SIT PAT ON THE PRESENT IMPASSE. WE SUGGEST: 'IN MY VIEW, TURKEY HAS A REAL INTEREST, IN THE CONTEXT OF HER AMBITIONS FOR THE FUTURE, IN A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT.'

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(E) PARA 18. OZAL MAY PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE QUEEN. IF HE DOES,
THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD OF COURSE PROPOSE ONE TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC.

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YOUR TELNOS 94-96: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO TURKEY: SPEECHES

1. THESE STRIKE US AS TWO VERY GOOD DRAFTS, ON WHICH WE NEVERTHELESS HAVE TWO GENERAL COMMENTS AND A FEW DETAILED SUGGESTIONS (SEE MY 2 IFT'S).

2. FIRST, EC/TURKEY. THE LINE PROPOSED IN PARA 16 OF THE ANKARA SPEECH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY GO DOWN WELL. BUT WE SHOULD BE IN NO DOUBT THAT THE LAST SENTENCE OF THAT PARAGRAPH WILL BE SEEN - BY BOTH THE TURKS AND MOST OF OUR EC PARTNERS - AS A FIRM UNEQUIVOCAL ENDORSEMENT OF TURKEY'S APPLICATION. IF THAT IS OUR POLICY, WELL AND GOOD. IF NOT, WE SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT IT WILL BE NO GOOD CLAIMING AFTER THE EVENT THAT MORE HAS BEEN READ INTO THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH THAN WAS INTENDED: OR THAT THE LANGUAGE IS AMBIGUOUS.

3. SECOND, BOSPHORUS III. THE MATERIAL IN BOTH SPEECHES ON THE BRIDGE IS GOOD SPEECH-WRITING, BUT DOES PLACE THE BRIDGE CLEARLY AT THE HEAD OF OUR LIST OF COMMERCIAL OBJECTIVES. OUR ADVICE REMAINS THAT GIVEN IN ANKARA TEL NO 145: THAT THE THIRD BRIDGE SHOULD BE ONLY ONE OF AN EVENLY-BALANCED RANGE OF PROJECTS WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD LIKE TO SEE AWARDED TO BRITISH COMPANIES. IT REMAINS THE CASE THAT WHATEVER ENDORSEMENT THE PRIME MINISTER GIVES IT IS FAR FROM CERTAIN THAT THE PROJECT WILL GO AHEAD THIS YEAR: AND EVEN IF IT DOES IT SEEMS TO US UNLIKELY THAT CLEVELAND BRIDGE WILL WIN THE CONTRACT WITHOUT AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH THEY ARE FORCED TO LOWER THEIR BID, WITH RESULTING CALLS FOR FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE BRITISH TAXPAYER.

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