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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 February 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S TRAVEL PLANS: APRIL 1990

Thank you for your letter of 2 February about the Prime Minister's travel plans in April.

The Prime Minister intends to go ahead with her attendance at the ANZAC Day celebrations at Gallipoli. As you suggested, she will leave London after Questions on Tuesday 24 April and spend the night in Istanbul. We await further news of how she will travel from there to Gallipoli and back. I am sure that she will be willing to see President Ozal and Mr. Hawke in the course of that day.

In the light of your comments about a visit to Cyprus, the Prime Minister has decided to drop this for the time being, and also to drop the proposed visit to Malta and Rome. She thinks that Mr. Fenech-Adami has been sufficiently compensated for the disappointment of losing the 1991 CHOGM by the holding of the US/Soviet Summit in Malta: and she notes that she will anyway be seeing Signor Andreotti in late February. Her intention is therefore to return to London late on the evening of Wednesday 25 April.

The only possible deviation from this plan would be for a visit to Eastern Europe. It would clearly not be appropriate for her to visit Rumania under present conditions. The choice is really between Chechoslovakia or Hungary. But I think both countries will be in the run up to elections, which would make a visit in late April of rather limited value. But you may wish to obtain the Foreign Secretary's views on this.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence).

C. D. POWELL

J. S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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File JM
bcc PC
JR
c: /port/galli

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO GALLIPOLI

*Prefer to go me
straight home
not*

You have agreed in principle to attend the ANZAC Day celebrations in Gallipoli on Wednesday 25 April. It will mean leaving London after Questions on Tuesday 24 April, and spending that night in Istanbul. The ceremonies will take most of the morning of 25 April. Both President Ozal and Mr. Hawke have asked for bilaterals, which could take place after lunch that day. We shall have RN ships lying off Gallipoli, and hope to be able to use those. The Defence Secretary also plans to attend.

The question arises: where else should you visit? There are three candidates: Cyprus, Malta and Rome.

The FCO advice in the attached letter continues to be against a visit to Cyprus. They argue that:

- the Turkish Government would be mortally offended if you went to Cyprus and did not see Denktash. They might even cancel the Gallipoli leg of the tour;
- but if you do see Denktash and fail to get any concessions from him - and it would be unrealistic to expect to do so ahead of his 'elections' in July - you will end up giving him the accolade of recognition and legitimizing the status quo. We shall have played our trump card of a meeting too soon: and you risk offending Vassiliou.

The FCO therefore favour postponing a visit to Cyprus, at least until later in the year. They believe they could explain the reasons to President Vassiliou in a way which we would understand.

There is substance in the FCO's concerns. But we do not have to give up so easily. An alternative and more energetic approach would be to put the problem squarely to the Turkish Government. You are considering a visit to Cyprus: you would in principle be prepared to see Denktash: but only if a meeting was to lead to a major step forward in the intercommunal talks: you would not be

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prepared to see him under any other circumstances. Can they deliver? It might be worth a try, provided we can identify what would constitute a sufficient and realistic step forward. We would need to keep President Vassiliou informed of what we are doing.

Another alternative would be to stop short of a 'full' visit to Cyprus. You could overnight in the SBA, have a brief meeting and lunch with Vassiliou the next day, and then be on your way. The Turks might live with that.

Go along with FCO advice to drop Cyprus for now?

Or

Prefer to have a go at the Turks?


A visit to Malta would be easy to manage on the Thursday, 26 April. To some extent, the need for a visit to compensate for Fenechi-Adami's disappointment over not getting CHOGM in 1991 is lessened by the holding of the Bush/Gorbachev Summit there. But it would still be a useful boost to him: and would get Malta out of the way.

A visit to Rome would simply be a stop-over for talks with Andreotti before the Italian Presidency. We need to cultivate the Italians, not least over German reunification. Equally you will be seeing him in London in late February.

In short, Malta and Rome would be useful but not essential. You could come straight back from Gallipoli in time for Cabinet and Questions on 26 April (assuming you decide not to pursue the Cyprus visit).

Agree to visit Malta and stop in Rome?

Or

Prefer to come straight home? 

C.D.P.

(CHARLES POWELL)

4 February 1990

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

2 February 1990

*This makes a cogent case against
a visit to Cyprus now: if you
Jean Chouk, don't see Denktash, the Turks may
cancel Gallipoli: if you do see him, he
Prime Minister's travel plans: April 1990*

The Prime Minister has agreed to attend the ANZAC Day celebrations at Gallipoli in Turkey on Wednesday 25 April. If she were not free to leave London until after Question Time the previous day, flying time, and the two hour time difference, mean that she would not arrive in Istanbul until around 2200 hrs local, too late for meetings that evening.

We are considering, with the MOD, options for the Prime Minister's travel to and from Gallipoli, to be there in time for the central ceremony at 0930 hrs the following morning. The Dardanelles are difficult of access and the Defence Secretary, who will also be there, hopes it will be possible to use one of two HM frigates which will be on station for the occasion.

We will write again about the logistics, and the timetable for other events at Gallipoli, including the ceremony at the British Memorial, as soon as we can.

It should be possible to arrange a bilateral meeting with President Ozal, and possibly also the Turkish Prime Minister, at Gallipoli. President Ozal's office have suggested immediately before or after lunch. Mr Hawke is also likely to ask for a meeting, either at Gallipoli or in Istanbul. We recommend that the Prime Minister agree to this. Given the logistics, the Gallipoli programme and bilaterals are likely to mean a second night in Turkey.

We suggest that the Prime Minister should visit Malta and Rome on her return journey. In Malta, the High Commission could put together a worthwhile 24-hour programme. Rome would be a natural port of call on the return journey, enabling the Prime Minister to discuss major issues with Sr Andreotti before the Italian EC Presidency (your letter of 29 November).

The main aim of her visit to Cyprus would be to see President Vassiliou. But our missions in Nicosia and Ankara have advised against a visit unless the Prime Minister also sees Mr Denktash. Sir Timothy Daunt in Ankara has warned that a visit to Cyprus which did not include a meeting with

/Mr Denktash

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Mr Denktash could so antagonise the Turks that the government would come under pressure to cancel the Gallipoli leg of the tour.

The Foreign Secretary has no objection on foreign policy grounds to the Prime Minister visiting Cyprus but wonders if the Prime Minister would really be happy with the outcome of a visit in April. At the right time, we would favour a meeting with Mr Denktash. It would be of great value if it could be used to give fresh impetus to the intercommunal talks and to promote a change of heart on Mr Denktash's part. It could be argued that a meeting in April would be an opening to convey a firm message to Mr Denktash to be reasonable and to show more flexibility. For this to have the right effect would require Mr Denktash to prove amenable to persuasion by the Prime Minister after the Turkish Cypriot "parliamentary" elections of 22 April. The Foreign Secretary doubts whether this would be the case in April. Intercommunal talks, long-stalled, are now due to resume this month. Even if they go well, Turkish Cypriot politics are likely to rule out further progress before July because the "parliamentary" elections in April will be followed by "Presidential" elections in June. Mr Denktash will be preparing for the latter and is unlikely to be in any position to offer concessions to the Greek Cypriots.

In other words the visit would be a gamble. We would be playing the trump card of a visit by the Prime Minister too soon. Without giving any ground at all, Mr Denktash would be able to point to resumed ministerial contact with us at the highest level to buttress his own argument that, in the absence of a settlement, the status quo is acquiring its own legitimacy.

In these circumstances a visit might upset President Vassiliou and his Greek Cypriots. The Prime Minister might therefore wish to postpone a visit to Cyprus, perhaps until later in the year. We could explain the reasons to President Vassiliou.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (MOD).

James
Stephen Wall

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