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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 March 1990

*Dear Richard.*GALLIPOLI

I have had a look at Ankara tel. nos. 142 and 143 with a draft programme for the Prime Minister's visit to Gallipoli. It is simply not a starter to suggest that the Prime Minister spend four hours in a car travelling to Gallipoli (with a 4.45 a.m. start) and three hours back to Isbanbul in the evening. It cannot be beyond the wit or the budget of a country of our size to provide a helicopter to undertake this journey, even at the cost of some disruption to military plans. Alternatively, can we not insist that the Turkish Government provide a suitable helicopter as the condition for the Prime Minister's attendance: or seek the loan of a VIP helicopter from the American military in Turkey: or even go for a civil charter. I can only say that we have to find a helicopter somehow, otherwise I don't see how the Prime Minister's participation can go ahead. It may mean making ourselves unpopular with the Turkish Government. But I think the time has come to do so. I should be grateful if the necessary instructions could be sent to Ankara, after discussion with the MOD.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb at the Ministry of Defence.

Charles Powell

Richard Gozney Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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COWLING'S TELELETTER OF 8 MARCH: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO
GALLIPOLI

1. MIFT CONTAINS A REVISED DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR 25 APRIL, TO INCLUDE MEETINGS WITH OZAL AND AKBULUT (EVANS' TELELETTER OF 8 MARCH). THIS TEL CONTAINS COMMENT AND INDICATES MATTERS ON WHICH DECISION/INSTRUCTIONS (MARKED +) ARE REQUIRED IMMEDIATELY AFTER RECCE VISIT.

TRAVEL ISTANBUL/GALLIPOLI

2. WITH DEADLINE FOR ARRIVAL AND MID TOWN START, FOUR HOURS MAY BE NEEDED FOR ISTANBUL-CAPE HELLES. RETURN (TO AIRPORT) SHOULD TAKE LESS. ONLY PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVE TO ROAD JOURNEY IS THE HELICOPTER OPTION (+). OBJECTIONS ARE WEATHER-DEPENDENCY, AND EXPENSE IF UK MILITARY HELICOPTERS ARE USED (AVAILABILITY OF SUITABLE MACHINES FROM TURKISH MILITARY REMAINS DOUBTFUL).

INTERNATIONAL CEREMONY

3. THE INTERNATIONAL CEREMONY WILL BE FROM 1000 TO 1115, PRECEDED BY TEN MINUTE WELCOMING FORMALITIES. THE PM WILL CONSEQUENTLY BE ENGAGED WITH TRAVEL, BILATERALS AND INTERNATIONAL CEREMONY UNTIL AFTER MID-DAY. THE INTERNATIONAL CEREMONY WILL COMPRISE:
INTRODUCTION (TURKISH/ENGLISH):
WREATH-LAYING BY HEADS OF NATIONAL DELEGATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER (AUSTRALIA, CANADA, FRG, FRANCE, NEW ZEALAND, UK) AND TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES:
WARSHIPS TO GIVE SALUTE:
ONE MINUTE SILENCE:
NATIONAL ANTHEMS (ORDER AS WREATH-LAYING):
SPEECHES BY GOVERNOR OF CANAKKALE, A TURKISH MINISTER (PROBABLY GIRAY), GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND (REPRESENTING THE

NATIONAL DELEGATIONS) AND PRESIDENT OZAL:
MARCH PAST BY MILITARY CONTINGENTS.

FRENCH COMMEMORATION: REPRESENTATION

4. THE PM WILL DOUBTLESS WISH TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE ANZACS (SEE BELOW). ALL OTHER ALLIED NATIONS (EG INDIANS) EXCEPT THE FRENCH ARE COMMEMORATED AT THE BRITISH MEMORIAL. ALTHOUGH SHE WILL DRIVE WITHIN 50 METRES OF THE FRENCH CEMETERY EN ROUTE FROM THE OZAL MEETING TO THE BRITISH MEMORIAL PM WILL NOT BE ABLE TO STOP THERE. THE FRENCH NATIONAL CEREMONY WILL HAVE STARTED: DOUBLING BACK LATER TOO TIME CONSUMING. IF NOTICE IS TO BE TAKEN OF THE FRENCH, I RECOMMEND THAT HMCGB ISTANBUL SHOULD REPRESENT THE PM AT THE FRENCH CEREMONY (AND LAY A WREATH IF APPROPRIATE) (+).

BRITISH CEREMONY

5. DUE TO OZAL BILATERAL, START DELAYED TO 1215. PROPOSED CEREMONIAL (+):

- A) PM RECEIVED BY GENERAL FORD (COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION).
- B) REVIEW VETERANS AND RB LEGION REPS (MAXIMUM 6 IN ALL).
- C) INSPECT GUARD OF HONOUR.
- D) MEET CHAPLAIN.
- E) SERVICE.
- F) TALK TO VETERANS, BRITISH LEGION PARTY ETC, AND INSPECTING THE MEMORIAL.

6. PROPOSED ORDER OF SERVICE FOLLOWS BY FAX (+). I RECOMMEND THAT THE PM READ THE LESSON (+). THE BINYON WORDS TO BE SAID BY DEFENCE SECRETARY, OR A GALLIPOLI VETERAN OR A YOUNG SERVICEMAN (+). WREATH LAYERS ARE LIKELY TO NUMBER 20.

V BEACH

7. TIME WILL BE SHORT. IF THE PM IS CONTENT TO VIEW V BEACH (THE MAIN CAPE HELLES LANDING) FROM THE CLIFF NEAR THE BRITISH MEMORIAL AND TO MEET THE PRESS THERE, TIME WILL BE SAVED (+). A VISIT IS NOT IN THE PM'S LIST OF PRIORITIES. FROM POINT OF VIEW OF PROGRAMME ORGANISATION, V BEACH IS BEST OMITTED. BUT, IF SO, PM WILL NOT VISIT ANY OF THE BRITISH LANDING BEACHES, NOR ANY BRITISH CEMETERY. IF SHE DOES GO, SHE MIGHT MEET THE PRESS THERE (SEE BELOW) AND VISIT THE GRAVE OF KEY VC WINNER (WALFORD).

PRESS

8. PRESS WILL NEED TO LEAVE ISTANBUL 0400 (ANKARA AND ISTANBUL IO'S TO ACCOMPANY) TO BE AT TURKISH MEMORIAL FOR PM'S ARRIVING. IF PM WISHES TO SPEAK TO THE PRESS AT GALLIPOLI ITSELF, ALTERNATIVES ARE

- A) AT V BEACH CEMETERY
 - B) AT BRITISH MEMORIAL AFTER CEREMONY
 - C) IF WET, UNDER COVER AT V BEACH (OR IN A BUS).
- IN MY VIEW (A) WOULD BE BEST (+).

FILING FACILITIES AT KABATEPE SHOULD BE ADEQUATE: ONE POSSIBLE SNAG (SEE PARA 12 BELOW).

LUNCH

9. IF VISIT TO V BEACH IS INCLUDED, PM WOULD NOT REACH KABATEPE UNTIL 1245. OTHERS ARE, HOWEVER, ALSO LIKELY TO BE LATE FOR THE 1330 LUNCH.

ANZAC

10. A TRIBUTE TO THE AUSTRALIANS IS A HIGH PRIORITY. BUT THE TURKS ARE ADAMANT THAT NEITHER THE AUSTRALIAN MEMORIAL AT LONE PINE NOR THE NEW ZEALAND MEMORIAL AT CHUNUK BAIR CAN BE VISITED AFTER LUNCH. THE AREA WILL BE THROGGED WITH VISITORS (6,000 ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND THE MID-DAY CEREMONY AT LONE PINE) AND TRAFFIC FLOW ON SINGLE TRACK ROAD WILL BE IN REVERSE DIRECTION. I RECOMMEND THAT, AS AN ALTERNATIVE, THE PRIME MINISTER VISIT ANZAC COVE (10 MINUTES FROM KABATEPE) AND LAY A WREATH AT SHRAPNEL VALLEY CEMETERY WHERE AUSTRALIAN, NEW ZEALAND AND BRITISH TROOPS ARE BURIED (+). SHE MIGHT VISIT THE GRAVE OF CAPT QUINN (THE AUSTRALIAN HERO OF QUINN'S POST). MEDIA IMPACT WOULD PROBABLY BE GREATER THAN VISIT TO MAIN MEMORIALS. THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER AND NEW ZEALAND GOVERNOR GENERAL MIGHT WISH TO ACCOMPANY.

AUSTRALIAN BILATERAL

11. LUNCH AND THE PROPOSED VISIT TO ANZAC COVE (PARA 9 ABOVE) MAY SUFFICE IF AUSTRALIAN PM ACCOMPANIES. IF A FORMAL BILATERAL IS REQUIRED, IT COULD TAKE PLACE AT THE CWGC COTTAGE JUST NORTH OF ANZAC COVE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE VISITS THERE. THE ALTERNATIVE IS KILITBAHIR AT 0800, NECESSITATING 0345 START FROM ISTANBUL (+).

12. A POSSIBLE SNAG IS INSUFFICIENT TIME FOR THE ACCOMPANYING PRESS TO FINLE ON ANZAC VISIT BEFORE JOINING RETURN CONVOY TO

ISTANBUL. IF AN AUSTRALIAN BILATERAL IS INCLUDED, THEY WOULD HAVE TIME TO FILE FROM KABATEPE WHILST IT TOOK PLACE.

RETURN JOURNEY

143. DIRECT TO ISTANBUL AIRPORT FROM ANZAC COVE. NARROW PENNINSULA ROADS AND BIG CROWDS LIKELY TO NECESSITATE OVER 3 HOURS, PLUS SHORT STOP EN ROUTE.

WREATHS

14. THE FOLLOWING POPPY WREATHS SHOULD BE BROUGHT OUT ON VC10:

THE QUEEN: 1

PRIME MINISTER: 3 PLUS 2 SMALL POPPY CORSES AND ONE SMALL POPPY BUNCH.

DEFENCE SECRETARY: 1

CGS: 1

CNS: 1

GENERAL FORD: 1

HMCg: 1

SPARE: 6

SUGGEST THAT ONLY FIRST FOUR NEED BE LARGEST KIND.

15. SUGGESTED WORDING FOR ALL CARDS WILL BE GIVEN TO RECCE PARTY. PM MIGHT WISH, IN ADDITION TO LAYING WREATHS, TO LEAVE SMALL POPPY CROSSES AT THE GRAVES OF DOUGHTY-WYLIE OR WALFORD, AND QUINN IF SHE PAUSES AT THEM (PARAS 7 AND 10 ABOVE) (+). SHE MIGHT ALSO, IN A GESTURE TO PLEASE THE TURKS, LEAVE POPPIES (BUNCH NOT CROSS) AT THE GRAVE OF THE TURKISH HERO OF V BEACH NEAR THE BRITISH MEMORIAL (+).

GIFTS

16. THE TURKS ARE PLANNING A PRESENTATION OF UNIFORMS AT THE KABATEPE LUNCHEON. IF AUSTRALIAN, NEW ZEALAND AND FRENCH UNIFORMS ARE BEING PRESENTED BY HEADS OF DELEGATIONS, THE PRIME MINISTER WILL NEED TO PRESENT BRITISH UNIFORMS. COST (TO CABINET OFFICE/ NO 10?) UNLIKELY TO EXCEED #1,400 (+). ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO ACQUIRE AN ARMY UNIFORM THROUGH MOD (A): A NAVAL UNIFORM IS ALREADY AVAILABLE.

17. THERE WILL PROBABLY ALSO BE A REQUIREMENT FOR PERSONAL GIFTS FOR OZAL AND AKBULUT. WE ARE INVESTIGATING FRAMED REPRODUCTIONS OF PAINTINGS OF GALLIPOLI. RECOMMENDATIONS AVAILABLE FOR RECCE

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MIPT: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO GALLIPOLI

1. FOLLOWING IS REVISED OUTLINE PROGRAMME FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

24 APRIL

2200 ARRIVE ISTANBUL YESILKOY
2250 ARRIVE BRITISH CONSULATE-GENERAL

25 APRIL

0445 DEPART CONSULATE-GENERAL
0645-0700 BREAKFAST STOP AT TEKIRDAG
0900 ARRIVE TURKISH MEMORIAL
0915 BILATERAL WITH PRIME MINISTER AKBULUT
0945 WELCOMING FORMALITIES FOR HEADS OF NATIONAL DELEGATIONS
1000 INTERNATIONAL CEREMONY
1115 BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT OZAL
1200 DEPART TURKISH MEMORIAL FOR BRITISH MEMORIAL
1215 BRITISH CEREMONY
1240 MEET VETERANS ETC, INSPECTS MEMORIAL
1255 DEPART BRITISH MEMORIAL FOR V BEACH
1300 VISIT V BEACH
TALK TO PRESS
1320 DEPART V BEACH FOR KABATEPE
1350 LUNCH
1500 DEPART KABATEPE
1510 VISIT SHRAPNEL VALLEY CEMETERY
1530 VIEW ANZAC COVE FROM VICINITY OF ANZAC COVE CEMETERY
1540 DEPART FOR CWGC COTTAGE AT ANZAC COVE
1545 BILATERAL WITH AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER AND PREPARE
FOR RETURN JOURNEY
1630 DEPART FOR ISTANBUL AIRPORT
2030 DEPART FOR LONDON

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