

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT EVREN

You are to have a meeting with President Evren before your lunch in his honour on Wednesday 13 July. The President will be accompanied by the Turkish Foreign Minister and the Turkish Ambassador. The Foreign Secretary and our Ambassador in Ankara will also be present.

You will remember that your last conversation with President Evren, in Ankara in April, concentrated on Cyprus and the Middle East. A note of that talk is in the folder.

You will also find in the folder the draft Foreign Office letter about the meeting. As you will see, President Evren has made a veiled threat that the military might have to intervene in Turkish politics again if certain extremist tendencies get out of hand. He clearly has in mind the gathering strength of the extreme right wing within Mr. Ozal's party.

Points which you may like to raise with the President are:

- ① - an expression of sympathy for the dreadful landslip at Chatak last month. You will also want to express relief at Mr. Ozal's fortunate escape in the assassination attempt;
- his recent visit to Washington. This might lead on to a more general discussion of East/West relations, following last week's Party conference. You might ask his views on the continuing unrest in Armenia and Azerbaijan (which are of course just over the border from Turkey);
- on Cyprus, you might welcome the beneficial influence which the Turkish Government has exerted on Mr. Denktash

to secure his agreement to participate in a meeting with President Vassiliou under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General. We have been similarly active in encouraging President Vassiliou to take part. It is important not to let this opportunity slip: your assessment remains that President Vassiliou means business;

- you will want to refer to developments in the Gulf and ask whether he sees any better prospects than in April for a start to negotiations between Iran and Iraq through the Secretary General. The Iranians have taken quite a battering recently and ought to be more inclined to move towards a settlement. It will be interesting to see whether he sees a role for Turkey;
- on European issues, there is little you can add to what was said in Ankara in April. We approach the issue of Turkey's application for membership of the EEC with the importance of our links with Turkey very much in mind. We regret Greek behaviour which led to postponement of the EC/Turkey Association Council and shall continue to work for a Council to be held;
- on trade, it seems that the third Bosphorus Bridge is postponed indefinitely but we have got the contract for the Istanbul Urban Expressway. Nothing has come up on the defence front yet. You certainly will not want to go into details on this sort of occasion. But it will be helpful if you could slip in a reference to our readiness to help supply Turkey's defence needs.

There are a number of issues which the President may raise:

- WEU membership. The Turks have put in an application. As current chairmen of WEU we are bringing it to the attention of other member states. But there is little prospect of it succeeding while Greece and Turkey remain at odds in NATO;

- Turkish minority in Bulgaria. He may refer to the oppression of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. You will want to express sympathy;

- he may raise a point on air traffic rights requesting rights for Turkish Airlines to fly beyond London to New York and Washington. We cannot agree this because Turkey has no equally valuable reciprocal rights to offer us in return. If we give rights to Turkey without any balancing concession, we shall have a host of other countries round our necks;

- he is likely to raise renewal of the lease of the Turkish Embassy's premises in London. We have done what we can to help, but the landlords are private and we cannot compel them to agree to anything nor can we provide a building. Meanwhile we remain unhappy about the Turkish Government's failure to give us planning permission to build more houses in our compound in Ankara.

C.D.P

(C.D. POWELL)

8 July 1988

DCAALY

DSR 11 (Revised Sept 85)

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DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM:

Reference

Prime Secretary

TEL. NO:

PR44AO
Your Reference

BUILDING:

ROOM NO:

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CAVEAT

SED

TO:

Copies to:

PS/No. 10

Sec: PUS

SUBJECT:

TURKISH STATE VISIT: TALKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT EVREN AND
THE PRIME MINISTER: 13 JULY 1988

President Evren of Turkey is to hold talks with the Prime
Minister at 1215 on 13 July, immediately before the lunch
the Prime Minister is giving in the President's honour.

The President will be accompanied by his Foreign
Minister, Mr Mesut Yilmaz, the Turkish Ambassador, Mr
Rahmi Gümürkcüoğlu, and the President's Secretary, Mr Ali
Tuygan. Mr Tuygan act as interpreter. The Foreign
Secretary and Timothy Daunt will also be present.

The Prime Minister last met President Evren during her
visit to Turkey in April when they exchanged views on
Cyprus, the Middle East and the European Community.

Enclosures flag(s)

Since then the President has been active domestically
and recently caused some controversy when, in a speech
defending the military intervention in 1980, he said that

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the Armed Forces would save Turkey again should Turkey ever find itself in a similar position. He is also suspected of having put pressure on Prime Minister Özal not to yield to the ruling Motherland Party's reactionary right wing when it gained 35 out of the 50 seats on the Party's National Executive at its Annual Conference in June (at which the attempt to assassinate Mr Özal took place). A subsequent Cabinet re-shuffle did not reflect the shift in power in the Party Executive; this indicates that the President did not wish to see power given to those supporting Islamic fundamentalism within the Party. Nevertheless the combination of the assassination attempt and demonstrations of strength by the reactionary right wing have shaken confidence in Turkey. This has been compounded by a marked slow-down in the economy, coupled with rising inflation (currently 74%).

The President visited the United States from 27 June to 1 July. The visit went reasonably well but was marred by Vice-President Bush's decision at short notice not to attend a dinner being given in his honour by President Evren.

When greeting the President, the Prime Minister may wish to express her sympathy over the landslip at Catak (pronounced Chatak) last month. It is still not known how many were killed. So far around 60 bodies have been recovered including those of 2 German tourists. There is no evidence of Britons being involved. The Queen sent a message of sympathy to the President (as did the Prime

Minister to Mr Özal).

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The Prime Minister may wish to cover the following substantive issues during her talks:

East/West Relations

The President will no doubt wish to brief the Prime Minister on his visit to the United States, and give his view of Turkey's relations with the United States after President Reagan steps down from office. In giving our views, the Prime Minister will wish to bear in mind Turkish sensitivity over their exposed position on NATO's Southern Flank and stress the importance of a co-ordinated NATO response to Gorbachev's foreign policy PR initiatives. East-West relations are not simply a matter for the US and USSR. The Prime Minister may also wish to discuss developments at last week's Communist Party Conference in the Soviet Union which saw a frank and largely public debate unknown in the Soviet Union for over 50 years.

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The President, who is likely to have followed closely what is taking place in Armenia and Azerbaijan, may have some useful comments on Gorbachev's refusal to compromise on the nationalities question.

On East/West more widely, the Prime Minister could emphasise that although the Russians have moved towards us on a number of issues (INF, Afghanistan, Human Rights)

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there is still a long way to go. We should continue to seek a worthwhile and constructive dialogue but not to assist Mr Gorbachev at the price of sacrificing our fundamental interests or values. The Soviet Union's massive superiority in conventional weapons and the continuing activities of the KGB are of a particular worry to both us and the Turks.

Arms Control

The Prime Minister might ask President Evren for his views on conventional arms control. One of the outstanding issues to be resolved before a CST mandate can be agreed is how much of their territory the Turks wish to be excluded from the Atlantic to Urals Zone (this is likely to cover strips of territory adjacent to their non-Warsaw Pact eastern and south eastern neighbours). The Prime Minister might impress on the President the need for Turks to present a detailed proposal soon; and ask how the President sees the burden sharing debate developing. The President may wish to discuss prospects for military assistance to Turkey from other NATO countries, and thus raise by implication the question of UK military assistance. Officials are studying the possibility of an increase in our assistance, but it would be premature to discuss this in detail until we are clearer on what we can offer.

Cyprus

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As the Prime Minister will be aware from her discussions with him in Ankara in April, President Evren is a hard-liner on Cyprus. He told the Prime Minister then that he doubted that the Greek Cypriots really wanted to negotiate a settlement; and that he was against any withdrawal of troops from northern Cyprus as a confidence-building gesture. The Prime Minister may wish therefore to stress the continuing need for both Turkish and Greek Cypriots to be flexible in their approach to the UN Secretary-General's new proposals (for an early meeting with President Vassiliou in Geneva with Mr Perez de Cuellar, leading immediately to negotiations against a one-year deadline). She might refer to her personal message to Mr Özal of 30 June (of which the President will be aware) and say that she knows that we and the Turks share the goal of a reunified Republic of Cyprus with a bi-zonal, federal structure.

The Prime Minister's message to Mr Özal may well have persuaded the Turks to lean hard on Mr Denktash during his visit to Ankara (4-6 July), which included a call on President Evren. Following that meeting, the Presidential spokesman announced that Mr Denktash was prepared to meet President Vassiliou without pre-conditions. The UN Special Representative in Cyprus has confirmed to us that Mr Denktash had been persuaded to agree to the meeting in Geneva on the basis proposed by the Secretary-General, but with one main proviso: that

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the Secretary-General's draft texts should include a reference to 1980 and 1984 documents, as well as to the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements. The Secretary-General is prepared to go along with this, but President Vassiliou is less than happy. There are in any case problems over dates: Mr Denktash is now talking about late August, but might accept a meeting in Geneva later this month if President Vassiliou swallows adjustments to the texts. President Vassiliou will need encouragement if he is to go ahead. We have therefore recommended a personal message from the Prime Minister.

If these problems are to be overcome, further Turkish intervention may well be necessary with Mr Denktash. The Prime Minister might therefore express pleasure at the progress which has been made in the last few weeks and congratulate the President for the positive way the Turks have used their influence with Mr Denktash. She might also re-emphasise our readiness to continue to support the Secretary-General's efforts where we can, and our belief that Vassiliou means business. We will do what we can to encourage him to go forward; we very much hope the Turks will continue to do the same with Mr Denktash.

Iran/Iraq

President Evren is likely to raise the Iran/Iraq conflict. The Prime Minister may wish to reiterate the importance we attach to early and full implementation of SCR 598, which is underlined by the tragic destruction of

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the Iran Airbus on 3 July. She will wish to emphasis our continuing support for the Secretary-General and for follow up action as necessary by the Security Council in order to enforce compliance. The Prime Minister may also wish to highlight the importance of not allowing Iran to exploit the Airbus incident to undermine international unanimity in support of SCR 598. The Security Council is expected to meet on 12 July at Iran's request.

The Turks preserve a careful balance in their relations with Iran and Iraq and may have a role to play in arrangements for a settlement of the conflict at some stage - for example as a staging post in the exchange of POWs.

Turkish Minority in Bulgaria

The President will probably raise with the Prime Minister the ethnic Turkish minority in Bulgaria. The minority (10% of the Bulgarian population) has been subjected to restrictions for some years. Use of the Turkish language in public is forbidden and Moslem practices are heavily discouraged. In early 1985, ethnic Turks were forced to adopt "Bulgarian" names. This reportedly lead to violent clashes and deaths. The Bulgarian authorities deny the very existence of a Turkish minority. In February, Bulgaria and Turkey agreed to bilateral talks, but little has been achieved so far. The Prime Minister may wish to say that the UK continues to be concerned at reports concerning the minority and has raised the problem on

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numerous occasions both bilaterally and in multilateral fora. The Foreign Secretary raised it with the Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister in London on 29 June.

International Terrorism

The Prime Minister will no doubt express her relief that Prime Minister Özal was not seriously injured as a result of the attempt on his life on 18 June. She may wish to enquire whether it has now been established whether the assailant had firm connections with any terrorist organisation. She will also wish to seek assurance from President Evren that Prime Minister Özal's recent visit to Libya is not a prelude to warmer relations, and remind him that we have no reason to believe that Libya has changed its attitude as a state sponsor of terrorism (vide the Eksund shipments); we should be interested in Turkey's assessment ~~of Libya~~. The Prime Minister might also welcome the close contact and co-operation between our countries on counter-terrorism.

Air Traffic Rights

We understand that President Evren will raise Turkish Airlines' (THY) request for rights to fly beyond London to New York and Washington. This was discussed at recent inter-governmental air service talks at which little progress was made. We are not prepared to grant such traffic rights unless we receive in return equally valuable reciprocal rights; these Turkey cannot provide.

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To give such rights to Turkish airlines without reciprocity would lead to a flood of similar requests from other foreign airlines. If this matter is raised, the Prime Minister might say that air traffic rights beyond London to the United States are very valuable and have been given to foreign airlines only in exceptional circumstances in exchange for rights of equivalent value. At present we do not see any prospect of these conditions being met in the case of Turkish airlines.

Turkish Embassy Lease

We understand that the President will raise the question of the renewal of the lease of the Embassy premises in London. The Turkish offices are dispersed between Belgrave Square and the residence at Portland Place and are owned by the Grosvenor and Howard de Walden Estates respectively (both private family trusts operating on a commercial basis). The leases held by the Turks are due to expire in 1990 but they have so far been unable to agree terms. The Turks have on several occasions sought our intervention with their landlords, but we have said that we can exert no influence over them nor can we meet an alternative Turkish demand for a freehold site in London to be acquired with HMG's financial assistance. In explaining this, the Prime Minister might also point out that we have provided the Turks with contacts and given advice about the property market. The Prime Minister should also be aware that for several years we have had plans to build more staff houses in our Embassy

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compound in Ankara but the Turkish MFA have refused to give planning permission for these until their London Embassy's accommodation problems have been resolved. The Prime Minister might express disappointment that our plans remain unapproved.

European Issues

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Turkey's case for accession to the EC will feature prominently in President Evren's public speeches, but we do not expect him to press the Prime Minister on this occasion. The Commission's opinion is unlikely before Spring 1989 at the earliest (once the new Commission have settled in). We can say nothing substantive until then. The Turks' main concern is the opening of negotiations with the clear objective of eventual accession, not early accession itself. They seem to have been well satisfied with the line which the Prime Minister took during her visit to Turkey in April, when she stressed the importance which the UK attaches to all our links with Turkey and made clear that we were committed to making the fullest use of the existing Association Agreement.

The only significant development in EC/Turkey relations since the Prime Minister's visit was the last minute postponement of the EC/Turkey Association Council on 25 April. The Turks refused to accept a reference in the speech to be made by the German Presidency to the Cyprus problem as one which affected the EC/Turkey relationship. This was inserted at Greek insistence and accepted by

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other member states on the basis of (mistaken) Presidency assurances that the Turks were prepared to live with it.

Although discussion of political issues did take place over dinner, the Turks were infuriated by the Presidency's handling of the affair. The Prime Minister sent a well-received message to Mr Özal, regretting that the meeting had not taken place. Prospects for a reinstatement of the Council in the near future are slight: there is no chance during the Greek Presidency.

The Spaniards have told us that they will hold the Council if success is assured; but the Greeks appear determined not to withdraw from what they claim is now an agreed Community position. If President Evren suggests that the failure of the Council shows that there is no life left in the Association Agreement, the Prime Minister might say that, while we regret the misunderstandings that led to the abandonment of the Council, we believe that the Agreement provides a basis for co-operation and that it is vital to make it work to the fullest extent possible.

President Evren is sensitive to criticism of Turkey. He was particularly angered by a European Parliament resolution last year about Turkey's treatment of Kurdish minorities. If he complains about the EP's attitude, the Prime Minister might say that the attitude of outside bodies is bound to be affected by their perception of human rights issues. Turkey's greatly improved record has strengthened our hand in arguing Turkey's case in fora like the Community and the Council of Europe. It is

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very much in Turkey's interests for this improvement to be sustained. The Prime Minister might add that more direct contacts between European and Turkish parliamentarians would also be helpful; and that we therefore welcome the recent vote by the EP's External Relations Committee in favour of reactivating the dormant EP/Turkish Joint Parliamentary Commission.

The Prime Minister should also be aware that the Geneva-based human rights group, Defence for Children International, is to launch a report on the treatment of children in Turkish prisons at a press conference at the House of Commons on 11 July. While pointing to improvements in certain areas, the report will be critical of the use of adult prisons and the lack of juvenile courts in dealing with young offenders. The report also contains allegations of the abuse and torture of children in detention.

It is possible that evidence could emerge that Turkey is in breach of the European Convention on Human Rights and the UN and European Conventions Against Torture signed and ratified by Turkey earlier this year. The publication of the report has been deliberately timed to coincide with the State Visit. By the time the Prime Minister meets the President, it may have been taken up by the media.

WEU

The Prime Minister should be aware that the Turkish

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Ambassador called on the Foreign Secretary on July 4 and delivered a letter from the Turkish Foreign Minister seeking membership of the WEU; the Foreign Secretary said he would bring the contents of the letter to the attention of his colleagues at their next Ministerial meeting in November.

It is hard to see this proposal prospering in the near future, partly because one of the agreed conditions for candidates for WEU membership is that they should have resolved any outstanding problems within NATO (a condition which would cover the Greek/Turkish dispute) and partly because our 6 WEU partners (who have, of course, not yet considered the possibility of Turkish accession) are disposed to start from the premise that EC membership should be a pre-condition of WEU membership.

Barriers to Trade

If the question of barriers to trade is raised, the Prime Minister will no doubt wish to make clear that we regard this as an EC/Turkey matter, and not a bilateral question. The UK is concerned, however, about barriers to trade between the EC and Turkey (e.g. state subsidies and high rates of taxation for imports). The EC Commission proposal, for a committee of experts from both sides to study these problems, is very helpful. We hope that discussions can begin soon.

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The Prime Minister may wish to be aware of the latest position on a number of further matters, although we do not expect them to be raised during the talks.

Defence Sales

There has been no significant movement in negotiations for sales of defence equipment since the Prime Minister's visit in April. We are still hopeful that a major contract may be given in the autumn to either Marconi or Plessey who are competing to supply portable radios. There are other major projects in the pipeline.

Commercial Sales

The Prime Minister will recall the "ground breaking" ceremony for the project to convert Ankara to natural gas, during her recent visit to Turkey. AMEC have now started work.

We believe the third Bosphorus Bridge project has been deferred indefinitely, although Mayor Dalan nurtures hopes for a start in 1989. On a brighter note, we understand that the Tarmac/Wimpey consortium (TWEAK) project - the Istanbul Urban Expressway - will go ahead quickly. Mayor Dalan has accepted the offer of studies for the Expressway made by the Prime Minister following her meeting with him in Istanbul. Terms of Reference and costs are being determined as a matter of urgency, so that the studies may begin as soon as the contract is

that the studies may begin as soon as the contract is signed with TWEAK.

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Provisional figures for the first 5 months of this year show that Turkish exports to the UK increased by 81% whereas British exports to Turkey went up by 12%.

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I am sending a copy of this letter to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

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