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PREM 19/3714

PART 1.

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SECRET.

Confidential Filing

The question of UK participation in the 1980 Olympic Games following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

SPORT

January 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
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PREM 19/374

PART 1 ends:-

Pm to J. Rodger 6-3-80

PART 2. begins:-

Fm to MODBA 6/3/80

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC(80) 2nd Conclusions, Item 2 (Extract)	17/01/80
CC(80) 6th Conclusions, Item 2 (Extract)	14/02/80
OD(80) 14	19/02/80
OD(80) 5th Meeting, Item 2	21/02/80
MISC 39(80) 1st Meeting, Minutes	26/02/80
MISC 39(80) 2nd Meeting, Minutes	05/03/80

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate **CAB** (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES

Signed CAWayland Date 31 August 2010

PREM Records Team

Original in G/R.

c/f noted

MPO

Sport cc

FCO
DOE (Sport)
DT

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

6 March 1980

Dear Mr. Foster,

Thank you for your letter of 19 February about your two constituents who have been planning a holiday visiting the Olympic Games this Summer. I can appreciate the dilemma they must be in over the planned trip and the money they have invested in it.

The Government have indeed taken this difficult aspect into account in discussions about our attitude to the Games in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It is one of the reasons why we pressed from the start for the removal of the Games by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) from the Soviet Union. If that had been done, the money already deposited by your constituents and many other people would have been legally returnable. It would then have been open to them to make arrangements to travel instead to the new location, if they so wished.

As it is, the IOC has decided to go ahead with the Games in Moscow, but we remain firmly of the view that they should be removed. If the Games go ahead as planned, we feel it incumbent upon us to discourage visitors such as spectators from going to Moscow, and we very much hope that they will take this advice.

/We are asking

AS

We are asking our athletes to make this sacrifice as citizens who should consider the implications of involvement in what would be for the Russians a political propaganda exercise. It would be illogical not to ask tourists to make their contribution by also refusing to attend.

We are, of course, only advising, and the decision, particularly that of conscience, about going to Moscow must be taken by the people concerned themselves. We would, therefore, be under no contractual or statutory obligation to those who sustain financial loss. A parallel would be advice regularly given by the Foreign Office to intending travellers and businessmen about visiting the more unstable countries in times of upheaval. This is not to say that we do not sympathise with those placed in this position, but we must remember that it is the Soviet Union who have brought the situation about by invading a neighbouring independent state, Afghanistan.

Yours sincerely

Douglas Hurd

Jeff Rooker, Esq., M.P.

(1)

Ref. A01612

MR. ALEXANDER

Prime Minister
Agree texts at Flags B-C? Better, perhaps, that any message to Mr Trudeau should be delivered orally, tho' you may prefer to sound out the Americans before taking any action with the Canadians. MH

Olympics

The Prime Minister has asked for advice on the reply she should give to Mr. Fraser's telephone message of 4th March in which he asked:

(a) That the United Kingdom should, like Australia, be represented by a Minister at next week's meeting in Geneva to examine the possibility of arranging alternative Games.

(b) That, together with Mr. Fraser, the Prime Minister should urge Mr. Trudeau to come out positively in favour of the Olympic boycott.

A ___ Mr. Fraser wrote to the Prime Minister today, referring only to (a), but in addition proposing that his Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Ellicott, who is also responsible for sport should have discussions with his British counterpart.

B ___ I attach a draft reply to Mr. Fraser explaining the reasons why we believe it would be preferable for the Geneva meeting to be held at official rather than Ministerial level but agreeing to the suggestion that the Prime Minister should lobby Mr. Trudeau.

C ___ I also attach the draft of a message to Mr. Trudeau which could either go as a letter or, if the Prime Minister preferred, serve as the basis for an oral message to be conveyed by our High Commissioner in Ottawa. Both drafts have been agreed by Mr. Hurd and Mr. Monro.

3. At today's meeting of MISC 39 on the Olympics it was also agreed that the British representatives at the Geneva meeting should be authorised to say that there was a strong possibility of being able to hold diving, rowing and equestrian events in the United Kingdom. Because of the risk of premature disclosure, Mr. Hurd and Mr. Monro considered that it would be advisable to make no mention of these possibilities in the message to Mr. Fraser.

4. The Lord Privy Seal will probably make a brief oral report to Cabinet tomorrow on the state of play on the Olympics. The Secretary of State for the ___ Environment, who was invited by OD (OD(80) 5th Meeting, Item 2, Conclusion 4) to consider the provision of official financial support for the organisation of alternative Games, is being advised by Mr. Monro following today's meeting to seek

Cabinet's provisional authority for the expenditure of £½ million from the Civil Contingencies Fund for this purpose. Mr. Heseltine will be consulting Treasury Ministers beforehand.

5. I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to Mr. Hurd and Mr. Monro.

D. J. WRIGHT

5th March, 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR. FRASER

Thank you for your telephone call and for your letter of 5th March about the Olympic Games.

Next week's meeting in Geneva should certainly provide an opportunity to examine in detail the possibilities, sport by sport, for mounting alternative games. But these could not be organised by Governments themselves; that has to remain the responsibility of the individual national and international sports federations. They in turn need to satisfy their athletes that alternative competitions would be as valid, in sporting terms, as the devalued Moscow Olympics. Ministerial attendance at Geneva would carry the risk of giving the public impression that we already have a cut and dried plan, and that we have the power to implement it. Both impressions would be wrong and the second would be resented by many athletes. I propose therefore to stick to our plan for a confidential meeting attended by senior officials; but I agree with you that we should keep up the momentum, and that we should urgently seek to move the public debate to more positive ground by showing that a boycott of the Moscow Olympics need not deprive athletes of international competition of the highest standard. We will be ready to play a full part in this task.

We should be glad to see Mr. Ellicott in London, perhaps just after the Geneva meeting.

I am getting in touch, as you suggested, with Pierre Trudeau.

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DRAFT LETTER OR MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR. TRUDEAU

It gives me no pleasure that my first substantive message to you since your re-election should concern the vexed question of the Olympic Games. It is no coincidence either: the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has brought a depressing chill to international relations as countries come to terms with the realities of Soviet behaviour and look for a sounder basis for detente than Soviet fair words.

As you know, my Government has taken the firm view that the unacceptability of the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan can most clearly be brought home to world opinion and, above all, to the Soviet Union itself if the Olympics are not held in Moscow. For reasons which are understandable but frankly unconvincing, the International Olympic Committee has taken the view that the Moscow Games should go ahead. As you know, many other Governments share our view of this matter and few Olympic Committees in the free world have yet accepted their invitations to go to Moscow. At the same time athletes are obviously deeply disappointed at the possibility of forgoing what for many would be the pinnacle of their sporting careers.

With the strong likelihood that there will be no American participation in Moscow and that a number of other important sporting countries (Kenya, for example) will absent themselves, achievement at Moscow will lose much of its significance. But we do not want the spirit of voluntarism in sport or the Olympic Movement to suffer lasting damage. As I

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see it, one way to help the international sports federations out of the difficulty in which they find themselves is to facilitate the holding of alternative games spread among a number of cities in different parts of the world.

I hope that you will share our approach to this aspect of the problem of bringing the Russians to see how badly they have misjudged world reactions to their invasion of Afghanistan. A clear Canadian lead would carry considerable weight with countries which might otherwise hesitate about their response. In any case I hope that your Government will be represented appropriately at the meeting to be held later this month in Geneva to follow up earlier discussions by senior officials in Washington, in which Canada took part. Because of the importance of keeping the pressure up, I have decided to ask Douglas Hurd, Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to represent us.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

The Foreign Affairs Committee

Wednesday 5 March 1980

Sir Denis Follows, CBE, Mr C S Palmer, OBE

Evidence heard in Public **Questions 518–614**

MEMBERS' CORRECTIONS

Any Member of the Committee who wishes to correct the Questions addressed by him to a Witness is asked to send the corrections to The Committee Clerk as soon as possible.

Members receiving these Minutes of Evidence are asked to ensure that the Minutes are confined to the object for which they are printed—the special use of the Members of the Committee—and are not given wider circulation.

WEDNESDAY 5 MARCH 1980

Members present:

Mr Anthony Kershaw, in the Chair
Miss Betty Boothroyd
Mr Eric Deakins
Mr Eldon Griffiths
Mr Frank Hooley
Mr Peter Mills
Sir Anthony Royle
Mr Nigel Spearing

PAPERS SUBMITTED BY THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION (43/79–80/FM)

The following Resolutions of the National Olympic Committee of the British Olympic Association; and of the Association of the National Olympic Committees at its meeting held in Mexico in February 1980; together with an Extract from the Olympic Charter are relevant:

Resolution of the National Olympic Committee of the British Olympic Association at its meeting on the 4th March 1980

" The National Olympic Committee confirms that it is its present intention to send a British team to the Olympic Games. However, it will defer its reply to the invitation to participate until its next meeting on 25 March."

The Council of the Association of the National Olympic Committees at its meeting held in Mexico City on 4 and 5 February 1980

1. Recognising that participation in the Olympic Games is the culmination of training, efforts, sacrifices and enthusiasm of the sportsmen of the world.

2. Recognising that the objective of the Olympic movement is to achieve better understanding and mutual respect by competition in the Olympic Games.

3. Recognising that the Charter of the Olympic movement is designed to achieve these goals.

4. Believing that the Olympic Games should be used only as an instrument for the furtherance of the Olympic movement and sport itself.

RESOLVED

First: That the Council of ACNO expresses and confirms its full confidence in the IOC and its leaders to take the appropriate decisions to reject and avoid any external influence on the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games designed to change existing arrangements for the celebration of the Games of the XXII Olympiad.

Second: The Council encourages and advises the NOCs to observe in every respect the obligations set forth in Rule 24C of the Olympic Charter when responding to the invitation to the Games of the XXII Olympiad.

III. *The National Olympic Committees*

24.[1] A. *Principles*

For the furtherance of the Olympic movement throughout the world, the IOC shall recognise as NOCs entitled to call themselves by that name, committees that are established in accordance with the under-mentioned principles, that conform to the Rules and by-laws of the IOC, and having, if possible, juridical status.[2]

B. *Objects*

The object of NOCs, in accordance with the fundamental principles contained in these Rules, shall be to ensure the development and safeguarding of the Olympic movement and sport. NOCs shall be the sole authorities responsible for the representation of their respective countries at the Olympic Games as well as at other events held under the patronage of the IOC, and to see that arrangements are made for the organisation of the Games of the Olympiad and the Winter Games and the other events mentioned above when they are held in their own country.

[1] See page 43.
[2] See also "Model Constitution for a National Olympic Committee", page 107.

The IOC may help the NOCs to fulfil their mission through the Olympic Solidarity programme.

C. *Autonomy*

NOCs must be autonomous and must resist all pressures of any kind whatsoever, whether of a political, religious or economic nature. In pursuing their objectives, NOCs may co-operate with private or government organisations. However, they must never associate themselves with any undertaking which would be in conflict with the principles of the Olympic movement and with the Rules of the IOC.

D. *Composition*

Whatever form their constitution may take, NOCs must in any event include in their membership:

the members of the IOC in their country, if any. Such IOC members shall, as of right, also be members of the Executive Committee (inner committee, administrative committee or the executive) and shall have the right to vote on it;.

Sir DENIS FOLLOWS, CBE, Chairman, Mr C S PALMER, OBE, Vice-Chairman, British Olympic Association, called in and examined.

Chairman

518. Sir Denis, thank you very much for coming. We know that you have given yourself considerable trouble in coming here after your travels round the world, and we much appreciate that.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Thank you, Sir, for your welcome. I am sorry we were not able to come last week or the week before but, as you know, we were engaged on other activities in Lake Placid or South America.

519. I should remind you, if you need it, these proceedings this morning are being taperecorded for possible broadcasting. You sent us some papers, including an extract from the Olympic Charter, which in paragraph 24C reads: "NOCs must be autonomous and must resist all pressures of any kind whatsoever, whether of a political, religious or economic nature". I take it it would be your position that politics should not interfere with sport? ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Broadly speaking the answer to that question is yes.

520. There have been occasions in the past where the International Olympic Committee, with which I presume you agree, has had to take decisions which have been influenced by politics, I think?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Which incidents would you be referring to?

521. I refer to the exclusion of Taiwan from the Olympic Games and later on South Africa. Were those decisions taken on sporting or political grounds?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) As far as Taiwan is concerned you are probably referring to the incident in Montreal.

522. And before that.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Before that I do not think there was any problem as far as Taiwan is concerned. Charles Palmer will know more about this than I do. He was present at Montreal at the time.

523. Were those decisions taken on sporting or political grounds?——(Mr *C. Palmer*.) None of us here is a member of the International Olympic Committee. They took the decisions and did not make us aware until they thought fit to.

524. Did you disagree with their decision? ——(Mr *C. Palmer*.) I violently disagreed. In another capacity in fact I made myself unpopular by suggesting that Canada should be debarred because Taiwan was refused visas and several African countries should be suspended.

525. In spite of what it says in the Charter there are occasions when the introduction of politics into sport is justifiable.——(Mr *C. Palmer*.) No, Sir. There are occasions when our own rules are bent by other people, including the people who wrote them.

526. Could we turn to the case of South Africa? Was that decision political or sporting?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I would say as far as South Africa is concerned it was humanitarian, in the face of many people, large international federations without any exception, who barred South Africa from participating in sport in their countries. I have some personal knowledge as far as Association Football is concerned. In 1960 in Rome there was a strong move to eliminate South Africa from the football community, which was at that time in. Nine countries spoke

against South Africa before it was my turn to speak, and I was mandated by the four British Associations to speak, on their behalf to support South Africa being kept in the football community. By an overwhelming majority we lost the battle, and as the years have gone on and more and more African countries have been admitted to the FEF, the international football body, the strength against South Africa has grown. It is the same in the International Olympic Organisation and also the other international federations with the exception of Rugby. So you have the whole world of sporting organisations opposed to South Africa participating in sporting activity with the exception of one small organisation so that the whole of the organised sporting activity of the world is opposed to South Africa's participation, and whether it is based on politics or humanitarian grounds or sporting grounds is a matter for ones' judgment.

527. When you say "humanitarian grounds", do you mean there could be a physical danger to South African athletes taking part?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) No, I was using the word "humanitarian" in the sense that people feel the South African coloured population are not being treated fairly.

Mr *Mills*

528. How can you possibly say a thing like that, when you look at what is going on in Afghanistan and other parts of Russia? You are taking two different standards.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I was asked a question about South Africa, which I have answered I think. If you want me to talk about Afghanistan, that is an entirely different subject.

529. What you are saying is there are reasons for boycotting South African, humanitarian reasons, but not for boycotting Russia because of the same.——(Mr *C. Palmer*.) That is not what I heard Sir Denis say. He was asked why a decision was made and he gave an answer why he thought the decision was made, which he thought was on humanitarian grounds. I disagree with that decision as well as the other one. This is something we do not know because we did not take part in the decision.

Chairman

530. If you take a decision on the events of Afghanistan, would that be on humanitarian or political or sporting grounds?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Which decision on sporting grounds?

531. Whether or not to go to Moscow?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) The decision to go to Moscow will be for the purpose of the Olympic Games—Moscow is Olympia 80. The attendance of anybody at Moscow does not imply any support for the regime, and that is the philosophy of sports organisations throughout the world. The decision was taken unanimously in Lake Placid by the IOC on that issue. The decision has been taken unanimously by the Association of National Olympic Committees meeting in Mexico City on that issue, and you have received I believe the resolution passed in Mexico City, the second clause of which says this: "The Council encourages and advises the NOCs to observe in every respect the obligations set forth in Rule 24C of the Olympic Charter when responding to the invitation to the Games of the XXII Olympiad," So you have the International Olympic Committee unanimously; you have the Association of National Olympic Committees unanimously. You have 54 organisations in this country, not taking the direct decision in relation to participation in the Olympic Games but implicit in their decision was that particular point. You have 75 possible competitors in the Olympic Games saying exactly the same thing and it is not in any way any indication of support for the Soviet Government that we accept the invitation to go to Moscow. The games could be held in Timbuktoo, Montreal, anywhere else.

532. Would they be held in South Africa?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) No.

533. Why not?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Because the International Olympic Committee has barred South Africa from participation in sporting activities just as the other 26, 27, 28 international federations have done precisely the same thing.

534. Do you not think you have double standards?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) That is a matter of opinion.

Mr *Spearing*

535. Reverting to the South Africa position, Mr Chairman, can Sir Denis Follows confirm that one of the factors borne in mind by the various international federations for coming to their conclusions

about South Africa is related to the organisation of sport as such inside South Africa and how far does he think that that is a sporting consideration which influences their views?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I cannot really answer that question. South African sport has become much more integrated over the past few years and it may well be that time is becoming opportune to review the situation but at the time these decisions were taken, which go back to the '30s, unquestionably there was little, if any, integration of sport on a racial basis in South Africa.——(Mr *C Palmer*.) I am in a position that might help in that I was President of the International Federation. I am also general secretary of the organisation which groups together all the international federations and I could say of all the federations I know—and that is most of them—the only reason why South Africa was excluded was for sporting reasons because the International Sporting Organisations do not have any government to lean on. The only organisation that can lean on international federations is the International Olympic Committee. Several international organisations had excluded South Africa before the International Committee itself did so.

Sir *Anthony Royle*

536. May I have clarification on two points? Firstly, as I understand your statement that you have just made this morning, you do not support the involvement of politics in sport. Is that correct? ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) As far as possible, yes.

537. And you do yourself, do you, agree, and do you consider that all members of the Olympic Committee, all countries who are members of it, all subscribe to paragraph 24 (c) of the plans and aims of National Olympic Committees?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I cannot say that I do. The simple fact is that countries vary in their regimes and in a totalitarian state, sport, politics, religion and everything else seems to be mixed up together, so it is quite impossible for me to support a suggestion that throughout the whole world sport and politics do not mix. It would be quite stupid for me to say that. In a democratic community however, which I trust we are, I firmly believe that we must keep politics out of sport.

538. The second statement you have made seems to indicate that whilst you take this view, this view is not shared by many other countries throughout the world who quite clearly do involve politics in sport.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Yes, I accept that.

539. Therefore, you would not at any time be prepared to insist, through the Olympic Committees, that these countries fulfil the obligations laid down in 24(c), which are quite specific?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) They would say they do fulfil them but I would not agree. What is the alternative? You either accept the world as it is or you quit it.

540. In which case you accept the fact that politics are clearly involved in sport? ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I must accept that, as far as certain countries are concerned.

541. But this is a different theme to the one you have taken in the past, where you have always said, right from the very beginning, " We must not involve politics in sport ".——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I still say that. I am talking about the British Olympic Association which we attempt to control. I cannot control what happens in Russia or Hungary; I have to accept it as it is. Otherwise, I get out of the sporting community.

542. Therefore you are totally opposed to any boycott of Moscow as a result of the invasion of Afghanistan?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) We are opposed to a boycott of Moscow not entirely because of the invasion of Afghanistan. We took this decision as an Olympic Committee in a much quieter atmosphere than obtains today, but basically for the same reasons. We discussed this subject basically for the same reasons and the decision we took in September 1978 but it was not for the National Olympic Committee to ban or boycott any participation in the Olympic Games provided the laws of the country permitted the athletes to participate, provided the rules of the International Federation concerned allowed him to participate and provided he was fit for selection, and it was not for the National Olympic Committee to say, " You cannot go ". That decision was taken against a background of strong pressure on the Olympic Committee not to go to Moscow. This was in 1978, for a variety of reasons. The pressures were coming from groups

supporting dissidents, groups supporting human rights activist, groups supporting freedom campaigns and the like, and that decision which I have just referred to was taken in the light of those pressures. We have seen no reason to change our opinion because of the invasion of Afghanistan. There have been incidents in the past which might have disrupted the Olympic Games, but the Olympic Games went on. The only real reason why the Olympic Games will not be held in Moscow is if the Soviet Organising Committee breaches their agreement with the International Olympic Committee or a state of war obtains which makes it impossible to participate in the Games in Moscow.

543. So your own opinion is that the invasion of Afghanistan does not put any pressure on you or your Olympic Committee to boycott the Moscow Olympic Games?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Yes.

544. Are there any other actions that might be taken by the Soviet Union which might make you change your views?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Of course, but that is a hypothetical situation and that situation does not obtain at present. The resolution which the Olympic Committee passed yesterday quite clearly indicates that in the present circumstances we confirm our decision to participate in the Olympic Games in Moscow. Anything might happen in the future which may cause us to change our opinion. The circumstances may be such that it would be dangerous to participate in the Games.

545. If a question of danger to participants was not involved, but if the Soviet Union supposedly invaded Israel and killed Israelis, would that make you reconsider?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I trust Her Majesty's Government would take sufficient action to make it unnecessary for us to take action in those circumstances.

546. What sort of action?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Surely there are many things that Her Majesty's Government have done in recent times to show their displeasure with activities in certain countries. In Chile, for instance, they withdrew the Ambassador for 4 years because, for some reason —I know the reason: they did not like the regime in Chile. I do not know whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw the Ambassador from Moscow as a sign of their displeasure, but that is the sort of thing, and if you do that, our responsibilities go. We follow the action of Her Majesty's Government in so far as this kind of thing is concerned.

Mr *Deakins*

547. Bearing in mind the very strong views which you have expressed to the Committee this morning, why has the British Olympic Association postponed its reply for three weeks?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Two basic reasons. Probably three reasons, but I give you two basic reasons, as the other is a matter of conjecture. On 22nd March there is a meeting of the Western European Olympic Committees in Brussels, and we had a message yesterday from Arthur Gold who had been attending the sports meetings in Europe, that the Olympic Committtees would not wish any one of the Western Olympic Committees to take a decision until such time as they had had the opportunity of discussing it together. The second reason was that a number of the members of the National Olympic Committee—and there are some 26 olympic sports in membership —had not had the opportunity of discussing in their full council what they should do. The third is—and this I can only envisage—that many members had been interviewed by Members of the Government, and they had been asked either not to go or to postpone taking a decision, and it may well be that they were influenced in their decision, and consequently they postponed taking the decision until primarily after we had had the opportunity of meeting our colleagues in Western Europe.

548. If a team does go, as seems likely in view of the decision which you have just announced, will the British Olympic Association be giving any advice to the British team and to individual athletes as to whether or not they should think it advisable to participate in opening and closing ceremonies and medal ceremonies and so on?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) At the moment we have not yet considered that because we have not yet accepted the invitation to go to Moscow, but I would say that this is a matter which is exercising the minds of many of the members of the National Olympic Committee and indeed, I am told, many of the minds of the athletes and participants themselves. The parade is an essential part of the opening ceremony, but there is nothing laid down in the rules as to how many people will participate in

that parade or how they will conduct themselves when they attend it. This is a matter on which I am sure, if we go to Moscow, there will be a great deal of thought given to what is to be done during a parade or other, shall I say, nationalistic manifestations.

Mr *Hooley*

549. The chairman has referred to paragraph 24(*c*) about the autonomy of the National Olympic Committee. Does this imply that a National Olympic Committee has some sort of status superior to that of the democratically elected Parliament in the country concerned?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I suppose you can read into it what you like, but this is the history of the Olympic movement. The Olympic movement was restarted in 1894 and a lot of people have considered it as a very undemocratic body but the Olympic Committee is self-appointed and self-perpetuating, which has great advantages and great disadvantages. The advantages are that the individuals can be completely free from any influence, governmental or anything else. The disadvantages are, if there are disadvantages, that that constitution is completely undemocratic. It would be quite wrong to say that Great Britain has two representatives on the International Olympic Committee. There are two people from Great Britain on the International Olympic Committee, who are the representatives of the International Olympic Committee in Great Britain, and they are Lord Exeter and Lord Luke. They are not delegates from the British Olympic Association but completely free and independent and can do what they like, and this is the set-up in the international Olympic movement. Whether it is right or wrong is a matter of opinion, but it is the fact.

550. Could I put the question slightly differently then? If the House of Commons were to pass a resolution deploring the attendance of British athletes in Moscow for the Olympic Games, would your International Olympic Committee feel fully entitled to disregard it?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I would say from my knowledge from contacts made in recent weeks, it would not be a unanimous resolution of the House of Commons.

551. I was talking about a resolution passed in the normal way.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) My experience over the last few weeks is that there are as many people anxious for us to go as there are for us to stop away.

552. What I was putting was serious. If the House of Commons took a serious decision by a majority that it would be undesirable for British athletes to go to Moscow, would your International Olympic Committee ignore that decision?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) They would not ignore it; of course, they would consider it, but they would reach their decision in the light of that decision, if Her Majesty's Government felt strongly about this.

553. I did not say "Her Majesty's Government" but "the House of Commons", which is not the same thing. ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Very well, I accept the point. If the House of Commons took a particular point, I am sure the British Olympic Association would give great consideration to it.

554. Has the question of British non-attendance at the Olympic Games for any reason ever arisen before, that you know of?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) No. As I said yesterday at the Press Conference, the question of an acceptance of an invitation to the Olympic Games has never been on the agenda for any meeting. It is automatically accepted and never even discussed as an invitation, because the Secretary formally writes back within days. It has never been discussed.

Chairman

555. Sir Denis, you said—I am not quite sure if you meant it exactly like this—if the British Government were to withdraw its Ambassador from Moscow, would you advise that the Olympic Games should be boycotted?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I did not say that. One would have expected a gesture, such as the withdrawal of an Ambassador as some form of expression or gesture. If that happened you give sportsmen a great deal of lead in dealing with this issue.

556. Are you saying that Her Majesty's Government have not given sufficient indication of their displeasure?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) What we feel in sport is that we are being used as a pawn in a political game. What is Her Majesty's Government going to do after the Olympic Games are over and the Soviet Union

invades another country, when you have not got an Olympic Games to hang your flag on?

557. On the other hand, you say you are not worried how many countries Russia invades?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) No, not as Chairman of the Association.

Mr *Spearing*

558. I take it from your last remark, you have private views you do not wish to express.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I am a human being. Of course I have views.

559. On the question of the Moscow Olympics itself, we have been given an indication that not only is it a competitive occasion but many international federations meet and have official or unofficial meetings in which United Kingdom sports organisations are involved. Can you confirm that and give examples and tell us what the likely result would be if those officials were not able to attend?——(Mr *C Palmer.*) It might vary with each organisation, but the chances are at the next election most of those individuals would no longer be representing Great Britain on their international organisations. That is why I am not putting it up. In the larger context it would probably not——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I think one ought to say there are a large number of officials from Great Britain on international bodies. Could you quantify that?——(*Mr C Palmer.*) There are something like 20 I suppose in which we feel it is important, as we in Britain invented quite a lot of the sport and have tried to get it practised in the way we believe it should be practised, as sport. Kicking old ladies in the street is physical activity—it is hardly sport, unless she has a Tommy Gun! We believe it has a beneficial effect on the people doing it, and that is why we do it ourselves.

560. There are in the region of 20 world sporting organisations which meet every four years on the occasion of the Olympiad, and on that occasion each checks its executive committee and officials not being in attendance or present, which would make it unlikely, I take it, that British representatives would be able to serve on many of those major world federations of sporting activity?——(Mr *C Palmer.*) It depends on the time period. The four-year cycle applies to the Olympic Games and the International Olympic Committee meets yearly and the international federations meet once a year, their executives perhaps quarterly but they may have an annual congress. The periods of election vary from two to four years.

561. Relative to Britain's size of population and active sportsmen, is there any imbalance in the degree to which British officials take the lead or contribute?——(Mr *C Palmer.*) Great Britain has 140 in the Olympic movement. Yes, we have rather more than anybody else has. It is always accepted because we tend to provide reasonably fair-minded, unbiased administrators who do not change their decisions from year to year because something has happened in their country which has caused them to make a change. Therefore, the British are often kept in that position.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I am fortunate to have documentation as at last October which lists 41 people from Great Britain who are United Kingdom members of international sports organisations.

Sir *Anthony Royle*

562. You indicated earlier on, and almost complained, you were not getting a strong enough lead from Her Majesty's Government as regards boycotting any Moscow Olympic Games, and I think you almost implied that if you got a strong lead the situation would be transformed as far as your Committee and Her Majesty's Government were concerned.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I think it would. If I may say so, I am delighted. This is the first time I have ever been called—and I have been in sports for many years—to discuss sport with a foreign affairs group. Indeed, not only am I delighted, I am extremely surprised.

Chairman

563. You are ahead of us by about 40 years. We are rather new.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Thank you very much indeed. I have here a letter from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, dated 6 August 1979, which was in response to an inquiry I made from Lord Carrington if he would help us establish a centre for the Association of National Olympic Committees in this country. I received this as part of the reply from Mr Peter Blaker: "As you will know, the Government has never attempted to emulate other countries by giving assistance to international support for political

or other purposes." Here I am called in for the first time, not to give assistance to sport but seemingly, to me, to use sport as an instrument of foreign policy. I probably would not mind that so very greatly if this was the general way in which we conduct our activities but in the light of that letter from the Foreign Office, I must say I am astounded to find myself here today.

Sir *Anthony Royle*

564. Thank you. That is very helpful. So you confirm, therefore, the point I was making to you that if you had a stronger leadership and guidance from Her Majesty's Government, that may well change your views?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I think it probably would.

565. If, therefore, the House of Commons passed a resolution or a motion on the terms suggested by Mr Hooley earlier, bearing in mind the House of Commons is a democratically elected body representing the British people as a whole, would you accept that motion, if it was suggested in the motion that the British Olympic team should not go to Moscow?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) My Committee would consider it, but they would much prefer you taking practical steps to help sport than destroying it. Sport is the great bridge-builder these days.

566. I am not quite clear why "sport" should be destroyed by the failure of the British Olympic team to go to Moscow in 1980.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) That is just one straw in the wind. I am certain if the Great Britain team did not go to Moscow it would be the end of the Olympic Games as we know it, because our lead would be followed by many others.

Mr *Hooley*

567. I think you said earlier that you were putting off the decision mentioned in the note you have given us because there was some meeting in Western Europe, presumably of other National Olympic Committees?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) That is right.

568. Do I take it that if a majority of those Committees came to the conclusion that it would be inadvisable to go, would the British Committee fall in line? If not, what is the purpose of these consultations?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I would have to report back to my Committee which meets on the 25th.

569. But the purpose of those consultations, presumably is to take into account the views of these other Committees before you do come to a decision?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Obviously.

570. And therefore you might fall in line with the majority view?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) It is possible.

Mr *Griffths*

571. Sir Denis, you and I and Mr Palmer have spent many agreeable hours together and I am delighted that you are here today. I have four questions to put and I will start with an historical one. Are you aware that the evidence given to this Committee by the Foreign Office said this—and I quote—"The nearest parallel is the discussions which took place in the late '30s after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria as to whether Tokyo would be a proper place to hold the Games in 1940." These are the significant words: "It was decided, in those circumstances, that Tokyo was not a proper place". Of course, you were probably more familiar with the scene in 1940 than I was, though I do just about remember it. Would you, if you had been involved at that time, have agreed with that decision?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I think I would, because Great Britain was involved in war, was it not?

572. No.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) In 1940 it certainly was.

573. With respect, the invasion of Manchuria——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) But Great Britain was at war.

574. I am sorry, Sir Denis, can I take you back to this historical point? I must rely on the record as the Committee has it before it. The decision as to whether Tokyo was a proper place or not was, of course, under consideration from about 1938 on and it was decided by the International Olympic Organisation at that time that in the circumstances of Japan having invaded Manchuria long before we were at war and certainly long before we were at war with Japan, it was decided then that Tokyo was not a proper place to hold the

Games. (Sir *Denis Follows.*)—— Am I right in saying that the date you quote when that decision was taken was 1940?

575. No Sir, the Games were to be held in 1940, but the decision as to whether or not it was proper to hold them in 1940 had to be taken by the Olympic organisations in the two or three year period running up to that time and there was much debate. We were not involved anywhere until Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and that was 1941.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) We were involved in the war in 1939.

576. Yes. The discussion about whether Tokyo was a proper place to hold the Olympics was taking place in the period following the invasion of Manchuria and the material decisions were taken before this country was involved in any war at all. I am only asking you very simply. We have testimony or evidence before this Committee by the Foreign Office saying that in their judgement the nearest parallel was the late '30s, after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, and it was then decided that Tokyo was not a proper place to hold the Olympics because of the invasion of Manchuria. Would you tell me, in your view, what is the essential difference between that occasion and the present circumstances following the invasion of Afghanistan?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) In my view—and it is only my view—we are not as near war today by any means as we were in 1938–39.——(Mr *C Palmer.*) The IOC took that decision as Mr Griffiths said. That is our point: we are a law-abiding community and we follow our rules. Whether the IOC makes the rules or the Government makes the law, we will follow it. We did not make the decision not to go to Tokyo.

577. I do not want to prolong the historical point. I just want to put this point to you. At that time, the IOC considered that the invasion of Manchuria was sufficiently serious that it stopped the Games in Tokyo. What I would like you to tell me please is why, as a member of the Briish Olympics Committee and, in Sir Denis's case, involved with the IOC, what is the essential difference that says we should have stopped the Games in Tokyo in 1940 because of the invasion of Manchuria, but we should not stop the Games in Moscow in the light of the invasion in Afghanistan?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I was not around at the International Olympic Committee in 1940, but I would say there were other very serious factors that obtained at that time which influenced their decision.

578. You and I have tried for many years to keep sport and politics apart and there is a lot of evidence of that, but it is not possible. Would you agree that at least in Soviet eyes, the Olympics have a very strong political overtone?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) In Soviet eyes, certainly I would agree.

579. You have seen the document of the activist party Pravda?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Yes, but I do not believe Soviet propaganda any more than you do.

580. Because you accept that the Soviet Union does use sport for political purposes, as we do not, would you accept that they will make use of the Olympic Games in Moscow following the invasion of Afghanistan to indicate that the world is taking a broadly favourable view of Soviet policy? Would you doubt that?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) They may try to give an indication but as far as we in our country are concerned, we do not accept that because the Games are being held in Moscow, that is a vindication of Soviet policy.

581. But you would accept that they will be able to use your participation for that purpose?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I think they will certainly try to do so, yes.

582. So you would be an unwilling tool of their policy, of course?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I think that is distinctly possible.

583. The third question is that you, as you said yourself, are a human being—an intensely human human being, if I may say so, but you will therefore be aware of the very large numbers of people who have been killed and maimed and wounded by the Soviet force in Afghanistan, in many cases quite primitive people?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Yes.

584. Although you are here as a sports administrator, as a citizen of this country I take it you deplore these murders and killings just as strongly as I do?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Just as much as I deplore what goes on in Argentina or many other

countries where freedom is not recognised as much as in this country.

585. As far as I am aware in the Argentina situation there was not an invasion of another country's territories. What we are considering in Afghanistan is the murdering and killing that obtains in Afghanistan.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) It obtained in China and Tibet.

586. You as a citizen would be just as horrified at this killing as I am.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Yes.

587. In what way do you think you should make your protest?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) As an individual it is very difficult for me to divorce my position from that of Chairman of the British Olympic Association. Anything I say on this particular issue will not be as Denis Follows but as Chairman of the British Olympic Association and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary for me not to express personal opinions on matters of this kind. The only way I would express personal opinions would be to leave the British Olympic Association, which I do not intend to do.

588. That is a point I am anxious to pursue further. Are you saying you as an individual have a conscience about this matter but an international sports organisation does not have a conscience.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) An international sports organisation has to work in accordance with the rules laid down for it and the game it has to play.

589. Is not one of the rules that you should have some regard to international law and the attitude of the United Nations and normal manners of relationships between states?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Certainly, as the British Olympic Association our membership and allegiance belongs to the International Olympic Committee, and that we will follow as long as we think it right and proper and in accordance with the rules of the game, kept by the governing body, a group to which I belong.

590. Is it your view that the International Olympic Committee has in a curious way a rather superior responsibility in sport over all the judgments made by the United Nations, the parliaments and governments of many of the countries which participate and, in particular, that you have some higher loyalty than that which you owe to the British Parliament and the British Government? What is this higher loyalty that you have?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I do not think it is a higher loyalty. As citizens of this country we will obey the laws of the land. You are asking us to pass judgment on issues which are personal, that an individual would decide for himself in the light of his knowledge or experience, whether he will support activists or activities which are based on religious, humanitarian or conscience grounds. If the law of the land is such that it requires us to do something as loyal citizens we will do it. You are asking me to express judgments on reactions to certain circumstances, which it is for them to decide.

Sir *Anthony Royle:* As a citizen, because you are not appearing on behalf of a lot of people excluding your own responsibility, but you are here as a person as well—

Mr *Spearing:* No.

Mr *Hooley:* No.

Sir *Anthony Royle*

591. If Sir Denis does not wish to answer the question he will say so. I want to put the question very bluntly indeed. We have Parliament and the Government in this country, which are elected and take decisions, and they do so because under our system of democracy we conclude the Parliament elected, that we and the government responsible, are bested equipped to judge what is in the best interests of our people. That is the system. If the democratically elected Members of Parliament and Government of our country conclude unequivocally it is in the best interests of the British people that your athletes do not go to Moscow, do you consider that you have some better or superior judgment?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I would not consider that we have a better or superior judgment—it would be impertinent. I would say that represented here there is probably as much experience at least in international affairs from a very early age as there is among many Members of Parliament.

592. Again, I am asking you bluntly. Do you say you have a better judgment of the interests of the British people than the British Parliament?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) I am saying, on the basis of our experience

of international affairs it is likely we have as much experience as most Members of Parliament.

Miss *Boothroyd*

593. I would like to ask Sir Denis if he would give us his thoughts about taking the Olympic Games from its itinerent centres and having a permanent home? ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) It is an interesting debate in international affairs, particularly in team sports. Taking football, about which I know most; it helps a great deal to take the World Cup round the world, because you give new stadia, facilities and initiatives, and hopefully the same thing might then happen in London in 1980. It creats a new impetus to the particular sport. If you concentrate it in one place you get better facilities. If you take the Royal Show, it went round the agricultural counties and was a great event, and now they have a permanent home at Stoneleigh, which has improved things immeasurably. Obviously, at the back of your mind is the idea of establishing a permanent centre in Greece.

594. My idea is to take it out of the international scene and all these wranglings. ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) In the first place you have to have a country which is stable historically, and it would not be a stable country from that particular point of view, historically over the years. There has been only one stable country which is Switzerland, and on that issue you " pays your money and you takes your choice ".

Mr *Deakin*

595. You would agree, would you not, that there is a great deal of political prestige by the country to be granted the Olympic Games? Would you not also agree for those countries who wish to make propaganda from the Olympic Games, there is much greater prestige and propaganda to be gained by the success of their athletes rather than holding the Olympic Games in their country.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I think so, but it is a question of degree. I have been around quite a lot. I was at the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. This was a tremendous manifestation of Canadian historical pride which made a great impression on me and probably I remember more about the impression I gained from being in Edmonton than I remember about who won the particular events, but I may be a peculiar being.

596. In those circumstancs, would not the absence of Western athletes from the Moscow Olympics, especially those from the United States of America, mean inevitably a much greater chance of medal successes for athletes from Russia, East Germany and other Communist countries, and would that not give them much more political prestige and kudos than if all the world's athletes were to compete on fair and equal terms?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) This is true. We think it is negative not to go to Moscow. That is one of the very important reasons I agree entirely.

Mr *Mills*

597. One or two questions which may be answered yes or no. Would you consider your question will encourage the Russian propaganda machine or not?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I think it could encourage the propaganda machine.

598. Some of your athletes have said that a boycott is an unacceptable sacrifice. In your opinion, is any sacrifice too hard to acccept in the long term?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Are we speaking generally or in relation to this particular subject?

599. In relation tot his particular subject. ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) " Sacrifice ". I do not lightly use the word.

600. But that was the word which was used: " a boycott is unacceptable ", I think that was what was said by 10 British Olympic winners.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I must get to the gist of the question. If I understand the question right, do I think that not participating in the Olympic Games is a sacrifice which the athletes could probably make in the interests of——?

601. Long-term?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Yes. I do not consider, as I have already said, that the participation in an Olympiad in Moscow means acceptance of the Soviet regime. As I said, for the purpose of the Games, Moscow becomes Olympia and the athletes are not concerned with the country in which they find themselves. Their one object is to pit their strength against the best in the world and provided the conditions are right—and by conditions I mean technical conditions, and they are always supervised by the International

Federation concerned—I see no reason at all why people should not compete on territory of a country whose regime they do not support—in fact whose regime you condemn. I am just not on the same wavelength as certain members here today, and it is how God made me.

602. What can you do as sportsmen to help in this present position, bearing in mind that your future depends as much as anybody else's on a containment of Communism and the advance of it? Would you say that you can stand isolated? ——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) No, I would say that what we are doing as sportsmen in the long-term helps to bridge the gulf between nations. Sport—and I know this from many years of experience—is the most unifying influence there is in the world today. There is only one country in Europe I have not been to. I have been practically all over the world in my life. I have friends all over the world and I think I understand their philosophy. I do not necessarily agree with it, but my goodness me, it is much better for us to have these contacts than not to have contacts at all and that is my honest belief, that boycotts and bans never do anybody any good.

603. And these contacts would help the dissidents in Russia and the people in Afghanistan?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) If one really believes in idealism, as I do, I honestly believe that the presence of the British athletes in Moscow will do something to improve the situation. I think if we do not go to Moscow, the Russian propaganda machine will make great capital out of it internally in the Soviet Union.

Mr. *Spearing*

604. Reverting to Tokyo 1940, would I be right in thinking that there is indeed a congruence in the two cases, in that whilst the international Olympic Committee decided not to go to Tokyo this time, the International Olympic Committee at Lake Placid has decided unanimously to go to Moscow and that, in accepting the decision in both cases, the British Olympic Association is being entirely consistent in both cases?—(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I would say so, yes.

Chairman.

605. You have said that you reckon that the judgement of your self-elected committee is better than that of Government and Parliament in these matters.——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) I did not say that. I said that Charlie Palmer and myself have probably as much experience in international affairs as many Members of Parliament.——(Mr. *C. Palmer*.) The self-elected committee does not apply to us. We are democratically elected in this country. Sir Denis is referring to the National Committee who started this thing by giving the Games to Russia. Had they asked us first, we may well have said they should go back to Amsterdam. We are following the rules even if we do not agree with them.

606. In the position that you reckon you perhaps know better than Government and Parliament, can I take it that nothing but a change in the law would make you change your view about going to Moscow with the Olympic Games?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) As the position stands and in relation to our resolution of September 1978 the answer is yes.

Mr. *Griffiths*

607. Between now and 25 March you will of course be giving further consideration to this matter?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) The Members of my Committee or the Members of the National Olympic Committee will, of course, be giving it further consideration.

608. You did say, and I wrote it down very carefully, that the only reason for cancelling your appearance at Moscow would be if the Soviet Committee were unable, for one reason or another, to organise the Games or if there was a state of war?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) That is right. The first point was that if the Soviet Organising Committee broke in any way their agreement with the International Olympic Committee.

609. Yes, I understood that. Between now and 25 March, if there were to be a quite specific resolution of the elected Parliament of our country, on which the elected Government of our country acted by requesting you at your next meeting not to go to Moscow, you have told us that you would consider it?—(Sir *Denis Follows*.) Certainly.

610. But would you feel entitled in the circumstances I have just described, to reject it outright?——(Sir *Denis Follows*.) That is a hypothetical question I cannot

answer. It depends on the majority, if there is a majority and it depends on so many factors.

611. This is the point I am getting at: very frequently, the House of Commons passes major legislation touching our whole economic, social and defence policies and by comparatively small minorities, but those concerned are still bound by that legislation.——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) It is legislation. It is the law of the land and, of course, we observe it.

612. I want to be clear about one thing. As far as a resolution of the House is concerned, on which the British Government acted, you would feel that you could —forgive me—pick and choose in accordance with your judgment of the majority? ——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) We would give it the consideration it deserves.

Mr. *Hooley.*

613. I take it if an individual athlete decides on conscience grounds that he personally cannot go, will his place be filled or will that be left open?——(Sir *Denis Follows.*) It depends upon the standard of performance. If you have other people who would qualify, the place would be filled, provided we had the money to send them. That is a very important factor, Her Majesty's Government having said they ain't going to give us a sausage.

Chairman

614. Thank you very much. I am very grateful to you and your team for coming and we realise the inconvenience you have been put to.

(Sir *Denis Follows.*) Thank you for your very courteous reception.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 March 1980

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has just received from Mr. Malcolm Fraser. As you will see the letter recapitulates the points made by Mr. Fraser to the Prime Minister on the telephone yesterday. It would be helpful if the advice that Mr. Hurd will be sending to the Prime Minister as a result of this afternoon's meeting of MISC 39 could be in the form of a draft reply to Mr. Fraser's letter.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to Geoff Needham (Department of the Environment) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

C.T.W. Humfrey, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION · LONDON

AUSTRALIA HOUSE STRAND WC2B 4LA TEL. 01-438 8209

Acting
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

T 48/80

5 March 1980

Dear Mr Alexander,

I have been asked by the Australian Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to convey the attached text of a letter of 5 March from him to your Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher.

I should be grateful if you could bring this letter to Mrs Thatcher's attention as soon as possible. I shall pass the original to you when it arrives.

Yours sincerely,

R. Fernandez

(R.R. Fernandez)

Mr Michael Alexander,
Private Secretary (Overseas Affairs)
to the Prime Minister,
Prime Minister's Office,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1.

SUBJECT

Text of a Letter of 5 March from the Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to the Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister

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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T48/80

Begins:

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to follow up our telephone conversation last night.

I know you have been taking a close personal interest, as I have, in the Afghanistan situation and the related matter of the Olympic Games.

More than ever, I believe that it is essential that independent nations achieve an effective boycott of the Olympic Games. We cannot allow the Soviets the kind of victory they would achieve if our athletes were to participate at Moscow while Soviet troops remain in Afghanistan.

It seems to me to be crucial now that the move towards a boycott be given added momentum. Over the last three or four weeks not much has happened and I believe that the issues now need to be addressed at the highest political level.

I believe we need firm decisions about alternative games for our athletes. We need decisions that demonstrate the determination and strength of the United States and Europe supported by as many others as possible.

Against this background I am asking my Minister for Home Affairs, the Honourable R.J. Ellicott, who is responsible for sport, to have discussions with other like-minded governments. I would hope that you would agree that he could have discussions with your appropriate Minister.

I believe that the next Steering Committee Meeting, in Mid-March, would be much more effective if it were to be at ministerial level.

Certainly Mr Ellicott will be available to participate should that eventuate.

As we discussed, I very much hope that you can also send a Minister. I understand that ministerial representation is what the United States would prefer.

I have noted the position reached by the British Olympic Committee yesterday. This indeed points to the need for governments to move quickly to provide a framework within which the respective national Olympic Committees can reach final decisions with full knowledge of the consequences and alternatives.

My very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

(Malcolm Fraser)

Text ends.

5 March 1980

T48/80.
Confirmation copy

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

- 5 MAR 1980

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.../2

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My very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Malcolm Fraser)

The Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher, P.C.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON

E 9 MAR 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Macrae
cc PS/Mr Hurd

OLYMPICS: AUSTRALIA

Mr Alexander spoke to me about the Prime Minister's telephone conversation with Mr Fraser - see self-explanatory telegram (attached) which I have despatched.

2. Clearly the Prime Minister's reply to Mr Fraser will need to be one of the items on the agenda for the MISC meeting tomorrow. Please liaise with the Cabinet Office about the best way of handling advice to the Prime Minister. Rapid action will be needed as soon as we know the outcome of the British Olympic Association meeting.

Nancy Leech

for E A J Fergusson

4 March 1980

File No. .....

Department .....
Drafted by
(Block Capitals) .....

Tel. Extn.....

OUTWARD

TELEGRAM

Security Classification
CONFIDENTIAL

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IMMEDIATE

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[TEXT]

OLYMPICS

The Australian Prime Minister spoke on the telephone this morning with the Prime Minister to make two main points:-

(a) Olympic Steering Group. Mr Fraser showed considerable impatience with the lack of progress so far and suggested that the next meeting (tentatively planned for Geneva on 12/13 March) should be held at ministerial level. Whatever the attitude of the other

/participants

participants Australia would in any case send a Minister.

(b) Canadian attitudes. In the absence of any firm indication of the new Canadian Government's views Mr Fraser suggested that he and the Prime Minister should urge Mr Trudeau to come out positively in favour of the Olympic boycott. (Mr Vance told me on 21 February that the President had been in touch with Mr Trudeau and the signs were that he would "come on board"). The Prime Minister did not commit herself on either point but certainly did not reject Mr Fraser's suggestions.

2. The British Olympic Association is holding an extraordinary meeting this afternoon to consider the issue of participation in the Olympics and the outcome of this meeting is to be considered by Ministers tomorrow afternoon, 5 March. Please therefore say to the Prime Minister's office that the Prime Minister will give her response to Mr Fraser as soon as possible but, because of the need to take account of the views of the BOA she will not be able to reply until Thursday.

HL.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

4 MAR 1980

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 March 1980

Olympic Games

The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Fraser, rang the Prime Minister early this afternoon, without warning, to talk about the Olympic Games.

Mr. Fraser has said that he had been talking to President Carter's representative, Mr. Lloyd Cutler, yesterday and had told him he was contemplating sending a Minister to the next meeting of the multilateral Olympic Steering Committee (which was to be held in Geneva). He considered that nothing much had happened in the last four or five weeks and probably nothing would happen if the matter was left to officials. There was a need to get Ministers together and to try to get decisions which would give the athletes the hope that there would be an alternative international competition, or competitions. If firms decisions were not taken, the situation was "going to run out from under us". He would prefer the Australian representative not to be "a shag on a rock by himself" and hoped therefore that the Prime Minister would be prepared to send a Minister also. He would certainly send a Minister if the Prime Minister agreed to do so and might well send one in any case. The Prime Minister agreed about the need to get a firm decisions taken soon. She knew (from the message received from Mr. Vance over the weekend) that the Americans were hoping to take concrete decisions at the meeting of the Olympic Steering Committee. She undertook to consider the suggestion made by Mr. Fraser and to get in touch with him soon.

Mr. Fraser also suggested that he and the Prime Minister might get in touch with Mr. Trudeau. Although he did not say so specifically, it was clear that Mr. Fraser hoped that joint pressure from the Prime Minister and him might encourage Mr. Trudeau to come out in favour of a boycott. The Prime Minister said that before taking action with Mr. Trudeau it would be wise to establish whether President Carter had been in touch with him.

CONFIDENTIAL

/It was

It was her understanding that Mr. Trudeau was likely in the end to adopt the same position as the American Government. Mr. Fraser confirmed that this was his understanding.

The Prime Minister and Mr. Fraser agreed, in conclusion, that it was essential to take decisions in the near future and that they would keep in touch about the problem.

As you will be aware, I have spoken to Ewen Fergusson about Mr. Fraser's call and agreed with him that the Prime Minister's substantive reply need not be despatched until Thursday morning. The aim will be to put a draft message in the Prime Minister's box tomorrow night following tomorrow afternoon's meeting of MISC (39). Meanwhile a holding telegram has gone to Canberra. The Prime Minister is content with these arrangements.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

16

T46A/80

SUBJECT

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER, MR. MALCOLM FRASER, ON TUESDAY 4 MARCH AT 1230

PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE SERIAL No. T46A/80

Prime Minister: Hello Malcolm, how are you?

Mr. Fraser: Hello Margaret, how are you?

Prime Minister: I'm fine. We're bearing up.

Mr. Fraser: I was ringing you about the Olympics. I was speaking to Lloyd Cutler last night and I told him I was contemplating sending a Minister to this next meeting of the Steering Committee. And he told me that they had decided it could be in Geneva. I don't know if that is official yet, but he said that was the American view.

Prime Minister: I had not heard that.

Mr. Fraser: I don't much mind where it is, but if it is in Geneva I think that would be a good place.

Prime Minister: Yes, so do I.

Mr. Fraser: But I am worried about officials going along because we have had a sort of inter-regnum period the last three or four or five weeks. Nothing much is happening. No firm decision about alternative sites and I think that Ministers need to get together if they can and try and get some decisions out which would give athletes the hope and understanding of alternative international competitions and I am worried that if we don't start to get some decisions and action of a hard nature that it is just going to run out from under us.

Prime Minister: I agree. When Vance was over here. When Cy Vance was over here I did say to him - it was only a few days ago - I thought it absolutely vital that the athletes had some alternative games to go to. And I think then at that stage it really rather

/ depended

depended on the attitude that Trudeau would take to Montreal. Now I have not heard anything since then, but I agree that some people were seeking refuge in the idea that if Russia were to accept the idea that Afghanistan should be neutral then there would be no problem. Most of us take the view that unless Russia is actually out of Afghanistan then there is no change.

Mr. Fraser: How can they be neutral if they have got 100,000 troops there.

Prime Minister: Exactly. I agree that nothing much seems to have happened, now you're sending a minister and what you're really saying to us is will we do the same thing.

Mr Fraser: Yes, I want to send a Minister. I don't want him to be a shag on a rock by himself but Carter's got Lloyd Custer there as his sort of personal emissary and if you could send a minister I certainly would and I might even do it if you don't. But I would hope you would.

Prime Minister: You want some political input and some political sensitivity.

I think it wants a

Mr Fraser: /Political input, political sensivity and also people who are prepared to pick up the ball and run with it and officials just won't do it they will always play ultra safe.

Prime Minister: Yes, yes one moment I've just got a telegram put in my hand about Vance. (Does it say anything about the Olympics, I can't even read it - what does it say. The Moscow summer Olympics continue to be an issue of major attention in Washington. We are very grateful for the staunch stand taken by yourself and myself and deeply appreciative of the close co-operation we have received in the Olympic Steering Committee. Before the next meeting of the Committee suggested for the week of 12 March in Washington or in Europe and we hope a number of concrete decisions can be taken concerning alternative games.

Mr Fraser: Is that a telegram from Washington?

Prime Minister: That's a telegram from Washington. That's from Vance back to us after what we said here. When did that come in?

Mr. Fraser: If they are hoping for decisions, all the more reason for Ministers ....

Prime Minister: .. for Ministers to be there. I will get on to the Foreign Office at once Malcolm and I will be in touch with you.

Mr. Fraser: All right. Well thank you very much ..

Prime Minister: .. we both feel absolutely the same on this.

Mr. Fraser: I was also thinking of getting on to Pierre. What do you think if we both did?

Prime Minister: Let's find out..interrupted.. I wonder whether we can find out first whether Washington has been in touch with Pierre.

Mr. Fraser: I have been told that they ultimately won't be in a different position from America.

Prime Minister: What Canada?

Mr. Fraser: Canada will/not ultimately be in a different position.

Prime Minister: So that means if the President asks Pierre Trudeau then he is likely to accept. Is that right?

Mr. Fraser: Well if ..... if ultimately America boycotting Canada will ultimately boycott.

Prime Minister: Oh I think that's right. You and I are really on to alternative games aren't we?

Mr. Fraser: Yes

Prime Minister: Really to do the athletes justice. I regret that I would like to find out whether there is any possibility - you get on to him by all means. I think you might have more influence on him than me.

Mr. Fraser: Oh I doubt it very much. But anyway ..

Prime Minister: Can I consider that further Malcolm?

Mr. Fraser: Let's consider that and I just think its got to the stage where a political importance and a political decision are necessary or it will all run out from under us.

Prime Minister: Well there is not much time to arrange alternative games unless a decision is taken pretty quickly. All right - consult straightaway. All right - thank you very much. Goodbye

Mr. Fraser: Goodbye.

020

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB
01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

4 March 1980

Dear Prime Minister

You decided at OD on 21 February to write to the Chairman of the British Olympic Appeal Fund concerning your position as a Patron of that Fund.

I enclose a suggested letter to Sir Anthony Tuke who, as you know, is also the Chairman of Barclays Bank.

You will doubtless wish to inform Jim Callaghan and David Steel, your fellow Patrons, of your intentions before writing to Sir Anthony.

HECTOR MONRO

CONFIDENTIAL

c/c C. Ansa

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1980

Prime Minister has seen

Dear Michael,

Lo. Rm 5/3

Olympic Games

The British Olympic Association (BOA) will meet at 3.30pm today to consider their attitude towards the Summer Games in / Moscow. I attach two draft statements either of which could issue depending on the BOA's decision. The BOA will either accept the invitation of the Moscow Olympic Committee to attend the Games, or they will postpone a decision, perhaps while reiterating their belief that the invitation should be accepted. The statements cover both eventualities. They may need some adjustment when the terms of the decision are known, for instance if it is taken after a vote, the details of which are made public. We envisage that the statement would be made by the Department of the Environment press office, unless you would prefer it to issue from No 10.

Meanwhile Mr Hurd and Mr Monro have both been active on the 'hearts and minds' exercise in the run up to the BOA meeting. Between them they have seen representatives of the Royal Yachting Association, the Amateur Swimming Association, the Amateur Rowing Association, the British Canoe Union, the Mens and Womens Hockey Association and the British Equestrian Federation. All have indicated that they are in favour of the BOA postponing a decision. They have also spoken to the British Amateur Athletic Board, and the Vice-Chairman, Hon Treasurer and General Secretary of the BOA itself. Mr Hurd has appeared on TV and spoken on the radio. He has also given unattributable briefing to the press.

/ The Prime Minister may wish to see the enclosed copy of a telegram containing a message from Mr Vance about the Olympics which Lord Carrington received over the weekend. It is hoped that a reply can be considered by Ministers at the meeting of MISC(39) due to take place on Wednesday, by when the BOA's decision will be known.

The Prime Minister will see that Mr Vance in his message concentrates on the possibility of what he calls alternate games. There are obviously great attractions to this idea, and as the Prime Minister knows we have been trying for some time to make

/progress with it.

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

progress with it. The difficulty we have found in our enquiries is that in most sports neither competitors nor national sporting organisations feel able to consider alternative games, let alone organise them, without the consent of the relevant international sporting organisations, which is unlikely to be forthcoming. Nevertheless there are some possibilities which we are pursuing, but this is best done quietly for the moment.

In general the media have been trying to pick a quarrel between the Government and British sportsmen. The conversations which Mr Monro and Mr Hurd have held in the last few days have in fact been reasonable in tone and there is obvious advantage in keeping the argument in a low key while clearly restating the Government's position.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretary to Mr Monro, Department of the Environment.

Yours ever

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

DRAFT STATEMENT

IF THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION ACCEPTS
THE INVITATION TO MOSCOW

The Government regret that the British Olympic Association has decided to accept the invitation from the Moscow Organising Committee to participate in the Summer Games in Moscow. We believe that this decision is premature. To our knowledge, no other Western National Olympic Committee has yet replied. The future of the Olympic Games in Moscow is clearly in doubt.

This decision is, of course, not binding on the Governing Bodies of Olympic Sports or individual sportsmen. It is for them to decide what they should do in the light of the Association's decision. We naturally hope they will be guided by the advice given by the Government on this matter. The British Olympic Association's decision has not changed the Government's views.

Dd 0532000 400 M 5/78 HMSO Bracknell

DRAFT STATEMENT

IF THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION DEFERS A DECISION ON WHETHER TO GO TO MOSCOW

We welcome the wise decision of the British Olympic Association to defer responding to the invitation from the Moscow Organising Committee until a later date. It is consistent with the attitude being adopted by other Western National Olympic Committees and the advice given to the Association by the Government.

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IMMEDIATE

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/29/86

TAGS: SCUL, OEXC, UK

SUBJECT: SUMMER OLYMPICS: LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO CARRINGTON ON ALTERNATE GAMES

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THE AMBASSADOR SHOULD SEEK TO DELIVER THE LETTER IN PARAGRAPH THREE BELOW TO FOREIGN MINISTER CARRINGTON FROM SECRETARY VANCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL. IN DELIVERING THE LETTER AMBASSADOR MAY DRAW ON THE TALKING POINTS CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH FOUR BELOW.

3. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR PETER:

IT WAS GOOD TO SEE YOU IN LONDON LAST WEEK, AND TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE ISSUES THAT HAVE CONCERNED BOTH OF US SO MUCH SINCE THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

THE MOSCOW SUMMER OLYMPICS CONTINUE TO BE AN ISSUE OF MAJOR ATTENTION IN WASHINGTON. WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE STRONG STAND TAKEN BY YOUR GOVERNMENT, AND DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE CLOSE COOPERATION WE HAVE SHARED IN THE

OLYMPICS STEERING COMMITTEE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE NEXT MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, PROJECTED FOR THE WEEK OF MARCH 10 EITHER IN WASHINGTON OR IN EUROPE, AT WHICH WE HOPE A NUMBER OF CONCRETE DECISIONS CAN BE TAKEN CONCERNING ALTERNATIVE GAMES.

ONE MATTER MIGHT BE GONE INTO EVEN BEFORE THE MARCH 10 MEETING. THIS CONCERNS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER BRITISH ATHLETES WOULD BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN ALTERNATE GAMES IF WE SUCCEED IN ORGANIZING THEM. WE UNDERSTAND THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS NOW IN TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION, WHICH WILL BE HOLDING A FORMAL MEETING ON MARCH 4 TO CONSIDER ITS POSITION ON THE MOSCOW GAMES. WE KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE WORKING IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE ASSOCIATION TO DECLINE ITS INVITATION TO MOSCOW. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL IF YOU COULD OBTAIN THE CONCURRENCE OF BRITISH SPORTS GROUPS TO ATTEND ALTERNATIVE GAMES. WE BELIEVE THE WILLINGNESS OF BRITISH ATHLETES TO PARTICIPATE WILL BE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN MAKING ANY SUCH GAMES A SUCCESS.

I BELIEVE OUR CONCEPT OF HOW AND WHEN THIS OTHER SET OF

GAMES WOULD BE ORGANIZED IS IDENTICAL. THE GAMES WOULD BE SEPARATE FROM THE OLYMPICS. THEY WOULD BE HELD AFTER THE MOSCOW EVENTS ARE COMPLETED, IN THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST. THEY WOULD BE ORGANIZED IN FOUR OR FIVE CITIES AROUND THE WORLD, AND BE SPONSORED BY HOST CITIES AND CONDUCTED BY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS, WHICH WOULD SHARE IN THE TELEVISION REVENUES. THE GAMES WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL ATHLETES INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAD GONE TO MOSCOW.

IF THE PRINCIPAL FREE-WORLD SPORTS NATIONS SUPPORT THIS PROSPECT, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE IT COULD BE MADE A FINANCIAL SUCCESS. THE SOONER THE LOGISTICAL ARRANGEMENTS NECESSARY TO HOLD GAMES IN AUGUST ARE COMPLETED, THE MORE LIKELY WE ARE TO ATTRACT A LARGE NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS AND HENCE TO MAKE THE GAMES A SUCCESS.

ACCORDINGLY, WE BELIEVE WE MUST MOVE QUICKLY TO WIN COMMITMENTS FROM AS MANY OF THE LEADING SPORTS NATIONS AS POSSIBLE. WE HAVE DECIDED ACCORDINGLY TO SEEK SUCH COMMITMENTS FROM AUSTRALIA, WEST GERMANY, ITALY, JAPAN, FRANCE, KENYA, NEW ZEALAND AND CHINA. IF WE CAN OBTAIN THESE COMMITMENTS PRIOR TO OUR MARCH 10 SESSION, OR IN

ANY EVENT BEFORE THE END OF MARCH, LOGISTICALLY THE LATEST FEASIBLE DATE, WE WILL THEN HAVE A HEADSTART ON MAKING THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ALTERNATIVE GAMES.

I HOPE YOU WILL GIVE THIS MATTER YOUR PERSONAL ATTENTION. KINGMAN BREWSTER WILL BE HAPPY TO ASSIST YOU IN OBTAINING ANSWERS TO ANY SPECIFIC QUESTIONS YOU OR YOUR COLLEAGUES MAY HAVE. WITH BEST REGARDS. CY.
END TEXT

4. TALKING POINTS

— THE UNITED STATES IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO THE HOLDING OF HIGH-QUALITY, INTERNATIONAL ATHLETIC COMPETITIONS LATER THIS SUMMER. DETAILED CONSULTATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE ON THIS MATTER WITH THE BRITISH, AUSTRALIANS, DUTCH, CANADIANS AND OTHERS. WHILE NO FIRM CONCLUSIONS HAVE BEEN REACHED WE ARE OPTIMISTIC THAT THE KIND OF GAMES WE HAVE IN MIND CAN BE STAGED.

— IN WORKING TOWARD THIS OBJECTIVE, WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO DETRACT FROM THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT. OUR PRINCIPAL AIM IS TO PROVIDE A MEANS FOR GIVING WORLD-CLASS ATHLETES--ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO DO NOT COMPETE IN

MOSCOW--AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISPLAY THEIR TALENTS.
WE ALSO THINK THAT BY PROVIDING OTHER HIGH-CALIBER
GAMES WE CAN INDUCE SOME STATES IN THE THIRD WORLD
NOT TO SEND THEIR ATHLETES TO MOSCOW.

-- OUR CURRENT THINKING IS TO ORGANIZE SUCH GAMES AFTER
THE MOSCOW GAMES ARE COMPLETED. THAT WOULD MEAN
SCHEDULING THE EVENTS IN LATE AUGUST 1980. COMPE-
TITIONS WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL INTERNATIONAL CLASS
ATHLETES WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAD TAKEN PART IN THE
MOSCOW GAMES. OUR HOPE IS TO DEVELOP FOUR OR FIVE
SITES, ONE ON EACH CONTINENT, AND AT EACH SITETO
ORGANIZE FOUR OR FIVE DIFFERENT KINDS OF EVENTS.
THE EVENTS WOULD BE CONDUCTED BY APPROPRIATE NATIONAL
AND INTERNATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS, WHICH WOULD SHARE
THE TELEVISION REVENUES.

— INTERNATIONAL SPORTS EVENTS OF THIS TYPE ARE IN
NO SENSE UNIQUE. MANY MEETS ARE HELD IMMEDIATELY BEFORE
AND AFTER OLYMPIC GAMES.

— IN DISCUSSING THIS ISSUE WITH INTERESTED SPORTS
GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES WEHAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION

THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE THESE GAMES A SUCCESS, WE WILL
NEED COMMITMENTS TO PARTICIPATE FROM MOST OF THE
IMPORTANT NON-COMMUNIST SPORTS COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.
IF WE HAVE SUCH COMMITMENTS, SITES CAN BE FOUND,
SPORTS ORGANIZERS TO HELP US RUN THE GAMES CAN BE
LOCATED, AND MEDIA REVENUES AND OTHER PRIVATE SPONSOR-
SHIP CAN BE SECURED.

— DECISIONS ON ALL THESE POINTS IF WE ARE TO HAVE
GAMES IN AUGUST MUST BE MADE NO LATER THAN MARCH.
ACCORDINGLY IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE HAVE COMMITMENTS
FOR PARTICIPATION FROM FIRST-CLASS ATHLETES IN MAJOR
SPORTS COUNTRIES. ONCE AGREEMENTS IN PRINCIPLE TO
PARTICIPATE ARE OBTAINED FROM KEY COUNTRIES, WE AND
OTHERS WILL WORK WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED STATES TO
NAIL DOWN SITES AND TO INVITE OTHER NATIONS' WORLD-
CLASS ATHLETES TO PARTICIPATE. VANCE

4 MAR 1980

4 MAR 1980

MFJ

3 March 1980

I enclose a copy of a letter received by the Prime Minister from the Chairman and Secretary of the International Athletes' Club. I should be grateful for the text of a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send to Messrs Bedford and Johnson. It would be helpful if this could reach me by close of play on Thursday 6 March.

I am sending cppies of this letter and its enclosure to Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

C.T.W. Humfrey, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

3 March 1980

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to thank you for your letter to her of 3 March about participation in the Olympic Games. Your letter is receiving attention and a reply will be sent as soon as possible.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

David Bedford, Esq.

10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

I attach a letter from the Chairman and Secretary of the International Athletes' Club. This, as you will see, is signed by 78 prominent athletes. However it is noteworthy that only one of our potential medal winners (Alan Wells) is among the signatories. None of our other potential medal winners (Messrs Capes, Coe, Moorcroft, Foster or Thompson or Miss Sanderson) have signed.

I have asked for a brief reply.

3 March 1980

INTERNATIONAL ATHLETES' CLUB

HAMPDEN HOUSE
84 KINGSWAY
LONDON WC2B 6SD
Tel: 01-242 8154

The Prime Minister,
THE RIGHT HON. MRS. MARGARET THATCHER,
No. 10, Downing Street,
LONDON.

3rd March, 1980.

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

Please find enclosed a copy of a letter signed by 78 athletes concerning participation in the Olympic Games, which you are asked to take firm note of.

At a Committee Meeting of the I.A.C. yesterday it was furthermore resolved that this organisation apply formally and immediately to the I.O.C. for permission to select, transport and manage a British Athletics team for Moscow in the event the B.A.A.B. or B.O.A. act in breach of Rule 24c., viz:

"N.O.C.s must be autonomous and must resist all pressures of any kind whatsoever, whether of a political, religious or economic nature. In pursuing these objectives, N.O.C.s may co-operate with private or government organisations. However, they must not associate themselves with any undertaking which would be in conflict with the principles of the Olympic movement and with the rules of the I.O.C."

Yours sincerely,

DAVID BEDFORD
CHAIRMAN

DEREK JOHNSON
HON. SECRETARY

INTERNATIONAL ATHLETES' CLUB

HAMPDEN HOUSE
84 KINGSWAY
LONDON WC2B 6SD
Tel: 01-242 8154

We, the undersigned, affirm our right to take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow.

We make it clear that in no way do we support Soviet domestic and foreign policies. Just as the presence of the British Ambassador in Moscow implies no approval of the regime, neither will our presence in Moscow in July imply approval.

Since, however, we have an opportunity of expressing our disapproval of Societ policies, we are prepared, under explicit instruction of the B.A.A.B., to refuse to take part in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies and, in the event that we are recipients of medals, to leave the rostrum immediately after presentation and before the National Anthems are played.

We are not prepared, however, to preside over the destruction of the Olympic movement, and consider that in the end, the Government's responsibility to solve the Afghan crisis is through normal diplomatic means.

We would now like the right and opportunity of preparing ourselves for the Olympic Games free of governmental pressure.

We hope that participants in other Olympic Sports will join us in this action.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Signature .....

Date .....

SIGNATORIES TO I.A.C. LETTER

Ainsley Bennett
Alan Wells
Steve Green
Drew McMaster
Mike McFarlane
Steve Scutt
Steve Wymark
Alan Bell
Mike Powell
Terry Whitehead
Phil Cooke
Mike McLeod
Mark Holtom
Berwyn Price
Wilbert Greaves
Gary Oakes
Roger Hackney
John Davies
Colin Reitz
Graham Fell
Roger Mills
Chris Harvey
Amos Seddon
Adrian James
Brad McStravick
Ossie Cham
Roy Mitchell
Aston Moore
Alan Williams
Keith Stock
Simon Osborne
Peter Yates
Dave Ottley
Chris Black
Jim Whitehead
Nick Rose
Dave Black
Steve Binns
Steve Emson
Nat Muir
Julian Goater
Bill Hartley
Richard Ashton
Peter Gordon
George Nibre
Graham Williamson
Cameron Sharp
Phil Cooke
David Wilson

Heather Hunte
Wendy Clarke
Jos. Hoyte Smith
Donna Hartley
Lindsey MacDonald
Michelle Probert
Chris Benning
Katrina Finch
Ann Ford
Paula Fudge
Lorna Boothe
Wendy McDonnell
Yvette Wray
Chris Warden
Sue Longden
Anne Marie Devalley
Barbara Simmonds
Louise Miller
Sue Hearnshaw
Sue Reeve
Vinessa Head
Fatima Whitbread
Liz Barnes
Cherry Hanson
Janet Marlow
Jo White
Gill Dainty
Sue Morley
Moira Maguire

DECLINED TO SIGN

Steve Ovett
Mick Winch (reasons given)
Steve Cram
Tim Foulger
Geoff Capes (reasons given)
Nick Lees (reasons given)
Christina Boxer (reasons given)
Judy Oakes (reasons given)
Beverley Goddard
Tessa Sanderson

LETTER SENT TO FOLLOWING ATHLETES BELIEVED TO BE ABROAD

Sonia Lannaman
Kathy Smallwood
Janet Prictoe
Gillian Hitchen
Meg Ritchie

Olly Flynn
Panny Zeniou
Mark Naylor
Sebastian Coe

UNABLE TO OBTAIN A REPLY FROM THE FOLLOWING

Trevor Hoyte
Dave Baptiste

David Jenkins
John Robson
Dave Moorcroft
Brendan Foster

Alan Drayton
Brian Burgess
Brian Hooper
Colin Sutherland

Edie Cutting
Chris McGeorge
Dave Wilson

Group/Class ..... PREM 19

Piece 374

Letter from Whitmore to Lever dated 29 February 1980

Paper extracted and temporarily retained under Section 3(4) pending completion of review.

(date) ..... 15 April 1980

(Signed) ..... Wayland

Sport.

British Canoe Union

Flexel House 45-47 High Street
Addlestone Weybridge Surrey KT15 1JV

Please reply to:

R1/3

27th February, 1980

Ltr. Rec'd 3/3

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

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

British Canoe Union - Olympic Games, Moscow 1980

Thank you for your letter of the 19th February concerning the invitation of the Moscow Organising Committee to the British Olympic Association to participate in the 1980 Olympic Games.

I have to inform you that this matter will be considered by the Executive Committee of the British Canoe Union at their meeting to be held on the 3rd March, 1980.

Yours faithfully,
BRITISH CANOE UNION

Ron Emes
DIRECTOR

cc. British Canoe Union Executive Committee

Group/Class PREM 19

Piece 374

Letter from Lever to Alexander dated 26 February 1980

Paper extracted and temporarily retained under Section 3(4) pending completion of review.

(date) 15 April 1980

(Signed) Wayland

Group/Class PREM 19

Piece 374

Draft of letter from Lever to Alexander dated 26 February 1980

Paper extracted and temporarily retained under Section 3(4) pending completion of review.

(date) 15 April 1980

(Signed) A Wayland

Original - G/R

cc FCO
D ENVIR.
Sport

10 DOWNING STREET

26 February 1980

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for your letter of 15 January about the Olympic Games. I have considered your points carefully.

Since you wrote, the International Olympic Committee meeting at Lake Placid on 12 February has decided to go ahead with the summer Olympic Games in Moscow. It is a decision I regret. I believe a very important matter of principle is involved. As you say, the Olympic ideal is the free pursuit of excellence by the individual, and it is a noble one. But the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan stands in complete antithesis to this ideal and it is wrong for the Games to be held on Soviet territory. I believe this argument has been reinforced by the arrest and internal exile of Dr. Sakharov. It was in defence of this ideal that I wrote on 22 January to the British Olympic Association about moving the Games. As far as the practical problems are concerned, I still believe that it would be possible to relocate the Games in one or more other places if other like-minded countries were to co-operate.

In any event it remains essential to do all we can to ensure that the Games are not held in such a way as to appear to condone Soviet military aggression. That is why I told the House of Commons on 14 February that we have decided to advise British athletes not to go to the Games in Moscow and have written again to Sir Denis Fellows in that sense. As you point out, it is possible that the Government's advice might be ignored by some sporting bodies and some athletes. But that is no reason for the Government to abdicate from its responsibilities towards its citizens when

/ matters

CH

matters of moment such as this arise. It is right that the Government should give a lead. As I said in the House of Commons, athletes have the same responsibilities towards freedom and its maintenance as every other citizen. I hope they will rise to their responsibilities.

I, of course, agree with you that action in other fields is also necessary to show the Soviet Union that a high price must be paid for their invasion of Afghanistan. But concerted action by Western countries, which is essential if any measures are to be effective, may not be as easy to achieve as you suggest. Peter Carrington announced some of our decisions in the House of Lords on 24 January. Ian Gilmour made a parallel statement in the Commons. But non-participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow remains one of the most effective ways of bringing home to the Soviet people that a price must be paid for aggression overseas.

Yours ever

Margaret

The Rt. Hon. Terence Higgins, M.P.

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject as USA: May 79: Visits to UK by Mr Vance

SPNT

Record of Meeting (Extract) PM / Secretary of State Vance at 10 Downing St, 21st FEBRUARY 1980. 1945 HRS.

Olympic Games

The Prime Minister said that if the boycott of the Olympic Games was to be effective, it would be essential that there should be alternative events in which the athletes could compete. Mr Vance agreed and said that the American Government had this much in mind. It looked as though Montreal would in many ways be a more satisfactory venue than Los Angeles. Although the defeat of Mr Clark in the recent Canadian election had created a problem, it seemed likely that Mr Trudeau's view would not be so very different from that of Mr Clark. He had rung President Carter earlier in the day to indicate that it was his intention to withdraw from the position he had taken on this issue during the election as quickly as possible. The Prime Minister said that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to find some money to finance alternative games. Mr Vance said that in his view the key to the situation lay in the hands of the International Federations dealing with the respective sports rather than with Olympic committees. He said that it was not the intention of the American Government to stage national games in the United States. He commented that President Moi had said that he would like to stage one or two events in Kenya. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that not too much attention should be paid to the disagreements at the Political Co-operation Meeting in Rome. The Germans had made it clear that they would not go to Moscow if the United States did not go. It was very probable that the French would stay away if the Americans and Germans were absent. M. Francois Poncet had hinted that France's attitude in Rome had been connected with the fact that the American deadline for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan expired the day after the Rome meeting.

CONFIDENTIAL

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General Secretary
D. SHAW

Clerk to the Board
MISS M. TUPHOLME

70, BROMPTON ROAD,
LONDON SW3 1EE

MT

21st February 1980.

Dear Sir,

We have received this morning from your office a photocopy of The Prime Minister's letter to Sir Denis Follows, addressed to our Chairman.

This has been forwarded to Mr. McAllister at his home in Yorkshire today and I have also photocopied the letter to my other fellow officers of the BAAB.

Yours faithfully,

David Shaw

The Private Secretary
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall, S.W. 1.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MOSCOW OLYMPICS

As you know, I may be delayed in getting to OD this afternoon if the discussion following my housing statement goes on longer than expected. It may therefore be helpful to you to know in advance my views on the issues raised in OD(80)14.

In general, I remain of the view that we must take all practicable steps to counter Russia's aggression by whatever means at our disposal. This must mean adopting a tough and consistent stance on the subsidiary issues which flow from our decisions to advise athletes not to go to the Games and to press the BOA not to accept the invitation to compete in Moscow.

Against this background, my views on the questions posed in para 4 of the paper are:-

i. I support the recommended responses to questions 4(a) - 4(g) inclusive and to 4(i).

ii. On 4(h) the fact is that the cost of sending a British team to Moscow comes from public subscriptions to the BOA Appeal Fund. No Government money (through the Sports Council)is involved: if it were I would wish to stop it. I think we should resist, however, any proposal to withhold future grants to governing bodies of sport. It is one thing to embrace the use of sport as a political weapon to deal with the circumstances surrounding Russia's aggression in Afghanistan. It is quite another to take action which could undermine the whole history of the voluntary sports movement in this country and threaten its future stability.

iii. On 4(j) I am personally in favour of advising British office holders in international sports federations not to go to Moscow. As para 4(k) of the paper points out, you have publicly pointed to the obligations of all citizens, not just athletes, to consider the implications of their involvement in Moscow. I therefore believe that the logic for advising British nationals in international sports federations not to go to Moscow is overwhelming.

iv. On 4(k) I think that the case for discouraging members of the public from going to the Games is again overwhelming. But the Law Officers' comments need to be considered carefully, and we may well need to look at the possibility of ex gratia payments to individuals who have suffered unreasonable losses as a consequence of our stance. Incidentally, should we not consider whether there is anything that can be done to stop British Airways offering special flights to Moscow to carry these passengers?

CONFIDENTIAL

v. On 4(l) I think that we should perhaps take a neutral stance. We have made our representations through the BOA and in Parliament. I see no reason to become any more involved in discussion of this question.

vi. On 4(m) a reversal of policy would be justified only if the USSR reversed its own policy. This is highly unlikely.

Of the other steps suggested as possibilities for action in para 5:-

vii. I agree with the proposition in 5(a) but only if the Chief Whip advises that it would be sensible.

viii. I have no firm view on 5(b) save for the fact that there must clearly be close consultation between FCO and DOE in undertaking follow up action.

ix. I agree with all of the proposals in 5(c) to 5(f) inclusive.

As for the financial issues arising in para 6, I agree that the financial implications of our decisions will need careful analysis. Certainly I believe that the possible areas of expenditure identified in the paper are real ones that need to be explored if our stance on the Olympics is going to be credible.

Finally, I note that there is no discussion in the paper about media coverage of the Games in Moscow. My own feeling is that we ought to be taking a tough line on this if we are going to stop the Soviet government exploiting all the propoganda opportunities which wide media coverage would provide. I should be interested to know what consideration has so far been given to this matter.

I am copying this minute to other members of OD Committee and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

MH

MH

21 February 1980

OLYMPIC GAMES : KNOWN ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENTS AS AT 21 FEBRUARY

A Governments who will support a boycott

Australia	Fiji	Malaysia	Saudi Arabia*
Bahrain	Haiti	Netherlands	Singapore*
Bermuda	Honduras	New ZealandØ	Somalia
Chile	Japan*Ø	Norway*Ø	Sudan
China	Kenya	Pakistan†*	United States*
Djibouti	Liberia	Papua New Guinea	West GermanyØ
Egypt*	Malawi	Quatar	Zaire*

B Governments still undecided

Belgium	Iceland	Niger*	Switzerland
Cameroon	Iran*	Nigeria*	Tanzania
Canada	Ireland	Philippines*	Tunisia*
Denmark	Italy	Portugal	Turkey*
Ecuador	Ivory Coast*	South Korea*	Uganda
Gambia	Luxembourg	Spain	Upper Volta*
Ghana*	Malta*	Sweden	

C Governments who have not taken a position : some are non-Olympic countries or have no participants

Burma	Kiribati	Sri Lanka	United Arab Emirates
Iraq	Panama	Solomon Islands	
Jordan	St Vincent	Tonga	Yemen Arab Republic

D Governments who are against or will not support a boycott

Algeria*	France	Kuwait*	Senegal
Austria	Greece	Libya	Seychelles
Botswana	Guyana*	Mexico*	Syria*
Costa Rica	India	Oman†X	Yugoslavia*
Cyprus	Jamaica*	Peru*	Zambia*
Finland			

* National Olympic Committee (a) has indicated it will follow lead of the Government, or (b) is likely to, or (c) has no choice in the matter.

/† Government

† Government is known to be in favour of boycott but has not declared itself publicly.

X Government has taken a position but is unlikely to have any sportsmen of Olympic standard.

Ø Government position equivocal.

CULTURAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
21 February 1980

Ref: A01476

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

Moscow Olympics
(OD(80) 14)

BACKGROUND

When the Cabinet discussed the Olympic Games on 14th February, it was agreed that the Government would need to consider their policy on a number of issues following their decision to advise British athletes not to take part. This paper is the Report by Officials which it was noted that I would provide. Most of it consists of a series of practical questions on which recommended answers are provided with supporting comments. The Secretary of State for the Environment has been invited for this item. The Attorney General has also been invited in view of possible questions on the Government's legal liability.

2. Foreign Ministers of the Nine discussed the issue yesterday, but failed to agree a common line, mainly on account of French opposition. FCO telegram no. 108 to Rome contains a fuller acount.

HANDLING

3. The background is the Cabinet discussion on 14th February, your answers in reply to Parliamentary Questions on the same date and your letter to the Chairman of the British Olympic Association of 19th February.

4. The Committee might first go through the lettered sub-paragraphs in paragraph 4 of the Report by Officials. Are the recommended answers agreed in each case?

5. Next the Committee might discuss the two more general questions posed in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the report:-

(a) Arm-twisting. Over South African sport, the Government did not really want their advice taken. In this case they do. How is the process of persuasion to be carried forward? What about a resolution of Parliament? On a Free Vote? Should Mr. Monro now tackle each of the Chairmen of the British governing bodies for the various Olympic sports? Should the Paymaster General be invited, in consultation with Mr. Monro, to orchestrate the Government's publicity campaign?

(b) Finance. Should the Secretary of State for the Environment be invited, in consultation with other Ministers, to attempt to cost more exactly the Government's likely or desirable expenditure? Can this be met from the Contingency Reserve? Does the Attorney General have views on the issue of liability?

6. Finally you may wish to raise two further points:-

(a) What does the Home Secretary think that the BBC and ITV will do about televising the Moscow Games? He reported earlier that they had agreed to act in concert. Should the Government try to persuade the BBC to boycott Moscow, even if British athletes are there?

(b) What does the Foreign Secretary think of the danger that by our present actions against the Moscow Games we may be storing up for ourselves even greater difficulties than in the past over South African sport?

CONCLUSION

7. Your summing up should cover -

(a) The agreed answers to the lettered questions in the Report by Officials.

(b) The allocation of responsibility for follow-up action to put across the Government's case.

(c) Whether the Cabinet on 28th February should be informed of the Committee's conclusions orally or in writing, and by whom.

RwA

(Robert Armstrong)

20th February 1980

20 FEB 1980

V

PP ROME

RR CANBERRA
RR MOSCOW

GR 380

CONFIDENTIAL
FM FCO 192158Z FEBRUARY 80
TO PRIORITY ROME
TELEGRAM NUMBER 108 OF 19 FEB
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON ROUTINE THE HAGUE, OTTAWA, CANBERRA, BONN, PARIS, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO
INFO SAVING LUXEMBOURG, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, DUBLIN, UKDEL BRUSSELS

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION: MEETING OF MINISTERS, ROME 19 FEBRUARY

OLYMPIC GAMES.

SUMMARY

1. MINISTERS DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES, BUT TOOK NO DECISION EXCEPT TO REVERT TO IT AT A LATER MEETING IN THE LIGHT OF THE SITUATION AS IT MAY DEVELOP.

2. THE DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER SUGGESTED TO ME PRIVATELY THAT THE SECOND MEETING OF THE AD HOC GROUP OF SENIOR OFFICIALS BE POSTPONED UNTIL ABOUT 10 MARCH: HE WAS NOT (NOT) KEEN TO HAVE IT IN THE HAGUE.

3. THIS SUBJECT WAS DISCUSSED INTER-MITTENTLY DURING THE DAY AND OVER LUNCH. ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL TO SAY SOMETHING TO THE PRESS. ALL EXCEPT THE FRENCH WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A BRITISH TEXT ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE DECISION ON PARTICIPATION LAY WITH NATIONAL SPORTING ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL ATHLETES, REGISTERING THAT THE QUESTIONS HAD ACQUIRED POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE (NOT LEAST FOR THE SOVIET UNION), NOTING THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S RESOLUTION OF 15 FEBRUARY AND AGREEING TO WORK FOR THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE HARMONIZATION OF POSITIONS BY THE DATE WHEN INVITATIONS MUST BE FORMALLY ACCEPTED. IN INTRODUCING THIS DRAFT I HAD EXPLAINED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT FOR THE BRITISH POSITION.

4. FRANCOIS PONCET (FRANCE) COURTEOUSLY BUT FIRMLY MAINTAINED A CONTRARY POSITION THROUGHOUT THE DAY. HE ARGUED THAT IT WAS POINTLESS TO TALK OF HARMONIZING POSITIONS, BECAUSE DIFFERENT POSITIONS HAD BEEN PUBLICLY TAKEN UP. FRANCE BELIEVED THAT THE CALL TO BOYCOTT THE GAMES IN MOSCOW WAS EMOTIONAL AND WRONG. THE RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WAS ULTRA VIRES. FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE NOT OBLIGED TO TAKE ANY DECISIONS TODAY AND SHOULD NOT TRY TO DO SO, ESPECIALLY WITH THE AMERICAN ULTIMATUM ABOUT TO EXPIRE.

5. A SERIES OF COMPROMISE PROPOSALS FAILED TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. IN RESTRICTED SESSION AT THE END OF THE DAY MINISTERS AGREED ON THE FORMULA IN PARA. 1 ABOVE.

CARRINGTON

NNNN

The British Olympic Association

Sport

Patron: HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

Vice Patron: THE MARQUESS OF EXETER, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

President: LORD RUPERT NEVILL, C.V.O.

Chairman: SIR DENIS FOLLOWS, C.B.E.

Vice Chairman: C. S. PALMER, O.B.E.

Hon. Treasurer: LT-COL. J. INNES

General Secretary: R. W. PALMER
Tel: 01-408 2029

Appeals Secretary: G. H. J. NICHOLSON
Tel: 01-408 2055

1-2 JOHN PRINCE'S STREET, LONDON W1M 0DH

Cables: Bolempic, London W1

MODBA has seen

pa.

20.2.

20th February 1980

The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON
SW1

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 19th February to our Chairman, Sir Denis Follows, who is at present out of the country.

I have conveyed the contents of your letter to Sir Denis by telephone. He notes that copies have been sent to the Chairmen of Olympic sports associations and awaits their views on the matter.

Yours sincerely,

M.J. Blake

M.J. Blake
Assistant General Secretary

Sport

File

DS

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary 19 February 1980

Moscow Olympics

I enclose the text of the Prime Minister's letter to Sir Denis Follows, Chairman of the British Olympic Association, in the form in which it issued. The text will be released later this afternoon.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

George Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SB

(Text approved in draft).

(3)

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister.

You minutes that you did not want this letter released until Sir Denis had returned. But

(a) the letter is being copied to some 30 sports associations & is bound to leak;

(b) the work of encouraging athletes to make up their minds & spectators to cancel their bookings should begin at once.

Bernard Ingham is strongly of the opinion that the text should be published. If you are still concerned, I could ring Sir Denis Follows' Secretary & enquire whether she thinks Sir Denis would have any objections. Agree?

Yes

MJ

cc FCO
DOE
CO

annex att.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

19 February 1980

Dear Sir Denis,

Thank you for your letter dated 1 February 1980. I fully understand the difficulties faced by the International Olympic Committee and by the British Olympic Association in considering the suggestion that the Olympic Games should be moved from Moscow. Nevertheless, as you will have seen from my statement in the House of Commons on 14 February, the Government has decided that its advice to British athletes must be not to go to the Games in Moscow next summer.

We fully recognise the practical and constitutional difficulties involved in making changes to the present arrangements. We are deeply conscious of the disappointment which will be felt by British sportsmen and women who have been devoting themselves with heart, mind and body to preparations for the Games. Above all, we are conscious of the nobility of the Olympic ideal and the desirability of divorcing sport from politics. But the British Olympic Association, and the athletes whom you represent, must be aware that the decision to hold the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow is already being presented by the Soviet Government as "convincing proof of the general acknowledgement of the historical importance and correct foreign policy of the USSR and of the huge services of the Soviet Union to peace". This is a foretaste of the way in which the Soviet Union will exploit to its advantage every aspect of the propaganda value of the Olympic Games in Moscow, and will seek to identify attendance at the Games with support for the Soviet system.

/British Athletes

British athletes have the same rights and the same responsibilities towards freedom and its maintenance as every citizen of the United Kingdom. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on a flimsy pretext and its continued military occupation of a sovereign country violates all the principles governing relations between states and peoples. Western countries are already engaged in taking a number of far-reaching measures to bring home to the USSR their sense of outrage, and the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations have voted for a Resolution calling for the withdrawal of the invaders. Until this happens, for British athletes to take part in games in Moscow this summer would be for them to seem to condone an international crime.

We therefore ask that the British Olympic Association should accept the advice of the Government in this matter, and reflect it in your response to the invitation of the Moscow Organising Committee to take part in the Games in Moscow this summer.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Chairmen of the Governing Bodies of the sports concerned in the summer Olympics.

(sgd) M T

Sir Denis Follows, C.B.E.

1. The Chairman
Grand National Archery Society
National Agricultural Centre
Stoneleigh
Kenilworth
Warwickshire

2. The Chairman
Football Association
16 Lancaster Gate
London W2 3LW

3. The Chairman
British Amateur Athletic Board
70 Brompton Road
London SW3 1EE

4. The Chairman
British and Irish Basketball Federation
Calomax House
Lupton Avenue
Leeds LS9 7BD

5. The Chairman
British Bobsleigh Association
Montpelier Galleries
Montpelier Street
London SW7

6. The Chairman
Amateur Boxing Association
70 Brompton Road
London SW3 1HA

7. The Chairman
British Canoe Union
Flexell House
45-47 High Street
Addlestone
Surrey

8. The Chairman
British Cycling Federation
70 Brompton Road
London SW3 1EN

9. The Chairman
Amateur Fencing Association
De Beaumont Centre
83 Perham Road
West Kensington
London W14 9SP

10 The Chairman
British Amateur Gymnastics Association
95 High Street
Slough
Bucks

11. The Chairman
British Handball Association
90 Penrhyn Avenue
Fishermead
Milton Keynes
Bucks

12. The Chairman
Great Britain Hockey Board
70 Brompton Road
London SW3 1HB

13. The Chairman
British Ice Hockey Association
48 Barmouth Road
Shirley
Croydon
Surrey

14. The Chairman
British Judo Association
70 Brompton Road
London SW3 1DR

15. The Chairman
Modern Pentathlon Association of Great Britain
1a Godstone Road
Purley
Surrey CR2 2DH

16. The Chairman
British Equestrian Federation
British Equestrian Centre
Stoneleigh
Kenilworth
Warwickshire CV8 2LR

17. The Chairman
Amateur Rowing Association
6 Lower Mall
Hammersmith
London W6 9DJ

18. The Chairman
Royal Yachting Association
Victoria Way
Woking
Surrey GU21 1EQ

19. The Chairman
The Joint Shooting Committee for Great Britain
Lord Roberts House
Bisley Camp
Brookwood
Woking
Surrey GU24 OPB

20. The Chairman
National Skating Association of Great Britain
117 Charterhouse Street
Charterhouse Square
London EC1M 6AT

21. The Chairman
National Ski Federation of Great Britain
118 Eaton Square
London SW1 W9AF

22. The Chairman
Amateur Swimming Federation of Great Britain
Harold Fern House
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Loughborough
Leicestershire LE11 OAL

23. The Chairman
English Volleyball Association
128 Melton Road
West Bridgford
Nottingham NG2 6EP

24. The Chairman
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3 Iffley Turn
Oxford

25. The Chairman
British Amateur Wrestling Association
13 Tay Park Terrace
Kilmarnock
Ayrshire

26. The Chairman
British Racing Toboggan Association
Somerfield Cottage
Pitch Hill
Ewehurst
Surrey

Extract from the record of a meeting between the Prime Minister and the President of Kenya at No.10 on 18.2.80 at 1220 hrs.

Olympic Games

Turning to other matters, the Prime Minister welcomed Kenya's decision not to take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow. President Moi said that he had asked the Kenya Sports Council not to take part because the Soviet Union had created conditions which made it impossible for Kenya to participate. They had violated the principle of territorial integrity. The Government's decision, which was supported by Kenya's sportsmen, was final. It would not be changed unless the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan.

Original to C/R.

File
cc: FCO.

CF to note

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

18 February 1980

Dear Keith.

Thank you for your letter of 23 January enclosing one from your constituent, Mr. Ian C. Young, proposing a boycott of the Olympic Games following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

I was very much impressed by your constituent's letter and am most grateful for his support of what the Government is trying to do. I agree with him that our condemnation of Soviet activities must be followed by positive action. We recently announced a long list of measures to give practical expression to our disapproval.

Mr. Young will know that the Government asked the British Olympic Association to approach the International Olympic Committee to propose that the Summer Games should be moved from the Soviet Union, but that the IOC has decided that the Moscow Games should go ahead. I take the parallel Mr. Young draws with the 1936 Games, and in these circumstances the Government has decided to advise British athletes not to go to Moscow. We have great sympathy with the athletes themselves, who have trained long and hard for the Olympics, but we cannot and must not stand by and condone the aggression of which the Soviet Union is guilty.

Yours ever

Margaret

Keith Stainton, Esq., M.P.

BK

Ref. A01445

MR. ALEXANDER

Spoke

Draft letter to be sent to Sir Dennis Follows has been revised as follows. ①

Bernie Ransler.

Are you content with the text & with the procedure recommended at A & B below?

Moscow Olympics

Following the Prime Minister's announcement in the House of Commons yesterday, I attach a draft letter for her to send to Sir Dennis Follows, Chairman of the British Olympic Association. I understand that he is at present in South America and that there is unlikely to be anyone at the headquarters of the British Olympic Association who will react to the letter until his return later in the month. There is, however, an urgent task of persuasion to be done with the various constituent bodies of the British Olympic Association. I

A | therefore propose that copies of the Prime Minister's letter should be sent simultaneously to the various Chairmen of the governing bodies of the sports concerned in the summer Olympics. The letter can then be followed up by appeals at Ministerial and official level.

2. There is also a need to obtain as much publicity as possible for the advice which the Government is giving, and this needs to be done quickly particularly as potential visitors to the Olympics from this country are being required to pay the full cost of their tickets by 1st March. I therefore

B | recommend that the Prime Minister's letter should be released to the Press when it is despatched, even though Sir Dennis Follows is out of the country. Obviously these tactics are not the ideal way of influencing the Chairman of the British Olympic Association, but in fact he is not now the real target of the letter.

3. The draft deliberately says nothing about alternative sites or arrangements for a major international athletics occasion next summer. A number of proposals are under consideration but it is not yet possible to suggest anything clear cut, and to mention a range of possibilities runs a risk of inviting an argument which is irrelevant to the main point of principle.

15 FEB 1960

4. I should be grateful if you could arrange for copies of the Prime Minister's letter to Sir Dennis Follows to go to George Walden in theFCO and David Edmonds in the Department of the Environment.

RoA

(Robert Armstrong)

15th February 1980

PROPOSED DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO SIR DENIS FOLLOWS, CBE, Chairman of the British Olympic Association

Moscow Olympics

Thank you for your letter dated 1st February 1980. I fully understand the difficulties faced by the International Olympic Committee and by the British Olympic Association in considering the suggestion that the Olympic Games should be moved from Moscow. Nevertheless, as you will have seen from my statement in the House of Commons on 14th February, the Government has decided that its advice to British athletes must be not to go to the Games in Moscow next summer.

We fully recognise the practical and constitutional difficulties involved in making changes to the present arrangements. We are deeply conscious of the disappointment which will be felt by British sportsmen and women who have been devoting themselves with heart, mind and body to preparations for the Games. Above all, we are conscious of the nobility of the Olympic ideal and the desirability of divorcing sport from politics. But the British Olympic Association, and the athletes whom you represent, must be aware that the decision to hold the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow is already being presented by the Soviet Government as "convincing proof of the general acknowledgment of the historical importance and correct foreign policy of the USSR and of the huge services of the Soviet Union to peace". This is a foretaste of the way in which the Soviet Union will exploit to its advantage every aspect of the propaganda value of the Olympic Games in Moscow, and will seek to identify attendance at the Games with support for the Soviet system.

British athletes ~~are just like any other kind of citizens.~~ ~~They~~ have the same rights and the same responsibilities towards freedom and its maintenance as every citizen of the United Kingdom. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on a flimsy pretext and its continued military occupation of a sovereign country violates all the principles governing relations between states and peoples. Western countries are already engaged in taking a number of far-reaching measures to bring home to the USSR their sense of outrage, and the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations have voted for a Resolution calling for the withdrawal of the invaders. Until this happens, for British athletes to take part in games in Moscow this summer would be for them to seem to condone an international crime.

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Lord Roberts House
Bisley Camp
Brookwood
Woking
Surrey GU24 0PB

20. The Chairman
National Skating Association of Great Britain
117 Charterhouse Street
Charterhouse Square
London EC1M 6AT

21. The Chairman
National Ski Federation of Great Britain
118 Eaton Square
London SW1 W9AF

22. The Chairman
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British Amateur Wrestling Association
13 Tay Park Terrace
Kilmarnock
Ayrshire

26. The Chairman
British Racing Toboggan Association
Somerfield Cottage
Pitch Hill
Ewehurst
Surrey

Hansard Extract

The Prime Minister: My right hon. and learned Friend is making speeches on that subject because he is very good at it.

Q2 **Mr. Michael Brown** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Thursday 14 February.

The Prime Minister: I refer my hon. Friend to the reply that I have just given.

Mr. Brown: Will my right hon. Friend note that the ISTC has assets of about £11 million and yet has not paid out strike pay? Does she not think that it is now time for unions, rather than the taxpayer, to accept the responsibility for the hardship that they inflict upon their members, many of whom are on strike against their will?

The Prime Minister: I totally agree with my hon. Friend. Of course, a number of unions do pay out strike pay and are paying it out during this strike, but not the ISTC, which has large amounts of money invested. As my hon. Friend knows, we stated in our manifesto that we would deem certain amounts to be paid from union funds and to be set against supplementary benefits. I am happy to tell him that those plans are going ahead. I hope that we shall be in a position to make an announcement soon.

Mr. Alton: Will the right hon. Lady give the House her views on the possible closure of a number of small sub-post offices, bearing in mind the inconvenience which that will cause many people and the danger to many pensioners in cities, who are worried about having to collect their pensions on a fortnightly instead of a weekly basis?

The Prime Minister: Reports on this are very premature. There was a study undertaken that indicated that quite a large number of people would prefer to have their pensions paid through bank accounts. Some already do have pensions paid through bank accounts, but that has to be quarterly. If there is a possibility of giving a larger choice to people, we shall try to do so.

Mr. Whitney: Will my right hon. Friend take time today to consider the fact that Britain is represented in the International Olympic Committee by my Lords Exeter and Luke? My Lord Exeter was elected to that position by no living Englishman. The only Englishman who voted for my Lord Exeter was Lord Luke. Does my right hon. Friend agree that the International Olympic Committee has recently decided to stage in Moscow this summer a re-run of the 1936 Berlin Olympics?

Mr. Cryer: What a nasty, vicious man.

The Prime Minister: As far as the decision of the International Olympic Committee to continue to hold this year's Olympic Games in Moscow is concerned, the Government have had to decide what steps to take next. We have decided to advise British athletes not to go to the Games in Moscow.

Mr. James Hamilton: Will the Prime Minister dwell upon the picketing that is taking place within the steel industry? Will she reflect upon the reasons for the hostile picketing that is taking place? Will she ensure that the Government grasp the nettle and become actively involved in the dispute? If, as she says, the Government are deeply concerned about the economy, is it not about time that they entered into the dispute, to get the matter resolved in the interests not only of the steel workers but of the economy?

The Prime Minister: I think that I can identify two questions in that one question. As the hon. Gentleman knows, there is a right peacefully to picket. That does not seem to viewers the right that we are seeing exercised outside Hadfields at present. Those who undertake to do picketing in any other way attract great criticism on the part of the British public, who prefer to see these things better done. With regard to the steel dispute itself, I believe that the unions and management have to get together, and would prefer to get together, to sort it out themselves.

Mr. Blackburn: In view of the commendation given by the Prime Minister to the steel workers in the private sector at Sheerness, will my right hon. Friend in her busy day today convey to the chief officer of police whose force is involved at the Hadfields works in Sheffield our support and sympathy for those officers who have been seriously injured in the lawlessness that is taking place? Will she reaffirm to the country the basic and

the moral right of workers not in dispute to go to their places of employment without hindrance?

The Prime Minister : I shall be happy to convey my hon. Friend's message to the chief constable and to all the police for the excellent way in which they have carried out their difficult duties. Picketing of this kind puts a tremendous burden upon them, but they carry out their duties magnificently I am also happy to confirm that it is the right of ordinary law-abiding citizens to go about their business lawfully and to attend their places of work without hindrance. It is the right of a person, where there is not a dispute, to carry on that business, to have access to it, and to have access to it by suppliers and customers.

Mr. Spriggs : May I ask the Prime Minister whether she will make a statement on Government policy in relation to those investigators of cases where applications for social security benefits have been applied for and stopped? Is she aware that in St. Helens we have had a case of perjured evidence, and of social security officers who have been refusing to accept genuine medical certificates as sufficient evidence for the granting of benefit?

The Prime Minister : As the hon. Gentleman knows, there is a proper appeal procedure for these matters, and that must be exhausted first.

Mr. Heddle asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Thursday 14 February.

The Prime Minister : I refer my hon. Friend to the reply which I gave earlier.

Mr. Heddle : Will my right hon. Friend take time during the course of the day to pay a tribute to the shipbuilding worker so for their sense of realism in accepting the economic facts of life and accepting an 11½ per cent. pay increase in return for voluntary redundancies and reduced overtime? At the same time will she also urge trade union leaders to echo the words of the secretary of the boilermakers, Mr. John Chalmiers, when he said :

"We recognised that there was an availability of nothing. It was the old problem of jobs versus wages."

The Prime Minister : I believe that we must have heard the same broadcast in the early hours of this morning. What struck me very much was that the union member who was talking said

"there would have been no extra money unless we had earned it, so we had to set about earning it."

He followed that by saying

"If we had not, there would have been job losses."

It seems an excellent example of earnings being available and self-financing if there is increased productivity and efficiency.

Mr. Armstrong : Does the right hon. Lady agree that for any economic policy to be accepted in Britain there must be a strong element of social justice about it? Will she listen to the voices from many sections of the community who believe that her stubborn insistence on allowing the market forces free play is ruining manufacturing industry and posing a threat to our democratic way of life?

The Prime Minister : With respect, I think that that is absolute nonsense. The market consists of people being able to spend their own wages in their own way.

Mr. Kilfedder : Why are the Government attempting to penalise British athletes who have been training for years to compete with other nationals in Moscow when they can, if they deem it necessary, take political action such as withdrawing the British Ambassador? Why are the athletes being penalised?

The Prime Minister : As I think the hon. Gentleman knows, the Moscow Olympic Games, like their predecessors in 1936 in Germany, will be used substantially for propaganda purposes. We are saying that athletes are just like any other kind of citizen. They have the same rights and responsibilities towards freedom and its maintenance as every other citizen.

Q4. **Mr. Canavan** asked the Prime Minister what are her official engagements for 14 February.

The Prime Minister : I refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave earlier.

CONFIDENTIAL

Spirit

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 February 1980

Overtaken - at least in part.

R Patterson

+ fax

14/2

R M Hastie-Smith Esq
Assistant Under-Secretary of State
Ministry of Defence
Northumberland House
Northumberland Avenue
London
WC2N 5BP

Dear Hastie-Smith,

OLYMPICS

In case you did not see my report from Washington on the meeting which Norman Palmer (Department of Trade) and I attended at the State Department on 12 February, I attach a copy. I also now enclose a copy of the full record which, as you will see, contains much detailed information.

2. I understand that you are holding a meeting in the Cabinet Office at 11.00 am tomorrow and Norman Palmer - assuming that he is coming - and I will be happy to answer further questions.

3. The timetable for making progress over the olympics is becoming increasingly complicated and you may like to have the following outline:-

From today/tomorrow Norman Palmer will start to make unobtrusive soundings of the International Federations and relevant UK Sporting Bodies to explore the possibility of alternative sites for specific events in the UK in line both with the Prime Minister's earlier remarks and with our discussion in Washington.

19 February - Political Cooperation Ministerial Meeting of the Nine in Rome.
Ideally a common position on the olympics should be reached but this is, to say the least, problematical.
Further action by the UK will however depend on what is or is not decided at Rome, ie how far we shall be able to work with our partners in the Nine.
On the same date the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa meets in Lagos. This will indicate the extent to which African opinion is prepared to endorse Moscow and will be relevant to non-aligned opinion as a whole.

/21 February

14 FEB 1980

21 February

You envisage that Cabinet would need to consider the background factual paper together with a recommendation on action by the Foreign and Commonwealth and Environment Secretaries. This might take the form of a minute by Lord Carrington with suggestions for inclusion in a letter from the Prime Minister to Sir Denis Follows of the British Olympics Association giving the Government's views. Ideally that letter should issue immediately after Cabinet on the assumption that the Prime Minister would wish to disclose the Government's views in the House of Commons later that afternoon (I assume that Supplementaries on this subject are in any case likely).

As soon as possible after 19 February it will be necessary for us to indicate whether we should be prepared to act as hosts for the next meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Senior Officials planned for 27/28 February, if The Netherlands continue to show reluctance.

After 21 February if British Sporting opinion is to be influenced one important way of doing so will be for Ministers concerned (eg Mr Monro) to talk individually to representatives of the various National Sporting Federations represented on the British Olympic Committee.

27/28 February

Further meeting of Ad Hoc Working Group of Senior Officials.

Foreign Affairs Select Committee evidence on the olympics with Mr Monro's attendance.

4 March

British Olympic Association Meeting to consider the Government's recommendation.

4. I emphasise that this is a personal and hypothetical lay-out but I hope it will be helpful to you in indicating the kind of work which we are likely to need to undertake over the next few weeks.

Yours ever,
John Buchan
F.

E A J Fergusson

cc

PS/Mr Hurd
PS/Mr Blaker
Sir D Maitland
Mr Bullard
Lord N Gordon Lennox
Mr Mallaby EESD
Mr FitzHerbert ECD(E)
South Asia Department
New Department
Cultural Relations Department
No. 10
Mr N S F Palmer, DoT

GR 1250

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YOURTEL NO 309 OLYMPICS

ADVANCE COPY

1. SUMMARY

THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF SENIOR OFFICIALS MET IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON 12 FEB AND AGREED TO MEET AGAIN, IF POSSIBLE WITH WIDER MEMBERSHIP ON 27/28 FEBRUARY, PREFERABLY IN EUROPE. THERE WAS A VERY FULL DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFICULTIES AHEAD.

2. DISCUSSION

THE WORKING GROUP MET IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR THE WHOLE OF 12 FEBRUARY WITH PARTICIPATION BY AUSTRALIA, CANADA, NETHERLANDS, PHILIPINES, SAUDI ARABIA (THE LATTER TWO FROM THEIR WASHINGTON EMBASSIES), THE UNITED STATES AND OURSELVES (FERGUSSON, PALMER DOE, AND SOUTAR EMBASSY). IT HAD BEEN AGREED BEFOREHAND THAT THE CANADIANS (TAYLOR, ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY EXTERNAL AFFAIRS) SHOULD TAKE THE CHAIR. THE AMERICANS FIELDED A STRONG TEAM LED BY LLOYD CUTLER. VANCE WAS SUPPOSED TO LOOK IN BUT IN THE END COULD NOT DO SO AND WARREN CHRISTOPHER CAME FOR 20 MINUTES AND SPOKE TO THE GROUP DURING THE AFTERNOON. WE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE THROUGHOUT AND THE NEED FOR THIS WASHINGTON ACTIVITY NOT TO CUT ACROSS THE WORK BY THE NINE WAS FULLY UNDERSTOOD.

3. CHRISTOPHER SPOKE WITH GREAT EMPHASIS OF THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE US ATTACHED TO COMMON ACTION OVER THE OLYMPICS AND IN THE MARGINS OF THE MEETING BREMENT (NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL) TOLD FERGUSSON THAT HE FEARED THAT IF THE EUROPEANS WERE NOT TO FOLLOW THE US LEAD ON THIS ISSUE IT COULD HAVE A VERY SERIOUS EFFECT ON GENERAL US ATTITUDES TO COLLABORATION WITH EUROPE, AND INDEED MIGHT LEAD TO A REVIVAL OF MANSFIELDISM.

4. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE AGAINST INCREASING BUT (STILL) INCOMPLETE INFORMATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC

UNCLASSIFIED

INFORMATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE (IOC) IN LAKE PLACID AND THE GROWING INDICATIONS THAT THEY WOULD DECIDE TO CONFIRM MOSCOW AS THE SITE FOR THE OLYMPICS SUMMER GAMES. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THOSE PRESENT THAT IT WOULD BE REPUGNANT FOR WESTERN ATHLETES TO ATTEND THE GAMES IN MOSCOW AND THAT ALTERNATIVE GAMES WERE NEEDED AS COMPENSATION FOR THOSE WHO WOULD NOT OR COULD NOT GO TO MOSCOW. HOWEVER, THE DISCUSSION BROUGHT OUT CLEARLY THE VERY SERIOUS PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES FACING ANY ATTEMPT TO SET UP ALTERNATIVE GAMES AT DIFFERENT SITES. INDEED THERE IS SOME DIVISION BETWEEN THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE US NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE ON THIS SCORE. THE LATTER, RECOGNISING THE UNLIKELIHOOD OF PERSUADING INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS TO ACCEPT ALTERNATIVE INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIONS AND NOT WISHING IRREVOCABLY TO DESTROY THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, HAVE BEEN TALKING OF US NATIONAL (LAST WORD UNDERLINED) GAMES WHICH WOULD NOT FACE THE SAME DIFFICULTIES. WE STRESSED OUR VIEW THAT IF THE US NOC WERE TO GO AHEAD IN THIS WAY IT WOULD MAKE THE TASK OF DISCOURAGING OUR OWN ATHLETES FROM GOING TO MOSCOW ALL THE HARDER, AND IT WOULD OF COURSE EFFECTIVELY PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ALTERNATIVE INTERNATIONAL GAMES.

5. IT IS CLEAR THAT MUCH WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE TO FIND OUT THE FACTS RELATING TO THE DIFFERENT INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL SPORTING FEDERATIONS (BALANCE OF MEMBERSHIP, LIKELY ATTITUDES SPORTING TIMETABLES ETC) AND IT WAS AGREED THAT THOSE PRESENT WOULD SHARE THE BURDEN OF INVESTIGATING THESE PROBLEMS AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE OVER THE NEXT WEEK (THE UK WILL BE FOLLOWING UP WITH THOSE FEDERATIONS BASED IN LONDON E.G. ATHLETICS AND FIELD, AND YACHTING, AND SOME BASED ELSEWHERE E.G. ROWING AND CANOEING.) IT BECAME CLEAR THAT BECAUSE MANY OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS WILL BE HAVING THEIR MAJOR CONGRESSES DURING THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW IT WOULD BE MOST UNLIKELY FOR THEM TO AGREE TO APPROVE ALTERNATIVE GAMES TO TAKE PLACE AT THAT TIME. THEIR DECISIONS WOULD ALSO BE AFFECTED BY THE AVAILABILITY OF SITES ON WHICH FURTHER URGENT STUDY WOULD BE PUT IN HAND. WHILE LOS ANGELES MIGHT BE AVAILABLE FOR AT LEAST ATHLETIC AND SWIMMING EVENTS THE AMERICANS WERE RELUCTANT ON POLITICAL GROUNDS TO SEE IT USED. THE CANADIANS HAD MADE A CAREFUL ANALYSIS, BASED ON THEIR MONTREAL EXPERIENCE, OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN MOUNTING GAMES IN A SINGLE SITE OR MULTIPLE SITES AND HAD CONCLUDED FOR CONVINCING REASONS THAT ALTERNATIVE GAMES WERE NOT FEASIBLE AT A SINGLE SITE. HOWEVER THEY THOUGHT THAT MONTREAL (TRACK AND FIELD) AND EDMONTON (SWIMMING) MIGHT BE MADE AVAILABLE. WE MENTIONED ROWING, CANOEING AND EQUESTRAIN EVENTS AS POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR THE UK. IT WAS FELT THAT IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY DESIRABLE FOR SOME SPORTING EVENTS TO BE OFFERED TO LATIN AMERICAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN PART

WAS FELT THAT IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY DESIRABLE FOR SOME SPORTING EVENTS TO BE OFFERED TO LATIN AMERICAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN PART AS AN INDUCEMENT FOR NON-ATTENDANCE AT MOSCOW. THERE WAS A BRIEF BUT INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF A PERMANENT OLYMPIC SITE AT E.G. GREECE BUT THIS WAS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD AS BEING A MATTER FOR THE IOC AND FOR THE MUCH LONGER TERM.

6. WE DISCUSSED WAYS OF INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION IN OUR OWN AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES. WE RECOGNISED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US LEAD IN HELPING TO CREATE A BANDWAGON EFFECT AMONG ATHLETES OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. IN THIS CONNECTION THE ATTITUDE OF THE NINE WAS FELT TO BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AND SERIOUS HOPES WERE EXPRESSED ESPECIALLY BY THE US THAT THE POLITICAL COOPERATION MEETING ON 19 FEBRUARY IN ROME WOULD RESULT IN A FIRM STAND AGAINST PARTICIPATION AT MOSCOW BY THE NINE (IN FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIKELY DIFFICULTIES IN ACHIEVING THIS).

7. THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THE IDEA OF HOLDING A MEETING AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL BUT IT WAS AGREED THAT THE INFORMAL GROUP WOULD NEED TO MEET AGAINS AT AN EARLY DATE, AFTER THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS ON 18 FEBRUARY, THE POLITICAL COOPERATION MEETING ON 19 FEBRUARY AND THE US DEADLINE OF 20 FEBRUARY. THE AMERICANS OBVIOUSLY HOPE THAT THE NEXT MEETING WILL ATTRACT MUCH WIDER ATTENDANCE BOTH FROM WITHIN THE NINE AND FROM NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. THEY ARE KEEN THAT THIS FOLLOW UP MEETING SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE IN WASHINGTON. THE NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE, WHOM THEY HAD EARLIER HOPED WOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER THE HAGUE AS A SITE PROVED UNWILLING TO DO SO AND THE UK WAS THEREFORE ASKED IF THE MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE IN LONDON, WE TEMPORIZED AND IT WAS LEFT THAT BOTH NETHERLANDS AND THE UK WOULD CONSIDER URGENTLY AFTER 19 FEBRUARY WHETHER THE HAGUE OF LONDON MIGHT BE AVAILABLE FOR A MEETING TO TAKE PLACE ON 27/28 FEBRUARY. MEANWHILE THE STATE DEPARTMENT (LEDSKY) WOULD ACT AS CENTRAL COORDINATING POINT. NO PUBLICITY WAS GIVEN TO TODAY'S MEETING ALTHOUGH IT WAS AGREED, THAT IN RESPONSE TO ENQUIRIES PARTICIPANTS COULD CONFIRM THAT THE US HAD BEEN CONTINUING ITS CONSULATIONS WITH LIKE-MINDED GOVERNEMENTS.

8. COMMS PLEASE PASS ADVANCE COPY TO PS/MR MONROE AND P BUTLER, DOE.

HENDERSON

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RECORD OF A MEETING HELD AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON 12 FEBRUARY 1980

OLYMPICS

1. A list of the participants is attached at Annex A. By general agreement, Mr Cy Taylor (Canada) took the chair.

2. At the outset of the discussion, the US noted that it was likely that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) would adopt a resolution, before the end of the day, indicating that the Summer Olympic Games should go ahead in Moscow. The question before the meeting was therefore how many athletes, in those circumstances, it would be possible to attract to alternative games, particularly from Africa and Latin America, where the Soviet Union was currently engaged in a major effort to secure participation in Moscow. Canada noted that at the 1976 Games in Montreal some 6,000 athletes took part. Of these the Canadians calculated that 2,170 were from "hard core" Eastern bloc countries, 353 came from Yugoslavia and Romania, 151 from Mexico and 295 from France. In other words approximately 50% of the total number came from countries which might be expected, on present form, not to support an alternative to Moscow. In 1980, the numbers would be greater; a total of 7,000 had been mentioned.

3. The UK representative described the position taken by HMG. The United Kingdom Olympic Association had not followed the Government's line; they took the view that the Moscow Olympic Committee had done everything expected of it, and that there were consequently no grounds for moving the Games from Moscow. The British Olympic Committee would have this question on its agenda at a meeting on 4 March, but it was possible that that meeting would not arrive at a final decision. Only one International Sporting Federation (the Equestrian) had expressed a view against participation at Moscow. Mr Fergusson noted however that in some countries, public opinion had come out very clearly in favour or against participation at Moscow. In the United Kingdom, opinion was evenly balanced; a clear majority in favour of a move away from Moscow had not yet developed.

4. The Netherlands representative said that his Government had made a clear statement of its opposition to Moscow, but Dutch public opinion was divided. The National Olympic Committee (NOC) had indicated that they would heed the advice of the National Sporting Federations; the latter were in favour of going to Moscow. But at the same time the Dutch NOC had said that they would try to follow the approach of the US Olympic Committee; there was therefore something of a contradiction in their attitude.

5. The Australian representative said that his Prime Minister had stated his opposition to holding the Games in Moscow in strong terms, but the Australian NOC had merely undertaken to transmit the Australian Government's views to the IOC; unlike the US Olympic Committee they had not agreed to press for a move away from Moscow. The Canadian representative had made its opposition to Moscow clear to the Canadian NOC. The National Sporting Federations had not made any public comment, but he believed that they were

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ready to support a boycott. The Government was ahead of public opinion on the issue, but this was swinging progressively in favour of a boycott. The UK side thought the more governments which indicated support for a boycott, the greater would be the pressure on the International Sporting Federations to fall into line. The US agreed but noted that it would take time for the "bandwagon" effect to build up. A decision by the European Nine in favour of a boycott would be very helpful in this context.

6. The UK asked the US to comment on reports according to which the US NOC had said that if the IOC maintained Moscow as the site for the Olympics, the US OC would organise national alternative games in the US. The US confirmed that this was the position of the US OC; they would prefer to hold national games, as the holding of international games would be seen as in direct competition with the Olympics. However, as far as US Government were concerned, the President had made it clear that he wanted to see international games as an alternative.

7. The US (Mr Cutler) gave a brief account of the current structure of the IOC, noting in particular its oligarchic nature and the advanced age of the majority of its members. He described the failure of the then IOC to move the 1940 Winter Olympics from Germany and concluded that the IOCs record, with respect to acts of war, was not very good. Mr Cutler then described the important influence which the Olympic Games had on the finances of the IOC. Basically, the host city retained two thirds of the TV revenues generated by the Games; the remainder went to the IOC, which shared the proceeds with the International Sporting Federations (ISFs). Because of competition between the networks, NBC would be providing by far the lion's share of the TV revenues in 1980. Out of a total of $115 million, approximately $100 million would come from the US; in contrast, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) would be paying under $10 million.

8. Mr Onek noted that only two of the ISFs (boxing and yachting) had so far shown any disposition to oppose holding the Games in Moscow. He put forward the thought that it might be possible to persuade the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) to remove its "sanction" for the Moscow Olympics if a sufficient part of the best athletes indicated that they would not take part at Moscow. He said that this would not be a political decision but a "technical" decision on the grounds that the Moscow Olympics would not be a genuinely representative competition. Mr Fergusson commented that if we were to try to influence the ISFs against Moscow, it would be helpful if we could be supplied with information about the rules and the composition of the appropriate governing bodies. (The Americans subsequently circulated a list of the ISFs recognised by the IOC - Annex B.)

9. In a brief discussion of Governmental financial assistance to the NOCs, the Canadian representative said that the Canadian Government had originally agreed to provide $700,000 towards the transport and accommodation of the Canadian team, but they had subsequently made it clear that this money would not be available if the Canadian team went to Moscow. The UK representative said that the British Olympic Committee had already collected about 600,000 which would take the team to Moscow, but would leave them

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in dire straits financially in the run-up to 1984. The British Government had therefore no financial lever which could affect the 1980 Games rather a lever for the future. The Netherlands representative said that direct Governmental support only amounted to about 6,000 guilders. The greater part of the Dutch team's revenue (1 million guilders) came from lotteries held over the past 3 years; the Government had no means of cutting off this source. The US representative said that there was currently a provision of $4 million for the US Olympic team in the budget for Fiscal Year 1980, which had not yet been adopted. But the US Olympic Committee raised considerably more money privately ($40 to 50 million) through fund raising, which had however taken a severe jolt since Afghanistan and Mr Cutler thought it unlikely that they would be able to raise the necessary finance if they went against the will of public opinion, the President and Congress. In this context, he noted that both Houses of Congress had passed by overwhelming majorities resolutions in favour of a move away from Moscow. Mr Onek said that the West Berlin staging site which would be used by the US team (and possibly by the Canadians) was on a US military facility; similarly in the US itself, the services gave a considerable measure of indirect support to athletics; none of this would be available if the US team went to Moscow. The Australian representative noted that Quantas were planning to run a number of charters to Moscow, but the Government had made it clear that they would be ready to use their influence to stop this, if necessary.

10. The UK said that it was generally agreed that no Western Government would be prepared to take action over the passports of individual athletes. However the British Government were reviewing the position of Government employees (the civil service, the military and local authorities) who might want to participate at the Moscow Games. They were also looking at the question of compensation for tourists who might have made arrangements to go to Moscow. A clear view had not yet emerged; this might take another couple of weeks. In answer to a question from the UK, the US confirmed that NBC's contract with Moscow for coverage of the Games was absolutely firm; indeed the greater part of money had already been paid over. This had been a part of the contract, made necessary by the Soviet need to purchase and install the electronic equipment involved. He had not seen the insurance contract which NBC had allegedly taken out at Lloyds so he could not comment on the extent to which NBC's potential loss might be covered, but he could confirm that the IOC would keep the TV revenue money this year, no matter what happened.

11. The US referred to a report that the British Olympic Committee had said that the decision to participate at Moscow should be left to individual athletes. Mr Cutler argued strongly that the responsibility should not be left to a 16 year old swimmer or a 12 year old gymnast. The Olympic Committees should be urged to assume the responsibility.

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12. The Canadian Chairman summed up this part of the discussion by saying that it seemed generally agreed that while Western Governments had little direct control over National Olympic Committees, they did have the ability to influence the Committees, and should use this influence. The Dutch representative dissented and suggested that in certain circumstances Governments might be reluctant to use such leverage as they had. There was a danger that such action would run counter to public opinion, and Governments might be criticised if they appeared to be forcing a decision on NOCs. The US argued that there were a number of ways of presenting such action. He thought that it should be made clear to the IOC that if they took a line in opposition to governments' clear advice, it would be very difficult to provide support in future for Games sponsored by the IOC. It should be made clear to them that it would be highly unlikely that the IOC would ever again be able to stage world Olympic Games and that a decision to keep the Games in Moscow would in the longer term do more damage to the Olympics than a decision to move. The Netherlands representative reiterated that in his view government advice was one thing; it was for the NOC's and the individuals to decide whether to heed this advice. On this point the UK commented that the chances of persuading athletes to heed governments' advice would be greater if we were able to present them with viable alternatives to Moscow.

13. Mr Cutler thought that there were three broad arguments which could be used with the NOCs and individual athletes. The first was that for the Soviet Union, the holding of the Olympics in Moscow was an immensely important event. If the Games were to be held there, following Afghanistan, this would blunt the effect of all the other measures which Western Governments had taken. The holding of the Games would be portrayed by the Soviet authorities, to the world and to the Soviet population, as recognition of the Soviet Union as a worthy and admired member of the international community. Moving the Games away from Moscow could not be hidden from the Soviet people, and would be a massive blow to Soviet pride. Secondly it was clear that the Soviet Union was actively promoting the image of Moscow "capital of the 1980 Olympics". The Americans circulated copies of the Soviet produced pamphlet of this title, suggesting that its existence should be brought to the attention of a wider public, as evidence of Soviet readiness to exploit the Olympics politically. Finally, Cutler thought that more use could be made of the historical argument, set out in the book "The Olympic Games: the First 1,000 Years" that war by or against the nation hosting the Olympics was forbidden. Mr Onek thought there was a fourth argument, namely that moving the Olympics, with the cost that it would entail for the athletic community and those interested in sport, would parallel the action taken against the Soviets in other fields, many of which had harmed other US and Western constituencies.

14. In a further general discussion of public opinion, Mr Cutler noted that initially the political analysts in the newspapers had made the running over the possible relocation of the Moscow Olympics. However sports editors had soon taken up the same theme. A recent poll indicated that 70% of Americans were opposed to holding the Games in Moscow. A number of US gold medalists had also come out against it. The Canadian representative said that the Canadian

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press was not a very good guide to public opinion on this issue. Editorial comment was opposed to holding the Games in Moscow, but sports writers were much more divided. The Australian said that public opinion in Australia varied, depending on the sport concerned. He noted however that the large circulation newspapers had an important role to play and implied that his Government would try to influence the major papers in the direction of the Government line. Mr Palmer noted that in the UK the proposed hearing of the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, which would be open to the public, would provide another opportunity to ventilate views on the issue. The Dutch representative said that as far as the Netherlands was concerned, public opinion had been greatly influenced by Sakharov's exile; human rights generally were more important in terms of Dutch public opinion than military action against a far away country. Mr Brement noted that Sakharov was not content to remain silent in Gorki; it was likely that he would continue to try to make critical statements, and that the USSR might be forced to take further action against him. In answer to a question by Mr Cutler, it was generally agreed that an explicit public statement from Sakharov recording his opposition to the holding of the Games in Moscow would have an important influence on public opinion in the West.

15. In response to a question from the Canadian, Mr Cutler said that the United States would be satisfied with nothing less than a total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It was generally agreed that this was unlikely in the foreseeable future.

16. Mr Onek described US thinking on the desirability of holding alternative Games. He thought the aim should be to provide international competition for those athletes who would not or could not go to Moscow. It was not intended to be in direct competition with the Olympic Games; it would not be held at the same time as the Moscow Olympics, possibly slightly later, so that athletes could if they wished take part in both. He confirmed that the US would see no objections to Eastern bloc athletes taking part in alternative Games; Western action was not directed at Eastern European athletes, but at the choice of Moscow as a venue for the Games. Mr Onek said that the US would prefer the Games to be held at a single site; however it looked as if only Los Angeles was capable of taking on all the events of the Summer Olympics, and the US would prefer not to take on all of the Games. He thought it desirable to consider whether a site could be found in the Third World as this would stimulate their interest in the alternative Games and cause them to think more seriously about boycotting Moscow. The US thought that it might be possible to cover say 15 to 20 events on 3 to 5 sites. TV coverage would ensure revenue for the host cities and for those ISFs which agreed to take part.

17. The greatest single obstacle to alternative Games lay in the accreditation problem. As he understood it, the sanction of the appropriate ISF was required for any event involving more than four nations. Lord Killanin had said that no sanction would be given to any Games which set out to rival the Olympics. However the US argued that the alternative Games were not intended to rival the Olympics. The similarity would rest in the international nature of the Games and in the publicity which they would attract.

18. The Dutch representative said that he personally was very attracted by the notion of alternative Games, but he thought that the public presentation of the idea should stress that they were not intended to be in competition with the Olympics, but as compensation for those athletes unable or unwilling to go to Moscow. He thought that it was important not to present it as an effort to demolish the Olympic Games ideal. The UK agreed with the general approach, but suggested that more information was needed about alternative sites and on the rules of the principal ISFs. The US agreed and suggested that the IAAF was the most important; if they could be persuaded in favour of alternative Games, this would be a major break-through.

19. The Canadian representative then gave an account of the conclusions which the Canadians had drawn from their study of the possibility of hosting alternative Games in Canada, drawing on their experience at Montreal in 1976. They had identified suitable facilities in Canada for 21 of the Olympic events but there were a number of difficulties which would have to be resolved if any of the Games were to be held in Canada.

Community Support

The support of the local community in the host city or cities was vital. There would have to be a clear commitment on their part. Alternative Games might displace previously organised events. In the case of Montreal for example, holding alternative Games would mean displacing the local baseball team at the height of the season.

Planning & Organisation

This would also be difficult. Normally the IOC pulled together the events of 20 ISFs. In the case of alternative Games, some sort of umbrella organisation would be necessary.

Interest Among Own Athletes

It was also important to ascertain that there was a genuine interest for alternative Games among one's own athletes. In the Canadian case, the Associations had suggested to the Government that the National Associations would have little interest in an alternative.

Accommodation/Logistics

Accommodation would be a major problem; in addition to the 6,000 athletes who participated in Montreal in 1976, room had to be found for the 4,000 support personnel (coaches, trainers etc) who were attached to them. For track and field events alone there were almost 1,000 competitors. In 1976 the Canadian Armed Forces had deployed 15000 personnel for the duration of the Games. Of these 5,000 were engaged in logistics, stores and transport.

Broadcasting

In 1976 2,300 people had been engaged in the TV coverage of the Games. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had concluded that it would take 1½ years to set up a new operation. The power supply necessary was not available and additional equipment would have to be purchased and installed. At best the CBC thought they could provide coverage by one TV channel with one fixed presentation, leaving other countries to take a "feed" and make their own arrangements for adding commentary etc.

Security

In 1976 19 separate local jurisdictions each with its own police force, had been involved. In addition to Quebec Provincial Police and the RCMP. 5,600 military personnel had been in support. The Canadian assessment was that the security threat in the event of the holding of alternative Games would be even greater than in 1976. In 1976 all countries concerned had an interest in ensuring the successful completion of the Games, and therefore kept a lid on potential dissident trends; this would not be the case if alternative Games were to be held.

For all the above reasons the Canadian Government had concluded that it would not be possible to host a single site Games in Canada this summer.

20. In further discussion, the Canadian representative agreed that the organisational problems referred to above might be diminished if one ISF were to be responsible for mounting its own sport in one city. But if a number of Federations were to organise Games in one city, the city simply would not have the organisation or manpower tocope.

21. At this point, Mr Warren Christopher joined the meeting. He thanked the participants for coming to Washington and said that this indication of their support was greatly appreciated. He said that the US view that the Olympics should be removed from Moscow was firm, and deeply held. The US were fully aware of the difficulties which the policy implied, but they were going to stick with it. In the view of the American Government the holding of the Olympic Games in Moscow was one of the great moral choices facing the international community. They regarded it as essential to look at alternative venues. He hoped very much that the European Community would arrive at a common view. He confirmed that the US were prepared to work with their partners to organise alternative Games, although he suggested that it would be more seemly if they could take place other than in the US. It was important to allow our athletes to show their skills. Although there were obvious difficulties, he thought these could be overcome by ingenuity and hard work. He concluded by saying that over the longer term the US would want to pursue the option of finding a permanent site for the Olympics.

22. After Mr Christopher had left, the discussion of the possibility of providing alternative sites resumed. The US representative pointed out that on 19 February some 40 African NOCs would be meeting The Kenyans had told the US that a decision was likely to be taken on/where the best competition was to be found. The Kenyans therefore believed that if by 19 February it were possible to persuade the Africans that there was a high quality alternative to the Moscow Olympics, there was a good chance that they might swing round in favour of boycotting the Moscow Olympics. However the Americans appeared to believe that given the pressures on the African countries from the Soviets there was a real risk that they would take a common position in favour of Moscow.

the basis of

/23.

23. Asked to elaborate on earlier remarks, the Canadian confirmed that it would not be a major problem to host any one sport in any one centre. For instance in 1976 the track and field events had involved 1,039 people. As many as half of these were Eastern European who it could be assumed might not turn up at alternative Games; one could calculate that there might only be 500 athletes to deal with. The second largest sport, swimming, which accounted for 650 participants in 1976 also had a large proportion of East Europeans. He reiterated that if track and field and swimming say were to be put in the same city, there would be difficulties of organisation, but separate cities might not be too bad. He added that there was a genuine technical problem in water sports as a very long lead time was required to lay out the sailing course and ensure that judges were properly instructed in the lay-out. He added that in the case of Montreal, the present artificial turf would have to be removed to meet IOC standards but this would be perfectly feasible. He subsequently confirmed that the Canadian Government would be prepared to investigate the possibility of holding say the swimming events in Edmonton and the track and field events in Montreal. The Australian representative pointed out that July and August were mid-winter in the southern hemisphere but that Australia would be prepared to look at the possibility of providing facilities for yachting, shooting and hockey. The UK side said it might be possible to provide facilities for rowing, canoeing and the equestrian events in the UK. However they stressed that it was important to carry out the soundings of the cities and the ISFs involved very discreetly. This was agreed by all present, as was the Dutch suggestion that should the present meeting inspire enquiries from the public, we should take the line that the US had been continuing its consultations with a range of governments interested in the question of the Olympics.

24. The Netherlands representative asked about the timing of alternative Games, would they be consecutive or simultaneous. The US replied that timing would necessarily be governed by the need to adapt to "windows" in the existing schedules of sporting federations, the need to prepare sites, and as far as the US was concerned, by TV programme schedules. This last factor pointed to a period between 16 August and 10 September, which would avoid the national political conventions and the network's fall season.

25. Miss Ann Wexler, of the President's Domestic Staff, then gave the meeting a brief account of her recent visit to Greece in connection with the Olympic flame ceremony at Olympia. Noting that President Carter strongly supported the idea for a permanent site for the Olympics, she reported on the proposal, favoured by the Greek Prime Minister, for a permanent site, either at Olympia or in the vicinity of Athens. She noted however that although Prime Minister Karamanlis personally supported the project, the Greek Government recognised that further study was required, and that it was hoped that the IOC would undertake this. Mr Fergusson noted, on the basis of the latest reports from HM Ambassador Athens, that there were a number of environmental objections to the Olympia site and that no early decision seemed likely.

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26. In a brief discussion of a permanent site for the Winter Olympics, it was noted that both Austria and Switzerland had put forward claims. It was agreed that in any case the Winter Olympics had not in general raised the same sort of political problems posed by the Summer Olympics.

27. In discussion of further action it was agreed that the participants should urgently investigate the feasibility of offering alternative sites in their countries, and the likely attitudes of the relevant federations, in the first instance with those headquartered in their own countries. It was agreed that such information as we were able to glean on rules governing the federations, the balance of membership and existing sporting calendars should be passed to Mr Ledsky of the State Department who would act as a coordinator. It was also agreed that we would have to look at the question of financial support for alternative Games at the next meeting. Mr Cutler confirmed that the US had told the US OC that they thought Congress would be receptive to an Administration request for assistance if the Committee should have financial difficulties as a result of the boycott of Moscow. He also thought that TV revenues and privately raised money might in fact mean that the total amount of Government help required would not be very great.

28. It was agreed to hold another meeting on 27/28 February ie after the Canadian elections on 18 February, the European Political Cooperation meeting on 19 February and the US deadline of 20 February (which incidentally Mr Cutler confirmed still stood). The Netherlands representative was not receptive to an American suggestion that the next meeting be held in the Hague, on the grounds that it would be impossible to keep a further meeting secret there. Although Mr Cutler suggested that by then the need for discretion might not be so great, the Netherlands representative was unmoved and suggested that the UK might host the next meeting. It was finally agreed that the UK and the Netherlands would consider urgently after 19 February whether The Hague or London might be available for a meeting. The Americans suggested, and it was generally agreed, that the next meeting should, if at all possible, attract much wider attendance both from within the Nine and from Non-Aligned countries. Mr Ledsky told the meeting that it was clear from the reactions of those countries which had declined to attend the present meeting, that in many cases they might have attended had the meeting been held elsewhere than in the US. He asked for authority to inform other countries in advance of the meeting to be arranged on 27/28 February, probably somewhere in Europe, so that the Governments concerned could make appropriate plans. This was agreed, as was the suggestion that other participants in the meeting might share the task of inviting others. Mr Ledsky will be in touch with the Embassies of the participants in Washington to make further suggestions in this regard.

PARTICIPANTS

Australia:	Ambassador John Ryan
	Graham Dempster, Department of Home Affairs
	Robert Birch, Australian Embassy Washington
Canada:	Cy Taylor, Assistant Under Secretary, External Affairs
	Allen Darling, Privy Council Office
	Manfred von Nostitz, Counselor, Canadian Embassy Washington
Netherlands:	Gerrit van Barneveld Kooy, Ambassador at Large
	M van Erkel, Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Affairs
Philippines:	Ricardo Marasigan, Philippine Embassy Washing
Saudi Arabia:	Hassan Tallat Nazer, Saudi Embassy Washington
United Kingdom:	Ewen Fergusson, Assistant Under Secretary Foreign and Commonwealth Office
	Norman Palmer, Department of Environment
	Ian Soutar, United Kingdom Embassy Washington
United States:	Warren Christopher, Deputy Secretary of State
	Lloyd Cutler, Counsel to the President
	Joseph Onek, Deputy Counsel to the President
	Nelson Ledsky, Olympics Working Group
	Norman Anderson, Olympics Working Group
	Marshall Brement, National Security Council

THE INTERNATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS

ANNEX B.

(The following international sports federations are recognized by the International Olympic Committee and are responsible for the organization and conduct of the competitions at the Olympic Games and Olympic Winter Games. There is only one international group recognized for a sport on the Olympic Games program. Only two international groups are concerned with the organization of two sports: The International Union of Modern Pentathlon and Biathlon; and, the International Skating Union which controls both speed skating and figure skating.)

(**) Sports on the program for the Olympic Winter Games

International Amateur Athletic Federation (I.A.A.F.) (Track and Field)
Founded: 1912, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 160
162 Upper Richmond Road, Putney, London SW15 2 SL, Great Britain
President: Adrian Paulen
Sec. Gen.: John B. Holt
Telephone: 01 789 3853
Telex: 8813555 IAAFHQ
Cable: Marathon London S.W. 15
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Athletics Congress of the USA

Federation Internationale des Societes d'Aviron (F.I.S.A.) (Rowing)
Founded: 1892, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 51
Case Postale 569, 2001 Neuchatel, Switzerland
President: Thomas Keller, Talstrasse 65, 8001 Zurich, Switzerland
Telephone: 021 2 30 21
Sec. Gen.: Denis Oswald
Telephone: 021 25 72 22
Telex: 78 237 CH
U.S.A. Member National Federation: National Association of Amateur Oarsmen

Federation Internationale de Basketball Amateur (F.I.B.A.) (Basketball)
Founded: 1932, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 150
19 Rugendasstrasse, 8000 Munich 71, West Germany
President: Gonzales Puyat II, Basketball Association of the Philippines, Rizal Memorial Coliseum, P.O. Box 2272, Manila, Philippines
Telephone: 50 25 22 Cable: Basketphil
Sec. Gen.: Borislav Stankovic
Telephone: 79 60 46 Telex: 52 130 54 FIBA D
Cable: Basketball-Munchen
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Amateur Basketball Association of the U.S.A.

****Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et de Tobogganing (F.I.B.T.) (Bobsledding)**
Founded: 1923, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 23
Via Piranesi 44/b, 20137 Milan, Italy
President: Klaus Kotter, Blumenstrasse 2, P.O. Box 234, 8330, Eggenfelden, West Germany
Telephone: 8243
Sec. Gen: Ermanno Gardelia
Telephone: 719 751
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Bobsledding Division of the A.A.U.

Association Internationale de Boxe Amateur (A.I.B.A.) (Boxing)
Founded: 1946, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 126
Zhdanova Ul. 5/7, Moscow 31, U.S.S.R.
President: Col. Don F. Hull, 135 Westervelt Place, Cresskill, N.J. 07626
Telephone: 201 567 1339
Administrative Secretary: Yuri N. Markov
Telephone: 295 80 88/294 27 93 Cable: Intambox Moscow
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Boxing Division of the A.A.U.

Federation Internationale de Canoe (F.I.C.) (Canoeing)
Founded: 1924, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 36
G. Massaia 59, 1.501.34 Florence, Italy
President: Charles de Coquereaumont, 2, rue Gericault, 75016 Paris, France
Telephone: 527 83 19
Secretary-Treasurer: Sergio Orsi
Telephone: 48 50 52 Cable: Canoesport Firenze
U.S.A. Member National Federation: American Canoe Association

Federation Internationale Amateur de Cyclisme (F.I.A.C.) (Cycling)
Founded: 1900, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 119
Viale Tiziano 70, 00100 Rome, Italy
President: Adriano Rodoni
Sec. Gen.: Giuliano Pacciarelli
Telephone: 679 95 90/368 57 456 Telex: 68456 CONI FSN
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Cycling Federation

Federation Equestre International (F.E.I.) (Equestrian)
Founded: 1921, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 66
Avenue Hamoir 38, 1180 Brussels, Belgium
President: H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, Buckingham Palace, London S.W. 1, Great Britain
Sec. Gen.: Fritz Widmer, "Roerswyl," 3065 Bolligen, Switzerland
Telephone: 375 08 84
Telex: 63288 Fedeqi Cable: Fedeqi Bruxelles
U.S.A. Member National Federation: American Horse Shows Association

Federation Internationale d'Escrime (F.I.E.) (Fencing)
Founded: 1913, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 76
53, rue Vivienne, 75002 Paris, France
President: Pierre Ferri
Sec. Gen.: Edgard Mercier
Telephone: 233 13 70 Cable: Interscrime Paris
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Amateur Fencers League of America

Federation Internationale de Football Association (F.I.F.A.) (Soccer)
Founded: 1904, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 145
Case postale 136, 8030 Zurich, Switzerland
President: M. Joao Havelange
Sec. Gen.: Dr. Helmut Kaser, Hitzigweg 11, 8032 Zurich, Switzerland
Telephone: 53 87 53 Cable: Fifa-Zurich
Telex: 55 678 FIFA CH
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Soccer Federation

Federation Internationale de Gymnastique (F.I.G.) (Gymnastics)
Founded: 1881, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 76
Juraweg 12, 3250 Lyss, Switzerland
President: Yuri Titov, Skatertnyi Pereulok 4, Moscow 69, U.S.S.R.
Telephone: 290 24 71 Cable: Sportkomitet URSS - Moscou
Sec. Gen.: Max Bangerter
Telephone: 84 19 60 Cable: Fig Lyss
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Gymnastics Federation

Federation Internationale de Handball (I.H.F.) (Team Handball)
Founded: 1946, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 74
Lange Gasse 10, 4052 Bale, Switzerland
Telephone: 34 14 14 Telex: 64 150 IHF CH
Cable: Interhandball
President: Paul Hogberg, GIH Lidingovagen 1, 11433 Stockholm, Sweden
Telephone: 765 33 40
Sec. Gen.: Max Rinkenburger, Hunerbergweg 36, 785 Lorrach, West Germany
Telephone: 81 91 - 81 94 Telex: 0773 607 wufa d
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Team Handball Federation

Federation Internationale de Hockey (F.I.H.) (Field Hockey)
Founded: 1924, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 79
Avenue des Arts 1 (Box 5), 1040 Brussels, Belgium
President: Rene-G. Frank
Sec. Gen.: Etienne Glichitch
Telephone: 219.45.35 Telex: 63393 FIH
Cable: INTHOCKEY - Bruxelles
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Field Hockey Association of America

**Internati[illegible]ice Hockey Federation (I.I.H.F.) (Ice Hockey)
Founded: [illegible]8, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 31
12 Prinz Eugen Strasse, 1040 Vienna, Austria
President: Gunther Sabetzki, Herderstrasse 18, 4000 Dusseldorf, West Germany
Telephone: 66 53 53/66 00 84 Telex: 8 586 319
Sec. Gen.: Walter Wasservogel
Telephone: 65 73 47 Telex: 01-3132
Cable: Icehocint Wien
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Amateur Hockey Association of the U.S.

Federation Internationale de Judo (I.J.F.) (Judo)
Founded: 1951 Number of Affiliated National Federations: 104
President: Charles S. Palmer, 70 Brompton Road, London, SW3 1DR, Great Britain
Telephone: 352 6238/584 3276 (bureau) Telex: 917 634 agfijf g
Sec. Gen.: Heinz Kempa, Storkowerstrasse 118, Berlin 1055, German Democratic Republic
Telephone: 438 4327 (bureau); 211 3142 (prive)
Telex: 112119 dtsb dd
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Judo Division of the A.A.U.

Federation Internationale de Luge de Course (F.I.L.) (Luge)
Founded: 1957, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 25
President: Bert Isatitsch, 8786 Rottenmann 168 a, Austria
Telephone: 03614 2266 Telex: Volksbank Rottenmann 0 38 166
Sec. Gen.: Jan Steler, 14, place Felix-Baret, 13006 Marseille, France
Telephone: (91) 33 96 30
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Luge Division of the A.A.U.

Federation Internationale des Luttes Amateurs (F.I.L.A.) (Wrestling)
Founded: 1912, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 89
Avenue Ruchonnet 3, 1003 Lausanne, Switzerland
President: Milan Ercegan, Jevremova 40, 11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia
Telephone: 021 22 84 26 Cable: Interlutte
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Wrestling Division of the A.A.U.

Federation Internationale de Natation Amateur (F.I.N.A.) (Aquatics)
Founded: 1908, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 112
2000 Financial Center, 7th and Walnut Streets, Des Moines, Iowa 50309
Telephone: (515) 244 1116 Telex: (TWX) 910 520.2625 Finadms
President: Lic. Javier Ostos M., Isabel La Catolica 13, Desp. 401/2, Mexico 1, D.F. Mexique
Telex: 177 27 85 Olimpe (Mexico) Cable: FINOSTOS Mexico
Sec. Gen.: See address above
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Aquatics Division of the A.A.U.

Union Internationale de Pentathlon Moderne et Biathlon (U.I.P.M.B.) (Modern Pentathlon and Biathlon**)
Founded: 1948, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 54
Norreborg, 260 13 Sankt Ibb. Sweden
President: Gen. Sven Thofelt, Skoldvagen 32, 18261 Djursholm, Sweden
Telephone: (08) 11 52 92
Sec. Gen.: Col. Willie Grut
Telephone: (418) 72098 Telex: 72698
Cable: Uipmb ven (Sweden)
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Modern Pentathlon and Biathlon Assoc.

International Skating Union (I.S.U.) (Figure Skating, Speed Skating)
Founded: 1892, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 32
Promenade 73, 7270 Davos-Platz, Switzerland
President: Jacques Favart, 80, rue Jouffroy, 75017 Paris, France
Telephone: (pr[illegible]e) 604 07 65; (bureau) 227 47 11
Sec. Gen.: Beat Hasler, address above
Telephone: 3 75 77 Cable: ISU Davos-Platz
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Figure Skating Association and U.S. Intern[illegible]onal Skating Association

Federation Internationale de Ski (F.I.S.) (Skiing)
Founded: 1924, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 48
President: Marc Hodler, Elfenstrasse 19, P.O. Box 3000, Berne, Switzerland
Telephone: (031) 44 43 71 Telex: 33 522
Sec. Gen.: Sigge Bergman, P.O. Box 2315, 795 000 Rattvik, Sweden
Telephone: (0248) 12 098 - 12 355 Cable: Skifederation Rattvik
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Ski Association

Union Internationale de Tir (U.I.T.) (Shooting)
Founded: 1907, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 94
Webergasse 7, 6200 Wiesbaden, West Germany
President: Georges A. Vichos, 169 Aristotelous Str., Athens 813, Greece
Sec. Gen.: Ernst Zimmermann, address above
Telephone: (06121) 37 78 33
U.S.A. Member National Federation: National Rifle Association of America

Federation Internationale de Tir a l'Arc (F.I.T.A.) (Archery)
Founded: 1931, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 59
1, quai des Vernets, 1227 Acacias-Geneva, Switzerland
President: Francesco Gnecchi-Ruscone, Via G.B. Piranesi 44/B, 20137 Milan, Italy
Telephone: 70 17 07
Sec. Gen.: Bernard Boulens
Telephone: (prive) (022) 42 91 61; (bureau) (022) 27 45 40
U.S.A. Member National Federation: National Archery Association

Federation Internationale de Volley-Ball (F.I.V.B.) (Volleyball)
Founded: 1947, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 129
5, rue de Navarre, 75005 Paris, France
President: Paul Libaud
Sec. Gen.: Anguel Barzachki
Telephone: 707 57 46 Telex: 270105 F
Cable: Intervolley Paris
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Volleyball Association

International Weightlifting Federation (I.W.F.) (Weightlifting)
Founded: 1920, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 106
Dozsa Gyorgy ut. 1-3, Budapest 14, Hungary
President: Gottfried Schodl, Box 28, 1172 Vienna, Austria
Telephone: 42 69 385
Sec. Gen.: Tamas Ajan
Telephone: 130 411 Telex: 22 51 05
Cable: Weightlift Budapest
U.S.A. Member National Federation: Weightlifting Division of the A.A.U.

International Yacht Racing Union (I.Y.R.U.) (Yachting)
Founded: 1907, Number of Affiliated National Federations: 74
60, Knightsbridge, Westminster, London SW1X 7JX, Great Britain
President: Beppe Croce
Sec. Gen.: Nigel Hacking
Telephone: 235 6221/2 Telex: 915487 IYRU.G
Cable: Yachtrace London SW1
U.S.A. Member National Federation: U.S. Yacht Racing Union

Left by Lord Exeter

STATEMENT BY LORD KILLANIN, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

(Unanimously approved by the 82nd Session, meeting in Lake Placid 10/12-2-80)

The Games of the XXIInd Olympiad were awarded to the City of Moscow by the 75th Session of the International Olympic Committee, and an agreement was signed between the parties on 23rd October 1974. All preparations have been made in keeping with the terms of that agreement and consistent with the rules of the I.O.C.

The prime responsibility of the I.O.C. is to the young athletes of the world; and to ensure that the Olympic Games are held every four years in accordance with the principles, and within the rules, of the I.O.C.

The International Olympic Committee is fully aware of, and sensitive to, the world conditions which have created the most serious challenge to confront the Olympic Games.

Many governments have stated that the athletes of their countries would not be encouraged, and might even be forbidden, to take part in the Games in Moscow this year.

The United States Olympic Committee made representations to the I.O.C. at the request of the President of the United States, and these have been debated and discussed, together with all other suggestions.

All 142 recognised National Olympic Committees are bound by the Olympic Rules. They alone can accept or refuse invitations to the Olympic Games, after consultation with their members, the majority of whom must represent federations whose sport is on the Olympic Programme. It must be recalled that the technical aspects of the Olympic Games are the responsibility of the International Sports Federations, which have always supported the I.O.C.

The Executive Council of the Association of National Olympic Committees, meeting in Mexico earlier this month, unanimously recommended to the I.O.C. to retain Moscow as the site of the Games of the XXIInd Olympiad.

Many NOCs have been placed in a very difficult position in relation to their governments and public opinion. Every effort will be made through the I.O.C., its members, and the NOCs, to inform governments and public of the principles and aims of the Olympic Movement.

Time is of importance and the final acceptances or refusals of the invitations to the Games in Moscow have to be made by 24th May.

The I.O.C. recognises particularly the difficulties in which the United States Olympic Committee finds itself and encourages it to continue its efforts to make possible the participation of its athletes in the Games.

Also, the I.O.C. urges the Organising Committee in Moscow, and the National Olympic Committee of the U.S.S.R., to inform the highest authorities of their government of the circumstances which have created these difficulties for so many NOCs.

The very existence of the Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement, and the organisation of sport through the International Federations, is at stake.

All 73 members present at the 82nd Session of the International Olympic Committee are unanimous that the Games must be held in Moscow as planned.

The International Olympic Committee cannot solve the political problems of the world, but calls upon the governments of all countries, and in particular those of the major powers, to come together to resolve their differences, and I, as President of the I.O.C., and all members, will do everything in our power to assist in this so that the Games of the XXIInd Olympiad can take place in the right atmosphere.

COMIT. INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE

Lake Placid, 12th February 1980.

CONFIDENTIAL SPORT

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TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 115 OF 12 FEBRUARY 1980
AND TO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, WELLINGTON AND LUSAKA

MIPT (NOT TO ALL): AFGHANISTAN, SOVIET UNION AND THE OLYMPICS

1. DURING THE AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER'S CALL, KAUNDA SAID THAT HE WAS CONFUSED AND DISAPPOINTED OVER PRESIDENT CARTER'S APPEAL FOR A BOYCOTT OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES. HE COMPARED THE POSITION WITH THE AFRICAN BOYCOTT OF THE MONTREAL GAMES WHEN PRESIDENT FORD HAD ACCUSED AFRICAN STATES OF MIXING POLITICS AND SPORT. THE AMERICAN ACTION WAS THEREFORE HYPOCRITICAL. HE, KAUNDA, HAD OPPOSED INTERFERENCE IN ANY COUNTRY AND HAD SPOKEN OUT AGAINST THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA LONG AFTER THE REST OF THE WORLD APPEARED TO HAVE FORGOTTEN IT. NOR DID HE APPROVE OF THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES IN IRAN BUT THE WEST HAD OVER-REACTED. 50 HOSTAGES WERE AFTER ALL SMALL BEER COMPARED WITH THE THOUSANDS OF AFRICANS TREATED INHUMANELY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. KAUNDA ADDED THAT WHILE HE WAS ON FRIENDLY TERMS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, MRS THATCHER, HERR SCHMIDT AND OTHER WESTERN LEADERS HE WAS DISILLUSIONED O'ER THEIR RECENT ACTIONS. CHONA WHO WAS WITH THE PRESIDENT CRITICISED AT THIS POINT THE PRIME MINISTER FOR ''CONDONING'' THE BARBARIANS TOUR OF BRITAIN, AN ACTION WHICH CHONA DESCRIBED AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT. KAUNDA APPARENTLY CONCURRED IN THESE STRICTURES.

TEBBIT

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CONFIDENTIAL

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

SPORT

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

11 February 1980

(2)

Dear Michael

You may wish to be aware, lest there should be any Press interest, that a prison officer who is a physical education instructor at Feltham borstal has informed us that he proposes to visit Moscow from 25 February to 2 March at the invitation of the Russian Olympic Committee to train Russian medical staff who will be on duty at the Olympic Games in the use of some British therapy equipment which is to be used at the Games.

The man concerned is Principal Officer A F Myers, a gymnast and a specialist in remedial physical education, who is something of an expert in this field. Mr Myers has visited Bulgaria with the British Gymnastics Team in 1972 and Yugoslavia in 1973 for what he described as international duty with the English table tennis team at the World Championships. He has used his ordinary annual leave for these trips, and for any other similar trips he may have made to countries outside the iron curtain. Last November he went on a package tour holiday to Moscow, and this is when he says he met the Russian Olympic Committee.

We have considered with FCO, CSD and Mr Hector Monro's office whether we should seek to dissuade Mr Myers from going to Moscow. There are no reasons connected with his work at Feltham borstal why he should not be allowed to take annual leave from 25 February to 2 March, and no security grounds for forbidding him to go to Moscow; he has no access to classified information. The conclusion which we have reached is that it would be oppressive to refuse Mr Myers' application for annual leave, and that the most we could do would be to arrange for him to be interviewed by a senior officer so that the Government's policy could be put to him in an endeavour to persuade him not to go. But if he will not be persuaded, then no official obstacle should be placed in the way of his exercise of his rights as a citizen to travel abroad. I should mention that if Mr Myers was subsequently invited to the Olympic Games themselves, as he evidently hopes, he might then need special leave in order to attend the whole of the Games; and that could reasonably be refused in the light of Government policy towards the Moscow Olympics.

/The Home Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq

The Home Secretary has concluded that Mr Myers should not be prevented from going if, after the Government's policy has been explained to him, he says that he still wishes to do so.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Mr Paul Channon and Mr Hector Monro.

(J A CHILCOT)

CONFIDENTIAL

SPORT

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 February 1980

PRIME MINISTER

Sit. Rep. on Olympic discussions. FCO think IOC may confirm Moscow shortly.

MAP 11/2

Dear Michael,

Olympic Games

Thank you for your letter of 4 February with its account of the discussion between the Prime Minister and Mr Fraser on this subject over lunch on that day. I thought you might like to have an account of the subsequent follow-up action and where we now stand.

The meeting between British, Australian and American representatives (including Mr Cutler) did take place later in the afternoon at the American Embassy. The idea of sending a message to the Canadian Prime Minister asking formally about the availability of Montreal was not, however, pursued. Most of the time was spent considering the question of an early meeting of all the governments of countries advocating opposition to the 1980 Games in Moscow; and of the need to set up a small steering group to prepare for this meeting. Among others we made the point that we should try to avoid giving this initiative too strong an Anglo-Saxon flavour. French and German susceptibilities should be borne in mind. It was left that Mr Cutler would consider convening such a meeting, perhaps early next week, on his return to Washington the following day.

The Americans have now told us that they are formally issuing invitations for a meeting in Washington of the steering group on 12 and 13 February. Invitations are being addressed to governments in Bonn, Paris, Rome, The Hague, Oslo, Canberra, Ottawa, Tokyo, Jedda, Kuala Lumpur and Nairobi. We have already indicated our acceptance. Lord Carrington has however suggested to Mr Vance that there would be advantage in holding the meeting in some country other than the United States, for example in The Netherlands.

/There was

There was also some useful discussion about the Olympic Games in the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Brussels and some movement towards a common position among the governments of the Nine. This will be taken further in discussions in the Political Cooperation machinery with perhaps an agreed position being reached at the meeting on 19 February.

On our own domestic front, the Cabinet Office have agreed to take on the coordination of interdepartmental consideration of the various options open to us in the light of future developments and to produce a paper for Cabinet.

Looking further afield, the IOC will be meeting at Lake Placid in the margin of the opening of the Winter Games. It is possible that they may make some announcement, perhaps on 11 or 12 February, about the Moscow Games. This could be a firm decision to go ahead with the summer games in Moscow as planned. There may be a chance that the IOC will play for time.

Given all these developments, Lord Carrington's inclination is not to send a message to the Canadian Prime Minister at this stage. We shall press the Canadians at the meeting in Washington next week to offer Montreal if they can though it is beginning to look as if Los Angeles may be a more practical proposition.

I am sending copies of this letter to G Needham (DOE), B Norbury (MOD), J Wiggins (Treasury) and D Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London

IMF FEB 19 2000

Sport

VB

Subject filed as
Ecan Pol : Oct 79
The Brandt Commission

SE Sport. Jan 80
Olympics

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

The Prime Minister has seen your minute to me of 6 February about the establishment of an official committee to deal with the North/South dialogue. She is content with the proposal.

I have also informed the Prime Minister of your intention to set up a similar committee to deal with the problems relating to British participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

KRB

8 February 1980

2.

PRIME MINISTER

MAP 11/2.

The Central Council of Physical Recreation

70 Brompton Road London SW3 1HE Telephone 01-584 6651/2

Patron:
Her Majesty The Queen

President:
HRH The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh KG KT OM

Chairman of the Executive Committee:
Mrs Mary A Glen Haig CBE

Deputy Chairman:
N W Sarsfield MC

Honorary Treasurer:
Sir Denis Follows CBE BA

General Secretary:
Peter Lawson

Divisional Chairmen:
Games and Sports: K K Mitchell OBE
Major Spectator Sports: Sir Denis Follows CBE BA
Movement and Dance: Miss E Alexander OBE
Outdoor Pursuits: J S Edbrooke OBE
Water Recreation: D S Nations OBE
Interested Organisations: Lt-Col R G Satterthwaite OBE

7th February 1980

RG

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Prime Minister

I write to thank you for seeing a delegation from the CCPR on Monday last. We were grateful for the opportunity that the meeting with you provided for an exposition of our attitudes towards the intrusion of political considerations into the management of international sport and, of course, we took very careful note of your own attitude and views.

The CCPR are available at any time should you wish to discuss or seek our views in connection with this difficult problem.

Yours sincerely

MAP Glen Haig

MARY A GLEN HAIG
Chairman

A Company limited by guarantee: No. 474512 Registered in England

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

cc. A. Ferguard

7 February 1980

(2)

Prime Minister

At last!

Dear Michael. 7/2

Lord Carrington suggests that the Prime Minister might like to see extracts from 'The Party Activist's Booklet' published in June 1979 which give a Soviet view of the political importance of the Olympic Games. These might be quotable in a speech or a media interview. I enclose two of the more telling extracts.

I am copying this to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

7 FEB 1980

Keep for cuttings

EXTRACTS FROM A SECTION ON THE OLYMPICS IN 'A PARTY ACTIVISTS BOOKLET' PUBLISHED JUNE 1979

The decision to award the honour of holding the Olympic Games to the capital of the first socialist state in the world is convincing proof of the general acknowledgement of the historical importance and correct foreign policy of our country, of the huge services of the Soviet Union to peace, its contribution to the international Olympic movement, and the development of physical education and sport.

It is understandable that the Olympic Games, as any major social phenomenon, bears the imprint of international relations, the disposition of political and class forces in the world arena and the existence in the world of two contradictory systems . . .

RR CANBERRA

RR BONN

RR PARIS

RR ROME

RR MOSCOW

RR UKDEL NATO

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~~MR BULLARD~~
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PS No 10 Street

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FOR FERGUSSON A.U.S.S.

YOUR TEL NO 273: OLYMPICS

1. LEDSKY, THE HEAD OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S OLYMPICS TASK FORCE, HAS TOLD US THAT THE AMERICANS PROPOSE TO GO AHEAD WITH A MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE AMERICANS EXPECTED THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE MEETING IN LAKE PLACID WOULD BE AT BEST NON-COMMITTAL AND MORE LIKELY HOSTILE TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSAL FOR A RE-SITING OF THE OLYMPICS, AND THAT THERE WAS ACCORDINGLY NO POINT IN DELAYING THE MEETING.

2. THE US EMBASSY IN LONDON WILL BE APPROACHING THE OFFICE ON THE FOLLOWING LINES. THE AMERICANS PROPOSE THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS MEET ON 12 AND 13 FEBRUARY. HOWEVER THEY SUGGEST THAT WE AND THE AUSTRALIANS, WHOM THEY CONSIDER AS BEING EQUALLY INVOLVED, SHOULD MEET ON 11 FEBRUARY TO WORK OUT A POSSIBLE AGENDA FOR THE MAIN MEETING AND TO DISCUSS TACTICS. LEDSKY HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE CANADIANS TO SEE IF THEY WOULD ATTEND THIS PREPARATORY MEETING ALSO.

3. THE AMERICANS ARE INVITING TO THE MAIN MEETING KENYA, SAUDI ARABIA, MALAYSIA, JAPAN, THE NETHERLANDS AND NORWAY. IN VIEW OF THEIR LESS FORWARD POSITION THE FRG, FRANCE AND ITALY ARE NOT

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3. THE AMERICANS ARE INVITING TO THE MAIN MEETING KENYA, SAUDI ARABIA, MALAYSIA, JAPAN, THE NETHERLANDS AND NORWAY. IN VIEW OF THEIR LESS FORWARD POSITION THE FRG, FRANCE AND ITALY ARE NOT BEING INVITED, BUT US EMBASSIES THERE WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS THAT THE US WOULD WELCOME IT IF THEY COULD TAKE PART, BUT WOULD IN ANY CASE KEEP THEM INFORMED OF THE OUTCOME.

4. THE MEETINGS WOULD BE CHAIRED BY LLOYD CUTLER, BUT LEDSKY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF WE OR THE AUSTRALIANS WISHED TO CHAIR A SESSION.

5. THE AMERICANS ARE NOT PROPOSING TO VOLUNTEER DETAILS OF THE MEETING TO THE PRESS. SHOULD THERE BE A LEAK BEFORE MONDAY, THEY WOULD LIMIT THEMSELVES TO SAYING THAT THE U.S. WAS HOPING TO CONVENE A MEETING OF COUNTRIES INTERESTED IN THE OLYMPICS QUESTION, BUT WOULD REFUSE TO BE DRAWN ON PARTICIPANTS, VENUE, TIMING ETC. LEDSKY THOUGHT THAT THE PREPARATORY MEETING MIGHT USEFULLY ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE LINE TO BE TAKEN IN PUBLIC.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING NAIROBI JEDDA KUALA LUMPUR TOKYO THE HAGUE AND OSLO

HENDERSON

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Ref: A01356

cc Sport. Jan 80
Olympics (2)

Prime Minister
A similar committee is
being set up to deal with the
Olympics.
RA 7/2

MR. ALEXANDER

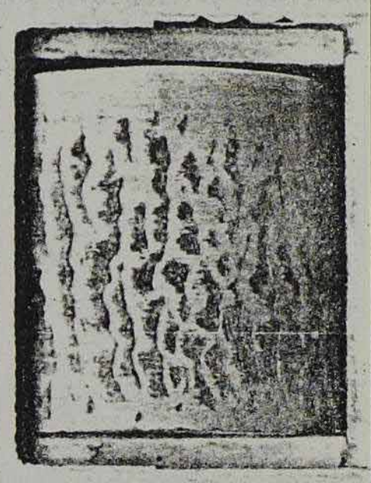
As you know, there is a good deal of current interest in the North/South Dialogue; and Whitehall is feeling the lack of some means for co-ordinating the British Government's approach to the various aspects of the matter. I therefore propose to set up an official committee for this purpose. I do not think there is any need to set up a corresponding committee of Ministers: if there is any business which requires collective Ministerial consideration, it will no doubt come to OD.

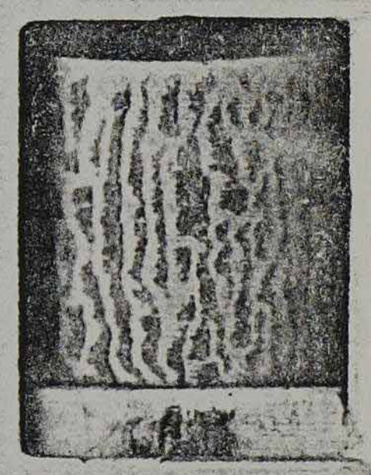
RA

(Robert Armstrong)

6th February 1980

Subject filed
as Ecn Pol: Oct 79
The Brandt Commission





CONFIDENTIAL

Original a Australia, Jan 80.
Visit by Fraser.

Spark, 1980 Olympics

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 February 1980

Dear Paul,

Visit of Mr. Fraser : Olympic Games

As you know, the Prime Minister entertained the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Fraser, to lunch today. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, ~~Sir Robert Armstrong~~, Sir Michael Palliser, Sir Frank Cooper, and Mr. Cortazzi attended the lunch on our side, Mr. MacKellar, Sir G. Yeend, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Pritchett and Mr. Fernandez on the Australian side. Much of the discussion was taken up with the Olympic Games.

The Prime Minister explained the position of the British Government about participation in the Olympic Games. She said that she fully supported President Carter in this matter. She stressed, however that she was not prepared to take Government action to force athletes to absent themselves from Moscow. Mr. Fraser said that his position was identical with the Prime Minister's. However, he was very concerned about the situation that would arise if the clearly expressed views of governments were ignored by athletes and athletic organisations. The Soviet Government would have a major propaganda opportunity if significant numbers of athletes appeared in Moscow in defiance of their governments' advice. A Soviet handbook which Mr. Fraser had seen had made very clear the manner in which the presence of athletes in Moscow would be exploited by the Soviet Government.

Against this background, Mr. Fraser argued that more planning and co-ordination was required on the part of governments. Although he agreed with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary that the situation was at present moving in favour of Western governments, it could not simply be allowed to drift. Things had to be pulled together. In particular an alternative site should be selected and announced as soon as possible. This could be done in advance of the International Olympic Committee's decision as to whether or not the venue of the Olympiad would be changed. If they decided that the venue should not be changed, the alternative site would be used for a competing sports festival which would not however be an Olympic Games.

The mere selection of an alternative site would, of course, put pressure on the IOC. It would also give a lead to athletes who were hesitating since it would guarantee them an opportunity to compete and to ensure that their training was not wasted.

/The

CONFIDENTIAL

The longer the delay before a decision was taken, the more difficult it would be to organise any alternative. A decision in May, which was what Lord Killanin now appeared to be advocating, would be far too late. There was no need, in Mr. Fraser's view, to wait until the month's notice given by President Carter had elapsed before beginning the preparations for the choice of an alternative.

The above analysis was generally accepted. There was some discussion of alternative sites. It became clear that Melbourne, where there is at present no running track, and Mexico, which was unlikely to be popular with the athletes, looked less promising than Montreal and Los Angeles. Of the latter two sites, Montreal was preferred on the grounds that it would be less confrontational if the alternative site were elsewhere than in the United States. It was noted that either Montreal or Los Angeles would offer the possibility of using ships as temporary accommodation for the athletes.

It was agreed that a meeting should take place this afternoon of British, Australian and American representatives (if possible Mr. Cutler) to carry the discussion further. The first task might be to draft a message from the Prime Minister and Mr. Fraser to the Canadian Prime Minister asking formally about the availability of Montreal (the assumption was that Mr. Clark would discuss the matter with Mr. Trudeau before replying). It was also agreed that there would be much to be said for an early meeting of representatives of all those governments that had already expressed doubts about going to Moscow. Before such a meeting, which would have to include sports administrators, assembled, an agenda would have to be prepared. This might necessitate the setting up of a steering group. Mr. Fraser said that Australia would be prepared to participate in such a group. Both the Prime Minister and Mr. Fraser recognised that if the idea of an alternative international games was to be pursued, not inconsiderable sums of money would be involved.

Two subsidiary points may be worth noting:

a. Mr. Fraser said that he favoured the establishment of a permanent site for the Olympic Games in Greece; and

b. Attention was drawn to the need for a policy to be laid down about the participation of Civil Servants and members of the Armed Forces in the Olympic Games.

I am sending copies of this letter to Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment), Brian Norbury (Ministry of Defence), John Wiggins (HM Treasury) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Michael Alexander

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

File
Sport

cc Cabinet Office

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 February 1980

Dear Geoff

As you know, Mr. Monro was present today when the Prime Minister met delegations from the Central Council for Physical Recreation and the Sports Council to discuss the Moscow Olympics.

I enclose a copy of a prepared statement which Mrs. Glen Haig read at the beginning of the meeting.

The CCPR delegation appeared to be taking verbatim shorthand notes of the meeting, and fairly detailed quotations may therefore start to appear in the media. No decisions emerged from the meeting but it did help to clarify several issues.

The Prime Minister stressed that there was no question of compulsion, but that the Government was raising a serious issue and asking the sports bodies, and the British Olympic Assocation, to consider this carefully before final decisions were taken internationally about the Moscow Olympics, and before final advice was offered by the governing bodies of British sport to the athletes who might be selected for the Olympics. She made it clear that the Government had not taken any decision about possible financial sanctions as far as sporting bodies were concerned. She emphasised that the only firm decision taken by the Government on the matter was that there was no question of using visa or passport controls as a means of stopping British athletes from going to Moscow.

The CCPR delegation stressed the limited room for manoeuvre which existed in the Olympic rules. In their view, the only viable possibility for action would lie in establishing major international fixtures in a number of sports which would offer adequate substitutes this year for those international athletes who chose not to attend the Moscow games. This, it was stressed, would be expensive, and the possibility of Government financial support would be a critical factor.

The CCPR delegation stressed the divisions among sportsmen on the issue; the dilemma for young athletes who might be left to reach a personal political decision about participation; and their reluctance to become involved in futile political gestures which could destroy Britain's influence in international sport.

/ But they

But they made it clear that they were prepared to consider carefully ways in which Britain could play a part in concerted international action, and that they respected the strength of Government feeling, even if there were some personal divisions in the CCPR delegation about how far they could meet the Government on action in relation to the Olympics.

Mr. Jeeps of the Sports Council drew attention to the Memorandum of Understanding between the UK and the USSR, drawn up in the time of the last administration. He pointed out that this had not been implemented, and could [redacted] provide a possible sanction for the UK.

The CCPR delegation pressed for the right to a further meeting with the Prime Minister, and asked the Prime Minister to attend their AGM on 25 March. The Prime Minister declined the latter (which falls on the same date as the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury) and asked the CCPR and the Sports Council to pursue these matters further with your Minister.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), and Paul Lever (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

M. A. PATTISON

Geoffrey Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

cc Manto Sports

MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE DELEGATION FROM THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF PHYSICAL RECREATION, HELD AT 10 DOWNING STREET AT 1115 HOURS ON MONDAY, 4 FEBRUARY 1980

Present:

Prime Minister

Minister of State,
Department of the Environment,
Mr. Hector Monro

Mr. Michael Alexander

Mr. Mike Pattison

Mr. Charles Anson

Mrs. Mary Glen Haig,
Chairman of the Executive
Committee of the CCPR

Mr. Norman Sarsfield,
Vice Chairman of the Executive
Committee of the CCPR

Mr. Keith Mitchell,
Executive Member of the CCPR

Mr. Peter Lawson,
General Secretary of the CCPR

Miss Jalna Wilmott,
CCPR Secretary

Mr. Emlyn Jones

Mr. Dickie Jeeps

* * * * * *

After the Prime Minister's welcoming comments, Mrs. Glen Haig read a prepared statement on behalf of the CCPR.

The Prime Minister said that she had not, of course, had an opportunity to see the statement in advance, and had no prepared reply. But she detected a fundamental contradiction in the statement which spoke of the impossibility of splitting the Games but the possibility of moving them. Mrs. Glen Haig pointed out that Rule 54 provided for postponement, not cancellation. Rule 53 allowed the Games to be spread around the country when awarded to a city in that country. The Prime Minister emphasised that it was not for her to interpret the rules. The delegation had explained that the rules were made by the International Olympic Committee. The IOC could therefore presumably change the rules. Mrs. Glen Haig stressed

/ that a decision

that a decision on venue, once taken, was final. The Prime Minister said that she, as an individual citizen, had freedom to express to her Olympic Committee her wish to avoid a repetition of the 1936 experience. Any other citizen, including athletes, had the same opportunity. Public opinion was running strongly against the Russians, and some athletes were quoted as sharing this view. It seemed that around 40 countries were seriously concerned at the prospect of the Moscow Olympics.

The Prime Minister stressed that individuals and the Government could ask the British Olympic Association to re-examine the question. A decision rested with the Association. The responsibility would be theirs. She could not compel athletes not to go to Moscow. She appreciated the tremendous efforts that had gone into preparation both for athletes and officials. The decision was not for Government, but the British Government - like other governments - had asked their national Olympic Committee to consider the position. She wished to make it absolutely clear that there was no way which she would use passport or visa control to stop athletes travelling to Moscow. This would be just the type of oppression which was characteristic of the country she hoped British athletes would choose not to travel to.

Mr. Lawson said that the collective advice of the sporting administrators was that a dispersed Games was not practical. Mr. Sarsfield said that the Prime Minister had greatly reassured the delegation over any threat that the Government would use compulsion to prevent athletes travelling to Moscow. Mr. Lawson added that many potential British Olympic sportsmen were very young. The Government was asking them to make a political decision, which created a tremendous dilemma. The Prime Minister responded that sports officials also had a responsibility to advise. This was part of the responsibilities of democracy.

Mr. Sarsfield, quoting his experience of the Olympics dating back to 1948, was convinced that there was no way which

/ the venue

the venue and arrangements for the 1980 Olympics could be changed. The issue was therefore one of advice to British athletes on participation. The Prime Minister said that if this was the case then she would have to consider, in the light of all relevant factors, what advice the Government would give. Mrs. Glen Haig referred to a referendum amongst athletes on the subject. Despite the tradition of weak response to questionnaires, she had received 94 replies within 48 hours, and these were split 47-47.

Mr. Sarsfield said that, if the Olympics could not be moved, there was an option to setting up alternative international fixtures for individual sports and that any such arrangements would have to provide for competition within the same timescale as that to which the sportsmen were already preparing. He asked whether the Government would offer financial help with the considerable expense of making such arrangements. The Prime Minister said that this idea had not yet been considered. The Government's first reaction had been to explore the possibility of a move. This was why she had drawn attention to those sports where British facilities could provide an appropriate venue. Mrs. Glen Haig said that arrangements for alternative international meetings were a possible way out of the situation. But this would almost certainly be the end of the Olympic movement. The Prime Minister did not accept that there would be full participation in the Moscow Olympics. Many of the younger athletes who were still strongly in favour of going to Moscow might be basing their views on the expectation of a full Olympics. Nor did she accept that action in respect of Moscow would signal the end of the Olympics. She asked whether there was not a clause in the Olympic rules which barred the participation of a country which was in conflict with another. Mr. Sarsfield confirmed this.

Mr. Lawson pointed to a fundamental dilemma. The rules required that national Olympic Associations must be completely free of political pressure. The Prime Minister asked when

/ defence of

defence of freedom had become a political issue. The Olympics in Moscow would be used for political purposes. Mr. Mitchell said that every country hosting the Olympics used it in effect for a political statement about its system of Government. Mrs. Glen Haig asked whether the Prime Minister considered that the political exploitation of the Games was a new development. Mr. Sarsfield said that the Sports Council were underwriting the Olympic appeal.

He asked whether the final decision of the sports bodies about the Olympics might lead to a withdrawal of this arrangement. The Prime Minister confirmed that, despite Press reports, the Government had reached no decision on any such matters. The only clear Government decision had been to exclude use of visa or passport control as a sanction. Mr. Sarsfield said that the sports bodies needed to be able to look ahead to the issues both of Government help for staging alternative international meetings, and for Government help to underwrite the Olympic appeal shortfall. Mr. Monro said that these matters had to be approached one step at a time. He asked whether the British Olympic Association had called together its constituent members in order to form a representative view for the discussions which would take place at Lake Placid. This would be a reasonable response to the Government's request. Mrs. Glen Haig recalled about 30 nations had boycotted the Montreal Games. Since then Rule 35 had been revised to state that withdrawal without liability was acceptable up to eight weeks before the Games. At present, there was a great deal of uncertainty. Even the American position had been thrown into confusion by reports that Mohammed Ali was having doubts about his own mission. The Prime Minister reiterated that matters rested with the national Olympic Committees. It was not only a question of considering Mr. Carter's approach but also of considering the arguments put to them. There were strong views from many sources, including many athletes who had competed in the 1936 Olympics. Mrs. Glen Haig asked whether the Prime Minister believed that Germany would have changed its course of action in the face of an Olympic boycott. The Prime Minister said that there were a great many uncertainties but history showed

/ that the world

that the world had appeared to condone what the Nazi regime stood for. Mrs. Glen Haig recalled that in 1936 she had fenced against Hungarians and Russians in Melbourne regardless of events in Hungary. The Prime Minister stressed that this was no parallel with the present situation of a host country guilty of aggression against an independent state. A closer parallel was when the games were removed from Tokyo after Japan invaded Manchuria in 1937. Mrs. Glen Haig's argument seemed to be that in spite of the enormity of the Russian reaction the sporting world would go on regardless.

Mr. Lawson said that he personally favoured the idea of moving the games from Moscow. There were clearly enormous practical problems. For the British sporting world to stand out against the Moscow Olympics could destroy the role and status of our sportsmen and our sports administration if this was seen as an isolated token response. He would be ready to join in a realistic effort which could be expected to have a worthwhile result. The Prime Minister emphasised that the Government, with like-minded countries, was looking at a whole range of possibilities to demonstrate revulsion at the Russian action.

Mr. Sarsfield said that when the time came for the CCPR to provide definitive advice to British athletes, the Council would like the opportunity of further consultation with the Prime Minister. Other issues might arise, such as the risk that the Soviet Union might refuse visas to enable administrators to take part in international meetings due to follow the Olympics. Mr. Jeeps drew attention to the Memorandum of Understanding between the UK and the USSR drawn up by the previous administration. This could certainly offer a sanction: it had never been implemented for sport. The Prime Minister took note of this suggestion. She asked the CCPR and the Sports Council to pursue all these matters further with Mr. Monro.

/ In concluding

In concluding, Mrs. Glen Haig told the Prime Minister that the CCPR annual general meeting would take place on 25 March and the CCPR would be delighted to provide a platform for the Prime Minister to pursue these topics. The Prime Minister thanked Mrs. Glen Haig for the offer but recalled that she had already accepted an invitation to attend the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury on that date.

MAD

4 February 1980

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF PHYSICAL RECREATION

OBSERVATIONS MADE TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER MP, BY MRS MARY GLEN HAIG, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF PHYSICAL RECREATION

Monday 4 February 1980

1) The CCPR and its members share the Government's concern over the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the implications for the future of world peace.

2) British sport wishes in no way to undermine the efforts of the Government to bring to the attention of the Soviet Union the seriousness with which their recent invasion of Afghanistan is viewed by the British people.

3) British sport, however, regrets being used as a front line weapon of response when it feels that the Government has recourse to other tougher economic and diplomatic measures to indicate to any Government its disapproval of an action or series of actions.

This regret is compounded when Government takes action on behalf of sport, for example, in concluding the Gleneagles Agreement, the UK/USSR Sports Agreement and determinining representation on the Council of Europe for sport, without any prior consultation with the organisations most affected by such decisions.

4) The facts of the present situation are:-

(a) The decision to stage the Olympic Games in Moscow is a decision of the IOC and is not the responsibility of the British Olympic Association.

(b) Any question of a change of venue of the Games is a matter for the IOC itself and it is impossible, having regard to rule 54 of the IOC Charter, even should the IOC agree to change the venue, that consideration would be given to splitting the Games and sharing the venues with various countries.

(c) The BOA, having received an invitation to attend the Olympic Games in Moscow, have until May 1980 to reply to that invitation.

(d) The BOA consists of 26 Governing Bodies of sport and any decision to accept or reject the invitation is the sole prerogative of the BOA itself.

(e) Should the BOA decide to accept the invitation to send a team to Moscow it will be up to the individual athletes and officials themselves, guided by their own consciences, to make a decision whether or not to participate.

(f) Should the Government take action strongly to recommend or indeed to enforce a boycott it would place British citizens who hold office in international sporting Federations in a very serious situation.

There are a number of British citizens who are able to exercise some influence in the development of world sport by virtue of their election to international office.

(f) The power base of British sport within the world administrative structure would be destroyed if international officials were forbidden or exhorted to boycott the international assemblies and Conferences that are timed to coincide with the Moscow Olympic Games and which are arranged by the Interantional Federations themselves.

It must be understood that a partial boycott of the Olympic Games, such as the one which affected the Montreal Olympic Games when some 30 countries withdrew their support, may not significantly diminish the importance and value of the Games in Moscow but will almost certainly place in jeopardy the whole future of the Olympic movement.

Furthermore in retaliation for any boycott of the Moscow Olympics the Soviet Union and its supporters would seriously disrupt all opportunities, be they for Olympic sports or non-Olympic sports, to engage in world and other competitions in the future.

Sport

Note
The PM would like this point at x checked before today's mtg.
J.R.

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

The Solicitor-General spoke on the telephone with the Prime Minister at 1920 hours last evening. He said that he had been the Guest of Honour at a dinner of the Amateur Swimming Association the previous evening. It was clear that the Association was totally bewildered about how they should approach the decision of whether or not to go to Moscow for the Olympics. They seemed to be hoping that the problem would "go away". He had tried to suggest to them that they should set a lead and propose that the swimming events take place in the U.K.. The Secretary of the Association, Mr. Southfield, had a better appreciation of the situation than other members; and he had in fact booked the Crystal Palace pool for a major international competition in August. He understood that Mr. Southfield would be seeing the Prime Minister along with other members of the Central Council for Physical Recreation the following day. He hoped that the Prime Minister would give Southfield some encouragement to build the Crystal Palace event up - as an alternative event to the Olympics. It was relevant that British swimmers were not particularly interested in competing against Russian swimmers: ~~that~~ their main interest was to compete against U.S. swimmers. In addition, the Association were looking for some guidance on what line they should take concerning possible return fixtures with the Russians.

X The Solicitor-General went on to say that he understood that one of the rules governing the Olympics laid down that countries which were in conflict with other countries could not take part in the Games. He wondered if this rule could be invoked in order to switch the Games from Moscow.

The Prime Minister said that she agreed that the Swimming Association should be encouraged to take a lead - rather than looking to Government. But it was also reasonable for them to expect some guidance: on the question of possible return fixtures with the Russians, she thought that all our sportsmen should avoid official events with the Russians for the time being.

J.R.

4 February 1980

Extract from the International Herald Tribune dated Friday, February 1, 1980.

Lists 23 Governments Opposed

U.S. Cites Swing Against Moscow Games

By Kenneth Reich

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 31 (LAT) — A State Department official yesterday listed 23 countries as publicly supporting the U.S. stand for moving, postponing, canceling or boycotting the Moscow Olympics, as reports from around the world indicated spreading sentiment against attending the Games in the Soviet Union.

"We believe there's a growing groundswell of support for the United States' position," said a White House aide who has been working to enlist foreign and domestic backing for President Carter's stand.

The Chinese Olympic Committee said last night that it supports postponing or moving the 1980 Olympics. Li Menghua, vice president of the Chinese committee, told a news conference that "the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has met with strong opposition in the world, and the Chinese people strongly resent this aggression," the Associated Press reported from Lake Placid, N.Y., site of the Winter Olympics.

Mr. Menghua said that by their invasion of Afghanistan, the Russians "have violated the spirit of the Olympic charter, which is peace and friendship . . . and it is inappropriate to hold the Summer Olympics in Moscow under the present circumstances."

French Back Off

In France, the head of the French Olympic Committee yesterday backed off from last week's firm stand that French athletes would go to Moscow. In Norway, the Olympic Committee voted unanimously for a boycott unless Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan. In Switzerland, Christine Stueckelberger, a gold medalist in equestrian dressage at the 1976 Montreal Games, said that she would stay away from Moscow even if the Swiss Olympic Committee decided to attend.

Despite the growing opposition, leaders of the International Olympic Committee continued to work to see that the Moscow Games occur. They expressed hope that their position would be supported at a meeting scheduled in Frankfurt tomorrow and Saturday of the heads of Olympic committees of 15 Western European countries.

IOC members around the world are generally continuing a drumfire of criticism of the boycott moves. Despite some professed optimism in the Carter administration that the IOC may yet vote to move, postpone or cancel the Games at its meeting beginning next week in Lake Placid, most neutral assessments continue to be that the IOC is unlikely to act in any firm way against the Russians.

Meanwhile, Nelson Ledsky, deputy assistant secretary of state for congressional relations and a member of the State Department's Olympics task force, listed 23 governments as backing the U.S. position: Canada, Britain, the Netherlands, Norway, Luxembourg, Pakistan, Egypt, the Sudan, Djibouti, Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Liberia, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Fiji, Papua-New Guinea, Singapore, Chile, Haiti, Morocco and Abu Dhabi.

Islamic Support

Mr. Ledsky added that there has been private support, not yet publicly announced, from more than a dozen other countries, and he noted that the just-concluded 35-nation Islamic conference in Islamabad, Pakistan, adopted a resolution urging favorable consideration of an Olympics boycott.

The State Department's calculations cover governments, not Olympic committees. In some countries, such as the Netherlands, the committees have so far defied their governments and expressed determination to attend the Moscow Games.

But developments this week indicate that the moves against Moscow are gathering strength. In Norway, the pro-boycott vote of the Olympic Committee indicated that the move against Moscow is spreading beyond governments into private Olympic circles.

In Japan, after several days of wavering by the authorities, officials were quoted yesterday as saying that the government expects to boycott the Games and has secured assurances from the Japanese Olympic Committee that it will abide by such a decision. The officials said Japanese leaders do not believe that the Games can be held under normal conditions in Moscow.

Trudeau Shifts

In Malaysia, Morocco and Chile there have been official pronouncements this week against holding the Games in the Soviet Union. In Canada, opposition leader Pierre Elliott Trudeau has shifted to conditional support for a boycott, while Prime Minister Joe Clark is strongly in favor.

Perhaps the most significant change has come in France, the country of the founder of the modern Olympics, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and one that has always been among the most influential in the world Olympic movement. Last week the French Olympic Committee decided to accept Moscow's invitation to the Summer Games.

But yesterday the committee's president, Claude Collard, let it be known that the committee was delaying notifying the Russians that France would send a team. Mr. Collard added that if French athletes decide for political reasons not to compete in Moscow, they will not be penalized by French athletic authorities.

Despite backing two weeks ago for going to the Games from the government of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, and an opinion poll at the same time showing the French public to be 72 percent in favor of attending, there have been signs lately of changing opinions.

The banishment to internal exile in the closed city of Gorki of dissident Andrei Sakharov, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, prompted French intellectuals ranging from the conservative Raymond Aron to leftist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre to come out for a boycott. Then Simone Veil, president of the European Parliament and a former French minister of health, announced her support for a boycott while on a visit to Washington.

(1) Shall [illegible] over
[illegible] of [illegible].

(2) [illegible]

-[illegible] of [illegible]-spark.

-[illegible]

(3) Decision of I.O.C.
[illegible] B.O.A.

I [illegible] to [illegible]
(Under rule 53).

May 1980.

Olympic Athlete 1/2/80

Our Ref: OL/4/5

The British Olympic Association

Patron: HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

Vice Patron: THE MARQUESS OF EXETER, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

President: LORD RUPERT NEVILL, C.V.O.

Chairman: SIR DENIS FOLLOWS, C.B.E.

Vice Chairman: C. S. PALMER, O.B.E.

Hon. Treasurer: LT-COL. J. INNES

General Secretary: R. W. PALMER
Tel: 01-408 2029

Appeals Secretary: G. H. J. NICHOLSON
Tel: 01-408 2055

1-2 JOHN PRINCE'S STREET, LONDON W1M 0DH

Cables: Bolempic, London W1

The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.
10 Downing Street
LONDON S.W.1.

1st February 1980.

Dear Prime Minister,

I have now had sufficient response to my letter to the members of the National Olympic Committee following receipt of your letter of 22nd January, to justify my informing you of their reaction.

There is little or no support for the suggestion that the Summer Games be moved from Moscow.

The members of the National Olympic Committee have been assured by the International Olympic Committee that the Moscow Olympic Committee has met all its requirements, and that, to date, the International Olympic Committee has no grounds for abrogating its agreement with the Moscow Organising Committee.

For the reasons stated in my letter of 23rd January, and in particular the attitude of the International Federations, it is not thought possible to consider the fragmentation of the Games.

As the members of the National Olympic Committee see it, unless the International Olympic Committee finds just cause to move the Games from Moscow, there is no alternative to their being held there.

The National Olympic Committee has received an invitation to participate in the Moscow Games. In view of your concern, that of the government and that of many individuals, I have arranged for the question of whether to accept the invitation or not to be placed on the Agenda of a special meeting of the National Olympic Committee convened for 4th March, by which time Officials who are attending the Winter Games in Lake Placid will have returned to this country.

cont/...

You may rest assured that your views, those of a group of Members of Parliament whom we have met, together with the many other views we have received will be considered at that meeting.

Yours sincerely.

Denis Follows.

SOLICITOR GENERAL

01-405 7641 Extn
01.242.7396

ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE

LONDON, WC2A 2LL

31 January, 1980

T.P. Lankester, Esq.,
10 Downing Street,
London, SW1.

Dear Mr. Lankester,

The Solicitor General has asked me to send you the enclosed extract from a speech he wishes to make on Saturday, 2nd February at the Annual Dinner of the Northern Counties Amateur Swimming Association in Blackpool. There will be an audience of about 300 of those actively engaged in national sport.

Would you kindly let the Solicitor General know whether anything should be added to or omitted from his speech?

Yours sincerely,

Doris Wickins.

(Miss D. Wickins)
Secretary.

31 JAN 1980

/Introductory passage then come straight to the Olympics./

I am here to enjoy with you this great event and to pay tribute to this great Association of swimmers and to your new President, my constituent, Douglas Scales.

It is not usual on such an occasion to talk about international politics but you, each one of you. know, and I know, that it would be utterly unreal of me to stand here this evening and not speak about some of the difficulties surrounding this year's Olympic Games - so I am going to do that first.

I have great sympathy with all of you in your dilemma. At one time or another I have engaged with great enthusiasm in a number of sports - never attaining the sort of standards which so many of you have achieved but nevertheless striving to do so and meanwhile enjoying immensely the sport itself and the companionship it brought.

My great love was rowing. My great ambition to row in the Boat Race. A modest ambition compared with those of some of you but it meant the world to me. Whether or not in the ordinary course of events I would ever have made it I can never know because events supervened. I mention it only so that you may know that I do have some personal experience of what the achievement of a particular sporting objective can mean.

That helps me to understand the sportsman's dilemma. The question which it leaves unanswered is that of what I can or should do to try to help resolve it.

It is a very personal dilemma which each person has to resolve and must face up to for himself. It is of course more difficult for the athletes themselves than for the rest of us. It gets even more difficult for athletes the better you are, the better your chances

/of going

of going to the Olympics, and the better your chances of winning a medal - beating the world. It is also of course more difficult for the Officials than for the rest of us. They give so much to the sports in which they participate and meetings such as this represent not only the ultimate in the organisation and running of a meeting but the experience of a lifetime as well.

What then should I say?

First let me remind you of what our Prime Minister said on Monday of this week.

"The House is already aware of the Government's concern at the prospect of the Olympic Games taking place in Moscow this summer. The Soviet Government hope, as another Government did in 1936, that the Games will give an

[illegible]

immense boost to the State's prestige internationally and to its own prestige domestically. In any circumstances the Olympics in Moscow would have been a political event, but to attend the Games now would be to give aid and encouragement to the Soviet Government in the immediate aftermath of its invasion of an independent country and its arrest and exile of one of the country's most distinguished citizens.

Of course I sympathise with the athletes who have trained so hard for so long, but surely Sebastian Coe is right to say:

"Athletes cannot have their heads in the sand. They cannot say, 'I am a runner and, while I sympathise with the people of Afghanistan, that is not my problem.'"

The solution is to move the Games to a place or places where politics do not predominate.

Mr. Heffer: Where is that on the moon?

The Prime Minister: This is a move that commands great support from many parts of the House. In response to the Government's request the chairman of the British Olympic Association has agreed to propose this to the International Olympic Committee. In the light of their decision, the Government will consider further what advice—it could only be advice—we should give.

And now let me ~~just~~ add one or two comments of my own.

I am just old enough to remember the 1936 Games in Berlin. At the moment when men like Churchill were warning us of ~~the~~ Hitler's ~~German~~ objectives thousands of people went to Berlin, saying that this would only do good, and came back saying what splendid people the Germsns really were if one did but understand them. Hitler made great political copital out of all of that.

In 1938 Hitler walked into Czechoslovakia. Millions still said "they are really very nice people - look how they welcomed the world to Berlin etc. etc. - they have now signed an agreement that they will not go any further - so it will be all right etc. ect."

Then the secret pact with Russia and in 1939 the march into Poland. Then the West woke up - but just in time.

To me the resemblance with what is happening now is uncanny.

The most obvious difference is that in this instance we have so much more material on which to judge the Russians than we had to judge Hitler's intentions in 1936.

On the one hand we know that they have subdued a large part of Europe by force for 20 years and now they have openly invaded the independent country of Afghanistan and are engaged in subduing it by force - including the use of gas warfare against people who have no defence to it.

At the same time we have in the arrest of Mr. Sakarov the most recent in a long line of acts shwoing the total contempt of Russia's leaders for any concept of human rights acceptable to us.

In those circumstances I do think that each of us whether a potential competitor, official reporter, observer or merely spectator has to ask himself two main questions.

/The first

The first must be can I really go and hobnob with and pretend to be friendly with these folk - should I not feel a sickening hypocrisy if I did - ought I to allow them to use me for their political pruposes - should I risk actually adding to the danger of world conflagration?

The second is "Should we not all be pressing now for a change of venue?" - and here I do want to suggest the answer rather more directly. Surely this must be right. I am astonished that so many people say that it cannot be done. Of course it cannot be done in the same style, but is that necessarily all bad. I think that too many people have forgotten what can be done when the will is there. Remembering what was done in the first few months after Germany invaded Poland I really am rather appalled if we have now grown so-feeble I would call it - that with all the resources of the free nations we could not organise a reasonable alternative in the time available.

I hope with all my heart that such a task is not beyond us - for heaven help us if it is - and in fact I have complete confidence that we are up to it if the will is there, so I really do hope that therein may be found a reasonable solution to the lasting credit and benefit of sport and sportsmen throughout the world.

Now ----

31 JAN 1980

cc Mr. Alexander

NOTE FOR THE FILE

List of those people from the Central Council for Physical Recreation attending meeting with the Prime Minister at 1115 on Monday 4 February:

Mrs. Mary Glenn Haig: Chairman of the Executive Committee of the CCPR and President of the Amateur Fencing Association of Great Britain.

Mr. Norman Sarsfield: Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the CCPR and Secretary of the Amateur Swimming Association.

Mr. Keith Mitchell: Executive Member of the CCPR, Chairman of Games and Sports Division of the CCPR and Secretary of the British Basketball Association.

Mr. Peter Lawson: General Secretary of the CCPR.

Miss Jalna Wilmott: CCPR Secretary.

Mr Emlyn Jones

Mr Dickie Jeeps: Sports Council

31 January 1980

FILE Sport VLS

cc FCO

31 January 1980

Further to my letter to you of yesterday's date about the meeting between the Prime Minister and a delegation from the Central Council of Physical Recreation on Monday, 4 February, I enclose a letter received this morning from the General Secretary of the C.C.P.R. together with its enclosure.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Paul Lever (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

SP

Geoff Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

File

BK

31 January 1980

Thank you for your letter of 31 January about the meeting with the CCPR on Monday, 4 February. The Prime Minister has agreed that two members of the Sports Council should be added to the list of those attending. It may not be easy to arrange for Mr. Monro to have a preliminary discussion with the Prime Minister but it would be helpful if he could arrive a few minutes early.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Paul Lever (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Geoffrey Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment

TCK

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB
01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

M O'D B Alexander Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

31 January 1980

Dear Michael

Thank you for your letter of 30 January about the Prime Minister's meeting with a delegation from the CCPR on Monday, 4 February. A brief is attached. I can confirm that Mr Monro will attend - perhaps it would be helpful if he had a brief discussion with the Prime Minister beforehand.

The CCPR delegation will comprise Mrs Mary Glen Haig, Chairman, (former Olympic Fencer); Mr Norman Sarsfield, Deputy Chairman; Mr Peter Lawson, General Secretary and Mr Keith Mitchell, Chairman, Games and Sports Division. Mrs Glen Haig will also speak on behalf of the British Olympic Association in the absence abroad of Sir Denis Follows.

I understand that the Director of the Sports Council has today been in touch with the Department to express his concern that the Sports Council have not been invited to the meeting. It was explained that the CCPR had written direct to the Prime Minister who had agreed to meet a small delegation. Nevertheless by its Royal Charter, the Sports Council is the Government's adviser on all sporting matters and should perhaps be invited. They had been persuaded by our officials to adopt a low profile but now feel that they have been upstaged to a certain extent by the CCPR. I would be grateful for your urgent views on this.

Mr Monro met the Director of the Sports Council earlier this week for an informal discussion and also met the General Secretary of the CCPR this morning.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Paul Lever (FCO).

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

31 JAN 1980

BRIEF

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE CCPR: MONDAY, 4 FEBRUARY 1980

MOSCOW OLYMPICS

The CCPR is the forum for governing bodies of sport. It is Mr Monro's impression that the attitude of most, but not all, governing bodies is that their competitors and officials should go to Moscow - but adopt a low key approach on such peripherals as ceremonies, receptions etc. The CCPR delegation is likely to express deep concern about the future of the Olympic movement if the Government presses for a boycott should relocation attempts fail.

The IOC meets in Lake Placid before the Winter Games begin on 12 February and is then expected to decide whether or not the Summer Games remain with Moscow.

SUGGESTED LINE

Emphasise that the Government has made no decision on what its next step would be should the IOC decide to keep the Games in Moscow. But clearly the possibility of a boycott would be one of the options to be discussed. At present the Government is taking one step at a time. They wish the Games to take place - but not in Moscow. They are aware of all the difficulties connected with a possible relocation, but feel that if sufficient nations are involved, and have the determination, relocation could work. Talk of a boycott is therefore premature.

PROBLEMS FOR BRITISH SPORTS OFFICIALS IF GOVERNMENT PRESS FOR A BOYCOTT

All world federations of sport (world governing bodies) traditionally hold their Congresses during and at the Olympic Games. British officials are members of most of these Federations. Should they stay away from these Congresses, many may feel compelled to resign; such a move would be very detrimental to the best interests of British Sport. This is of great concern to the CCPR.

The Prime Minister will wish to recognise this as one of the difficulties which will need to be taken into account in considering a boycott, should this issue arise.

FINANCE

The cost of sending a British team and officials to the Olympic Games is met from the BOA Olympic Appeal Fund. No public funds are directly used to cover these costs; but in the event of a short-fall it is traditionally expected that any deficiency would be met from public funds eg the Sports Council gave the BOA £15,000 grant after the Montreal Olympics to help pay the transport costs of the British team. The BOA Appeal Fund is for £1m for the Winter and Summer Games. It has received some £600,000 so far. This is sufficient to send teams to the Games, but nothing would be left to cover the BOA's future administrative expenses. In this situation the BOA would clearly seek grants from the Sports Council next year.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

The National Olympic Committees of the EEC plus those from other European countries meet in Frankfurt tomorrow, 1 February, to try to agree a common line about the Summer Games. (It is hoped to have the results of that meeting before next Monday.)

Mr Lloyd Cutler, President Carter's special adviser on the Moscow Olympics, arrives in Britain on Sunday. He will be canvassing for support of his President's policy. He is meeting Mr Hurd of the FCO and Mr Monro an hour before the Prime Minister meets the CCPR. The CCPR are putting Mr Cutler in touch with those International Federations of Sport based in London.

The Central Council of Physical Recreation

70 Brompton Road London SW3 1HE Telephone 01-584 6651/2

Patron:
Her Majesty The Queen

President:
HRH The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh KG KT OM

Chairman of the Executive Committee:
Mrs Mary A Glen Haig CBE

Deputy Chairman:
N W Sarsfield MC

Honorary Treasurer:
Sir Denis Follows CBE BA

General Secretary:
Peter Lawson

Divisional Chairmen:
Games and Sports: K K Mitchell OBE
Major Spectator Sports: Sir Denis Follows CBE BA
Movement and Dance: Miss E Alexander OBE
Outdoor Pursuits: J S Edbrooke OBE
Water Recreation: D S Nations OBE
Interested Organisations: Lt-Col R G Satterthwaite OBE

PL/JJW/9197

30th January 1980

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Prime Minister

The CCPR is very grateful indeed to you for agreeing to receive a small delegation of our senior officials to discuss matters relating to international sport.

I thought it might be helpful for you to have in advance of the meeting a copy of the statement that was agreed by 54 governing bodies of sport at a special meeting that was held a week ago, to discuss this particular issue.

Yours sincerely

Peter Lawson

PETER LAWSON
General Secretary

Enc

A Company limited by guarantee: No. 474512 Registered in England

The Central Council of Physical Recreation

70 Brompton Road London SW3 1HE Telephone 01-584 6651/2

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Movement and Dance: Miss E Alexander OBE
Outdoor Pursuits: J S Edbrooke OBE
Water Recreation: D S Nations OBE
Interested Organisations: Lt-Col R G Satterthwaite OBE

Enclosed is a statement agreed by the meeting of the Games and Sports Division of the CCPR held on Thursday 24th January 1980.

Peter Lawson
GENERAL SECRETARY

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THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF PHYSICAL RECREATION

This meeting representative of 54 Governing Bodies of Sport regrets the current dramatic intrusion of political considerations into the management of International Sport, the long term effect of which can only prove detrimental to British Sportsmen and women.

The meeting recognises that Governments have a right and a duty to employ legitimate sanctions against such other Governments as contravene internationally accepted standards of behaviour but it feels that the use of sport as a first-line weapon of sanction as opposed to tougher economic or diplomatic measures not only destroys one of the traditional roles of sport, viz to unite nations through friendly competition rather than to divide them, but also has yet to be proved as a truly effective weapon, in the long term, in changing the <u>foreign and external</u> policies of Governments.

AFGHANISTAN

This meeting is concerned that as a result of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan the British Government may be contemplating a recommendation to boycott the forthcoming Olympic Games. The CCPR is urged to arrange an immediate meeting with Mrs Thatcher and her advisers, at which the enormous difficulties of reaching international agreement to stage some of the events in the UK, due to the mechanics and machinery of international sport, may be explained in some detail, and to draw her attention to the overall ineffectiveness of sporting boycotts in the past upon <u>foreign policy</u> of Governments.

Furthermore, it is essential that the Government understand that the decision to stage the Olympic Games in Moscow is the responsibility of the International Olympic Committee and not of the British Olympic Association. Any eleventh hour exhortation to change the venue for the 1980 Games should be addressed to the IOC.

The meeting warns that should the Government recommend a boycott of the Games and take legislative action to achieve a boycott, the position of those UK citizens who hold elective office in International Federations of Sport would be an extremely serious one, as by virtue of their office they are international officials and are bound to have regard to the international obligations that are imposed upon them by virtue of participation in the Olympic Games.

The meeting stresses that in the final analysis in a truly democratic society, as opposed to a totalitarian one, it must be the responsibility of the individuals concerned and the British Olympic Association to determine whether to participate in the Moscow Olympics.

vb

Spark

B/F 1.2.80.

30 January 1980

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 20 January about Mr. Monro's meeting with Sir Denis Follows. She has made no comment.

You will wish to be aware that the Prime Minister has agreed to meet a delegation from the Central Council of Physical Recreation at 1115 on Monday 4 February. I enclose a copy of the letter from the Chairman of the CCPR requesting the meeting. It would be helpful if Mr. Monro could attend.

You will wish to consider whether any briefing is required for the meeting. If you intend to provide some, it should reach us by close of play on Friday 1 February.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Paul Lever (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

(SGD) MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Geoffrey Needham Esq
Department of the Environment

Ref: A01275

PRIME MINISTER

Olympics

During the Foreign Affairs item at the Cabinet tomorrow, Lord Carrington may suggest that the Cabinet Office should lead an official group to formulate advice to Ministers on the problem of the Olympics. His reasons, which will not be mentioned, are that a lead is needed; that the Department of the Environment seem reluctant to give it; and that for the Foreign Office to fill the gap would be back-seat-driving.

2. I recommend that you agree.

RGA

Robert Armstrong

30th January 1980

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB
01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

28 January 1980

M O'D B Alexander Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

(2)

Prime Minister

28/1

Dear Michael

As you know, Mr Monro met Sir Denis Follows, Chairman of the British Olympic Association, and the British Olympic Association General Secretary, Dick Palmer, last Thursday to discuss their reaction to the Prime Minister's letter of 22 January.

The British Olympic Association explained that the International Olympic Committee could only move the Games from Moscow if a state of war existed or if there had been a breach of the contract between the IOC and the Moscow Organising Committee. So far none of the 26 International Federations governing the Games had raised the question of a change of venue. There could be no question of fragmentation.

The IOC would be meeting in Lake Placid before the Winter Olympics and the BOA would raise with them the suggestion that the Summer Olympics be moved. In the meantime, members of the National Olympic Committee would be asked for their observations.

Two things troubling the BOA at the present time were the fact that because of recent developments and future uncertainties the Olympic Appeal had taken a severe knock and a letter delivered recently to Sir Denis from the British Olympic Travel Committee expressed concern for 5,000 members of the public who had booked to see the Games in Moscow and stood to lose substantial deposits. The BOA asked that this letter be brought to the Prime Minister's attention.

Mr Monro was informed that the United States Olympic Committee were to appear before the IOC in Lake Placid to explain what pressures, if any, had been put on them by the United States Government to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

Mr Monro welcomed the action taken by the BOA to consult members of the Committee and its intention to approach the IOC. He regretted that the Association had been placed in such an unenviable position but stressed the seriousness of the situation and the threat to world peace resulting from Russia's invasion of Afghanistan.

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

Douglas Goldberg & Co

Solicitors
Commissioners for Oaths

M.D. Goldberg, M.A.(Cantab) A.D. Harkavy, M.A.(Cantab)
F.B. Phillips, B.Sc. Econ (Lond) P.O. Brown, M.A.(Cantab)
H.A. Pinkerfield.

Goldsmiths' House,
137-141, Regent Street,
London, W1R 7LD.

Telephone: 01-437 8495-8
Telex: 28381 Duglaw

Your Ref:

Our Ref: MDG/JW

BY HAND
23rd January 1980

Dear Sir Denis,

re: Olympic Games in Moscow 1980

You may recall that I am the Solicitor for David Dryer (Sports Travel) Limited, the General Agents in the U.K. for selling tours and tickets for Games of the 22nd Olympiad in Moscow 1980. I am also a Director of that Company and Vice President of the British Olympic Travel Committee.

At the time of writing David Dryer is currently in Moscow where he is doing his best to smooth out the difficulties which seem to crop up on a daily basis as a result of general political pressure on a world wide basis. I shall not bore you with my own views on the subject.

However I do feel that there is a very important aspect which people in the limelight have overlooked. I am of course referring to members of the public who have booked to see the Olympic Games in Moscow. Some of these people have been saving for some four years to see the Games and something in the region of 5,000 members of the public in the U.K. have booked to go. Most of these people have in fact made stage payments and many of them have paid for the trip in toto.

In accordance with arrangements made with the Soviet authorities David Dryer (Sports Travel) Ltd. has deposited funds in advance in Moscow in accordance with his contractual obligations. These deposits cover hotel bookings, Olympic Games tickets and

general travel arrangements. As you are probably aware the average cost of each tour is something in the region of £500 per head.

If political pressure is so intense as to either (a) persuade the U.K. not to participate in the Games or
(b) to persuade the venue of the Games to be changed then there will be scant hope of ever recovering the sums deposited with the Russian authorities. They will no doubt argue that only the IOC can cancel the Games and my own feeling is that the Games will take place in Moscow even if the Russians are the only ones who attend! Accordingly if the British are persuaded not to go, financially that would be their own problem.

I understand that the Prime Minister has written to you with certain suggestions following the recent discussions in the House of Commons. I doubt very much whether any serious consideration has been given to the general members of the public who stand to lose substantial deposits. Will the Government compensate those parties and if so to what extent?

David Dryer is returning to the Country at the end of this week and I would be happy to attend a meeting with him and your goodself at your offices if required to discuss the above problems. However in view of the Prime Minister's recent letter to you I thought it only right and proper to bring the above facts to your immediate attention.

I look forward to the favour of an early reply.

Yours sincerely,

Sir Dennis Follows,
The British Olympic Association,
1-2 John Prince's Street,
London W1M ODH.

28 JAN 1982

The Central Council of Physical Recreation

70 Brompton Road London SW3 1HE Telephone 01-584 6651/2

Patron:
Her Majesty The Queen

President:
HRH The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh KG KT OM

Chairman of the Executive Committee:
Mrs Mary A Glen Haig CBE

Deputy Chairman:
N W Sarsfield MC

Honorary Treasurer:
Sir Denis Follows CBE BA

General Secretary:
Peter Lawson

Divisional Chairmen:
Games and Sports: K K Mitchell OBE
Major Spectator Sports: Sir Denis Follows CBE BA
Movement and Dance: Miss E Alexander OBE
Outdoor Pursuits: J S Edbrooke OBE
Water Recreation: D S Nations OBE
Interested Organisations: Lt-Col R G Satterthwaite OBE

25 January 1980

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Prime Minister,

As you will know there is considerable concern among Governing Bodies of sport at the effect of a boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games.

We feel that before the Government takes further action in this direction to express their disapproval of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan it is essential that the mechanics and machinery of international sport should be fully understood in order that the least possible harm can be done in the long term to British sport as a whole.

I am writing therefore to ask if you would be kind enough to receive a small delegation of senior sports officials in order that we can explain our point of view and hopefully formulate a line of action which will be in tune with Government policy.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Glen Haig

MARY A GLEN HAIG
Chairman

A Company limited by guarantee: No. 474512 Registered in England

10 DOWNING STREET

Mr Alexander.

Confirmed for
Monday 4 February
11.15 am — No.10.
Mrs Hogg + 4 —
Names of others
coming tomorrow.

CP.

29/1.

Sport

Conservative Central Office

NEWS SERVICE

Release time: 12.00 hours/THURSDAY, 24th January 1980 32/80

Statement by the Rt Hon Angus Maude TD MP (Stratford-on-Avon), Paymaster General, on Thursday, 24th January 1980

Being laid up with a leg in plaster, I have had leisure to hear and read all the reactions of the Olympics estalishment to suggestions that the Games should be boycotted or moved from Moscow. I find them extremely alarming.

The theme song is the cry that "sport has no concern with politics". True or not, this has nothing what ever to do with the present case.

Trying to prevent a nuclear Third World War is <u>not</u> "politics" in the conventional sense of the word, and it is childish and perverse to pretend that it is.

Those who seek to deny the Russians a propaganda "spectacular" which they could present as world approval of an unprovoked invasion, are not just "playing politics". They are trying to deter the Soviet Union from doing it again - perhaps in an area which would provoke a World War. It is human lives which are at stake.

Disrupting the Russian propaganda plans for the Olympics is the one and only major way of jolting the Russians into a realisation of world disapproval - because it is the one thing that could not be concealed from their people.

I understand very well the feelings of young athletes trained for their once-only chance to show that they are the best in the world - and in some cases to lay the foundations of a lucrative professional career. The disappointment would be agonising. But the survival of freedom - and even of human life - affects us all.

No doubt 35 years of peace, secured by nuclear deterrence have convinced many young people that "it can't happen anyway". I don't think that as a young man, I <u>really</u> believed in the middle 1930s that the Second World War would actually happen. Perhaps

/...

if more of us had believed it in 1936, it wouldn't have happened.

However that may be, let us hear no more of this nonsense about sport and "politics". Let those who wish to find excuses for encouraging (however indirectly) the Russians to conquer more countries and arrest more Sakharovs, do so. But let them be quite clear what they are doing and not seek to dismiss those who think they are wrong as being concerned merely with "politics".

END

File Top

Sport

24 January 1980

OLYMPICS

I enclose a copy of the reply received here today from Sir Denis Fellows to the Prime Minister's letter to him of 22 January. Sir Denis Follows' letter was discussed briefly in Cabinet this morning.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to David Edmonds and Geoffrey Needham (Department of Environment) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

G.G.H. Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GB

Our Ref: OL/4/5

The British Olympic Association

Patron: HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

Vice Patron: THE MARQUESS OF EXETER, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

President: LORD RUPERT NEVILL, C.V.O.

Chairman: SIR DENIS FOLLOWS, C.B.E.

Vice Chairman: C. S. PALMER, O.B.E.

Hon. Treasurer: LT-COL. J. INNES

General Secretary: R. W. PALMER
Tel: 01-408 2029

Appeals Secretary: G. H. J. NICHOLSON
Tel: 01-408 2055

1-2 JOHN PRINCE'S STREET, LONDON W1M 0DH

Cables: Bolempic, London W1

PM has seen.

23rd January 1980.

The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.
10 Downing Street
LONDON S.W.1.

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

MOSCOW OLYMPICS

I have your letter of 22nd January 1980 concerning the above.

I will, as you request, approach the International Olympic Committee with your suggestion that the Olympic Games be moved from Moscow.

Without the approval of the members of my National Olympic Committee, I am in no position to support your suggestion. I am, however, sending a copy of your letter to members of that Committee with a request for their observations.

You should know that your further suggestion that various sports associated with the Olympic programme be held in this country is beset with constitutional and practical difficulties.

In the first place, the International Federation of the sport concerned would have to approve the holding of a tournament of an International nature.

So far as I am aware none of the twenty six International Federations governing the Games, comprising the Olympic programme, has made any move to change the venue of the Games in Moscow.

Their response to a request to authorise staging of alternative Games is not difficult to imagine.

cont/...

The practical difficulties of organising alternative tournaments, assuming permission were obtained so to do, would be immense. Speaking for the sport about which I know most, namely Association Football, I must say it took four years for the Football Association to organise the World Cup held in England in 1966.

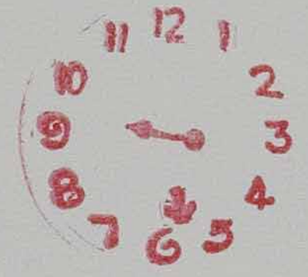
The Olympic Tournament is the World Cup in miniature. I cannot see its being organised in less than six months!

Yours sincerely,

Denis Follows

SIR DENIS FOLLOWS
Chairman

24 JAN 1980



Sport 2

PRIME MINISTER

c. Mr. Ingham
Mr. Alexander

The Marquis of Exeter telephoned to complain that you were being incompetently advised over the Olympics. He stressed at some length the values of the camaraderie, etc. generated by the Olympic Games. He was adamant that it was quite impossible to organise the Olympics with events scattered around the world as implied in your comments yesterday. He added that, even were it physically possible to re-organise it on this basis, the IOC and the International Governing Bodies for each sport would all have to agree, and that it would clearly be impossible to achieve this.

After getting matters off his chest, the Marquis said that his call was purely private, he would not be making it known that it had passed this message to No. 10, and he would be delighted to provide you with any better-informed advice on the matter which you might require in the future. He was clearly unbowed by his encounter with the Conservative Sports and Recreation Committee.

MAD !

23 January 1980

Sport

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 January 1980

Olympic Games

I enclose a letter from the Prime Minister to President Carter replying to the President's letter of 20 January about the Olympic Games. I should be grateful if you could arrange for the text of the letter, and its enclosure, to be communicated to the White House today through our Embassy in Washington.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to David Edmonds and Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

G.G.H. Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

SUBJECT

c. SOE
CO.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 January 1980

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T16/80

Dear Mr President.

Thank you for your letter of 20 January about the participation of the United States in the Olympic Games.

As you will know from the discussions which have taken place between Cy Vance and Nicko Henderson, I had been thinking very much along the same lines as yourself. I now enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to the Chairman of our National Olympic Association.

A preliminary survey by my officials suggests that we have suitable facilities in this country for a number of the 21 sports in the Summer Games. We would not however be able to accommodate the major events, in particular athletics.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Thatcher

The President of the United States of America.

cc HO DOE
LCO CO
HMT
MOD
LPO
LPS
DOT

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

22 January 1980

Dear George,

Olympics

You sent me a copy of your letter of today's date to David Edmonds enclosing a draft for the Prime Minister to use in writing to Sir Denis Follows. I enclose herewith a copy of the Prime Minister's letter in the form in which it has issued. As I have already told Paul Lever on the telephone, it seems unlikely that we shall be able to deliver the letter until tomorrow morning. We shall not release the text of the letter until we know that Sir Denis has had it.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to the Private Secretaries to the members of OD, David Edmonds (Department of the Environment) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Richard Alexander

George Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

File

cc DOE (Mr Mowbray)

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 January 1980

Dear Sir Denis,

As you will know from my statement in the House of Commons on 17 January, the Government is deeply concerned at the prospect of the Olympic Games taking place in the Soviet Union so soon after it has committed aggression against an independent country by invading Afghanistan. The invasion represented a completely new development in the history of post-war Soviet expansion. The Soviet Union acted, on the most transparent of pretexts, to establish a military hold on a sovereign country, in violation of all the principles governing relations between states and peoples. I am sure that all members of your Association will have shared the concern of the Government at the Soviet action.

The international community has condemned the Soviet move on 15 January in a Resolution calling for the withdrawal of the invaders, for which 104 states voted, an overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership.

In an ideal world, I would share entirely the philosophy of the Olympic movement that sport should be divorced from politics. Sadly, however, this is no longer a realistic view. For the Soviet Union the Olympic Games are a major political event which will be used to boost Soviet prestige in the world. It would be wrong for those people and countries which deplore aggression to co-operate in giving the Soviet Union the success it is seeking. Indeed, to do so could give the appearance of condoning what has happened in Afghanistan and could make the Soviet Union believe that aggression can be committed without cost.

/ We therefore

We therefore ask that the British Olympic Association should approach the International Olympic Committee urgently and propose that the Summer Games be moved from the Soviet Union. We believe that, with co-operation between like-minded countries, it should be possible to hold the Games in one or, if necessary, more than one other place. The Government are prepared to play a full part in supporting arrangements in this country for those parts of the Games that might be held here.

I should like to emphasise the high regard in which I hold the British sportsmen and women who have worked so hard to reach Olympic standards. I hope that it will be possible for them to participate and receive the awards they deserve this summer. The Olympic ideal is a noble one and the Games should demonstrate the free spirit of the individual in the achievement of excellence. The Soviet action in Afghanistan, however, stands in complete antithesis to the Olympic ideal. It is a challenge to us all to ensure that the Games can take place without appearing to condone Soviet military aggression.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Sir Denis Follows, C.B.E.

75

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 January 1980

Dear David,

OLYMPICS

Thank you for your letter of today with a revised draft of the letter from the Prime Minister to the British Olympic Association. Following our telephone conversation, I enclose a draft which Lord Carrington has approved. It sets out the foreign policy considerations but omits, at the present stage, any reference to British withdrawal from the games if they are not moved away from the USSR. Lord Carrington believes that this second step was not decided on at OD this morning.

I am copying this letter to Michael Alexander (No 10).

Yours ever

(G G H Walden)
Private Secretary

D A Edmonds Esq
Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for
the Environment

2 Marsham Street
London SW1P 3EB

DSR 11

Registry No.

DRAFT LETTER

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

To:- Sir D Follows CBE
Chairman
British Olympic Association

From

PRIME MINISTER
Telephone No. Ext.

Department

As you will know from my statement in the House of Commons on 17 January, ~~I am~~ UK Government is deeply concerned at the prospect of the Olympic Games taking place in the Soviet Union so soon after it has committed aggression against an independent country by invading Afghanistan. The invasion represented a completely new development in the history of post-war Soviet expansion. The Soviet Union acted, on the most transparent of pretexts, to establish a military hold on a sovereign country, in violation of all the principles governing relations between states and peoples. It was a flagrant demonstration of the determination of the Soviet leaders to assert their will on other countries, irrespective of the latter's wishes.

The international community has ~~expressed its~~ condemnation of the Soviet move ~~with great force~~ in the adoption on 15 January of a Resolution calling for the withdrawal of the invaders, for which ~~no less than~~ 104 states voted, an overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership.

In an ideal world, I would share entirely the philosophy of the Olympic movement that sport should be divorced from politics. Sadly, however, this is no longer a realistic ~~philosophy~~ view. For the Soviet Union the Olympic Games are a major political event which will be used to boost Soviet prestige in the world. It would be wrong for those people

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/and

countries which deplore aggression to cooperate in giving the Soviet Union the success it is seeking. Indeed, to do so could give the appearance of condoning what has happened in Afghanistan and could make the Soviet Union believe that aggression can be committed without cost.

~~I feel bound~~ We therefore to ask that the British Olympic Association should approach the International Olympic Committee urgently and propose that the Summer Games be moved from the Soviet Union. ~~I~~ We believe that, with cooperation between like-minded countries, it should be possible to ~~relocate~~ hold the Games in one or, if necessary, more than one other place. The Government are prepared to play a full part in supporting arrangements in this country for those parts of the Games that might be held here.

I should like ~~you to be in no doubt about~~ emphasise the high regard in which ~~I~~ we hold the British sportsmen and women who have worked so hard to reach Olympic standards. I hope that it will be possible for them to participate and receive the awards they deserve ~~in a relocated summer Games~~ this summer. The Olympic ideal is a noble one and the Games should demonstrate the free spirit of the individual in the achievement of excellence. The Soviet action in Afghanistan, however, stands in complete antithesis to the Olympic ideal. It is a challenge to ~~the governments of the free world and to your Association~~ us all to ensure that the Games can take place without appearing to condone Soviet military aggression.

I am writing on behalf of Her Majesty's Government to seek the full cooperation of the British Olympic Association in an issue which is of fundamental importance to the future of our nation.

The Russian invasion of the independent nation of Afghanistan is a flagrant demonstration of the determination of the Soviet government to assert its will, apparently irrespective of the reactions of other nations. At the United Nations, 103 countries supported a resolution condemning the invasion, and calling for the prompt withdrawal of Russian forces.

It is against this background that Her Majesty's Government have ~~needed to~~ considered our attitude to the participation of the United Kingdom in the Olympic Games which were to be held in Moscow. I am sure that all members of your Association will have shared the ~~abhorrence~~ horror of the government, ~~and indeed of the free world generally~~, at the ~~Russian~~ Soviet action. As a government, we are faced with the need - in cooperation with our allies - to demonstrate to the Soviet Union that actions of this kind cannot be taken with impunity. We cannot flinch from taking every possible measure to bring home to the Soviet leadership, and to the Soviet people, the consequences of their actions in terms of relationships with the free world.

It is for this reason that the next Olympic games assume such importance. In the view of the government, the holding of the Olympic games in Moscow this year will be seized as an opportunity by the Soviet Government to demonstrate that external aggression of the kind manifest in Afghanistan can be pursued with impunity. The question facing all free nations is - how should we react? For the UK government the choice is clear: to act in relation to the Games as though Afghanistan had not happened, or to follow the lead taken by our American allies.

I believe deeply in the value of international sporting contacts, and the benefits that accrue from competition between the sportsmen and women of all nations. In an ideal world, I would share entirely the philosophy of the Olympic movement that sport should

be divorced from politics. In the present crisis, however, this is simply no longer a tenable philosophy. No event would do more to consolidate the Russian invasion than the participation, only a few months later, of the free nations in Olympic games held in Moscow. The symbolic importance of holding the games in that city would be immense.

On behalf of Her Majesty's Government, I would therefore ask the British Olympic Association to take the following action, in cooperation with other National Olympic Committees, if Soviet troops are not withdrawn from Afghanistan. First, to press the IOC to remove the Games from Moscow to another location, or a number of locations. The government are prepared to play a full part in supporting arrangements in this country for those parts of the Games that might be held here.

If the IOC maintains its present position that such a course would not be possible, with great reluctance, but with absolute conviction that this is the only right course, Her Majesty's Government would ask your Association to withdraw from the Moscow Games. I am sure that you will understand that this request is made with great sadness on my part. I fully understand the enormous disappointment that would be felt by all our prospective competitors, and the feeling that the long years of training and self-discipline may have been for nought. The Olympic ideal is a noble one, and the Games should be a manifestation of the free spirit of the individual and the achievement of excellence, through self-sacrifice and committed endeavour.

The Soviet action in Afghanistan, however, stands in complete antithesis to the Olympic ideal. It is a challenge to the fundamental principle on which the free nations stand: a further erosion of freedom, an additional flouting of the principles of international law by a nation which has shown again that it is prepared to disregard the normal standards of international behaviour.

In those circumstances, I do not believe that we have a choice. You will have seen the Foreign Secretary's statement in the House of Lords on 22 January, detailing the various measures that we are taking with reference to our relations with the USSR. I sincerely hope that your Association will understand the critical importance of the issues now facing us and will play its full part.

[If it would be useful, my Rt Hon Friends the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for the Environment would be glad to see you and your Association as a matter of urgency.]

GRS 150
UNCLASSIFIED
FM SUVA 210327Z JAN 80
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 15 OF 21 JANUARY
REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKMIS NEW YORK
SAVING FOR INFORMATION TO KABUL

MY TELNO 3 (NOT TO ALL): AFGHANISTAN

FOLLOWING A SPECIAL CABINET MEETING THIS MORNING, THE ACTING PRIME MINISTER, RATU SIR PENAIA GANILAU (IN THE ABSENCE OF RATU MARA IN HAWAII), MADE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT:

CABINET HAS DECIDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SUPPORT FIJI'S PARTICIPATION IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES TO BE HELD LATER THIS YEAR IN MOSCOW IN VIEW OF THE USSR MILITARY OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN. FIJI WILL SUPPORT ANY MOVES TO TRANSFER THE VENUE OF THE 1980 OLYMPICS OR CANCEL IT ALTOGETHER IF SOVIET TROOPS ARE NOT WITHDRAWN WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH. THIS DECISION IS CONSISTENT WITH THE POSITION WE HAVE TAKEN IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THIS SUBJECT. IT IS HOPED THAT THE LOCAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE WOULD ENDORSE THIS POSITION AND SEEK TO CO-OPERATE WITH OTHER NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES FOR THE TRANSFER OF THE VENUE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES OR ORGANISE ALTERNATIVE GAMES IF SOVIET TROOPS ARE NOT WITHDRAWN FROM AFGHANISTAN. THIS ACTION IS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO SUPPORT THE POSITION THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS TAKEN ON THIS SUBJECT AND TO DEMONSTRATE THE FREE WORLD'S OUTRAGE AT SOVIET AGGRESSION AND TO DETER FUTURE AGGRESSION.

FCO PLEASE PASS

DUNROSSIL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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Sport

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 January 1980

Dear Michael,

Olympics

I attach a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to President Carter and a draft letter to the Chairman of the British Olympic Association.

The draft to the Olympic Association limits itself to the question of relocation of the Olympics and does not go as far as President Carter in mentioning cancellation or future boycott. We and, at official level, the DOE, consider that relocation is the most practical option and that we should refrain from making a statement on other aspects until we have the BOA's reaction to the Prime Minister's letter.

Our proposed action also differs from President Carter's in that it is not linked to a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in one month's time. If it is to be taken, action on relocation should be set in train as soon as possible.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to members of OD, Sir Robert Armstrong, the Secretary of State for Industry, the Secretary of State for Energy, the Parliamentary Secretary at the Dept of Environment, the Minister of State at the Dept of Trade and the Attorney-General.

Yours ever

Paul

P Lever
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

DSR 11

Registry No.

DRAFT letter

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

To:- President Carter

From

Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

~~OLYMPICS~~

Thank you for your letter of 20 January about the participation of the United States in the Olympic Games.

As you will know from the discussions which have taken place between Cy Vance and Nicko Henderson, I had been thinking very much along the same lines as yourself.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to the Chairman of our National ~~Committee~~ Olympic Association. ~~Peter Carrington will also be making a statement to this effect in the House of Lords on 22 January.~~

A preliminary survey by my officials suggests that we have ~~existing~~ suitable facilities in this country ~~which would make it possible for us to house over half~~ for a number of the 21 sports in the Summer Games. We would not however be able to accommodate ~~the~~ the major events, ~~such as~~ in particular athletics.

DSR 11

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DRAFT

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PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

To:-

Sir D Follows
British Olympic Association

From

Prime Minister
Telephone No. Ext.

Department

As you will have seen from my statement in the House of Commons on 17 January, ~~I am~~ the Government deeply concerned at the prospect of the Olympic Games taking place in the Soviet Union so soon after it has committed aggression against an independent country by invading Afghanistan.

Whatever views one may hold on politics and sport, for the Soviet Union the Olympic Games are a major political event which will be used to boost Soviet prestige in the world. It would be wrong for those people and countries which deplore aggression to co-operate in giving the Soviet Union the success it is seeking. Indeed, to do so could give the appearance of condoning what is happening in Afghanistan.

I have seen the statement made by Lord Killanin asserting the impossibility of relocating the Games. In my view, with co-operation between like-minded countries, it should be possible to relocate the Games in one or, if necessary, more than one other place. I understand that we have existing facilities in this country which could make it possible for us to house over half the 21 sports included in the Summer Games. We would be particularly well equipped to help over football.

The Government hopes therefore that the British Olympic Association will agree to approach the International Olympic Committee urgently and propose that the Summer Games be relocated.

We should like you to be in no doubt about the high regard in which we hold those of our compatriots who have worked so hard to reach Olympic standards and I hope that it will be possible for them to participate and receive the awards they deserve in a relocated games.

Dd 0532000 800M 5/78 HMSO Bracknell

I am sure that you will consider my views carefully and I look forward to receiving your reply.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 January, 1980.

Participation in the Olympic Games:
Message from President Carter

I enclose a copy of the text of a message from President Carter to the Prime Minister about participation in the Olympic Games this summer. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary was given a copy at Chequers, but you may wish to have this one as well.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to David Edmonds and Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

20 January 1980

Dear Prime Minister,

On January 20, I am sending the attached letter to the President of the United States Olympic Committee informing him that I cannot support United States participation in the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, the capital city of a nation whose invading military forces are occupying Afghanistan. I am requesting that the Committee work with other national olympic committees to seek the transfer or cancellation of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games unless the Soviet Union withdraws its troops from Afghanistan within the next month. If the Soviets do not withdraw and the Games are not transferred or cancelled, I am asking that the United States Olympic Committee not participate in the Games in Moscow, and, instead, work with other nations to organise alternative Games.

I hope that you will urge your own Olympic Committee to take similar action. I believe that such action is necessary to support the position of the United Nations General Assembly, to convince the Soviet Government and people of the world's outrage at Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and to deter future aggression.

Please hold my action in confidence until after 11.00 pm Washington time, January 20.

Sincerely,

/S/

Jimmy Carter

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

London

Mufaxed to Chequers
for PM and FCS
S T Pike
20.1.80

January 20, 1980

Dear Prime Minister:

I have been asked to deliver the enclosed message to you from President Carter, which was received at the Embassy this morning.

Sincerely,

Paul P. Pilkauskas

Paul P. Pilkauskas
First Secretary
Duty Officer

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

CONFIDENTIAL

T13/80

cc Subject
Master
Afghanistan Pt 2
Situation

January 20, 1980

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T13/80

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

Dear Prime Minister:

On January 20, I am sending the attached letter to the President of the United States Olympic Committee informing him that I cannot support United States participation in the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, the capital city of a nation whose invading military forces are occupying Afghanistan. I am requesting that the Committee work with other national olympic committees to seek the transfer or cancellation of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games unless the Soviet Union withdraws its troops from Afghanistan within the next month. If the Soviets do not withdraw and the Games are not transferred or cancelled, I am asking that the United States Olympic Committee not participate in the Games in Moscow, and, instead, work with other nations to organize alternative Games.

I hope that you will urge your own Olympic Committee to take similar action. I believe that such action is necessary to support the position of the United Nations General Assembly, to convince the Soviet Government and people of the world's outrage at Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and to deter future aggression.

Please hold my action in confidence until after 1:00 PM, Washington time, January 20.

Sincerely,

/s/

Jimmy Carter

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

Text of Letter to Robert Kane

As President of this nation and as Honorary President of the United States Olympic Committee, I write to advise you of my views concerning the Games of the XXII Olympiad scheduled to be held in Moscow this summer.

I regard the Soviet invasion and the attempted suppression of Afghanistan as a serious violation of international law and an extremely serious threat to world peace. This invasion also endangers neighboring independent countries and access to a major part of the world's oil supplies. It therefore threatens our own national security, as well as the security of the region and the entire world.

We must make clear to the Soviet Union that it cannot trample upon an independent nation and at the same time do business as usual with the rest of the world. We must make clear that they will pay a heavy economic and political cost for such aggressions. That is why I have taken the severe economic measures announced on January 4, and why other free nations are supporting these measures. That is why the United Nations General Assembly, by an overwhelming vote of 103 to 18, condemned the invasion and urged the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops.

I want to reaffirm my own personal commitment to the principles and purposes of the Olympic movement. I believe in the desirability of keeping government policy out of the Olympics, but deeper issues are at stake.

In the Soviet Union international sports competition is itself an aspect of Soviet government policy, as is the decision to invade Afghanistan. The head of the Moscow Olympic organizing committee is a high Soviet government official.

The Soviet government attaches enormous political importance to the holding the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, and if the Olympics are not held in Moscow because of Soviet military aggression in Afghanistan, this powerful signal of world outrage cannot be hidden from the Soviet people, and will reverberate around the globe. Perhaps it will deter future aggression.

Continued ....

I therefore urge the USOC, in cooperation with other National Olympic Committees, to advise the International Olympic Committee that if Soviet troops do not fully withdraw from Afghanistan within the next month, Moscow will become an unsuitable site for a festival meant to celebrate peace and good will. Should the Soviet Union fail to withdraw its troops within the time prescribed above, I urge the USOC to propose that the games either be transferred to another site such as Montreal or to multiple sites, or be cancelled for this year. If the International Olympic Committee rejects such a USOC proposal, I urge the USOC and the Olympic Committees of other like-minded nations not to participate in the Moscow Games. In this event, if suitable arrangements can be made, I urge that such nations conduct alternative Games of their own this summer at some other appropriate site or sites. The United States Government is prepared to lend its full support to any and all such efforts.

I know from your letter to me and your meeting with Secretary Vance and Lloyd Cutler of your deep concern for the men and women throughout the world who have trained tirelessly in the hopes of participating in the 1980 Olympic Games. I share your concern. I would support the participation of athletes from the entire world at Summer Olympic Games or other Games this summer outside the Soviet Union, just as I welcome athletes from the entire world to Lake Placid for the Winter Olympic Games.

I have the deepest admiration and respect for Olympic athletes and their pursuit of excellence. No one understands better than they the meaning of sacrifice to achieve worthy goals. There is no goal of greater importance than the goal at stake here - the security of our nation and the peace of the world.

I also urge that the IOC take a further step to eliminate future political competition among nations to serve as hosts for the Olympic Games. I call upon all nations to join in supporting a permanent site for the Summer Olympics in Greece, and to seek an appropriate permanent site for the Winter Olympics.

The course I am urging is necessary to help secure the peace of the world at this critical time. The most important task of world leaders, public and private, is to deter aggression and prevent war. Aggression destroys the international amity and good will that the Olympic Movement attempts to foster. If our response to aggression is to continue with international sports as usual in the capital

Continued ....

of the aggressor, our other steps to deter aggression are undermined.

The spirit and the very future of the games depends upon courageous and resolute action at this time. I call for your support of the other Olympic Committees throughout the world.

/s/

Jimmy Carter

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PP ROME

PP PARIS

PP MOSCOW

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UKMIS NEW YORK
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ADVANCE COPY

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IMMEDIATE

MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEEDING TELEGRAM: TELEVISION INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S REMARKS ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES:

QUOTE NEITHER I NOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD SUPPORT THE SENDING OF AN AMERICAN TEAM TO MOSCOW WITH SOVIET INVASION TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN. I HAVE SENT A MESSAGE TODAY TO THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE SPELLING OUT MY OWN POSITION THAT, UNLESS THE SOVIETS WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS WITHIN A MONTH FROM AFGHANISTAN, THE OLYMPIC GAMES BE MOVED FROM MOSCOW TO AN ALTERNATE SITE OR MULTIPLE SITES, OR POSTPONED OR CANCELLED. IF THE SOVIETS DO NOT WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS IMMEDIATELY FROM AFGHANISTAN WITHIN A MONTH I WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE SENDING OF AN AMERICAN TEAM TO THE OLYMPICS.

2. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE WORLD TO REALISE HOW SERIOUS A THREAT THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN IS. I DO NOT WANT TO INJECT POLITICS INTO THE OLYMPICS AND I WOULD PERSONALLY FAVOUR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT OLYMPIC SITE FOR BOTH THE SUMMER AND THE WINTER GAMES. IN MY OPINION THE MOST APPROPRIATE PERMANENT SITE FOR THE SUMMER GAMES WOULD BE GREECE.

PS/No 10 Downing St

PS
PS/LPS
PS/Mr Hurd
PS/Mr Blaker
PS/PUS
Sir D Maitland
Sir A Acland
Lord N Gordon Lennox
M. Bullard
M. Ferguson
M. Murray
Hd N Amer D
Hd EESD
Hd SAD
Hd CRD
Hd IPD
Hd News D
RC

3. THIS WILL BE MY OWN POSITION AND I HAVE ASKED THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE TO TAKE THIS POSITION TO THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND I WOULD HOPE THAT AS MANY NATIONS AS POSSIBLE WOULD SUPPORT THIS BASIC POSITION. 104 NATIONS VOTED AGAINST THE SOVIET INVASION AND CALLED FOR THEIR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND I WOULD HOPE AS MANY OF THOSE AS POSSIBLE WOULD SUPPORT THE POSITION I'VE JUST OUTLINED TO YOU UNQUOTE.

4. ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD MERELY BE ISOLATED WITHOUT DAMAGING THE SOVIET UNION IF OTHER NATIONS FAILED TO FOLLOW THE AMERICAN LEAD, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID:

QUOTE REGARDLESS OF WHAT OTHER NATIONS MIGHT DO I WOULD NOT FAVOUR THE SENDING OF AN AMERICAN OLYMPIC TEAM TO MOSCOW WHILE THE SOVIET INVASION TROOPS ARE IN AFGHANISTAN. UNQUOTE.

FCO PASS SAVING ATHENS.

HENDERSON

NNNN

GR 850

Copy also on Afghanistan (Sit) Pt 2.

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INFO SAVING TO ATHENS

TELEVISION INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT CARTER

PRESIDENT CARTER WAS INTERVIEWED ON AMERICAN TELEVISION TODAY. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS FROM HIS REPLIES:
(A) NEITHER HE NOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD SUPPORT U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW WHILE SOVIET TROOPS REMAINED IN AFGHANISTAN. HE HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE PROPOSING THAT, UNLESS SOVIET TROOPS WITHDREW FROM AFGHANSTAN WITHIN A MONTH, THE GAMES SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO AN ALTERNATIVE SITE OR SITES OR POSTPONED OR CANCELLED. IF SOVIET TROOPS DID NOT WITHDRAW WITHIN A MONTH HE WOULD NOTT SUPPORT U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE GAMES IN MOSCOW. HE HAD ASKED THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE QUOTE TO TAKE THIS POSITION UNQUOTE TO THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE. THE PRESIDENT HOPED THAT AS MANY NATIONS AS POSSIBLE WOULD SUPPORT THE UNITED STATES BUT, REGARDLESS OF THE POSITION TAKEN BY OTHER COUNTRIES, HE WOULD NOT FAVOUR SENDING A U.S. TEAM TO MOSCOW WHILE SOVIET TROOPS REMAINED IN AFGHANSTAN. (FULL TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON THE OLYMPICS IN MIFT: NOT TO ALL)
(B) THE PRESIDENT HAD NEVER DOUBTED THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S LONG-RANGE POLICY AND AMBITIONS AND U.S. DEFENCE POLICY HAD REFLECTED THAT FACT. BUT THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN WAS THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT TO WORLD PEACE SINCE WORLD WAR 2 AND THE FIRST TIME THE SOVIET UNION HAD USED HER OWN TROOPS TO ATTACK A COUNTRY OUTSIDE THE WARSAW PACT. THE SOVIET ATTACK CREATED A THREAT IN AN AREA OF VITAL INTEREST TO THE UNITED STATES AND HER ALLIES, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF OIL SUPPLIES, AND WAS OF MAJOR STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE. IN THE PAST, RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN A MIXTURE OF INTENSE COMPETITION AND EFFORTS TO FIND PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATIONS. THE PRESIDENT WAS STILL COMMITTED TO PEACE BUT PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND HER ALLIES DEMONSTRATE

/ TO THE SOVIET

TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT SHE COULD NOT ATTACK ANOTHER COUNTRY WITH IMPUNITY BUT MUST FACE THE CONSEQUENCES. THE SOVIET UNION HAD SERIOUSLY UNDERESTIMATED THE STRENGTH BOTH OF THE U.S. RESPONSE AND OF THE CONDEMNATION OF WORLD OPINION.

(C) THE GOVERNMENT HAD RECONFIRMED THE 1959 COMMITTMENT TO PAKISTAN: THE U.S. WAS COMMITTED TO CONSULTING PAKISTAN AND TO TAKING WHATEVER ACTION WAS NECESSARY, WITHIN THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES LAID DOWN, TO PROTECT THE SECURITY OF PAKISTAN, INVOLVING MILITARY FORCE IF NECESSARY. THE U.S. HAD INCREASED, AND WOULD MAINTAIN AT AN INCREASED LEVEL, NAVAL STRENGTH IN THE NORTHERN INDIAN OCEAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF AND WAS EXPLORING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SERVICING FACILITIES FOR THE U.S. NAVY AND AIRFORCE IN THE SAME AREA.

(D) THE PRESIDENT DEFENDED HIS DECISION TO ADMIT THE SHAH INTO THE U.S.

THE TAKING OF THE U.S. EMBASSY HAD FOLLOWED REPEATED ASSURANCES OF PROTECTION FROM IRANIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND STEMMED FROM AN ABUSIVE SPEECH BY KHOMEINI WHICH HAD LED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF PROTECTION. HE COULD NOT PREDICT AN EARLY END TO THE ORDEAL OF THE HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN. HIS CONCERN REMAINED AS GREAT AS EVER. THE CAPTURE OF THE HOSTAGES WAS AN ABHORRENT VIOLATION OF EVERY MORAL AND ETHICAL STANDARD AND OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: IT WAS A CRIMINAL ACT SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED IN AN UNPRECEDENTED WAY BY OFFICIALS OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT. HIS AIMS WERE TO PROTECT U.S. INTERESTS AND THE SAFETY AND LIVES OF THE HOSTAGES AND TO PURSUE EVERY AVENUE LEADING TO THEIR RELEASE, AVOIDING BLOODSHED IF POSSIBLE. HE HAD FELT FROM THE START THAT THE INITIATION BY THE U.S.[?GP OMITTED OF] MILITARY ACTION WOULD RESULT IN THE DEATHS OF THE HOSTAGES.

(E) THE U.S. WOULD SEEK TO MAINTAIN CONCERTED WORLD PRESSURE ON IRAN, INCLUDING THROUGH SANCTIONS.

IT HAD BEEN HIS CONSTANT CONCERN TO AVOID PUSHING IRAN INTO THE ARMS OF THE SOVIET UNION. HE WANTED A UNITED, STABLE, SECURE AND INDEPENDENT IRAN. BUT THE U.S. HAD DECIDED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST IRAN THROUGH THE PRESENCE OF HER NAVAL FORCES TO PREVENT INJURY TO THE HOSTAGES AND THROUGH SANCTIONS OF INCREASING SEVERITY. THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN INTRODUCED A NEW ELEMENT INTO THE SITUATION AND MANY RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS IN IRAN REALISED THE NEED TO RELEASE THE

HOSTAGES AND END IRAN'S ISOLATION. IRAN SHOULD NOW RELEASE THE HOSTAGES AND TAKE REDRESS FOR THE PAST THROUGH INTERNATIONAL FORA AND THE COURTS OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. HE WOULD NOT IN THE MEANTIME ACCEPT THE POSTPONEMENT OF SANCTIONS WHICH WOULD BE PURSUED UNILATERALY BY THE U.S. JOINED BY AS MANY OF THE ALLIES AS WOULD AGREE.HE DESCRIBED ALLIED SUPPORT FOR SANCTIONS AS ''VERY ACCEPTABBE!

(F) DEFENDING HIS RECORD, THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBED THE STEPS HE HAD TAKEN TO KEEP THE ECONOMY STRONG SAYING THAT ALL THE INCREASE IN INFLATION SINCE HE HAD ASSUMED OFFICE WAS DIRECTLY ATTRIBITABLE TO OPEC OIL PRICE RISES. IN LISTING THE FOREIGN POLICY ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT, HE REFERRED TO U.S. COOPERATION WITH BRITAIN OVER RHODESIA.

FCO PASS SAVING ATHENS

HENDERSON

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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Original on Afghanistan Sitn Pt 2

SECRET

Prime Minister ②

S.J. Pike
19.1.80

PM/80/5

PRIME MINISTER

Afghanistan

1. On 9-18 January I visited Turkey, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and India, primarily to discuss with the governments of these countries the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and their reactions to it. I had discussions with the Foreign Ministers and Heads of Government of all these countries. I also had a brief meeting during a stop-over on my return journey with the Foreign Minister of Bahrain. The following are my impressions and conclusions.

A. IMPRESSIONS

General

2. All the countries I visited, except India, agreed broadly with our own analysis of Soviet motives for their invasion and with our estimate of the dangers to the security and integrity of other states in the region, and with the need for a significant and sustained response, both from the West and from those countries which feel threatened. The Western reaction so far has disappointed them. Oman, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan probably underestimate the threat of internal subversion. India's attitude is influenced by her traditional tendency to give the Russians the benefit of the doubt and her distrust of Pakistan.

Individual Countries

3. (a) Turkey: The Turkish economy is in a parlous state and internal security is bad. The Turks are especially concerned about the maintenance of the integrity of Iran. They fear that Khomeini's policies could lead to the country's disintegration, stimulated by Soviet subversion in Azerbaijan and elsewhere. The Turks will require large-scale financial help over the next few years.

(b) Oman: Sultan Qaboos is not a natural leader and receives

/indifferent

indifferent advice. But Oman is prosperous and Qaboos is likely to survive for some time longer. He remains anxious about the threat from the PDRY. The Omanis are discussing the possible provision of facilities for US forces but do not want Western personnel on Oman's territory. Their initiative for the establishment by the Gulf States of a minesweeper capability in the Straits of Hormuz was mishandled, but this could be rectified.

(c) Saudi Arabia: The Saudis are ready to help Turkey, eg over oil. They are also prepared to offer financial help for strengthening the military capabilities of the countries in the region under threat, though they are opposed to any Western military presence. They are playing a leading role, together with Pakistan, in mobilising Moslem opinion against the Soviet action in Afghanistan. But they regard the Camp David Agreement as an obstacle to full-hearted co-operation between the countries of the region and the United States. They look for a new move on the Middle East problem when, as they expect, the Camp David process runs into the sand in April/May; (this view was shared by the Bahraini Foreign Minister). The Saudis are concerned about Soviet influence in both the PDRY and the YAR and about possible subversion through the many expatriates in their own country. The Mecca incident was a shock to them.

(d) Pakistan: The Pakistanis are deeply concerned at the new threat on their western frontier. They feel squeezed between the Russians in Afghanistan and the Indians on their eastern border. They particularly fear the possibility of Soviet ''retaliatory'' raids from Afghanistan into their own territory. They are painfully aware that their military equipment is out of date. They were affronted by the meagreness of the US offer of credit. In both respects their attitude is justified. Moreover, the refugees from Afghanistan, who they think may number one million by the Spring, are an increasing burden. But their reaction to the Soviet invasion was dominated by their complex over India, who, they are convinced, still wants to establish hegemony over the sub-continent. Nonetheless, they are ready to resume the process of ''normalising'' relations with India as a means of sanitising their eastern frontier. President Zia is in a dilemma over elections: if he holds them, the Bhutto faction will win; and if he does not, popular discontent will grow.

/(e)

(e) India: The Indians accept that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan poses a danger to the sub-continent. But they are anxious to find excuses for Soviet behaviour in the policies and activities of Pakistan, China and the United States, by whom they profess to feel surrounded. They resent the possibility of a super-power confrontation so close to India, not only on grounds of national security, but also because of the effect on the Non-Aligned Movement and India's role in it if she had to make a choice. They were somewhat shame-faced and defensive over the Indian statement at the United Nations and apprehensive about the Islamic line-up against the Soviet action. They are also preoccupied with their domestic economic problems and with unrest in their north-east and eastern border areas. They are ready to talk to the Pakistanis but with little enthusiasm or hope of success, given the weakness of Zia's position and above all their congenital distrust of Pakistani promises against the background of three Indo-Pakistani wars, which leads them to express apprehension about any revival of a closer US/Pakistan military relationship.

B. CONCLUSIONS

4. My talks in the capitals I visited confirmed my view that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a most serious challenge and unless the West reacts with vigour, any repetition of it eg, in Yugoslavia, could be disastrous. We must urgently pursue our discussions with the Americans and with our principal European allies. The following are among the actions we might undertake:-

(a) We should pursue the political and economic measures directed at the Soviet Union which we have been discussing in NATO, even though for the most part, apart from a boycott or the removal of the Olympic Games (See Annex), these are unlikely to cause the Russians major difficulties or embarrassment.

(b) We should encourage the non-aligned countries, and particularly the Moslem countries, to continue their denunciation of the Soviet action and, if possible, to take measures against the Afghan regime. We should continue to urge the Americans to handle the Iran crisis in

/such

On reflection I am a little unhappy about such a guarantee. It would look as if we were guaranteeing Pres. Zia's regime rather than the country.

such a way as not to hinder this.

(c) We should encourage the United States formally to guarantee Pakistan against aggression from Afghanistan and to meet Pakistan's legitimate military requirements up to a level which would give the Indians no justifiable grounds for concern. We should also support the Americans in their search for suitable defence facilities in the region.

(d) We should conclude as rapidly as possible negotiations over our own sales of defence equipment to Oman, Saudi Arabia and other states in the Gulf and to Pakistan.

(e) We should prepare a European initiative amending Resolution 242 to provide for the acknowledgement of the Palestinians' rights in return for their recognition of Israel. This proposal could be put forward when, as seems likely, the Camp David process comes to an end in April/May.

(f) We should provide friendly states in the Gulf and Pakistan with more information about our assessments of Soviet activities and intentions in the area.

(g) We should also provide these states with assistance in counter-subversion.

(h) We should encourage closer co-operation among the Gulf States, eg over the security of the Straits of Hormuz.

(i) We should work carefully for an EEC/Gulf dialogue.

(j) We should increase Western and Saudi/Omani influence in the YAR.

(k) We should consider the practicability of promoting insurgency in Soviet-dominated areas such as the PDRY, Ethiopia and Afghanistan itself.

(l) We should participate to the extent possible in further financial help for Turkey.

(m) We should encourage the Indians and Pakistanis, despite their pathological distrust of one another, to normalize their relationship.

(n) We should review with others our policy towards China including arms sales.

/(o)

(o) We should review with the others concerned possible support for Yugoslavia.

5. I am copying this minute to the members of OD and to Sir R Armstrong.

(CARRINGTON)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
19 January 1980

OLYMPIC GAMES

1. Following the meeting of Ministers on 16 January, we have asked the Germans and Italians whether they would join us in a formal approach to the International Olympic Committee to suggest moving the Games. The Germans are very cautious but Dr Genscher is expected to discuss the Olympics with Mr Vance when they meet on 21 January. The Italians have yet to react. Sir N Henderson will put the matter to Mr Vance on 19 January.

2. The Canadian Prime Minister said on 18 January that Canada would approach the IOC about moving the Games and that the practical difficulties at Montreal might be less than the city authorities have said. The Japanese would probably be extremely reluctant to accept part of the Games. The Mexicans and the Germans would also be likely to see political objections to using their Olympic facilities. The Australian Government is reviewing the subject and the difficulties at Melbourne might be less than elsewhere.

3. The chances of getting the Olympic Games moved are very slight. On the other hand the Russians might be glad to have Britain excluded from the Games on the grounds of our sporting contacts with South Africa.

4. The Winter Olympics begin next month in New York State, but the United States Government do not intend to take any action on this front, such as denying visas to the Soviet team.

5. Another idea, not yet discussed with our Allies, would be a Western proposal to the International Olympic Committee that the Olympic sailing events should be moved from Tallinn in the Baltic States to another country. This would have political attractions. Summer 1980 is the 40th anniversary of another Soviet act of aggression, the annexation of the Baltic States. A number of Western countries, including the UK, France, Germany and the US, do not recognise the annexation de jure. Moreover, the relocation of the sailing alone would present far fewer practical difficulties than moving the entire Games. On the other hand, the response of the International Olympic Committee would probably be negative.

6. Yet other options include a Western boycott of the Moscow Games, or a boycott by the Western contingents of ceremonial events such as the opening and closing parades and official Soviet receptions. The British Olympic Committee would resist the first and probably the second. One thing in the Government's power is to decide that the Duke of Edinburgh and the Minister for Sport should not go to Moscow.

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TO IMMEDIATE FOC

TELEGRAM NUMBER 58 OF 17 JANUARY

INFO ROUTINE OTTAWA WASHINGTON TOKYO MEXICO CITY CANBERRA UKDEL NATO MOSCOW

YOUR TEL NO 20 TO OTTAWA: POSSIBLE RESITING OF THE 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES

1. MOST OF THE OLYMPIC FACILITIES (FOR ATHLETICS, FOOTBALL, BOXING, SWIMMING, RIDING AND BOATING) ARE STILL INTACT IN MUNICH ALTHOUGH THE OLYMPIC VILLAGE HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND ACCOMMODATION WOULD PRESENT A SERIOUS PRACTICAL PROBLEM.

2. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY HOWEVER THAT THE GERMANS WOULD WISH TO SEE PART OR ALL OF THE 1980 GAMES TRANSFERRED TO MUNICH. POLITICALLY THE GERMANS ARE ONE OF THE LESS ENTHUSUASTIC MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A BOYCOTT OF THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS. THE GERMAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAS ALSO REACTED COOLY TO THE IDEA OF A BOYCOTT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY CONSIDER THAT TO OFFER MUNICH AS AN ALTERNATIVE SITE , EVEN IF IT WAS A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION, WOULD PLACE THEM IN FAR TOO EXPOSED A POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION.

3. IN MUNICH ITSELF THERE WAS LITTLE ENTHUSIASM WHEN THE CITY WAS CANVASSED AS AN ALTERNATIVE SITE FOR THE 1984 OLYMPICS. MEMORIES OF THE TERRORIST ATTACK OF 1972 REMAIN FAIRLY FRESH IN GERMAN MINDS.

WRIGHT

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 21 OF 17 JANUARY

YOUR TELNO 20 OF 16 JANUARY: POSSIBLE RESITING OF 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES.

1. THE 1968 OLYMPIC GAMES WERE, OF COURSE, HELD IN MEXICO, BUT THE PREPARATIONS FOR THEM COINCIDED, NOT FORTUITOUSLY, WITH MASSIVE STUDENT UNREST WHICH CULMINATED IN THE QUOTE TLATELOLCO MASSACRE UNQUOTE. THIS HAS LEFT A DEEP SCAR AND BITTER MEMORIES, WHICH THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT WISH TO REVIVE.

2. I DO NOT THINK, MOREOVER, THAT, IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT, MEXICO WOULD WISH TO BE INVOLVED IN ANY RESITING OF THE GAMES. THOUGH IT HAS CONDEMNED THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, MEXICO SEEKS TO KEEP ITS DISTANCE FROM BOTH THE US AND SOVIET CAMPS. FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS, THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT HAS TO BE VERY WARY OF ANYTHING THAT LOOKS LIKE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN INITIATIVE STEMMING FROM PRESIDENT CARTER.

3. WHILE POSSIBLY SUITABLE SPORTING FACILITIES EXIST, THE BUILDING OF AN OLYMPIC VILLAGE AND THE MASSIVE ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT INVOLVED, WOULD, IN ANY CASE, ALMOST CERTAINLY BE MORE, IN THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE, THAN THE MEXICANS COULD MANAGE.

4. THUS, WHILE MEXICANS NORMALLY WELCOME ALL TYPES OF MASS EVENTS WHICH BRING PEOPLE TO THEIR COUNTRY, I BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO ACCEPT THE RESITING HERE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES, EITHER IN WHOLE OR IN PART.

ωx

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FM OTTAWA 172050Z JAN 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 42 OF 17 JANUARY
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

YOUR TELNO 118 TO WASHINGTON AND TELECON FERGUSSON/DAVIES:
RELOCATION OF OLYMPIC GAMES

1. THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION IN THE OLYMPICS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF RESITING THE SUMMER GAMES ENTIRELY OR IN PART IN PLACES SUCH AS MONTREAL OR EDMONTON IS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE CANADIAN CABINET TOMORROW MORNING. AS THIS IS AN ELECTION PERIOD THE LOCAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS LOOM RATHER LARGER THAN THEY WOULD AT ANY OTHER TIME AND IT IS THEREFORE IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT WHAT THE CABINET WILL DECIDE. DELWORTH (D E A) HAS PROMISED THAT HE WILL INFORM US AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE CABINET MEETING.

2. OBVIOUSLY THE SPORTING FACILITIES EXIST IN BOTH MONTREAL AND EDMONTON BUT THE BIG QUESTION IS ACCOMODATION. IN MONTREAL THEY HAVE SOLD OFF THE OLYMPIC VILLAGE AND IN EDMONTON THERE MIGHT WELL BE DIFFICULTIES OVER THE UNIVERSITY ACCOMODATION WHICH WAS AVAILABLE FOR THE LAST COMMONWEALTH GAMES. CONSUL-GENERAL MONTREAL COMMENTS THAT IF THERE WAS ANY POSSIBITY OF PUTTING ON ALL OR PART OF THE SHOW IN MONTREAL WE COULD BANK ON THE DYNAMIC MAYOR DRAPEAU PUTTING CONSIDERABLE STEAM BEHIND IT. DELWORTH TELLS US THAT DRAPEAU HAS, IN DISCUSSION WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SHOWN RELUCTANCE. THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES ARE VERY CONSIDERABLE.

3. DELWORTH ASKED WHETHER HMG INTEDED TO WITHDRAW ANY OFFICIAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH TEAM AT THE GAMES AND WHETHER WE KNEW WHAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS (APART FROM THE DUTCH) INTENDED. WE CAN FIND NO REFERENCE TO HMG'S VIEWS IN THE TELEGRAMS: GRATEFUL TO KNOW FIRST THING FRIDAY MORNING.

FORD

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GR 100 CONFIDENTIAL

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FM WASHINGTON 171758Z
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 269 OF 17 JANUARY 80.

MY TEL NO 266 AND TELECON MALLABY/PAKENHAM : WINTER OLYMPICS.

1. THE SOVIET DESK AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT TOLD US TODAY THAT THEY HAD ''EVERY EXPECTATION'' OF THE WINTER OLYMPICS AT LAKE PLACID PROCEEDING AS PLANNED. ANY REPRESENTATIVE OF A COUNTRY RECOGNISED BY THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPICS COMMITTEE WAS FREE TO TAKE PART, AND THE U.S. HAD NO INTENTION OF TRYING TO KEEP RUSSIANS (OR ANYONE ELSE) AWAY FROM THE GAMES.

HENDERSON

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GR 210

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FM TOKYO 170815Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 40 OF 17 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE OTTAWA, WASHINGTON, MEXICO CITY, BONN, CANBERRA, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW.

YOUR TELNO 20 TO OTTAWA: POSSIBLE RESITING OF 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES

1. MOST OF THE MAIN FACILITIES USED FOR THE TOKYO OLYMPICS IN 1964 ARE STILL EXTANT AND USABLE, IN PARTICULAR THE ATHLETICS STADIUM AND SWIMMING POOL. THE MAIN PRACTICAL PROBLEM WOULD BE ACCOMMODATION, AS THE OLYMPIC VILLAGE HAS BEEN REPLACED BY OTHER HOUSING AND THERE IS LITTLE SPACE IN CENTRAL TOKYO WHICH COULD BE USED. TRAFFIC PROBLEMS WOULD ALSO BE MUCH GREATER THAN IN 1964. HOWEVER IF A POLITICAL DECISION WERE TAKEN TO HOST PART OF THE 1980 OLYMPICS IN TOKYO THE JAPANESE WOULD PROBABLY NOT HAVE ANY GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES. IF POLITICS WERE DIVORCED FROM THE ISSUE THEY MIGHT EVEN WELCOME THE PUBLICITY AND TOURIST INFLUX.

2. TH POLITICAL QUESTION IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. THE JAPANESE WOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE WILLING TO COURT THE DISPLEASURE OF THE RUSSIANS BY TAKING ON THE ENTIRE 1980 OLYMPICS. IF JAPAN WAS CLEARLY SEEN TO BE ACTING TOGETHER WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, EACH OF WHICH TOOK A PART OF THE EVENTS, THE OBJECTIONS WOULD BE LESSENED. HOWEVER WE WOULD STILL EXPECT THE JAPANESE TO BE EXTREMELY RELUCTANT TO ACT UNLESS CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE WERE PUT ON THEM.

ELLIOTT

FCO|WH DISTN

PCD

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Group/Class ..... PREM 19

Piece 374

Letter from Lyne to Alexander dated 16 January 1980

Paper extracted and temporarily retained under Section 3(4) pending completion of review.

(date) ..... 15 April 2010

(Signed) ..... A Wayland

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GR 130
CONFIDENTIAL
FM F C O 161520Z JAN 80
TO IMMEDIATE OTTAWA
TELEGRAM NUMBER 20 OF 16 JANUARY
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, TOKYO, MEXICO CITY, BONN, CANBERRA, UKDEL NATO AND MOSCOW.

POSSIBLE RESITING OF 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES.

1. IN THE MARGINS OF THE NATO COUNCIL MEETING ON 15 JANUARY MR HURD HAD A WORD WITH GOTTLIEB, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, ON THE QUESTION OF MOVING THE OLYMPICS TO MONTREAL. GOTTLIEB SAID THAT THEY HAD CONTACTED THE MONTREAL AUTHORITIES WHOSE REACTION WAS THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY TO BE FEASIBLE FOR THEM TO HOST THE GAMES.

2. THE POSSIBILITY OF ONLY CERTAIN EVENTS BEING AT MONTREAL WAS NOT MENTIONED. YOUR VIEWS ON THE FEASIBILITY OF SUCH ACTION AND THOSE OF OTHER HEADS OF MISSION WHERE THERE ARE EXISTING OLYMPIC FACILITIES WOULD BE WELCOME.

3. FOR WASHINGTON ONLY. WE SHALL WISH TO SHARE OUR INFORMATION ON THIS MATTER WITH THE AMERICANS AS SOON AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE.

CARRINGTON

FCO | WH.
CRD.

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Original on:
Iran: Sitn: Pt 4

SOUTH WEST ASIA

NOTE OF A MEETING HELD AT 10 DOWNING STREET AT 4 PM ON 16 JANUARY 1980

PRESENT

PRIME MINISTER
HOME SECRETARY
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDUSTRY
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR TRADE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
ATTORNEY GENERAL
MINISTER OF STATE, FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
(MR DOUGLAS HURD)
MINISTER OF STATE, MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (LORD STRATHCONA)
PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (MR HECTOR MONRO)
GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND
SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE-GERY) Cabinet Office
MR PJ FOWLER)

The meeting was called to consider the United States request for the voluntary implementation of sanctions against Iran which the United Nations Security Council had only failed to make mandatory because of the Soviet veto; and possible action against the Soviet Union in the light of events in Afghanistan and of the message from President Carter delivered to the Prime Minister on 14 January. It had before it, on Iran, a minute from the Lord Privy Seal to the Prime Minister of 11 January; and, on Afghanistan, a minute from the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to the Prime Minister of 8 January and a background paper by officials circulated under cover of a letter of 15 January from the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet.

Iran

It was noted that there had been no substantive discussion at the meeting of the European Community's Foreign Affairs Council on 15 January; and that at the North Atlantic Council on the same date the United States Deputy Secretary of State, Mr Christopher, had said only what he had already said in London on 14 January.

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It was agreed that no further measures could be contemplated in the financial field. The Iranians were behaving with scrupulous correctness. They appeared to have understood that Britain would not take action to freeze their assets, and were not therefore seeking to withdraw their deposits in London.

It was noted that the Iranians had threatened to reduce their oil production and to sell no oil to any country which applied sanctions.

It was agreed that no new primary legislation could be considered in the context of sanctions; and that there was no legal force in Mr Christopher's suggestion that the Security Council resolution of 31 December, which had not been vetoed, might provide cover for action by Britain under the United Nations Act in spite of the vetoing of the resolution of 13 January.

It was agreed that Mr Hurd would seek the views of HM Ambassador in Tehran on the advisability of

a. reducing the number of Iranian diplomats in London, preferably as part of a joint move with other countries;

b. imposing a visa requirement for Iranians entering the United Kingdom.

It was noted that, quite apart from the question of sanctions, it was desirable to restrict the abnormally high flow of Iranian visitors.

It was agreed

i. that the Department of Trade should give further consideration to imposing a ban on Iranian civil aviation, which would have disadvantages in terms of British interests but might be desirable as part of a package of measures;

ii. that there was a prima facie case for allowing Iranians attending military courses in the United Kingdom to complete them (as was being done in equivalent cases in the United States).

As regards the possibility of an arms embargo, it was agreed that the main problem would be whether to allow current contracts to be fulfilled. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, in consultation with the Ministry of Defence,

were invited to arrange for the possibility of so doing to be discussed with the Italian and French Governments, who were comparably placed; and to ascertain whether in the case of Iran the United States Government would in fact be breaking contracts, which it was noted they had decided not to do in the context of their Afghanistan-related ban on grain supplies to the Soviet Union. Although the Americans might well be dissatisfied with a British arms embargo which exempted current contracts, it was argued that in the absence of a United Nations sanctions resolution the Government had both a moral and a legal obligation to make such an exemption. It was agreed to revert to the question when fuller information was available about what contracts were actually involved and what attitude allies such as France and Italy were taking.

On the particular case of the fleet replenishment ship Kharg, which Swan Hunter were almost ready to deliver to the Iranian Navy, it was agreed

a. that when further administrative delay became impossible the Ministry of Defence should advise Swan Hunter to issue the 30-day notice of availability in accordance with the terms of the contract, which would mean that final sea trials would begin;

b. that the Ministry of Defence should make clear to Swan Hunter that the ship could not actually be handed over to the Iranians without the Government's permission, since this would require either an export licence or The Queen's permission for the commissioning of the ship into the Iranian Navy to take place in Britain;

c. that the ship should be delivered to the Iranians at the end of the 30 days period, if the American hostages had by then been released or if the Government had decided to exempt existing contracts from any arms embargo;

d. that the Attorney General, in consultation with others concerned, should give further thought to what the Government's legal position and financial liability might be if neither of the conditions at c. above were fulfilled and the handing over of the ship to the Iranians had to be prevented.

Finally, it was noted that the economic cost to Britain of Iranian retaliation for any economic sanctions imposed might be considerable and would need to be carefully weighed before any decision to impose such sanctions was taken; and that local opinion in South West Asia seemed to be increasingly inclined to regard the question of sanctions against Iran as much less important than the major issue of how to react to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan

It was noted that the European Community's Foreign Affairs Council had on 15 January issued a declaration which was forcefully worded but lacking in substance. Satisfactory agreement had been reached on not replacing American grain exports to the Soviet Union. But the French and Irish had not agreed to a British proposal that subsidised butter sales to the Soviet Union should be terminated, although something had been achieved in that the Commission were temporarily suspending the prefixation of export restitution, and it was encouraging that Chancellor Schmidt had told the Prime Minister on the telephone on 15 January that he was opposed to butter sales continuing. On credit, there had been a disagreement between the French view that this was not a matter for the Community and the Commission's view that it was.

It was further noted that the discussion in the North Atlantic Council on 15 January had been lamentably indecisive. Some minor political measures, eg on the cancellation of visits, had been agreed. The Germans were sympathetic to the American wish for economic measures. But the French seemed to be against these, while claiming that they were not excluded. Some joint action might be possible on credit and on COCOM. On the Olympic Games, the Americans and Canadians appeared willing to support their transfer away from Moscow; the Germans had noted that public opinion seemed to be moving in that direction; but no one else had spoken on the issue, except for the Norwegians who were sceptical.

It was agreed

i. that further consideration should be given to the possibility of Britain, in agreement with the Americans and perhaps others such as the Germans, taking a firm lead in proposing the transfer of the

Olympic Games away from Moscow, on the basis of an initial approach either to the Canadian Government (as potential hosts if the transfer were to Montreal) or to the International Olympic Committee.

ii. that further consideration should also be given to the less attractive possibility of officially discouraging British athletes from attending the Games if these were after all held in Moscow;

iii. that as a minimum, if the Games were held in Moscow with the participation of British athletes and the British Olympic Committee, there should be no official British representation.

As regards economic measures against the Soviet Union, it was agreed

a. that Britain should only adopt measures in common with her principal allies;

b. that, subject to a, no British credit should be made available to the Soviet Union on terms more favourable than those envisaged by the OECD Consensus;

c. that the Anglo-Soviet credit agreement should not be renewed after its expiry in February;

d. that it should be made clear, publicly but without undue emphasis, that Britain would be exploring with her partners the possibility of tightening and extending the COCOM restrictions;

e. that as regards food exports by the European Community, the Government should make clear, forcefully and publicly, their opposition to any subsidised sales of butter, sugar or meat.

It was further agreed that the case for Britain being as helpful as possible in support of American policy over Afghanistan was all the stronger because of her comparative inability to support present American policy over Iran.

THE PRIME MINISTER, summing up the discussion, said that the meeting's conclusions should be reported to the Cabinet on 17 January; and that further consideration should be given to outstanding points at the meeting of the Defence and Oversea Policy Committee already arranged for 22 January. For that meeting, the Secretary of the Cabinet should arrange for a paper to be prepared by officials on the Iranian problem, making clear the issues for decision and providing the necessary factual background; and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, in consultation with others concerned, should similarly put forward a paper on the issues which needed to be decided in relation to Afghanistan. Meanwhile, no reply would be sent to her message from President Carter.

The Meeting -

1. Took note, with approval, of the Prime Minister's summing up of their discussion.

2. Instructed the Secretary of the Cabinet to arrange for the preparation of a paper setting out issues for decision on Iran, with supporting details.

3. Invited the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary similarly to put forward a paper on issues for decision on Afghanistan.

4. Agreed to resume consideration of both subjects at the meeting of the Defence and Oversea Policy Committee on 22 January.

Cabinet Office

18 January 1980

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In PM's entry folder for 16/1/80

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

SPORT

My ref:

Your ref:

16 January 1980

Dear Pete

SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN

My Office passed to Ian Gilmour's Office last week my immediate thoughts on your note on 8 January to the Prime Minister. I understand you would now like something more substantial.

Let me say immediately that I wholeheartedly agree that few things would hurt Soviet prestige more than the absence of the majority of Western countries from the Olympic Games this year or, alternatively, if the International Olympic Committee (IOC) saw fit, even at this late stage, to relocate the Games. But a major difficulty, as you go on to say, is that Western governments have no direct role in matters concerning the Olympics. However, I do not believe that this should deter us from pressing with our major allies for the inclusion of this weapon in the current discussions on possible sanctions against the Soviet Union for her aggression in Afghanistan.

This aggression has nothing to do with sport. It is a political move which needs to be countered by whatever means at our disposal, political or otherwise. If this means that we have to embrace the use of sport for the first time as a political weapon, I feel that the end would justify the means.

But I do not believe that any unilateral approach to either the IOC or the British Olympic Association is a viable option. Either or both would be certain to meet with a rebuff in the light of very recent statements by their leaders. Like all governing bodies of sport, they are both autonomous; and the Government has no obvious financial hold on either body since they both rely on sources of finance other than through governments. Nor do we have any powers to prevent British athletes going to Moscow for the Olympics.

I believe we must therefore join with our allies either in a direct approach to our several national Olympic Committees to persuade them against participation - but after 4 years of preparation and

build up it is unlikely that many would respond favourably - or to work through the General Assembly of the United Nations for a concerted appeal by most of the world's nations to the IOC to remove the Olympics from Moscow.

If we do nothing we could, as you suggest, be criticised for inconsistency in the light of our advice that the Lions tour of South Africa should not go ahead. I am therefore in no doubt at all about the need to support a major political initiative in the context of Afghanistan in conjunction with our allies.

I will leave it to Hector Monro at today's meeting at No 10 to deal with this matter in more detail.

I am copying this to the Prime Minister, to members of OD, to Keith Joseph, David Howell, Peter Walker, Michael Havers and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever

MICHAEL HESELTINE

The Rt Hon The Lord Carrington KCMG MC MP

16 JAN 1980

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FILE

Top copy

Afghanistan, S.V Pt 2

BK

Sports Olympics

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

15 January 1980

Dear Rodric,

The Prime Minister's telephone conversation with Chancellor Schmidt

Chancellor Schmidt telephoned the Prime Minister at lunchtime today. The Chancellor's office, in arranging the call yesterday, made it clear that Chancellor Schmidt had no specific points to put to the Prime Minister but that he wished to make contact with her about the problems of Iran and Afghanistan. They implied that the Chancellor viewed the conversation in the same context as his recent meeting in Paris with President Giscard.

Chancellor Schmidt told the Prime Minister (as his office had told us yesterday) that he had not been very well recently. He added that his illness had not yet completely cleared up and that he would be cancelling a number of engagements scheduled for the next few days.

Afghanistan

Chancellor Schmidt told the Prime Minister that, given the present international situation, he thought it important that they should be in personal touch. The Prime Minister agreed. She said that the important thing seemed to her to be that the European countries should do what they could to help the United States and that they should do it together. She was anxious that the West's condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan should not be limited to words. It was important that action should follow. She instanced the extension of credit, the sale of butter and the export of high technology as matters on which Europe could do something. Chancellor Schmidt agreed about the need for collective support for the United States and also agreed on credit (while pointing out that the Federal Republic did not extend special credit terms to the Soviet Union), and on the sale of butter. As regards the export of high technology, he thought this should be dealt with in COCOM.

The Prime Minister said that it would be a great propaganda coup for the Russians if the Olympics were held as planned in Moscow. She thought that it might be worth trying to persuade the International Olympic Committee to move the Games to eg Montreal. Chancellor Schmidt said he hoped the Games would not be moved to Munich. He also

/wondered

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CH

wondered whether action on the Olympics should not be held back for a month or two in order to leave the West with a lever for future use. The Prime Minister said that she was doubtful whether the decision could be left for long.

Chancellor Schmidt said that he wanted to intensify the political dialogue between Europe and the Gulf States. He had mentioned this idea to the Americans. They were in favour of it as long as the dialogue was not aimed at economic cooperation. He thought that the Gulf States needed guidance and psychological reassurances at present. The Prime Minister said that it was for this kind of reason that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary had gone to the area. She said that she agreed about the need to develop the dialogue but that it would be important to avoid raising false hopes about what might be achieved. She agreed with Chancellor Schmidt that it would be useful if the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary could share his assessment of the situation in South-West Asia,as soon as possible after his return.with his European colleagues.

Chancellor Schmidt commented that he had been very impressed by the knowledge of those whom he had met in Madrid about the under-currents of thinking and feeling in some of the Arab countries. He had asked Mr. Suarez to share these insights with President Carter. In his own view, there was at present a greater possibility of rapprochement among the Arab countries,including Egypt, than at any time since the Camp David Agreement had been signed. Chancellor Schmid said that he intended to make a statement in the Bundestag on his Government's policy on Afghanistan. He would stress the need for solidarity within the Western Alliance and within the EEC. His remarks on this would be strong and unequivocal. He would go on to add that in times of crisis one should not interrupt all ones lines of communication. Indeed in times of crisis communication was even more important than normally. He hoped therefore that SALT II, CSCE and MBFR would be proceeded with. He intended to check this part of his speech with President Carter. The Prime Minister said that she doubted whether the President would wish to upset the MBFR, CSCE or SALT talks. The Chancellor added that he intended to hint at willingness on the part of his Government to give further financial aid to Turkey. He agreed with the Prime Minister that this might be very expensive.

Chancellor Schmidt said that he and his Cabinet distinguished between their attitude towards the Soviet Union and that towards the other Communist States of Eastern Europe. It was important not to force the latter States into a stronger alignment with the Soviet Union on the Afghan issue than they would otherwise have been inclined to adopt. The Prime Minister agreed. She said that she was particularly worried about the position of Yugoslavia. Chancellor Schmidt added Romania and Berlin to the list of territories of particular concern.

On high level talks, Chancellor Schmidt said that the Soviet Union had not yet proposed dates for his own visit and that of Mr. Genscher to Moscow. On the other hand they had postponed a

/prospective

prospective visit by aDeputy Prime Minister, Mr. Tikhonov, who was at present acting for Mr. Kosygin. His general approach to the question of visits was that there was no question of business as usual but that very high level meetings might be useful. In that connection, he mentioned that there was still a possibility that he might meet soon with the Head of State of the German Democratic Republic.

Iran

The Prime Minister asked Chancellor Schmidt whether he had any ideas about the way forward on Iran. Chancellor Schmidt said that leadership on this problem should be left to President Carter. The 50 hostages were American citizens. The Prime Minister pointed out that Mr. Carter would probably try to persuade the Europeans to implement voluntarily the trade sanctions which had been included in the vetoed resolution. Although the British Government had agreed to implement some financial measures voluntarily, they had no power to implement trade sanctions without a UN resolution. Chancellor Schmidt said that the German Government also would have legal difficulties on some points. He had told President Carter that he would, in principle, participate in the implementation of voluntary sanctions but it was not clear to him what the President had in mind. These matters would best be discussed in the EEC. On the general situation in Iran, Chancellor Schmidt commented that there was no longer any focal point on which pressure could be brought to bear. There was no-one who would respond to pressure or who was in a position to give instructions to the people who were holding the hostages. However, it had to be left to President Carter to decide how to play the hand. He said that he agreed with the Prime Minister's assessment that there was no prospect of the "students" releasing the hostages.

I am sending copies of this letter to Brian Norbury (Ministry of Defence), John Wiggins (HM Treasury), Stuart Hampson (Department of Trade) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Richard Alexander

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

file

ds

15 January 1980

Thank you for your letter of 14 January, reporting Mr. Monro's telephone conversation with the Marquess of Exeter. The Prime Minister was grateful to be informed of this.

MIKE PATTISON

Geoff Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

PH.

PA/Mr Michael Alexander
10 Downing Street

PS/PUS has asked me to send this over to Mr Alexander.

With the compliments of

PA/JL Bullard

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

LONDON, SW1A 2AH

15.1.80

Prime Minister (2)
You may like to be aware of this background.
15/1

ccs: PS/Mr Hurd
PS/Mr Blaker
Lord N Gordon Lennox
Mr Fergusson
EESD

PS/PUS

AFGHANISTAN: THE OLYMPICS

1. Your minute of 11 January attached. Rule 54 of the Olympic Charter reads:

Time and duration of the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games must take place during the last year of the Olympiad which they are to celebrate (eg in 1912 for the Vth Olympiad, or in 1972 for the XXth). In no circumstances may they be postponed to another year. Their non-celebration during the last year of an Olympiad entails the non-celebration of that Olympiad and involves the cancellation of the rights of the city chosen. These rights cannot be carried forward to the next Olympiad.

The time of the year at which the Olympic Games are to be held is not permanently fixed but shall be proposed to the IOC by the OCOG (Organising Committee) for its approval. The IOC alone shall decide the matter.

The period of the Games of the Olympiad must not exceed sixteen days, including the opening day. If there are no competitions on Sundays or holidays, the duration may be extended accordingly.

The Winter Games must be limited to twelve days.

The official ending of the Olympic Games shall be when the Olympic flame is extinguished.

1980 is the last year of the present four-year Olympiad and it therefore means that, according to IOC rules, the Games cannot be carried over into 1981. If, for example, they were transferred to Montreal, they would need to be held this summer. This is confirmed by the records of the modern Olympics, which show that the Games have been held in the last year of each Olympiad, except for 1916 1940 and 1944, owing to the two World Wars. The record is as follows:

Athens	1896	Berlin	1936
Paris	1900	London	1948
St Louis	1904	Helsinki	1952
London	1908	Melbourne	1956
Stockholm	1912	Rome	1960
Antwerp	1920	Tokyo	1964
Paris	1924	Mexico City	1968
Amsterdam	1928	Munich	1972
Los Angeles	1923	Montreal	1976

/ 3

3. The answers to the questions in your minute are as follows:

(i)
(a) All television rights belong to the IOC and this is now their main source of income. TV royalties for the 1972 Munich Games totalled DM 43million. This income is divided one-third each to the IOC, International Federations of Olympic Sports, and the Olympic Solidarity Fund (which provides scholarships for sports training, particularly in Third World countries).

(b) The British National Olympic Committee is concerned only with policy and normally meets quarterly. The British Olympic Association appeals target for the Moscow Olympics is £1m and they have so far raised over £400,000. Special appeals are launched for each Olympics, both from the general public and from commerce. Sir Denis Follows, Chairman of the BOA, visited South America last year in order to raise funds from British communities in those countries. The Queen has attended a film premiere which raised £40,000 for the fund.

(ii) There were skirmishes in Manchuria in 1931, but at no time in either 1931 or 1937 did Japan formally declare war on China.

(iii) The IOC withdrew the 1940 Games from Tokyo and gave them to
A Helsinki. The IOC moved the Games in 1938 (see attached) and since they need to be held in the summer, this would have given the Finns about two years to prepare for the Games (Mr Blaker raised this point). The pre-war Games were of course much smaller and less complicated than the present ones. Since Munich, one of the major requirements is for a secure Olympic Village to house some 12,000 competitors.

4. I attach the following information:

B (a) the 89 IOC members and their nationalities (the honorary members have been deleted since they do not have a vote);

C (b) the President, 3 Vice-Presidents and five Members who comprise the IOC's Executive Board;

D (c) the composition of the British National Olympic Committee (the Honorary Legal and Medical Advisers do not have a vote);

E (d) the officers and objectives of the British Olympic Association.

E The Queen is Patron of the BOA. She usually attends the Games when these are held in the Commonwealth. The Duke of Edinburgh normally attends all the Games in his capacity as President of the International Equestrian Federation. Prince Michael of Kent is a member of the
D British National Olympic Committee, representing the British Bobsleigh Association. Princess Anne and Captain Mark Phillips also have an interest in the equestrian events.

J A L Morgan

14 January 1980

J A L Morgan
Cultural Relations Department

15 JAN 1960

Sprnt 1980 Olympics Sprnt CJ
cc Master Set cc last para

Subjects on Afghanistan 1979
Situation. Soviet Military Intervention

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

14 January 1980

Dear Rodric,

CALL BY MR. WARREN CHRISTOPHER

As you know, Mr. Warren Christopher called on the Prime Minister this morning. He was accompanied by the US Ambassador, Mr. Kingman Brewster. Mr. Hurd was also present.

Afghanistan

not attached

At the beginning of the meeting, Ambassador Brewster handed over the enclosed message from President Carter to the Prime Minister. Commenting on the letter, Mr. Christopher said that the United States Government needed the help of the British Government on both the punitive and the affirmative aspects of its policy on the Afghan crisis. In regard to the punitive measures, President Carter had taken a number of decisions which were, in domestic political terms, very risky. Mr. Christopher mentioned the grain embargo, the action on the export of high technology and the action on fisheries agreements. The United States hoped that its Allies would produce parallel action. He would be exploring steps that might be taken in London and thereafter in Rome, Brussels and in other capitals. On the affirmative side, Mr. Christopher said that he had just had a good meeting with a Pakistani delegation headed by Agha Shahi. The United States Government would be offering the Pakistan Government $400 million of new aid. There would be $200 million worth of economic aid and $200 million worth of foreign military credits. Half of the aid would be included in the 1980 budget (a supplementary appropriation would be necessary) and half in the 1981 budget.

The Prime Minister said that her views on the Soviet action in Afghanistan were well known. She had been warning for a long time that the Soviet Government were capable of behaving in this way. The Western Allies would now have to work out what could be done. She asked about the United States Government's attitude towards a boycott of the Olympics. She thought that this would have the biggest impact on the people of the Soviet Union. Mr. Christopher commented that there was a ground swell of opinion in the United States in favour of moving the Olympics.

/This was

BK

This was, of course, an issue where governments had to be responsive to public opinion. The Prime Minister agreed and said that the difficulty was that many sportsmen wanted to participate in the Games. It would be much easier to get opinion moving if there was an alternative venue. In any case, an early decision was needed. The British Government had made its views clear on the British Lions tour of South Africa and it would be difficult for it not to take a position on the Olympic Games.

Iran

Mr. Christopher said that President Carter regarded it as important that the objectives of the UN Sanctions Resolution should not be frustrated by the Soviet veto. The United States Government's view was that the Russians had been committed by the 31 December Resolution to permitting the passage of the Sanctions Resolution. A way to impose the sanctions which had been envisaged must now be found. Mr. Christopher said that he was more than ever convinced that sanctions would have an effect in Tehran. The Prime Minister recalled her letter of 10 January to President Carter. There were some things that the British Government could do and some things that they could not do because primary legislation would be required. In reply to a question from Mr. Christopher, the Prime Minister said that it would be out of the question for the Government to seek new legislation at the moment. When Mr. Christopher asked whether it was not open to the Government to take some measures because of Iran's non-compliance with the 31 December Resolution, the Prime Minister said that she would have this looked into. The more that the Allies could do together, the better. When Mr. Christopher asked whether he could tell President Carter that the Prime Minister had said she would do all she could, the Prime Minister cautioned him against trying to read more into her words than was there. There was no point in her making promises until the matter had been looked at in detail. None the less, he could certainly tell the President that what could be done would be done. Mr. Christopher expressed his gratitude and commented on the psychological importance to President Carter of the Prime Minister's support.

I am sending copies of this letter, and its enclosure to John Wiggins (HM Treasury), Brian Norbury (Ministry of Defence), Stuart Hampson (Department of Trade), Bill Burroughs (Department of Energy) and to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Richard Alexander

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB
01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

14 January 1980

Dear Mike.

The Marquess of Exeter, perhaps the senior world figure in the Olympics, telephoned Mr Monro today.

I understand that he emphasised the autonomy of the International Olympic Committee and said that Governments have no control over the Olympics, the venues or who competes. The only body that can take Great Britain out of the Olympics is the British Olympic Association and he wishes the Prime Minister to know this before the forthcoming meeting with the US envoy. Lord Exeter firmly believes that the Games should be held in Moscow as planned and that Great Britain should compete.

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

14 JAN 1980

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TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 38 OF 11 JAN
AND INFO ROUTINE TO OTTAWA AND UKDEL NATO.

YOUR TELNO 32 TO UKMIS NEW YORK AND MY TELNO'S 10 AND 14, PARAGRAPH 3F : OLYMPICS.

1. THE CANADIANS HERE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT'S ADVICE TO THE CANADIAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE MIGHT PERHAPS BE REINFORCED BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE OLYMPIC ATTACHE. DESPITE THE ATTRACTIONS OF THIS IDEA, MY OWN VIEW IS THAT IF OUR OLYMPIC TEAMS PARTICIPATE, WE MUST HAVE AN ATTACHE. HE IS ACCREDITED BY THE NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND HIS ABSENCE WOULD SIMPLY MEAN THAT THE EMBASSY WOULD HAVE TO TRY TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE COMPETITORS WITHOUT THE ADVANTAGE OF OLYMPIC ACCREDITATION.

2. INCIDENTALLY, THE SAILING EVENTS WILL BE HELD IN TALLINN AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHIT THAT CITY BECAME PART OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVE A CERTAIN RELEVANCE NOW.

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TO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK
TELEGRAM NUMBER 32 OF 10 JANUARY,
INFO IMMEDIATE MUSCAT (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY), ROUTINE MOSCOW
WASHINGTON OTTAWA PARIS BONN ROME UKDEL NATO.

AFGHANISTAN AND THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS.

1. I BELIEVE THAT THE ABSENCE FROM THE OLYMPICS OF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF MAJOR STATES WOULD BE A SERIOUS BLOW TO SOVIET PRESTIGE AND ONE OF THE BEST WAYS IN WHICH STATES COULD SHOW THEIR DISAPPROVAL OF THE INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN. CANCELLATION, POSTPONEMENT OR RELOCATION OF THE OLYMPICS WOULD BE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE.

2. THE DIFFICULTY OF COURSE IS THAT PARTICIPATION IS NOT A MATTER FOR GOVERNMENTS, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES WHERE THIS IS NOT GENUINELY TRUE. IN THE CASE OF THE UK THE MOST THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD DO WOULD BE TO ADVISE THE BRITISH OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AGAINST PARTICIPATION, AS WAS DONE IN REGARD TO THE BRITISH LIONS RUGBY TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA, WE ARE CONSIDERING THIS.

3. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE VIEWS IN PARA 1 ABOVE GAINED CURRENCY AMONG UN MEMBERS DURING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S EMERGENCY SESSION . ON AFGHANISTAN WHICH BEGINS TODAY. IT WOULD BE EVEN BETTER IF NON-ALIGNED DELEGATES REFERRED TO THE MATTER IN SPEECHES AND IF THE OLYMPICS COULD BE MENTIONED IN ANY RESOLUTION THE SESSION MAY ADOPT, FOR INSTANCE BY CALLING UPON THOSE CONCERNED TO RECONSIDER THE QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION.

4. UNLESS YOU FEEL INHIBITED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASPECT PLEASE DO WHAT YOU CAN IN THE CORRIDORS TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE LINES OF PARA 3. PLEASE ANYWAY ENCOURAGE OTHER WESTERN AND FRIENDLY DELEGATIONS TO SPREAD THE WORD.

CARRINGTON

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Piece 374

Letter from Lyne to
Nevill dated 9 January 1980

Paper extracted and
temporarily retained
under Section 3(4)
pending completion of
review.

(date) ..... 15 April 2010

(Signed) ..... C Wayland

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Original filed Afghanistan (Sov) Pt 2

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 January 1980

Dear Michael.

Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan

As a way of bringing home to the Russians by every means available our strong disapproval of their actions in Afghanistan, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has instructed all posts abroad and officials in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to avoid social contact with Soviet officials and to reduce business contacts to a minimum. He hopes, therefore, that his colleagues will ensure that they, other Ministers and officials in their departments will, until further notice, restrict their contacts with the Soviet Ambassador in London and members of his staff to the minimum necessary to permit essential business to be carried on.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to members of the Cabinet and to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

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FILE

c/c. Afghanistan sitn

cc: DOE

Sport

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 January 1980

Dear Rodric,

Afghanistan: Participation in the Olympic Games

When the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary called on the Prime Minister this afternoon he raised the question of Britain's participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer.

The Prime Minister said that she agreed with Sir Curtis Keeble that withdrawal from the Olympics by a substantial number of the Western nations would be the gesture that would hurt the Soviet Government most, at least in the short term. She asked whether there was any possibility of another city offering to host the Games. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that he thought this would be impracticable. He and the Prime Minister agreed that the role of Government in this question was limited. But the Prime Minister pointed out that it would be very difficult for the Government to avoid taking up a position, e.g., in dealing with Parliamentary Questions. The Government had expressed a view on the question of the British Lions Rugby Tour to South Africa and would certainly be asked to do the same in regard to the Olympic Games.

The Prime Minister made it clear that her own inclination would be to recommend against participation, but she agreed with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary that it would be important to co-ordinate our position with that of other Western Governments. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that perhaps the best outcome would be if the Government recommended against participation but the various committees, and the participants themselves, decided to go to Moscow none the less.

Given the Prime Minister's interest in this problem, I should be grateful to be kept in the picture as thinking develops.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment).

Yours ever

Michael Alexander

R. M. J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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