

5B  
831

PREM 19/375



PART 2.

Confidential Files

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

SPORT.

PART 1: JAN 1980

PART 2: MAR 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>10.3.80</del>							
<del>12.3.80</del>							
<del>14.3.80</del>							
<del>19.3.80</del>							
<del>20.3.80</del>							
<del>21.3.80</del>							
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<del>23-4-80</del>							
<del>24-4-80</del>							
<del>28-4-80</del>							
30.4.80							

PREM 19/375



PART ..... 2 ..... ends:-

PM to Major Derek Alhusen of 30.7.80.

PART ..... 3 ..... begins:-

FCO to MODBA of 9.5.80.







## Published Papers

The following published paper(s) enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed. Copies may be found elsewhere in The National Archives.

House of Commons Hansard  
Olympic Games

17/03/80  
Columns 31-168

House of Commons Hansard  
Olympic Games

19/03/80  
Columns 415-421

Signed Wayland Date 31 August 2010

**PREM Records Team**



Original in file



20 5/11  
Spott

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 April 1980

Dear Nigel Atkinson,

Thank you very much for your letter of 17 April enclosing a copy of the excellent article which you wrote for the Horse and Hound on the subject of the participation of a British team in the Games in the Soviet Union this year.

May I say at once how much I have appreciated the splendid lead given by equestrianism from the very early days in supporting our appeal for a boycott and how heartening it is to see the cogent reasons for our attitude set out so clearly in your article. I know from Hector Monro that the article has been widely appreciated and respected by equestrians everywhere, as he was told when he attended the Three Day Event at Badminton.

There can be no doubt that people at home and abroad are coming round to our point of view in increasing numbers. Since the British Olympic Association (BOA) made its decision on 25 March to accept the invitation from Moscow, three Governing Bodies of sport have joined your own in deciding not to send a team. There is still plenty of time for others to follow suit, and, of course, individual sportsmen and women as well. Abroad a firm example has recently been set by the United States and Canadian Olympic Committees in deciding to boycott the Games and the Australian and the Federal Republic of Germany Governments have urged their National Olympic Committees not to go to the Games. Many countries and National Olympic Committees were waiting for some of the larger nations to take a position. I expect that we shall see more and more ready to follow the lead that has been given.

/The BOA



The BOA inadvisedly took a decision about participation far earlier than was necessary. I very much hope they will take advantage of the let-out clause which they inserted in their statement of 25 March. In this the Association said "should circumstances change, the BOA would re-examine the situation". I believe that the circumstances, as the Association meant them, are changing and that as the news spreads they will continue to change. I feel with you that the tide of public opinion is indeed starting to flow strongly in our favour. I also believe that articles like yours in the Horse and Hound are a major factor in this. Many thanks for your powerful and welcome support.

Yours sincerely  
Raymond Thelmer

---

Major Derek Allhusen, DL.

AB



Group/Class..... PREM 19  
Piece..... 375

Letter from Prime Minister  
to Duke of Edinburgh  
dated 30 April 1980

Paper extracted and  
temporarily retained  
under Section 3(4)  
pending completion of  
review.  
(date)..... 15 April 2010  
(Signed)..... Wayland



Original in G/R.



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

28 April 1980

Dear Mr. Foulkes,

Thank you for your letters of 3 and 14 April about your constituent, Mr. MacClue of Scotia International (Export), 1 Barns Street, Ayr.

I am sorry to hear that Mr. MacClue believes that prospective profits on 'Olympic business' in excess of £250,000 may be lost to him because UK companies are reluctant to confirm their contracts. I cannot, however, accept that Mr. MacClue's potential or actual lost profits are the direct product of action taken by the Government.

The Russians have turned the Olympics in Moscow into a propaganda event of major importance and we have, of course, made our attitude about this plain. We have gone on to advise British athletes that for them to take part in such Games would be to seem to condone the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Government have thus made their views known (as did many speakers in the debate in the House), but have left it to individual athletes to decide whether or not to accept their advice. And many individual citizens, sportsmen, businessmen and others have come to their own conclusions about how to approach the Moscow Olympics.

/It is true



It is true that where it has been in our own interest, trade and other contacts have been maintained. But we have curtailed special events and special arrangements; one example is the Agreement entered into by the Labour Government which afforded advantageously low cost credit terms to the Soviet Union.

As for Mr. MacClue's claim for compensation, it is reasonable to assume that there were good commercial reasons for the decisions by the British firms concerned not to sign contracts. I personally would understand and sympathise with the view that there would be no commercial advantage in being associated with symbols for the Moscow Olympics whilst the Soviet Union was committing armed aggression against Afghanistan.

In these circumstances, I do not believe that there is an obligation for the Government to compensate Mr. MacClue or others like him for the losses, actual or potential, which may have been suffered because of business linked to the Olympics. It is in fact the Soviet Union which has brought the situation about by invading a neighbouring independent state, Afghanistan.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) M T

George Foulkes, Esq., M.P.



Group/Class ..... PREM 19  
Piece ..... 375

Letter from Duke of  
Edinburgh to Prime  
Minister dated  
25 April 1980

Paper extracted and  
temporarily retained  
under Section 3(4)  
Pending completion of  
review.  
(date) ..... 15 April 2010  
(Signed) ..... A Wayland



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

20

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON  
HD/CRD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD  
HD/NEWS D

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST  
MR WENBAN-SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE SMITH )  
MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT  
MR N PALMER "17/19" ROCHESTER ROW  
MR MUNRO (PS/PARL U/SEC) "

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

GRS 450

UNCLASSIFIED

FM BONN 241415Z APR 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 353 OF 24 APRIL

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON MOSCOW PARIS UKDEL NATO

**ADVANCE COPY**

OLYMPICS

1. AS EXPECTED, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY FORMALLY MADE PUBLIC ITS ADVICE TO GERMAN ATHLETES NOT (NOT) TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES. THE ADVICE WAS CONTAINED IN A STATEMENT BY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IN THE BUNDESTAG. OUR TRANSLATION OF THE RELEVANT EXTRACT IS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DECIDED THIS MORNING TO RECOMMEND THAT THE GERMAN NOC SHOULD NOT SEND A TEAM OR INDIVIDUAL ATHLETES TO THE 1980 SUMMER OLYMPICS IN MOSCOW AND TALLINN.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE JOINT STATEMENT WHICH THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT AND I MADE TO THE PRESS IN WASHINGTON ON 5 MARCH THIS YEAR, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE FOR GERMAN ATHLETES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 1980 SUMMER OLYMPICS AS LONG AS THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN CONTINUES. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STANDS BY ITS ALLIANCE PARTNER, THE UNITED STATES, ON THIS QUESTION TOO.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT YET CREATED THE BASIC PRECONDITIONS FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF ATHLETES FROM ALL COUNTRIES IN THE SUMMER OLYMPICS. NOR ARE THERE ANY INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL CREATE THESE CONDITIONS BEFORE THE DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION BY THE NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES, IE 24 MAY.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS THEREFORE APPEALING TODAY TO THE CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY OF GERMAN ATHLETES AND SPORTING ORGANISATIONS AS WELL AS TO THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE ATHLETES FROM OTHER NATIONS WHO WILL NOT BE TAKING PART IN THE OLYMPICS... WE STRESS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO ADHERE TO THE TIME-TESTED



NATIONS WHO WILL NOT BE TAKING PART IN THE OLYMPICS... WE STRESS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO ADHERE TO THE TIME-TESTED PRINCIPLE OF FOSTERING SPORT AND WILL CONTINUE TO FURTHER SPORTS MEETINGS AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

THE DECISION ON THE PARTICIPATION OF OUR ATHLETES LIES WITH OUR NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND THE ASSOCIATIONS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED IN THIS COMMITTEE BY THEIR LEADING PEOPLE. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TRUSTS THAT THE NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE WILL RESPECT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR RECOMMENDATION WHEN MAKING ITS DECISION UNQUOTE.

2. THE BUNDESTAG SUBSEQUENTLY SUPPORTED ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY A RESOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT OF THE GAMES (445 IN FAVOUR, 8 AGAINST, 9 ABSTENTIONS).

3. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, DAUNE, WHO IS WIDELY THOUGHT HERE TO HAVE ASPIRATIONS TO SUCCEED LORD KILLANIN AS CHAIRMAN OF THE IOC, COMMENTED AFTER SCHMIDT'S STATEMENT THAT THE NOC ACCEPTED THE BUNDESTAG'S VOTE BUT HE BELIEVED THAT THERE WAS STILL A CHANCE THAT GERMAN SPORTSMEN WOULD TAKE PART.

4. THE GERMAN NOC ARE DUE TO DECIDE ON PARTICIPATION ON 15 MAY.

5. RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS CONTINUE TO SHOW THAT A MAJORITY OF THOSE POLLED FAVOUR A BOYCOTT.

GOODALL

NNNN

SENT AT 24/1534Z SHC



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

22

IMMEDIATE

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON  
HD/CRD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD  
HD/NEWS D  
~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST  
MR WENBAN-SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE SMITH )  
MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT  
MR N PALMER "17/19" ROCHESTER ROW  
MR MUNRO (PS/PARL U/SEC) "

WJ/SAD

CRS 200

CONFIDENTIAL

FM STOCKHOLM 241305Z APRIL 1980

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 75 OF 24 APRIL 1980

AFGHANISTAN AND THE OLYMPIC GAMES

1. I DISCUSSED AFGHANISTAN AND THE OLYMPICS BRIEFLY WITH LEIFLAND WHEN I CALLED ON HIM ON THE IRAN QUESTION THIS MORNING (MY TELNO 74 OF 24 APRIL). HE SAID THAT THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT WAS GROWING AND IT NOW SEEMED QUITE LIKELY THAT, IF NONE OF THE MAJOR WEST EUROPEAN POWERS TOOK PART, THE OLYMPICS WOULD TURN INTO A QUOTE SPARTAKIAD UNQUOTE. IN THAT EVENT THE SWEDISH OLYMPIC COMMITTEE WOULD BE VERY LIKELY TO WITHDRAW.

2. THERE SEEMED TO BE NO PROSPECT OF A SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN THIS YEAR. BUT IT WAS BECOMING EVIDENT THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE INCREASINGLY ANXIOUS TO KEEP IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE WEST, HENCE GROMYKO'S CURRENT VISIT TO FRANCE, THE APPROACH TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND THE APPARENT WILLINGNESS OF MR BREZHNEV TO RECEIVE LORD KILLANIN PERSONALLY IN MOSCOW.

3. AS PART OF THIS OFFENSIVE, THE SOVIET CHARGE D'AFFAIRES WOULD BE CALLING ON HIM, LEIFLAND, THIS AFTERNOON WITH (THE MINISTRY BELIEVED) AN INVITATION TO THE SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO GO TO MOSCOW IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. IN SPITE OF DOMESTIC PROBLEMS OVER A VISIT IN THIS PERIOD MR ULLSTEN WOULD CERTAINLY GO, IN THE INTEREST OF KEEPING ALL POSSIBLE CHANNELS OPEN FOR AN EVENTUAL SOLUTION.

PETERSEN



R E S T R I C T E D



Subject - Barbados,

April 20 - call by Tom Adams

Foot 35

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 April 1980

Dear Roderie,

CALL BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF BARBADOS

The Prime Minister of Barbados paid a courtesy call on the Prime Minister this morning.

After some general discussion about the economic position in Barbados, Mr. Adams raised the question of the Olympic boycott. He said that he himself was strongly in favour of the boycott. He regarded the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as being an exceptionally grave matter. In some respects, it seemed to him less justifiable than Nazi Germany's invasions of Austria and the Sudetenland. At least in the latter cases there had been an element, however limited, of racial and linguistic justification. The Barbadian Olympic Association had not yet come to a conclusion but were likely to seek discussions shortly after Mr. Adams returned to Bridgetown. Mr. Adams said it would be helpful to him to have the Prime Minister's assessment as to whether in the end a British team would be participating in Moscow. The Prime Minister said that she thought that some federations would probably send teams but that a number would not. Much would depend on the attitudes of the French and German teams. She thought that athletes in both France and Germany would follow the advice of their governments. The fewer athletes from major Western countries who went, the less attractive the Games would become to the remainder. Mr. Adams said he agreed with this analysis. Of the Caribbean countries which had already indicated an intention to go (he mentioned Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica), he thought that Trinidad at least might well reverse its decision.

There was a strong implication in what Mr. Adams was saying that he did not think that a team from Barbados would be going to Moscow.

I am sending copies of this letter to Charles Humfrey (FCO), Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Richard Alexander

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



Group/Class ..... PREM 19 .....  
Piece ..... 375 .....

Transcript of Prime Minister's  
telecon with Malcolm Fraser  
on 23 April 1980

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

(date) ..... 15 April 2010 .....

(Signed) ..... Wayland .....



Statement from Buckingham Palace issued this morning.

It is totally untrue to suggest that the Duke of Edinburgh was in any way a motivator of the statement yesterday of the International Olympics Committee. The Duke of Edinburgh used his best efforts to modify the statement on which there was no vote.

The Duke of Edinburgh has never personally criticised the position taken by Her Majesty's Government. The Duke of Edinburgh will not attend the Olympic games in Moscow under present circumstances.

Unattributably

Palace saying that the Duke of Edinburgh succeeded to a considerable extent to modify the terms of the statement.

Source: John Dauth, Palace Press Office

Michael

There was no signed statement issued yesterday.  
Palace have given above to TV networks, PA Center,  
etc.

ja  
23/4

This text was telephoned to Mr Fraser's  
Office at 14.30 on 23 April. The manuscript  
note was also passed on.

kg. Am 23/4



P.A. Tape

23. 4. 80.

Sport

PALACE STATEMENT ON BOYCOTT CONTROVERSY  
SUGGESTIONS THAT PRINCE PHILIP WAS IN ANY WAY  
THE MOTIVATOR OF A STATEMENT MADE IN SWITZERLAND YESTERDAY  
CONDEMNING AS IMPROPER THE OLYMPI BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN ARE TOTALLY  
UNTRUE, BUCKINGHAM PALACE SAID TODAY.

THE STATEMENT WAS RELEASED IN LAUSANNE BY MR TOM KELLER, A  
SWISS INDUSTRIALIST WHO WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF MORE THAN  
20 INTERNATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS.

MR KELLER IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID PRINCE PHILIP HELPED PUT  
THE FINISHING TOUCHES TO THE STATEMENT.

BUT BUCKINGHAM PALACE SAID TODAY: "THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH  
USED HIS BEST EFFORTS TO MODIFY THE STATEMENT ON WHICH THERE  
WAS NO VOTE.

"THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH HAS NEVER PERSONALLY CRITICISED THE  
POSITION TAKEN BY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT."

THE PALACE STATEMENT WAS ISSUED BY THE QUEEN'S PRESS SECRETARY  
MICHAEL SHER AT THE SAME TIME AS IT WAS DISCLOSED FROM  
DOWNING STREET THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN GIVEN AN  
EXPLANATION BY THE PALACE OF THE PART PLAYED BY THE PRINCE  
IN YESTERDAY'S COMMENTS.

MRS THATCHER IS SAID TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE EXPLANATION,  
MEANWHILE THE GOVERNMENT "REGRETS" THE STATEMENT ISSUED  
BY THE SPORTS FEDERATIONS.

PRINCE PHILIP WAS AT THE MEETING IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL EQUESTRIAN FEDERATION AND IT WAS IN THIS  
ROLE THAT HE WAS A SIGNATORY TO THE CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENT.

1216



Group/Class ..... PREM 19  
Piece ..... 375

Press Office "draft lines"  
dated 23 April 1980

Paper extracted and  
temporarily retained  
under Section 3(4)  
pending completion of  
review.  
(date) ..... 15 April 2010  
(Signed) ..... A Wayland





OLYMPICS BK

File

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

15 April 1980

British Olympic Appeal

As you know the Prime Minister wrote to the Chairman of the British Olympic Appeal, Sir Anthony Tuke, on 26 March to tell him that she wished to withdraw her patronage of the Appeal insofar as it was raising money to send a team to Moscow. I enclose a copy of the reply which the Prime Minister has now received from Sir Anthony Tuke.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to Charles Humfrey (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Bristow, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 April 1980

*Spot*

*Dear Michael,*

*42 mins - 16/4*

OLYMPIC GAMES

Thank you for your letter of 2 April enclosing one from the General Secretary of the National and Local Government Officers Association addressed to the Prime Minister.

/ As requested, I enclose a copy of the reply for your records.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Geoff Needham (Department of the Environment).

*Yours ever,  
Charles*

C T W Humfrey  
PS/Mr Hurd

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





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

From The Minister of State  
Douglas Hurd CBE MP

15 April 1980

Dear Geoffrey Drain:

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 25 March which contains the text of a motion passed by the National Executive Council of your union opposing the Prime Minister's call for a boycott of the Olympic Games.

The Government's policy has been to look for ways of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union which harm them more than we harm ourselves. It is in our own interest not to close channels for information about Soviet policies, and for putting across our own views; that is why we keep the Ambassador in Moscow. We have not cut off normal trade and ordinary contacts. We have acted against special events and special arrangements such as the low cost credit terms made available by the last Government to the Soviet Union - and the Olympics. I enclose a memorandum which sets out our views at greater length.

As we warned the British Olympic Association before they took their decision, it now looks increasingly as if whatever occurs in Moscow will be a second-rate competition. It really is increasingly clear that it is not in the British interest that British competitors should attend.

Yours,  
Douglas Hurd

Geoffrey Drain Esq BA, LL B, JP  
General Secretary  
National and Local Government  
Officers Association  
1 Mabledon Place  
London WC1H 9AJ





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 April 1980

*Spot*

*Dear Michael,*

*Humfrey 16/4*

OLYMPIC GAMES

Thank you for your letter of 2 April enclosing one from the General Secretary of the National and Local Government Officers Association addressed to the Prime Minister.

/ As requested, I enclose a copy of the reply for your records.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Geoff Needham (Department of the Environment).

*Yours ever,  
Charles*

C T W Humfrey  
PS/Mr Hurd

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



MEMORANDUM

WHY BRITAIN SHOULD NOT BE REPRESENTED AT THE OLYMPICS

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is a clear case of continuing aggression, demonstrating the Soviet Union's world-wide ambitions. It has been condemned by 104 members of the United Nations. If we are to preserve peace it is essential that the free countries of the West and the Third World should make known their anger. Otherwise we risk a repetition.

Series of measures against the Soviet Union

A boycott of the Olympic Games is one of a number of ways in which Britain and other free countries can bring home to the Russians the enormity of their action. We have considered various specific actions with our allies. Together we are seeking to strengthen the countries threatened by Soviet expansionism in South-West Asia. We have refused to renew the British/Soviet Credit Agreement which expired on 16 February. We are studying with our allies the tighter application of the COCOM rules for the transfer of sensitive technology to the Soviet Union. These measures will curtail business dealings. European Community producers are being denied outlets for exporting food to the Soviet Union as replacement for the massive supplies of grain denied at considerable cost by the United States. We have consistently made it clear to the European Community that we oppose any further subsidised sales of agricultural products to the Soviet Union. Visits and other contacts have been cancelled or postponed. It is therefore not only athletes who are being asked to share the burden.

People have asked: 'Why keep the British Ambassador in Moscow? Why allow any trade to continue?' We need to keep the Ambassador there so that he can report to us on Soviet policies, and so that he can put our views to the Soviet Union - for example the Ambassador has the task of explaining to the Soviet Government Lord Carrington's plan for a neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan.

We are not stopping ordinary trade and ordinary contacts where these bring real advantage to us. We are acting against special events and special forms of trade - eg the favourable credits, the sale of subsidised food, the sensitive COCOM items, and the Olympic Games. To allow these to continue unchecked would be a signal to the Soviet Union that we do not worry too much about their aggression.

/Visibility



### Visibility of Olympic boycott to the Soviet people

In a closed and controlled society like the Soviet Union, it is possible for any expressions of foreign disapproval to be kept from the knowledge of the people. A widespread boycott of the Olympic Games would bring home to Soviet citizens the extent to which the international community had deplored their Government's action. Protests at the Games would not be as effective as a boycott. They would be edited out of transmissions: absentees cannot be edited in.

### Soviet attitude to sport and the Olympic Games

While many countries, including Britain, have advocated the separation of sport and politics, the Soviet Union regards sport, and the Olympic Games in Moscow in particular, as an arm of Government policy. 'The Handbook for Party Activists', published in Moscow in November 1979, says for instance:

'The decision to give the honoured right to hold the Olympic Games in the capital of the world's first socialist State has become a convincing testimony to the general recognition of the historical importance and the correctness of the foreign political course of our country, of the enormous services of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, its contribution to the international Olympic movement, and to the development of physical culture and sports.'

The Olympic Games in Moscow have been turned by the Russians into a political event of major importance.

### Soviet State control of sport

Mr Vitaly Smirnov, the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Organising Committee for the 1980 Games, was until 1977 the Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Physical Culture, which is attached to the Soviet Council of Ministers. Mr Constantine Andrianov, the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Olympic Committee, is also Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Sport and Culture.

These two gentlemen are the Soviet members of the International Olympic Committee, members of which, according to the Olympic Charter, should be independent of their Governments. For the Soviet Union, sport is a form of politics.

### Difficulty of protest in Moscow

The Olympic Charter itself specifies how the Head of State of the host country shall be honoured by the athletes. Rule no 64

/of the Charter



of the Charter states:

'The Sovereign or Head of State who has been invited to open the Olympic Games shall be received at the entrance of the stadium by the President of the IOC and by the President of the OCOG; who shall then present the members of their respective Executive Boards. The two Presidents shall conduct the Sovereign or Head of State and his retinue to his box in the stand of honour, where he shall be greeted with the national anthem of his country ...'

'The delegations shall salute the Sovereign or Head of State of the country by turning their heads towards his box, with no other demonstration.'

In view of their attitude to sport, the Soviet authorities will undoubtedly use these courtesies to the Soviet Head of State for propaganda purposes, to demonstrate both to the outside world and to the Soviet people the high esteem in which the Soviet leadership is held.

#### Attitudes of other Governments

Some 50 other Governments are known to favour a boycott by their athletes of the Summer Games in Moscow. They include Australia, China, Egypt, Japan, Kenya, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal and the United States. The position is still changing. On 20 March Herr Schmidt, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, said: 'The Federal Government regards it as indispensable that the Soviet Union creates the conditions under which sportsmen from all countries can participate in the Olympic Games. We have declared this on many occasions. Today these conditions still do not exist; for occupation and fighting in Afghanistan continue unabated. The Olympic idea has, from its beginnings in classical Greece, been indivisibly linked with the state of peace among the peoples. If peace in Afghanistan is not restored, we shall inevitably, in unison, have to draw appropriate conclusions.' It is apparent that the Governments favouring a boycott are by no means all Western allies of Britain. 25 members of the Islamic Conference which met in Pakistan on 29 January supported the resolution which included a recommendation to boycott the Summer Games.

#### Alternatives

If competitors and sporting organisations decide to boycott Moscow, they may want to ensure that there are high-quality events in which they can take part. If so, we would be glad to help. Representatives of twelve countries, including Britain, met in Geneva on 18-19 March and worked out a set of suggestions which we are now discussing with various sporting organisations. We have never had in mind a rival Olympics, or anything which would go against the rules of each sport.

/British



## British Olympic Association

The British Olympic Association decided on 25 March to accept the invitation from the Moscow Organising Committee to go to Moscow. We believe that this decision was against British interests and we regret it. Nor is this the end of the matter. There will be uncertainty about the Moscow Olympics for a long time to come.

## Attitude of other National Olympic Committees

A reply to the invitation to attend the Summer Games is not required until late May. The National Olympic Committees of the large majority of countries are delaying a decision on whether or not to accept the invitation. This is understandable in the light of the evolving situation and the complexity of the issues.

## Situation in Afghanistan

Fighting is now more intense in Afghanistan and the Soviet troops remain there as invaders. Eight members of the national Afghanistan football team (including a member of the Afghan National Olympic Committee) have chosen exile rather than play a series of matches in the Soviet Union or live under a Soviet-dominated regime in their own country. At the moment, Western journalists are unable to report what is happening in Afghanistan. The fighting in that country could intensify. By July reports may be appearing in the national press of the exact nature of the Soviet repression of the people of Afghanistan.

We are trying to induce the Russians to withdraw from Afghanistan. That is the purpose of Lord Carrington's plan. It will only make progress if we are seen to back it up by clear pressure on the Soviet Union. Under present circumstances, athletes who participate in the Moscow Games will do so against a background of Soviet troops bombing and burning villages in Afghanistan. Never in the history of the Olympics has the host country at the time of the Games been committing aggression in another country. This cannot be compatible with the Olympic ideal.

## Parliament

It is not only Government advice that British participation in the Olympic Games in these circumstances would be entirely inappropriate. The House of Commons voted overwhelmingly in favour of the motion: 'That this House condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and believes that the United Kingdom should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow'. The Select Committee on Foreign Affairs came to a similar conclusion.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

27 March 1980





Sport

**DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY  
ASHDOWN HOUSE  
123 VICTORIA STREET  
LONDON SW1E 6RB**

TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 6401  
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

*From the  
Minister of State's Office*

The Hon Adam Butler MP

Nick Sanders Esq  
Private Secretary to the  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

15 April 1980

(2)

*Prime Minister*

*MB*

*a for*

*Paul*

*Dear Nick,*

LAND ROVER LTD: SPONSORSHIP OF THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION

Land Rover have now informed us that it has withdrawn its proposals for additional sponsorship of the BOA's participation in the Olympic Games. I enclose a copy of Land Rover's letter and Mr Butler's reply.

I am sending a copy to Charles Humfrey (PS/Mr Hurd) and Geoffrey Needham (PS/Mr Munro).

*Yours sincerely,*

*Jonathan Hudson*

Jonathan Hudson  
Private Secretary





DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY  
ASHDOWN HOUSE  
123 VICTORIA STREET  
LONDON SW1E 6RB  
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 6401  
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

*From the  
Minister of State*

The Hon Adam Butler MP

M S Hodgkinson Esq  
Managing Director  
Land Rover Limited  
Lode Lane  
Solihull  
West Midlands  
B92 8NW

16 April 1980

*Dear Mr. Hodgkinson,*

LAND ROVER LTD: SPONSORSHIP OF THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION

As you know, your letter of 17 March to Hector Munro was passed to this Department as we have responsibility for BL.

I am very grateful to you for taking the trouble to write to us about this and for the action you have taken.

I realise that decisions on such matters are not easy, particularly if they may involve commercial disadvantage, and I am therefore all the more pleased that you have taken the same view as the government.

*Yours sincerely  
Adam Butler*

ADAM BUTLER





Land-Rover Ltd

TRANSFER TO  
DEPT OF INDUSTRY  
(Hon Adam Aitken MP)

cc PS/Mr Moforo

PS/Mr Hurd (FCO)

Mr N Palmer



Mr Hector Monro, M.P.  
Minister for Sport and  
Recreation  
Department of the Environment  
2 Marsham Street  
LONDON SW1

Lode Lane  
Solihull  
West Midlands B92 8NW  
England

Telephone: 021-743 4242  
Telex: Leycar G 338641  
Cables: Rover Solihull

17 March 1980



Dear Minister

LAND ROVER LTD SPONSORSHIP:  
BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION

In the current climate, I thought it advisable for me to write and acquaint you with the facts regarding the above.

Our sponsorship entailed providing transport for team members and officials, which covered 17 Land Rovers and Range Rovers. A contract to deliver these vehicles at a discounted price was signed last October. The majority of these vehicles have already been delivered to the B.O.A., prior to any contentious situation developing on the Olympic Games.

I can confirm that Land Rover Ltd has withdrawn the option of more vehicles being ordered and we will only supply the remainder of the vehicles where we have a contractual obligation.

I can also confirm that we have cancelled extensive promotional support material, including television coverage, as a result of the present difficult situation surrounding the Olympic Games.

Yours sincerely

M S HODGKINSON  
Managing Director  
LAND ROVER LIMITED

MSH/LD:

Land-Rover Ltd is part of  
Jaguar Rover Triumph Ltd, both are  
managing agents for BL Cars Ltd

Registered Office:  
Browns Lane Allesley Coventry CV5 9DR  
Registered in England No. 407238

☐ A subsidiary of BL Ltd



16 APR 1960

11 12 1 2 3  
10 9 8 7 6 5 4





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Sport

PM was already aware 15 April 1980  
of this -

for Paul

Dear Michael,

Olympic Games

On 25 March the British Olympic Association decided to accept forthwith the invitation to send a team to Moscow to compete in the Summer Games. Until recently we had not realised that, in making this news public, the BOA had in fact issued a full statement and, more important, that this statement had included a let-out clause in that it says "naturally, should circumstances change, the BOA would re-examine the situation".

This point is particularly important now that the US Olympic Committee has decided not to accept the invitation to go to Moscow. Indeed President Carter made a reference to the loophole in his recent television broadcast.

The Prime Minister may wish to refer to the position in Parliament if a suitable opportunity arises. She might say that the BOA is now getting into the position against which the Government warned it; that their statement at the time they accepted the invitation to go to Moscow did contain a let-out clause and that the Government hopes that they will now use it.

I am copying this to Geoffrey Needham (DOE) and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours etc

(P Lever)

Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1



115 APR 1960





OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

24

FLASH

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON  
ED/CRD  
ED/PUSD (2)  
ED/EESD  
ED/NAD  
ED/NEWS D  
~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST~~

MR WENBAN-SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE-SMITH )

MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT  
17/19 ROCHESTER ROW

MR N PALMER " "

MR MUNRO (PS/PARL. U/SEC) "

WD/SAD  
WD/ECDE 2

ms

GRS 360

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN 141204Z APR 80

TO F L A S H FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 316 OF 14 APRIL

INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS, WASHINGTON, ROME

INFO SAVING OTTAWA, THE HAGUE, MOSCOW, PEKING

FLASH

OLYMPICS

1. BLECH HAS TOLD BULLARD, WHO IS IN BONN TODAY, IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD TOLD SENIOR MINISTERS AND THE PARTY LEADERS THAT HE HAD IT IN MIND THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD DECIDE AT CABINET ON 23 APRIL TO RECOMMEND THAT THE FRG SHOULD NOT (NOT) PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.
2. BLECH SAID THAT THE QUESTION WAS BEING DISCUSSED TODAY BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TWO COALITION PARTIES. ON 16 APRIL THE CHANCELLOR, FOREIGN MINISTER AND INTERIOR MINISTER WOULD MEET THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GERMAN SPORTS FEDERATION, TO TELL THEM THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN ON 23 APRIL.
3. BLECH SAID THAT GENSCHER WOULD TELEPHONE YOU AND FRANCOIS-PONCET TODAY; AND THAT GENSCHER WOULD ALSO SPEAK TO VANCE AND SCHMIDT TO CARTER.
4. BLECH SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT, WHICH WOULD NOT BE ISSUED UNTIL AFTER THE 23 APRIL CABINET WOULD PUT THE MAIN



BE ISSUED UNTIL AFTER THE 23 APRIL CABINET WOULD PUT THE MAIN JUSTIFICATION FOR THE DECISION ON THE ABSENCE OF ANY POSITIVE RESPONSE BY THE SOVIET UNION TO THE EFFORTS OF THE NINE OVER AFGHANISTAN, ESPECIALLY THE NINE'S STATEMENT OF 19 FEBRUARY. THE STATEMENT WOULD ALSO:

A. POINT TO THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE HAS NOT BEEN REDUCED, BUT HAD INCREASED.

B. SAY THAT ALL THE FACTS SPOKE AGAINST THE PROSPECT THAT THE FRG'S HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS OF A SOVIET WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE FULFILLED BY THE 25 MAY DEADLINE

C. REFER TO THE STATEMENT OF THE FRG NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE THAT THE OLYMPICS QUESTION WAS A MATTER OF POLITICAL IMPORTANCE ON WHICH THEY AWAITED GUIDANCE FROM THE GOVERNMENT

D. REFER TO THE NEED FOR ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY

E. REFER TO THE JOINT US/FRG DECLARATION AT THE END OF SCHMIDT'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

F. MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE DECISION HAS BEEN MADE INDEPENDENTLY FROM THE ATTITUDE OF THE NINE.

FCC PASS SAVING

GOODALL

NNNN

SENT AT 141234Z AMV

FLASH



# British Olympic Appeal



President: The Marquess of Exeter KCMG LLD  
Vice Presidents: Lord Rupert Nevill CVO Sir Denis Follows CBE  
Chairman of the Appeal Council: Sir Anthony Tuke  
Appeals Secretary: G. H. J. Nicholson

②  
Prime Minister

Ant

PERSONAL

ms  
10th April, 1980

Dear Prime Minister.

I am writing to acknowledge with thanks your letter of 26th March, from which we are naturally sorry to see that you feel you must withdraw your patronage of the Olympic Appeal.

Our Committee, consisting of about a hundred businessmen, was as you know formed last summer and we had just started to raise money when the Russians invaded Afghanistan. Since your statement in the House of Commons, the Committee has in effect gone into hibernation but I have attempted to hold it together and not to seek any publicity in the hope that perhaps the clouds would disperse and a team could go to Moscow with the blessing of all concerned. I have to admit that this looks increasingly unlikely and, as the great majority of our Committee fully support the Government's view, I think the time has almost certainly come for them to stand down. A minority of our Committee may feel that this is wrong as we should stand by the British Olympic Association, even though we disagree with their decision; I do not accept this since we have never sought to influence their decision in any way and it would be quite wrong for us to do so.

As far as money raising is concerned, the position is quite clear; no money has been raised by our Committee since the invasion of Afghanistan and, even if we wanted to approach potential donors now, it is most unlikely that the people on our list, namely the five hundred or so largest companies in this country, would do other than wish to support the Government on a matter of foreign policy.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony Tuke

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



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

*Spork* 21

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON *BULLARD*  
HD/CRD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD  
HD/NEWS D  
RESIDENT CLERK

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST  
MR WENBAN-SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE-SMITH )  
  
MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT  
17/19 ROCHESTER ROW  
MR N PALMER " "  
MR MUNRO (PS/PARL. U/SEC) "

CONFIDENTIAL  
DESKBY FCO 100800Z

*M*

*Useful summary of the  
present position*  
*Paul*

FM WASHINGTON 092330Z APR 80  
TO IMMEDIATE F C O  
TEL NO 1397 OF 09 APRIL 1980.  
INFO CANBERRA  
SAVING INFO OTTAWA, THE HAGUE, BONN, ROME, PARIS, MOSCOW, PEKING.

MY TELNO 1341.

OLYMPICS.

1. LEDSKY (STATE DEPARTMENT) CALLED US IN TODAY, WITH THE AUSTRALIANS, TO BRIEF US ON THE LATEST ADMINISTRATION THINKING. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE THREE OF US SHOULD HAVE A MEETING ON THE AFTERNOON OF MONDAY 14 APRIL, TO PREPARE FOR THE LARGER MEETING THE FOLLOWING DAY. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF AT THIS FIRST MEETING WE WERE ABLE TO REPORT ON THE POINTS IN PARAGRAPH 10 BELOW.

USOC MEETING, 11/12 APRIL.

2. THE ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO INFLUENCE THE VOTE OF THE US OC HOUSE OF DELEGATES THIS WEEKEND IN COLORADO SPRINGS. THIS WOULD CONTINUE UP TO THE LAST MOMENT. THEY WERE NOT CONFIDENT OF A POSITIVE RESULT. LEDSKY THOUGHT THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME WOULD BE A RESOLUTION FROM THE DELEGATES WHICH WOULD PASS THE DECISION ON WHETHER TO GO TO MOSCOW BACK TO A SMALLER GROUP. THIS WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF MAKING IT EASIER TO INFLUENCE THE ULTIMATE DECISION, BUT WOULD RESULT IN FURTHER DELAY DURING WHICH THE POSITION MIGHT DETERIORATE.



3. IT WAS THE CURRENT INTENTION THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD MAKE A MAJOR STATEMENT BEFORE THE VOTE, AND RESPOND TO IT IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS. THE ADMINISTRATION WERE DETERMINED NOT TO ALLOW AN INDETERMINATE OUTCOME FROM COLORADO SPRINGS TO INFLUENCE OPINION IN THE WRONG DIRECTION, BUT TO RECONFIRM THEIR OPPOSITION TO U S ATTENDANCE IN MOSCOW AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

4. LEDSKY NOTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS A WIDE VARIETY OF LEGAL OPTIONS BY WHICH THEY COULD MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT INDEED FOR U S ATHLETES TO GO TO MOSCOW. BUT THEY WOULD NOT GO SO FAR AS TO WITHHOLD PASSPORTS, OR (AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS) SEEK TO CHANGE THE PRESENT TAX-EXEMPT STATUS OF THE US OC. IF THESE OPTIONS WERE NOT SUFFICIENT, THEY WERE PREPARED TO ASK CONGRESS FOR FURTHER LEGISLATION. IT WAS FELT THAT THIS DISPLAY OF DETERMINATION SHOULD HAVE A USEFUL IMPACT ON US OC OPINION.

5. LEDSKY ALSO DREW ATTENTION TO THE GROWING PROBLEM OF THE OLYMPICS ISSUE BECOMING EMBROILED WITH DOMESTIC POLITICS. THERE WERE CERTAINLY SOME IN THE U S WHO SAW IT AS A CONVENIENT WAY OF EMBARRASSING THE PRESIDENT (REAGEN, THOUGH STILL IN FAVOUR OF THE BOYCOTT, WAS NOW MANOEUVRING TO GET INTO A POSITION WHERE HE COULD COME OUT IN FAVOUR OF THE ATHLETES).

6. APART FROM HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE RESPONDING TO FRASER'S LETTER THIS WEEK AND WRITING TO TRUDEAU AT THE SAME TIME, IN AN ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE BOTH NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES. IF THE COLORADO SPRINGS RESULT WAS POSITIVE, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD TRY TO GET OUT A SERIES OF LETTERS TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA AND EUROPE, TO GIVE A FURTHER PUSH TO THE BANDWAGON. IF IT WAS UNHELPFUL, LETTERS WOULD STILL BE NEEDED TO EXPLAIN THE POSITION AND LESSEN THE DAMAGE.

#### ALTERNATIVES TO MOSCOW.

7. LEDSKY THEN REPORTED ON HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN COLORADO SPRINGS WITH THE 21 U S SPORTS FEDERATIONS ABOUT ALTERNATIVES TO MOSCOW. THE GOING HAD AT TIMES BEEN ROCKY. IN ROUGHLY EQUAL PROPORTIONS THE FEDERATIONS HAD SAID EITHER THEY DID NOT WANT ALTERNATIVE GAMES AND WERE DETERMINED TO GO TO MOSCOW; OR THEY WANTED TO WORK WITH NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS BUT FACED CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS; OR THEY WANTED TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY TO ORGANISE ALTERNATIVE GAMES, BUT HAD NO WISH TO GET INVOLVED WITH GOVERNMENTS. HE WOULD BE HAVING ANOTHER GO AT THE FIRST GROUP NEXT WEEK AND THOUGHT THERE WAS SOME CHANCE OF CHANGING THEIR VIEW WHEN IT BECAME CLEARER THAT THE U S WOULD NOT BE GOING TO MOSCOW. HE WOULD ALSO BE HAVING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECOND GROUP WHO WERE PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL (INCLUDING THE U S YACHTING FEDERATION).



PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL (INCLUDING THE U S YACHTING FEDERATION). AS FOR THE THIRD IT WAS HARDER TO SEE A WAY FORWARD. FURTHER CONSULTATIONS ON SPECIFIC IDEAS WOULD BE NEEDED.

8. AS A RESULT OF THESE TALKS LEDSKY WAS NOW CONVINCED THAT THE OVERALL CONCEPT OF THE QUOTE SPORTS FESTIVAL UNQUOTE NEEDED SOME ADAPTATION. AIMS MIGHT NEED TO BE LOWERED AS A RESULT. HOWEVER THE ADMINISTRATION STILL THOUGHT THAT SOME ALTERNATIVE TO THE MOSCOW GAMES WAS REQUIRED THIS SUMMER, AND WAS STILL READY TO HOST A NUMBER OF EVENTS.

#### GENERAL.

9. LEDSKY NOTED THAT THE KENYANS WERE NOW COMMITTED TO HOLDING THE BOXING AND THE PHILIPPINES SAW A POSSIBILITY WITH BASKETBALL. IT WAS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO TURN THESE EVENTS OFF. THE UGANDAN AND BERMUDAN DECISIONS TO BOYCOTT MOSCOW WERE WELCOME. HE KNEW THAT THE SPANIARDS WERE ANXIOUS TO HELP, BUT THEIR PUBLIC OPINION WAS HOSTILE. THE U S HAD ALSO HEARD FROM THE SAUDIS THAT THE PAKISTAN POSITION ON THE BOYCOTT WAS SOFTENING. FINALLY, HE MENTIONED THE POSITION OF THE HONG KONG OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, ON WHICH WE REPORTED ALONG THE LINES OF HONG KONG TELS NOS 452 AND 453.

10. LEDSKY URGED US TO APPROACH THE PAKISTANIS AND STRENGTHEN THEIR RESOLVE (WITH THE AUSTRALIANS FOLLOWING SUIT). AND TO CONSIDER TALKING TO THE SPANIARDS. IN ADDITION IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE BY NEXT MONDAY'S MEETING A READ-OUT ON OUR LATEST DISCUSSIONS WITH UK SPORTS FEDERATIONS. HE ALSO NOTED THAT A FURTHER PROBLEM HAD ARISEN OVER THE IOC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ABOUT TO MEET IN LAUSANNE ON 21 APRIL. IT WAS REPORTED THAT THIS MEETING MIGHT TRY TO CHANGE THE OLYMPIC RULES TO ALLOW INDIVIDUALS TO ATTEND WITHOUT SPONSORSHIP FROM NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES. THE U S WOULD WELCOME ANY INTELLIGENCE WE COULD PROVIDE ABOUT THAT MEETING.

11. WE REFERRED TO A USEFUL EDITORIAL AND ARTICLE IN TODAY'S WASHINGTON POST SUPPORTING THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS (TEXT BY BAG TO FCO). LEDSKY CONFIRMED THAT THIS HAD BEEN ENCOURAGING (AND BASED ON A BRIEFING HE HAD GIVEN THE DAY BEFORE). AS FOR THE CURRENT VISIT TO THE U S OF SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES LOBBYING FOR AMERICAN ATTENDANCE, HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THEIR INITIAL STATEMENTS HAD BEEN CONCILIATORY AND LOW-KEY THEY WERE GETTING MORE STRIDENT AS THEY BEGAN TO REALISE THAT THE U S WAS SERIOUS IN THE INTENTION NOT TO GO TO MOSCOW. SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE FIRST TIME WERE NOW SAYING THAT U S NON-ATTENDANCE MIGHT COST LOS ANGELES THE 1984 GAMES. THIS WAS PART OF A MASSIVE SOVIET GLOBAL EFFORT TO WHIP UP SUPPORT FOR THE MOSCOW GAMES, WHICH MADE IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD NOT DIMINISH OUR EFFORTS



IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD NOT DIMINISH OUR EFFORTS  
AT THIS POINT.

FCO PASS SAVING OTTAWA, THE HAGUE, BONN, PARIS, ROME, MOSCOW  
AND PEKING.

HENDERSON

NR/100



RESTRICTED

GR 100

RESTRICTED

FM KAMPALA 080830Z APR

TO ROUTINE FOC TEL NO 157 OF 8 APR

MY TEL NO 97: OLYMPIC GAMES.

1. THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT HAVE SUSPENDED PARTICIPATION IN ALL INTERNATIONAL SPORTS COMPETITIONS FOR ONE YEAR FROM 1 APRIL. UGANDA WILL THUS NOT BE REPRESENTED AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE GOVERNMENT ARE ACTING ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF A COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY WHICH SAID THAT UGANDA SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIONS FOR A YEAR TO ENABLE SPORTS FACILITIES TO BE REHABILITATED, STANDARDS RAISED AND MORALE RESTORED. THIS MAY BE TRUE, BUT IT CERTAINLY PROVIDES THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT WITH A USEFUL EXCUSE NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPICS. THE MINISTER PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED, WADADA NABUDERE, ALTHOUGH A MARXIST IS VERY ANTI-SOVIET.

FLACK

F I L E S

CRD

ECD (E)

NAD

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EESD

NEWS D

SAD

SPD

LEGAL ADVISERS

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR BLAKER

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR BULLARD

MR FERGUSSON

LORD N G LENNOX

COPIES TO:

MR WENBAN-SMITH)

MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET

MR HASTIE-SMITH) OFFICE

MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT

17/19 ROCHESTER ROW

MR N PALMER " "

MR MUNRO (PS/PARL U/SEC) "

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST

[NOT ADVANCED]

RESTRICTED



*AW*

PRIME MINISTER

Buckingham Palace have  
issued this today (Tuesday)

MS  
8/4

It is learned from Buckingham Palace that the Duke of Edinburgh, in his capacity of President of the International Equestrian Federation, is to attend a meeting of the International Olympic Committee Executive Board in Lausanne on 22 April. His Royal Highness will make a final decision on whether he will be attending the Olympic Games in Moscow at that meeting. Unless there is any change in the present situation, however, the Duke of Edinburgh is unlikely to go to Moscow.

*after*

Background:

Palace spokesman saying "This statement reflects what has been the position for some time."



10 DOWNING STREET

issued by Buckingham Palace Press Office (John Dantk) this afternoon

AW. 8/4.



*Original y  
CF. to DOE  
GR.*

cc: FCO  
DOE(Sport

DSG



*Sport*

10 DOWNING STREET

3 April 1980

THE PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter of 13 March about the Olympic Games. I hope that you will have been able to read a full account of the debate in the House on 17 March.

First, let me say that the Government completely accept the dedication of British athletes who have been training over a long period for the Summer Games. I know that in many cases this has involved considerable personal hardship. But, for all this, athletes have the same rights and obligations as any other citizen of this country - and this is why, in their position, they have been called on to make such a sacrifice.

It is not only athletes who are being asked to share the burden. We have considered a number of specific actions with our Allies in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Together we are seeking to strengthen the countries threatened by Soviet expansionism in South-West Asia. We have refused to renew the British/Soviet Credit Agreement which expired on 16 February. We are studying with our Allies the tighter application of the COCOM rules for the transfer of sensitive technology to the Soviet Union. These measures will curtail business dealings. European Community producers are being denied outlets for exporting food to the Soviet Union as replacement for the massive supplies of grain denied at considerable cost by the United States. We have consistently made it clear to the European Community that we oppose any further subsidised sales of agricultural products to the Soviet Union.

/ It would not



It would not make sense, when we are seeking to penalise the Soviet Union, to engage in measures which would rather hurt our own interests. We are not stopping ordinary trade and ordinary contacts where these bring real advantage to us. We are acting against special events and special forms of trade - e.g. the favourable credits, the sale of subsidised food, the sensitive COCOM items, and, of course, have advised against participation in the Olympic Games.

As far as coverage by the press, radio and TV is concerned, it would be contrary to long-established practice, endorsed by successive Governments, for Ministers to seek to influence the broadcasting authorities in deciding what to broadcast. However, you will have noted a recent statement by the Board of Governors of the BBC to the effect that BBC television will not carry full-scale coverage of the Olympic Games if the international situation over Afghanistan does not improve by the summer.

So far as the treatment of leave for Civil Servants and members of the Armed Forces is concerned, there has been some misunderstanding of the Government's position. Applications for special leave without pay, and for annual leave, will not be refused except on operational grounds. But, given the Government's policy towards the Olympic Games, most people would think it reasonable if applications for special leave with pay are unlikely to be accepted.

On alternative games, I think we are at one that the organisation of sporting events is a matter for international and national sporting organisations, not for governments. Some of the competitors and sporting organisations who decide to boycott Moscow may look for help in mounting alternative high-quality sporting events in which they can take part. If so, the Government has felt that it has a duty to do what it can to facilitate the arrangements. That is why representatives of twelve countries, including Britain, met in Geneva on 18-19 March and worked out a set of suggestions which we are now discussing with various sporting organisations.



Fighting is intensifying in Afghanistan and the Soviet troops remain there as invaders. Athletes who participate in the Moscow Games will do so against a background of Soviet troops bombing and burning villages in Afghanistan. Never in the history of the Olympics has the host country at the time of the Games been committing aggression in another country.

Against this background, and leaving aside the arguments for further Government measures or inducements, we continue to believe that it would be wrong for British athletes to compete in Moscow. It is for the athletes to choose, but I believe it must be right to make it clear where in our judgement British interests lie.

(sgd) Margaret

Brian Harrison, Esq.





10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

1 April, 1980.

The Olympics: Message to  
Mr. Trudeau

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 31 March on this subject. She agrees that action on a message to Mr. Trudeau should be held in abeyance for the time being.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

re ID

Sport

QB





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 March 1980

Prime Minister  
Agree to hold over for the  
time being the question of a  
message to Mr Trudeau.

Pauls 31/3

Yes not

Dear Michael,

The Olympics: Message from the Prime Minister  
to Mr Trudeau

We agreed <sup>attached</sup> on 14 March to defer sending you an answer to your letter of 7 March until we had some clearer evidence of Mr Trudeau's intentions. At the meeting at Geneva on 17 and 18 March the Canadian observer said that the Government had decided not to take up a firm position until towards the end of April and we have since heard (Ottawa tel no 174 enclosed) that this was a decision by the Canadian Cabinet.

The decision by the British Olympic Association has also now to be taken into account. In the circumstances our feeling is that it would be better not to send a message on the Olympics to Mr Trudeau at this stage, particularly since, for the first substantive message from the Prime Minister to him since his taking up office, this might not be thought to be the most apposite topic. We could, however, look at the question again next month, when the US Olympic Committee will have taken their final decision, other Western countries such as France and Germany may have followed suit (though we suspect that they may want to leave their decisions as long as possible) and the pressure on Canadian opinion may be mounting. Perhaps you could let me know the Prime Minister's wishes?

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)  
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq  
No 10 Downing Street  
London



31 MAR 1960

11 12 1 2 3  
4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Original - G/R

CF to note

RH

Sport

cc:- IG 2513  
FCO

31 March 1980

I am sorry not to have replied before now to your letter of 28 February about the Moscow Olympics. As you know, the situation has been evolving rapidly in the period between then and the regrettable decision by the British Olympic Association on 25 March to confirm their intention to accept the invitation to participate in the Summer Games in the Soviet Union. My view remains, however, that while fighting continues in Afghanistan and troops of the Soviet Union remain there as invaders it is wrong for British athletes and sporting officials to appear to condone the Soviet invasion by their presence in Moscow. There are still many months to go before the Games themselves start and I believe that many of those who at present have supported the BOA's decision will decide, in the light of continuing Soviet intervention, and the decisions of other Western nations not to participate, to reconsider their own decisions. I hope that they will do so.

As for the points in your letter, I know that you made many of them in your intervention in the debate in the House on 17 March. I hope you now feel that (despite your opening remarks) Ian Gilmour's and Michael Heseltine's speeches covered the ground fully enough for you.

(SGD) MARGARET THATCHER

Nicholas R Winterton, Esq MP

vb



# British Olympic Appeal



President: The Marquess of Exeter KCMG LLD  
Vice Presidents: Lord Rupert Nevill CVO Sir Denis Follows CBE  
Chairman of the Appeal Council: Sir Anthony Tuke  
Appeals Secretary: G. H. J. Nicholson

Prime Minister

Hq. [Signature]

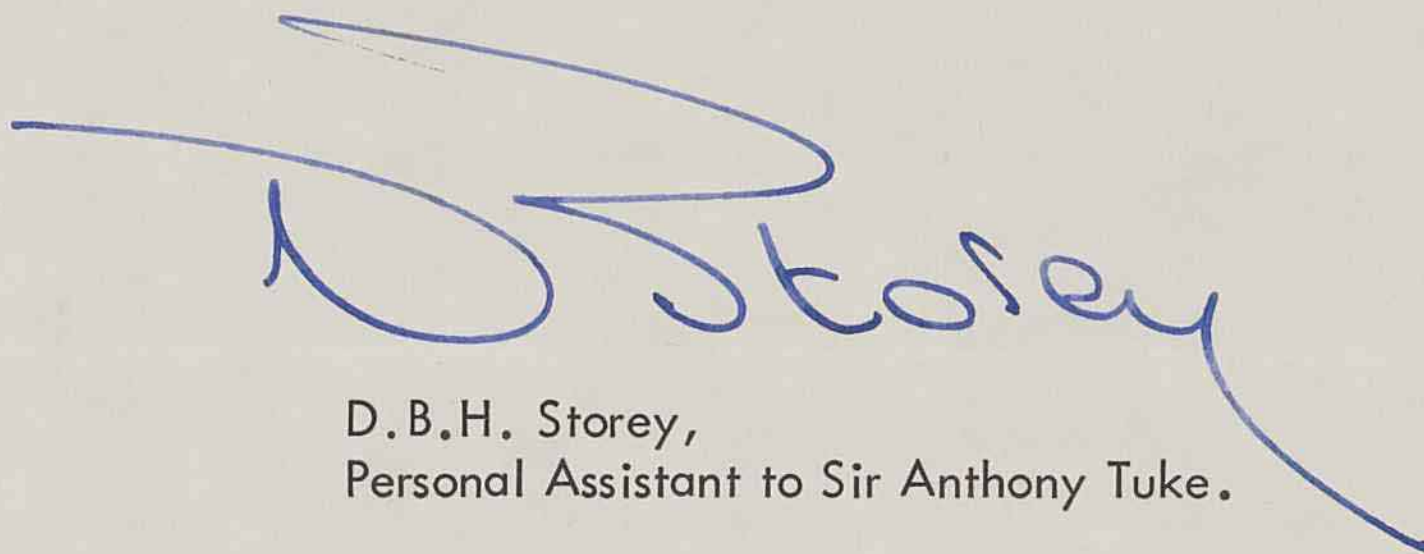
29/3

28th March 1980

Dear Prime Minister,

As Sir Anthony is at present abroad on business, I am writing to acknowledge your letter of 26th March. The Chairman will be back in the office shortly after Easter and I will show your letter to him as soon as he returns.

Yours sincerely,



D.B.H. Storey,  
Personal Assistant to Sir Anthony Tuke.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,  
10 Downing Street,  
London.



THE RT. HON. DAVID STEEL, M.P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

27th March 1980.

Sept 2  
PRIME MINISTER  
Tosa

128/3 MS

MS

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter and enclosure of 26th March.

I am most grateful to have had advance notice of your intentions concerning the British Olympic Association Appeal Fund.

Yours sincerely,

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
The Prime Minister,  
10 Downing St.,  
London SW1.



Original in G/R.

Sport

WB  
25/3

cc DOE  
(Sport)

26 March, 1980.

Dear Mr. Stewart,

Thank you so much for your letter of 21 March about our participation in the Olympic Games. It is heartening to have such warm support from someone who, like yourself, is directly involved. I am sure that the Minister for Sport, Hector Monro, would be glad to hear from you if you have further suggestions to make.

I was delighted to be able to visit Bournemouth at the weekend and only sorry that I could not stay longer.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD) MT

C. R. Stewart, Esq.

SL



Sport

THIS SCRIPT WAS TYPED FROM A TELEDIPHONE RECORDING, NOT COPIED FROM AN ORIGINAL SCRIPT. BECAUSE OF THE RISK OF MISHEARING AND THE DIFFICULTY IN SOME CASES OF IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS, THE BBC CANNOT VOUCH FOR ITS COMPLETE ACCURACY.

RECORDING SERVICES (RADIO)

Tape Transcript by TELEDIPHONE UNIT

Item from TODAY

In cue and Julian O'Halloran interviewing Charlie Palmer on how many GB teams will go to Olympics.

TRANSMISSION: 26th March 1980

IN CUE: Well according to the voting in the British Olympic Association's decision to send a team to Moscow in defiance of the Government's call for a boycott it seems that Britain should be represented in at least fifteen sports - among them Judo. Charles Palmer is President of the British Judo Association. He is also Vice Chairman of the British Olympic Association and Secretary General of the General Association of International Sports Federations. I don't know how he fits it all in. Julian O'Halloran asked him in his view how many of the twenty eligible teams from Britain would finally decide to go to Moscow.

PALMER: My prediction is that it is ninety per cent sure that the nineteen will go and fifty per cent sure that twenty will go. Even the Hockey I hope will by the time we are ready to go will reconsider it when they see the rest of us are going.

O'HALLORAN: Your prediction is an interesting one because it is the most positive prediction I have heard about, you know, possibly all the sports going from this country. What is therefore your prediction about other countries, take Europe, and after that perhaps the United States.

PALMER: I would say that again about ninety per cent of Europe is sure to go and that even the United States, the United States Olympic Committee itself has not yet taken a decision, the Executive Board have agreed to support its President as it would do but I was speaking to many

PA  
MS



members of the United States Olympic Committee, both the Executive and individual voting members in Lake Placid during the Winter Olympics and I strongly formed the impression that very very many of them wanted to go and I think probably they will.

O'HALLORAN: The director of the United States Olympic Committee who was at the meeting of European Olympic Committees in Brussels last Saturday seemed to indicate that unless there was a massive change in American public opinion there wasn't really much chance of America sending a team.

PALMER: Don Miller is using information provided at the moment by the White House but look at what happened in this country. One small error on the part of the Government's advisers in giving the public the impression, rightly or wrongly, that members of the Forces and Civil Service are not going to be given leave caused an absolutely enormous change in public opinion here. The letters and phone calls we received at the British Olympic Association from being about five to one in favour of the boycott went four to one in favour of us going.

O'HALLORAN: What about the West Germans. Do you think they will go.

PALMER: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: What evidence do you have for that?

PALMER: Well the President of the Olympic Committee of the country affording West Germany Willie Daume is a Member of the IOC, he is organising the Olympic Congress in Baden Baden in 1981. He I believe very much wants to be the next President of the IOC. If the National Committee of which he is President did not go to the Olympic Games that would be the end of his chances.

O'HALLORAN: What would you say to MPs who react to this decision by saying 'you are setting yourselves up as a body quite independent of the democratically elected body of this country, you are defying an overwhelming vote of Parliament'.

PALMER: I would say that is absolutely ridiculous. If Parliament passed the law saying we must not go we would not go.



Past Governments and past Parliaments have suggested five per cent limits on wage increases, nobody took any notice of that. I feel in no way am I or are my Committee being dis-loyal in making the decision we have made today. They have expressed an opinion. I wouldn't go to a plumber to have my teeth out for example. You know, they are not experts in this field. On international sport we are the experts.

OUT CUE:

Charles Palmer of the British Judo

Association.





File Sport 40

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 March 1980

Dear Sir,

I shall be writing later today to the Chairman of the British Olympic Association Appeal Fund about my position as a Patron of the Fund in the light of the Olympic Association's decision to send a team to Moscow. I thought you would wish to have advance notice of my intention, and enclose a copy of my letter.

Yours sincerely,

*Margaret Thatcher*

The Rt. Hon. L. James Callaghan, M.P.

Jap





10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 March 1980

Dear David,

I shall be writing later today to the Chairman of the British Olympic Association Appeal Fund about my position as a Patron of the Fund in the light of the Olympic Association's decision to send a team to Moscow. I thought you would wish to have advance notice of my intention, and enclose a copy of my letter.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Storer

The Rt. Hon. David Steel, M.P.

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TOP





File 20

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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 March 1980

Dear Sir Anthony,

As you will be aware, the Government has advised that, in present circumstances, British athletes should not go to the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer. The same view has been taken, on a free vote, by the House of Commons.

However, the British Olympic Association decided yesterday that a team should go to Moscow. I hope that in the time between now and the opening of the Games the decision may be reconsidered. But in the meantime my own position as a patron of the British Olympic Association Appeal Fund has become anomalous.

The Appeal Fund has had three objectives: to send British athletes to the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid; to send British athletes to the Moscow Olympics; and to support preparations for the 1984 Olympics (including the Association's administrative costs until then). The first objective has of course been achieved. The third I fully support: I remain deeply committed to upholding the Olympic ideal. But I do not accept the second objective and must, to that extent, withdraw my patronage from the work of the Appeal. I am informing my fellow Patrons of this and shall wish to make my position clear in public.

Yours sincerely,

Sir Anthony Tuke

Margaret Thatcher

JAT



PRIME MINISTER

British Olympic Appeal

I attach a letter to Sir Anthony Tuke about your patronage of the British Olympic Appeal. I also attach related letters to Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Steel, the other two Patrons of the Fund.

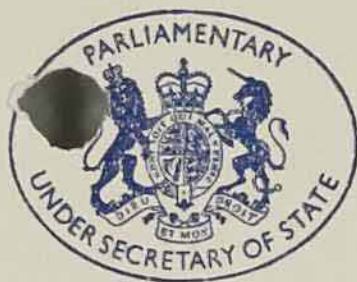
I agree that your decision to withdraw, at least in part, as a Patron of the fund may be criticised. On the other hand, your continuation as a Patron of the Fund is difficult to reconcile with the Government's present policy. Sooner or later somebody is going to point this out. On balance, therefore, the view taken at OD on 21 February that you should withdraw seems right.

*Mr Ingham tells me he has already been asked about your position as a Patron of the Appeal. He has stalled.*

25 March, 1980.

*Paul  
- 25/3*





Spart

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Michael Alexander Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

Approved. P. Needham 25 March 1980  
informed.  
cc. Press Office  
Lg. [Signature]

Dear Michael

I attach alternative draft statements, agreed with FCO, to cover the possible outcome of today's meeting of the British Olympic Association. The three alternatives being unconditional acceptance of the invitation to Moscow; acceptance with provisos and to defer until a later date. It is most unlikely that there will be a decision not to accept.

At last Friday's meeting between the Foreign Secretary, our Secretary of State and the BOA, Mr Hurd suggested that the Association would be wise to have an escape route should they decide to accept the invitation. Two provisos were suggested:-

- i. provided there is effective international competition in Moscow
- ii. unless the developing situation in Afghanistan makes attendance in Moscow intolerable

It is to these provisos that the second alternative statement refers.

The BOA meets at 3.30 pm and a decision is expected about 6.00 pm. In view of the fact that we are likely to have calls from the Press immediately the decision is announced I would be grateful if you can confirm as soon as possible that these statements are acceptable, and there is no objection to my Minister accepting invitations from the media to explain the Government's reaction.

I am sending copies of this letter to Richard Prescott (Paymaster General's Office), Charles Humfrey (FCO) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely  
Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM  
Private Secretary



255 MAR 1980





DRAFT STATEMENT IN THE EVENT OF BOA DECIDING TO ACCEPT MOSCOW INVITATION  
UNCONDITIONALLY

The Government seriously regret the BOA decision to accept the invitation from the Moscow Organising Committee to participate in the Summer Games in the Soviet Union. But this is not the end of the matter.

Neither the individual governing bodies of sport which constitute our National Olympic Committee, nor individual sportsmen and women, are bound by this decision. They are still free to decide their own course of action. The Government naturally hope that they will be guided by our advice. Fighting continues in Afghanistan and troops of the Soviet Union remain there as invaders. While this situation persists, our view will remain in favour of a boycott of the Summer Games. The BOA's decision today has not altered this.





DRAFT STATEMENT IN THE EVENT OF THE BOA DECIDING  
TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION TO MOSCOW, BUT WITH PROVISOS

The Government naturally regret the BOA decision to accept the invitation from the Moscow Organising Committee to participate in the Summer Games in the Soviet Union. But we welcome the wise provisions made which allow for a change of heart if, in the BOA's opinion, the situation warrants one. It is clearly premature to reach an irrevocable decision so far in advance of the 24 May deadline for acceptance.

Fighting continues in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union's armed forces remain there as invaders. While this situation remains the Government sincerely hope that the BOA will eventually decide to boycott the Summer Games. Meanwhile, we shall continue to urge our advice on those concerned. **Ultimate** decisions on whether or not to go rest with governing bodies and individual competitors.



DRAFT STATEMENT IN THE EVENT OF THE BOA DECIDING TO DEFER A DECISION ON THE INVITATION TO MOSCOW

The Government welcome the decision of the BOA to defer responding to the invitation from the Moscow Organising Committee until a later date. This decision is consistent with the attitude being adopted by the National Olympic Committees of other major Western nations, and the advice given to the Association by the Government.

Pressure thus continues on the Government of the Soviet Union to create a situation which would allow the Summer Games to be hosted in the Soviet Union. If, at the end of the day, a number of the National Olympic Committees of Western nations come out in favour of a boycott, the pressure on the Soviet Union will be intensified. By its action today, the British Olympic Association has ensured that it has not committed itself prematurely to going to Moscow.



T 05071

Submitted to P.A.

MR ALEXANDER

c Mr Wade-Gery

British Olympic Appeal Fund

In the absence of Mr Wade-Gery I am replying to your minute dated 25 March. We shall not know the outcome of the BOA meeting today until fairly late. Although its conclusion seems fairly predictable, this ought to be checked before the letter goes to Sir Anthony Tuke.

2. Subject to this point, your draft seems admirable. There is a certain vagueness about the phrase "to that extent, withdraw from my patronage ...." but <sup>it</sup> seems appropriate to these particular circumstances.

*R. M. Hastie-Smith*

Cabinet Office  
25 March 1980

R M HASTIE-SMITH



FILE

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25. ✓ 1.80

MR. WADE-GERY  
CABINET OFFICE

BRITISH OLYMPIC APPEAL FUND

On the assumption that the British Olympic Association will decide this afternoon to send a team to Moscow, I have redrafted the Prime Minister's letter to the Chairman of the British Olympic Appeal Fund. I attach the new text. I shall be putting this in the Prime Minister's box this evening and would be grateful for any comments you may have by mid-afternoon.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

25 March 1980

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Type for signature

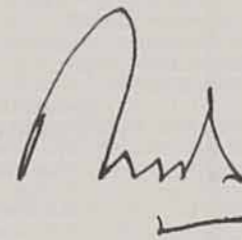
DRAFT LETTER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO SEND TO SIR ANTHONY TUKE  
CHAIRMAN, BRITISH OLYMPIC APPEAL FUND

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As you will be aware, the Government has advised that, in present circumstances, British athletes should not go to the Olympic Games in Moscow this Summer. The same view has been taken, on a free vote, by the House of Commons.

However, the British Olympic Association has today decided that a team should go to Moscow. I hope that in the time between now and the opening of the Games today's decision can be reconsidered. But in the meantime my own position as a patron of the National Olympic Appeal Fund has become anomalous.

That Appeal Fund has hitherto had three objectives: to send British athletes to the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid; to send British athletes to the Moscow Olympics; and to support preparations for the 1984 Olympics (including the Association's administrative costs until then). The first objective has of course been achieved. The third I fully support: I remain deeply committed to upholding the Olympic ideal. But I do not accept the second objective and must, to that extent, withdraw from my patronage from the work of the British Olympic Appeal. I am informing my fellow Patrons of this and shall wish to make my position clear in public.







Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Has not come up. FCO  
informed.  
f.a.*

25 March 1980

*Paul 25/3*

*Dear Michael,*

The British Olympic Association is meeting this afternoon to decide its policy on going to Moscow. The decision is expected in the early evening, ie after Question Time. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Secretary of State for the Environment saw Sir Denis Follows on 21 March, as agreed by OD, and advised that the decision should either be delayed again or qualified. It is likely that this advice will be ignored.

In the view of FCO Ministers it would be helpful if at Question Time today Sir Keith Joseph had an opportunity to pre-empt the decision of the BOA. In reply to a suitable supplementary he could point out that no decision taken now can be final in a swiftly changing situation. There is more fighting and killing in Afghanistan now than in January. The only difference is that Western media can no longer cover it. If this continues, the Olympics in July will take place against a background of savage continuing aggression. He could add that the Government will continue to maintain its view that it would be absolutely against British interests for British competitors to go to Moscow; that such attendance would undermine the efforts we are making to bring about Soviet withdrawal; and that so far as the Soviet Union is concerned the Moscow Olympics are now a political exercise designed to cover up aggression. *IX*

The purpose of such intervention by Sir Keith would be:-

- (a) to prevent the press tomorrow treating the BOA decision as an end to the argument;
- (b) to encourage the minority of sporting organisations which at our instigation have been prepared to support a boycott, but which are now under strong pressure from their members to go to Moscow.

I am copying this letter to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment).

*G G H Walden*

(G G H Walden)

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street



25 MAR 1960

11 12 1 2 3  
10 9 8 7 6 5 4





*Telephone*  
01 - 2 01

DEPARTMENT OF THE  
ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET  
SW1P 3EB



*F.S.*  
*Phms*

*With the Compliments of  
the Secretary of State for the  
Environment*



John

SPEECH FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON SATURDAY 22 MARCH

The decision over whether or not Britain should take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow has divided this nation. It is an issue which has, quite properly, led to intense conflicts of loyalty.

I believe that the very fact that this debate is taking place, so publicly and openly, is an illustration of the fundamental strength of our society, with its absolute commitment to freedom of speech.

That in itself contrasts dramatically with the action now being taken by the Soviet Government in their own country as the time for the Games grows nearer, with students removed from Moscow, a clamp down on Jewish emigration, <sup>and</sup> the banishment of <sup>Dr</sup> Sakharov. Above all that freedom contrasts with the action that has been taken in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, with the naked use of military power deployed in order to subject another nation.

It is the coincidence of that aggression with the proposal that the same aggressive country should host the Olympic Games in its capital city that is at the heart of the request of



this Government to the sporting bodies not to go to Moscow. Many sportsmen have asked - quite fairly - why they should be asked to shoulder a burden which is disproportionate to that asked of the rest of the community.

Why should they give up a chance which may occur only once in their lifetime, for which they have made many personal sacrifices, and to which they may well have devoted years of self-disciplined effort?

I should like to answer that question; and in answering it, I should like to appeal again, in the most open terms, to all sportsmen and sporting organisations to support the Government in the request endorsed in the House of Commons earlier this week.

There is no doubt that it is the sportsmen who are being expected to bear the front line strain.

I understand the agony that this involves.

The Government would not have asked for such a sacrifice without having considered deeply and sympathetically their views.

But however we consider the issues the horrifying coincidence of Afghanistan and Moscow, of aggression and the Olympics make it inevitable that the sportsmen find themselves the centre of political concern.

The fact is that the sportsmen alone are involved in this particular event.



The Olympic Games are so significant, and are so immensely important to Soviet propaganda, that involvement in the Games becomes a weapon out of all accord with any other measure which the Western World can take.

The Soviet Government is determined to use the event for its own international prestige.

They are deliberately turning it into a massive prestige exercise.

They will present international involvement in the Games as meaning that the world condones their activity of sending 80,000 soldiers into Afghanistan against the obvious wishes of the people of that country.

No citizen of a free country can ignore this situation.

This is the essence of the argument.

In appealing again to our sportsmen, I quote the words of Mr Novikov, the Chairman of the organising committee.

He said, just over a year ago:

/ ...



"For the first time, the Olympic Games will be held in the capital of a Socialist State where the noble ideals of the Olympics are fully supported. Peace, equality, fraternity, international co-operation, these concepts are inseparable from the life of Soviet society and are grounded in the constitution of the USSR. This, holding the Games in Moscow opens a qualitative new stage in the Olympic Movement."

I would ask all our sportsmen to consider those words - peace, equality, fraternity, international co-operation - when they see pictures on their own television screens of Soviet helicopter gunships flying low over the plumes of smoke which rise from the city of Kabul, as they see column after column of Soviet tanks streaming through the Afghan countryside.

As Peter Shore said on Monday, we are contemplating an Olympic Games at which our athletes could be present at ceremonies taking place to the sound of gunfire in Afghanistan.

It is a unique contrast - the Olympic Games and the noble ideals for which they stand and the horror of a massive and



brutal suppression of an independent nation.

That is why the sportsmen are in the front line, that is why we look to them for a sacrifice which only they are in a position to make.

And it is perhaps important to comment on those suggestions that our sportsmen can avoid the prestige and pomp, leave the rostrum or fail to take part in march pasts.

This is to misunderstand the action of the propaganda machine available to the Soviet Union.

The TV cameras filming events will be Soviet cameras.

The rest of the world can choose from what the Russians film.

The most elementary propaganda expert will easily transpose one nation's athletes marching past with other nations' athletes competing to create the impression of unity and harmony.

We are not dealing with a truth-seeking, free society.

We are dealing with a ruthless professional tyranny.

The Government is not asking our athletes to take a unilateral stand.

The United States has already made its position clear.

We already know of some 30 other countries which are against going to Moscow.



Many more are undecided or are leaning against going.

The British Government is actively co-operating with other nations to see what alternative arrangements might be made for those who do not go to Moscow.

We are prepared to make a financial contribution if the venue is changed.

In many other ways too, the United Kingdom Government is taking steps to bring home to the Soviet Government our abhorrence of events in Afghanistan.

Sales of subsidised wheat, barley and butter from the EEC have been suspended.

We shall work to prevent further shipments of agricultural surpluses to the Soviet Union.



We are looking carefully at the transfer of any sensitive technology to the Eastern Bloc.

We have refused to renew an agreement which gave preferential trade subsidies to Russia.

But I come back to the main point.

The Olympic Games are so important that the Soviet Government cannot disguise from the world, or its own people, the refusal of free nations to take part.

The decisions that we make and the policies that we follow do have a message for those living in the Soviet Union, or who are under the domination of the Soviet Union.

By failing to act now in a decisive and clear way, the impact on those living under Soviet domination will simply be that we do not care about their problems; that we are not prepared to take the action that above all will bring home to the Soviet Government their inability to flout all normal standards of civilized behaviour within the international community.

I believe it is right that the British Government should have joined with our American allies in making clear from the outset



that we should have no part in the propoganda exercise now being mounted.

It would have been cowardly to sit back and hope that others would have the courage to take the lead.

Where the issue is so stark on every moral ground the choice had to be made.

It would have been the same whatever the event if it had been on a scale which commanded world attention.

I do not seek to disguise the sacrifice asked of our sportsmen. I only ask that they seek to understand the profound importance of the decision that is theirs.

We all hate the idea of the Olympic Games becoming so enmeshed in international politics.

But it is quite inescapable.

The Russians invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 with a display of force that shocked the world - within 8 months they want to legitimise their action by playing host to those same nations in their capital city.

I ask all our sportsmen to consider once more the words of the German dictator in 1936. Hitler too sought to make his regime respectable, through the staging of the Berlin Games.



I quote a letter written by a man who is a Press Gallery reporter for foreign newspapers in the House of Commons. He reported his experience of having interviewed Albert Speer. Speer's memory of Hitler's recollection of the Berlin Games was recorded in this way:

"Hitler said again and again "they all came; they all came"".

The Government's plea to our sportsmen is that the men in Moscow cannot say the same in 1980.



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21 MAR 1980



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cc DOE

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

21 March 1980

Dear Mr. Carter-Jones,

Thank you for your letter of 5 March about the Resolution from your Constituency Labour Party. I had indeed received a copy of this Resolution direct and I need hardly say that I entirely repudiate the charge it contains of hypocrisy.

The Government are taking a line over the Moscow Olympics in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which is entirely consistent with our action over rugby contacts with South Africa in the light of the Commonwealth Statement of 1977. When Hector Monro wrote to the Rugby Unions Tours Committee last autumn about the visit here by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club and subsequently again about the proposed British Lions Rugby tour of South Africa this year, he was seeking to advise and persuade on behalf of the Government, just as I have been trying to do in writing to the appropriate sports body concerning the Olympic Games, namely the British Olympic Association. There have been meetings between Ministers and representatives of the sports organisations concerned in the Olympics just as Hector Monro has had meetings over the months, albeit less publicised, with the leaders of the Rugby Unions. In his public statements about sports contacts with South Africa he has left no-one in any doubt of the Government's position and I myself have confirmed my support for our attitude in Parliament, as you will know.



There is, of course, however, a more acute public awareness, both here and abroad, of the contrast between the Soviet invasion of their neighbour with Moscow's acceptability as the site for the world's most prestigious sporting event. People are looking to their Governments not only to bring home to the Soviet Union their abhorrence of the invasion, but also to try to secure the Russians' withdrawal from Afghanistan. That is why we are taking a series of practical measures, together with other countries, of which our advice to athletes is only one, and why the Foreign Secretary and myself, as well as Mr. Monro, have been so closely involved. Any impression that this has given that we are not acting with similar determination and vigour over sports contacts with South Africa as we are over the Olympic Games in Moscow is a false one.

At the end of the day, as you will know, Ministers have no power to stop competitors, officials or spectators from going to Moscow to attend the Games, any more than we have the power to stop the British Lions going to South Africa. As I have said in Parliament we can only seek to advise and persuade; and this is precisely what we are doing in the case both of the Moscow Olympics and the British Lions tour.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Lewis Carter-Jones, Esq., M.P.





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

My ref:

Your ref:

21 March 1980

Michael Alexander Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

*fn*  
*Prime Minister* (2)  
*mb*  
*Prime - 2/3*

Dear Michael,

As you are aware, Mr Monro yesterday attended a meeting in Strasbourg of the Informal Working Party of Council of Europe Ministers for Sport. Some 18 of the 21 member nations were represented at Ministerial or senior official level. The 1980 Olympic Games was the main item on the Agenda and Mr Monro took the opportunity to make a forthright statement of the Government's position, a copy of which is attached. There were also statements from some 13 other countries. Unfortunately, no opportunity was afforded for general discussion.

All present strongly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and agreed on the independence of sports bodies with whom the final decision rests.

The Netherlands and Portugal joined the UK in calling for a boycott of the Moscow Games. France, predictably, led an equally small group who seemed prepared to see their athletes go to Moscow in order to safeguard the absolute independence from governments of their sports bodies. It was clear, however, that the majority of the governments, led by the Federal Republic of Germany, had not yet made up their minds on their attitude and were prepared to wait upon events between now and 24 May hoping that the Soviet Union would in that time create a situation whereby all nations could compete in Moscow.

No attempt was made to produce a communiqué but individual Ministers, including Mr Monro, made full use of the presence of the media to publicise their governments' positions.

I am sending copies of this letter to Richard Prescott (Paymaster General's Office), Charles Humfrey (FCO) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely  
*Geoff Needham*

GEOFF NEEDHAM  
Private Secretary



## 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES

British Government believe, with endorsement of our House of Commons, that so long as the Soviet Union continues its aggression against the people of Afghanistan, it would be completely inappropriate for our citizens to take part in the Summer Olympic Games. This is the first occasion since the second world war that Soviet combat forces have been used outside the Warsaw pact area. This has been widely condemned by the international community. It has cast a deep shadow over East/West relations. We believe it right to give a lead in taking measures designed both to persuade the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and to show that it cannot take such aggressive action in the world with impunity.

A coincidence in the calendar presents a most effective way of bringing this home to the Soviet Union - the holding of the Summer Games there. This is of course not the only weapon in our armoury. There are other measures which we and other nations are taking on other fronts. There is no doubt, however, that while the Soviet authorities could conceal from their citizens the fact of other measures and minimise their effects they would find it impossible to explain away the absence of a number of nations large and small from the Olympics. This is unfortunately using sport as a political weapon but my Government believe that the situation the whole world faces over Afghanistan is so serious that it calls for extraordinary measures.

One Resolution of the Conference held in London of European Ministers responsible for Sport 2 years ago recognised that "international politics have become involved in sport and that some country's sports policies render them ineligible to take part in international sports events". I think we all accept that sport and politics are now to some extent mixed. In our countries there is no undue interference however in sport by political considerations. This is not so in totalitarian countries like the Soviet Union. In particular for the Russians the granting of the Summer Olympics



to Moscow and other sites this year is seen as a political vindication of their policies. A handbook for party activists published in the Soviet Union last Summer has this to say "the holding of the Summer Games in Moscow is 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". Nobody reading that could for one moment believe that the Russians think that sport should be kept separate from politics. Nothing, of course, is separated from politics there. There is no question that for the Soviet Union the successful holding of the Summer Games is of supreme importance and will be regarded as a propaganda triumph. And this for a country which has committed an act of unwarranted aggression against an independent sovereign state.

Of course we do not lightly adopt our current view. We recognise readily and respect the absolute independence of all governing bodies for sport both national and international and that the arrangements for sports events are entirely a matter for them. We are also conscious of the fact that athletes from all over the world have been training hard and with dedication, some for as much as 6 or 8 years now, with the sole intention of competing for medals in Moscow this Summer. We are asking a great sacrifice of them, but not from them alone, and for them to face up to their general responsibilities as ordinary citizens. It is for these reasons that we urged our own National Olympic Committee in January to ask the IOC to remove the Games from the Soviet Union. We still believe that this would have been the best solution and that it would have been a practical proposition given the support of the 104 countries who voted in the United Nations on 14 January to organise the Games in another site or in other locations.

When the IOC meeting at Lake Placid just before the Winter Games announced that they felt that there was no cause to remove the Games from the Soviet Union we felt obliged to advise our athletes and others intending to go to the Soviet Union for the Games



not to do so. We have all along recognised that we could only advise and persuade. But this we have sought to do by letters to all the governing bodies of Olympic sports in our country and at meetings which the Minister of State at our Foreign Office and I have had with many of those governing bodies concerned.

Our concern for the athletes who have, as I said, been preparing so hard for so long to compete for medals this Summer has led us to share in taking a lead over the possibility of alternative events. Of course Governments cannot organise these; that we readily recognise is a matter entirely for the Governing Bodies of Sport. But it is right that interested Governments should create an atmosphere in which the International Sports Federations felt able to proceed with Governments' full support to consider running alternative events, if they wished to do so.

You will all know that there has been in the past few days a meeting in Geneva of 12 countries, including my own, to consider the matter. I hope you have all by now received a copy of the Summary by the Co-Chairmen.

Finally, may I add that there are no harsh feelings between my Government and Governing Bodies of sport. Our only difference is with Russia. Aggression we cannot accept and I hope Western countries join with us in our stand.





*Sport*

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY  
ASHDOWN HOUSE  
123 VICTORIA STREET  
LONDON SW1E 6RB

TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 6401  
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

From the  
Minister of State's Office

The Hon Adam Butler MP

Nick Sanders Esq  
Private Secretary to  
the Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

20 March 1980

*K.A. Hudson*

*Dear Nick,*

I wrote to you on ~~12~~ 12 March about Cable and Wireless's contribution to the funds of the British Olympic Association. The Chairman of Cable and Wireless has now received the attached letter on the British Olympic Appeal confirming that the donation has already been used to help pay for accommodation in Lake Placid.

*Yours sincerely,  
Jonathan Hudson*

Jonathan Hudson  
Private Secretary



1. West  
2. F

# British Olympic Appeal



President: The Marquess of Exeter KCMG LLD  
Vice Presidents: Lord Rupert Nevill CVO Sir Denis Follows CBE  
Chairman of the Appeal Council: Sir Anthony Tuke  
Appeals Secretary: G.H.J. Nicholson

12th March, 1980

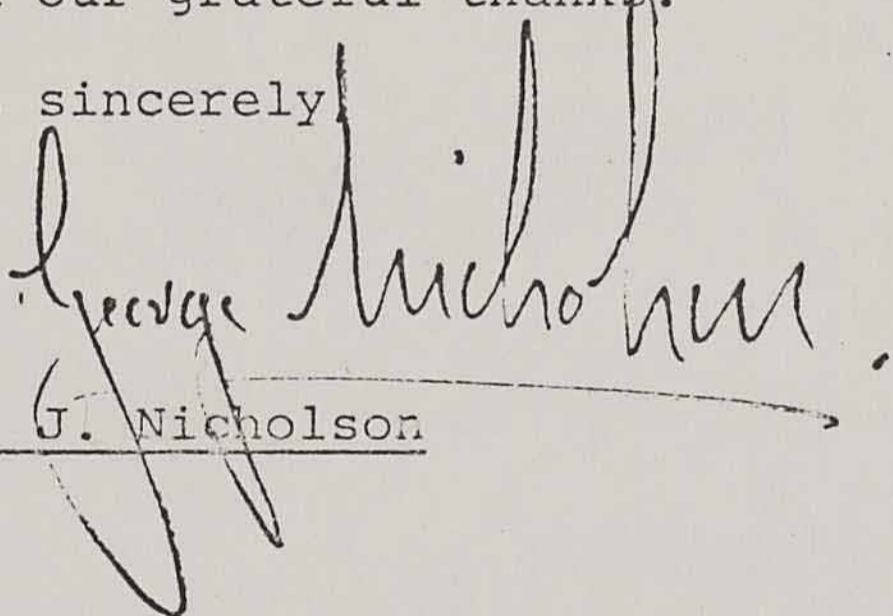
The Right Honourable The Lord Glenamara CH,  
Chairman,  
Cable and Wireless Ltd.,  
Mercury House,  
Theobalds Road,  
London WC1

Dear Lord Glenamara,

Thank you for your letter of March 11th. I can give you an absolute assurance that your Company's kind and generous gift to the Olympic Appeal will not be spent in sending a Team to Moscow. It has in fact already been used to help pay for the accommodation in Lake Placid.

Again our grateful thanks.

Yours sincerely,



G. H. J. Nicholson



20 March 1980

Olympic Games

I enclose a copy of a letter received by the Prime Minister from Sir Denis Follows in reply to her letter to him of 19 March. The letter appears to require no further action at present.

I am sending copies 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 Humphrey Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

THR



# 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

19th March 1980.

*120*  
The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON S.W.1.

*Dear Prime Minister,*

Moscow Olympics

Thank you for your letter of 19th March in connection with the above.

I will ensure that your letter is read to the members of the National Olympic Committee at its meeting on Tuesday next.

I am certain that they will take into consideration the vote in the House of Commons on Monday last.

The question of high level sporting events other than the Olympic Games is one on which the National Olympic Committee has no "locus standi". We exist solely for the purpose of organising and co-ordinating the United Kingdom's participation in the Olympic Games.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Denis Follows.*



19 March 1980

BY PRIVATE NOTICE

\*La Mr Tam Dalyell (West Lothian): To ask the Lord Privy Seal, if he will make a statement on the talks yesterday at Geneva of the Minister of State for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on possible alternative post-Olympic Games..

MR DOUGLAS HURD

Representatives of 12 countries met in Geneva on the 17th and 18th of March to discuss the possibility of arranging competitions of high quality, primarily for athletes who stayed away from the Moscow Olympics. Useful progress was made in identifying possible sites for alternative events which might be held in late August/early September.. The participants in the meeting will now undertake further contacts with other governments and with national and international sporting bodies to develop these ideas.

I chaired the first day's proceedings and Mr Cutler, President Carter's special counsellor, the second. A summary of the meeting was prepared by the Co-Chairmen and copies of this have been placed in the library of the House.





to  
FCO  
SPMT  
JS  
Sport

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

19 March 1980

Dear Sir Denis,

Thank you for your letter of 7 March in which you explained the background to the Resolution passed by your Association at its meeting on 4 March. I was grateful for your assurance that the Association had no desire to embarrass the Government in their task of negotiating for the withdrawal of the Russians from Afghanistan.

I have also noted your statement to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons on 5 March that the Association would not ignore a serious decision by the majority of the House that it would be undesirable for British athletes to go to Moscow - indeed, that the Association would give great consideration to such a decision. As you will know, the House of Commons, on a free vote, has now resolved by a very large majority to support the Government's view "that this House condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and believes that Great Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow". I am sure that your Association will give full weight to the considered view of Parliament in this matter.

I must emphasise that the Government are not approaching this question in any spirit of antagonism towards the athletic community. We have the highest admiration for the Olympic ideals. It is not we who are perverting that ideal; rather, it is the Soviet Union which is making cynical use of the

/idealism

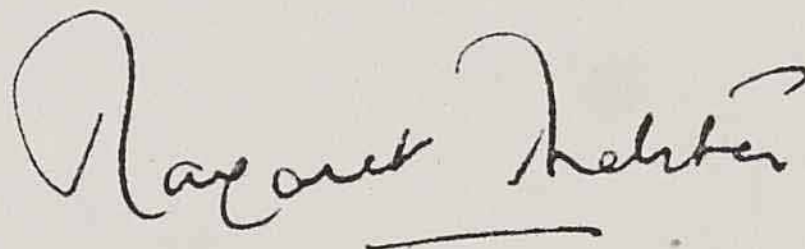


idealism of sportsmen to try to convince the world that its invasion of Afghanistan is a little local matter of no importance. The Soviet Union has been building up its forces for years to an extent far outstripping any conceivable defensive purposes. Now, for the first time, it has used them, unprovoked, outside the countries of the Warsaw Pact. Free countries must bring home as dramatically as possible that this sort of action cannot be taken with impunity. That is the significance of Monday's vote.

But we have also made clear that it is no part of the Government's intention, nor indeed within the Government's power, to compel individuals to stay away from the Games. Contrary to the impression given by some news reports, for example, civil servants and members of the forces remain free to attend on the basis of their normal leave entitlement. Decisions must be for the individuals and their sporting organisations. I am well aware how hard those decisions must be. The Government's part is to give a lead and to bring into focus the conclusions which would be drawn from participation in the Moscow Games.

I realise that the Olympics are unique. But as Chancellor Schmidt has put it, "participation in the Games would be inappropriate so long as Soviet occupation of Afghanistan continues". As you know, a number of Governments including the British Government have been represented at a meeting in Geneva to see whether it would be practicable to hold high-level sporting events elsewhere than in Moscow this year. Of course, Governments cannot organise such events, which are very much a matter for the national and international governing bodies of individual sports. But there may be ways in which governments can help with the arrangements. We for our part stand ready to offer full and generous support. I understand that your General Secretary will be meeting Mr. Hurd in the next day or two. He or Mr. Monro will be glad to discuss the possibilities in detail.

Yours sincerely



Sir Denis Follows, CBE.





3.

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister.

The attached letter for you  
to send to Sir Denis Ffolkes  
has been prepared by the  
Cabinet Office and cleared  
with FCO officials and Mr  
Munro's Office.

JWH

18iii





Spore. file RB  
C S/S D O E  
This Sport  
fro

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

19 March 1980

Dear Mrs. Hilleary,

Thank you so much for your letter of 14 March about our participation in the Olympic Games. It is heartening to have such warm support from someone who, like yourself, has been directly involved with the Olympic movement. I hope that yesterday's clear expression of the opinion of the House of Commons will encourage all potential competitors to decide against going to Moscow.

You put the case so  
beautifully and cogently.

Yours sincerely

Mrs. R. Hilleary.

Margaret Thatcher

LB





*File 1/3*

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

19 March 1980

The Prime Minister mentioned at this morning's meeting of OD that she would like your Secretary of State to have a copy of the enclosed letter from a former captain of the British Olympic skiing team about our participation in the Olympic Games. The Prime Minister thought it might be of use to Mr. Heseltine in the preparation for the speech he is planning to give at the weekend.

I am sending copies of this letter and its enclosure to Geoffrey Needham (Office of the Minister for Sport) and to Charles Humfrey (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

D. A. Edmonds, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.

*J*



CONFIDENTIAL

Ref. A01734

PRIME MINISTER

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Olympic Games

(OD(80) 27)

BACKGROUND

This is the last convenient moment before Easter for OD to take stock of the struggle over the Moscow Olympics between boycotters and their opponents, both nationally and internationally; and specifically to consider the results so far of the measures the Committee agreed to on 21st February (OD(80) 5th Meeting, Item 2). Mr. Heseltine and Mr. Maude have been invited to attend; as has Mr. Hurd, who will be able to supplement his written report on the work of his Ministerial Group (circulated as OD(80) 27 under cover of a short note by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary) with an oral account of the outcome of the Geneva meeting he is currently attending. The Committee will of course also wish to take account of views expressed in the Commons debate on 17th March.

2. There is still much uncertainty about what can be done to make a boycott of the Moscow Olympics succeed, because of:-

- (i) The International Olympic Committee's determination to go ahead.
- (ii) The eagerness of individual athletes, supported by the British Olympic Association, to see a full Olympic competition held.
- (iii) The lack of a consensus among Governments and the absence of decisions by National Olympic Committees (NOCs).
- (iv) The lack of a clear alternative focus for the ambitions of athletes.

3. These uncertainties help to account for the confusion in the British public debate up to now. But there are signs that opinions are beginning to crystallise, with influential sections of the Press and public opinion still sympathetic to the Government's view, but athletes showing increased insistence on going to Moscow regardless of the political implications. Thus, it is on factors (iii) and (iv) that Mr. Hurd and Mr. Monro are concentrating their efforts, helped by the Americans and Australians but so far by few other Governments.

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4. NOCs. President Carter's representative at the Geneva meeting is confident that the United States NOC will take a formal decision to boycott on 12th April and will tell European NOCs of this intention at the meeting on 22nd March. The German NOC are expected to follow the United States NOC's lead. The attitude of the German athletes will be a crucial factor for the British Olympic Association (the British NOC) who are due to take their decision on 25th March but would probably regard the Moscow Games as irretrievably ruined if the Germans as well as the Americans do not compete. NOCs do not need finally to make up their minds about Moscow until 20th May. The best chance of getting the maximum number of them to boycott will be if the most boycott-minded can be encouraged to go public early and the waverers to delay their decision as long as possible.

5. But this points up the dilemma, which is emerging at Geneva (UKMIS telegram no. 158), over the time factor in relation to alternative games. Unless someone starts to organise these soon the lead-time will be too short. But organisation depends on national sporting bodies, who are liable to wait until their NOCs have reached a decision about Moscow. Governments cannot do more than help with facilities and money; and too much Governmental pressure at this stage could harden athletes' attitudes against alternative games.

#### HANDLING

6. You will wish to ask Mr. Heseltine and the Lord Privy Seal to assess Parliamentary and public opinion in the light of the Commons debate; to ask Mr. Hurd to summarise the outcome of the Geneva meeting; and to ask Lord Carrington for his views generally.

7. You might then guide the Committee to assess two points of special interest.

(a) The degree of international support for a boycott and in particular the latest news about American and German intentions.

(b) How many alternative competitions could be held after Moscow in other cities with the prospect of attracting a good turnout of athletes.

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This assessment may show that further well-directed efforts by boycotter Governments could have a real impact, both in reducing the status of the Moscow Games and in mounting well-attended alternatives. But if, as is possible, the outlook is gloomy on both counts, OD will need to discuss how best to hold the line.

8. You will also wish the meeting to consider whether anything more can or should be done to influence the BOA (Mr. Heseltine and Mr. Hurd to lead) and British public opinion generally (the Paymaster General to lead).

#### CONCLUSIONS

9. Subject to the points made in discussion, you might lead the Committee to conclude:-

- (i) That the Government should maintain their policy and pursue it vigorously, both in public speeches and in the action taken to influence other Governments and sporting bodies (particularly the German NOC).
- (ii) That OD should review the situation again after the United States NOC decision is known.



ROBERT ARMSTRONG

18th March, 1980

CONFIDENTIAL





10 DOWNING STREET

Richard.

You may like to see  
these papers. They came in  
late this evening and the draft  
letter has been typed and  
submitted to the PM (CAW  
has seen the submission).

Wes  
etc.

18.3.80.



Original Correspondence in A/R



file  
cc Bin/sport  
40

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

18 March 1980

MOSCOW OLYMPICS

I enclose copies of letters to the Prime Minister from Mr. Richard Lester and from members of the British Amateur Weight Lifters' Association about British participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow. I should be grateful if you could arrange for replies to be sent to both letters on the Prime Minister's behalf and for copies to be sent to us here at No. 10 for our records.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Charles Humfrey, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

JS



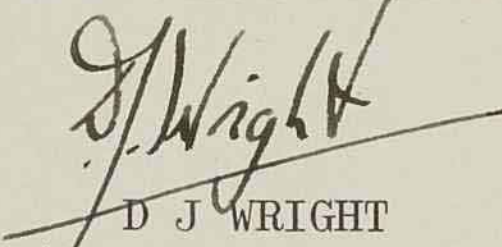
Ref. A01738

MR ALEXANDER

OLYMPICS

1. You told me that the Prime Minister would like to write soon to Sir Denis Follows to bring home to him the implications of last night's vote in the House of Commons. I submit a draft for the Prime Minister's consideration, which takes as its starting point Sir Denis' letter of 7 March and which draws on his evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee. I attach a proof copy of the minutes of evidence; questions 550 - 554 are particularly relevant but questions 564 - 566 and also question 612 deal with the same point. The draft has been cleared with Foreign and Commonwealth Office officials and with Mr Monro's private secretary.

2. I am sending copies of this minute and its enclosure to Geoffrey Needham, Department of the Environment, and Charles Humfrey, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

  
D J WRIGHT

18 March 1980



DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO SIR DENIS FOLLOWS CBE

1. Thank you for your letter of 7 March in which you explained the background to the Resolution passed by your Association at its meeting on 4 March. I was grateful for your assurance that the Association had no desire to embarrass the Government in their task of negotiating for the withdrawal of the Russians from Afghanistan.

2. I have also noted your statement to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons on 5 March that the Association would not ignore a serious decision by the majority of the House that it would be undesirable for British athletes to go to Moscow - indeed, that the Association would give great consideration to such a decision. As you will know, the House of Commons, on a free vote, has now resolved by a very large majority to support the Government's view "That this House condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and believes that Great Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow". I am sure that your Association will give full weight to the considered view of Parliament in this matter.

3. I must emphasise that the Government are not approaching this question in any spirit of antagonism towards the athletic community. We have the highest admiration for the Olympic ideals. It is not we who are perverting that ideal; rather, it is the Soviet Union which is making cynical use of the idealism of sportsmen to try to convince the world that its invasion of Afghanistan is a little local matter of no importance. The Soviet Union has been building up its forces for years to an extent far outstripping any conceivable defensive purposes. Now, for the first time, it has used them, unprovoked, outside the countries of the Warsaw Pact. Free countries must bring home as dramatically as possible that this sort of action cannot be taken with impunity. That is the significance of Monday's vote.

4. But we have also made clear that it is no part of the Government's intention, nor indeed within the Government's power, to compel individuals to stay away from the Games. Contrary to the impression given by some news reports, for example, civil servants and members of the forces remain free to attend on the basis of their normal leave entitlement. Decisions must be for the individuals and their sporting organisations. I am well aware



how hard those decisions must be. The Government's part is to give a lead and to bring into focus the conclusions which would be drawn from participation in the Moscow Games.

5. I realise that the Olympics are unique. But as Chancellor Schmidt has put it "participation in the Games would be inappropriate so long as Soviet occupation of Afghanistan continues". As you know, a number of Governments including the British Government have been represented at a meeting in Geneva to see whether it would be practicable to hold high-level sporting events elsewhere than in Moscow this year. Of course, Governments cannot organise such events, which are very much a matter for the national and international governing bodies of individual sports. But there may be ways in which governments can help with the arrangements. We for our part stand ready to offer full and generous support. I understand that your General Secretary will be meeting Mr Hurd in the next day or two. He or Mr Monro will be glad to discuss the possibilities in detail.



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

24

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON *P. Hoberly*  
HD/CRD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD  
HD/NEWS D  
RESIDENT CLERK  
*Hd/ECDD (E)*

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST  
*Mr Alexander, 10 Downing St.*  
MR WENBAN-SMITH )  
*Sir R. Armstrong* )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE SMITH )

MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT  
MR N PALMER "17/19" ROCHESTER ROW  
MR MUNRO (PS/PARL U/SEC) "

GPS 453

**IMMEDIATE**

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM UKMIS GENEVA 181655Z MARCH 80  
TO IMMEDIATE FCC  
TELNO 163 OF 18/3/80

INFO PARIS DUBLIN UKREP BRUSSELS ROME LUXEMBOURG COPENHAGEN  
THE HAGUE WASHINGTON OTTAWA CANBERRA NICOSIA ATHENS OSLO STOCKHOLM  
BERNE LISBON STRASBOURG  
INFO SAVING SANTA DOMINGO SAN JOSE JEDDA NAIROBI MANILA

MY TELNO 153: OLYMPICS

1. REPRESENTATIVES OF 12 COUNTRIES MET IN GENEVA ON 17 AND 18 MARCH TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING ALTERNATIVE GAMES AS COMPENSATION FOR ATHLETES WHO STAYED AWAY FROM THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS. USEFUL PROGRESS WAS MADE IN IDENTIFYING SITES FOR ALTERNATIVE EVENTS TO BE HELD IN LATE AUGUST/EARLY SEPTEMBER. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING WILL NOW UNDERTAKE FURTHER CONTACTS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SPORTING BODIES TO FURTHER DEVELOP THESE IDEAS.

2. IN ADDITION TO THE ORIGINAL 5 MEMBERS OF THE CORE GROUP (UK, US,



2. IN ADDITION TO THE ORIGINAL 5 MEMBERS OF THE CORE GROUP (UK, US, AUSTRALIA, NETHERLANDS AND CANADA), THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES FROM KENYA, SAUDI ARABIA, SUDAN, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, COSTA RICA, THE PHILIPPINES AND PORTUGAL, THE LAST 2 ONLY AS OBSERVERS. THE MAIN ITEMS ON THE AGENDA WERE (A) EXCHANGE ON INFORMATION ON THE OUTLOOK FOR THE MOSCOW GAMES, (B) ALTERNATIVE GAMES. AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE FIRST ITEM DID NOT ADD A GREAT DEAL TO WHAT WE ALREADY KNEW OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS' ATTITUDES, ALTHOUGH IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE POSITION OF COSTA RICA, WHO WE HAD BELIEVED TO BE IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT, WAS IN FACT LESS FIRM.

3. IN A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING ALTERNATIVE EVENTS, THE UK, US, AUSTRALIA, NETHERLANDS EXPLAINED THE REASON FOR TRYING TO SET UP OFFICIAL HIGH QUALITY GAMES. ONLY THE KENYANS, OF THE NEW PARTICIPANTS, CAME OUT FIRMLY IN FAVOUR AND OFFERED SITES. THE SUDANESE ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE IMPACT OF ALTERNATIVE EVENTS ON THE POSITION OF NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES, AND ON THE POSSIBLE FUTURE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE OLYMPIC GAMES. HE SUGGESTED THAT SOME SORT OF PRIVATE NON-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE SHOULD BE SET UP TO HANDLE THE ORGANISATION OF ALTERNATIVE GAMES; HE POINTED OUT THAT THE SUGGESTION OF HOLDING GAMES ON MULTIPLE SITES WOULD ENTAIL CONSIDERABLE LOGISTIC AND FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES IN PARTICULAR FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF SAUDI ARABIA, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, ARGUED THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO ORGANISE ALTERNATIVE EVENTS; THOSE COUNTRIES OPPOSED TO SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN SHOULD SIMPLY BOYCOTT THE OLYMPICS; IT WAS ONLY RIGHT THAT ATHLETES SHOULD MAKE SACRIFICES AND THERE WAS NO NEED TO OFFER THEM ALTERNATIVE EVENTS AS A COMPENSATION.

4. THE WORKING GROUP CAME UP WITH A USEFUL REPORT WHICH CONSIDERED THE 21 SPORTS WHICH TRADITIONALLY MAKE UP AN OLYMPIAD, IDENTIFIED POSSIBLE SITES FOR EACH SITE AND APPROPRIATE FOLLOW UP ACTION WITH SPORTING FEDERATIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS DOCUMENT WOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL AND ITS EXISTENCE SHOULD NOT BE PUBLICLY DISCLOSED.

5. THE MEETING AGREED THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE A COMMUNIQUE AS SUCH. TALKING POINTS FOR USE BY THE US CHAIRMAN WERE AGREED AS WAS A "SUMMARY OF THE MEETING BY THE CO-CHAIRMAN". (TEXT IN MIFT).

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES

FCO PLEASE PASS ADVANCE COPIES TO:

MR. ALEXANDER NO. 10



SOCP. TALKING POINTS FOR USE BY THE US CHAIRMAN WERE AGREED AS WAS  
A "SUMMARY OF THE MEETING BY THE CO - CHAIRMAN". (TEXT IN MIFT).

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSES

FCO PLEASE PASS ADVANCE COPIES TO:

MR ALEXANDER NO10

PS/PUS

PS/MR HURD

[ADVANCED AS REQUESTED]

PS/MR MUNRO DOE

MR FERGUSSON, AUS, FCO

HEAD OF EGD (E)

CABINET OFFICE - SIR R ARMSTRONG, MR WASEDE-GEARY, MR HASTIE-SMITH

IMMEDIATE

MARSHALL

NNNN

SENT/ RECD AT 18/1721Z SDC/JH





Agreed by  
PM.  
cleared by  
none

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

MAD  
18/3

Mr Pattison. No 10

We spoke →. Grateful  
to know if it is  
allright for Sir Ian  
Gilmour to sign  
this (Mr Munro's  
signature is  
subject to the  
Prime Minister's  
approval)

Michael

PS/LPS Perhause  
18 March:



From the Speaker of the House of Commons, and others



18 March 1980

HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

*Sir.*

Whatever view one takes of the Olympic games in Moscow - and the undersigned are of many opinions - it is surely right to try to minimise the adverse effects of this controversy on children.

It has been drawn to our attention that plans for SWIM AROUND BRITAIN a series of swimming galas in the main regional centres of Britain, in aid of the National Children's Homes, have been dislocated by the loss of the original prizes - tickets to the Olympics. Unless SWIM AROUND is rescued, some 9,000 youngsters who were expected to compete are apt to be bitterly disappointed, and another five thousand in the Children's Homes will lose the benefit of the £150,000 the sponsors hope to collect.

In a last minute attempt to avoid this, various firms have generously offered to defray some of SWIM AROUND's expenses, and to provide alternative prizes, including holidays in Florida and California. We are very grateful to these benefactors, as is the Methodist ~~Chm~~ Church which runs the National Children's Home. But more help is needed and quickly. SWIM AROUND starts this week in Belfast and will be staged as follows:

Edinburgh (March 20th)

Gateshead (March 21st)

Leeds (March 24th)

Coventry (March 25th)

Plymouth (March 26th)

Cardiff (March 27th)





HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Blackpool (March 28th)

Crystal Palace (London (March 31st)

May we through your columns appeal to all men and women of goodwill <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ all Parties and all sides of industry, commerce and the media, to do their best to help by getting in touch with the organizers at: NCH Appeal, 85, Highbury Park, London, N5, 1UD.

Given such support, we are convinced that it is still possible to make SWIM AROUND BRITAIN a success, and by so doing to avoid the contention over the Olympics being visited on our children.

George Thomas, MP

(Speaker of the House of Commons)  
IAN GILMOUR

HECTOR MANRO, MP

Hector Manro

Mr. William Goulton  
President of Methodist Conference

Mr. DAVID OWEN, MP

Mr. DENIS HOWELL, MP

EDDON GRIFFITHS, MP

Edon Griffiths

Richard WAINWRIGHT, MP

(Liberal spokesman)

\* Peter Bottomley, MP    Ray Whitney, MP    Robert Banks, MP  
DEW DOVER, M.P.

\* Signatures are on back of page.



00 FCO

PARIS

RR DUBLIN

RR UKREP BRUSSELS

RR ROME

RR LUXEMBOURG

RR COPENHAGEN

RR BRUSSELS

RR THE HAGUE

RR WASHINGTON

RR OTTAWA

RR CANBERRA

RR NICOSIA

RR ATHENS

RR OSLO

RR STOCKHOLM

RR BERNE

GPS 770

CONFIDENTIAL

FM UKMIS GENEVA 171655Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 158 OF 17 MARCH

INFO PARIS, DUBLIN, UKREP BRUSSELS, ROME, LUXEMBOURG, COPENHAGEN, BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE, WASHINGTON, OTTAWA, CANBERRA, NICOSIA, ATHENS, OSLO, STOCKHOLM, BERNE;

INFO SAVING SANTA DOMINGO, SAN JOSE, JEDDA, NAIROBI, MANILA,

LISBON

ADVANCE COPY

Spnt

IMMEDIATE

70x

no

ELD (E)  
CRD

ps / No 10 Downing Street

ps / Minister of Sport DoE

ps / Mr Hurd

ps / PUS

Cabinet Office x 3

M' Bullard

RC

Olympic Boycott Resumption

Read in full



YOUR TELNOS 91-92 (NOT TO ALL): OLYMPICS

1. THE PRELIMINARY COORDINATING MEETING (UK, US, NETHERLANDS, AUSTRALIA, WITH CANADA AS AN OBSERVER ) WENT WELL.

2. LLOYD-CUTLER (US - ACCOMPANIED BY LEDSKY, STATE DEPARTMENT , AND DAVID WOLPER, A VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE 1984 LOS ANGELES GAMES COMMITTEE, WHO IS ADVISING THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE MEDIA ASPECTS OF ALTERNATIVE GAMES) REPORTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE US OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, AT THEIR MEETING ON 15 MARCH, HAD ADOPTED A DRAFT RESOLUTION TO THE EFFECT THAT IF THE US PRESIDENT HAD NOT CHANGED HIS VIEWS ON US PARTICIPATION AT MOSCOW BY 20 MAY, THE US SHOULD NOT SEND A TEAM. THIS DRAFT RESOLUTION WOULD BE ADOPTED (CUTLER WAS CATEGORIC) BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE US OLYMPICS COMMITTEE ON 12 APRIL. THIS WOULD EFFECTIVELY PLACE THE DECISION IN THE HANDS OF PRESIDENT CARTER, AND CUTLER WAS EMPHATIC THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF THE PRESIDENT CHANGING HIS MIND.

3. CUTLER ALSO SAID THAT THE US OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO CO-OPERATE IN ORGANISING ALTERNATIVE GAMES. THEY WERE THINKING IN TERMS OF ONE SITE, BUT MIGHT ACCEPT MULTIPLE SITES. MR HURD (UK) SUGGESTED, AND CUTLER AGREED, THAT IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL IF AT THE MEETING OF EUROPEAN NOCS IN BRUSSELS ON 22 MARCH, THE USOC , WHICH HAS BEEN INVITED TO BE PRESENT, COULD SAY CLEARLY THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE GOING TO MOSCOW AND SET OUT THEIR VIEWS ON ALTERNATIVE GAMES.

4. CUTLER EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE LEAD TIME REQUIRED TO ORGANISE ALTERNATIVE GAMES. IT WAS CLEAR THAT OTHER NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES WERE NOT GOING TO BE TAKING DECISIONS TO BOYCOTT MOSCOW UNTIL SOME TIME IN MAY, BUT HE THOUGHT THAT WE OUGHT TO PERSIST WITH THE NOTION OF TRYING TO MAP OUT A SERIES OF POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE EVENTS AND THAT WE OUGHT TO BE IN A POSITION VERY SHORTLY TO LET THE INTERNATIONAL SPORTING FEDERATIONS (ISFS) KNOW WHAT THE POSSIBILITIES WERE. MR HURD, WITH SUPPORT FROM THE DUTCH AND AUSTRALIANS, ARGUED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT TO BE SEEN TO BE IMPOSING ALTERNATIVE GAMES ON ATHLETES. HE REFERRED AS AN EXAMPLE TO THE WORK BEING DONE BY THE BRITISH EQUESTRIAN FEDERATION ON A POSSIBLE FALLBACK SHOULD MOSCOW NOT TAKE PLACE, AND SUGGESTED THAT IF THE PRESENT MEETING WERE TO PRODUCE A LIST OF FIRM EVENTS WHICH HAD BEEN ELABORATED BY GOVERNMENTS, SUCH EFFORTS WOULD BE STILLBORN. HE CONSIDERED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THIS WEEK'S MEETING SHOULD BE TO IDENTIFY THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ALTERNATIVE GAMES AND TO DECIDE HOW BEST TO PROMOTE THESE IN OUR TALKS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS



TO IDENTIFY THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ALTERNATIVE GAMES AND TO  
DECIDE HOW BEST TO PROMOTE THESE IN OUR TALKS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS  
AND THE SPORTING ORGANISATIONS. MR ELLICOTT (AUSTRALIA) AGREED. HE  
SAID THAT HE HAD SET OUT ON HIS TOUR OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA  
WITH THE VIEW THAT GOVERNMENTS OUGHT TO PRESENT THE SPORTING  
ORGANISATIONS WITH FIRM PROPOSALS FOR HOLDING ALTERNATIVE  
GAMES. HOWEVER, AS A RESULT OF HIS CONTACTS WITH SPORTING  
FEDERATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN EUROPE, HE HAD COME ROUND TO THE  
VIEW THAT THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO WORKING WITH AND THROUGH  
THE SPORTING ORGANISATIONS. IN THIS REGARD THERE WAS GENERAL  
AGREEMENT ON THE KEY ROLE OF THE FRG. A DECISION BY THE FEDERAL  
GERMAN GOVT NOT TO GO TO MOSCOW WOULD BE INFLUENTIAL. NOTHING  
SHOULD BE DONE THAT MIGHT CAUSE THE FRG TO JUMP THE WRONG WAY.

5. TAYLOR (CANADA) REPORTED THAT CANADIAN MINISTERS HAD DECLINED  
FOR THE TIME BEING TO TAKE A DECISION ON A BOYCOTT OF THE OLYMPICS.  
THIS WAS LEAST PARTLY BECAUSE THERE WAS NO REAL POPULAR DEMAND  
AMONG THE CANADIAN PUBLIC IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT. HE SUGGESTED  
THAT FOR GOVERNMENTS TO BE SEEN TO BE TRYING TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL  
ON THE SPORTING ORGANISATIONS RISKED CRYSTALLISING PUBLIC OPINION  
AGAINST A BOYCOTT. THE GOODWILL OF THE SPORTING COMMUNITY  
WAS ESSENTIAL; GOVERNMENTS' TACTICS SHOULD BE AIMED AT DIALOGUE  
NOT IMPOSITION OF ANY ARRANGEMENTS.

6. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE DISCUSSION, CUTLER ACCEPTED THAT  
WE SHOULD NOT AIM AT THE END OF THE MEETING TO ANNOUNCE  
AGREEMENT ON A SERIES OF ALTERNATIVE GAMES. HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER,  
THAT WE WOULD NEED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS TO BE IN A  
POSITION TO PUBLICISE THE AVAILABILITY OF ALTERNATIVE EVENTS.  
MR HURD'S SUGGESTION THAT THE FULL MEETING DESIGNATE A WORKING  
GROUP OF EXPERTS TO PRODUCE A BREAKDOWN, SPORT BY SPORT, OF THE  
POSSIBLE LOCATION AND TIMINGS OF ALTERNATIVE EVENTS WAS READILY  
ACCEPTED. THIS WAS ALSO ACCEPTED BY THE FULL MEETING WHEN IT  
CONVENED THIS AFTERNOON.

7. FCO PLEASE ADVANCE COPIES TO:  
MR ALEXANDER NO 10 DOWNING STREET  
PS/PUS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR MUNRO DOE

MR FERGUSSON AUS FCO

HEAD OF ECD(E)

CABINET OFFICE - SIR R ARMSTRONG, MR WADE GEARY, MR HASTIE-SMITH

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES



FINAL

PS / PRIME MINISTER

Spat

SPEECH BY THE LORD PRIVY SEAL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS  
DEBATE ON OLYMPIC GAMES, MONDAY 17 MARCH 1980

I BEG TO MOVE THAT "THIS HOUSE CONDEMNS THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN AND BELIEVES THAT BRITAIN SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW". THE FIRST PART OF THE MOTION IS I THINK UNCONTROVERSIAL AND I WILL SPEND LITTLE TIME ON IT. BUT THE ISSUE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES IS INEVITABLY LINKED TO THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

~~DIFFERENT OPINIONS MAY BE HELD ABOUT THE MOTIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR INVADING AFGHANISTAN. BUT~~

*And* OUR POSITION IS THAT SO LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES ITS AGGRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN, IT WOULD BE COMPLETELY INAPPROPRIATE FOR BRITAIN TO TAKE PART IN THE GAMES.

/THE RUSSIANS



THE RUSSIANS SENT MASSIVE FORCES INTO A HITHERTO NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY IN ORDER TO PROP UP A SHORT-LIVED SYSTEM, WHICH HAD ALREADY LOST THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

THEIR ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO THEIR INTERVENTION WERE CONTRADICTORY AND QUITE IMPLAUSIBLE.

THIS WAS THE FIRST OCCASION SINCE THE WAR ON WHICH SOVIET COMBAT FORCES HAVE BEEN USED OUTSIDE THE WARSAW PACT AREA. IT HAS BEEN WIDELY CONDEMNED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IT HAS CAST A DEEP SHADOW OVER EAST/WEST RELATIONS. IT HAS UNDERLINED THE SELECTIVE AND SELF-INTERESTED NATURE OF THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO DETENTE, <sup>and</sup> (THE UNDERLYING EXPANSIONIST AIMS OF ~~RUSSIAN~~ <sup>Russian imperialism,</sup> AND SOVIET READINESS TO USE FORCE TO ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS AT THE EXPENSE OF A NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY.

/CERTAIN



CERTAIN INESCAPABLE CONCLUSIONS FLOW FROM THIS. THE FIRST IS THE NEED, NOW MORE THAN EVER, FOR THE WEST TO MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND TO PREVENT THE RUSSIANS FROM FURTHER TILTING THE MILITARY BALANCE IN THEIR FAVOUR.

SECONDLY, WE NEEDED TO TAKE MEASURES WHICH WOULD CONVINCED THE SOVIET UNION THAT IT HAD MISJUDGED THE FIRMNESS OF THE WESTERN RESPONSE. WE NEEDED TO SHOW THE SOVIET UNION THAT THEIR DEFINITION OF DETENTE WAS UNACCEPTABLE : THAT <sup>Detente</sup> ~~it~~ IS INDIVISIBLE, AND THAT THEY CANNOT CONTINUE TO ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, CREDITS AND FOODSTUFFS WHILE FLOUTING THE OTHER AREAS OF DETENTE. I SHALL COME LATER ON TO THE MEASURES WHICH WE HAVE TAKEN.

THIRD, WE MUST HELP OUR FRIENDS IN THE AREA STRENGTHEN THEMSELVES SO THAT THEY WILL BETTER BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND THIS NEW THREAT.

FOURTH, WE MUST KEEP AS OUR GOAL THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN WHICH ALONE WILL ALLOW THAT COUNTRY TO RESUME A PEACEFUL NON-ALIGNED STATUS, AND PERMIT A RETURN TO A MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

/THIS



X 4

THIS IS WHY WE HAVE TAKEN THE LEAD IN DEVELOPING THE PROPOSALS FOR A NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED AFGHANISTAN, ENDORSED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NINE ON 19 FEBRUARY.

THE SOVIET REGIME CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT "OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE" IN AFGHANISTAN SHOULD CEASE BEFORE THEY BEGIN TO WITHDRAW. WITH 80,000 SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN, ~~WE KNOW WITHOUT ANY DOUBT~~ <sup>IT IS QUITE CLEAR</sup> WHERE THE OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IS COMING FROM; ~~AND~~ <sup>IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT</sup> THAT, BUT FOR THE <sup>RUSSIAN</sup> INVASION, THEIR PRESENT STOOGES WOULD BE UNABLE TO SUSTAIN HIMSELF IN POWER. NEVERTHELESS THEIR REACTIONS SUGGEST THAT THEY DO NOT WANT TO CLOSE THE DOOR TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. WE ARE THEREFORE CONSIDERING THE NEXT STEP IN OUR INITIATIVE. BUT EQUALLY WE MUST BE ON OUR GUARD AGAINST ANY SOVIET ATTEMPT TO USE THE PROSPECT OF DISCUSSIONS AS A MEAN OF GAINING FAINTHEARTED ACQUIESCENCE OF THIRD COUNTRIES IN A PERMANENT SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN.

YET THE SEARCH  
~~BUT IT~~



YET THE SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION WILL BE LONG AND ARDUOUS. TO SUCCEED WE NEED TO KEEP UP AND INDEED INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON THE SOVIET UNION. WE MUST INTENSIFY THE MEASURES WHICH WE AND OUR PARTNERS HAVE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR, BEEN WORKING TOGETHER TO APPLY.

/THIS PROCESS



THIS PROCESS OF ACTING TOGETHER IS NEVER SIMPLE:  
DIFFERENCES IN THE WESTERN RESPONSE ARE AN INEVITABLE  
REFLECTION OF THE OPENNESS OF OUR SOCIETIES. THE VIEWS  
OF ALL COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN WELL AIRED. AS MY RIGHT  
HON AND NOBLE FRIEND SAID AT CHATHAM HOUSE ON  
22 FEBRUARY, "IN OUR DEMOCRACIES POLICY CANNOT BE  
DICTATED BY SOME KIND OF SUPERNATIONAL ... POLITBURO,  
AND THE DISCUSSION OF POLICY NEITHER CAN NOR SHOULD BE  
CONDUCTED WHOLLY IN SECRET". THAT IS AFTER ALL WHY THE  
HOUSE IS DEBATING THIS MOTION TODAY.

NEVERTHELESS,  
~~WE~~ SHOULD



NEVERTHELESS A NUMBER OF MAJOR STEPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN. THEY INCLUDE THE US DECISION TO CUT BACK ON SALES OF GRAIN, BACKED UP BY THE DECISIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AUSTRALIA AND CANADA, NOT TO MAKE GOOD THE SHORT-FALL. THE GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY MADE CLEAR TO THE COMMUNITY THAT WE OPPOSE ANY FURTHER SUBSIDISED SALES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAVE AGREED TO REFRAIN FROM GIVING THE SOVIET UNION EXPORT CREDIT AT SPECIAL RATES. THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS DECIDED NOT TO RENEW THE ANGLO-SOVIET CREDIT AGREEMENT WHICH EXPIRED LAST MONTH AND GAVE THE RUSSIANS ESPECIALLY GENEROUS TERMS. THE EXPORT OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY GOODS WHICH REQUIRES THE PRIOR APPROVAL OF OUR PARTNERS IN COCOM IS SUSPENDED. MEANWHILE WE ARE PURSUING WITH OUR PARTNERS LASTING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TIGHTENING AND WIDENING OF STRATEGIC CONTROLS ON EXPORTS OF TECHNOLOGY TO THE SOVIET UNION. BILATERAL ANGLO-SOVIET EVENTS WHICH MIGHT GIVE A PUBLIC IMPRESSION OF BUSINESS AS USUAL AFTER THE AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN HAVE BEEN CANCELLED OR POSTPONED. THESE HAVE INCLUDED VARIOUS MINISTERIAL CONTACTS, AS WELL AS <sup>FOR EXAMPLE</sup> VISITS TO BRITAIN BY THE RED ARMY CHOIR AND TO THE SOVIET UNION BY THE ENGLISH CHAMBER ORCHESTRA. IT IS DIFFICULT TO STRIKE THE RIGHT BALANCE - TO DO MORE HARM TO THE SOVIET UNION THAN WE DO TO OURSELVES. MAYBE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO GO FURTHER THAN WE

/ALREADY



ALREADY HAVE. BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE MEASURES WHICH  
HAVE BEEN TAKEN ADD UP TO AN EFFECTIVE AND MEASURED  
RESPONSE.

/WHERE



WHERE WE HAVE REFRAINED FROM CERTAIN OTHER ACTIONS, THIS HAS ALSO BEEN FOR GOOD REASONS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE STILL NEED TO BE ABLE TO CONVEY OUR VIEWS TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. WE CANNOT RESPONSIBLY FORSAKE EFFORTS TO PRESERVE WORLD PEACE AND SEEK BALANCED ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS WHICH WILL ENHANCE OUR SECURITY. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO INFLUENCE THE SOVIET UNION TOWARDS MORE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, FOR EXAMPLE BY SEEKING BETTER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR ATTEMPTS TO HELP OPEN UP SOVIET SOCIETY.

/I KNOW THAT



I KNOW THAT SOME HON MEMBERS ARE WORRIED ABOUT OUR CONTINUING TO TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. BUT WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING THE SEVERANCE OF ALL CONTACTS IN POLITICAL, SPORTING, CULTURAL OR SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, ANY MORE THAN WE ARE ADVOCATING THE SEVERANCE OF TRADE LINKS WHERE OPPORTUNITIES EXIST, ESPECIALLY FOR NON-STRATEGIC CAPITAL GOODS. <sup>BUT</sup> IF TRADE IS TO CONTINUE IT MUST BE PROFITABLE AND NOT PRIVILEGED. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE NOT RENEWED THE ANGLO-SOVIET CREDIT AGREEMENT. AS THE HOUSE KNOWS, THE GOVERNMENT IS OPPOSED TO SUBSIDISED EXPORTS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND ~~SALES OF TECHNOLOGY.~~ <sup>SHALL MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS.</sup> ~~BUT~~ WE ~~HAVE~~ TO PERSUADE OUR PARTNERS LIKewise. ~~WE ARE CONTINUING TO TRY TO ACHIEVE FURTHER PROGRESS IN THESE FIELDS.~~

WE ARE ALSO OPPOSED TO SALES OF <sup>high</sup> TECHNOLOGY, AND WILL BE TAKING STEPS, TOGETHER WITH OUR PARTNERS, FURTHER TO LIMIT THESE.



THE AMENDMENT PUT DOWN BY MY RIGHT HONOURABLE  
FRIEND THE MEMBER FOR WORTHING AND OTHERS OF MY  
RIGHT HON AND HON FRIENDS IS THEREFORE IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH GOVERNMENT POLICY. WE HAVE NOT RENEWED, <sup>as I have said,</sup> THE  
ANGLO-SOVIET CREDIT AGREEMENT WITH ITS EXTREMELY  
FAVOURABLE TERMS. WE ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO DOING  
ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT FACILITATE THE SOVIET WAR EFFORT,  
AND AS ~~I HAVE SAID~~ WE ARE AIMING TO TIGHTEN THE COCOM  
RULES; AND FINALLY WE ARE OPPOSED TO THE SUBSIDISED  
SALE OF BUTTER TO THE SOVIET UNION.

THESE MEASURES  
~~THERE ARE~~



THESE MEASURES HAVE BEEN PART OF A CONSISTENT,  
COORDINATED POLICY INVOLVING ON THE ONE HAND THE  
DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AND INITIATIVES OF MY RT HON FRIEND  
THE PRIME MINISTER AND MY RT HON AND NOBLE FRIEND THE  
FOREIGN SECRETARY, AND ON THE OTHER, MANY PRIVATE  
ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

AS I HAVE SHOWN, THEY <sup>involved</sup> HAVE ALREADY ENTAILED COSTS ~~to~~

*British  
many people* TO ~~BRITISH BUSINESSMEN, SCIENTISTS, MUSICIANS AND~~  
*in many other parts of life* OTHERS. WHAT WE ARE NOW ASKING IS THAT BRITISH

SPORTSMEN SHOULD MAKE THEIR CONTRIBUTION ALSO.

THE GOVERNMENT  
~~THE BRITISH~~



THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPT THAT A CONSIDERABLE SACRIFICE IS BEING ASKED OF OUR SPORTSMEN, SINCE TO FOREGO THE OLYMPICS WOULD INVOLVE THE LOSS OF AN IRREPLACEABLE OPPORTUNITY. ~~BUT AS I HAVE SHOWN, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN SINGLED OUT.~~

OF COURSE WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE DILEMMA IN WHICH MANY ATHLETES MAY FIND THEMSELVES. AS THE HOUSE KNOWS, THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT INITIALLY ADVISE A BOYCOTT OF THE MOSCOW GAMES. OUR FIRST EFFORTS WERE TO TRY TO GET THE GAMES MOVED FROM MOSCOW AND RELOCATED IN ANOTHER PLACE. <sup>athletes</sup> ~~THEY~~ HAVE MADE SACRIFICES AND SUBJECTED THEMSELVES TO A HARD TRAINING DISCIPLINE FOR MANY MONTHS, OR YEARS, IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT PEAK CONDITION FOR THE SUMMER GAMES IN MOSCOW. WE FULLY UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHISE WITH THEIR FEELINGS; AND WE ALL SHARE THE PRIDE OF THOSE BRITISH ATHLETES WHO, IN THE PAST, HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN OLYMPIC GAMES. YET OUR ATHLETES, AS RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS, CANNOT BUT SHARE THE CONCERN WHICH WE ALL FEEL AT THE BRUTAL BEHAVIOUR OF THE SOVIET UNION IN AFGHANISTAN, AND THE WIDER ISSUES WHICH THIS HAS RAISED.

~~IN THIS~~

/WE HAVE THOUGHT



~~IN THIS SITUATION~~ WE HAVE THOUGHT HARD ABOUT HOW WE MIGHT HELP. MY HONOURABLE FRIEND THE MINISTER OF STATE IS NOW IN GENEVA WITH A GROUP FROM LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES EXAMINING THE POSSIBILITIES OF ENABLING SPORTSMEN TO COMPETE AGAINST EACH OTHER IN CONDITIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE OLYMPICS BUT WITHOUT THE MORAL CONFLICT ATTACHED TO ATTENDING THE MOSCOW GAMES.

HOWEVER, THERE ARE MANY PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY. ~~FIRST OF ALL~~ GOVERNMENTS IN THE FREE WORLD CANNOT ORGANISE SPORTING EVENTS. THEY CAN ENCOURAGE, AND FACILITATE THE HOLDING OF GAMES, BUT THE ORGANISATION RIGHTLY AND PROPERLY IS A MATTER FOR THE SPORTING BODIES THEMSELVES. THE INTERNATIONAL SPORTING ORGANISATIONS HAVE THEIR OWN RULES AND PROCEDURES. THEY HAVE THE POWER LARGELY TO DECIDE WHETHER AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENTS TAKE PLACE. I HOPE THAT THEY WILL FACILITATE OUR EFFORTS TO MOUNT ALTERNATIVE GAMES.

/ IN THIS



IN THIS SITUATION THE GOVERNMENT HAVE FELT BOUND TO GIVE A LEAD AND TO POINT OUT THE CONTEXT IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS WILL HAVE TO TAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS. WE FULLY UNDERSTAND HON MEMBERS' CONCERN ABOUT THE LIBERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL. BUT I DO NOT ACCEPT THAT WE HAVE IN ANY WAY HARRASSED OR BULLIED ANYBODY AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED. THE SCOPE OF OUR DECISIONS HAS IN FACT BEEN VERY LIMITED.

WE HAVE DECIDED FOR INSTANCE THAT IT WOULD BE WRONG TO TRY TO PREVENT <sup>athletes</sup> ~~THEY~~ FROM GOING BY SUCH MEASURES AS THE WITHDRAWAL OF PASSPORTS.

/ON

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ON THE OTHER HAND, CERTAIN DECISIONS INEVITABLY FLOW FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO ADVISE AGAINST GOING TO MOSCOW. AS MY HONOURABLE FRIEND THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY AT THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT HAS MADE CLEAR, WE HAVE ADVISED THE SPORTS COUNCIL THAT PUBLIC MONEY SHOULD NOT BE MADE AVAILABLE TO SEND ATHLETES TO MOSCOW.

IT WOULD ALSO BE WRONG FOR US AS A GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE AND PAY FOR AN ATTACHE IN MOSCOW HELPING TO ORGANISE BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS. SO HE IS BEING WITHDRAWN. BUT THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION ARE AT LIBERTY TO DO AS OTHER ASSOCIATIONS DO AND APPOINT THEIR OWN ATTACHE. AND ANY BRITISH VISITOR TO MOSCOW WILL CONTINUE TO ENJOY THE FULL SERVICES OF OUR CONSULAR OFFICERS IN THE NORMAL WAY SHOULD <sup>THEY GET INTO DIFFICULTIES</sup> ~~THE NEED ARISE~~.

/IT-AL-EPF

/THE

17

10/8



THE QUESTION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO  
LEAVE FACILITIES FOR CIVIL SERVANTS AND MEMBERS OF  
THE ARMED FORCES HAS BEEN MISREPRESENTED AND EXAGGERATED.

~~WE DECIDED THAT~~ WE COULD NOT GRANT SPECIAL PAID LEAVE  
TO PEOPLE WORKING IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE FOR A PURPOSE  
WHICH WE BELIEVE IS AGAINST OUR INTERESTS.

HOWEVER, HOW INDIVIDUALS USE THEIR ANNUAL LEAVE,  
AND WHETHER THEY ASK FOR UNPAID LEAVE - THESE IN A FREE  
SOCIETY ARE MATTERS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL. IN THE CASE OF  
UNPAID LEAVE, THE ANSWER TO ANY REQUEST WILL IN THE  
USUAL WAY DEPEND ON THE NEEDS OF THE SERVICE. NATURALLY  
WE HOPE THAT INDIVIDUALS WILL LISTEN TO OUR ADVICE ABOUT  
THE BRITISH INTEREST. BUT IN THE LAST RESORT THE  
DECISION IN THIS COUNTRY WILL REST, WHERE IT BELONGS,  
WITH THE INDIVIDUAL.

WE ACCEPT  
~~THE OPPOSITION'S~~



'out

*as (said),*

WE ACCEPT, THAT IN A FREE SOCIETY LIKE OURS,  
INDIVIDUALS MUST DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES. THERE ARE  
ALREADY CONSIDERABLE DIVISIONS AND FLUCTUATIONS OF  
OPINION IN THE ATHLETIC COMMUNITY.

MR DEREK JOHNSON, THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
ATHLETES CLUB, FOR INSTANCE, RECENTLY WROTE TO MY RIGHT  
HONOURABLE FRIEND THE PRIME MINISTER, TO EXPRESS, ON  
BEHALF OF A NUMBER OF THE CLUB'S MEMBERS, THE STRENGTH  
OF THEIR DESIRE TO TAKE PART IN THE SUMMER GAMES IN MOSCOW.  
ON 11 JANUARY, HOWEVER, HE WAS WRITING IN THE DAILY MAIL -  
"FRANKLY, IT DOESN'T MATTER WHAT HAPPENS TO THE OLYMPIC  
GAMES. THEY HAVE BECOME SUCH A POLITICAL THING THAT IT  
IS ACTUALLY DESIRABLE THAT THEY SHOULD BE CUT DOWN TO SIZE.  
THE OLYMPICS ARE AN EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT WITHOUT INTRINSIC  
VALUE. THEIR DISAPPEARANCE WOULD BE NO GREAT LOSS TO  
SOCIETY, OR TO ATHLETICS."

HE ALSO SAID : "LIKE MANY ATHLETES, I BELIEVE THAT  
EASTERN EUROPE IS UP TO ITS EYEBALLS IN DRUGS. YES, OF  
COURSE, DRUG-TAKING EXISTS AMONG WESTERN ATHLETES, BUT IN  
EASTERN EUROPE THE FEDERATIONS ARE RUNNING AN ORGANISED  
STATE DRUG PROGRAMME FOR ATHLETES." "JUST IMAGINE THE  
EFFECT, TOO OF ALL THE WEST'S BEST 1,500 METRE RUNNERS  
SAYING : 'WE'RE NO LONGER WILLING TO RUN AGAINST THE  
DRUG-RIDDEN HACKS FROM EASTERN EUROPE'."

SO OPINIONS ARE INDEED DIVIDED.

*/IT HAS BEEN*



PROTEST

IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT OUR ATHLETES SHOULD DEMONSTRATE DISAPPROVAL OF SOVIET ACTIONS WHILE PARTICIPATING IN THE SPORTING EVENTS THEMSELVES. THIS IS A COURSE WHICH I CANNOT COMMEND. TO ATTEND IS TO BECOME A GUEST AND TO ACCEPT THE RULES OF THE HOST, TECHNICALLY THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, BUT IN SOVIET PROPAGANDA TERMS, THE SOVIET UNION. REFUSAL TO COMPLY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ORGANISERS WOULD NOT MERELY BE SEEN AS DISCOURTESY; IT COULD BE REPRESENTED AS DISRUPTION OR, IN THE SOVIET JARGON, HOOLIGANISM. THE EFFECT OF SUCH ACTION ON THE SOVIET TELEVISION VIEWER WOULD BE VERY DIFFERENT AND MUCH LESS CERTAIN IN ITS RESULTS THAN THE UNMISTAKEABLE AND UNCOMPROMISING ACT OF ABSENTING ONESELF.

THAT IS, ASSUMING THE SOVIET VIEWER SEES THE PROTEST. I HAVE HEARD THAT IT IS LIKELY THAT ALL THE SOVIET INTERNAL BROADCASTS WILL BE RECORDED AND EDITED BEFORE TRANSMISSION.

WE ARE CONVINCED  
~~THE~~ ARGUMENTS



WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY EFFECTIVE  
COURSE OF ACTION IS, PURELY AND SIMPLY, NON PARTICIPATION  
IN THE GAMES.

THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION MAINTAIN  
THAT THE ATTENDANCE OF BRITISH ATHLETES IN MOSCOW  
WOULD NO MORE SIGNIFY THEIR APPROVAL OF RUSSIAN  
BEHAVIOUR IN AFGHANISTAN THAN DOES THE CONTINUED  
PRESENCE OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR THERE, AND THAT  
POLITICS SHOULD BE KEPT SEPARATE FROM SPORT.

/ THE ARGUMENTS



THE ARGUMENTS OF THE BOA ARE FALLACIOUS  
BECAUSE THEY IGNORE THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE OLYMPIC  
GAMES. ~~THEY SEEM~~ <sup>THE ASSOCIATION SEEM</sup> TO THINK THAT THE RUSSIAN ATTITUDE  
TO SPORT AND POLITICS IS THE SAME AS THEIR OWN, WHEREAS  
AS I SHALL SHOW IT IS VERY DIFFERENT INDEED.

'THE HANDBOOK FOR PARTY ACTIVISTS' IN RUSSIA  
WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN JUNE LAST YEAR HAS THIS TO SAY:

"THE FORCES OF REACTION ARE TRYING TO EXPLOIT  
THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND GAMES IN THE INTERESTS OF THE  
EXPLOITING CLASSES, FOR THE GOALS OF BUSINESS AND  
COMMERCE, AS PROPAGANDA FOR THE BOURGEOIS WAY OF LIFE,  
CAPITALIST CONSTRUCTION AND ITS IDEOLOGY, AND FOR THE  
DISTRACTION OF YOUTH FROM THE POLITICAL AND CLASS  
STRUGGLE."

THE HANDBOOK GOES ON TO SAY THAT THE HOLDING OF  
THE SUMMER GAMES IN MOSCOW IS 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. PROOF OF THE  
CORRECTNESS OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND OF THE HUGE  
SERVICES OF THE SOVIET UNION TO PEACE.



NOBODY READING THAT COULD FOR ONE MOMENT BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS THINK THAT SPORT SHOULD BE KEPT SEPARATE FROM POLITICS. INDEED IT IS OFFICIAL SOVIET DOCTRINE THAT TO SAY THAT SPORT LIES OUTSIDE POLITICS IS NOT A SERIOUS POINT OF VIEW. AND AS WE KNOW, IN A TOTALITARIAN STATE LIKE RUSSIA, NOTHING IS SEPARATED FROM POLITICS. ALL ACTIVITY IS POLITICAL. SO TO THOSE WHO VIEW THE WORLD IN THE ABSTRACT, AND STILL MAINTAIN THAT SPORT AND POLITICS SHOULD BE KEPT APART, I WOULD SAY, "<sup>Maybe</sup>~~Yes~~", BUT WHAT YOU WILL FIND IN MOSCOW IS NOT YOUR KIND OF SPORT".

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT FOR THE SOVIET UNION, HOLDING THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW IS OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE; THEY SEE THE GAMES AS A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE FROM WHICH THEY HOPE TO DERIVE VERY GREAT ADVANTAGE.

/CONVERSELY



DECISION NOT TO GO TO MOSCOW  
HAVE IMPACT

CONVERSELY, A DECISION BY SEVERAL MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES TO ABSENT THEMSELVES FROM THE GAMES WILL HAVE A POWERFUL IMPACT UPON THE SOVIET POPULATION AT LARGE. ~~SOVIET SUCCESSES IN INTERNATIONAL SPORT ARE OFTEN CLAIMED BY THE SOVIET PRESS TO DEMONSTRATE THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM.~~ <sup>in Russia</sup> (SPORT GENERATES INTENSE PUBLIC INTEREST : SOVIET ATHLETES RECEIVE MANY PRIVILEGES. THEY AND THEIR SUPPORTERS AMONG THE SOVIET PUBLIC KNOW THAT WITHOUT FULL INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION, THE MOSCOW OLYMPIC GAMES WILL BE FATALLY FLAWED. <sup>And</sup> ~~But~~ IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO HIDE THAT FACT.

/ALTHOUGH



WILL HAVE TO BE EXPOSED  
TO SOVIET PUBLIC

~~ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET PEOPLE LACK THE WIDE RANGE  
OF INFORMATION WHICH WE HAVE IN THIS COUNTRY, THEY ARE  
NOT BLIND OR INSENSITIVE. THEY DRAW INFERENCES FROM  
THE INFORMATION IN THEIR OWN PRESS AND MEDIA. WE KNOW  
THAT FOREIGN BROADCASTS HAVE A WIDE AUDIENCE. WHATEVER  
CLAIMS THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES MAKE AFTERWARDS FOR THE  
TRIUMPHANT SUCCESS OF THE GAMES WILL BE ASSESSED AT THEIR  
TRUE VALUE.~~ <sup>The Soviet</sup> PEOPLE WILL REALISE THAT FOR WESTERN  
COUNTRIES TO STAY AWAY FROM MOSCOW IMPLIES A RESPONSE  
TO A SOVIET ACTION OF GREAT GRAVITY. THOSE DOUBTS  
AND UNCERTAINTIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY ARISEN IN THE MINDS  
OF MANY ABOUT SOVIET ARMED INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN,  
WHATEVER THE PRETEXT GIVEN FOR IT, WILL BE MAGNIFIED AND  
WILL CALL FOR A SATISFACTORY ANSWER.

AS MR COLIN LEGG  
/ALL THIS EXPLAINS



LEGUM

? omf.

AS MR COLIN LEGUM SAID IN THE OBSERVER YESTERDAY A BOYCOT, WOULD "DEMONSTRATE DRAMATICALLY TO THE SOVIET PUBLIC . . . . THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE KREMLIN LEADERSHIP HAS UNDERMINED THAT DETENTE WITH THE WEST WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THE PRIME AIM OF MR BREZHNEV'S FOREIGN POLICY. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PUBLICLY SHOWN TO HAVE SUFFERED A SHATTERING BLOW TO ITS INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE."

"ON THE OTHER HAND", MR LEGUM CONTINUED, "IF THE MOSCOW GAMES GO AHEAD WITHOUT SERIOUS DISRUPTION, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL CLAIM THIS AS EVIDENCE THAT THE WEST IS ALREADY MEELY RECONCILED TO CONTINUED SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN."

ALL THIS EXPLAINS  
~~WE SHOULD~~



BOA'S ARGUMENT IS FALLACIOUS  
AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW  
BREZHNEV

ALL THIS EXPLAINS WHY THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION ARE WRONG IN SEEING NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PRESENCE OF ATHLETES IN MOSCOW AND THE PRESENCE OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR. HIGH AS THE PRESTIGE OF THE BRITISH DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IS, AND DISTINGUISHED THOUGH ~~THE~~ <sup>our</sup> PRESENT AMBASSADOR IS, HIS PRESENCE IN MOSCOW CANNOT BE SAID TO CONFER A GREAT PROPAGANDA VICTORY UPON THE SOVIET REGIME. BUT THE PRESENCE OF WESTERN ATHLETES AT THE GAMES WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CONSTITUTE A GREAT PROPAGANDA VICTORY FOR THEM. IF OUR ATHLETIC BODIES WISH TO GIVE SUCH A VICTORY TO THE SOVIET UNION, SO BE IT. BUT THEY SHOULD AT LEAST KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING, AND THEY SHOULD REFLECT VERY CAREFULLY BEFORE THEY REACH A FINAL DECISION.

MR BREZHNEV SAID SAID THAT THE DECISION TO INTERVENE IN AFGHANISTAN WAS A VERY DIFFICULT ONE TO TAKE. THE DECISION TO DECLINE AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES IS NO LESS DIFFICULT; ESPECIALLY FOR A COUNTRY WITH THE SPORTING TRADITIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR OWN. GRAVE BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER, HOWEVER, REQUIRE SERIOUS RESPONSES, AND THERE IS NO OTHER WESTERN RESPONSE WHICH WOULD BE SO UNEQUIVOCALLY CLEAR TO MILLIONS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

~~AS MR COLIN LEGUM~~  
/ ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT



ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION IS THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE POSITION OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS. WE CANNOT LIGHTLY BRUSH ASIDE THE VIEWS OF THOSE WHO CONTINUE THEIR STEADY AND COURAGEOUS INSISTENCE ON THE RIGHTS ASSURED TO THEM BY LAW AND BY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, NOTABLY THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

DR SAKHAROV HAS SAID THAT "WHILE THE USSR IS WAGEING MILITARY ACTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN, THE HOLDING OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW CONTRADICTS THE OLYMPIC CHARTER. THIS IS OBVIOUS."

ALEXANDER GINSBERG HAS SAID : "YOU SHOULD BOYCOTT THE OLYMPIC GAMES. THESE GAMES ARE NOT SPORT PRIMARILY, THEY ARE POLITICS".

BUKOVSKY, ~~K~~UZNETSOV, AMALRIK AND OTHERS HAVE SAID THE SAME THING.

/ THE HOUSE



THE HOUSE WILL BE AWARE THAT A WAVE OF ARRESTS OF DISSIDENTS HAS RECENTLY TAKEN PLACE - 50 PERSONS AT LEAST IN THE LAST 5 MONTHS. JEWISH EMIGRATION HAS FALLEN SHARPLY SINCE THE END OF LAST YEAR. HARRASSMENT HAS BEEN STEPPED UP. AND WE HAVE RECENTLY SEEN THE ARBITRARY BANISHMENT OF ANDREI SAKHAROV. PART OF THIS CAMPAIGN CAN CERTAINLY BE ASCRIBED TO OFFICIAL CONCERN THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO MAR THE RESOUNDING PROPAGANDA VICTORY WHICH THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAD HOPED TO GAIN FROM THE OLYMPIC GAMES. THE RECENT INCREASE IN THE PERSECUTION OF DISSIDENTS HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY MARKED IN MOSCOW, WHERE OF COURSE THE MAJORITY OF THE OLYMPIC EVENTS ARE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE AND WHERE MOST OF THE FOREIGN VISITORS ARE DUE TO BE CONCENTRATED THIS SUMMER. THE PERVERSION OF THE OLYMPIC IDEAL WHICH THE NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION REPRESENTS WOULD OF ITSELF BE A REASON FOR NOT GOING TO MOSCOW THIS SUMMER.

DECISIONS BY WESTERN NATIONS NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPICS WILL BE A MESSAGE TO THEM THAT WHERE SOVIET ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IS UNACCEPTABLE WESTERN NATIONS WILL NOT BLANDLY CONDONE IT. ON THE OTHER HAND, A DECISION TO ATTEND IN SPITE OF AFGHANISTAN WILL BE A BETRAYAL OF ALL THEY HAVE SO COURAGEOUSLY FOUGHT TO DEFEND.

/ I WOULD LIKE FINTE



I WOULD LIKE FINALLY TO CONGRATULATE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR THEIR IMPRESSIVE AND TIMELY REPORT, WHICH HAS BEEN INVALUABLE IN INFORMING OUR DEBATE TODAY. ONE QUESTION IN THEIR REPORT - THAT OF THE SITE OR SITES FOR FUTURE GAMES - IS A MATTER FOR THE LONGER TERM, WHICH WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL STUDY. THEIR OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS ARE VERY MUCH IN ACCORD WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN PARAGRAPH 3, WHICH STATES THAT "UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THOSE FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN, THE HOUSE SHOULD SUPPORT ALL PROPER MEASURES TO MAKE THE SOVIET LEADERS MINDFUL OF BRITAIN'S ABHORRENCE OF THEIR AGGRESSION AGAINST AFGHANISTAN, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR LIMITATIONS ON THE SUPPLY OF CREDIT AND HIGH TECHNOLOGY EQUIPMENT, A REDUCTION OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW OF ALL BRITISH ATHLETES.

*THE OPPOSITION'S AMENDMENT*



THE OPPOSITION'S AMENDMENT ~~IS THEREFORE~~ VERY FAR FROM BEING A DIRECT CONTRADICTION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION, AND A GOOD DEAL OF IT COULD BE ACCEPTED BY EVERYBODY IN THE HOUSE. BUT IT IS UNFAIR IN WHAT IT SAYS ABOUT CONSULTATION. AS MY HON FRIEND THE MINISTER OF SPORT TOLD THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN A LOT OF TIME TO GET THE VARIOUS SPORTS BODIES TOGETHER, AND IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO GIVE AN EASY LEAD SO THAT A DECISION COULD BE TAKEN ON THE CHANGE OF VENUE WHEN THE OLYMPIC REPRESENTATIVES MET AT LAKE PLACID.

SIMILARLY, WHILE SUBSTANTIAL COMMON AGREEMENT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IS OBVIOUSLY DESIRABLE, IF EVERYBODY WAITS FOR EVERYBODY ELSE NOTHING WILL EVER HAPPEN.

IN ANY CASE IF THE OPPOSITION'S AMENDMENT IS DEFEATED, I HOPE THAT WILL NOT STOP ITS SUPPORTERS *from* THEN SUPPORTING THE GOVERNMENT MOTION. I AM SURE THAT A GOOD MANY RIGHT HONOURABLE AND HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN OPPOSITE ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH WHAT WE ARE SAYING.

*/WE HAVE MADE*

~~IN SUPPORT~~



WE HAVE MADE NO SECRET OF OUR VIEWS AND WE HAVE HAD EXTENSIVE CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. WE HAVE FOUND THAT MANY COUNTRIES IN THE FREE WORLD FACE EXACTLY THE SAME PROBLEM AS OURSELVES. IN SOME COUNTRIES THERE IS A CLOSE IDENTITY OF VIEW BETWEEN PARLIAMENTARY AND PUBLIC OPINION AND THE GOVERNMENT VIEW. THE UNITED STATES IS A CONSPICUOUS EXAMPLE. IN SOME OTHER COUNTRIES, THE GOVERNMENT POSITION DETERMINES WHAT SPORTSMEN MUST DO. BUT MANY WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FACE THE SAME KIND OF PROBLEM WITH THE SAME CONFLICTING CURRENTS AS IN OUR OWN. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THEREFORE THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS ARE CAUTIOUS ABOUT EXPRESSING A VIEW. BUT WE BELIEVE AT THE END OF THE DAY THAT <sup>MANY PROMINENT</sup> SPORTING COUNTRIES ~~POTENTIAL~~ WILL DECIDE NOT TO GO TO MOSCOW. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES BRITISH ATHLETES WOULD WISH TO GO TO WHAT WOULD BE DISCREDITED GAMES.

/THE GOVERNMENT



THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN ACCUSED NOT ONLY BY THE  
OPPOSITION OF IGNORING SPORTING PROBLEMS AND PROCEDURES,  
I HOPE WHAT I HAVE SAID TODAY WILL HAVE SHOWN THAT WE HAVE  
CONSIDERED BOTH THE PERSONAL DILEMMA AND DISAPPOINTMENT  
OF INDIVIDUAL ATHLETES, AND THE VERY REAL DIFFICULTIES OF  
ORGANISING ALTERNATIVE GAMES. IN RETURN, I THINK THE  
GOVERNMENT IS ENTITLED TO ASK BRITISH ATHLETES AND THEIR  
REPRESENTATIVES, AS WELL AS THIS HOUSE, TO CONSIDER THE  
INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTIONS. THERE ARE  
OTHER PEOPLE, IN AFGHANISTAN AND IN THE SOVIET UNION, WHOSE  
LIVES AND WHOSE FREEDOM ARE AT STAKE. THE GOVERNMENT  
BELIEVE THAT NON-PARTICIPATION IN THIS SUMMER'S GAMES  
OFFERS WESTERN COUNTRIES THE SINGLE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF  
BRINGING HOME TO THE SOVIET REGIME AND THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE  
OUR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THEIR OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN,  
~~AND THIS, OF HASTENING THE RESUMPTION OF GENUINE DETENTE.~~  
I THEREFORE ASK THE HOUSE TO SUPPORT OUR MOTION TONIGHT.



FROM:

MRS R. HILLEARY

LOGIE FARM,

GLENFERNESS,

NAIRN, IV12 5XA

GLENFERNESS (03095) 226

Dec. 14<sup>th</sup> 80

Dear Mrs Thatcher, K17/3

As a former Captain of a British Olympic Team, (skiing), may I say that I agree with & support everything you have said against our competing in the Olympic Games.

Has it not struck the athletes that they are supposed to be REPRESENTING THEIR COUNTRY & not just THEMSELVES?  
The approach which most of them



seem to show is simply one of self-glorification - no thought to their country whose flag they would wear & whose Banner they would carry. It makes me feel ashamed that we are producing Athletes with so little sense of loyalty & understanding of the Diplomatic role they play. No doubt the extreme Left Wing will foster their selfish attitude.

With every good wish for all that you are doing, from one of your strong supporters.

Yours sincerely

Sheena Bellawo.



# 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.

*Palmer*  
*M. Pattison*  
*To see*

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

To Members of Parliament  
House of Commons  
London SW1.

*R*  
14 March 1980

Dear Member,

I am enclosing, for your information, a statement from the British Olympic Association in respect of the forthcoming Olympic Games in Moscow.

It is hoped that the statement will clarify some apparent misconceptions which have intruded into the debate on our participation in Moscow and generally summarises the situation as we see it.

Yours sincerely,

R.W. Palmer  
General Secretary

If you require further information, the BOA's private line numbers are:

408.2100	408.2055	408.2072	408.2015	408.2081
	493.5745		493.5446	



# THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS

## A STATEMENT FROM THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION

### TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

#### BRITAIN'S ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

##### The Olympic Charter states that:

*"National Olympic Committees must be autonomous and must resist all pressures of any kind whatsoever, whether of a political, religious or economic nature. In pursuing their objectives, the NOCs may co-operate with private and 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 International Olympic Committee."*

##### The principles of the Olympic movement are:

*"To promote the development of those physical and moral qualities which are the basis of sport.*

*"To educate young people through sport in a spirit of better understanding between each other and of friendship, thereby helping to build a better and more peaceful world.*

*"To spread the Olympic principles throughout the world, thereby creating international goodwill.*

*"To bring together the athletes of the world in the great four-yearly sport festival, the Olympic Games."*

##### The principles of the British Olympic Association are:

*"To encourage interest in the Olympic Games and to foster the aims and ideals of the Olympic Movement throughout Great Britain in accordance with the principles and rules of the IOC.*

*"To organise and co-ordinate British participation in the Olympic Games."*

According to the International Olympic Committee's recently declared position and the IOC charter, the Moscow Olympic Organising Committee is in good standing.

The IOC have refused to move, delay or abandon the Moscow Olympics and they alone - and not governments - are the only authority over the Games.

The British Olympic Association, as a member of the IOC, is obliged to support the Games. If, because of political pressures, the BOA do not accept the invitation to compete in Moscow, the Association is contravening the rules of the IOC under which Britain became a member.



ALTERNATIVE "GAMES" OR SPORTS FESTIVAL

The Olympic Games is the world's only true multi-sport festival and its strength is that it is independent and above governments and politics.

No other event, not even World championships, can approach the Olympics in prestige for competitors.

It is not possible for any group of nations, any group of National Olympic Committees or any other organisation than the International Olympic Committee to organise an alternative "Games".

It is equally impossible for a substitute sporting festival, as suggested by President Carter and others, to take place. The 21 sports in the summer Games are controlled by International Federations. In their support of the IOC they will not grant the necessary permits for an alternative event during the Games - the International Amateur Athletic Federation, whose sport is the corner-stone of the Olympic programme, have already said so.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

The democratic right of the people of the United Kingdom, and the avowed policy of the present Government, is the defence of the freedom of the individual.

The Government has demonstrated its belief in this right by the refusal to take steps to ban the British Lions tour of South Africa even though the action of the Rugby Unions is in contravention of the Gleneagles agreement by Commonwealth governments to break all sporting contacts with countries who practice apartheid in sport.

Yet the Government are now using sport as a political weapon without the Rule of Law to support their position.

The Government are demanding that Olympic athletes should not go to Moscow yet are taking no steps to prevent Russian competitors coming to Britain nor stopping trade or cultural delegations or diplomats from travelling between the Soviet Union and Britain (and vice versa).

The British Olympic Association are obliged to enter competitors whose national sports federations wish to participate in the Olympics, unless the law of the land says they may not. And the law of the land does not say this.

The democratic desire of British competitors to be present at the Olympics this summer does not condone Russian action in Afghanistan any more than does the presence of the British Ambassador in Moscow.



SUPPORT FOR A BOYCOTT

The number of National Olympic Committees who advocate a boycott has been grossly exaggerated. Of the 142 NOCs recognised by the IOC only a handful have indicated their support. Excluded from this number is Saudi Arabia, who stated last October that they would not participate but, nevertheless, wished the Moscow Games every success.

FINANCE

The financial involvement of the Government (ie the spending of public money) to send the British team to Moscow has been consistently misrepresented. In fact, public money (through the Sports Council) has been given only once in the last six Olympics. The amount was just £15,000 in respect of the 1976 summer Games in Montreal.

Conversely, the BOA's £1,000,000 appeal for the winter and summer Olympics of 1980 includes a reserve of the order of £300,000 for the payment to the Government of corporation and other taxes.

The Government's decision to withhold public funds (ie Sports Council grants) in respect of participation costs for the Moscow Games will not prevent British competitors from going to the Olympics. In recent years, the British Olympic Association has raised sufficient money to pay every single expense for the participation of the British team. But this was not always so. It is not impossible that the chosen competitors, in defence of their opposition to a government-imposed boycott, will set about finding their own costs of participation. The International Athletes Club have already said they will do this for their sport.

SPORT IN BRITAIN

If a boycott of the Games succeeds, it will destroy the Olympic movement and the fabric of international sport and domestic sport could not remain unaffected.

Many of the sports in the Olympic programme were developed internationally by Great Britain and the influence of British administrators and technical experts has been immense. If there is a Moscow boycott, it will be very difficult for British representatives on the committees of the International Sports Federations to maintain their important positions in the councils of world sport. The long-term effects, should this happen, cannot be ignored or treated lightly.

London 14 March 1980



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON  
HD/CFD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD  
HD/NEWS D  
RESIDENT CLERK

~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST~~

MR WENBAN SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE SMITH )

MR R BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT

*Prime Minister*

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 132335Z MARCH 1980  
TO IMMEDIATE F C O  
TEL NO 1072 OF 13 MARCH  
INFO PRIORITY OTTAWA AND BONN

A. The FCo will submit a draft message after the debate & the Geneva meeting.

B. This is true: you spoke in the House on 17 Jan, Pres Carter spoke up on 20 Jan, three days later.

YOUR TELNO 486 (NOT TO BONN): OLYMPICS.

*1 ind*

1. LLOYD CUTLER TOLD ME THAT PUBLICLY, DURING THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN AND ON THE NIGHT OF THE ELECTION RESULTS, TRUDEAU SAID THAT IF THE MAJORITY OF ALLIES DID NOT SEND TEAMS TO THE MOSCOW GAMES CANADA WOULD NOT EITHER. THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN TO TRUDEAU ON THE TELEPHONE SINCE HIS APPOINTMENT AS PRIME MINISTER AND THE TWO OF THEM WILL BE MEETING SOON. THE CANADIAN ATTITUDE, LIKE THAT OF MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, WILL DEPEND UPON WHAT THE GERMANS DO. BUT LLOYD CUTLER'S CLEAR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT WILL COME OUT IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT, THOUGH TRUDEAU WILL BE LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE IDEA OF PROMOTING ALTERNATIVE GAMES THAN CLARK WOULD.

A.

2. LLOYD CUTLER BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO SEND TRUDEAU A MESSAGE.

*Agreed and*

3. LLOYD CUTLER TOLD ME THAT HE WAS SURE THAT THE GERMANS WOULD IN THE COURSE COME OUT IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT AND SCHMIDT HAD SAID THAT WHEN HE DID SO HE WOULD BE BACKED BY THE GERMAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WHO WERE MORE AMENABLE TO GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE THAN THE BRITISH COMMITTEE. CUTLER ADDED THAT SCHMIDT HAD SAID THAT THE EUROPEANS MIGHT HAVE BEEN READIER TO RESPOND ON THE BOYCOTT IF CARTER'S ANNOUNCEMENT HAD NOT BEEN FOLLOWED SO QUICKLY BY THE BRITISH ANNOUNCEMENT. I SAID THAT, LEAVING OTHER ARRANGEMENTS ASIDE, SCHMIDT'S STATEMENT WAS BASED ON A FALLACY. THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER HAD COME OUT AGAINST THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS BEFORE THE

B.



PRIME MINISTER HAD COME OUT AGAINST THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS BEFORE THE  
PRESIDENT HAD DONE SO AND HE, CUTLER, WOULD KNOW THIS BECAUSE WE  
TALKED ABOUT IT AT THE TIME.

HENDERSON

NNNN

C 111 1000

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AND THE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY ASSASSINATION ACT OF 1976  
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AND THE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY ASSASSINATION ACT OF 1975

END

10 1 0 0



Mr Alexander



CABINET OFFICE

*Handwritten signature* 14/3

With the compliments of

Mr Hastie-Smith

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS

Telephone 01 233



T 05055

MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR HURD)

cc PS/Secretary of State for the Environment  
 Mr Alexander No 10  
 PS/Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Environment (Mr Monro)  
 Mr Wade-Gery, Cabinet Office  
 Mr Wright, Cabinet Office  
 Mr Fergusson, FCO

Olympics: Report to OD

The Prime Minister has invited you to attend OD on 19 March for discussion of the position reached in implementing the Government's policy on non-participation in the Olympics. This will focus on

- a. an oral report by you on the Geneva meeting;
  - b. a written report by you on the results of MISC 39's work so far.
2. At the meeting of MISC 39 on 5 March the Cabinet Office was instructed to prepare a draft of b. (MISC 39(80) 2nd Meeting). This I now submit, together with a short draft cover note by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. Both have been cleared at official level by departments represented on MISC 39. It is being shown to Mr Monro this evening. As you see, it is very much a holding operation: the outcome of Monday's Debate and of the intergovernmental meeting could well be critical for the decisions which the sports bodies themselves have to take, and it is not yet clear what will be the wider effects of the publicity given to the Government's decisions in relation to servicemen and civil servants.
3. If the Commons Debate goes well for the Government and if the Geneva meeting shows that a 'critical mass' of alternative games can be assembled, the tide may set firmly in the Government's favour. But as things stand the risk of athletes both here and elsewhere deciding to go to Moscow regardless of their governments' views remains a real one. In that case the Government would need a defensive line to limit the damage. This line might include the following elements:
- a. The Government have never said that they can order athletics organisations to do their bidding - as protests over sporting contacts with South Africa bear witness, sportsmen often make use of the liberties accorded them by a free society.



b. The Government's actions in relation to their own employees are a different matter - here there is a parallel with the action of certain local authorities in relation to their employees seeking paid leave to participate in the South African rugby tour.

c. The proof of the pudding will be in the eating: the BOA will not be able to claim it was not warned when the Soviet Union uses their attendance in its propaganda.

d. The Government has always made clear that non-participation in the Olympics was only one part of the action available to deter future Russian aggression and help to bring about withdrawal from Afghanistan; the Government's determination to press on by diplomatic and other means is unimpaired.

4. You may wish FCO officials to give further thought to the problem of damage limitation prior to OD.

5. On a separate matter, you will recall that MISC 39 also instructed the Cabinet Office to prepare a note of the arguments which may be used in support of the Government's case. But this decision was taken before it was known that there would be a Parliamentary Debate. Inevitably, preparation of the opening speech by the Lord Privy Seal and the winding up by Mr Monro involves deployment of the full panoply of arguments available. Departments have therefore agreed that no separate Cabinet Office paper is required.

*R. M. Hastie-Smith*

13 March 1980  
Cabinet Office

R M HASTIE-SMITH



DRAFT

CONFIDENTIAL

OD(80)

COPY NO

March 1980

CABINET  
DEFENCE AND OVERSEA POLICY COMMITTEE

---

OLYMPIC GAMES

Memorandum by the Secretary of State  
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

---

The Committee agreed on 21 February (OD(80) 5th Meeting) that the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Hurd, should chair a Ministerial group to coordinate the implementation of the Government's policy on non-participation in the Moscow Olympics. I attach a progress report by Mr Hurd. At the Committee's proposed meeting on 19 March he will supplement this with an oral report on the intergovernmental meeting of the "ad hoc Olympic steering group" which he is attending on 17/18 March.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

C

March 1980

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DRAFT

NOTE BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERIAL GROUP ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES

1. This interim report aims to set in perspective the progress we have made so far at a moment when events are moving rapidly.
2. The first aspect of the Group's work was to ensure that the Government's policy was applied fully by those for whom we have a direct responsibility to give instructions or advice. The necessary action has been taken to that end, and has attracted much publicity. It has also evoked strong reactions from, in particular, the British Olympic Association (BOA), who have criticised the decisions to withdraw the British Olympic attaché and to forbid the granting of special paid leave for members of the Civil Service and Armed Services selected to go to Moscow.
3. The second aspect was to make known the Government's views and the reasons for them as widely as possible, and in particular to the principal sports organisations concerned with the Olympics. The resulting public debate, to which the Prime Minister's participation has made a major contribution, indicates significant support for the Government. The BOA did in the event postpone acceptance of the Moscow Organising Committee's invitation - even though the majority of members were strongly in favour of accepting; but their spokesmen have shown increasing confusion and defensiveness in explaining their continued intention to go to Moscow. Symptomatic of this confusion was Sir Denis Follows' statement that the BOA would be influenced by a parliamentary vote, which in effect he retracted as soon as he learned that Parliament would indeed be debating the issue.



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4. The third aspect of the Group's work was to assess the position of other governments and National Olympic Committees and, in consultation with friendly governments, explore the possibility of assisting alternative games to be held. A major complicating factor here is of course that governments cannot themselves organise the games; they need the goodwill and co-operation of the national governing bodies of the various sports involved and, in most cases, the constitutional approval of the International Federations governing each sport. I am attending an inter-governmental meeting in Geneva on 17 - 18 March at which our aim, and that of other key participants such as Australia and the United States, will be to establish what alternative games it would be feasible to hold and where; whether a significant number of national sporting bodies are willing to organise them; and whether the relevant International Federations are prepared to agree. Crucial to the success of this approach are the attitudes of the United States Olympic Committee, who have yet formally to decide not to go to Moscow, and of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), responsible for the track and field events which are the Olympics' biggest attraction. The IAAF have refused to approve international games which coincide with the Moscow Olympics, but do not appear to have ruled out games which would follow Moscow. The latter is what the Americans propose. They have in mind games which would be distributed widely between cities

.../in



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in different continents, but which would take place within a short time space in August - September (the Moscow Games take place in the second half of July). Our own approach is identical; and there are reasonable prospects of holding at least three competitions in the United Kingdom: diving, rowing, and the equestrian events. It will be important that decisions be taken soon, in order to allow travel and <sup>tourist</sup> ~~transit~~ organisations to plan and publicise the arrangements for spectators.

5. A positive outcome to the meeting on 17 - 18 March will strengthen the hand of the Minister for Sport, who is due to attend a meeting of his West European colleagues on 20/21 March in the framework of the Council of Europe. This meeting, to which representatives of the International Olympic Committees and the International Sports Federations have been invited, is informal and will not take any decisions; but it will reflect and perhaps help determine what is the consensus of West European opinion on attendance at the Moscow Olympics. Much depends on the attitude of the West Germans. We hope that it will provide an occasion to attract wide interest in the notion of alternative games in time to influence European and other National Olympic Committees, some of whom (including the BOA) are due to meet on 22 March in Brussels to discuss whether to compete in Moscow. The BOA <sup>have said that they will</sup> ~~intends to~~ take <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ own decision on 25 March.

.../6.



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6. To sum up

- (i) the Government's views seem to have been gaining ground in the United Kingdom, but there is also evidence of some hardening of attitudes within sporting bodies;
- (ii) many other governments share our views, and no Western Olympic Committee, even though some have expressed the intention of going to Moscow, has yet accepted its invitation to send a team to Moscow
- (iii) meetings in the next fortnight are likely to be critical to the <sup>prospects for the</sup> successful organisation of ~~[establishment of a current in favour of arranging]~~ alternative games, to be distributed among various countries, including the United Kingdom, after the Moscow Olympics.



14 MAR 1980







DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY  
ASHDOWN HOUSE  
123 VICTORIA STREET  
LONDON SW1E 6RB

TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 6401  
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

From the  
Minister of State's Office

The Hon Adam Butler MP

Nick Sanders Esq  
Private Secretary to  
The Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

12 March 1980

Dear Mr Sanders

NBPA

Phs  
- 12/3

I think you already know that Cable and Wireless have made a donation of £2,500 to the British Olympic Association. Mr Butler spoke to Lord Glenamara, the Chairman of Cable and Wireless, yesterday and he stressed the Government's concern about this. Lord Glenamara undertook to write to the British Olympic Association asking them to ensure that the company's contribution would not be used to finance the sending of a team to Moscow, and to give him an assurance on that point.

I attach a copy of the company's letter.

Yours sincerely,

Jonathan Hudson

Jonathan Hudson  
Private Secretary





CABLE AND WIRELESS LIMITED  
COURT ROOM

MERCURY HOUSE · THEOBALDS ROAD · LONDON WC1X 8RX · TELEPHONE 01-242 4433

From: The Rt Hon The Lord Glenamara CH

11 March 1980

*Dear Mr. Nicholson:*

At the request of Mr Patrick Meaney, one of our non-Executive Directors, we made a donation of £2,500 to the British Olympic Association on 7 January 1980.

Subsequent to that date the Prime Minister stated in clear terms that the Government were opposed to the holding of the Games in Moscow and more recently the Minister of Sport, Mr Hector Monro, gave an assurance that no public money would be involved in sending a team to Moscow. I am sure you will appreciate the difficulty in which this places us as a wholly publicly-owned Company. I should be grateful if you would ensure that our contribution is not used to finance the sending of the team to the Moscow Games, and I should be most grateful if you felt able to let me have an assurance on this point.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Glenamara*

Chairman

George Nicholson Esq  
Secretary of the Appeal  
THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION  
1-2 John Prince's Street  
London W1M 0DH



17 MAR 1960





OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

*Span*

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON  
HD/CRD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD  
HD/NEWS D

ADVANCE COPY

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST

MR WENBAN-SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE-SMITH )

MR R BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

ADVANCE COPY

*[Handwritten mark]*

CONFIDENTIAL

FM ROME 127900Z MAR

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 207 OF 12 MARCH

INFO WASHINGTON AND THE HAGUE

INFO SAVING PARIS, BONN, LUXEMBOURG, COPENHAGEN, DUBLIN

YOUR TELNO 131 TO PARIS: OLYMPIC GAMES: AD HOC MEETING IN GENEVA 17/18 MARCH

1. MINISTER HAS SPOKEN AS INSTRUCTED TO GNOLI, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO DESTAFANIS, HEAD OF THE UN DEPARTMENT, WHICH DEALS WITH THIS SUBJECT. THE ITALIANS ONLY HEARD ABOUT THE MEETING ON 10 MARCH. ALTHOUGH NO FINAL DECISION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO ATTEND. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THE GERMANS WILL ATTEND EITHER. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT DO NOT INTEND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GAMES AND HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PERSUADE THEIR ATHLETES NOT TO DO SO EITHER (MY TELNO 7 SAVING). BUT THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO TAKE UP A VERY FIRM PUBLIC POSITION AT THIS STAGE AND THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN BRING THEIR ATHLETES ALONG MORE EASILY WITH TIME. THEY HAVE CONSIDERED SENDING MERE OBSERVERS, BUT THEY DO NOT THINK IT WOULD HELP TO PERSUADE THEIR ATHLETES IF THEY ATTENDED THE MEETING, WHICH THEY AGREE IS LIKELY TO RECEIVE PUBLICITY. THEY ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE A VIEW ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ALTERNATIVE GAMES BEFORE THE END OF THIS MONTH AT THE EARLIEST.

... BELIEVE THE ITALIANS



WHICH THEY AGREE IS LIKELY TO RECEIVE PUBLICITY. THEY ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE A VIEW ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ALTERNATIVE GAMES BEFORE THE END OF THIS MONTH AT THE EARLIEST.

2. ALTHOUGH OFFICIALS HAVE NOT SAID THIS, I BELIEVE THE ITALIANS ARE ALSO RELUCTANT AS THE PRESIDENCY TO ADOPT A DEFINITE PUBLIC POSITION ON AN ISSUE ON WHICH THE NINE ARE AT PRESENT APPARENTLY DIVIDED.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

ARCULUS

NNNN



CONFIDENTIAL



*fa  
Runt*

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-233 8319

*From the Secretary of the Cabinet:* Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO

12th March, 1980

Ref. A01665

*Dear Michael,*  
Olympics

I enclose a record of the meeting which the Prime Minister held on Monday, 10th March to consider the possibility of a Parliamentary vote on the Moscow Olympics.

I am sending copies of this record to the Private Secretaries of all the Ministers present and also to the Private Secretaries to the Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Hon. Douglas Hurd, and the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State in the Department of the Environment, Mr. Hector Monro.

*Yours ever,  
David*

(D. J. Wright)

M. O'D. B. Alexander, Esq.



MOSCOW OLYMPICS

cc. ~~Master~~ Sek.

Note of a Meeting held at  
10 Downing Street on  
Monday 10th March at 2.30 pm

PRESENT

Prime Minister  
Home Secretary  
Lord Privy Seal  
Secretary of State for the Environment  
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster  
Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury  
  
Sir Robert Armstrong, Cabinet Office  
Mr R L Wade-Gery, Cabinet Office

In accordance with the Cabinet's decision on 6 March (CC(80) 9th Conclusions, Minute 2) the Meeting considered the possibility of a Parliamentary vote on the Moscow Olympics and the basis on which it might be held. It was agreed as follows.

- a. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in consultation with the Chief Whip, should arrange for a half-day debate on the Moscow Olympics in the House of Commons on 17 March, unless the Opposition preferred 12 March, which they seemed unlikely to do.
- b. The Chief Whip should make clear, both to the Government's supporters in Parliament and to the Opposition, that in the vote at the end of the debate the Government's supporters would be free to vote as they wished and not subject to Party discipline. This might well lead the Opposition similarly to allow their own supporters a free vote. The Chief Whip should however make clear privately to Government Ministers that they would be expected to support the Government, and to all the Government's supporters in the House that they would be expected to take part in the vote.



c. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster should settle the precise wording of the motion for debate in consultation with the Lord Privy Seal and the Chief Whip. It might appropriately record the view of the House that the British Olympic Association should reconsider their decision to support the attendance of British athletes at the Moscow Olympic Games and that Britain should not take part in those Games.

d. The opening Government speaker in the debate should be the Lord Privy Seal and the closing Government speaker should be the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Department of Environment (Mr Monro). The Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Mr Hurd) would be abroad at the time.

Cabinet Office

11 March 1980





12 MAY 1950



c. c.  
CDL  
CW0  
Min. Sport  
CO  
Sports Policy, D/E.



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

12 March, 1980.

Parliamentary Debate on the Olympics

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 11 March setting out various possible Motions for next week's Debate on the participation in the Olympic Games. As I have told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister shares the Lord Privy Seal's preference for a short direct Motion. However, she would prefer that the wording in the penultimate paragraph of your letter should read:-

"That this House condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and believes that Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow."

I am sending copies of this letter to the recipients of yours.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

M.A. Wickstead, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Sport

W

A large, stylized handwritten signature in the bottom right corner of the page.





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 March 1980

*Dear Michael,*

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE OLYMPICS

It now looks almost certain that the Debate on the Olympics will take place after 10.00pm on Monday, 17 March; the precise wording of the Motion has not yet been decided.

I attach a number of draft Motions reflecting a fairly wide spectrum. One Early Day Motion, with bipartisan support, remains on the Order Paper with 163 signatures (no 308). With relatively minor amendments, this would be quite acceptable (at (a)).

A full Motion which covers the Government's present position is (b). This draws attention to the alternative Games, which will be discussed by Mr Hurd in Geneva at the same time as the Debate is taking place; this is most inconvenient timing, but a necessity we have to face in view of pressure on Parliamentary time.

A very short Motion which confirms the Prime Minister's advice to all British athletes and sporting officials is at (c). A rather weaker resolution which picks up some of Mr Denis Howell's thoughts, though not his views, is given at (d), and a shorter version at (e).

/ The

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London





The Lord Privy Seal's own preference is for a short, direct Motion on the following lines:

'That this House <sup>condemns</sup> ~~deploras~~ the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and believes that Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow.'

I am sending copies of this letter to Petra Laidlaw (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office), Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office), Geoff Needham (Minister for Sport's Office), Mr Wenban Smith (Cabinet Office), and to Mr Palmer (DOE). I should be grateful for any views on these Motions by close of play on Wednesday, 12 March.

*Yours ever,*

*Myles /:*

M A Wickstead  
Assistant Private Secretary  
to the Lord Privy Seal



## DRAFT MOTIONS

- (a) That this House deplores the Russian aggression in Afghanistan and urges the British Olympic Association and their National Olympic Committee to reconsider their plan to support participation in the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, thus denying the Soviet Union the use of an important propaganda weapon, and reminding the Russian people of the seriousness with which the free nations of the West view their Government's action in attacking a neighbouring state in total violation of the United Nations Charter.
- (b) That this House, knowing that, in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Government will exploit to the full attendance at the Moscow Olympic Games as evident condonation of their occupation of a sovereign country, recommends the British Olympic Association, its constituent sporting bodies and British athletes to accept the Government's advice [not to go] or [and make the considerable personal sacrifice involved in refusing to go] to the Olympic Games in Moscow this Summer and encourages the Government to continue the efforts which it is making, together with other interested countries, to offer athletes the possibility of competing in international events of comparable standard outside the Soviet Union.
- (c) That this House deplores the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and calls on all British athletes and sporting officials to accept the advice given by the Prime Minister to the Chairman of the British Olympic Association in her letter of 19 February against participation in the Moscow Olympic Games. [N.B. The Prime Minister's letter referred to was quoted in full in Hansard for 22 February cols. 274 and 275]
- (d) That this House regrets the decision of the International Olympic Committee to proceed with the Olympic Games in Moscow and, recognising the rights of individual citizens in countries of the free world to determine their own actions, not least in the sporting field, respects the decision of all those athletes and sporting officials who choose, in the light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, not to compete in events in Moscow, and encourages the British Olympic Association at its meeting on 25 March to take account of the views expressed in this House [by deciding against acceptance of the invitation to the Games in Moscow].
- (e) That this House regrets the decision of the International Olympic Committee to proceed with the Olympic Games in Moscow this Summer and calls on the constituent sports bodies of the British Olympic Association before their meeting on 25 March, in the light of the views expressed in this House, to re-consider most carefully with their Members the implication of their possible acceptance of the invitation to attend Games in Moscow [and expresses the hope that they will decide not to attend].





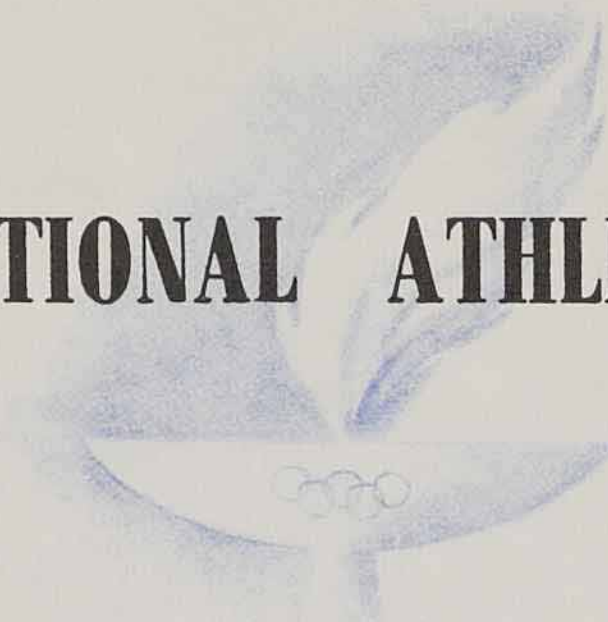
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# INTERNATIONAL ATHLETES' CLUB



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

10th March, 1980.

The Right Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister,  
10, Downing Street,  
LONDON.

*R11* *H.A. Hurd*

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

Mr. Johnson has asked me to thank you for your letter of the ~~7th~~  
March.

He will be circulating a copy to all the athletes concerned,  
including those who did not reply to our circular; he would  
however, like to meet with Mr. Hurd and Mr. Monro beforehand,  
and is hoping to see them early next week.

Yours sincerely,

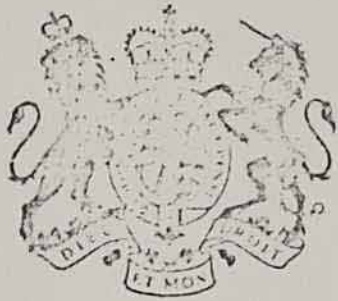
*Joan Allison.*

JOAN ALLISON.



Subject.

Copied to Max, q's.



CEFCO.  
DOE  
CO.

JFK

10 DOWNING STREET

SPORT

THE PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S

10 March 1980

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 52/80

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your telephone call and for your letter of 5 March about the Olympic Games. I very much agree that we must keep the pressure up.

The next meeting in Geneva, which the Americans have now suggested should be on 17/18 March, should certainly provide an opportunity to examine in detail the possibilities, sport by sport, of mounting alternative games. We need to have a clear idea of these possibilities because the European Olympic Committees will be having an important meeting on 22 March and our own British Olympic Association are intending to reach a final decision on 25 March. I have therefore asked Douglas Hurd, the Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office who has been overseeing the Olympic issue, to go to the meeting in Geneva. I take it therefore that you will be sending Mr. Ellicott, as indicated in your letter.

There are of course some difficult hurdles ahead. Alternative games 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. But this makes it all the more important that sportsmen and the sporting organisations would have in front of them the best indication which we can give them of what is on offer. We need to move the public debate to more positive ground by showing that a

/boycott of the

JFK



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

Yours sincerely

Rayner Dutton

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CONFIDENTIAL

Ref. A01641

MR. ALEXANDER

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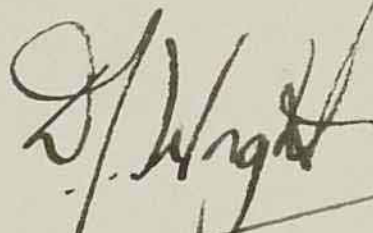
Olympics: Parliamentary Debate

I understand that you have said that no briefing is needed for the Prime Minister's meeting at 2.30 pm on Monday to discuss the proposed Parliamentary debate on the Olympics. It may however be useful to have available a list of the main national and international meetings about the Olympics which are currently planned. I attach this list, showing the likely participants and the purpose of each meeting.

2. I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Home Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal, the Secretary of State for the Environment, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Chief Whip.

Inter-Review

Committee



D. J. WRIGHT

7th March, 1980

CONFIDENTIAL



MEETINGS TO DISCUSS THE OLYMPICS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
<u>Mar</u> 15	United States	United States National Olympic Committee executive body	Regular meeting to prepare full meeting of USNOC in <u>April</u> . Agenda likely to include questions of US attendance at Moscow and attitude to alternative games.
17/18	Geneva	ad hoc Olympic steering group. <u>Certain</u> : *USA, *UK, *Australia, Canada, Netherlands. <u>Probable</u> : S. Arabia, Sudan, Kenya, Dominican Republic, Costa Rica. <u>Possible</u> : Liberia, Ivory Coast, Philippines, Columbia. UK are lobbying Portugal, Norway and Switzerland; US are lobbying France, Italy and Germany.  <u>*At ministerial level.</u>	To examine basis for a plan to hold alternative games.
20/21	Strasbourg	Informal Working Party of Ministers for Sport of Council of Europe member states. Not known how many of 22 eligible European states will attend; representatives of IOC and of General Assembly of international sports federations also invited.	Postponed routine meeting. Major item: exchange of views on Moscow Games.
22	Brussels	European National Olympic Committees: Attendance uncertain; at the previous meeting 11 countries were represented, including EEC (less France and Ireland) and Egypt.	Special meeting to discuss attendance at Moscow Olympics.
25		Special meeting of British Olympic Association	To consider acceptance of invitation to Moscow.
<u>May</u> 24		[Deadline for acceptance of invitations to Moscow.]	





10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

7 March 1980

Dear Mr. Bedford

Thank you for the letter which you and Mr. Johnson sent to me on 3 March enclosing a copy of one signed by 78 athletes about participation at the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer.

I note that we are agreed in our disapproval of Soviet policies. I regret that you and the 78 athletes do not agree that non-participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow is an appropriate way of demonstrating that disapproval. As I have said before, I fully recognise the dedication and hard work of British sportsmen and women who have been devoting themselves to preparations for the Games. But they 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".

You refer in your letter to a possible breach of Rule 24c of the Olympic Charter by the British Olympic Association. You will, of course, be aware that it could not be seriously suggested that the Soviet Olympic Committee is an autonomous body or free from political pressure. The Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Olympic Committee (SOC), Mr. Constantine Andrianov, is also Chairman of the Soviet Committee of Sports and Culture. Any decisions taken by the SOC would undoubtedly be in accordance with the directions of the Soviet Government. It would be naive to think otherwise. If the BOA accept the advice of the Government, it would be a free and democratic

/decision

MFS

cc fco

DOE(Sports)

W

2/8



decision taken in a free and democratic country. I would ask you to compare the position of the SOC in the Soviet Union to the freedom rightly accorded to the BOA here.

I realise that we are asking potential competitors to take a very hard decision. But like President Carter, Chancellor Schmidt, President Moi and many other heads of Government, I firmly believe it would be wrong for sportsmen or sportswomen to participate in the Olympic Games in present circumstances. I am convinced that non-participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow remains one of the most effective ways of bringing home to the Soviet people that the action of their leaders in invading Afghanistan is unacceptable. Refusal by participants to take part in the opening and closing ceremonies or by medal winners to wait for the National Anthem would be altogether lesser gestures.

I should be grateful if you would convey this reply to all those athletes who signed the enclosure to your letter as well as those who did not do so. There is obviously still a good deal of misunderstanding which it is not always possible to clear up in correspondence. I should like you to know therefore that both Douglas Hurd and Hector Monro will be glad to discuss these matters personally with you or the other athletes who signed the enclosure to your letter. If you or others would like to take up this offer, the necessary arrangements can be made through their offices at 233 7809 (Mr. Hurd) and 212 5421 (Mr. Monro).

Yours sincerely

MT

David Bedford, Esq.



Garf

7 March 1980

Thank you for your letter of 5 March enclosing a message to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr. Fraser's message was, of course, drawn to the Prime Minister's immediate attention. A reply will be despatched very shortly.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R.R. Fernandez, Esq.



File

RH

7 March 1980

Olympic Games - Moscow

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Sir Denis Follows informing the Prime Minister of the resolution passed by the National Olympic Committee on 4 March. The letter does not seem to call for any reply at present.

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

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

C T A Humphrey Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

THR



# 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

7th March 1980.

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

Dear Prime Minister,

## Olympic Games - Moscow

The National Olympic Committee met on 4th March and passed the following resolution:-

" 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 25th March."

The above resolution was passed as a result of some two hours discussion and against the following background:-

1. The resolution passed in September 1978 which reads as follows:-

" Throughout the history of the Olympic Games and in accordance with the established principles of the Olympic Movement emphasis has always been placed on the participation of the individual competitor in the Games.

The British Olympic Association therefore is of the opinion that subject to the laws of each participating nation, and in accordance with the regulations of the International Federation concerned, any competitor, if selected, should not be denied the privilege of participating in the Olympic Games."

This 1978 resolution was passed as a result of the many approaches which were being made at that time from a number of anti-Soviet organisations who wished the British Olympic Association to declare that they would not send a team to Moscow. The circumstances therefore were somewhat parallel to those which obtain today except that the situation has become exacerbated as a result of the Soviet activity in Afghanistan.

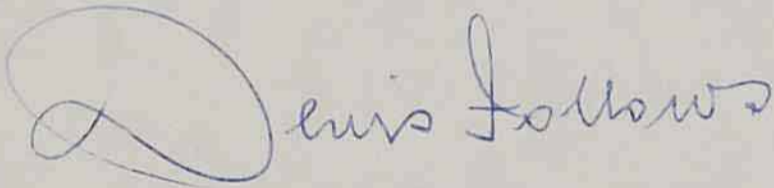


2. The unanimous declaration of the International Olympic Committee in Lake Placid that the Olympics should go ahead in Moscow.
3. The unanimous decision of National Olympic Committees in Mexico City "to reject and avoid any external influence on the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games designed to change existing arrangements for the celebration of the Games of the XXII Olympiad.
4. The statement agreed by fifty-four governing bodies of sport at the meeting of the Games and Sports Division of the C.C.P.R. held on 24th January 1980.
5. The request of a group of West European National Olympic Committees to postpone taking a decision until after 22nd March when there will be a meeting in Brussels to discuss the matter of taking part in the Moscow Olympics.

Whilst it was not apparent during the course of discussion I am satisfied that your letter of 19th February and a subsequent letter from Mr. Douglas Hurd addressed to members of the National Olympic Committee had some effect in persuading members of the Committee from taking an immediate decision to accept the invitation from the Soviet Organising Committee.

The National Olympic Committee had no desire to embarrass the Government in what we are told are delicate negotiations proceeding at the present time designed to improve the situation in Afghanistan.

Yours sincerely,



SIR DENIS FOLLOWS  
Chairman.



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file

step



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

7 March 1980

OLYMPICS

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 7 March on this subject and the draft messages enclosed with it.

As I have already told Malcolm Adams on the telephone, she has approved the message to Mr. Fraser. I will let you have the signed text on Monday.

The Prime Minister does not, however, wish to send a message to Mr. Trudeau at present. She would prefer that we sound out the Americans first with a view to discovering whether or not they have any firm evidence about Mr. Trudeau's intentions. As you will recall from my letter of 4 March, the Prime Minister indicated in her telephone conversation with Mr. Fraser that she would prefer to discuss the matter with the Americans before writing to Mr. Trudeau.

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

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 March 1980

*Dear Michael,*

Olympics

The draft messages to Mr Fraser and Mr Trudeau submitted to you by David Wright following Wednesday's MISC 39 meeting have needed to be revised in the light of yesterday's discussion in Cabinet, to take account of the decision that at the forthcoming "Steering Group" meeting in Geneva we should be represented at ministerial level. We have also heard today from the Americans that they propose postponing the meeting until 17 and 18 March to take account of the 15 March meeting of the US Olympic Committee executive body which is likely, they say, to reach helpful conclusions over the alternative games. This later timing would mean that Mr Hurd, who chairs the MISC 39 Committee on the Olympics, would be available since he returns from his current Middle Eastern tour on 13 March. The Lord Privy Seal believes that Mr Hurd would be the right person to go and I understand that the Secretary of State for the Environment is also content.

// The Lord Privy Seal has also seen and agrees with the attached revised draft messages to Mr Fraser and to Mr Trudeau.

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

*Yours etc*

*Paul*

(P Lever)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON

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-7 MAR 1980





Revised)

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DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

PRIME MINISTER

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

MR FRASER

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

Thank you for your telephone call and for your letter of 5th March about the Olympic Games. I very much agree that we must keep the pressure up.

The next meeting in Geneva, which the Americans have now suggested should be on 17/18 March, should certainly provide an opportunity to examine in detail the possibilities, sport by sport, of mounting alternative games. We need to have a clear idea of these possibilities because the European Olympic Committees will be having an important meeting on 22 March and our own British Olympic Association are intending to reach a final decision on 25 March. I have therefore asked Douglas Hurd, the Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office who has been overseeing the Olympic issue, to go to the meeting in Geneva. I take it therefore that you will be sending Mr Ellicott, as indicated in your letter.

There are of course some difficult hurdles ahead. Alternative games 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. But this makes it all the more important that sportsmen and the sporting organisations should have in front of them the best indication which we can give them of what is on offer. We need to

Enclosures—flag(s).....



CONFIDENTIAL

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 certainly 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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CONFIDENTIAL

ised)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

PRIME MINISTER

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

MR FRASER

*Agreed mt*

Copies to:

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.....In Confidence

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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.





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 March 1980

*Please type draft for signature.*

*Dear Michael,*

Thank you for your letter of 3 March enclosing one received by the Prime Minister from the Chairman and Secretary of the International Athletes Club.

I enclose a draft reply from the Prime Minister which has been cleared with the Department of the Environment. In it only a passing mention has been made of the suggestion by the athletes that they are prepared to refuse to take part in the Opening and Closing ceremonies and the other gestures of protest that they propose to make. To endorse them at this stage would be to admit that we were resigned to their participation in the Moscow Olympics.

After their many discussions over the last few days with sportsmen and sporting organisations Mr Hurd and Mr Monro are clear that there is scope for putting the Government's case across provided this is done without polemics. The reply is drafted with this in mind.

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

*yours ever  
Joan Hopkins.*

Miss D J Hopkins  
APS/Mr Hurd

M O'B Alexander Esq  
No 10 Downing Street



Registry No.

DRAFT

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret.  
Secret.  
Confidential.  
Restricted.  
Unclassified.

To:-

Messrs David Bedford and  
Derek Johnson  
International Athletes Club  
Hampden House  
84 Kingsway  
London WC2B 6SD

From  
Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

PRIVACY MARKING

.....In Confidence

Thank you for ~~your~~ <sup>the</sup> letter ~~of~~ <sup>(which you ~~and~~ <sup>Mr</sup> Johnson sent to me on)</sup> 3 March ~~which~~ <sup>being</sup> enclosing a copy of one signed by 78 athletes about participation at the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer.

I note that we are ~~at one~~ <sup>about</sup> in our disapproval of Soviet policies. I regret that you and the 78 athletes do not agree that ~~one of the most effective ways~~ <sup>non participation in the Olympic Games is an appropriate way</sup> of demonstrating that disapproval, ~~is by refusing to attend Olympic Games held in Moscow.~~ <sup>in Moscow</sup> As I have said before, I fully recognise the dedication and hard work of British sportsmen and women who have been devoting themselves to preparations for the Games. But they 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".

9 Turning to your covering letter, I note your reference to a possible breach of Rule 24c of the Olympic Charter by the British Olympic Association. <sup>You will</sup> Of course, <sup>be aware</sup> ~~one of the most telling points against the Soviet Union is~~ that it could not be seriously suggested that the Soviet Olympic Committee is ~~free from Government control.~~ <sup>an autonomous body or free from political pressure</sup> The Deputy-Chairman of the Soviet Olympic Committee (SOC), Mr Constantine Andrianov, is also Chairman of the Soviet Committee of Sports and Culture. Any decisions taken by the SOC would undoubtedly be in accordance with the directions of the Soviet Government

/and it



and it would be naive to think otherwise. If the BOA accept the advice of the Government, it would be a free and democratic decision taken in a free and democratic country. I would ask you to compare the position of the SOC in the Soviet Union to the freedom rightly accorded to the BOA in ~~this country~~ here

I realise that we are asking each of you to take a very hard decision. But as Prime Minister I remain ~~am~~ convinced that non-participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow remains one of the most effective ways of bringing home to the Soviet people that <sup>the action of</sup> their leaders <sup>is invading</sup> have miscalculated and that a price must be paid for aggression overseas. ~~Refusal to take part in the opening and closing ceremonies, valid though the gesture would be, would not have anything like the same impact on the Soviet Government or the Russian people. It would be an altogether lesser gesture. There~~  
~~own justification~~

I should be grateful if you would convey this reply to all those athletes who signed the enclosure to your letter as well as those who did not do so. There is obviously still a good deal of misunderstanding which it is not always possible to clear up in correspondence. I should like you to know <sup>therefore</sup> that both Douglas Hurd and Hector Monro will be glad to discuss these matters personally with you or the other athletes who signed the enclosure to your letter. If you or others would like to take up this offer, the necessary arrangements can be made through their offices at 233 7809 (Mr Hurd) and 212 5421 (Mr Monro).

*Paul*

*Paul  
like President  
Carter, Chancellor  
Schmidt, President  
Moi & other  
heads of government  
I believe it would  
be wrong for spokesmen  
to participate in  
the Olympic games  
in present circumstances.*



PART 1 ends:-

Pm to J. Reeder 6.3.80.

PART 2 begins:-

FLO to MODBA 6/3/80.



