

PREM19

376

Moscow

Olympics

(UK participation)

(Part 3)



PREM 19/376



PART 3.

confidential filing.

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

SPORT.

Part 1: Jan 1980

Part 3: May 1980.

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>12.6.80.</del>							
<del>16.5.80.</del>							
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<del>31.7.80</del>							

PREM 19/376









*With the compliments of*

**CULTURAL RELATIONS  
DEPARTMENT**

**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE,  
LONDON, SW1A 2AH**



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BY BAG  
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TO FCO  
FROM MOSCOW 300900Z  
TO FCO TELNO 16 SAVING  
INFO SAVING UKDEL NATO WASHINGTON

*B. Waspore. Pl. ask COB  
to arrange Whitcomb distri.  
to EC posts.*

*Spant.*  
MR. MACRAE

MR. CARLWAY

MR. MORRIS.

31/7

*La. Hunt - 1/8*

MY TELEGRAM NO 15 SAVING: THE OLYMPIC GAMES

1. The last week has been marked by an effort by the organisers to put over the idea of 'Games as usual'. The Soviet press has emphasized the number of records which have been broken (30 world and 60 Olympic in the first 9 days). Pravda of 26 July remarked that such successes bore "eloquent witness to the progress of world sport, which has been raised to a new level by the XXII Olympic Games." Despite the fact that numbers have had to be made up in some sports with teams (such as the Tanzanian hockey team) or individuals (like Vietnamese swimmers with no previous sporting record) there have also been enough contests of excitement and note to demonstrate that the Soviet authorities can organise a major sports occasion like the Olympics, and organise it well. There are undoubtedly those, especially among visiting sportsmen and sports journalists, who will have been impressed. To ensure that those living in the Olympic Village carry away the desired impression of Soviet abundance, eight different kinds of fruit have been available there.

2. Others, with a broader interest in what is happening here, are less enthusiastic. The Russians have allowed their irritation with Western press reporting to show. Izvestiya of 23 July criticised those journalists who claimed an effort had been made to prevent foreign tourists meeting Soviet citizens and that the TV Film 'Lies and Hate' on the CIA was part of such an effort. The Soviet spokesman at Olympic press conferences has attacked Reuters, the Daily Mail and other newspapers for failing to confine themselves to writing about sporting events, and issued barely disguised threats to expel offending journalists. Martyn Lewis of ITN has achieved the unusual distinction of being attacked in both The Times and Sovietskaya Rossiya. Western reporters have however had a thin time in tracking down dissidents or even contacting ordinary Soviet citizens. Sakharov's latest letter (my telegram no 486) may therefore receive more attention than it perhaps deserves. But by and large the Soviet authorities can perhaps congratulate themselves on so far getting by better than they may have feared. They have also learned from their mistakes, and made their security measures less obtrusive than before. So far there have been no major incidents or unexpected demonstrations, though a minor brawl at the Olympic village disco over the weekend was reportedly enlivened by athletes shouting 'Russians out of Afghanistan'.

3. Moscow is now fuller than it was earlier this month, and last night's Izvestiya claimed that 3,555,000 people watched the Games during the first 16 days, more than in Montreal. If the figure is correct, it must include a large number of Soviet citizens. There has unquestionably been a notable shortfall in foreign visitors. There are plenty of empty seats at the Games. All tickets for the extensive cultural programme laid on at the /Bolshoi

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Bolshoi, Conservatoire and Moscow's theatres were originally reserved for Olympic visitors but have now had to be made widely available, even to the point of being sold off on the street just before performances start.

4. Ordinary Russians seem only mildly interested in the Games, if relieved that nothing too bad has happened so far. According to one story, a grandmother fainted in horror on being told President Carter had made a major gesture in favour of detente. She believed that meant that the 1984 Games, too, would be held in Moscow.

BROOKE TURNER

FILES

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✓ Press

SPM



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE  
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1  
Telephone 01-~~926 7022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 11/10/7

18th July 1980

19

(2)

Prime Minister

Mr Sanders MP

23/7

Handwritten signature and date: -21/7

Dear Michael,

SERVICEMEN AS OLYMPIC COMPETITORS

You asked for the background to today's press stories that the Ministry of Defence has ordered those Olympic competitors who are Servicemen not to give TV, press, or radio interviews.

There are only 5 Servicemen competitors (and one team official) who chose to go to Moscow, after it had been made clear that the Government believed that it was against British interests for our athletes to compete. The Servicemen are therefore in Moscow as individuals on leave. Nevertheless as Servicemen they remain legally bound by Queen's Regulations. These Regulations contain clear guidance on broadcasts and press interviews designed to avoid Servicemen being drawn into political controversy. It is these Regulations (relevant extract attached) that should govern the conduct of these Olympic competitors.

by signal

When the list of Servicemen competing in the Moscow Olympics was released to the media earlier this month, their parent units were warned\* by the Ministry of Defence that no interviews should be given since it was judged at that stage that such discussions would inevitably have centred on their decision to go to Moscow and put the individuals in an impossible position, given the instruction to avoid political controversy contained in Queen's Regulations. This is the origin of the stories coming from Moscow that these athletes have been

M O'D B Alexander Esq





"gagged" by the Ministry of Defence. There is however nothing in Queen's Regulations to prohibit Servicemen in their position from commenting on purely sporting aspects, such as their prospects in their events or their actual performance.

Guidance has now been sent, via the Defence Attache in Moscow that will make their position clear while also reminding them of the provision of Queen's Regulations. Our Press Office is endeavouring to correct the impression given by the press reports from Moscow; the situation has also been explained in full to Denis Howell MP.

I am copying this letter to Paul Lever (FCO) and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

David Omand

(DDB OMAND)



**PART 2—ACTIVITIES INVOLVING THE USE OF  
OFFICIAL INFORMATION OR EXPERIENCE**

**General Considerations**

**J12.015.** Greater openness in the work of Government requires:

- a. The fullest possible exposition to Parliament and to the public of the reasons for Government policies and decisions when those policies and decisions have been formulated and are announced.
- b. The creation of a better public understanding about the way in which the processes of Government work and about the factual or technical background to Government policies and decisions.

The development of openness in this sense does not imply a licence to Service personnel to discuss with unauthorized persons Government policies and decisions which are in the process of being formulated before announcements are made. Nor does it cover participation by Service personnel in the public discussions of politically controversial topics, whether the issues are important or relatively trivial. (A politically controversial issue is one which is, has been or is clearly about to be a matter of controversy between political parties in this country.) The exposition of Government policies and decisions is the responsibility of Ministers. It would therefore be improper for individual members of the Services to be personally identified in public with any line in conflict with declared Government policy. There will, from time to time, be opportunities for personnel to help in creating a better understanding of the way in which the processes of Government work and, in some instances, about the factual or technical background to Government policies or decisions. There will also be occasions when personnel can and should make a contribution to knowledge on the basis of specialized information and experience obtained in the course of their official duties; in particular, professional, scientific and engineering personnel are encouraged to participate in discussions with learned bodies so long as policy, defence and commercial interests are protected. Any such participation in public discussion or contribution to knowledge of this kind must, however, be such as will neither prejudice national security; create the possibility of embarrassment to the Government in the conduct of its policies; nor bring into question the impartiality of Her Majesty's forces. It is essential therefore that control over what is made public should rest with the appropriate authorities of the Ministry of Defence.

**Applicability**

**J12.016.**

- a. The regulations in paras J12.015 to J12.025 and in Annex A to this Chapter govern the disclosure of information to the general public or to any persons not authorized for official purposes to have access to official information. This includes also the placing of information in the hands of any person or group without restraint on further dissemination or discussion.
- b. The activities governed by these regulations are, in the main:
  - (1) Public lectures and speeches, interviews with and communications to the press, film, radio and television appearances, and statements to non Governmental bodies.
  - (2) Books, monographs, articles, letters or other textual material, whether purporting to be fact or fiction.
  - (3) Theses for degrees or diplomas.
  - (4) Participation in outside study conferences, seminars and discussions.



- c. Serving members of Her Majesty's forces who wish to take part, anonymously or otherwise, in any outside activity which involves the disclosure of information obtained in the course of official duties, the use of official experience, or the public expression of views on official matters, must obtain Ministry of Defence authority in advance. The procedure for obtaining permission is set out in Annex A to this Chapter (*see also* para J12.020: press announcements). The responsibility for seeking this authority in sufficient time to allow proper consideration rests with the individual. Failure to obtain the necessary permission before undertaking any such activity is a disciplinary offence.

#### Principles

J12.019. The general principles which apply to outside activities involving the use of official information or experience are:

- a. There must be no disclosure of classified or 'In Confidence' information.
- b. There should be no discussion of politically controversial issues (*see* para J12.015).
- c. The relations between Service personnel and Ministers, or the confidential advice given to Ministers, should not be disclosed.
- d. There should be no comment on individuals or organizations in terms which the Ministry of Defence would regard as objectionable.
- e. The activity should not conflict with the interests of the Services or of the Ministry of Defence, or bring their good name, or that of the Civil Service generally, into disrepute.
- f. The commercial and patent interests of the Ministry of Defence, of other Government Departments, and of organizations and contractors collaborating with them, should be fully protected. It is the responsibility of those proposing to take part in an outside activity to seek advice if these commercial interests might be jeopardized in any way, and in particular if the activity relates to work under departmental contracts. It should be noted that disclosure, even under conditions of confidence, to whole sections of industry may in some circumstances constitute publication for patent purposes and might make it impossible to secure valid patent protection for the subject matter disclosed.
- g. The security or other national interests of collaborating countries should be fully protected in discussions about international collaborative projects or agreements to which Her Majesty's Government is a party, even where United Kingdom interests are not directly affected.
- h. Permission should be obtained to republish any material covered by copyright, whether the copyright owner is the Crown or not. Particular care is necessary where it is proposed to use material the origin of which is obscure.

#### Broadcasts and Press Interviews

##### J12.021.

- a. Invitations for Service personnel to take part in a radio or television programme are usually made by the broadcasting authorities through official channels, but a direct approach may sometimes be made. If an individual is approached direct he should immediately report the matter as in para 1 of Annex A to this Chapter. Invitations to cooperate in the production of programmes or for help in providing briefing and background information for a programme should be reported similarly.
- b. Public justification of Government policy is a function of Ministers, not of Service personnel. Members of Her Majesty's forces should not therefore take part in a broadcast discussion or press interview on the merits of a policy which is, or may become, a matter of controversy between the political parties. As even a factual statement on such a subject may be open to misconstruction, it is preferable that personnel should not speak in public on any politically controversial issue (*see* para J12.015 above). An unrehearsed interview or discussion on a non controversial subject can easily move into an area of political controversy and the position of Service personnel on controversial matters must therefore be made quite clear to the commentator or interviewer beforehand. So as to reduce the possibility of subsequent misinterpretation a public relations or other officer is to be in attendance at all press interviews and radio or television appearances.



ANNEX A(J) TO CHAPTER 12

(REFERRED TO IN PARAS J12.016, J12.021, J12.022 and J12.023)

PROCEDURE FOR SEEKING PERMISSION TO SPEAK IN PUBLIC,  
TO LECTURE, OR TO WRITE FOR PUBLICATION

**Public Speaking**

1. Applications for or proposals by Service personnel to make public speeches (*see* Note 1) or film, radio or television appearances, or to communicate with the press or other non Governmental bodies are to be made as follows:

- a. Personnel serving in Ministry of Defence headquarters are to seek prior approval from the Chief of Public Relations, through the appropriate Service DPR (*see* Notes 2 and 3). Exceptions to this rule are authorized for Meteorological Office Staff and for certain other individuals whose duties bring them into regular contact with the press, but CPR should be consulted in any case of doubt.
- b. Personnel serving outside Ministry of Defence headquarters are to seek the prior approval of the CinC or head of establishment, or of the officer, official or authority to whom his responsibility for giving approval in accordance with the regulations in paras J12.005 to J12.023 has been delegated. In unusual circumstances, or in any case of doubt, the CinC or head of establishment, or his authorized representative, is to consult CPR, through the appropriate DPR. If there is insufficient time for the necessary consultation the invitation should normally be refused (*see* Note 3).

**Notes:**

1. Public speeches should be submitted for prior clearance under the procedures for lectures (para 2) if their text is likely to be published afterwards, or quoted by a broadcasting authority, newspaper or magazine, either in whole or in part; if they contain scientific or technical data; or if they comment on PE projects, so that they may be fully cleared in all respects, including Crown copyright aspects.
2. Because service in the Ministry of Defence is likely to be regarded as conferring a special degree of authority or importance on statements made by an official speaker, Ministerial approval will be sought by CPR or the appropriate DPR in all cases concerning personnel serving in the Ministry of Defence.
3. Normally, permission to express views on publicly controversial issues will be refused. For any exception to this rule, CPR will seek the prior approval of the Secretary of State for Defence.



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SAVING TELEGRAM

*Sport*

BY BAG  
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AMENDED DISTRIBUTION - 18 JULY 1980

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INFO SAVING WASHINGTON UKDEL NATO

THE OLYMPICS

*mb*  
Read in full

1. The run-up to the Olympics has been singularly joyless. The continuous rain has not helped. Nor has the fact that Moscow is still half-empty. Road-blocks have been set up on the access routes to prevent unauthorised cars from coming into the city, and the police have been active in looking for the slightest excuse to order cars off the road. A favourite trick has been to demand to see the hazard sign, fire extinguisher and first-aid kit supposed to be carried in every car. One driver was heard to complain bitterly about being disqualified because the iodine in his first-aid kit had dried up. The militia have however been successful in greatly reducing the amount of traffic, thereby freeing the roads for Olympic vehicles, residents and convoys of twenty or more out of town buses snaking about the city learning the tourist routes. The absence of casual Soviet visitors to Moscow (some two million a day normally come into the city from outside during the summer), the departure of most of the children, and the fact that many Muscovites have voluntarily left town have all helped to empty the streets.
2. The organisers of the Games presumably counted on thousands of tourists taking the place of those who are missing. So far they only have thousands of police. Moscow's normal complement of uniformed militia of up to 50,000 has been increased to 200,000 or more. The KGB presence has presumably also gone up in proportion. As a result, police are noticeable by their absence in a number of provincial towns, and those that are left there are, to judge by the speed with which a militiaman began cuffing gypsies at Novokuznetsk Railway Station last week, nervous lest undesirable elements take advantage of

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the fact. Other Olympic cities have been, like Moscow, heavily reinforced. There were four militiamen to a floor in Tallinn's main hotel at the beginning of the month. The Olympic Village in Moscow is even guarded by soldiers toting Kalashnikov rifles.

3. It is not obvious what the authorities are nervous about. The main purpose of the elaborate security can hardly be to confirm foreign visitors in the view that the USSR is a police state. The campaign to exile and isolate dissidents during the period of the Games has been effective so far, with few of the many journalists here finding useful copy. An elderly member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in exile in Kazakhstan was warned recently that if "terrorist" acts were carried out during the Olympics, she would be held guilty. It may be indicative that stories are beginning to circulate here of bombs having been found; two, unexploded, at the Lenin Stadium and at a nearby Metro station, and a small one at the Cosmos Hotel which was said to have gone off some three weeks ago. It is not improbable these stories are prompted by the authorities themselves either by accident (the militia practised a "bomb evacuation" of the Lenin Stadium last week) or in an attempt to promote a suitably vigilant attitude on the part of the Soviet population. The latter have been given frequent warnings of the dangers from foreign agents, including a long TV documentary on 6 July entitled "Lies and Hate" on the CIA, Zionists, neo-fascists, nationalists and dissidents. The authorities must also hope that the display of force they have arranged will deter both dissidents and visitors from exploiting the Games to publicise Human Rights issues. They have already tried to stop a broadcast on West German TV of pretty innocuous street interviews with ordinary Soviet citizens on the grounds it was 'political' rather than sporting, and will not like the fact that

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many Western newspapers have sent political rather than sporting journalists to cover the Games. They ought to be able to prevent the direct television transmission of any incidents at the Games themselves through their control of TV coverage of the events, but will not be able to stop photographers recording any such instances for their newspapers. It is noticeable that criticism of Western, and especially US, human rights policies and records has recently begun to increase, probably because attack helps defence. Literaturnaya Gazeta today included an approving reminder the Russians may later regret of the action of a black American who won a gold medal at Montreal and turned his back on the US Flag at the presentation ceremony.

4. The Soviet authorities remain heavy-handed in their approach to the foreign journalists one might assume they would wish to flatter. Most Western agencies and newspapers have had problems in getting visas, largely because of bureaucratic muddle. Journalists here are irritated by the security arrangements, and the repeated need to get special passes. It takes some 40 minutes to get into the Cosmos Hotel for a meal with a friend, so many forms need to be filled in. At least two groups of Western journalists have had well-connected Soviet "helpers" wished upon them. Others, too, have had their problems: the Dutch team were subjected to a detailed search on arrival because border guard dogs started sniffing suspiciously at a container on their aeroplane; the Director of the Dutch National Olympic Committee was irritated to be interrupted by a plain-clothes policeman while entertaining his Belgian colleague at the Olympic village and to be told it was late, and time his visitor left; and the Australian team manager was furious at favourable words put into his mouth by TASS. There are bound to be more such irritants as the bureaucracy - and the KGB - try to cope with unfamiliar problems.

5. The facilities for the Games themselves, and for the athletes and journalists, have been finished on time. By Soviet standards, and by



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most others, they seem to have been well done. 2,583 athletes from 68 countries had arrived by 15 July. The Secretary of the British Olympic Association that day had himself photographed calling at the Embassy to ask for our telephone number in case consular assistance was required. The International Olympic Committee held an open session at the Bolshoi on 14 July, addressed by the Chairman of the Soviet Committee, by Kuznetsov, deputy Chairman of the Presidium, and Lord Killanin. Pavlov and Kuznetsov stressed the need to defend the Olympic movement and praised Killanin for doing so. The latter was quoted by Pravda as regretting that many athletes were absent because of "political diktat" or the prompting of their own consciences. A way would have to be found to enable sportsmen to participate in the Olympics as individuals and to free them from the power of sports organisers. Pravda did not quote Killanin's view that there had long been too much chauvinism and flag-waving about the Olympics.

6. Few tourists seem so far to have arrived. The authorities apparently felt it necessary to discourage travel well ahead of the Olympics, and will have lost useful sums of hard currency as a result. The numbers of Western visitors now expected during the Games themselves is only a small proportion of those the Russians originally catered for. Depending on their circumstances, Soviet citizens can now get discounts of between 10% and 90% on production of the appropriate piece of paper. Thus a ticket for rowing at Krylatskoye can now be had for 60 kopecks as opposed to a minimum printed price of 5 Roubles.

7. Although the Games themselves may attract popular interest, there is therefore no sign of excitement here in anticipation. Regret, rather than anger, has been expressed to Embassy travellers about the boycott, and even

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Soviet officials make little effort to hide their view that the Games will be far less appealing because of non-participation by the Americans and others. Though Moscow shops are somewhat better stocked than usual, and there is plenty of good food available to foreign visitors, the bonanza every Soviet citizen firmly believed would accompany the Olympics has yet to occur. Perhaps the fact of their belief was more important than whether or not it was true, and expressed an expectation that everything possible would be done to impress "them", if necessary at "our" expense. In Leningrad, the mood has been summed up by the wry comment: "We survived the Blackade, we'll survive the Olympics." In Moscow, the story of Brezhnev's visit to a barber is going the rounds. The barber asks him: "Tell me, Leonid Ilych, what will happen after the Olympics?" There is no answer, so he puts the question a second time. Silence again. The third time he asks, the KGB body-guard rises and says to him: "Leave him alone. Can't you see he doesn't want to answer?" The barber replies: "I don't want an answer. But his hair is easier to cut when it stands on end."

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TO FCO TELNO 11 SAVING

INFO SAVING TO WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO

OUR TELNOS 9 AND 10 SAVING: PREPARATIONS FOR THE OLYMPICS

*Read i full  
(I have a specimen of the bear  
with a pilot - see last sentence)*

1. Moscow is increasingly taking on the air of a city about to face an onslaught. Large numbers of militia men have been drafted in and foot patrols around the city have been very greatly increased. Squads of KGB internal security troops have also been seen and convoys of army lorries (some decorated with the Olympic symbol) are a regular sight. As the Olympic torch approaches through Bulgaria and Romania preparations are being made to man the route with police or soldiers, the better to protect what Soviet television frequently describes as the flame of peace.

2. Resident and visiting journalists are finding the security measures being taken at the Olympic sites and their hotels a considerable problem. It is one which may well increase when more substantial numbers of press men arrive. Journalists trying to gain access to the new Press Centre have been held up by lengthy checks, both on entry and on leaving the building and have been given to understand that the security question was taken out of the hands of the Organising Committee by the KGB as a result of high level instructions. The effect is not only to segregate visiting journalists from the Soviet public but also to make for some times ludicrous administrative problems. Foreigners living at the National Hotel, for example, were left without mail for 10 days because the postman was not allowed into the hotel and because they were not permitted to go to the post office to collect it. Resident correspondents have been unable to call on the NBC team now installed at the Cosmos Hotel

/because

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because no one will issue them with the right passes. That hotel is especially heavily guarded with a policeman on each floor - though this may also have something to do with the fact that most of the French cutlery and other equipment with which the hotel was equipped when recently opened has disappeared for resale on the black market. The Rank Xerox service team have so far been denied access to their machines installed in Olympic buildings because they too do not have the correct documents.

3. Soviet Army personnel will also have a significant role to play at the Games themselves. At the opening of the Olympic Village last weekend the Olympic flag was carried in by a dozen members of the Soviet Armed Forces marching in goose step. The ceremony at Tallinn was carried out by sailors in less emotive style. Troops have been rehearsed in cheering for the Opening Ceremony and have practiced to make up a living ladder for the Olympic runner to ascend when he lights the flame on 19 July.

4. The oppressive feeling of the city is increased by the virtual absence of children. Many parents must resent what amounts to compulsory deportation for the best part of two and a half months. There is also a decline in the number of cars on the roads. New regulations will be introduced from 10 July which will in effect ban movement for those without privileged number plates. It is perhaps not surprising that some cynicism has been expressed by ordinary Soviet citizens about the Games and guides showing their compatriots over the Olympic wonders have on occasion had a hard time selling their wares as being for the benefit of ordinary citizens.

5. Dissidents and believers continue to be the victims of the Olympic purge. The Orthodox priest Dmitri Dudko, in detention since January on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda, was forced to make a public confession

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on television on 20 June in which he referred to foreign interference and the Olympics. The trade unionist Vladimir Borisov, member of SMOT (Free Inter-Professional Association of Workers), was expelled from the Soviet Union on 22 June, leaving his wife and young daughter in Moscow. Alexander Podrabinek, in exile for publicising allegations of psychiatric abuse, is expected to be tried a second time, in Yakutsk, on charges of anti-Soviet slander based on material written in Siberian exile. Soviet Pentecostals have written an open letter to President Carter alleging that they are being forced out of the five Olympic cities before the Games begin.

6. The first teams have now arrived though there are not yet substantial numbers of athletes or visitors in Moscow. We have been told in confidence by the Dutch Embassy that all 170 Israelis who wanted to come to Moscow as tourists have had their visas refused or in some cases cancelled. A UK citizen working temporarily as a translator for Progress Publishers has told us in confidence that she has already translated a number of articles to appear in Soviet post-Olympic magazines containing statistical details (with the numbers filled in) dealing with such things as the number of visitors to Moscow during the Olympics, the numbers of special buses and trains and even the tonnes of ice-cream consumed.

7. The expected large quantities of consumer goods and food have yet to appear, but stores in the centre of Moscow and in the suburbs are well stocked with their normal range of goods, and some shops are selling a few luxury items in quantities possibly greater than normal (eg foreign dresses, pullovers and jeans) for which there are the usual enormous queues. Supplies of some luxury foodstuffs seem marginally better than normal but very little good quality meat is available in the Soviet food shops apart

/from



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from imported chicken and turkey. The general impression is that while shops have not so far been given high quality goods which are not usually available, even in the outer regions of Moscow they do have slightly better supplies than usual of their normal range of goods, including clothing and consumer items such as cameras and electric razors.

8. The Soviet press, describing the arrival of the Olympic torch in Sofia referred to Mishka bear as having become something of a talisman in Bulgaria. His vacuous grin is certainly increasingly evident in Moscow with Mishka bear on posters, on the television and a large number of Olympic souvenirs. If you have the best part of £100 to spare you may buy a Mishka bear made out of cowhide. Those not prepared to spend quite so much can buy perfume in plastic Mishka bear flasks, woolly Mishkas, china Mishkas with flowers or badges with the bear engaged in various sports. The badge with the bear holding a pistol seems to have been withdrawn from sale.

KEEGLE

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Sport



T 05191

PRIME MINISTERCharter Flights for the Olympic Games

## BACKGROUND

You agreed to the Secretary of State for Trade's request that OD consider this problem at the end of today's meeting. Aeroflot have asked to put on ~~8~~<sup>18</sup> extra charter flights to take spectators to the Moscow Olympics. You have commented (as did the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs) that to allow these flights would be inconsistent with the Government's policy on the Olympics. The Trade Secretary has written to you today to explain his doubts whether the Government have powers to refuse these flights, to suggest that, even if the powers are adequate, the Government may need to contemplate making ex gratia payments to those passengers who forfeit their deposits, and that the Whips are anxious about parliamentary reactions to a refusal to allow the flights.

## HANDLING

2. You will wish the Secretary of State for Trade to present his case. You might then invite the comments of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary on the international implications in relation both to the Soviet Union and to those countries who are boycotting the Moscow Olympics, in particular the United States. You might then seek to establish in discussion the answers to the following questions:-

- a. Commercial implications of refusing the flights? Did British Airways decide not to put on flights purely for their own reasons or because they believed Aeroflot would not be allowed to take the business? What about the forthcoming air service negotiations with the Soviet Union?
- b. Attorney General's views on the legal question?
- c. What does the Chief Whip (who has been invited for this item) think? Would willingness to make ex gratia payments make a difference to the parliamentary reaction?

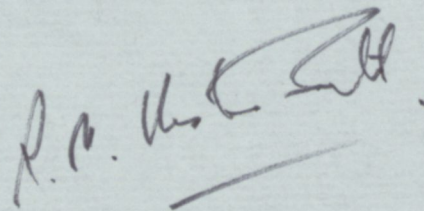


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d. Would a decision to allow the flights in fact be regarded as inconsistent with the Government's policy? (When OD considered the possibility of flights by British Airways (OD(80) 5th Meeting, Minute 2), they decided to discourage BA from advertising services for the Moscow Olympics, while recognising that the company could not be prevented from organising such flights as they wished. Should the Russians now be allowed this extra business?

CONCLUSION

3. Subject to points made in discussion, you may wish to lead the Committee to agree that the flights should be allowed to go ahead, provided that British Airways are given an opportunity to reconsider their own earlier decision. The practical arguments point this way. But politically you may feel that the Government's policy demands that these flights should be refused.



R M HASTIE-SMITH

Cabinet Office  
2 July 1980

CONFIDENTIAL





*From the Secretary of State*

CONFIDENTIAL

Clive Whitmore Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
London, SW1

2 July 1980

*Dear Clive*

CHARTER FLIGHTS FOR THE OLYMPICS

My Secretary of State was grateful for the Prime Minister's agreement that he could raise this matter at OD this afternoon.

The background is as follows. Aeroflot have sought the approval of my Department to operate 18 special charter services between London and Moscow and Leningrad to carry visitors to the Olympic Games. These are spectators: the competitors and their officials are travelling by scheduled British Airways services. To refuse approval my Secretary of State would have to use powers available under the Air Navigation Order 1976: but the Attorney General has reservation about the use of these powers on which he will speak at OD. Since BA are not operating any charter services to the Olympics (and, contrary to press reports, this Department did not seek to influence their decision) and since no other British airline operates regular charters to the Soviet Union in the Summer, the tour operator, David Dryer Sports Travel, is most unlikely at short notice to find another airline to carry his clients.

In my Secretary of State's view, this is a difficult political decision, but one which, with the start of the Olympics only three weeks away, needs to be taken quickly.

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*From the Secretary of State*

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In favour of refusing the Aeroflot charters it can be argued:-

- (i) to do so would be consistent with our policy since the invasion of Afghanistan of acting against special events, special contracts and special trade arrangements in a way which is likely to have an impact on the Soviet Government and people;
- (ii) the charters are directly related to the Olympic Games on which the Government has taken a very firm and widely publicised position. If we allow them to go ahead we will give more ammunition to those who argue that the athletes alone are being picked on;
- (iii) the public and in particular the Government's supporters would find it difficult to accept that the Government had allowed a situation to arise where Aeroflot and not BA were getting the commercial advantage of special charters for the Olympics.

The main arguments in favour of granting the Aeroflot application are as follows:-

- (i) we should not lightly breach our normal principle of avoiding the intrusion of politics into civil aviation. After the United States, we have the second largest civil aviation operation in the world, and are vulnerable to counter-action by others;
- (ii) the Russians might retaliate not just in civil aviation but against our trade or other interests;
- (iii) the tours cost at least £400 per person and the tour operator has required a 25% non-refundable deposit. It may well be that by now more than that will have been paid. There is a legal argument that cancellation of the tours as a result of Government action would void the contracts between the tour operator and his clients, but it is by no means certain that the arbitrator would support this line. Frustrated travellers who have lost £100 or more of their own money would attract a good deal of public sympathy, and the support of their Members;

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*From the Secretary of State*

CONFIDENTIAL

- (iv) the Government might be accused of picking again, in their post-Afghanistan policy, on the weak and defenceless - tourists as well as athletes - while allowing large companies to carry on trade with Government-supported credit.

My Secretary of State would be glad to hear the views of his colleagues this afternoon on a matter where in his view the political issues are much the most important.

If the Aeroflot charters are refused, he thinks it essential that the Government should be ready to make available funds to recompense would-be travellers to Moscow for their lost deposits, provided that there is no other basis on which they can recover their money. However, it might be undesirable to make that fact known in public at this stage. The best estimate we can make is that the maximum liability would be of the order of £100,000.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the other members of OD, as well as to Bill Beckett (Attorney General's Office), Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely,*

*Suat Hampson*

S HAMPSON  
Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

From The Minister of State  
Douglas Hurd CBE MP

1 July 1980

*Overman  
to OD.  
M.L.*

*Prime Minister  
H.A.*

②

*Hurd 1/7*

*Dear Norman:*

CHARTER VISITS FOR THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Thank you for your letter of 27 June. This is a difficult decision to take and I find the arguments on either side somewhat finely balanced.

The political case for refusing the Aeroflot charters is that to do so would be consistent with our policy since the invasion of Afghanistan of acting against special events, special contacts and special trade arrangements (eg special credit arrangements, COMECON transfer of technology, bilateral visits and exchanges), which are likely to have an impact on the Soviet Government and people. In this case the Aeroflot charters are special in the sense of being additional to Aeroflot's normal summer schedule programme which has already been approved. Furthermore, these charters are of course directly related to the Olympic Games on which the Government has taken a very firm and widely publicised position.

On the other hand, I accept that civil aviation has hitherto been excluded from the range of post-Afghanistan measures against the Soviet Union, and that charters of this kind would normally be granted. It would therefore be difficult to claim that a refusal had been taken on economic grounds, and the introduction of politics into our bilateral civil aviation relations with the Soviet Union might make it harder to bring about a smooth transition to a restricted London/Moscow end-to-end service when the notice of termination of the Protocol to the ASA runs out in October.

/In practical

Norman Tebbit Esq MP  
Parliamentary Under-  
Secretary of State  
Department of Trade  
1 Victoria Street  
London SW1





In practical terms I understand that it would probably not be feasible for all the British tourists already booked for Moscow on these Aeroflot charters by the British tour operator, (following the cancellation of the British Airways charters) to be rebooked on the regular Aeroflot inclusive tour charters (the only other charters available). Many of them would therefore have to take more expensive places on regular scheduled services or lose their £100 non-refundable deposit. We can therefore expect that a negative decision on our part would be greeted by strong criticism from this quarter.

However my conclusion is that the inconvenience to the frustrated travellers is of less importance than the derision to which the Government could be subjected if we let the charters go ahead. The athletes themselves would be quick to jump on this further evidence that, as they see it, they alone are the sacrificial victims of the Government's policy. The public and in particular our supporters would find it difficult to accept that the Government had allowed a situation to arise where Aeroflot and not BA were getting the commercial advantage of special charters for the Olympics.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the Chief Whip and Members of MISC 39, and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours,  
Douglas.





10 DOWNING STREET

MISC 39 = FCO  
Paymaster General  
CSD  
MOD CO(Mr Wade-Gery)  
HMT  
HO  
DOE

*From the Private Secretary*

30 June, 1980

Charter Flights for the Olympic Games

The Prime Minister has seen Mr Tebbit's letter of 27 June to Mr Hurd on this subject. The Prime Minister is not convinced that it would be right to give permission to Aeroflot to proceed with special charter services between London and Moscow to carry visitors to the Olympic Games. She considers that if the Government were to do so its policy would appear inconsistent.

I am sending copies of this letter to Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office), the Private Secretaries of MISC 39 and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Miss S M Haird  
Department of Trade

6





From the  
Parliamentary Under Secretary of State

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE  
1 VICTORIA STREET  
LONDON SW1H 0ET

TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01 215 3781  
SWITCHBOARD 01 215 7877

*We shall look  
very silly if we  
give permission for these  
charter flights  
to Aeroflot.*

*Prime Minister*

*(2)*

*Government should  
on the Olympics*

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The Hon Douglas Hurd CBE MP  
Minister of State  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
London SW1A 2AL

*consistent*

*Ant 27/6*

*no 27<sup>th</sup> June 1980*

*D Douglas.*

CHARTER FLIGHTS FOR THE OLYMPIC GAMES

This morning Aeroflot sought the approval of my Department to operate 18 special charter services between London and Moscow to carry visitors to the Olympic Games. The question arises what attitude we should adopt towards these charter flights. I do not think that I should allow matters to proceed on their normal course without consulting you.

Aeroflot need the approval of my Department in order to operate charter services. Normally we approve charter flights on the basis of broad reciprocity. Although British Airways are not proceeding with their own charter flights for the Olympics, there are other programmes of British charter flights to Moscow. On general civil aviation policy grounds we would prefer not to refuse the applications from Aeroflot, but we have the means to do so.

As you know, we try to prevent politics from intruding into civil aviation, because it is an obvious ready target and our own considerable interests would be vulnerable to counter-action by others. In the aftermath of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, civil aviation is being treated in the same way as commercially justified trade and excluded from the areas in which action is being taken. Thus scheduled services by Aeroflot and British Airways and the former's normal charter programme for tourists are continuing undisturbed.

We also need to keep in mind that the Government has not gone further than to express the hope that UK citizens will not want the Olympic Games. Given the close proximity of the Olympics, the assumption must be that the tour organiser, David Dryer Sports Travel, already has bookings for a major part of the capacity





envisaged. We know that these tours cost £400 per person and that a 25% non-refundable deposit is required at the time of booking.

The charter flights are however a potential source of sharp criticism for the Government, and no doubt whichever decision we take there will be no lack of critics and advocates of the opposite course.

I should add that, after discussion with Aeroflot, British Airways considered the possibility of operating 6 charter flights themselves, on behalf of their subsidiary, British Air Tours. I spoke to BA's Chief Executive about this and he told me that they had already decided not to go ahead with a contract with Mr Dryer. This is the decision which has attracted some notice in today's papers.

I think we need to take a decision fairly quickly and should be glad if you would let me have a response as soon as possible.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Chief Whip, members of MISC 39 and Sir Robert Armstrong.

*Norman*  
*Norman*

NORMAN TEBBIT

c.c. PS/KOS  
PS/MFT  
PS/xxx  
Mr Cairnes  
Mr Steele  
Mr Dick  
Mr Roberts  
Mr Eagers  
Mr Garrod  
-  
Prime Minister  
Chief Whip  
members of MISC 39  
Sir Robert Armstrong





ARTICLE BY MR HURD FOR THE 'DAILY EXPRESS'

This will appear  
in the Express  
tomorrow, Friday  
27 June.

CA  
28/6

In Moscow this week they are getting ready for the Olympics. A lick of paint here, a bit of spring cleaning somewhere else - of course. But in Moscow 1980 that is not enough. In Moscow getting ready for the Olympic's means arresting dozens of Russians who might have something to say to the athletes and spectators. It means warning hundreds of others to keep out of Moscow until the Games are over. It means painting Olympic slogans on the airliners which until the latest token gesture have been taking Russian reinforcements to kill and bomb in Afghanistan. Never before in the history of the Olympic movement has the host country been carrying out aggression at the time of the Games. Never before have competitors had to think so hard about what the Olympic spirit really means.

In the past six months the Government have had a long argument with sporting organisations in Britain about this. We have not enjoyed the argument at all. In politics as in everything else it is much more rewarding to build than to pull down, to do something rather than to stop something. I have often asked myself whether it would have been possible to take a different line, to say to our competitors 'Don't worry, go to Moscow, we'll pretend the Olympics are nothing to do with Afghanistan'. But always we are forced back to the answer that this would have been impossible. Those who think that sport has nothing to do with politics don't know anything about the Soviet Union. For a true

/Communist.....



Communist, sport even more than music or painting or the theatre, is a branch of politics. They told the Russian people long ago that holding the Olympics in Moscow was proof of the respect in which Russia is held. After Afghanistan can we really afford to give them that proof? Andrei Sakharov, Russian Nobel prize winner and one of those now exiled from Moscow gave the answer when he wrote 'the broadest possible boycott of the Moscow Olympics is necessary. Every spectator or athlete who comes to the Olympics will be giving indirect support to Soviet military policies'.

Ah, some people say, but why take it out on the athletes? What about trade and the other contacts which we have with the Russians? But it is simply not true to say that we have done nothing about trade. There are firms and workers in Britain today who are worse off because of what has been done. The generous credit agreement which Harold Wilson negotiated with the Russians has been allowed to lapse. We have tightened the restrictions on selling strategic goods which might be useful for the Soviet war machine. The British Government would have liked to go further, Peter Walker has throughout argued for stopping the nonsensical sales of subsidised butter to the Soviet Union. But stopping all ordinary trade with the Soviet Union would not make sense. Would it make sense to impose restrictions which would simply transfer contracts to our competitors? Would it make sense to take measures which would hurt us more than the Russians? Anyway, ordinary trading contacts give the Russians no propaganda weapon with their own people or with the outside world. They are pinning their political hopes on something else - on the special jamboree which they are organising in Moscow next month. The jamboree might have been a great World Trade Fair or perhaps a great World Theatre Festival. The same

/arguments....



arguments would then have applied. It is desperately  
bad luck for the athletes that Moscow's political  
jamboree<sup>for 1980</sup> happens to be the Olympics.

Margaret Thatcher and Peter Carrington are working  
<sup>hard</sup>  
to get the Russians out of Afghanistan. This  
is not just for the sake of the Afghan people, desperate  
though their suffering still is. It is for the sake of  
our own peace and security. Once aggression is seen to  
pay, no-one is safe. If we haven't learnt that from the  
past we haven't learnt anything. That is why the Western  
leaders spent so much time on Afghanistan at their summit  
meeting in Venice. That is why Peter Carrington put forward  
our plan for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and for a  
neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan. If the Alliance had  
shown a little more spunk on earlier occasions Afghanistan  
might never have been invaded. If we can make the Russians  
think twice over Afghanistan, then next time they see an  
opportunity they may decide to stay at home. But it all  
depends on effective pressure - and because the Games are  
in Moscow, an Olympic boycott is part of that pressure.

So we are quite clear that it is against British  
interests for British competitors to go to Moscow. We  
know that we are asking them to do something very difficult  
for Britain. Competitors who <sup>so far still</sup> intend to go to Moscow  
have built their lives round their event. They have trained,  
they have made sacrifices, they have thought of little else  
for months, probably years. But the same is true of the  
British competitors who have decided to accept our advice  
/and stay.....

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and stay away - the equestrians, the yachtsmen, the hockey players, some of the fencers and marksmen. All credit should go to them. The same is true of Canadian, German, Japanese, New Zealand and American competitors. They too have in the end decided that it is right to stay away. In so doing they have already made the boycott effective. Who is going to cross the road to see a swimming medal won at Moscow, when the world's best swimmers will not take part?

In this country we pay great attention to those who excel in sport. We are not lavish with facilities or training at public expense as they are in Eastern Europe. But no-one who reads a newspaper or listens in a pub can doubt the honour which sportsmen enjoy in Britain. They are part of our tradition. But they do belong in the same world as the rest of us - the dangerous world in which aggression is being committed and unless checked could be committed again. They have a part to play in making that world a bit safer. The British have not usually lagged behind or sought excuses when an act of courage is required. In July 1980 that act of courage means staying away from the scramble for Moscow's medals.



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*Prime Minister  
(see para 3)*

*Mr. W. ...  
Mr. Sharla...  
Mr. Call...  
Mr. M...*

*H. ...*

OUR TELEGRAM NO 9 SAVING: PREPARATION FOR THE OLYMPICS

1. As the opening day nears, the Soviet press has been devoting more and more space to articles about the Olympics, all telling the same story of successful preparations in Moscow and the world's athletes reading themselves for the contests ahead. Public mention of the boycott has virtually dropped from view, and efforts are being made to foster the impression that the Olympics will be both a triumph of Soviet organisation and an unsurpassed festival of sporting achievements, an occasion in which every Russian can take full pride. In a clearly emotive appeal to Soviet patriotism, cinema newsreels have shown members of the Soviet Olympic team taking their oath in the Volgograd (ex Stalingrad) War Memorial Complex.

2. Many of the physical preparations now seem to be complete, and Moscow town centre is in good shape. The new (and architecturally impressive) international airport, Sheremetievo-2, is also finished, although a West German maintenance team remains on site to put right problems that may arise, and the airport is presently working well below capacity, with only a few airlines having transferred from the old airport. There have been long delays to the processing of incoming flights on occasion, with both immigration and customs officials taking their time to examine passengers and bags, supplementing the new X-ray equipment with extensive physical examination of luggage. Most of the Olympic sites are now claimed to be ready, and although there is evidence that several are in fact running

/slightly

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slightly behind schedule, "Shock work" will doubtless ensure that they are operational by the appointed day. Essentially, therefore, it now only remains to tidy up. Pravda of 7 June noted that the workers of many areas had declared June a month of campaign for preparing amenities, and Saturday 28 June a town-wide "subbotnik" - a day of unpaid 'voluntary' work, which will presumably be devoted largely to clearing up, cleaning, touching up paint, planting flowers etc. Other workers, including academics have already been drafted in to work on last minute cleaning and polishing. This should ensure that everything is neat and tidy well before the main groups of tourists arrive.

3. The round-up of dissidents is also continuing: another member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group, Yuri Yarym Agaev, was detained in Moscow two weeks ago and ordered to emigrate by the opening of the Olympics. The trial of another Group member, Viktor Nekipelov, opened on 11 June. Only six members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group now remain at liberty: they are understandably demoralized and expecting arrest at any time, although, given the arbitrariness of Soviet actions in this field, it is hard to predict what will happen. The same aim of 'shielding' foreign visitors from any unfavourable impression of Soviet society continues to affect other fields as well: the long-awaited stockpiled goods have yet to appear but out-of-town visitors are now refused entry to Moscow and buses have been commandeered to take many of the children out in convoys.

4. It is increasingly obvious these preparations are being made for the sake of what may be a disappointingly small number of foreign visitors. The Italian Travel Agency which secured the Olympic concession is for example being told by the Soviet authorities it must purchase the tickets for 15,000 people it originally contracted to buy

/(54,000)



(54,000 tickets in total) though as a concession the Agency has been told it need pay for the tours only of the 5,600 Italians actually coming. Canadian visitors are now expected to total only 300, as opposed to 6,000, and British tourists seem likely to number only around 2,000. There are even rumours that some East Europeans are staying away because Intourist is driving too hard a bargain and although some Russians claim that increased interest from Latin America and India will make up some of the shortfall it is evident enough the Games will not bring in anything like the hard currency income the Soviet Union expected.

5. The Soviet authorities will clearly continue to do all they can to present the Games in the most glowing colours possible, and to obscure the degree of dissension they have aroused. The organisers have made it clear they will fly the flags of countries whose National Olympic Committees will be sending teams, whatever the position of the Governments of those countries, and have even suggested they may fly the flags of all members of the International Olympic Committee, including the Stars and Stripes. It must in any case be doubtful whether the ordinary Soviet citizen will draw clear conclusions from the official positions of countries whose Governments have urged a boycott, but are represented by teams sent by National Committees, whose athletes they will therefore tend to regard as composing national teams in the full sense. The picture has meanwhile been further blurred by what appear to be officially encouraged stories that major boycotting nations like Japan may after all send teams.

6. The Russians are experts at making illusion appear real, as Potemkin proved with the fake villages he showed to Catherine the Great, and the Soviet authorities showed more recently during President Nixon's visit. They may well enjoy a considerable degree of success in persuading their

/own



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own public that the Games are well up to standard and foreign visitors that the Soviet Union is a clean and orderly, well provided for, society. But the Soviet public remain well aware of widespread opposition to the Olympics, the shortfall in foreign visitors cannot be totally ignored, and there will be a marked decline in coverage by foreign media. The Olympics will not be the triumph the Soviet authorities planned.

Keeble

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MR PE BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT  
17/19 ROCHESTER ROW

MR N PALMER " "  
MR MUNRO (PS/PARL U/SEC) "

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Original  
LGR.  
C.F. to note



MFS/ULB  
13/6  
Sport  
C.F.W.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 June 1980

Thank you for your letter of 27 May about British participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow.

It is unfortunate that the Olympic Games happen to be scheduled at this time. I understand and sympathise with the feelings of the athletes who have trained for years with the object of participating. But we know that for the Soviet Union sport is a branch of politics and I would like to draw your attention to the extract from a recent Soviet publication quoted in the attached memorandum. It is clear from this and other evidence that the Soviet authorities will claim participation in the Olympics as endorsement of their aggression in Afghanistan and their propaganda machine will make use of this, both within the Soviet Union and abroad. From this, we have concluded that a boycott of the Olympics by citizens of the Free World would be one of the most effective measures to bring home to the Soviet Government and the Russian people the abhorrence in which their actions in Afghanistan are held. That is why I have advised British sportsmen and women and their sporting federations that it would be against British interests and wrong for them to compete in Moscow.

I see no evidence of antagonism towards athletes by the Government in this. None of the parallels you have drawn can be compared with the unprovoked Soviet invasion of a small and non-aligned neighbour in massive force. Nor were those you criticise hosts for the Olympics. Indeed, never in the history of the modern Olympics has the host country at the time of the Games been committing aggression in another country. There is no question of double standards. We believe that it is essential for the future peace

/ of the world



of the world that the Soviet Union should be convinced that it has misjudged the firmness of the Western response.

We have tried to work out a sensible range of measures to bring home to the Soviet authorities and people our strong opposition to their continued actions in Afghanistan. Unilateral action designed to curtail world trade with the Soviet Union would serve no useful purpose. It would not hurt the Soviet Union which could find alternative suppliers, but it would hurt British firms and put British people out of work. We have, therefore, not cut off all trade and other 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.

There is now more fighting in Afghanistan than there was immediately after the Russian invasion. The only difference is that the Western media are no longer allowed there to cover it. Occasionally an exceptionally vile event like the recent killing of schoolchildren in Kabul reaches our press.

Athletes have the same rights and the same responsibilities towards the maintenance of peace as other citizens of this country.

Our advice not to compete stands. It is up to athletes to decide in the light of that advice. They must ask themselves whether it is right to go to Moscow while the killing and maiming continues in Afghanistan. They must consider the overwhelming evidence that they will be assisting the Soviet Union's propaganda machine. It is not their fault, but it is their misfortune, that Moscow was chosen for the 1980 Olympics and that the Olympic authorities refused to change the site when asked to do so. As a result our competitors are being asked to do something difficult for their country and for the peace of the world. As you point

/out others



out others have been asked to do this before in our history and have usually responded. As the facts become clearer day by day, and the various excuses fall away, I hope that the athletes too will respond.

(SGD) MARGARET THATCHER

Kenneth Short, Esq.

*Amateur Boxing Assoc.*

vb



VLB  
13/6

*Original  
CF. to note  
- 16/6*



cc FCO  
DOE

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 June 1980

Thank you for your letter of 27 May about the Olympic Games in Moscow.

I am sorry that you consider that the Government has taken no practical steps to underline how seriously it regards the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This is often stated by those seeking excuses for going to Moscow, and I am not surprised that you should have been misled; but it really is not so. In the field of trade, we have ended the low cost credit arrangements made available by the last Government to the Soviet Union. We are curtailing the supply of high technology and other material of special value to the Soviet Union. We have not taken unilateral action to halt all trade with the Soviet Union because we believe that this would not be effective, in the absence of a general agreement by all potential suppliers, which - regrettably - it would not be possible to achieve. Such action on our part alone would have little impact on the Soviet people as orders would go elsewhere. The only effect would be to damage our own firms and risk throwing some of our own people out of work.

I enclose a memorandum which sets out in more detail what action we have taken. We are keeping our Ambassador in Moscow because it is in our own interest that he can report to us on Soviet policies and developments there and put our views to the Soviet authorities. We are not doing the Russians a favour by keeping a man in Moscow.

/ I fully



I fully realise that we are calling on British sportsmen to do something difficult for their country and for world peace. That is why we wanted to move the Games from Moscow. It is a great pity that the Olympic authorities refused. For the Russians the Moscow Olympics are a major political event, which they will use to show that the world does not care about their bombings and killings in Afghanistan. It is in quite a different category from ordinary trading or diplomatic contacts. That is why we have advised all British athletes and sporting federations that it would be both wrong and against British interests to compete in Moscow.

Athletes have the same rights and responsibilities towards the maintenance of world peace as other citizens of this country. Unlike athletes in totalitarian countries, those in Britain are free to decide individually what to do, and I ask you to consider carefully what I have said in this letter and enclosed memorandum.

(SGD) MARGARET THATCHER

W. R. Johnson, Esq.

vb



21  
OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS  
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MR FERGUSSON  
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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 ROY

MR N PALMER

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

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FM WASHINGTON 122140Z JUNE 80  
TO PRIORITY F C O  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 2218 OF 12 JUNE

Prime Minister

MH 13/11

OLYMPICS

1. LEDSKY (STATE DEPARTMENT) TOLD US TODAY THAT THE US ATHLETIC FEDERATION ARE ABOUT TO INVITE ATHLETIC FEDERATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES TO TAKE PART IN THE TRACK AND FIELD MEETING WHICH THE FEDERATION IS PLANNING TO ORGANISE IN THE US IN AUGUST. THE FEDERATION ARE SOMEWHAT NERVOUS ABOUT SENDING INVITATIONS TO FEDERATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH STILL INTEND TO GO TO MOSCOW, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY ANXIOUS TO SECURE AS WIDE A GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF PARTICIPATION AS POSSIBLE. LEDSKY ASKED FOR OUR VIEWS ON THE ADVISABILITY OF INVITING THE BRITISH FEDERATION. WE SAID THAT IN VIEW OF YOUR FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH THE BRITISH SPORTING FEDERATIONS IT MIGHT BE AS WELL TO ASK THE US FEDERATION TO HOLD OFF FOR THE TIME BEING, AS THE DESPATCH OF AN INVITATION JUST BEFORE YOUR MEETING MIGHT BE CONSTRUED AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF QUOTE GANGING UP UNQUOTE BY GOVERNMENTS. LEDSKY WILL ADVISE THE US FEDERATION ACCORDINGLY.

2. THERE WOULD OF COURSE BE NO OBJECTION IF YOU THOUGHT IT USEFUL TO TELL THE BRITISH SPORTING BODIES ABOUT THE PLANS FOR THIS MEETING, AND FOR THE OTHER EVENTS REFERRED TO IN SOUTAR'S LETTER OF 12 JUNE TO SHARLAND.

HENDERSON





Prime Minister  
cc Press Office

(2)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

H.C. Paul 11/6

10 June 1980

Dear Michael,

Olympic Games

The Prime Minister will wish to know that Lord Carrington has decided to hold a meeting on 17 June with the Chairmen of the Governing Bodies of Olympic Sports which at present intend to go to Moscow. The idea of the meeting between a Government Minister and the sporting bodies was mooted in my letter of 15 May. At the proposed meeting, Lord Carrington will attempt to bring the Chairmen into his confidence on Government policy on Afghanistan and will try to show how the Olympics form a necessary part of that policy.

I enclose copies of the letters of invitation which have been sent to the Chairman of the Joint Shooting Committee, the other Chairmen of Olympic sports bodies and to Sir Denis Follows.

I am sending a copy of this letter with enclosures to Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment) and to David Wright, (Cabinet Office).

Yours own

Paul

(P Lever)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

*Jean J. Jans*

I am today writing to the Chairmen and Presidents of those sports Governing Bodies still intending to send teams to Moscow, inviting them to meetings at my office / at 3.00 or 4.30 pm on 17 June. I enclose a copy of the text of that letter.

I am grateful to you for having taken the trouble on two earlier occasions to discuss the Olympics with me, and I know you have exchanged a number of letters on this subject with the Prime Minister. I do, however, feel that your presence at one of the proposed meetings on 17 June would be valued both by your colleagues in sport and indeed by me. I hope therefore you will be able to find the time at this rather short notice to join us.

Perhaps you could let my Private Secretary know, on 01-233-4650, whether you will be able to attend.

*Sincerely*  
*J. Carrington*  
(CARRINGTON)

Sir Denis Follows CBE





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

*My Dear General*

I enclose a copy of the text of a letter I am sending to each of the Chairmen of those sports bodies that still intend to be represented at the Moscow Olympics.

I was gratified to learn some time ago that your Committee decided not to send teams and that that decision has since been endorsed by your two Olympic associations. I understand, however, that there will be an extraordinary meeting of the Joint Shooting Committee on 21 June when the question of the Olympics will be discussed again. If you think it may help you to prepare for that discussion you, or your representative, are welcome to attend the meeting I am having on 17 June.

Perhaps you could let my Private Secretary know on 01-233-4650 what you decide.

*S. Carrington*  
*Carrington*  
(CARRINGTON)

Major-General R B Loudon





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

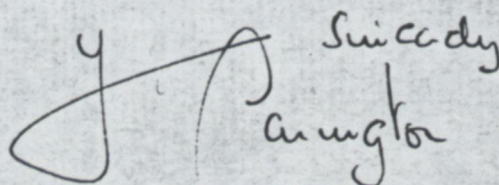
Jean St. Jacob

Much has been said and written about Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion at the end of last year. But it is clear to me that misunderstandings still exist about the precise nature and extent of the Government's views, particularly as they affect the Olympic Games.

As the head of a sports body still intending to send a team or teams to the Olympics you will need no reminding that the Government's attitude to the Games forms part of our response to events in Afghanistan. It is not the only part, but it is an important one. I know that some of you feel that we ought to have pursued a policy in which sport did not feature at all, or, indeed that we might have taken additional, even harsher, measures in other fields. I know that some of you certainly feel that sportsmen have been called on to make a disproportionate sacrifice. That is why I should very much like an opportunity to explain personally to you the strategy which we have been following since the Russians occupied Afghanistan and to set the Olympics issue in the context of this wider policy. At the same time I should like to assure you that we have been trying to understand the feelings of those athletes we have asked to sacrifice so much for what we consider to be the security interests of this country.

I should therefore be very glad if you, or your representative, could join me at my office at 3.00 pm on 17 June, when I hope we can have a frank exchange of views on these important issues. I hope you will find the time for this discussion at such short notice.

I am writing similarly to the Chairmen and Presidents of the other affected Governing Bodies and to Sir Denis Follows. Perhaps you could let my Private Secretary know by telephone (01-233 4650) whether you will be able to come.

  
(CARRINGTON)

H I Jacob Esq OBE





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Jean N. Clark*

10 June 1980

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I am writing similarly to the Chairman and Presidents of the other affected Governing Bodies and to Sir Denis Follows. Perhaps you could let my Private Secretary know by telephone (01-233 4650) whether you will be able to come.

*J Carrington*  
*Sincerely*  
*J Carrington*  
(CARRINGTON)

K Clark Esq





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Jean M<sup>s</sup> Haig

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/important

Mrs M Glen Haig CBE





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I am writing similarly to the Chairmen and Presidents of the other affected Governing Bodies and to Sir Denis Follows. Perhaps you could let my Private Secretary know by telephone (01-233 4650) whether you will be able to come.

*Swicades*  
*J. P. Carrington*

(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Dear Mrs Gray

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/important

Mrs E Gray OBE





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

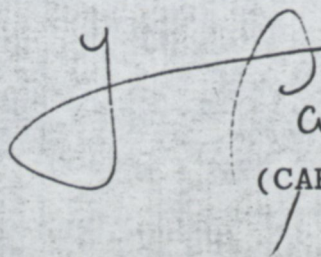
Dear Mr Short

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K Short Esq

  
J. S. Carrington  
(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Jean N. Palma

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Sincerely  
Carrington

(CARRINGTON)

C Palmer Esq OBE





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Jean A. McAllister

Much has been said and written about Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion at the end of last year. But it is clear to me that misunderstandings still exist about the precise nature and extent of the Government's views, particularly as they affect the Olympic Games.

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J. A. McAllister  
Sincerely,  
A. Wright

A McAllister Esq

(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

*Jean D. Stamp*

Much has been said and written about Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion at the end of last year. But it is clear to me that misunderstandings still exist about the precise nature and extent of the Government's views, particularly as they affect the Olympic Games.

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*J. Carrington*  
Carrington  
(CARRINGTON)

Mr D J Stamp





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

*Jean N. Zimmermann*

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*J H Zimmermann*  
Sincerely,  
*J H Zimmermann*  
(CARRINGTON)

J H Zimmermann Esq





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

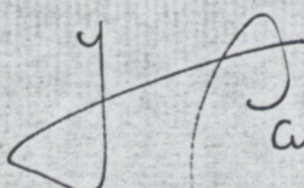
Jean D. Rowland

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Sincerely  
Carrington  
(CARRINGTON)

B J Rowland Esq





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Jean D. Edmonds

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/important

F Edmonds Esq OBE





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I am writing similarly to the Chairmen and Presidents of the other affected Governing Bodies and to Sir Denis Follows. Perhaps you could let my Private Secretary know by telephone (01-233 4650) whether you will be able to come.

*J. Sincady*  
*Carrington*

(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Jean R. Juigk

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D Dingle Esq





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*Sui cordis*  
*angla*  
(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

Dear Mr Wain

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/important

P Wain Esq





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*J. Smeads*  
*Carrington*

(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980.

Dear Mr Davidge

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Sincerely  
Carrington

C J V Davidge Esq

(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

*Jean G. Charles*

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K G Charles Esq

*J. Carrington*  
(CARRINGTON)





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 June 1980

*H W Hartnall*

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*J. Carrington*  
*J. Carrington*  
(CARRINGTON)

H W Hartnall Esq





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 June 1980

*F. Lever*

*Rennie Penster*

②

*Hand 9/6*

*Dear Michael,*

Olympic Games

Thank you for your letter of 5 June. We will send you the translations which you requested as soon as possible. In the meantime the Prime Minister may like to know that we had already arranged for the information about the unsavoury preparations in Moscow to be fed to the press both here and overseas (and that we are doing the same for information about Soviet brutality in Afghanistan). We have also asked our Embassy in Moscow to let us have a regular supply of any similar material during the run up to the Moscow Games.

*Yours etc*

*MT*

*Paul*  
(F Lever)  
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

x22

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERCUSSON  
HD/CRD  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/EESD  
HD/NAD *Hd/Defence Dept*  
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) "

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FM WELLINGTON 060440Z JUN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 199 OF 6 JUNE

OLYMPICS.

1. NZ OLYMPIC COMMITTEE DECIDED 5 JUNE NOT TO USE GOVERNMENT OR PRIVATE DONATIONS TO SEND ATHLETES TO MOSCOW. SPORTS ASSOCIATIONS WILL NOW HAVE TO FIND NZ DOLLARS 1,200 PER HEAD. MAIN TEAM OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN REDUCED FROM 7-4.

2. CYCLISTS, ROWERS AND TRACK AND FIELD ATHLETES HAVE SINCE ANNOUNCED WITHDRAWAL.

3. ACTING PRIME MINISTER HAS WELCOMED DECISIONS AND EXPRESSED HOPE REMAINING 11 COMPETITORS (JUDO, CANOEING, SHOOTING, FENCING AND MODERN PENTATHLON) WILL ALSO WITHDRAW.

SMEDLEY

NNNN



GUARDIAN 6.6.80.

Government could be elected on a clear mandate to pull Britain out of the EEC.

What made the matter even more serious for Labour's pro-Europeans was that the group has also submitted a resolution for this year's party conference demanding that this pledge be included in Labour's general election manifesto.

Pro-Europeans in the party fear that if this resolution were adopted, they could find themselves tied to a policy they could neither accept nor support.

The demands for constitutional change in the party, and the new left-wing campaign to force all candidates to sign a pledge of their support for the party's manifesto, could mean grave problems for many MPs. In the party's troubled state, several pro-Marketters have already indicated that they could not stand for election under such circumstances.

Yesterday's document was launched with the weight of Mr John Silkin, the shadow Industry spokesman, behind it. But

Below: John Silkin



The Labour leadership is in such a debate is surfacing when Labour is in opposition and that it is in fact a sign of a healthy democratic party.

The Common Market Safeguards Committee chose the fifth anniversary of the referendum on Britain's EEC membership to launch its attack. At a news conference to launch the document and publish the group's conference resolution, Mr Silkin, and Mr Ron Leighton, MP for Newham NE, put forward detailed arguments about why they believed the past five years of EEC membership had proved bad for Britain.

Mr Silkin accused the Government of a "sell-out" in the latest deal on EEC budget payments, and said that Britain could only deal with its problems outside the Market.

"We therefore believe that the time has come for the Labour Party to maintain as its clear policy that we ought to leave the Community and that this ought to be a part of its manifesto," Mr Silkin said.

The document, called Enough is Enough, argues that the next Labour Government will have to take a very different attitude to the EEC than the last.

"One of the cardinal errors of the 1974-79 Administration was its defiance of party policy at every level in supporting continued membership at the time of the referendum," says the document. "Next time we cannot afford to be fobbed off with any more sham re-negotiations."

There was a fundamental incompatibility between Labour policy and the demands of EEC membership and the next Labour government should return to Parliament full control of its legislation, says the document.

England footballers Kevin Keegan and Emlyn Hughes, right, kissing Mrs Thatcher outside 10 Downing Street after a reception given by the Prime Minister. Looking on are England manager Ron Greenwood and other members of the squad for next week's European Nations' Cup finals

# TV to slash coverage of Olympics

By Peter Fiddick

The Independent Broadcasting Authority and the BBC governors yesterday agreed to slash the planned television coverage of the Olympic Games.

A joint statement, after separate meetings by both authorities, said: "The total sports coverage shall be less than a quarter of the 170-180 hours which each service first planned. Detailed plans will be considered separately by the two governing bodies."

Given the range of athletic activities involved in the two weeks of the Games, this total, about 40 hours on each channel, is bound to reduce the normal wide coverage to a narrow concentration on major

events and those involving British athletes.

It was already certain that coverage of the opening ceremony and medal presentations, involving flag-raising and national anthems, would be kept to a minimum because of the political sensitivities following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but the level now agreed represents a victory, if not for Mrs Thatcher, certainly for those in both television systems who argued that the Olympic Games should now be covered more as a news event than as international athletics, likely, on all past records, to draw large viewing figures.

The agreed figure is also below that suggested, one day

earlier, by the chairman of the BBC governors, and behind yesterday's joint BBC-IBA statement lies a controversy between the two networks about what form the coverage will take.

On Wednesday, Sir Michael Swann, chairman of the BBC, said that he expected agreement on 50 to 70 hours of television coverage for each channel. He also said there was already an agreement that neither network would screen the Olympic Games between 7.30 p.m. and 10.30 p.m. apart from in the news.

Yesterday, however, not only was the agreed total lower, but the IBA issued a statement denying that any decision had been taken on evening coverage.

The only agreement ITV admits to is on "mutual avoidance," not screening the Olympics at the same time on both channels in peak viewing periods.

The Prime Minister yesterday restated her case for advising British athletes not to participate in the Olympics and defended the Government's action.

In a letter to the former Labour minister, Mr Denis Howell, Mrs Thatcher said: "I offer no apology for pressing the Government's case with sporting organisations and athletes. We feel very strongly that the Soviet Union is not an appropriate host for the Olympics in the present circumstances."

Moscow's expectations, page 8

# Boost for M-way building programme

Continued from page one  
two controversial sections of motorway: the M54 Telford to Wolverhampton route which crosses 4,000 acres of an estate owned by Conservative supporter, Mr Peter Giffard, and destroys his Capability Brown-designed garden, and the M3 bypass of Winchester.

Improvements to motorway links around Southampton, and new roads linking the M5 with Barnstaple and Hull Docks with the motorway system are

also in the main programme

The Government has approved a limited number of bypasses for historic towns promising a bypass for Berwick-upon-Tweed to start by 1981, a relief road for Lincoln by 1983, Macclesfield by 1985, Dorchester and Warminster by 1984 and Okehampton, Leominster, Bideford and Uppingham by 1983. But the list of suspended and reserve schemes is much longer with bypass hopes for Barnstaple, Wade-

bridge, Berkhamsted, Kings Langley, Louth, Axminster, Rye, Stourbridge and Bexhill and Hastings, fading away among nearly 200 schemes.

He has also deferred building of the M20 between Ashford and Maidstone in Kent and the M12 between South Woodford and Brentwood in Greater London.

Mr Nick Lester, director of Transport 2000, said: "The new schemes will encourage imports by making it easier to

move goods into Britain from the ports."

Commercial property agents back up this analysis, saying that a boom in office and warehouse space in London and the South-east is inevitable once roads are completed. They predict many firms will decide to open import warehouses near the new motorways and seek offices around the capital.

Policy for Roads, England 1980. Available from the Stationery Office, £3.50.

## Unions back Callaghan for Labour leadership

GUARDIAN WEEKEND

LOVE drove Robert Louis

THE WEATHER

AROUND THE WORLD

AROUND BRITAIN

Wick... 3.3 7.45 19 06 Thunder  
Stomway... 0.2 0.05 14 57 Rain



file

Sport<sup>ds</sup>

5 June 1980

RF 16.6.80

Olympic Games

The Prime Minister has seen a copy of Moscow telegram number 9 saving of 28 May about the preparations in Moscow for the Olympic Games. She would like to see translations of some of the articles referred to in paragraph 5 of that telegram. I should be grateful if you could arrange this.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

8





10 DOWNING STREET

cc DOE  
D/Trade  
CO  
FR  
Correspondence  
in GR

THE PRIME MINISTER

5 June 1980

*Dear Mr. Howell.*

Thank you for your letter of 21 May about British participation in the Olympic Games.

I assume that your letter represents your views and those of individual sportsmen and women who have approached you rather than those of the Opposition. When the motion of 17 March urging athletes not to go to the Moscow Games was debated in the House of Commons and was supported by a majority of members from both sides of the House, the Opposition Front Bench advised abstention.

I notice that you are critical of editors who take a different view from you. But political editors in this country, unlike those in the Soviet Union, are free to express their own views. If any have chosen to support the Government's policy on the Olympics, they are, after all, only expressing an opinion shared by a majority of the House of Commons.

I have read your letter carefully and see nothing in it that has not been debated very fully in the House and elsewhere. You again raise the question of trade with the Soviet Union. Unilateral measures designed to curtail trade with the Soviet Union would serve no useful purpose. They do not hurt the Soviet Union but would hurt British firms and British people. That is why, as Ian Gilmour made clear to the House on 17 March, we have not tried to stop ordinary trade nor all ordinary contacts, including sporting contacts. We have acted against special events and special forms of trade, and artificially subsidised rates of credit. We have made plain many times our opposition to the subsidised sale of EC agricultural products to the Soviet Union and have consistently opposed all such sales, including the latest sale of subsidised butter.

/I



I find it difficult to understand your unwillingness to accept that there are times when sports and politics cannot be separated. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has created such an occasion. At the very time when they are playing host to the Olympic Games, the Russians are cynically and brutally waging war on a neighbour. Only last week reports appeared in the press of the killing of more schoolchildren and the herding of others with electric cattle prods. Moreover, as I am sure you know, the Soviet Union has never regarded sport and politics as separate. There, sport is an arm of government policy, and the Olympic Games in Moscow is seen by the Russians as a political event of major importance. I am also sure that the value the Soviet Government places on success in sport is well understood by athletes in this country. Even as early as January, there were those, including another public critic of my last letter to the British Olympic Association, who complained that drug-taking and 'shamateurism' in Soviet sport were destroying the Olympic movement.

I offer no apology for pressing the Government's case with sporting organisations and athletes. We feel very strongly that the Soviet Union is not an appropriate host for the Olympics in the present circumstances. Nor do I consider it wrong for the Government to make public its opinions about sports matters. It is not only the sportsmen and sporting federations who have freedom of action and the right to free speech. Valuable as the Olympic Games are, they cannot take place without regard to the real world about them. The absence of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and now Japan, undoubtedly reduced the true value of the competition this year in sporting terms. Athletes from these countries and from the many others expected to be absent from the Olympics, won over a third of all the medals in 1976. I understand they could have been expected to do as well in 1980.

The Government has not campaigned against the Olympic movement. It is the Soviet Union that is cynically disregarding and devaluing Olympic principles by hosting the Games in present circumstances. As you say, the Olympics represent the highest in sporting achievement. But the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan stands in complete antithesis to this high ideal of the free pursuit of human excellence by the individual. A boycott by individual countries - mostly, as you say, from Africa - of the 1976 Olympics did not destroy the Olympic movement.

/Nor



Nor will it this year.

Finally, I have advised British sportsmen and women and their sporting federations that it would be against British interests and wrong for them to compete in Moscow. Athletes have the same rights and the same responsibilities towards the maintenance of peace as other citizens of this country. Our advice will not change; it is up to athletes to decide in the light of that advice. They must ask themselves whether it is right to go to Moscow against a background of bombed and burning villages in Afghanistan. Nor can they justify their participation by pointing to alleged Government inaction in other areas. This is a decision which they alone can make and for which they alone must be responsible to their consciences in the future.

Yours sincerely  
Raymond Storer

The Right Honourable Denis Howell, MP





RH

cc: fco

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S

4 June 1980

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T118<sup>A</sup>/80.

*Frank Nicholson*

Many thanks for your letter of 28 May about participation in the Moscow Olympics.

As you say, many countries have now decided not to participate in the Olympic Games in Moscow and their absence must diminish the value of the event.

I very much regret that the British Olympic Association (BOA) decided at their meeting on 25 March to confirm their acceptance of the invitation to go to Moscow. Neither the individual governing bodies which constitute the BOA, nor individual sportsmen and women, are bound by this decision. At the meeting, the British Hockey Board resolved not to send a team and they have since been joined by the Royal Yachting Association, the Joint Shooting Committee and the British Equestrian Federation.

We too remain firmly in favour of a boycott of the Summer Games and will continue to advise sporting bodies and individual athletes accordingly. As in the case of your Government, I and my Ministers have been urging sportsmen and women, through meetings, letters and broadcasts, not to go to Moscow. The House of Commons has supported a boycott by a large majority. I myself have now written four letters to the Chairman of the BOA on this subject. My latest letter to him on 20 May, which was copied to the Governing Bodies of Olympic Sports, set out once again the Government's views and informed him that British attendance at Moscow could only serve to frustrate the interests of Britain. We have at present under consideration a

meeting

*DFG*



meeting between a senior Cabinet Minister and the relevant sporting federations in another effort to persuade them to change their minds.

I am encouraged to see that your and your Ministers' efforts have been recently rewarded by significant individual resignations from sporting bodies and teams and the resolve of the Men's and Women's Hockey Teams, the Equestrian Federation and the Yachtsmen not to go. Their action must further discredit the Moscow Games and give cause for reflection among athletes in this country as well.

I share your hope that the actions we are taking in our respective countries will convince our sports people that they have the same rights and the same responsibilities towards freedom and its maintenance as every other citizen.

Yours sincerely  
Margaret Thatcher

The Right Honourable Malcolm Fraser CH MP





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 June 1980

Type for signature

Dear Mike,

Thank you for your letter of 28 May enclosing the text of one from the Prime Minister of Australia to the Prime Minister about the Olympic Games.

As requested, I attach a draft reply.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Geoffrey Needham at the Department of the Environment.

Yours etc

(P Lever)  
Private Secretary

M A Pattison Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London



DSR 11 (Revised)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:  
The Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:  
The Rt Hon Malcolm Fraser  
Prime Minister of Australia

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

Many thanks for your letter of 28 May about participation in the Moscow Olympics.

CAVEAT.....

As you say, many countries have now decided not to participate in the Olympic Games in Moscow and their absence must diminish the value of the event.

I very much regret that the British Olympic Association (BOA) decided at their meeting on 25 March to confirm their acceptance of the invitation to go to Moscow. Neither the individual governing bodies which constitute the BOA, nor individual sportsmen and women, are bound by this decision. At the meeting, the British Hockey Board resolved not to send a team and they have since been joined by the Royal Yachting Association, the Joint Shooting Committee and the British Equestrian Federation.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

We too remain firmly in favour of a boycott of the Summer Games and will continue to advise sporting bodies and individual athletes accordingly. As in the case of your Government, I and my Ministers have been urging sportsmen and women, through meetings, letters and broadcasts, not to go to Moscow. The House

/of Commons  
56-ST Dd 0532078 12/78 H+PLtd Bly



of Commons has supported a boycott by a large majority. I myself have now written four letters to the Chairman of the BOA on this subject. My latest letter to him on 20 May, which was copied to the Governing Bodies of Olympic Sports, set out once again the Government's views and informed him that British attendance at Moscow could only serve to frustrate the interests of Britain. We have at present under consideration a meeting between a senior Cabinet Minister and the relevant sporting federations in another effort to persuade them to change their minds.

I am encouraged to see that your and your Ministers' efforts have been recently rewarded by significant individual resignations from sporting bodies and teams and the resolve of the Men's and Women's Hockey Teams, the Equestrian Federation and the Yachtsmen not to go. Their action must further discredit the Moscow Games and give cause for reflection among athletes in this country as well.

I share your hope that the actions we are taking in our respective countries will convince our sportspeople that they have the same rights and the same responsibilities towards freedom and its maintenance as every other citizen.

1088 JUN 1962  
9 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8



*Original GPR*  
*CF to note*

cc: NIO 395  
Office of the Minister  
of Sport  
FCO. Sport  
Covk,



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 June 1980

Dear Mr. Paisley,

Thank you for your letter of 30 April enclosing one from Mr. George Montgomery of 66 Orkney Street, Belfast about competitors from Northern Ireland attending the Olympic Games in Moscow.

No Government funds are being used to send competitors to the Olympic Games in the Soviet Union and there is no question of the Sports Council for Northern Ireland operating a scheme to assist competitors in this way. The grant schemes operated by the Council are designed to help governing bodies in Northern Ireland develop sports there. Although high level training is eligible for assistance under these schemes this is principally intended to help those with talents to achieve their full potential and is part of a broadly based coaching scheme. As in Great Britain, it is not feasible to prevent would-be competitors taking advantage of these schemes, but their purpose is by no means intended to assist them to participate in the Games.

I am aware that there are Ulster branches of Irish sporting bodies which in some sports such as rowing, boxing and hockey have Northern Ireland team members and compete at international level. Such people are of course dealt with by the Irish Sports Council based in Dublin. I am therefore glad that the attitude of the Government of the Republic of Ireland is also to recommend competitors to stay away from the Olympics in the Soviet Union.

/ I hope that

*TMP*



I hope that you will be able to reassure Mr. Montgomery that a strict control is being exercised over Government funds both in Great Britain and Northern Ireland to prevent these being used to send competitors to the Games in the Soviet Union.

Yours sincerely,

MT

The Reverend Ian Paisley, MP



CONFIDENTIAL

Subject filed on New Zealand  
May 79: Visits of P.M. of N.Z.

Extract from meeting record PM / Muldoon NZ 31. 5. 80

(CAW to Fco 2. 6. 80)

### Olympic Games

Mr. Muldoon said that individual New Zealand sports bodies were pulling out of the Olympic Games one by one, and he thought that in the end only about one half of them were likely to attend. Although the New Zealand Olympic Committee had refused to bow to pressure from his Government, public opinion was now substantially against participation in the Games. All three political parties in New Zealand were also opposed to New Zealand sportsmen taking part.

The Prime Minister said that the British Government had faced the same problem. We had no effective lever we could use against the British Olympics Association. Unlike the Germans, for example, we could not withdraw financial support, since British sports bodies relied entirely on voluntary financial assistance.

CONFIDENTIAL



BR

PRIME MINISTER

told DAL (Mark Hodges) on 2/6

that the PM had noted this minute.

MWH agreed to tell the BM that she had not reacted adversely.

2

British Museum: Olympic Games Exhibition

PA

MS  
2/6

On Thursday next week the British Museum are to open an Exhibition on the ancient Olympic Games. They wanted you to be aware of this, and of the fact that they have devoted much thought to the question of going ahead with this Exhibition or cancelling it. They say that the Trustees have discussed the question three times over the last few months, and that they concluded that since the Exhibition is confined to the ancient Games, and makes no reference to the modern Games, there is no reason to call it off.

The Director of the Museum telephoned me himself about all of this, and is clearly concerned that what they are doing should not be interpreted as in any sense a political act. I said that I would report the facts to you but that it did not seem to me to be an issue which you yourself would want to take up directly with the Museum.

CONFIDENTIAL

MS

MT

30 May 1980



IMMEDIATE

X-19

OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

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

HD/GRD

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST

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

MR R BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT

GRS 65  
UNCLASSIFIED  
FM WELLINGTON 292354Z MAY 80  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 192 OF 30 MAY

Prime Minister

MAF 30W

MY TELNO 189: OLYMPIC GAMES

1. AFTER A FIVE HOUR DEBATE ON 29 MAY, INCLUDING AN HOUR WITH THE ACTING PRIME MINISTER, THE NZ OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION CONFIRMED ITS DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN MOSCOW GAMES.

2. NZ SWIMMERS HAVE WITHDRAWN. THEY JOIN YACHTSMEN, HOCKEY TEAMS AND EQUESTRIANS AND RUNNER ROD DIXON. MILER JOHN WALKER HAS DENIED AMERICAN REPORTS THAT HE IS WITHDRAWING.

FAWCETT

NNNN



mutaxed to Marquess 31.5.80

Our Ref: OL/4/5

Spmd

# The British Olympic Association

cc FCO  
DOE  
Cable Off  
Press

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

Prime Minister  
31.5.80

29th May 1980.

R31/5

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

pa  
M. J. B. A.  
3.6.

*Dear Prime Minister,*

Olympic Games - Moscow

I have now heard from sufficient members of the National Olympic Committee to justify my responding to your letter of 20th May in connection with the above.

I have to say that none of the members reports any change in the position of his governing body as already declared.

*Yours sincerely,  
Denis Follows*





2

10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

28/5/80

Here is another letter from Malcolm Fraser about the Olympics. Since he wrote it, you will have heard from the radio of his success in twisting the arm of some individual Australian sportsmen. We will let you have a draft reply.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M.F.' or similar initials.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'M.F.' or similar initials.

29 May 1980



CONFIDENTIAL

SAVING TELEGRAM

\* AMENDED DISTRIBUTION 4 JUNE 1980

BY BAB  
CONFIDENTIAL

FROM MOSCOW 280800Z

TO ECO TELNO 9 SAVING OF 28 MAY  
INFO SAVING WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO

*Can we have this latest  
news stories  
Read in full, refer  
to.*

#### PREPARATION FOR THE OLYMPICS

1. The Soviet authorities are putting on as confident a face as they can in the period leading up to the Moscow Olympics. This morning's Pravda recorded with satisfaction the IOC's announcement of 27 May that 85 countries have said they will attend, commenting that this was despite insistent pressure from the United States in favour of a boycott, and concluding: "May the 1980 Olympics give a new impulse to the development and strengthening of the Olympic movement, reflecting mankind's will to peace on earth." A recent article in Sovietskiy Sport presented the boycott campaign as a flop, claiming that the Americans have long since lost their leadership in world sport, and that the vast majority of the most successful teams in Montreal would also be represented in Moscow.
2. It will however take a sustained effort by the Soviet propaganda machine to put the gloss back on the Olympics for the Soviet people. The knowledge that a boycott was being widely canvassed probably did more than any other single Western gesture to bring home to the man waiting for the Moscow omnibus the degree of Western concern over the Soviet Union. Many will have realised that the boycott movement had something to do with Afghanistan, although the connection was only made occasionally by the Soviet media. The extent of public anxiety has been evident for example even to the casual British visitor, who is frequently questioned as to whether a British team will come. The fact that important sporting nations like the United States, Japan and West Germany will not be here in July will also obviously detract from the sporting value of the events themselves.
3. Ordinary Soviet citizens have had to make sacrifices for the Olympics, and blamed shortages on the need to stockpile for them. Many goods have disappeared from the markets for long periods: for example, bed and table linen were recently unobtainable, and rumour said that supplies were being diverted to the new hotels. Meat recently disappeared from sale in Kiev, where it is normally widely available, and the general assumption was that it was being stockpiled. The same has been true, at other times, and other places, of many other foodstuffs. Other goods have subsequently reappeared stamped with the Olympic symbol - and at a higher price.

/4.

CONFIDENTIAL



4. There will be further disruptions to normal life in a number of Soviet cities during the Games themselves. Many people will not be allowed into Moscow at all: thus most of the children will be dispatched to summer camps, students will leave the universities early so that their accommodation can be used for tourists, and ordinary out-of-town people are already finding it hard to travel to Moscow. There are reports that owners of old or battered cars will not be able to drive them in Olympic cities so as not to spoil the view.

5. It is difficult at this stage to predict whether the Soviet public will eventually judge the Olympics worth the cost. If the Games can plausibly be presented as a general success, and if large numbers of foreigners - especially Westerners - attend, Soviet citizens will probably take a patriotic pride in the achievement. Many, however, are bound to feel aggrieved at what they will see as Western attempts to wreck 'their' Games and to take this as proof of general anti-Soviet feeling in the West at least as much as discontent over Afghanistan in particular. They may be encouraged in such a mood by the warnings that are being issued before the Games of the dangers of ideological - or even physical - contamination arising from contact with foreigners. Stern articles have appeared in the press warning Soviet people in general terms of the dangers of ideological contamination by foreigners: others, more specifically, have recently claimed that the CIA, with the cooperation of other Western countries, is busy training groups of provocateurs to stage subversive activities during the Olympics. The official warnings of ideological contamination are being reinforced by crude warnings of the danger of physical contamination. The local authorities (police, administrators of hostels etc) have spread scare stories about the diseases that foreigners will bring with them, and on the papers, cigarettes etc they carry. According to this story, the children are being sent away to protect them from disease. Teenage girls are being warned that it is strictly forbidden to have sexual relations with foreigners, with reference back to the 1957 World Youth Conference which was followed by a sharp rise in both the birth rate and the incidence of VD.

6. The Soviet authorities have taken steps to restrict the ability of dissidents to use the presence of large numbers of foreign journalists here this summer to advance their views. Their exiling of Sakharov in January was the most famous, but not the only, example of this attempt to silence unwelcome voices. There have been a number of other trials as part of a general round-up. More than 50 people have been arrested since October 1979,



# CONFIDENTIAL

including Malva Landa, Tatyana Velikanova and other Helsinki Monitoring Group members. The arrests continued throughout April with the re-sentencing of Ukrainian nationalist V Chornovil (about to complete a three year sentence) and the detention of three other long standing human rights activists, A Lavut, M Niklus and J Dyadkin. A number of other dissidents and Jewish refuseniks have voluntarily left Moscow, or promised to do so before mid-July. Checks are still being made of houses and flats to ensure that no unregistered people are still in town. Spot checks are being made in the street of personal documents. Habitual drunks are also being removed.

7. Physical preparation of the city has proceeded apace. Many buildings of architectural merit in the city centre have been repainted: some dilapidated churches have been restored. The latter is true not only in Moscow, but also along the 'Olympic road' to the Finnish border where more than sixty years of state-inspired neglect is now being frantically repaired: towers rebuilt, domes restored, crosses placed back on top. Less exalted objects are also being spruced up: even the Moscow park benches are getting a coat of paint - from a high pressure spray which covers bench, grass, tarmac, and all. Since this is sprayed directly onto the old peeling layer it will soon fall off again - but the aim is presumably that it should last until August.

8. As far as can be judged, preparation of the sites themselves is proceeding on schedule, and the Soviet authorities say that everything will be ready on time. The Russians have made it easier for themselves by using as the main stadium one which already existed, rather than building anew. There are however doubts about the additional sports complex at Prospekt Mira, which is said to be having problems due to unexpected land subsidence.

**THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED**

Brooke Turner

FCD/WHITEHALL DISTN.  
CRD.





T116/80.  
AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION • LONDON

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

28 May 1980

Dear Mr Alexander,

I have been asked by the Australian Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to convey the attached text of a letter dated 28 May from him to your Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher.

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

Yours sincerely,

(J. Plimsoll)

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



File

BK

28 May 1980

Thank you for your letter of 28 May addressed to Michael Alexander, covering a letter from the Australian Prime Minister.

I will, of course, bring Mr. Fraser's letter to the Prime Minister's immediate attention.

M A PATTISON

His Excellency Sir James Plimsoll,  
A.C., C.B.E.





File

8K  
BF 4/6/80

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

28 May 1980

I enclose the text of a letter from the Prime Minister of Australia to the Prime Minister about the Olympic Games which was delivered this afternoon under cover of a letter from the High Commissioner.

I should be grateful if you could let us have a suitable reply in due course.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Charles Humfrey in Mr. Hurd's office and to Geoffrey Needham at the Department of the Environment.

M. A. PATTISON

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



✓ Mante  
Ops

SUBJECT

TEXT OF A LETTER OF 28 MAY FROM THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA,  
THE RT HON. MALCOLM FRASER,  
TO THE RT HON. MARGARET THATCHER

Begins:

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 115/80

My dear Margaret,

Since our conversations earlier this year and our recent correspondence on the Olympic Games, most countries have declared their position on participation in the Moscow Games. Many countries have decided not to participate and it now appears that an effective boycott is in place.

It is however a matter of very great regret to myself and my Government that the Executive of the Australian Olympic Federation decided last Friday by a very narrow six to five majority that an Australian team should participate in the Moscow Olympic Games.

As you know, I and my Ministers have consistently urged the Australian Olympic Federation that, in the national interest, an Australian team should not participate in the Moscow Olympic Games.

A number of significant community interests in Australia have deplored the decision and this reaction is likely to become more widespread as the implications of the Executive decision become widely known in the community.

We remain firmly of the view that an Australian team should not participate in the Moscow Games and I and my Ministers shall do all that we can to persuade the Executive to reconsider its decision. We shall also call upon individual sporting bodies and sportsmen and women to make their own decisions not to participate in the Moscow Games.

I understand that this approach is consistent with that being taken by yourself and your Ministers in seeking to get the British Olympic Association and individual sporting bodies to think again. It is my sincere hope that we can both succeed in bringing home to our sports leaders and sportsmen and women that they should put their responsibilities to the national interest ahead of their responsibilities to sport.

My very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

(Malcolm Fraser)

Ends.





CONFIDENTIAL

K. G. Paul

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

28 May 1980

Mr. Ken Razaet

Since our conversations earlier this year and our recent correspondence on the Olympic Games, most countries have declared their position on participation in the Moscow Games. Many countries have decided not to participate and it now appears that an effective boycott is in place.

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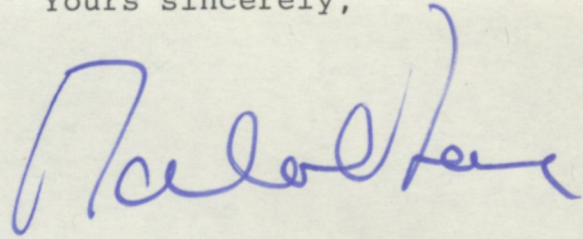


2.

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My very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,



(Malcolm Fraser)

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

UNITED KINGDOM



MR. INGHAM

MR. WHITMORE

X . JMW  
2/2

I have just learned that Hoover have decided not to supply the Olympic Village in Moscow with 200 washing machines and 200 tumble driers for the use of the athletes. Although they were naturally pleased to be asked to fill this order by the Olympic authorities some time ago and were planning to make extensive use of it in their PR/ advertising campaign, the Board now feels that it would be improper to fill the order in the light of the Prime Minister's public statements on the Olympics. Mr. David Housden (997-3311) is the Hoover PRO who has given details of the Board decision to both the Daily Telegraph and the Press Association. I have told the Telegraph, by their South Wales office, that no doubt the Prime Minister would be encouraged to hear of the Hoover decision.

ANDY WOOD

28 May 1980





10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 May 1980

Dear Mrs. Glen Hargreaves,

Thank you for your letter of 14 May about the relationships between the Government and the voluntary bodies responsible for the control of sport.

I welcome your re-affirmation of the spirit of co-operation evident when we met on 4 February to discuss this year's Summer Olympics. I sincerely hope the differences of opinion over this one particular issue will not be allowed to alter the normally excellent relationship between Ministers and sports organisations. Certainly it is not our intention that they should do so.

Sport in this country generally operates with the minimum amount of interference from Government. But very occasionally - particularly in international affairs - sport and politics come together, and decisions have to be made for political reasons. The Summer Olympics and the Gleneagles Agreement are two such cases. On these occasions, it may be difficult, e.g. because of lack of time to extend consultations beyond Ministers and their officials. However, we have a Minister with special responsibility for sport and with a considerable range of expert official advice available to him. Moreover, he is in constant touch with the world of sport and with sportsmen and women and can represent their interests if circumstances preclude full consultation.

/It follows that

DS



It follows that I think the points of principle and of detail you make in your letter are best addressed to Hector Munro for discussion with you and consultation within Government as he considers necessary. I am, therefore, copying your letter and this reply to him.

Yours sincerely  
Raymond Johnston

---

Mrs. M.A. Glen Haig, CBE.



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

X-21

IMMEDIATE

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/MR HURD  
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SIR D MAITLAND  
MR FERGUSSON  
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RESIDENT CLERK

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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) "

RESTRICTED

FM CANBERRA 260230Z MAY 80  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 334 OF 26 MAY  
YOUR TELNO 249 : OLYMPICS

*Prime Minister was a response to a  
\* The telegram referred to request  
for the latest information on HMG's position  
on the Olympics. S.Pike  
Duty Clerk  
26.5.80*

1. THANK YOU FOR THIS SWIFT AND USEFUL RESPONSE WHICH I WAS ABLE TO SHOW TO MR FRASER WHEN WE GREETED THE QUEEN. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY GRATEFUL.
2. THE QUESTION OF THE BOYCOTT CONTINUES TO ATTRACT HEADLINE TREATMENT.
3. THE GOVERNMENT IS EXERTING PRESSURE ON THE AOF TO REVERSE THEIR DECISION. IN HIS WEEKLY ELECTORATE ADDRESS YESTERDAY, MR FRASER DESCRIBED A BOYCOTT AS A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE, TOUCHING ON THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND AFFECTING THE FUTURE SECURITY OF THE NATION. THE AOF DECISION, HE SAID, WAS WRONG: IN ASSERTING THEIR INDEPENDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT THEY WERE PUTTING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AS OLYMPIC ADMINISTRATORS ABOVE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO AUSTRALIA. MEDALS WON AT MOSCOW WOULD BE DEVALUED AND CARRY A CONNOTATION ALL OF THEIR OWN: WINNERS COULD COME TO REGRET THEIR ATTENDANCE AND WISH THEY HAD NOT WON. HOW MANY LIVES WAS A MEDAL WORTH? THE PRIME MINISTER URGED THE AOF TO THINK AGAIN. THERE IS STILL TIME, HE SAID.
4. MR ELLICOTT HAS REITERATED THE GOVERNMENT'S OFFER OF FINANCIAL AID TO SPORTS ORGANISATIONS WHO DO NOT PARTICIPATE AT MOSCOW, BUT WHO WISH TO TAKE



DO NOT PARTICIPATE AT MOSCOW, BUT WHO WISH TO TAKE  
PART IN SOME FORM OF ALTERNATIVE COMPETITION.  
BUT THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF SPECIAL MEASURES TO PREVENT  
SPORTSMEN PARTICIPATING AT MOSCOW.

5. MR KEVAN GOSPER, FORMER OLYMPIC HURDLER,  
CHAIRMAN-DESIGNATE OF SHELL AUSTRALIA AND A MEMBER  
OF THE IOC, WHO FLEW FROM LONDON FOR THE VOTING,  
HAS EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE OLYMPICS COULD NOT BE POSTPONED  
FOR A YEAR. HE CONSIDERED, BUT REJECTED, RESIGNING  
FROM THE AOF, AND WILL ATTEND AT MOSCOW FOR THE  
IOC CONGRESS, THOUGH NOT FOR THE GAMES. ANOTHER  
OFFICIAL OF THE AOF, MR JACK LOWSON, HAS WITHDRAWN  
FROM THE PARTY GOING TO MOSCOW AND OTHERS ARE  
EXPECTED TO FOLLOW SUIT.

6. THE WOMEN'S HOCKEY TEAM AND THE EQUESTRIAN  
FEDERATION HAVE INDICATED THEY WILL NOT GO TO  
MOSCOW AND THE YACHTSMEN ARE TO RECONSIDER (MY  
TELNO 256, PARA 5). ALTHOUGH MOST INDIVIDUAL  
ATHLETES ARE EXULTANT AT THE AOF DECISION, IT IS  
POSSIBLE THAT THEY MAY HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS.

7. THE PRESS CARRIES REPORTS OF THE WIDE COVERAGE  
IN THE UK OF THE AOF DECISION.

MASON

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OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

(19) IMMEDIATE

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PS/MR HURD  
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MR FERGUSSON  
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RESIDENT CLERK

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MR WENBAM SMITH )  
MR R WADE GERY ) CABINET OFFICE  
MR HASTIE SMITH )  
MR R BUTLER D/ENVIRONMENT

OO FCO

GRS 200  
UNCLASSIFIED  
FM LUXEMBOURG 231320Z MAY 80  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 155 OF 23 MAY

IMMEDIATE  
ADVANCE COPY (Files)

INFO SAVING BRUSSELS, UKREP BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE, BONN, PARIS,  
ROME, COPENHAGEN, DUBLIN, MOSCOW, WASHINGTON

MY TELNO 155: OLYMPIC GAMES

1. THE LUXEMBOURG NOC DECIDED ON THE EVENING OF 22 MAY BY 8 VOTES TO 4 THAT LUXEMBOURG ATHLETES SHOULD TAKE PART IN THE GAMES.
2. THE PRESIDENT OF THE NOC SUBSEQUENTLY STATED THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD TAKEN ACCOUNT OF THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION AND THE GOVERNMENT'S WISHES AND HAD THEREFORE ARGUED THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:
  - (A) NO ATHLETE OR MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION WILL TAKE PART IN THE OPENING CEREMONY.
  - (B) THE PRESENCE OF THE LUXEMBOURG DELEGATION WILL BE STRICTLY LIMITED TO SPORTING OCCASIONS.



2. THE PRESIDENT OF THE NOC SUBSEQUENTLY STATED THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD TAKEN ACCOUNT OF THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION AND THE GOVERNMENT'S WISHES AND HAD THEREFORE ARGUED THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

- (A) NO ATHLETE OR MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION WILL TAKE PART IN THE OPENING CEREMONY.
- (B) THE PRESENCE OF THE LUXEMBOURG DELEGATION WILL BE STRICTLY LIMITED TO SPORTING OCCASIONS.
- (C) THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LUXEMBOURG ATHLETES WILL BE LIMITED TO WHAT IS STRICTLY NECESSARY.
- (D) NO LUXEMBOURGER WILL TAKE PART IN THE YOUTH CAMP.
- (E) THE LUXEMBOURG FLAG WILL NOT BE RAISED AT ANY TIME - ONLY THE OLYMPIC FLAG.

3. THE PARALLEL BETWEEN THE LUXEMBOURG AND UK POSITIONS IS STRIKING IN THAT THE NOC DECISION WAS TAKEN IN THE FACE OF STRONG GOVERNMENTAL PRESSURE AND A LARGE MAJORITY IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES WHO HAD VOTED IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT ON 21 MAY BY 39 VOTES TO 15.

FCO PASS SAVING BRUSSELS, UKREP BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE, BONN, PARIS, ROME, COPENHAGEN, DUBLIN, MOSCOW, WASHINGTON

THOMAS

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NSENT/RECD AT 231357Z DH/MJC



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

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IMMEDIATE

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MR FERGUSSON  
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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

UNCLASSIFIED

FM MADRID 231845Z  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 179 OF 23 MAY 1980

IMMEDIATE

OUR TELNO 177 : OLYMPIC GAMES

ADVANCE COPY

1. DESPITE THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT IN FAVOUR OF A BOYCOTT (BY TUR) THE SPANISH OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES ALTHOUGH WITHOUT THE OLYMPIC INSIGNIA.

PARSONS

NNNNN

SENT AT 23/1900ZRSF



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

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MR FERGUSSON  
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RESIDENT CLERK

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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) "

W/WED

IMMEDIATE

*mb*

GR 300

UNCLASSIFIED

FM BRUSSELS 230945Z MAY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 130 OF 23 MAY

INFO SAVING BOMN COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE PARIS UKREP BRUSSELS DUBLIN  
LUXEMBOURG ROME MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON

IMMEDIATE

MY TELNO 123 - OLYMPIC GAMES

1. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT MADE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT LAST NIGHT:  
QUOTE THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN NOTE OF THE BELGIAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEES  
DECISION TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION FROM THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE OF  
THE MOSCOW OLYMPIC GAMES, WHILST TAKING MEASURES TO AVOID ANY  
POLITICAL INTERPRETATION OR EXPLOITATION OF ITS PARTICIPATION, BUT  
IT IS OF COURSE UP TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO PARLIAMENT TO DEFINE  
THE POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF BELGIUM IN THIS MATTER.  
IN THIS CONNECTION THE GOVERNMENT STATES

A) THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS CONTINUING ITS ARMED INTERVENTION IN  
AFGHANISTAN IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PRACTICE AND IN  
DISREGARD OF THE RESOLUTION VOTED BY 124 MEMBERS OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

B) THAT THE HOLDING OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW IS BEING USED



B) THAT THE HOLDING OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW IS BEING USED AS THE EXCUSE FOR SPECIAL REPRESSIVE MEASURE AFFECTING MANY SOVIET CITIZENS, DEPRIVING THEM OF FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES:

C) THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE OFFICIALLY INTERPRETED THE HOLDING OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES AT MOSCOW AS IMPLICIT APPROVAL BY THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES.

THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES BELGIUM SHOULD ABSTAIN OFFICIALLY FROM ALL DIRECT OR INDIRECT PRESENCE AT, PARTICIPATION IN, OR SUPPORT FOR THE MOSCOW OLYMPIC GAMES. NO OFFICIAL AID OR ASSISTANCE TO BELGIAN ATHLETES WHO MAY ATTEND THEM WILL BE GIVEN.

IN SO EXERCISING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN DEFINING THE BELGIAN ATTITUDE AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL, THE GOVERNMENT IS MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE SEPARATION BETWEEN SPORTING ACTIVITIES AND POLITICS. THAT WAS THE APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE BELGIAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE IN ITS RESOLUTION OF THE 28TH MAY. THE GOVERNMENT WILL RESPECT CIVIL LIBERTY AND WILL TAKE NO COERCIVE MEASURES IN THIS MATTER. UNQUOTE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVINGS TO ALL EXCEPT THE HAGUE UKREP BRUSSELS AND LUXEMBOURG

WAKEFIELD

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OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

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RESIDENT CLERK

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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) "

W/WED

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GR 300

UNCLASSIFIED

FM BRUSSELS 230945Z MAY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 130 OF 23 MAY

INFO SAVING BONN COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE PARIS UKREP BRUSSELS DUBLIN  
LUXEMBOURG ROME MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON

IMMEDIATE

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FCO PLEASE PASS SAVINGS TO ALL EXCEPT THE HAGUE UKREP BRUSSELS AND LUXEMBOURG

WAKEFIELD

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OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

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

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

IMMEDIATE

IMP 0 074/63

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GRS 30

UNCLASSIFIED

FM CANBERRA 230830Z MAY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 332 OF 23 MAY

MY TELNO 319 : OLYMPICS

1. AUSTRALIAN OLYMPIC FEDERATION VOTED TODAY 6 - 5 IN  
FAVOUR OF ACCEPTING INVITATION TO ATTEND GAMES.

MASON

NNNN

IMMEDIATE



● OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

X-21  
*[Handwritten signature]*

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PS/MR BLAKER  
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FM ANKARA 221300Z MAY 80  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 234 OF 22 MAY 1980  
INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW.

MY TELNO 231= OLYMPIC GAMES

1. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ANNOUNCED THIS MORNING THAT THEY HAD DECIDED THAT TURKISH ATHLETES SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE.
2. THE NOC MEETS ON 23 MAY BUT IS UNLIKELY TO CONTEST THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION. MY US COLLEAGUE HAS BEEN TOLD BY THE MFA PLAINLY THAT TURKEY WILL NOT BE REPRESENTED.

LAURENCE

NNNN



# 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

R2315

22 May 1980.

cc. Mr Humphrey (F.CO.)  
Mr Neesham (A.O.E.)  
Mr Wenban-Smith (Cabinet Office)  
Mr Anson (Press  
Office) → f.c.

Dear Prime Minister,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter  
of 20 May.

I note that you have sent copies of your letter  
to the representatives on my Committee of the Governing  
Bodies of Olympic Sports and when I have their  
comments I will communicate them to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Denis Follows

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
10 Downing Street,  
London SW1





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

21 May 1980

*Draft to type for signature as amended,  
Paul*

*Dear Michael,*

Thank you for your letter of 16 May about the approach made to the Prime Minister by the Chairman of the Central Council of Physical Recreation suggesting a meeting. I attach a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to Mrs Mary Glen Haig, which my Minister has approved.

As in the case of the recent letter to the Prime Minister from the Chairman of the Sports Council about his fact finding mission to South Africa, the draft suggests that the matter should be handled by my Minister. Both these Chairmen, although they see my Minister frequently, have over the past months shown an increasing readiness to write to the Prime Minister and other Senior Ministers such as the Foreign Secretary instead of working through Mr Monro in his capacity as Minister for Sport. Indeed they do not even afford him the courtesy of advising him that they are writing these letters or sending him a copy. This is something which he is taking up with both of them.

My Minister felt it best, however, to advise the Prime Minister to make the point that the Government cannot be expected to consult everyone concerned about purely political decisions which the Government is fully competent to make without such consultations. He will himself take up the points of detail made by Mrs Glen Haig which she is not raising for the first time. The "Gleneagles Agreement", reached of course under the previous Administration, and the Olympic Games were purely political decisions, on the latter of which there has certainly been consultation since the opening moves were made. The Memorandum of Understanding with the USSR was again signed under the previous Administration and is merely a document facilitating sports exchanges between our country and the Soviet Union. The CCPR and the Sports Council were in fact involved in the preparation of this Memorandum but they both now complain about it because it could involve them in financial outlay.



In fact we have told them both that for the time being they should do nothing under the Memorandum in view of the Olympic Games.

Yours sincerely  
Geoff Needham.

GEOFF NEEDHAM  
Private Secretary



DRAFT REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MRS MARY GLEN HAIG, CBE

Thank you for your letter of 14 May about the relationships between the Government and the voluntary bodies responsible for the control of sport.

I welcome <sup>your</sup> ~~the~~ re-affirmation ~~you make~~ of the spirit of co-operation evident when we met on 4 February to discuss this year's Summer Olympics. I sincerely hope the differences of opinion over this one particular issue will not be allowed to alter the normally excellent relationship between Ministers and sports organisations. Certainly <sup>it</sup> ~~this~~ is not our intention ~~that they should do so~~.

Sport in this country generally operates with the minimum amount of interference from Government. But very occasionally - particularly in international affairs - sport and politics ~~and to~~ come together, and decisions have to be made for political reasons.

The Summer Olympics and the Gleneagles Agreement are two such cases. On these ~~rare~~ occasions <sup>it may be difficult eg because of lack of time to extend consultations</sup> ~~when speed of reaction is vital,~~ there is little or no time to consult beyond Ministers and their officials. <sup>However we have a Minister with special responsibility for sport and with a considerable range of expert official advice available to him. Moreover he</sup> ~~Here there is a sufficient range of expertise and~~ ~~experience to cover most eventualities and in the case of sport,~~ we have of course, a Minister with special responsibility. He is in constant touch with the world of sport and with sportsmen and women and can represent their interests if circumstances preclude full consultation.

<sup>It follows that</sup> ~~Indeed~~ I think the points of principle and of detail you make in your letter are best addressed to <sup>Hector Munro</sup> ~~him~~ for discussion with you and consultation within Government as he considers necessary. I am, therefore, copying your letter and this reply to ~~Hector Munro~~ <sup>him</sup>.



## SPEAKING NOTE: OLYMPIC GAMES

On 20 May Prime Minister wrote again to Sir Denis Follows of the British Olympics Association asking him to think again about sending a team to Moscow. This was the Prime Minister's fourth letter to Sir Denis. The Prime Minister made clear that without the West Germans and Americans the Games will be a sham, the ceremonials a charade and the medals won will be valueless. By attending the Games British athletes will be condoning the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and frustrating British interests. Nothing has changed in Afghanistan to alter the Government's advice to athletes and spectators. No recent moves contain a clear commitment to withdraw Soviet forces. Only after such a withdrawal will the killings and atrocities end. A reduction in ceremonial at the Games is to be welcomed in itself but it is no substitute for a boycott. A boycott will bring home to Russian people and government the abhorrence felt about the Soviet action in Afghanistan.

Even though several European National Olympic Committees have recently decided to send teams to Moscow, the boycott is effective. The USA and West Germany came second and fourth overall in the unofficial medals table of the 1976 Games. Their sportsmen and women are among the current leaders in athletics, swimming and equestrianism. Kenya and Canada, who are also boycotting the Games, are leading nations in athletics and swimming respectively. Other boycotters, such as China and Pakistan, would have been able to send strong teams in gymnastics and wrestling. Almost 30 other NOCs will be joining the boycott.

In these circumstances those British sportsmen and women who still intend to go to Moscow should have every reason to think again.



FILE

BK



10 DOWNING STREET

cc Press Office  
FCO  
FCO (Hwd)  
DOE (Sport)  
CO  
Also list attached

THE PRIME MINISTER

20 May 1980

*Dear Sir Denis,*

I last wrote to you on 19 March after the debate in the House of Commons when, as you will remember, a large majority supported the Government's view that Great Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow. I was therefore sorry that, at their meeting on 25 March, the British Olympic Association decided to confirm their acceptance of the invitation to go to Moscow.

Since then, condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has continued to grow. As you know, the Olympic Committees of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany have now decided not to send teams to Moscow. Whatever other National Olympic Committees may decide, absence of these teams robs the Moscow Games of much international competitive significance. Their athletes are among the world leaders in many events and have won a high proportion of medals at recent Games. Without the Americans and West Germans and the other sporting countries who have also decided to stay away, the Games will not be worthy of the name Olympic, and medals won at Moscow will be of inferior worth and the ceremonies a charade.

A number of National Olympic Committees have still not decided on attendance. They will be strongly influenced by the German decision and I have no doubt that many will also decide against going to Moscow.

/ Nothing has happened

VLC



Nothing has happened to cause the Government to alter its advice to British athletes. Soviet troops still occupy Afghanistan and cruelly oppress the Afghan people. Despite the strict censorship, there are continuing reports of atrocities. Only the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops will end them, and it is essential that the pressure on the Soviet Union should be maintained. None of the recent initiatives from Kabul and Moscow includes a clear commitment to end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The Games will serve the propaganda needs of the Soviet Government. There is no effective palliative, such as cutting out the ceremonies. I remain firmly convinced that it is neither in our national nor in the wider Western interest for Britain to take part in the Games in Moscow. As a sporting event, the Games cannot now satisfy the aspirations of our sportsmen and women. British attendance at Moscow can only serve to frustrate the interests of Britain.

I am copying this letter to the representatives on your Committee of the Governing Bodies of Olympic Sports and to the Chairmen of those Bodies.

Yours sincerely  
Margaret Thatcher

---

Sir Denis Follows, C.B.E.



COVERING BODIES OF OLYMPIC SPORTS (SUMMER)

CHAIRMAN/PRESIDENT LEVEL CONTACTS

- |                 |  |                                   |
|-----------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| ✓ 1. ARCHERY    | Grand National Archery Society<br>National Agricultural Centre<br>Stoneleigh<br>Kenilworth<br>Warwickshire CV8 2LG | President:<br>Mr D J Stamp        |
| ✓ 2. ATHLETICS  | British Amateur Athletics Board<br>70 Brompton Road<br>London SW3 1EE  | Chairman:<br>Mr A McAllister      |
| ✓ 3. ROWING     | Amateur Rowing Association<br>6 Lower Mall<br>Hammersmith<br>London W6 9DJ   | President:<br>Mr C J V Davidge    |
| ✓ 4. BASKETBALL | British and Irish Basketball<br>Federation<br>Calomax House<br>Lupton Avenue<br>Leeds LS9 7DD                      | Chairman:<br>Mr K G Charles       |
| ✓ 5. BOXING     | Amateur Boxing Association<br>70 Brompton Road<br>London SW3 1HA   | Chairman:<br>Mr K Short           |
| ✓ 6. CANOEING   | British Canoe Union<br>Flexell House<br>45/47 High Street<br>Addlestone<br>Surrey                                  | President:<br>Mr P Wain           |
| ✓ 7. CYCLING    | British Cycling Federation<br>70 Brompton Road<br>London SW3 1EN   | President:<br>Mrs E Gray OBE      |
| ✓ 8. FENCING    | Amateur Fencing Association<br>83 Perham Road<br>West Kensington<br>London W14 9SP                                 | President:<br>Mrs M Glen Haig CBE |
| ✓ 9. GYMNASTICS | British Amateur Gymnastics<br>Association<br>95 High Street<br>Slough<br>Berkshire SL1 1DH                         | President:<br>Mr F Edmonds OBE    |



✓ 10. WEIGHTLIFTING

British Amateur Weight Lifters'  
Association  
3 Iffley Turn  
Oxford

President:  
Mr H W Hartnall

✓ 11. HANDBALL

British Handball Association  
90 Penrhyn Avenue  
Fishermead  
Milton Keynes  
Buckinghamshire  
MK6 2BG

Chairman:  
Mr B J Rowland

✓ 12. HOCKEY

Great Britain Hockey Board  
70 Brompton Road  
London SW3 1HE

Chairman:  
Mrs D Crisp (combined)

✓ 13. JUDO

British Judo Association  
70 Brompton Road  
London SW3 1DR

President:  
Mr C Palmer OBE

✓ 14. WRESTLING

British Amateur Wrestling  
Association  
13 Kay Park Terrace  
Kilmarnock  
Ayrshire

President:  
Mr H I Jacob OBE

✓ 15. SWIMMING

Amateur Swimming Association  
Harold Fern House  
Derby Square  
Loughborough

President:  
Mr J H Zimmermann

✓ 16. MODERN PENTATHLON

The Modern Pentathlon  
Association of Great Britain  
1A Godstone Road  
Purley  
Surrey  
CR2 2DH

President:  
Mr K Clark

✓ 17. EQUESTRIANISM  
(Showjumping and  
3 Day Eventing)

The British Equestrian Federation  
British Equestrian Centre  
Stoneleigh  
Kenilworth  
Warwickshire CV8 2LR

Director General:  $\phi$   
Major General  
J R Reynolds CB OBE

✓ 18. SHOOTING

Joint Shooting Committee of  
Great Britain  
Lord Roberts House  
Bisley Camp  
Brookwood  
Woking  
Surrey GU1 1EQ

President:  
Major General R B Loudon



✓ 19. SAILING

Royal Yachting Association  
Victoria Way  
Woking  
Surrey GU21 1EQ

Chairman:  
Mr B L Southcott

✓ 20. VOLLEYBALL

Amateur Volleyball Association  
128 Melton Road  
West Bridgeford  
Nottingham NG2 6EP

Chairman:  
Mr D Dingle

✓ 21. FOOTBALL

An Olympic Sport, although Britain does not compete.

Football Association  
16 Lancaster Gate  
London W2 3LW

CHAIRMAN:  
Sir Harold Thompson.

∅ EXECUTIVE LEVEL CONTACT - NO DETAILS AVAILABLE OF CHAIRMAN OR  
PRESIDENT



NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE - Representatives of Olympic Sports

AMATEUR FENCING ASSOCIATION

✓ Mrs. M.A. Glen-Haig, CBE  
66 North End House  
FitzJames Avenue  
London W14 ORX

~~Commander F A Booth,  
The De Beaumont Centre,  
83 Perham Road,  
London, W14 9SY.~~

AMATEUR ROWING ASSOCIATION

✓ C.G.V. Davidge  
Little Houghton Grange  
Northampton

~~D Lunn-Rockcliffe,  
6 Lower Mall,  
London, W6 ODJ.~~

AMATEUR SWIMMING FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

✓ A.H. Turner, OBE  
19 Ingthorpe Avenue  
Bispham  
Blackpool FY2 OEL

~~N W Sarsfield, MC,  
Harold Fern House,  
Derby Square,  
Loughborough,  
Leicestershire, LE11 0AL.~~

BRITISH AMATEUR ATHLETIC BOARD

✓ A.A. Gold, CBE  
49 Friern Mount Drive  
London N20 9DJ

~~D Shaw,  
70 Brompton Road,  
London, SW3 1EE.~~

BRITISH AMATEUR BOXING ASSOCIATION

✓ Mr. L. Mills  
70 Brompton Road  
London SW3 1HA

BRITISH AMATEUR GYMNASTICS ASSOCIATION

✓ Mr. W. Stuart  
95 High Street  
Slough  
Berks SL1 1DH

~~Lt Cdr B W C Middleton, OBE,  
3 Iffley Turn,  
Oxford.~~

BRITISH AMATEUR WEIGHTLIFTERS' ASSOCIATION

✓ H.W. Hartnall  
4 Merlin Court  
off Bulow Avenue  
Canvey Island  
Essex

BRITISH AMATEUR WRESTLING ASSOCIATION

✓ H.I. Jacob, OBE  
2 Huxley Drive  
Bramhall  
Stockport  
Cheshire

BRITISH BOBSLEIGH ASSOCIATION

~~H.R.H. Prince Michael of Kent  
Kensington Palace  
London W8~~



N.O.C. cont/. . .

BRITISH & IRISH BASKETBALL FEDERATION

✓ M.D. Welch  
B. & I.B.F.  
Calomax House  
Lupton Avenue  
Leeds  
Yorkshire LS9 7DD

BRITISH CANOE UNION

✓ R.W. Emes  
147 Gravelly Hill  
Erdington  
Birmingham B23 7NR

~~G Richards,  
Flexel House,  
High Street,  
Addlestone, Weybridge, Surrey.~~

BRITISH CYCLING FEDERATION

✓ Mrs. Eileen Gray, OBE  
129 Grand Avenue  
Surbiton  
Surrey

~~L Unwin,  
70 Brompton Road,  
London SW3 1EN.~~

BRITISH EQUESTRIAN FEDERATION

✓ Maj.Gen. J.R. Reynolds, CB, OBE  
National Equestrian Centre  
Stoneleigh  
Kenilworth  
Warwickshire CV8 2LR

58241  
27192  
0202

BRITISH HANDBALL ASSOCIATION

✓ J.D. Timmins  
68 Penryn Avenue  
Fishermead  
Milton Keynes  
Bucks MK6 2BG

BRITISH ICE HOCKEY ASSOCIATION

E.J. Ramus  
12 Martlet Lodge  
Oak Hill Park  
London NW3 7LE

BRITISH JUDO ASSOCIATION

✓ G. Perkins  
12 Kings Garden  
Ilford  
Essex IG1 4AJ

BRITISH RACING TOBOGGAN ASSOCIATION

Dr. R.L. Liversedge  
Oak Cottage  
Flaunden  
Herts HP3 0PB



N.O.C. cont/. . . .

ENGLISH VOLLEYBALL ASSOCIATION

✓ D.W.J. Anthony  
15 Elm Road  
Sidcup  
Kent DA14 6AF

~~Miss E Pratt,  
128 Melton Road,  
West Bridgford,  
Nottingham, NG2 6EP.~~

FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION

✓ E.A. Croker  
16 Lancaster Gate  
London W2 3LW

GRAND NATIONAL ARCHERY SOCIETY

✓ S. Patterson  
15 St. Mary's Terrace  
East Boldon  
Tyne & Wear

~~J J Bray,  
National Agriculture Centre,  
Stoneleigh,  
Kenilworth, Warwicks, CV8 2LG.~~

GREAT BRITAIN HOCKEY BOARD

✓ R.J. Watson  
36 Chatsworth Way  
London SE27 9HN

~~R J W Struthers,  
35 Leahurst Court,  
London Road, Brighton, BN1 6UL.~~

JOINT SHOOTING COMMITTEE FOR GREAT BRITAIN

✓ A.J. Clark  
36a Burlesdon Road  
Hodge End  
Southampton SO5 9HX

~~Capt J R C Johnston, CBE,  
Codrington House,  
113 Southwark Street,  
London SE1 0JW.~~

MODERN PENTATHLON ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

✓ K. Clark  
Flint Meadon  
Little Hill  
Heronsgate  
Rickmansworth

~~Mrs D Dew,  
1a Godstone Road,  
Purley, Surrey, CR2 2DH.~~

NATIONAL SKATING ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

L.C. Seagrave, OBE  
22 Kenton Road  
Harrow  
Middx HA1 2BW

NATIONAL SKI FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

~~Brig. V.A.P. Budge, CBE, MVO  
6 Gloucester Square  
London W2~~

ROYAL YACHTING ASSOCIATION

✓ J. Durie  
Victoria Way  
Woking  
Surrey

~~J Durie,  
Victoria Way,  
Woking,  
Surrey, GU21 1EQ.~~



Ref: A02206



Prime Minister ①

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~~MR ALEXANDER~~

Text has moved

Agree with?

to. Points on considered and Point

You copied to the Cabinet Office your letter of 16th May to Paul Lever reporting the Prime Minister's decision to write once more to Sir Denis Follows. I now attach a draft which Mr. Hurd discussed with his colleagues on MISC 39 today.

2. There are three points on which the Prime Minister may find it useful to have some further comment. First, it was the strong view of the members of MISC 39 that it would be desirable for the points which the Prime Minister might make in her letter to Sir Denis Follows, together with authoritative briefing on the situation in Afghanistan and Soviet attitudes, to be put in person to the Chairmen of the British Federations for the various Olympic sports. The Group felt that this presentation could most effectively be made by a senior Minister, such as the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. Mr. Hurd is mentioning this to Lord Carrington.

3. Secondly, you will notice that the draft letter asks that the British Olympic Association should withdraw their acceptance of the invitation to go to Moscow. In fact, the Olympic Charter rules do not provide any clear procedure for withdrawal. But, so far as they say anything on the subject, they are designed to discourage such action. The procedure is that a National Olympic Committee must submit to the organising committee (in Moscow) at least eight weeks before the Games (i. e. before 24th May) a list of sports and events in which the country will participate. We understand that the British Olympic Association (BOA) has submitted this list. The next key date is 9th July, or 10 days before the formal opening, by which time the organising committee must have received details of the numbers and names of competitors. Withdrawal of an entered team or individual without the International Olympic Committee's prior approval may be subject to disciplinary action (though the International Olympic Committee took no action against the 24 countries which boycotted the Montreal Olympics, nor against Canada for refusing to admit a team from Taiwan). It is possible therefore that Federations which can be persuaded to change their mind about going can best make their decision known by the simple expedient of not nominating competitors.





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4. Thirdly, Mr. Hurd, with Mr. Monroe's support, recommends that the Prime Minister should send copies of the text not only to other members of the BOA but also to the heads of the British governing bodies for the Olympic sports concerned. This is because these bodies' nominees on the BOA in many cases have little discretion about the line they should take.

5. I am sending copies of this minute to Paul Lever and Charles Humfrey (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment).

(D. J. Wright)

19th May 1980

CONFIDENTIAL





DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO  
SIR DENIS FOLLOWS, CBE, Chairman, British Olympic  
Association, 1-2 John Princes Street, London, W1M 0DH

I last wrote to you on 19th March after the debate in the House of Commons when, as you will remember, a large majority supported the Government's view that Great Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow. I was therefore sorry that, at their meeting on 25th March, the British Olympic Association decided to confirm their acceptance of the invitation to go to Moscow.

Since then, condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has continued to grow. As you know, the Olympic Committees of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany have now decided not to send teams to Moscow. Whatever other National Olympic Committees may decide, absence of these teams robs the Moscow Games of <sup>much</sup> ~~any~~ international competitive significance. Their athletes are among the world leaders in many events and have won a high proportion of medals at recent Games. Without the Americans and West Germans and the other sporting countries who have also decided to stay away, the Games will be <sup>not the worthy of the name Olympic</sup> ~~a sham~~, medals won at Moscow will be of <sup>inferior</sup> ~~little~~ worth and the ceremonies a charade.

A number of National Olympic Committees have still not decided on attendance. They will be strongly influenced by the German decision and I have no doubt that many will also decide against going to Moscow.

Nothing has happened to cause the Government to alter its advice to British athletes. Soviet troops still occupy Afghanistan and cruelly oppress the Afghan people. Despite the strict censorship, there are continuing reports of atrocities. Only the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops will end them, and it is essential that the pressure on the Soviet Union should be maintained. None of the recent initiatives





from Kabul and Moscow includes a clear commitment to end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The Games will serve ~~only~~ the propaganda needs of the Soviet Government. There is no effective palliative, such as cutting out the ceremonies. I remain firmly convinced that it is neither in our national nor in the wider Western interest for Britain to take part in the Games in Moscow. ~~There is now an effective boycott.~~ ~~There is only one conclusion which fits the facts.~~ ~~I am sure that you should withdraw from the Moscow Games.~~ As a sporting event, the Games cannot now satisfy the aspirations of our sportsmen and women. British attendance at Moscow can only serve to frustrate the interests of Britain.

I am copying this letter to the representatives on your Committee of the Governing Bodies of Olympic Sports ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> the Chairmen of those bodies,

*mt*



HS

Central Council of  
PHYSICAL Recreation

B 22/5.80

16 May 1980

U  
I enclose a copy of a letter the Prime Minister has received from the Central Council of Physical Recreation about a possible meeting between her and the Council. I should be grateful for the text of a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send in reply to this letter and if this could be with me by Thursday 22 May.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Geoffrey Needham, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.



16 May 1980

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 14 May about a possible meeting between her and the CCPR. Your letter is receiving attention and a reply will be sent to you as soon as possible.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Mrs. M.A. Glen Haig, C.B.E.



OLYMPIC GAMES [ADVANCE COPIES]

X-21

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

IMMEDIATE

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) "

H) (S) (Jes)

RESTRICTED

FM LISBON 161005Z MAY 88  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 140 OF 16 MAY 1988

MY TELNO SAVING 33 OF 8 MAY  
PORTUGAL AND THE OLYMPICS.

1. AT A MEETING HELD ON 15 MAY THE PORTUGUESE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE VOTED IN FAVOUR OF SENDING A PORTUGUESE TEAM TO MOSCOW (22 FOR, 15 AGAINST, 3 ABSTENTIONS).
2. THIS WILL BE A DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT WHO HAD RECOMMENDED STRONGLY THAT PORTUGAL SHOULD NOT BE REPRESENTED. WE UNDERSTAND FROM PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE THAT THEY ARE CONFIDENT THAT DESPITE THE COMMITTEE'S DECISION A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL SPORTING FEDERATIONS WILL DECIDE AGAINST PARTICIPATION.

SHAKESPEARE

NNNN



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10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

16 May 1980

The Olympic Games

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 15 May in which it is argued that the Prime Minister might not pursue the correspondence with Sir Denis Follows any further. The Prime Minister has decided that she should write once more to Sir Denis and would like to do so as early as possible next week. The Prime Minister sees no conflict between the despatch of such a letter and the organising of a meeting between a Government Minister and representatives of the main sporting organisations.

You may think that, as was the case with the Prime Minister's letter of 19 February, any new letter should be copied to all the sporting federations considering participation in the Olympic Games.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Needham (Department of the Environment) and Nigel Wenban-Smith (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

15 May 1980

*Dear Michael,*

Olympics

Following the decision of the German Olympic Committee in favour of the boycott the Prime Minister might like to know at once how we propose to take matters forward.

One possibility would be for the Prime Minister herself to write again to Sir D Follows inviting the British Olympic Association to reconsider their previous decision. She could certainly use powerful arguments and there would be maximum publicity. However we know from a reliable source that the Prime Minister's last letter was never properly considered by the BOA. Sir D Follows himself is probably impervious to argument. The Prime Minister might wish to close her correspondence with Sir D Follows by placing the new facts before him: but it might be better for her not to make a further appeal which would probably be rejected.

An alternative approach therefore would be for a Government Minister to hold a meeting with representatives of the main sporting organisations which at present intend to go to Moscow. It is the sporting organisations, rather than the BOA itself, which make the actual decisions sport by sport.

Mr Monro at the Department of the Environment, sees merit in an approach of this kind. MISC 39 is meeting on Monday morning 19 May to consider these and other possibilities with a view to making an urgent recommendation.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Needham (DOE) and N Wenban-Smith, Cabinet Office.

*Yours etc*

*Paul*

(P Lever)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
No 10 Downing Street  
London

CONFIDENTIAL





# The Central Council of Physical Recreation

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

14 May 1980

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

Dear

*Prime Minister,*

I am sure you will understand the great distress within British sports organisations at the apparent rift that has developed between the voluntary bodies responsible for the control of sport in this country and Her Majesty's Government.

It has been and remains our firm intention to co-operate with the Government of the day as we believe that only through partnership and understanding can real success in our field of interest be achieved.

Naturally recent events have highlighted the problem of co-ordinating the actions of sports bodies with the policies of Government and the CCPR has been particularly concerned that such important developments as the Gleneagles Agreement, the UK/USSR Memorandum of Understanding and indeed the proposal to boycott the Olympic Games were decisions which Government reached without any reasonable consultation with the voluntary sporting bodies affected by these decisions.

I am writing to ask therefore if at a convenient time it might be possible for you to receive a small delegation from the CCPR in order that we can discuss the principles involved and hopefully reach a situation where Government and sport can be seen to be working in harmony.

*Very sincerely*

*Mary Glen Haig*

MARY A GLEN HAIG  
Chairman

*Patron:*  
Her Majesty The Queen

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

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

*Deputy Chairman:*  
N W Sarsfield MC

*Honorary Treasurer:*  
Sir Denis Follows CBE BA

*General Secretary:*  
Peter Lawson

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





10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

12 May 1980

Dear Mr. Newbell

Thank you for your letter of 25 April, enclosing one from your constituent, Miss J. Lowe of 3 Woodall Buildings, Foundry Lane, Knottingley, West Yorkshire, who has paid £700 to go to the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer.

I understand Miss Lowe's problem. Indeed the Government took this aspect into account in discussions about our attitude to the Games in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. If the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had agreed to hold the Games outside the Soviet Union when we first urged a move, the money already deposited at that time by your constituent and many other people would have been legally returnable. It would then have been open to them to make arrangements to travel to the new location, if they so wished. Regrettably, the IOC decided to go ahead with the Olympic Games in Moscow.

It is not we but the Soviet Union which has introduced politics into sport. They regard it as an arm of Government policy. In particular, the Russians have turned the Olympics in Moscow into a propaganda event of major importance. Their advance briefing makes this clear. We have made our attitude about this plain. We have advised British athletes that for them to take part in the Games would condone the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. We also feel it right to discourage spectators from going to Moscow and we hope that they will take this advice.

/ We are



We are of course only advising and the decision about going to Moscow must be taken by the people concerned themselves. In these circumstances, we do not believe that there is an obligation for the Government to compensate Miss Lowe, or others like her, who sustain financial loss.

The truth is that those who chose Moscow long ago as the site for the 1980 Olympics took a gamble, which has failed. They assumed wrongly that the Soviet Union would abstain from the kind of action which would disrupt the Games. But the continuing invasion of Afghanistan is such an action. Only last week, according to press reports, girl students were shot dead in the streets of Kabul. Never in the history of the Olympic Movement has the host state been committing aggression against another state at the time of the Games. We all have an interest in checking aggression and so helping to preserve future peace. By not going to Moscow Miss Lowe would help Britain in this task.

signed

MT

Dr. Edmund Marshall, M.P.





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 May 1980

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

NBPA

*[Handwritten signature]*

Dear Michael,

Mr Hurd has asked me to send you,  
for your background information, a copy  
of his enclosed letter of today's date  
to Mr Monro.

Yours ever,

*[Handwritten signature]*

C T W Humfrey  
PS/Mr Hurd

cc: Nigel Wenban-Smith Esq  
Cabinet Office



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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 May 1980

From The Minister of State  
Douglas Hurd CBE MP

*Dear Mr Innes*

OLYMPIC GAMES

I attach a record of a meeting I have had with  
Lt Col Innes of the BOA.

It would be worth encouraging press interest in the fund-raising contacts with left-wing groups which he reports. I have considered his proposal for a meeting with the Chairmen of the governing bodies of sporting federations still intending to send people to Moscow, and I must say I find it attractive. Obviously timing will be important. So would any offer or hint we could drop about money. My instinct is to wait and see what the Federal German Olympic Committee decide on 15 May and its effect on waverers. If the BOA finds itself isolated in the West and among leading sporting nations, a meeting could be persuasive - more so perhaps than another letter from the Prime Minister.

For maximum effect I think the meeting should be chaired by Peter Carrington. I have not asked him before having your views, but doubt if he would do it. If that is so, you and I could possibly act as co-Chairmen.

I should welcome your views before we meet in MISC 39 on 19 May to review the situation.

*Yours sincerely*  
*Charles Hurd*  
*for Mr Hurd*

(approved by Mr Hurd and signed  
in his absence by his Private  
Secretary)

Hector Monro Esq MP  
Parliamentary Under-Secretary  
of State  
Department of the Environment

CONFIDENTIAL



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RECORD OF MEETING BETWEEN THE HON DOUGLAS HURD CBE MP, MINISTER OF STATE, AND LT COL J INNES, HONORARY TREASURER OF THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION (BOA), HELD IN THE FCO AT 1530 ON 7 MAY 1980

1. After being welcomed by Mr Hurd, Lt Col Innes referred to a number of recent events relevant to the Moscow Olympics. He mentioned press reports on the meeting of Western European National Olympic Committees in Rome on 3 May and their recommendation to reduce ceremonial: he himself was not at the meeting and had no further information on it. He had also just heard that Lord Killanin had seen President Brezhnev: he did not know what had been said, but if the Soviet leader favoured the reduction of ceremonial, Lt Col Innes expected Lord Killanin to try and argue to President Carter that the Russians had made a major concession and that the US Government should reverse its Olympic policy.

2. Lt Col Innes then referred to a meeting of the BOA last week. Mr Anthony Tuke had stopped asking for funds from commerce and industry. There was enough money in the kitty to send 203 competitors and 68 officials to Moscow, but not enough to cover administrative expenses much beyond the Games. Sir D Follows had started writing to County Councils and trades union bodies of known left-wing persuasion in an effort to raise more money. Lt Col Innes thought this action most unwise: the BOA had claimed to be above politics, but was now introducing a political element into fund-raising. Such action could adversely affect fund-raising in the future. The Association's action had not so far been reported in the press.

3. Lt Col Innes was also upset by the BOA's cavalier attitude towards the letters from the Prime Minister to Sir D Follows. The letters were never properly discussed in committee: copies were circulated at the meeting that decided to accept the Moscow invitation: that decision was very quickly reached after a forthright speech by Lord Exeter, which was immediately followed by a resolution in favour of going to Moscow.

4. Lt Col Innes went on to suggest that in the absence of proper presentation of the Government's views to the BOA it might be useful if a senior Minister could meet the Association to explain the Government's attitude to the Olympics. Association members could also ask questions. Vice-President Mondale had spoken to athletes in America to good effect. Lt Col Innes thought the pill would be sweetened if the Government could offer money to help set up a 'preparation fund' for the future. Such a fund had been established with the proceeds of previous appeals; it had been extremely useful, particularly for athletes who required special equipment or training. He recognised that the

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Sports Council already helped with travel expenses: the fund he had in mind was different since the BOA would control it themselves. He was sure that such a carrot and stick approach made directly to the Association would be effective. Only a hard core of the athletes held strong views about going to Moscow, namely the boxers, wrestlers and weight-lifters: he did not think the majority of the remainder would mind very much if they did not go.

5. Mr Hurd wondered if a meeting would be helpful. The hardliners could say that the ground had been covered before. Consideration was being given to further action by the Government, particularly if the German National Olympic Committee decided on 15 May to support the boycott. The idea of a meeting would need careful thought. The proposal to offer money was a little worrying. It could be interpreted as a bribe. Moreover it might not persuade the athletes to change their minds.

6. Lt Col Innes then argued that the BOA's appeal had failed because the Government had advised people not to go. There was enough money for administrative expenses for 1980 and possibly 1981, but there was not enough to cover expenses in 1982, 1983 and the run-up to the 1984 Games, if they were to take place.

7. Mr Hurd said that the idea of a meeting was well worth thinking about, especially as the Prime Minister's letters had had such little impact. Lt Col Innes stressed that the idea was his own: he had not discussed it with colleagues in the Association. But he was sure that a personal meeting would be persuasive: it would be nice if Lord Carrington could take it on. Mr Hurd concluded by saying he would discuss the idea with Mr Monro, but he pointed out that the Secretary of State currently had great demands on his time and was unlikely to be able to host a meeting of the sort Lt Col Innes proposed.

(8. Lt Col Innes telephoned after calling on Mr Hurd. He had had second thoughts about a meeting between a Cabinet Minister and the BOA, since he felt on reflection that Ministers would get nowhere with the BOA. It would be better if a Minister could meet the Chairmen of those sporting bodies still intending to send participants to Moscow.)

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

9 May 1980

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PART 2 ends:-

PM to Major Derek Allhusen of 30.4.80.

PART 3 begins:-

FCO to MODBA of 9.5.80.







END

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