PREM 19/377

MT

PART ONE

Confidential Filing

Sporting Relations with South Africa.

SPORT

Pt 1
August 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
~~30.8.79~~		~~17.3.80~~					
~~3-9-79~~							
~~4.9.79~~		28.2.80					
~~5.9.79~~		ends.					
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~~11.3.80.~~							
~~13.3.80~~							

PREM 19/377

PART 1 ends:-

Env to MAP 28.2.80

PART 2 begins:-

MODBA to ENV 3.3.80

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC (79) 14th Conclusions, Minute 2 (extract)	30.8.79
CC (79) 15th Conclusions, Minute 1 (extract)	13.9.79
CC (79) 16th Conclusions, Minute 1 (extract)	4.10.79

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

Signed D Wayland Date 27 July 2010

PREM Records Team

Sp. 57

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

28 February 1980

Mr Alexander to see

2 na
MAP.

Dear Mike,

The Report of the Sports Council's fact-finding delegation to South Africa is to be published this afternoon. Obviously, later today the Department will be receiving calls from the Press on the Report and I attach a statement we propose to use in response to these calls.

When our officials have given detailed consideration to the Report, I will let you have a short critique. Mr Jeeps, Chairman of the Sports Council and leader of the delegation, will be holding a press conference at 4.00 pm this afternoon at Sports Council headquarters.

I am copying this letter to Richard Prescott (Paymaster General's Office), Colin Munroe (FCO) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

DRAFT STATEMENT ON THE REPORT - "SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA"

This is an interesting and useful report which the Minister of Sport will be considering very carefully. The report indicates that some progress is being made in making sport more multi-racial and will be a helpful addition to the information already known to the Government about apartheid in sport in South Africa.

The Government will continue to monitor the situation. Meanwhile, their attitude towards sporting links with South Africa remain governed by the Commonwealth Statement.

The Sports Council is, of course, an independent body, and its report in no way commits the Government to any course of action.

SUBJECT

Le Président de la République

N° 733/PR/DC.1

Dakar, le 26 février 1980

R1/3

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T38B/80

Madame le Premier Ministre,

Le Royaume uni et le Sénégal entretiennent, depuis plusieurs années, des rapports de coopération confiante.

C'est la raison pour laquelle je m'autorise à appeler Votre attention sur les rencontres prévues entre l'équipe anglaise de rugby et celle de l'Afrique du Sud.

En effet, ces rencontres ne manqueront pas d'avoir des répercussions politiques.

Je Vous demande de bien vouloir faire un effort tendant à interdire les rencontres sportives des équipes de Votre pays avec celles de l'Afrique du Sud, pays de l'apartheid.

En Vous remerciant de l'accueil que Vous aurez réservé à ma démarche, je Vous prie d'agréer, Madame le Premier Ministre, l'assurance de mes sentiments déférents.

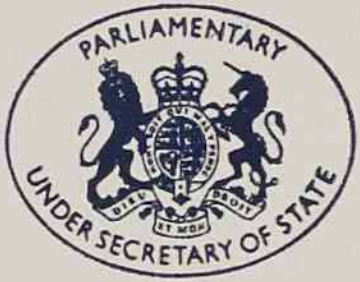
Léopold Sédar SENGHOR

Madame Margareth TATCHER
Premier Ministre de Grande-Bretagne

L O N D R E S

Telep
01-212 4

DEPARTMENT OF THE
ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET
SW1P 3EB



With the Compliments of

the Private Secretary to

the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State

SBRT

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

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

My ref: MO/PSO/17935/79

Your ref:

C A Munro Esq
Private Secretary to
Peter Blaker MP
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Downing Street
LONDON SW1

10 January 1980

MAPhee seen

Dear Colin

attached

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which my Minister has received from the Soviet Minister for Sport about British Rugby Union contacts with South Africa and the 1980 Olympic Games.

Attached is a copy of the reply which Mr Monro proposes to send. I would be grateful if you could let me know whether you have any comments on the response.

Copies of this letter and enclosures go to Mike Pattison.

Yours sincerely

Raymonde M Higgins

MISS R M HIGGINS
Private Secretary

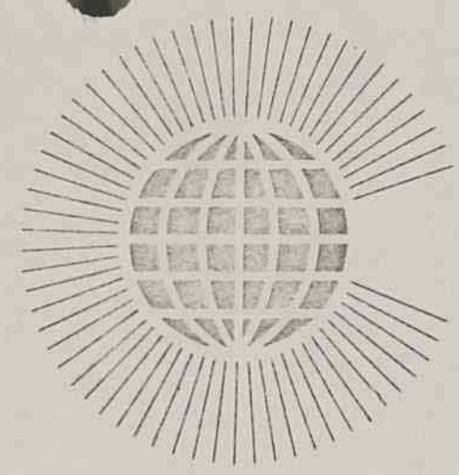
PSO/17935/79

DRAFT REPLY MR MONRO TO MR PAVLOV, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORTS UNDER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTER OF THE USSR

Thank you for your letter of 10 December about the XXII Summer Olympic Games to be held in Moscow this Summer.

I have made the Government's position clear to the Tours Committee of the Four Home Rugby Unions. I asked the Committee not to proceed with the Tour to South Africa, nevertheless it is likely an invitation will be received and that the Unions will accept.

The governing bodies of sport in the UK are entirely independent of Government and provided their activities are within the law there is no way in which the Government can intervene.



Commonwealth Information

NEWS RELEASE
80/4

8 January 1980

BRITISH RUGBY TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, made the following statement today:

Copies
As before plus CRD,
Lord Gordon Lennox

The confirmed intention of the British Rugby authorities to proceed with a tour of South Africa will be widely deplored throughout the Commonwealth. It flouts international and Commonwealth commitments, including those of the British Government, to the global campaign against apartheid and gives comfort only to South Africa and those who make an accommodation with its evil system. The implications of this decision are grave; but it is a mistake to believe that they are confined to reactions abroad. It has implications within Britain as well, for it undermines the values which Britain has striven to uphold. That is why, throughout the Commonwealth, it will be received as much with sadness as with resentment.

Ends

COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARIAT
Marlborough House
London SW1Y 5HX
01-839 3411

CONFIDENTIAL

Spott

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

4 January 1980

PM saw

NFA

MAP 7/1

Dear Mike

My Minister will no doubt be asked for his reactions should an announcement be made this weekend to go ahead with a British Lions tour to South Africa. I attach for the Prime Minister's consideration suggested answers to questions that may be raised.

As was agreed, if such an announcement is made, we shall publish the text of my Minister's letter to the Chairman of the Tours Committee. A draft Press Release is enclosed.

I am sending copies of this letter to George Walden (FCO), John Chilcot (Home Office) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

BRITISH LIONS' TOUR - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q1. Government reaction to Tour?

A1. One of regret, contravenes Commonwealth Statement - see Press Release.

Q2. What action did Government take to try to stop Tour?

A2. Had informal discussions with Chairman Tours Committee and wrote as in Press Release before decision to go ahead with Tour announced.

Q3. Why did not Government do more?

A3. Have no powers to direct only to persuade. Governing bodies autonomous.

Q4. What can Government do now?

A4. Nothing. Cannot stop team going. Of course no support, including financial assistance, will be forthcoming from public sources.

Q5. What about Sports Council grants to Rugby Unions?

A5. Sports Council at its October 1979 meeting discussed withholding annual grants from Rugby Unions, but decided against.

Q6. Will Government try to persuade Sports Council to change mind on grants?

A6. No. This would not stop the tour going ahead and would most adversely affect those in rugby unconnected with the tour decision.

Q7. What about grant to help rebuild South Terrace at Twickenham?

A7. All Government funds channelled through Sports Council. It is for them to decide.

Q8. Could not the Lions tour mean we will be banned from 1980 Olympics?

A8. Rugby not an Olympic sport. Rugby Unions not affiliated to British Olympic Association. It is for International Olympic Committee to decide which countries should participate in the Games.

Q9. Commonwealth Games 1982?

A9. Matter for Commonwealth Games Federation.

Q10. Supreme Council for Sport in Africa agreed at Yaounde last month to call for a ban by their members on sporting contacts with Britain. How do you view this?

A10. With regret: but we shall have to wait and see.

Q11. How do you think tour decision will be received in British sporting circles?

A11. I understand that several Governing Bodies have expressed their fears to the Rugby Unions. They clearly see their international activities in jeopardy.

Q12. Is not Britain now in danger of becoming increasingly isolated in world sport?

No.

A12. This view is certainly held in some quarters. It is for Governing Bodies by their actions to ensure that such fears are not realised.

Q13. Will Sports Council's fact finding mission still go ahead?

A13. I understand it will.

Q14. What if mission finds Rugby in South Africa not an integrated sport?

A14. If they do, I hope the Rugby Unions will take note and reconsider the Tour.

Q15. Why isolate South Africa and not other countries eg USSR because of her discriminatory internal policies.

A15. In the case of South Africa, the Commonwealth Statement exists and we must respect it.

Q16. What about "invasion" of Afghanistan?

A16. Obviously deplored by Government. But I personally believe sport should not be used as political weapon. This is however more a matter for the Foreign Office.

Olympics must be a matter for joint action

BRITISH LIONS TOUR

The following is the text of a letter sent by Hector Monro, Minister of Sport, on 3 January 1980, to Mickey Steele Bodger, chairman of the tours committee of the four home rugby unions;

"I understand that the Tours Committee will be considering shortly a possible tour by the British Lions to South Africa this summer.

"Your Committee can be in no doubt of the attitude of the Government to any such tour following our exchange of correspondence over the recent tour here by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club. Our position remains as I put it to you then. We are fully committed to abiding by the Commonwealth Statement which discourages sporting contacts with South Africa. I re-emphasised this in the House of Commons on 12 December. On that occasion I also reiterated that the Government would 'discuss possible changes with our Commonwealth colleagues if or when sufficient progress has been made towards the integration of sport in South Africa'.

"As you know, the possibility of a Lions' tour is already causing concern to the Governing Bodies of many other sports.'

"The Government therefore hopes that your Committee will decide against the tour.

"I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions."

Telephone Nos: 01-212 4680/4681/3498

Night Calls (6.30 pm to 8.00 am)
Weekends and Holidays:
01-212 7071

CONFIDENTIAL

✓ MR
SPM

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

My ref:

Your ref:

M R Steele-Bodger Esq
Chairman
Four Home Unions Tours Committee
c/o East India Sports, Public Schools
and Devonshire Club
16 St James' Square, LONDON SW1

3 January 1980

Dear Micky

I understand that the Tours Committee will be considering shortly a possible tour by the British Lions to South Africa this summer.

Your Committee can be in no doubt of the attitude of the Government to any such tour following our exchange of correspondence over the recent tour here by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club. Our position remains as I put it to you then. We are fully committed to abiding by the Commonwealth Statement which discourages sporting contacts with South Africa. I re-emphasised this in the House of Commons on 12 December. On that occasion I also reiterated that the Government would "discuss possible changes with our Commonwealth colleagues if or when sufficient progress has been made towards the integration of sport in South Africa."

As you know, the possibility of a Lions' tour is already causing concern to the Governing Bodies of many other sports.

The Government therefore hopes that your Committee will decide against the tour.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions.

Yours
Hector

HECTOR MONRO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE

DS

SPORT

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 January 1980

I told you on the telephone earlier today that the Prime Minister wished to reconsider the text of Mr. Monro's letter to the Chairman of the Tours Committee of the Four Home Rugby Unions.

She has now had an opportunity to discuss this with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. They are agreed that, in current circumstances, it would be right to redraft the third and final paragraphs of the letter as follows:-

> "As you know, the possibility of a Lions' tour is already causing concern to the Governing Bodies of many other sports.
>
> The Government therefore hopes that your Committee will decide against the tour."

I am sending copies of this letter to George Walden (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), John Chilcot (Home Office) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

M. A. PATTISON

Geoff Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DEG

FILE

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

31 December 1979

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 27 December about the proposal that Mr. Monro should write on behalf of the Government to the Chairman of the Rugby Unions Tours Committee before its meeting on 4 January. She has also seen Colin Munro's letter to me of the same date.

The Prime Minister is content that Mr. Monro should write, on the basis of the draft you sent me as amended by Mr. Blaker's suggestions. She agrees with Mr. Blaker's view that, whilst the letter should be despatched before the meeting, it should be published after a decision is taken by the Committee and then only if the decision were to go ahead with the tour.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Chilcot (Home Office), Colin Munro (FCO) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

M. A. PATTISON

G. Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

CONFIDENTIAL

PCR

B

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 December 1979

M Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Mike,

PROPOSED BRITISH LIONS RUGBY TOUR TO SOUTH AFRICA

Mr Blaker has seen Geoff Needham's letter of 27 December to you covering the proposed draft letter for Mr Monro to send to the Chairman of the Tours Committee of the Four Home Rugby Unions.

Mr Blaker recognises the strength of feeling on the part of some Members of Parliament that the Lions' tour should go ahead, as shown by the relevant early day motion. However, he believes that strong reaction would be provoked if the Government were to give the impression that they condoned a breach of the "Gleneagles Agreement" which, though concluded by the previous government, has been accepted by this government in accordance with the long standing convention that agreements entered into by one government are accepted by its successor, and to which a specific reference was made in the Lusaka declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice agreed by Heads of Government at their meeting in August this year. Such an impression would also increase the risk to future British participation in international sport, including the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, and it would have an adverse effect on our relations with Commonwealth countries.

Mr Blaker therefore sees no alternative to taking the line that the Government continue to accept the Gleneagles Agreement. The Agreement obliges us to :

> 'take every practical step to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa.'

Nevertheless, although this subject is one for DOE, he (Mr Blaker) considers that the Minister of Sport's letter to the Tours Committee could usefully quote from Mr Monro's words in the House of Commons on 12 December (official Report Col 1278). He therefore suggests the following addition at the end of the

/second

second paragraph of Mr Monro's draft letter:

(A) ✓ 'On that occasion I also said that the Government would "discuss possible changes with our Commonwealth colleagues if or when sufficient progress has been made towards the integration of sport in South Africa."'

(B) The first sentence of the third paragraph of the draft might then be amended to read 'However, a Lions' tour in present circumstances would clearly cause concern to the Governing Bodies of other sports who fear that their future international activities would be placed in jeopardy'.

The timing of the publication of Mr Monro's letter is also a matter for the DOE but Mr Blaker is inclined to think that, while Mr Monro's letter should be sent before the meeting of the Tours Committee, it should be published after a decision is taken by the Committee, and then only if the decision were to go ahead with the tour. Something to this effect might be included in Mr Monro's letter itself.

no need
R.

I am copying this letter to Geoff Needham (DOE) and to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

Colin

C A Munro
PS/Mr Blaker

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
Whitehall

27 December 1979

Prime Minister

The draft letter at Flag A incorporates Mr Blaker's amendments (see Flag B) DoE are happy with these, and also with his suggestion that the letter be published after the Committee have taken their decision. It also seems sensible only to publish if they decide to go-ahead with the tour.

Content? TL 28/12

cc Mr Ingham
Mr Gow

Yes ok.

Dear Mike,

In the light of your letter of 26 November and subsequent events concerning the possible British Lions Tour, the need, if any, for action has been discussed between my Minister and his FCO colleagues.

One of the lines of action suggested was that Mr Monro should write on behalf of the Government to the Chairman of the Rugby Unions Tours Committee before it meets on 4 January, when a decision on the tour could be taken. The draft attached, as you will see, covers rather wider ground than that included in our submission of 22 November. In particular, it now takes into account the attitude of other sports organisations referred to by you in your reaction. It has also been strengthened to reflect the importance which must be attached to such a nationally representative tour.

It is felt that there could also be clear advantages certainly in terms of world-reaction - in publishing the text of the letter in a Press Notice to be released on 2 January.

Copies of this letter go to Colin Munroe (FCO) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

A

DRAFT LETTER FOR MR. MONRO TO SEND TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TOURS COMMITTEE OF THE FOUR HOME RUGBY UNIONS

I understand that the Tours Committee will be considering shortly a possible tour by the British Lions to South Africa this summer.

Your Committee can be in no doubt of the attitude of the Government to any such tour following our exchange of correspondence over the recent tour here by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club. Our position remains as I put it to you then. We are fully committed to abiding by the Commonwealth Statement which discourages sporting contacts with South Africa. I re-emphasised this in the House of Commons on 12 December. On that occasion I also said that the Government would discuss possible changes with our Commonwealth colleagues if or when sufficient progress has been made towards the integration of sport in South Africa.

However, a Lions' tour ~~in present circumstances~~ this summer would ~~clearly~~ already cause concern to the Governing Bodies of many other sports ~~who fear that their future international activities would be placedin jeopardy.~~ ~~Your Committee will be aware, as I am, of the recent groundswell of opinion in this direction.~~

~~In all the circumstances~~ The Government hopes that your Committee will decide against the tour.

CONFIDENTIAL

p.a

DRAFT LETTER FOR MR MONRO TO SEND TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TOURS COMMITTEE OF THE FOUR HOME RUGBY UNIONS

DTE draft

I understand that the Tours Committee will be considering shortly a possible tour by the British Lions to South Africa this summer.

Your Committee can be in no doubt of the attitude of the Government to any such tour following our exchange of correspondence over the recent tour here by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club. Our position remains as I put it to you then. We are fully committed to abiding by the Commonwealth Statement which discourages sporting contacts with South Africa. I re-emphasised this in the House of Commons on 12 December. INSERT (A)

FMSA

(B) In addition to a tour conflicting with Government policy it would also clearly cause concern to a number of other governing bodies of sport who fear that their future international activities would be placed in jeopardy. Your Committee will be aware, as I am, of the recent groundswell of opinion in this direction.

In all the circumstances the Government hope that your Committee will decide against the tour.

✓MAP 2
Sport

PRIME MINISTER

c. Mr. Gow

Mr. Monro today answered Mr. Dalyell's Question about the possibility of a British Lions Rugby Tour to South Africa.

In supplementaries, Nicholas Winterton asked why the Government had adopted their current attitude to sports tours to and from South Africa, when these could help to convert the South Africans, and when the suspected threat was to the Olympic Games being held in a barbarous and totalitarian country. Mr. Monro commented that the Government would be prepared to review the Commonwealth statement when South Africa made progress towards multi-racial sport. Roy Hughes said that he had understood that no decision had yet been made on the tour and he therefore asked Mr. Monro to prevail on the rugby authorities not to go ahead. Mr. Monro said that the Government's attitude on such tours had been made clear, and the position had not changed. Toby Jessel asked why the Government was involved. Mr. Monro said that the Government had an obligation to stand by the Commonwealth statement and had made this clear to the rugby unions.

Denis Howell complimented Mr. Monro on his strong, intelligent and civilised stance; stressed the value of the Olympics as a full gathering of the world's youth; asked Mr. Monro to confirm that one sport had no right to jeopardise the efforts and hopes of other sports; and spoke of the risk of destroying the Commonwealth Games, or turning it into a whitesonly meeting. Mr. Monro stood by the press statement issued in September.

In the circumstances, Mr. Monro held the line. It was noticeable that the Questions from the Labour side stressed the importance of other sports making their views known, a point on which Mr. Monro is working hard as a result of your earlier comments.

MAP

12 December 1979

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

12 December 1979

PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION ON SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

Roderic Lyne has told you that we wish to propose revised wording for supplementaries enclosed with your letter of 10 December to Mike Pattison.

If, in supplementary questions, attempts are made to draw your Minister into commenting in more detail on the effect of sporting contacts with South African on our relations with other countries (or indeed with South Africa itself), I imagine that Mr Munro will wish to take the line that this is a matter for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

I enclose amended answers to supplementary Questions nos 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10, together with answers to two further supplementaries. These have been approved by FCO Ministers.

I am copying this letter to Mike Pattison (No 10); and to John Chilcot (Home Office) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever
Stephen Gomersall

S J Gomersall
Private Secretary to the
Lord Privy Seal

G J Needham Esq
Private Secretary to
Mr Hector Munro MP
Department of the Environment
2 Marsham Street
London SW1

CONFIDENTIAL

AMENDED DRAFT ANSWERS TO SUPPLEMENTARIES

2. Answer:

I am not aware that any invitation has yet been extended, but we would regret it if it was accepted. Such a tour would receive no Government support or approval and would be discouraged in accordance with the Gleneagles Agreement.

4. Answer:

We recognise that some progress has been made towards integration in certain sports; but we do not consider that this is yet sufficient to justify our discussing the possibility of modifying the Gleneagles Agreement. In particular we do not consider that South African Rugby is non-racial.

5. Answer:

Before the Barbarians' recent tour, we made it clear that we regretted that the team had been invited. Nothing about the circumstances in which that tour took place justifies a change in our attitude, which is based on the Gleneagles Agreement.

6. Answer:

We of course respect the independence of sporting bodies, but international obligations must also be respected. In the case of South Africa, we have the Gleneages Agreement whose terms we are concerned to observe.

7. Answer:

In the case of South Africa, the Gleneagles Agreement exists and we must respect it.

8. Answer:

Same as answer to Question 7.

10. Answer:

This is not for us to judge, but we must hope that anyone responsible for staging such a tour is aware of all the possible implications.

FURTHER SUPPLEMENTARIES

13. Question:

Could not a Lions tour mean that we are banned from the Olympic Games?

Answer:

Rugby is not an Olympic sport. The Rugby Unions are not affiliated to the British Olympic Association. It is for the International Olympic Committee to decide which countries should participate in the Games.

14. Question:

What information do you have about the views of other sporting bodies?

Answer:

I understand that a number of British sporting bodies have called on the Rugby Unions to have regard to the interests of British Sport as a whole.

Telephone
01-212 3434

DEPARTMENT OF THE
ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET
SW1P 3EB

With the Compliments of

the Private Secretary to

the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State

THE COMMITTEE FOR PHYSICAL CULTURE
AND SPORTS UNDER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

"10" December 1979

Dear Mr Minister,

In view of the XXII summer Olympic Games to be held in Moscow, I should like to draw your attention to a rather serious situation which by no means favours the international sport movement.

You are obviously aware of the fact that world sport circles and press media are widely discussing the South African "Barbarians" team tour which has been organized this october in Great Britain by the Rugby Union of Great Britain.

In this connection we, as the hosts of the next Olympic Games, are seriously concerned with the continuous contacts of the Rugby Union of Great Britain with the racist sport of the South African Republic, that is in direct contradiction with the well-known U.N. and I.O.C. resolutions on apartheid.

Let me remind You that the events at the Montreal Games known to You have also ensued from the contacts with rugby players of the South African Republic.

Therefore, I should like to ask You, Mr Minister, to use your influence and authority to prevent such contacts in future.

With respect

S.Pavlov

Chairman

Mr H.MONRO
State Minister for Sport
Ministry of Environment
of Greta Britain

1.

820

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

10 December 1979

PRIME MINISTER

Mr Monro's brief on the Lions tour for questions on Wednesday.

See supplementaries (B) 6, 7, 8 and 11. The former three are a very weak position, better left unsaid. I will consult FCO about a safer line, if you agree.

X + Y are helpful.

Yes please – but "I understand" and "it is all right" MAP 10/XII

Dear Mike,

A — As requested, I enclose a copy of my Minister's proposed Answer to Mr Dalyell's Oral Question down for Wednesday. (Number Three,
B — first Order). Included with it is a copy of the supplementaries
C — which have been agreed by my Minister and the Background Note prepared for him.

D — I also attach a resumé of the latest state of expressed opinion from Governing Bodies of Sport, as we know it. The reactions mentioned are those of which we have documentary evidence. There have, in addition, been a number of unpublicised approaches made to the Rugby Unions , said to number around 30, including one from Arthur Gold, President of the European Amateur Athletic Federation and a prominent figure in Olympic and international sports circles. The British Olympic Association meet on Wednesday, 12 December to decide their attitude. There is no indication so far of what this is likely to be.

Perhaps I should explain that Governing Bodies of Sport traditionally do not interfere in each others affairs. This could explain why they seem slow to react and late in the arena. However, it seems to be becoming clear to an increasing number of them that the British Lions Tour is a distinct possibility and that it could prejudice the position of a number of them in their own international
X / activities. Reaction against the Tour can, therefore, be expected to grow.

Y / Finally, my Minister's latest information on an announcement by the Rugby Tours Committee is that this is unlikely before January.

I am copying this to John Chilcot (Home Office), Roderic Lyne (FCO) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

A

PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION

HOUSE OF COMMONS

For answer on WEDNESDAY 12 DEC 1979

PQ No 1507 /78/79

Draft reply required by WEDNESDAY 5 DEC 1979

Draft Approved by	Signature or Initials	Contact Telephone No	This paper must be kept on top of the right hand side of this file
N S F PALMER		212-5706	
Parly Secretary			
Minister of State			
Minister			
Secretary of State			

Type of Question:- Oral (No .....); First Order Oral (No.....)
Priority Written; Written

Supplementary Questions are not required.

Please type Member's name, party, constituency and Question here

Mr Tam Dalyell (West Lothian) Lab: To ask the Secretary of State for the Environment, if he will make a statement on his discussions with the Rugby Unions of Scotland, England and Wales on proposed tours of South Africa.

DRAFT ANSWER

The Home Rugby Unions are fully aware of the Government's stance on proposed tours to and from South Africa as set out in our Press Statement of 14 September. This was again made clear during my recent informal meeting with the Chairman of the Tours Committee.

PQ No. 1507/79/80

B

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

1. Q. Why not a formal meeting with these Rugby Unions to dissuade them from further contacts?

A. No point, Rugby Unions can be in no doubt of Government's position set out by me in letters in September and by FCO in Press Release of 14 September (Annex A of Background Note). No change has taken place.

2. Q. Government's attitude to possible tour of South Africa by British Lions?

A. One of regret. Would receive no Government support or approval and would be discouraged in accordance with the Commonwealth Statement.

3. Q. Time to renegotiate Gleneagles?

A. Government position clear from their statement of 14 September. Will discuss possible changes with Commonwealth colleagues if and when sufficient progress has been made towards integration of sport in South Africa.

4. Q. Will not changes in South Africa come about more quickly if progress recognised, rather than by isolationist policy?

A. Issues involved too complex to be balanced so simply. Arguable that progress has only come about by isolating South Africa from international sport. Important to recognise progress already made; Government statement offers hope for the future.

5. Q. Does not "success" of Barbarians tour justify a change of policy?

A. Fact that tour proceeded as planned matter of substantial police-presence and comparatively small demonstrations against it. Principle not affected. Cannot change policy unilaterally while accepting Commonwealth Statement.

6. Q. Should not independent sports bodies run their own affairs without interference from Government?

A. Agree. Always do, except where sporting links with South Africa concerned. Within framework of their foreign policy, Government has international obligations it must fulfil, even if this may conflict with wishes of governing bodies.

7. Q. Why isolate South Africa and not other countries?

A. In free society like ours sports bodies free to play whom they please. Government not interfere. Only exception South Africa where we have Commonwealth Statement.

8. Q. What about USSR?

A. Inherited Commonwealth Statement. No such agreement about USSR. Government not wish extend practice.

9. Q. Why not renegotiate Gleneagles?

A. Our Press Statement of 14 September said we shall continue to observe with a view to discussing this with Commonwealth colleagues when conditions in sport in South Africa warrant it.

10. Q. What if Government advice ignored and Lions tour takes place?

A. Could have repercussions for sport generally where international competitions are concerned.

11. Q. What about Mr Thatcher's reported remarks?

A. Mr Thatcher has the same right as any other person to express his personal views on this matter as a private citizen.

12. Q. Meeting of Supreme Council for Sport in Africa this week?

A. Know it is taking place and plans to discuss possible Lions tour. Cannot obviously comment.

DG

PQ 1507/79/80 e

BACKGROUND NOTE

1. The Questioner presumably has mainly in mind the proposed invitation for the British Lions to tour South Africa. The Tours Committee of the Home Rugby Unions met on 25 November to discuss this but announced no decision. No invitation will actually be sent from South Africa until acceptance is assured. Pressure is building up among sportsmen generally against the Tour as it is seen as jeopardising Britain's participation in International events, especially the Olympic Games next year.

2. The Government's attitude towards South Africa in sport is based on the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in sport (the "Gleneagles Agreement"). This accepts that it is the duty of Commonwealth Governments to "take every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa .....".

3. Governing bodies of sport are independent of Government, and if they choose not to heed advice on such matters, Ministers can do nothing effectively to stop tours taking place, either to or from South Africa. There is no requirement for any sporting body to inform the Government about proposed invitations either way; these are usually picked up from Press reports.

4. The Government recognise that progress has been made towards integration in certain sports in South Africa (though not sufficiently in Rugby). A Press Release (Annex A) issued by FCO on 14 September set this out and added that the Government would continue to observe the situation in South Africa with a view to discussing modification of the Gleneagles Agreement with Commonwealth Colleagues if and when they judged sufficient progress had been made towards integration in sport there.

5. The Minister met the Chairman of the Tours Committee of the Home Rugby Unions and a representative of the Scottish Rugby Union for a personal and private meeting. No such meetings as the Question concerns have taken place.

D

1. Representatives of the Governing Bodies of Sport listed below have signed a petition deploring any tour by a National Association which is in breach of the Gleneagles Agreement and is of the opinion that a rugby Lions tour to South Africa in 1980 would have serious consequences for the future of British sport as a whole. The signatories call upon the Home Rugby Unions, in making their decision, to have regard to the interests of British sport as a whole.

SABA - Schools Amateur Boxing Association
BCF - British Canoe Federation
BCU - British Canoe Union
BWSF - British Water Sports Federation
ARA - Amateur Rowing Association
ABA - Amateur Boxing Association
EBBA - English Basketball Association
BIBF - British and Irish Basketball Federation
Commonwealth BBF - Commonwealth Basketball Federation
NSFGB - National Ski Federation of Great Britain
MPAGB - Modern Pentathlon Association of Great Britain

2. The Chairman of the Sports Aid Foundation has sent a telegram to the Rugby Football Union expressing the Foundation's concern regarding the possibility of adverse effect on Britain's international competitors if the Lions tour goes ahead.

3. An extract from the OBSERVER newspaper reports Wally Holland's (British Amateur Weightlifting Association) attack upon the Sports Council for sending a fact finding mission to South Africa and his warning that the French Rugby Union have suggested to him that they will boycott the Five Nations Championship next year if the tour goes ahead. There are exchanges of correspondence between Wally Holland and the Sports Council about their mission.

4. The British Judo Association have written to the RFU saying they feel a Lions tour would have an enormously harmful effect on Great Britain's participation in International sporting events.

5. The Sports Council has written to the Home Rugby Unions' Secretary about their fact finding mission and how it came to be set up. They call upon the Home Unions to look at the final report before making a decision. Meanwhile asked them to take into account the spirit of the Council's resolution of 1 October regretting "any action by governing bodies of sport which contravenes the letter and spirit of the Gleneagles and Lusaka Agreements and which could adversely affect this country's scope to compete at international level".

Sport. 2

PRIME MINISTER

You agreed to hold back on the problem of the Lions' tour.

It is now a little less easy to do so, given press interest in Mr. Thatcher's comments on Thursday night. !

You should know that Hector Munro has given the attached Written Answer today. There is a question on the issue which will be reached when Environment are top next Wednesday. I have asked that the proposed Answer and briefing for supplementaries should come to us, as well as to the Home Secretary and the Foreign Secretary, on Monday night. It now seems that the Rugby Unions are unlikely to announce their acceptance of an invitation to tour until the week before Christmas, but what Mr. Munro says in Parliament on Wednesday is likely to be taken as a firm indication of the Government's attitude. Meanwhile, there are growing signs of opposition to the proposed tour from other sporting fields. Mr. Munro will let us know more of this early next week.

MAP

spoke to DoE
na
MAP
10/XII

7 December 1979

7/12/79

JOHN CARLISLE: Conservative: Luton West:

To ask the Secretary of State for the Environment if he will give support to the four home Rugby Unions tour of South Africa should they receive an invitation to tour.

Answer from Mr. Hector Munro:

No Government approval would be given to any such tour. To do so would be incompatible with our acceptance of the Commonwealth statement on sport.

This answer is misleading.

(i) approval is not sought

(ii) we have no authority to give a veto on approval

(iii) The only way we can prevent the tour is by threatening legislation ~~[illegible]~~ to withdraw passports

(iv) We also [illegible] the Rand in [illegible] with Mr. S. Milne. [illegible] statement is [illegible] with the proposed tour [illegible] see [illegible]

Pa - Spot file

Winterton
Why this attitude
Tours can attitude
Olympics - barbarians + Cotchlanton country
M. statement of 14.
changes when S.A progresses
No decision yet. So prevail on Rugby authorities
M. Position made clear

MAP

PQ No. 1507/79/80

REVISED 12/XII.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

3 Roy Hughes

1. Q. Why not a formal meeting with the Rugby Unions to dissuade them from further contacts?

A. No point, Rugby Unions can be in no doubt of= Government's position set out by me in letters in September and by FCO in Press Release of 14 September (Annex A of Background Note). No change has taken place.

2. Q. Government's attitude to possible tour of South Africa by British Lions?

A. I am not aware that any invitation has yet been extended, but we would regret it if it was accepted. Such a tour would receive no Government support or approval and would be discouraged in accordance with the Commonwealth Statement.

3. Q. Time to renegotiate Commonwealth Statement?

A. Government position clear from their statement of 14 September. Will discuss possible changes with Commonwealth colleagues if and when sufficient progress has been made towards integration of sport in South Africa.

4. Q. Will not changes in South Africa come about more quickly if progress recognised, rather than by isolationist policy?

A. We recognise that some progress has been made towards integration in certain sports; but we do not consider that this is yet sufficient to justify our discussing the possibility of modifying the Commonwealth Statement. In particular we do not consider that South African Rugby is non-racial.

5. Q. Does not "success" of Barbarians tour justify a change of policy?

A. Before the Barbarians' recent tour, we made it clear that we regretted that the team had been invited. Nothing about the circumstances in which that tour took place justifies a change in our attitude, which is based on the Commonwealth Statement.

6. Q. Should not independent sports bodies run their own affairs without interference from Government?

A. We of course respect the independence of sporting bodies, but international obligations must also be respected. In the case of South Africa, we have the Commonwealth Statement whose terms we are concerned to observe.

7. Q. Why isolate South Africa and not other countries?

A. In the case of South Africa, the Commonwealth Statement exists and we must respect it.

8. Q. What about USSR?

A. See 7 above.

9. Q. Why not renegotiate Gleneagles?

A. Our Press Statement of 14 September said we shall continue to observe with a view to discussing this with Commonwealth colleagues when conditions in sport in South Africa warrant it.

10. Q. What if Government advice ignored and Lions tour takes place?

A. This is not for us to judge, but we must hope that anyone responsible for staging such a tour is aware of all the possible implications.

11. Q. What about Mr Thatcher's reported remarks?

A. Mr Thatcher has the same right as any other person to express his personal views on this matter as a private citizen.

12. Q. Meeting of Supreme Council for Sport in Africa this week?

A. Know it is taking place and plans to discuss possible Lions tour. Cannot obviously comment.

13. Q. Could not a Lions tour mean that we are banned from the Olympic Games?

Dalyell →

A. Rugby is not an Olympic sport. The Rugby Unions are not affiliated to the British Olympic Association. It is for the International Olympic Committee to decide which countries should participate in the Games.

14. Q. Commonwealth Games 1982?

A. Decision for Commonwealth Games Federation.

15. Q. What information do you have about the views of other sporting bodies?

A. I understand that a number of British sporting bodies have called on the Rugby Unions to have regard to the interests of British sport as a whole.

16. Q. Resume sporting links with Rhodesia?

A. I am sure everyone would welcome this once everything has settled down under a legal regime.

17. Q. Sports Council fact-finding mission?

A. Have to wait and see what report contains.

18. Q. Will consideration be given to stopping rugby grants if tour goes ahead?

A. At the moment that is a hypothetical question.

4 Jessel

why govt involved

M concerned to implement Oleneagles

Position made clear to R U's

5 Howell

strong intelligent informed stance

Olympics

free gathering of world's youth

with treasuring

one sport has no right to

jeopardise chances of rest

Speaker

"yellow card"

1 → provocation taken into account

2 that's what I'm doing

1 → Risk of ending c'wealth games, or

turning into white only

File

Sent

D 59

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 December 1979

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 19 November to Colin Munroe about Mr. Monro's proposed reply to the letter of 20 October from the President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

As I told Ray Higgins on the telephone this morning, the Prime Minister has no objections to the proposed reply (although she did comment that there were one or two reinforcing adjectives in the draft which seemed unnecessary).

I am sending a copy of this letter to Colin Munroe (FCO).

M. A. PATTISON

Geoff Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

2.

10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

Mr Monro is going to write as in this draft in response to the President of the Supreme Council for Spat in Africa. This has been cleared by Mr Whitelaw + FCO

MAP 30/XI

Agreed. This could work in a telegram - but they are not mentioned yet.

DRAFT REPLY FOR MR MONRO TO SEND TO MR ORDIA,
PRESIDENT OF SCSA

Thank you for your letter of 20 October, which arrived here on 7 November, and for your good wishes on my recent appointment as the Minister for Sport.

Firstly, let me say that I fully understand your Council's attitude towards apartheid generally, and to sporting contacts with South Africa. The British Government is opposed to the policy of apartheid and ~~fully~~ accepts the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, the ~~so-called~~ often referred to as Gleneagles Agreement. You will know already that this Statement was mentioned in the preamble to the Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice made by all Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka in August last.

As regards the recent tour here of the South African Barbarians rugby club, the Government ~~believes it~~ acted in ~~full~~ accordance with the provisions of the Commonwealth Statement. We sought by all the means open to us, in the light of our laws and traditions, to discourage the tour, as the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary explained to your Council's Secretary General. It is important to remember that our Governing Bodies of sport are entirely independent of the Government. Ministers ~~just~~ do not have the power to direct them in their day-to-day affairs. Although our efforts to discourage may not always be successful, they are an honest attempt at reconciling our opposition to apartheid in sport with the fundamental expression in our laws of the freedom of the

individual. Our policy of discouragement of sporting contacts with South Africa will continue in conformity with the Commonwealth Statement, such discouragement naturally including any outward tours by British teams to South Africa.

I sincerely hope that you and your Council now understand our position a little more fully. Once again, thank you for your personal good wishes.

D' - yo - cuba accept a yo - dont'!

SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SPORT IN AFRICA
CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DU SPORT EN AFRIQUE

President : Abraham ORDIA
P. O. Box 642,
Lagos,
Nigeria.

20th October 1979

Please pass
Mr N. Palmer
cc PS to Mr Monro

Hon. Mr. Hector Monro,
Minister for Sport,
2, Marsham Street,
London S.W.1

Dear Mr. Monro,

I have been meaning to write to you for sometime but time just seems to fly past very quickly. There is so much to do and so little time to do all in.

Let me congratulate you on your appointment as the new British Minister for Sport. Your predecessor in office, the Honourable Mr. Denis Howells, is a friend. We appreciate what problems he had to contend with in relation with some British Sports Administrators. But he was most understanding and consequently earned our respect.

The recent action of your Rugby Administrators is most provocative not only to us in Africa but to all those who abhor apartheid in sport. You are aware that South Africa was expelled from the Olympic Movement in 1970 by the International Olympic Committee for her apartheid sports policies. If those policies have changed she would have been re-admitted into the Movement.

Abhorrence of apartheid policies is a humanitarian problem and not the concern of governments or politicians only. Sportsmen and sportswomen are, or should be, as involved as anyone else in following humanitarian principles.

...2.

ADRESSE : B. P. 1363 YAOUNDE - CAMEROUN - TEL. : 22-27-11 — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE SPORAFRIC - YAOUNDE TELEX : SPORAFR 8295 KN

I am aware of and deeply appreciate your efforts to get your Rugby Administrators to withdraw the invitation to racist South Africa. But we are not at all convinced that your Government took "every practical step" to stop the South African tour of Britain in conformity with the provisions of the Gleneagles Agreement. You will admit, I hope, that sport has ceased to be practised in a vacuum. It has become an integral part of the social and political policy of every nation.

It is true that Rugby is not a sport on the Olympic programme. But your Rugby Administrators must recognise that the action of one sport can have serious implications for others - not only participants in the particular sport concerned but also those in other sports.

Africa very much want to participate in international sport with the rest of the world. Africa wants to be in Moscow in 1980. But Africa is also deeply committed to the struggle against apartheid. If Governments and sportsmen and women persist in grossly violating the United Nations, Commonwealth, the Organisation of African Unity policies and the International Olympic Committee principles, Africa will have no alternative but to act if we are driven up against the wall by the actions of selfish sportsmen and women, or by the failure of Governments to act in a sufficiently committed way. Africa will not hesitate to put principles before medals.

It is very widely publicised in the media throughout Africa and elsewhere that Britain is preparing for a major international Rugby Tour of South Africa next year. In the name of all that is good, please use "every practical step" to get your Rugby Administrators and/or Your Government to stop such a perilous venture. Please do.

...2.

If sports administrators in a Christian country like Britain can remain insensitive to the feelings of millions of their fellow men then they should recognise that they must choose between apartheid sport and sport played in accordance with the Olympic principles. It is no longer realistic for anyone to claim that they can have both. Those who arrogantly and flagrantly defy thoir fellow men have no moral right to play with those they defy.

I hope we can confidently rely upon you and your government to do something quickly about this matter and shall appreciate hearing from you. We find it difficult to understand why Britain has suddenly bocome the worlds greatest collaborator with apartheid sport.

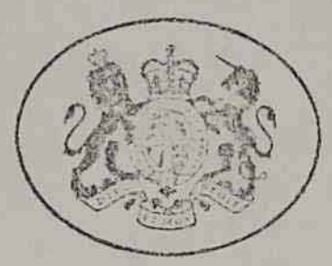
With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

A. Ordia

(Abraham ORDIA)
President,
Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

28 November 1979

Following your letter of 19 November to Colin Munroe at the Foreign Office about correspondence from Mr. Abraham Ordia about sporting links with South Africa, I am writing to confirm my telephone message that the Home Secretary has no comments on the proposed draft reply which Mr. Monro wishes to send.

Copies of this letter go to Mike Pattison (No.10) and Colin Munro (FCO).

J. A. CHILCOT

Geoff Needham, Esq.

CONFIDENTIAL

Ne 15
Sport.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

28 November 1979

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 26 November, and has noted the Home Secretary's views on how the Government should handle the issue of the proposed British Lions' tour of South Africa.

You will now have seen my reply to Geoff Needham's letter of 22 November. We will need to revert to this matter towards the end of next week, and it will be helpful if the Home Secretary takes part in any further discussion.

MAP

SB

J.A. Chilcot, Esq.,
Home Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

✓MAP

Northern Ireland Office
Dundonald House
Belfast BT4 3SU
Telephone Belfast 63255

CONFIDENTIAL

G G H Walden Esq
PS/Lord Carrington
FCO
King Charles Street
LONDON
SW1

27 November 1979

Dear George

Lord Elton has read Geoff Needham's letter of 22 November about the proposed British Lions tour of South Africa, and has asked me to pass on his concern that the issue could adversely affect the Lancaster House talks in the immediate future.

The Minister feels that our Embassy in South Africa should suggest discreetly that no formal invitation be issued until the present talks have been concluded.

I am copying this letter to Mike Pattison and Geoff Needham.

Yours sincerely

A H R McC Brown

A H R McC BROWN
PS/Lord Elton

MK

2.

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SWIH 9AT

26 November 1979

PRIME MINISTER

This accords with the line you have accepted in the present. MAP 27/XI

Dear Mike,

The Home Secretary has seen a copy of Geoff Needham's letter of 22 November to you about the line the Government should take on the proposed British Lions' tour of South Africa.

The Home Secretary feels strongly that it would be wise for Ministers, including the Minister of Sport, to refrain so far as possible from public pronouncements on the issue, and he further thinks that any debate on the Government's initiative would be most unwise. He suspects that a substantial body of opinion would view the prospect of exclusion from the Moscow Olympics with equinamity but doubts whether, in the ultimate, exclusion would follow a decision that the tour should take place.

A copy of this letter goes to Geoff Needham.

Yours ever

J. A. CHILCOT

Mike Pattison, Esq.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Sport

cc Press Office
MT GOW
HO

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

26 November 1979

B/F 10-12-79

Dear Geoff,

Thank you for your letter of 22 November, with advice on the Government's line about the proposed British Lions' tour of South Africa.

The Prime Minister has noted the proposals that the Government should take no action ahead of a formal statement that a tour invitation has been accepted; and that, once such a statement has been made, Mr. Monro should write as in the draft enclosed with your letter.

As I said to your colleagues on the 'phone on Friday, the Prime Minister is content that the Government should make no public comment at this stage but is not entirely convinced that the Government can usefully rest on the draft letter at a later stage. In view of the signs of adverse opinion from other sporting quarters, the Prime Minister would prefer to await a final decision on the terms of any Government response. In the meantime, she would like Mr. Monro to do his best to ensure that other sports organisations concerned about the possible tour make their views strongly to the Home Rugby Unions.

I understand that a formal decision is not likely to be announced until mid-December. I would be grateful for further advice in about two weeks' time, taking into account developments between now and then. It may be that Mr. Monro will have reasons for proposing a different letter, or a different approach, at that time.

I am sending copies of this letter to Roderic Lyne (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Mike Pattison

Geoffrey Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 November 1979

Dear Needham,

Thank you for your letter of 19 November to Colin Munro about the draft reply to Mr Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. This has come to us in the absence abroad of Mr Blaker.

We are content with your reply but suggest the following minor amendments:

Line 8 Delete ''the so-called'' and substitute ''often referred to as the''.

Line 14 Delete ''believes it''.

Line 17 After ''Foreign'' add ''and Commonwealth''.

I am copying this letter to John Chilcot (Home Office) and Mike Pattison (No 10).

Yours sincerely,

J W Yapp

J W Yapp
Asst Private Secretary
to Mr Nicholas Ridley MP

Geoff Needham Esq
Dept of the Environment
2 Marsham Street
LONDON
SW1P 3EB

1.

PRIME MINISTER

British Lions' Tour of South Africa

There is a groundswell of opinion in the sporting world against the Lions' tour. But, if the rugby authorities announce acceptance of a tour invitation, the Government will have to have a line in response to questions, even if it volunteers no statement.

The text of Mr. Monro's proposed letter was drafted with the Rhodesian background very much in view. If the Lancaster House Conference comes to an end within the next week or so, Lord Carrington might wish to look at the tour issue more carefully, freed from the specific constraints created by the Conference.

May we therefore:

(i) Confirm that the Government should take no action ahead of a formal statement that a tour invitation has been accepted? (Such a statement is unlikely before mid-December.)

(ii) Withold approval for Mr. Monro to write as in the present draft when such an announcement is made; but ask for the form of any Government statement to be reconsidered when an announcement is thought to be imminent?

This could allow more pressure to be brought on the rugby authorities by other sportsmen in the interim, which might ease the Government's decision on its stance.

MAP

If we are getting adverse opinion from the rest of the sporting world - surely we can use that to influence the R.U. If we have representations - can we get the people concerned to discuss it with the RFU? MT.

23 November 1979

cc Press Office
Mr Gow
Mr Alexander

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

My ref:

Your ref:

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER
This is Mr Munro's advice on the Lions Rugby tour, cleared with Mr Heseltine and Lord Carrington. He proposes no action until the Home Unions announce acceptance of an invitation. He would then write as in Flag A. This follows the line on the S.A. barbarians. This case would be much more serious than that one. There will be pressure for more action.

22 November 1979

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Mike,

The Prime Minister has asked for advice on the line the Government should take concerning the proposed British Lions' tour of South Africa due to take place next summer. This is attached, and has been agreed by my Secretary of State and the Foreign Secretary. Also attached is a draft letter for my Minister to send to the Home Rugby Unions if it is agreed that he should do so once it is announced that the tour invitation has been accepted.

Ministers decided their recommendations for the following reasons. Firstly, it is premature to react to the tour before the invitation has been formally extended. Secondly, at the present stage of the Rhodesia Conference, there are strong reasons for avoiding any provocation of the South Africans. Thirdly, there are major domestic political implications (these are set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the background note attached).

On this last point, there is a groundswell of ~~option~~ opinion amongst Government Back-benchers in favour of such tours, as witness the Early Day Motion No. 211. The Shadow Minister for Sport is pressing for a full Debate. He is likely to come out strongly against the tour. Any Division on such a motion would undoubtedly cause embarrassment to the Government.

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

SUBMISSION TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON A POSSIBLE BRITISH LIONS TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1980

SITUATION

The international rugby calendar includes a tour of South Africa next summer by the British Lions team. The invitation is ready now, but it will not be sent unless the South Africans are reasonably confident of its acceptance. The British Lions, drawn from the four Home Rugby Unions are, like the Springboks, recognised as a national team (the South African Barbarians were an ad hoc group of players). The Home Rugby Unions have already taken a decision in principle to accept the invitation. A final decision might be made on 25 November, or more likely nearer Christmas. Unless the decision is "No" an announcement is unlikely until later in December in any case.

PROBLEM

To decide the Government's attitude and reaction to the tour in the period (a) before a decision is announced and (b) thereafter, if the tour is on.

SUGGESTED LINE TO TAKE

Take no action unless, or until, a decision to tour is announced. Should the Unions decide to stage the tour the Minister for Sport should write to the Rugby Unions regretting the decision and asking them to reconsider it.

VIABLE OPTIONS OPEN TO MINISTERS

Before a decision is announced:-

a. do nothing

b. have the Minister for Sport write to the Home Rugby Unions expressing Government's disapproval in the light of Gleneagles

c. threaten to advise withdrawal of administrative grant

Option b. would seem to be unnecessary because the Rugby Unions are already aware of the Government's position with regard to Gleneagles following correspondence over the South African Barbarians tour here.

Option c. would not stop the tour and would be seen by many as a vindictive move by the Government. It would also create a precedent and give rise to problems on criteria. The Minister for Sport is firmly against this option.

Option a. is therefore the recommended approach at this stage.

<u>After a decision to accept is made public</u>:-

a. do nothing

b. have the Minister for Sport write to the Home Rugby Unions expressing the Government's regret and asking them to reconsider

c. advise the Sports Council to withhold administrative grant

Option a. would lead to international disquiet - particularly in the Third World countries; this is already building up. The two international organisations chiefly responsible for organising the African boycott of the Montreal Olympics have already expressed their concern about the possible Lions tour (see paragraph 6 of the background note).

Option c. is not recommended for the reasons set out in the preceding paragraph. Option b. would be consonant with the action the Government took over the South African Barbarians Rugby Club although it would similarly not satisfy international and Commonwealth criticism that we had taken every 'practical step' to implement the Gleneagles Agreement.

SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

BACKGROUND

POLICY ON SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

1. The Government's attitude towards South Africa in sport is based on its acceptance of the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport known as the Gleneagles Agreement. This urges every practical step to discourage sporting contacts or competition with South Africa. Each Government is responsible for implementation within the framework of its own laws. The Government have publicly recognised the progress that has been made towards integration in certain sports in South Africa, through the FCO Press Release issued on 14 September. They have also said they would continue to observe the situation and be ready to discuss modification of Gleneagles if and when sufficient progress had been made towards integration.

2. Governing bodies of sport are autonomous. The Government has not always been successful in its efforts to dissuade them from having sporting contacts with South Africa; there are no powers of compulsion. There are no visa arrangements with South Africa and a requirement for one would need legislation and substantial changes in our immigration policy. Many South Africans hold British passports and would, in any case, be able to circumvent any visa requirement. The Home Secretary's powers to direct exclusions as not being conducive to the public good have not been used against people, like sportsmen, who are coming here for purposes which are not contrary to the law.

3. A clear stand is, however, taken through the Sports Council, which operates the grant-in-aid scheme, to deny financial assistance to representative teams or individuals taking part in competitions at which teams or individuals from South Africa are competing.

SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIANS RUGBY CLUB

4. The Government do not yet consider that sufficient progress has been made in rugby towards integration. Indeed reports indicate that it is possibly the least integrated sport in South Africa. Acting in accordance with Gleneagles, the Government announced their regret of the Barbarians' proposed tour, and the Minister for Sport wrote to the four Home Rugby Unions asking them to reconsider their invitation to the South Africans. The tour went ahead without major incidents in spite of anti-apartheid demonstrations. Bias of reaction to the tour was fairly evenly divided between two extremes, and the Government's middle course was largely unappreciated. Among Conservatives inside and outside Parliament the predominant feeling was that the Government should not have acted at all. Anti-apartheid groups at home and abroad did not accept that if the Government stood by Gleneagles it could not have done more to stop the tour - particularly in the light of more positive action taken by Ireland and France.

IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUING SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

5. Britain is already considered to be the prime offender against the isolation of South Africa from international sport in anti-apartheid

circles. They quote the United Nations Declaration Against Apartheid in Sport (to which U.K. is not a signatory), the related Convention now being drafted, the Council of Europe's Sports Ministers' Declaration of 1978 and, of course, the Commonwealth Statement. There is also, as yet unknown to them, a draft Declaration by the Nine which is dormant. Britain is in danger of finding herself isolated from her partners in the Commonwealth and the Nine over this issue.

IMPLICATIONS LIKELY TO ARISE FROM A LIONS TOUR

6. The South African non-racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) has warned that if such a representative British tour took place it would seek to have Britain excluded from the 1980 Olympic Games. The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) is to discuss Britain's attitude at its meeting on 12/14 December, when similar calls could be made; a boycott of the 1980 Games by African, Caribbean and Asian countries is the alternative if Britain competes. Should Britain not withdraw, the Soviet Government would be under pressure to exclude British participants, or to press the International Olympic Committee to withdraw Britain's invitation. Russia would clearly prefer the loss of one country to a boycott by a larger number of countries with whom they are eager to develop relations. This was inferred by Mr Vladimir Propokov, Chief of International Relations for the Moscow Olympic Organising Committee when he addressed a conference of British governing bodies of sport in Bournemouth last week. Although in theory only the IOC can debar Britain from the Olympic

Games, the Soviet Union would still need to issue visas. If they were faced with the threat of a major boycott by African, Caribbean and Asian countries there is the possibility that they might refuse visas to the British team. In 1976 the Canadians gave similar undertakings to admit all IOC members, but subsequently refused visas for the Taiwan team rather than offend the Chinese. The Russians might calculate that the policy gains of this action would be considerable, and the political losses negligible. Lord Killanin, President of the IOC, has privately told Mr Monro that he expects everyone - including Britain - to be in Moscow for the Games. The Russians are known to be putting pressure on everyone concerned to cool the issue.

7. African and Caribbean countries would be most likely to demonstrate disapproval of the British Lions tour by threatening to withdraw from the 1982 Commonwealth Games to be held in Brisbane; they might even seek to have Britain barred from all international sporting events. A threat to the 1982 Games would upset the Australians, whose Government would then likely seek assurances from HMG that they have taken every step to prevent the Lions tour as required under the Commonwealth Statement. It could become a major issue at the 1981 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. Against such a background, the possibilities of an approach by HMG to seek a relaxation or modification of the Commonwealth Statement would be out of the question.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS AT HOME

8. There is a natural reaction in Government to disdain threats of any kind in deciding their attitudes or policies. However, the nature of the office of the Minister for Sport requires him to take an overall view of what is best for British sport generally. He has to consider how the actions of one sector or sport might affect other sectors. If continuing sporting contacts with South Africa do lead to Britain's exclusion from international sporting events of any significance,

it will be taken badly by our sportsmen, by the sporting media and by the general public. Set against this, however, there is an active body of opinion - especially amongst Government supporters - which is strongly against Government interference of any kind in sport and which favours the bridge-building approach to South African sport rather than the isolationist approach required under Gleneagles. 61 Conservative Back-benchers have put down an Early Day Motion welcoming the British Lions tour to South Africa and asking the Government to do the same.

9. It is understood that the Shadow Minister for Sport is pressing for a full Debate in the House in which he will speak strongly against the Lions going to South Africa. If a motion on these lines were forced to a Division it would undoubtedly cause embarrassment to the Government.

A

DRAFT LETTER FOR MR MONRO TO SEND TO THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE TOURS COMMITTEE

I understand that the Tours Committee has accepted an invitation for the British Lions to South Africa next summer.

Your Committee will be well aware of the attitude of the Government to any such tour following our exchange of correspondence over the recent tour here of the South African Barbarians Rugby Club. Our position remains as I put it to you then. We are fully committed to abiding by the Commonwealth Statement which discourages sporting contacts with South Africa.

The Government therefore regret your Committee's acceptance of this invitation, and hope that you will reconsider the wisdom of your decision.

MR.

1.

Would it make sense to notify the other sports? MT

PRIME MINISTER

Here is Mr. Munro's advice on the proposed Lions' rugby tour of South Africa. He has cleared it with Mr. Heseltine and Lord Carrington.

He proposes no action before the Home Unions' acceptance of an invitation. He would then write as at Flag A.

This follows the line on the South African Barbarians' tour. But this case would be much more serious than that one, where the issue was a private club visit. In this case, we would be sending a full British team to South Africa. It will undoubtedly lead to efforts to exclude us from the Olympic Games. Mr. Munro's paper draws attention to the pressure from some Government backbenchers for a welcome for the proposed tour. But he notes that the Government could be embarrassed by their Early Day Motion.

I fear that Mr. Munro's proposed letter would be seen as feeble in the extreme. Whilst the majority of the population were not too excited by the recent tour here, a visit to South Africa next summer will pit the relatively small number of staunch rugby fans against the large numbers who will be excited by the prospect of Messrs. Coe and Ovett winning medals in Moscow. Mr. Munro's letter will, I fear, be seen as the very least that the Government is bound to do under the terms of the Gleneagles agreement. If the Government proposes to stand on this letter and no more, I doubt whether the domestic political consequences will be positive.

Are you prepared to leave it as proposed by Mr. Munro, or would you want to discuss this further - perhaps initially at your next private talk with the Home Secretary?

MAP

22 November 1979

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

My ref: PSO/16615/79
Your ref:

C A Munroe Esq
Private Secretary to
Peter Blaker MP
Minister of State
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Whitehall
LONDON SW1

19 November 1979

Dear Colin,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which my Minister has received from Mr Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), about sporting links with South Africa.

Mr Monro would like to reply to Mr Ordia as in the attached draft in time for the SCSA meeting in Yaounde on 12/14 December. As you probably know, the SCSA is likely to debate this country's continuing sporting contacts with South Africa.

I would be grateful if you could let me have your comments by 21 November. I apologise for the short notice.

I am copying this letter and enclosures to John Chilcot at the Home Office and to Mike Pattison at No 10.

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

FILE

812

Spm

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 October 1979

Thank you for your letter of 27 September about the South African rugby team.

I should be grateful if you would forward the enclosed reply to your Prime Minister.

MOD BA

His Excellency Mr. Ernest G. Peart, C.D.

DPG

SUBJECT.

The

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T112/79T

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

9 October 1979

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your message about the tour of the South African Rugby team.

I can assure you that the British Government remains fully committed to the Gleneagles Agreement. We have made it clear in public, and to the organisers of the private tour by the Barbarians Rugby Club from South Africa, that the Government did not wish the tour to take place. The Government are not providing financial or other support for the tour. However, the sporting bodies concerned are not under Government control and I regret that, notwithstanding the representations which we have made to them, the rugby unions have gone ahead with the tour.

Warm regards.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

The Honourable Michael Manley, M.P.

Sport.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

8 October 1979

Dear Michael,

South African Rugby Tour

Thank you for your letter of 28 September about Mr Manley's message to the Prime Minister.

I enclose a draft reply to Mr Manley, to be forwarded through the Jamaica High Commissioner. The draft has been agreed with the Department of the Environment and the Home Office.

Mention is also made of France and Ireland. The French merely reintroduced a visa requirement for South Africans; they always had this requirement but had not used it for some years. As you know, the Irish Government recently took a decision not to admit the rugby team. We understand that they have not imposed a visa requirement but say that they will deal with the matter administratively (which presumably means holding up the entry of the team on some sort of pretext).

With your agreement, we would propose to telegraph the text of the Prime Minister's reply to our High Commissioner in Kingston, for his information.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON

DSR 11

Registry No.

DRAFT letter

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

From
Private Secretary No 10

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

To:-
His Excellency
Mr Ernest G Peart C.D.
Jamaican High Commission
50 St James's Street
London SW1A 1JS

Thank you for your letter of 27 September about the South African rugby team.

I should be grateful if you would forward the enclosed reply to your Prime Minister.

Dd 0532000 800M 5/78 HMSO Bracknell

DSR 11

Registry No.

LETTER

DRAFT

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

In Confidence

From
Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

To:-

The Honourable M N Manley
Prime Minister
Jamaica

Thankyou for your message about the tour of the South African Rugby team.

I can assure you that the British Government remains fully committed to the Gleneagles Agreement. We have made it clear in public, and to the organisers of the private tour by the Barbarians Rugby Club from South Africa, that the Government did not wish the tour to take place and. The Government are not providing financial or other support for the tour. However, the sporting bodies concerned are not under Government control and I regret that, notwithstanding the representations which we have made to them, the rugby unions have gone ahead with the tour.

Type for signature.

Original in G/R.

DS

Sport

cfco.
HO

10 DOWNING STREET

4 October 1979

THE PRIME MINISTER

You sent me a telegram on 25 September and a letter on 26 September about the tour of the South African Barbarians Rugby team.

The Home Secretary and the Minister for Sport have made the Government's position on the tour clear. That position has not changed.

Your letter suggested that entry should have been denied to the team. The only way in which immigration control could have been used to prevent the entry of the team would have been to refuse them entry on the grounds that their presence in the United Kingdom was not conducive to the public good. While the Immigration Act 1971 leaves the Home Secretary with a wide discretion to decide what is not conducive to the public good, it has always been thought that the use of this power to prevent individuals coming to take part in sporting activity would not be justified. The question of banning the entry of South African sportsmen has been raised on a number of occasions in the past, but the powers vested in the Home Secretary by the Immigration Act have never been used for this purpose.

Your letter also raised the subject of visa exemptions. There is no formal visa exemption agreement with South Africa.

/When

When South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961, the previous Commonwealth practice of not requiring visas was simply continued. But even in the case of aliens from countries for which there is a visa requirement, there are no grounds for refusal under our existing immigration rules because of participation in sporting events. Any proposal for tightening our present policy by restricting the entry of South African teams of sportsmen by means of visas would therefore require changes in the immigration rules approved by Parliament.

(SGD) MARGARET THATCHER

Robert Hughes, Esq., M.P.

vb

CONFIDENTIAL

file Sport BK

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

1 October 1979

Sports Council

As I told you on the telephone this morning, the Prime Minister has seen your letter to Mike Pattison of 28 September. She has commented that the option set out in the first paragraph was never considered formally nor investigated. In these circumstances she does not think that your observer should mention it. She has added that she had not supposed that observers would take part in the meetings.

Further, the Prime Minister has commented that the general point about small rugby clubs is valid but she has no doubt that one of the Sports Council members will raise it.

I am copying this letter to Richard Prescott, Paymaster General's Office.

N. J. SANDERS

Geoff Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment

CONFIDENTIAL

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

My ref:

Your ref:

CONFIDENTIAL

Mike Pattison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
Whitehall
SW1

28 September 1979

The option was never considered formally or investigated. and I do not think Ministers, observers should mention it. Surely Observers don't take part? The general point, about small rugby clubs is valid but surely one of the sports Council members will raise it. Anyway

PRIME MINISTER

Are you content with this line?

MJS
28/9

Dear Mike,

SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIANS CLUB TOUR: SPORTS COUNCIL

The Sports Council meets on Monday next, 1 October. It will debate a Resolution on sporting links with South Africa (copy attached) which, if approved as expected, could be followed by an emergency Resolution calling for withdrawal of grants by the four Sports Councils to the Home Rugby Unions (around £200,000 per year).

This option was considered by the Prime Minister and Cabinet colleagues when Mr Monro attended an informal meeting recently at No 10, and was rejected. The Government has no powers to direct the Sports Council, but an Article in the latter's Royal Charter requires it to have "regard" for Government statements of policy. If it seems likely that the emergency Resolution on stopping grant is going to be approved by the Sports Council, Mr Monro has agreed that the Department's observer on the Council should inform members of the Government's position. Briefly, he would say that the Government considered this option but decided against asking the Sports Council to stop grant to the Rugby Unions because such action would not stop the tour from taking place and could be regarded as a spiteful move against the many grass-roots rugby players who had nothing to do with the tour; he therefore hoped members would bear this in mind in reaching their decision.

News of this could leak out and this would be the first time this policy would have been made public. In the circumstances my Minister thought it prudent to put the Prime Minister in the picture.

I would be grateful for confirmation, by 10.00 am on Monday at the latest, that there is no objection to this proposed line of action.

I am copying this letter to Richard Prescott (Paymaster General's Office)

Yours ever,

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

IN CONFIDENCE

THE SPORTS COUNCIL

SC (79) 23

SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The following Resolution is proposed by Mr John Disley for the Sports Council's consideration at its meeting on Monday 1st October 1979:

"This Council, while recognising the progress made in sport in South Africa towards organisation on a multi-racial basis and fully recognising the autonomy of sports bodies in this country, regrets any action by governing bodies of sport which might seem to contravene the letter and spirit of the Gleneagles and Lusaka Agreements and which could adversely affect this country's scope to compete at international level".

cc DUE

Sport.

HS

BF 3.10.79

28 September 1979

South African Rugby Tour

I enclose a copy of a message which the Prime Minister has received from the Prime Minister of Jamaica about the proposed South African Rugby tour.

I should be grateful for early advice on the reply which the Prime Minister should send.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Geoff Needham (Department of the Environment) whom you will no doubt wish to consult in drafting a reply for the Prime Minister.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

G.G.H. Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PCR.

HS

28 September 1979

I am writing on the Prime Minister's behalf to thank you for your letter to her of 27 September containing a message from your Prime Minister.

I have of course brought Mr. Manley's message to the Prime Minister's immediate attention. A reply will be sent as soon as possible.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

His Excellency Mr. Ernest G. Peart, C.D.

JGR

010

SUBJECT

T104/79T

Telephone
01-499 8600
Cables
JAMHICOM, LONDON, S.W.1.

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T104/79T

JAMAICAN HIGH COMMISSION,
50, ST. JAMES'S STREET,
LONDON, SWIA IJS.

305.1 27 September, 1979

Dear Prime Minister,

I have today received the following message by telex from my Prime Minister with a request that it be forwarded to you:

> " I am greatly concerned to learn that tour of Britain by South African Rugby Team is scheduled to take place as planned. This would be a grave setback to principles agreed at Gleneagles and to the efforts of the international community to end apartheid. With your Government's stated position against apartheid, I sincerely hope that as in the instances of France and Ireland, steps can be taken to ensure that the proposed tour does not take place. "

Yours sincerely,

Ernest G Peart
High Commissioner

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

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Nick Saunders Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

27 September 1979

Dear Nick,

I enclose, as promised, a copy of the "standard" reply which is being sent by my Minister in answer to the many queries he has received from Members of Parliament and their constituents.

Yours —

Jerry

JERRY BISHOP
Private Secretary

Thank you for your letter of 1 September giving me your views on Government reaction to the proposed tour of the UK by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club.

It is possible that you may not have seen the attached Press Release put out by the Government on Friday last. As this says, our stance on the proposed tour here next month by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club rests firmly on our obligations under the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, commonly known as the Gleneagles Agreement.

It is true that we inherited this agreement from the previous Administration; but Peter Carrington confirmed our acceptance of it in Parliament in June, and it is mentioned in the preamble to the Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice made by Heads of Government at Lusaka last month. You will I am sure appreciate that we cannot publicly acknowledge our obligations under this Agreement and then be seen to do nothing to carry them out. Given all the circumstances my colleagues and I felt it appropriate for me to ask the Home Rugby Unions to reconsider their invitation. That is why I wrote to them.

I am among the first to wish to encourage the progress towards integration which is taking place in certain sports in South Africa. But as our policy statement says, this has not yet gone far enough to support the view that South African rugby is non-racial.

One of the major points made by the media is that the British Olympics team could be prevented from taking part in next year's Games if the tour takes place. In responding to questions from them I confirmed that this could be a possibility. It is, of course, by no means certain, since powers to ban any team from Olympic participation rests solely with the International Olympics Committee, which is independent of Governments.

I have to have regard for sport overall, and certainly there would be an outcry from the sporting world and the public generally if a British team was to be prevented from competing in any international event, including the Olympics, simply because of action such as that now taken by the Rugby Unions.

As for the future, our statement offers a ray of hope and encouragement to South African sportsmen to maintain their momentum towards greater integration.

Yours ever
Hector

HECTOR MONRO

Sport

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

My ref:

Your ref:

(1)

Michael Alexander Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
Whitehall
SW1

20 September 1979

Prime Minister.

No reply seems called for.

f.c.

21/9

Dear Michael,

I attach for your information a letter which Mr Monro has received from the International Rugby Board in reply to his letter of 14 September to John Hart. Mr Monro is at present away abroad on Government business and has therefore been unable to see this letter but as things stand at the moment, it seems unlikely that he will need to reply.

I am copying this letter with attachment to Roderic Lyne (FCO), and also to John Chilcot (Home Office) in view of the last paragraph of the Board's letter.

Yours

Jerry

JERRY BISHOP
Private Secretary

1259

International Rugby Football Board

Hon. Secretary
J.G.M. HART

Phone
01-660 6460

COMMITTEE OF HOME UNIONS

A.E. Agar
19 The Crossway,
Mottingham,
LONDON. SE9 4JJ

Balfron
Hermitage Road
Kenley Surrey
CR2 5EB
England

18th September 1979

Dear Mr. Monro,

Your letter of 14th September to John Hart (who is temporarily indisposed) has been considered by the Committee of Home Unions which is concerned in respect of two matters.

In the first place you state in your last paragraph that you cannot accept the contention that South African Rugby is non-racial. This contradicts the statement in his letter to you dated 2nd September. Members of the Committee believe from their own personal observations of the situation in South Africa, and from other Rugby sources, that they are in the best position to judge the facts of the case in a Rugby Football context.

Secondly my Committee has noted that South African golfers, cricketers, tennis players, bowls players and car racing drivers have all been made welcome in this country in recent months. The Gleneagles Agreement makes no differentiation between "individual" sports and "team" sports or between "professional" sports and "amateur" sports. My Committee therefore believes that for the Government to object to a multi-racial South African Barbarian Club team being invited here to play Rugby Football is inconsistent and discriminatory.

Nothing in your letter convinces my Committee to alter its decision to stand by its invitation to the South African Barbarians Club, and since they will be perfectly legal visitors to this country we are sure they can count, if necessary, on being fully protected under the law.

Yours sincerely,

A.E. Agar

H.S.P. Monro Esq., J.P., D.L., M.P.
Parliamentary Under Secretary of State,
Department of the Environment,
2 Marsham Street,
LONDON. SW1P 3EB

c.c. Members of the Committee
Presidents and Secretaries of Unions,

V.J.W.M. Lawrence
G.T. Bainbridge
D.H. Harrison, J.G.M. Hart.

5

2 1979

IMMEDIATE

Sport.

172

[files]

ADVANCE COPY

PS (4)
PS/LPS
PS/MR WICE
PS/PUS
SIR A. DUFF
Hd/CRD
Hd/SAFD.
Hd/NEWS D.
PS/NO. 10 D/St.
RC

LPT 991/14

Prime Minister

Rmt — 15/9

CO F C O

GRS 140
UNCLASSIFIED
FM PRETORIA 141550Z SEPT.
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 583 OF 14 SEPTEMBER 1979.

MY TELNO 573: RUGBY

1. THIS AFTERNOON'S PRESS REPORTS DR CRAVEN, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY BOARD, AS SAYING THAT THE BARBARIANS TOUR OF BRITAIN WILL DEFINATELY GO AHEAD. THE MINISTER OF SPORT HAS COMMENTED ON THIS REPORT:

"WE ACKNOWLEDGE THE AUTONOMY OF SPORT BODIES. ANY STATEMENT ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THE TOUR WILL CONTINUE HAS TO COME FROM THEIR SIDE.
WE ARE PREPARED TO ADVISE THEM ON MATTERS, BUT NOT TO PRESCRIBE. WE ACT IN A PURELY ADVISORY CAPACITY."

2. THE PRESS ALSO SUGGEST THAT IN PLACE OF THE CANCELLED MATCHES IN IRELAND THE BARBARIANS TEAM MIGHT NOW PLAY A COMBINED MIDDLESEX AND SURREY TEAM IN LONDON.

LEAHY

NNNN

RESTRICTED
FROM FCO 141700Z SEP 79
TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 108 OF 14 SEPTEMBER 1979

Fy. (2 files)

SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TOUR OF BRITAIN

1. FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE RUGBY UNIONS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND AND WALES THAT THEY HAD INVITED A SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIANS' TEAM CONSISTING OF 8 WHITE, 8 BLACK, AND 8 COLOURED PLAYERS TO TOUR BRITAIN IN OCTOBER, MR MONRO, MINISTER FOR SPORT, IMMEDIATELY EXPRESSED THE GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN ON BBC RADIO. HE SUBSEQUENTLY WROTE TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE ON 1 SEPTEMBER TO ASK THEM TO CONSIDER THEIR WIDER RESPONSIBILITIES, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT, AND TO CANCEL THE INVITATION. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THE COMMITTEE STOOD BY ITS DECISION AND PROPOSED TO GO AHEAD WITH THE TOUR.

2. THE MINISTER FOR SPORT WROTE A FURTHER LETTER TODAY (TEXT IN MIFGT) TO THE COMMITTEE OF RUGBY UNIONS SEMI-COLON THE FCO SPOKESMAN ALSO ISSUED A STATEMENT (SEE RETRACT 710 OF 14 SEPT TO CERTAIN POSTS) RESTATING THE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT.

LINE TO TAKE

3. YOU SHOULD NOT INITIATE DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT SEMI-COLON BUT IF QUESTIONED YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPT THAT THEY ARE BOUND BY THE 'GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT'. THE PROPOSED TOUR IS A PRIVATE NON-REPRESENTATIONAL ONE WHICH HAS RECEIVED NO FINANCIAL OR OTHER SUPPORT FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. WE WERE NOT CONSULTED OVER THE PROPOSED TOUR AND HAVE MADE EVERY ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE IT, IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT. THERE IS NO VISA REGIME BETWEEN THE UK AND SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICAN PASSPORT HOLDERS DO NOT REQUIRE VISAS OR PERMITS IN ORDER TO SEEK TO ENTER THIS COUNTRY.

BACKGROUND (MAY BE DRAWN ON)

/GLENEAGLES

GLENEAGLES STATEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT

4. THE PROBLEM OF SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WAS DISCUSSED AT THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN JUNE 1977 AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ENDORSED A STATEMENT (VS NO 153/77) STRONGLY CONDEMNING APARTHEID IN SPORT AND EMBODYING AN UNDERTAKING TO TAKE 'EVERY PRACTICAL STEP TO DISCOURAGE CONTACT OR COMPETITION BY THEIR NATIONALS WITH SPORTING ORGANISATIONS, TEAMS OR SPORTSMEN FROM SOUTH AFRICA'. THE STATEMENT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WAS FOR EACH GOVERNMENT TO DETERMINE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS LAW, HOW BEST TO DISCHARGE ITS COMMITMENTS.

5. SOME COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES MAY BE UPSET ABOUT THE REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE MODIFICATION OF THE TERMS OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT. YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT THE PRESS STATEMENT DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY CHANGE OF POLICY AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS REAFFIRMED ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE AGREEMENT.

PREVENTION OF SPORTING CONTACTS

6. WE MAINTAIN A POLICY OF DISCOURAGEMENT INCLUDING THE WITHHOLDING OF GRANTS IN CASES WHERE CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS TEAMS ARE INVOLVED IN INTERNATIONAL EVENTS. THIS POLICY EXTENDS TO SPORTING CONTACTS WHICH TAKE PLACE IN THIRD COUNTRIES. GIVEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR SPORTING BODIES, OUR EFFORTS MAY NOT ALWAYS BE SUCCESSFUL BUT THEY ARE AN HONEST METHOD OF RECONCILING OUR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID WITH THE EXPRESSION IN OUR LAWS OF THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

LIMITATION ON ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT

7. WE CANNOT FORCE OUR SPORTS BODIES TO TAKE DECISIONS. LIKE MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, WE ALSO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. LESS THAN 4 PER CENT OF ALIENS REQUIRE VISAS TO ENTER BRITAIN. EVEN FOR ALIENS FOR WHOM THERE IS A VISA REQUIREMENT THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR REFUSAL UNDER OUR

/IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION RULES BECAUSE OF PARTICIPATION IN SPORTING EVENTS. ANY PROPOSAL FOR TIGHTENING OUR PRESENT POLICY BY RESTRICTING THE ENTRY OF SOUTH AFRICAN TEAMS OR SPORTSMEN BY MEANS OF VISAS OR PERMITS WOULD THEREFORE REQUIRE CHANGES IN THE IMMIGRATION RULES APPROVED BY PARLIAMENT. THIS COULD PRESENT CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES, AND WOULD HAVE TO ALLOW FOR AN APPEAL SYSTEM. ABOUT 20 PER CENT OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (UP TO A MILLION PEOPLE) MAY STILL BE ENTITLED TO BRITISH PASSPORTS AND, IN MANY CASES, MAY HAVE THE RIGHT OF ENTRY TO THIS COUNTRY.

IRELAND

8. THE PROPOSED TOUR INCLUDES THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. THE IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER ISSUED A STATEMENT AGAINST THE TOUR ON 6 SEPTEMBER. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE ACTION TO STOP THE TEAM ENTERING THE COUNTRY.

FRANCE

9. A REPRESENTATIVE SPRINGBOK RUGBY TOUR OF FRANCE WAS DUE TO TAKE PLACE IN OCTOBER. THE FRENCH RECENTLY INTRODUCED A VISA REQUIREMENT FOR SOUTH AFRICANS WHICH CAME INTO EFFECT ON 1 SEPTEMBER. THE FRENCH HAVE SAID THEY INTEND TO REFUSE VISAS TO MEMBERS OF THE SPRINGBOK TEAM. THEIR MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ALSO ISSUED A STATEMENT AGAINST THE TOUR ON 1 SEPTEMBER.

OLYMPICS

10. RUGBY IS NOT AN OLYMPIC SPORT. HOWEVER, IN FRANCE THE RUGBY FEDERATIONS BELONG TO THE FRENCH OLYMPIC COMMITTEE. THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE (IOC) BANNED SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT IN 1970 AND DISCOURAGES AFFILIATED SPORTS BODIES FROM HAVING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. THE PRESIDENT OF THE IOC THEREFORE HAD GROUNDS FOR PROTESTING TO THE FRENCH OLYMPIC COMMITTEE ABOUT THE SPRINGBOK TOUR. IN BRITAIN THE RUGBY UNIONS ARE NOT AFFILIATED TO THE BRITISH OLYMPIC

ASSOCIATION. IT IS FOR THE IOC TO DECIDE WHICH COUTRIES SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

11. YOU WILL BE AWARE FROM PRESS REPORTS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER RECENTLY VISITED FRANCE AND THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN OFFICE MINISTERS ON 12 SEPTEMBER. YOU CAN CONFIRM REPORTS THAT MINISTERS INFORMED THE AMBASSADOR THAT BRITAIN INTENDED TO STAND BY THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT. THE SOUTH AFRICAN MFA HAS RECENTLY WARNED THE SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY BOARD OF THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR GOING AHEAD WITH THE TOUR IN THE FACE OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE.

FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION

12. THE HOME SECRETARY HAS POWERS TO PROHIBIT THE ENTRY INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM OF INDIVIDUALS WHOSE PRESENCE WOULD NOT BE CONDUCIVE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD. THEY HAVE NOT IN THE PAST BEEN USED TO PREVENT THE ENTRY OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN SPORTING ACTIVITIES. MINISTERS HAVE DECIDED THAT THEIR USE ON THIS OCCASION IS INAPPROPRIATE.

CARRINGTON

BY TELEGRAPH

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[IMMEDIATE]

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TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 109 OF 14 SEPTEMBER 1979

MIPGT: SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TOUR

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER TO J.G.M. HART, HON. SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOME UNIONS, FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 2 SEPTEMBER, CONFIRMING THE INTENTION OF YOUR COMMITTEE TO GO AHEAD WITH ITS INVITATION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIAN RUGBY CLUB TO TOUR THE UNITED KINGDOM NEXT MONTH.

IN YOUR LETTER YOU POINT OUT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN CHANGES IN THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE JUNE 1977. THE GOVERNMENT RECOGNISE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA TOWARDS INTEGRATION IN CERTAIN SPORTS. BUT OUR VIEW IS THAT THIS PROGRESS IS NOT YET SUFFICIENT TO MERIT MODIFICATION OF THE TERMS OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT.

EARLIER TODAY THE GOVERNMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT, A COPY OF WHICH I ENCLOSE. AS YOU SEE WE ARE WATCHING FOR SIGNS OF REAL PROGRESS TOWARDS INTEGRATION. WHEN WE JUDGE THAT SUFFICIENT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE WE SHALL BE READY TO DISCUSS WITH COMMONWEALTH COLLEAGUES THE POSSIBILITY OF MODIFYING THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT. BUT THAT TIME HAS NOT YET COME.

I UNDERSTAND YOUR COMMITTEE'S WISH TO ENCOURAGE INTERNATIONAL SPORTING ACTIVITIES. BUT WE MUST CONSIDER THE FACTS IN EACH CASE AND WE CAN'T YET ACCEPT THE CONTENTION THAT SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY IS NON-RACIAL. THE GOVERNMENT THEREFORE REGRETS THE POSITION THAT YOU HAVE SO FAR TAKEN UP.

CARRINGTON

/BY TELEGRAPH

6922 1

BY TELEGRAPH:

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

13 September 1979

Visit to Britain by the South African Barbarian Rugby Club

The Prime Minister has seen the drafts enclosed with your letter to me of 13 September:-

a) of the press release which is proposed the Foreign and Commonwealth Office should issue on this subject; and

b) of the letter which the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department of the Environment might send to the Secretary of the Committee of Home Rugby Unions.

Following discussion here, the Prime Minister has approved the two texts enclosed with this letter. Subject to the views of Lord Carrington and Mr. Munro, these texts should issue tomorrow. I should be grateful if you would co-ordinate the timing with Jerry Bishop, to whom I am copying this letter and its enclosures.

I am also sending copies of this letter to John Chilcot (Home Office), Michael Richardson (Lord Privy Seal's office), Jim Buckley (Lord President's Office) and Bill Beckett (Law Officers' Department).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

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

DRAFT LETTER TO J.G.M. HART, HON. SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOME UNIONS FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Thank you for your letter of 2 September, confirming the intention of your Committee to go ahead with its invitation to the South African Barbarian Rugby Club to tour the United Kingdom next month.

In your letter you point out that there have been changes in the situation in South Africa since June 1977. The Government recognise that progress has been made in South Africa towards integration in certain sports. But our view is that this progress is not yet sufficient to merit modification of the terms of the Gleneagles Agreement.

Earlier today the Government issued a statement, a copy of which I enclose. As you see we are watching for signs of real progress towards integration. When we judge that sufficient progress has been made we shall be ready to discuss with Commonwealth colleagues the possibility of modifying the Gleneagles Agreement. But that time has not yet come.

I understand your Committee's wish to encourage international sporting activities. But we must consider the facts in each case and we can't yet accept the contention that South African rugby is non-racial. The Government therefore regrets the position that you have so far taken up.

Earlier this month, the Minister for Sport (Mr. Hector Monro) asked the Home Rugby Unions to reconsider their invitation to the South African Barbarians Rugby Team to tour the United Kingdom. In the light of the comment which this invitation has aroused, it may be worth briefly restating the Government's attitude towards South Africa in sport.

The Government recognise that progress has been made in South Africa towards integration in certain sports. But they do not consider that the progress is yet sufficient to support the view that South African rugby is now non-racial. The Government are bound by their obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary made this clear in the House of Lords on 19 June.

But the Government will continue to observe the situation in South Africa. If and when they judge sufficient progress has been made towards integration, they will be ready to discuss with their Commonwealth colleagues the possibility of modifying the Gleneagles Agreement.

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Tim Lankaster Esq
Private Secretary to
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street

13 September 1979

L.S. 13/9

Dear Tim,

We spoke about the draft letter and press release sent to Michael Alexander from Lord Carrington's Office. 13.9.79

Would you please substitue the attached which includes the amendments that my Minister would like to see and which I have cleared with Roderick Lyne.

Yours sincerely,

Jerry Bishop

JERRY BISHOP
Private Secretary

DRAFT LETTER FOR MR MONRO TO THE HON SECRETARY OF THE HOME RUGBY UNIONS

I have received your letter of 2 September, confirming your Committee's intention to maintain its invitation to the South African Barbarians Rugby Club to tour the UK next month.

I assume the Rugby Union authorities have considered all possible consequences of the decision to go ahead with this tour.

I am bound to say that this is a decision whichthe Government regrets, and I would like to explain why it is we take this attitude.

As you know, the Government accept the Gleneagles Agreement on apartheid in sport, and the Agreement was mentioned only last month in a declaration issued by the Commonwealth heads of Government meeting in Lusaka. You will remember that the text of the Agreement calls on Commonwealth Governments to "Take every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa". It is quite clear that this view is shared by the whole Commonwealth as well as by a very wide spectrum of international public opinion.

The Government recognise that some progress has been made in South Africa towards integration in certain sports, but our view is that it is not yet sufficient to merit any modification of the terms of the Gleneagles Agreement.

I enclose a copy of the Press Release which the Government is issuing today. As you will see, this makes clear that progress towards

integration is something which we are watching, and that when we judge that it has been sufficient, we shall be very ready to raise the question with our Commonwealth colleagues.

DRAFT PRESS RELEASE BY THE FCO

Earlier this month, the Minister for Sport, Mr Hector Monro, asked the Home Rugby Unions to reconsider their invitation to the South African Barbarians Team to tour the UK. In the light of their refusal to withdraw the invitation Mr Monro has today written again to the Home Rugby Unions stating emphasising the Government's regret at this decision. This invitation has aroused much comment and it may be worth briefly restating the Government's attitude towards apartheid in sport.

[This is that] The Government fully accept the Gleneagles Agreement on this subject, as the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary made clear in the House of Lords on 19 June. But The Government also recognise that progress has been made in South Africa towards integration in certain sports. They do not consider that this progress is at present such as to warrant modification of the terms of the Agreement. But as and when they judge sufficient further progress to have been made, they would be ready to discuss a change of attitude~~s~~ with their Commonwealth colleagues.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 September 1979

Ms. Rmb 13/9

Dear Michael,

Visit to Britain by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club

/ Following our conversation this morning, I enclose the draft of a press release which Lord Carrington proposes the FCO should issue on the subject of the South African Rugby tour (previous correspondence rests with Pattison's letter of 4 September to Needham at DOE and Chilcot's letter of 11 September recording the Home Secretary's views).

/ I also enclose a draft letter which Mr Hector Monro might send to the Home Rugby Unions. This would supersede the draft which was written following Pattison's letter under reference.

see DOE to MAP - 5/9/79

As you know, action on the tour was suspended following a request from the South African Ambassador last week that we should await further discussions with him. The South African Ambassador called on Mr Blaker on 12 September. He said that, like us, the South African Government could not force decisions on sporting bodies. The South African Rugby Unions would however be more amenable to advice to cancel the tour if some hope could be held out that our position would soften in the foreseeable future. The problem, according to Dr de Villiers, was that Mr Blaker had given the Gleneagles Agreement as the reason for the British Government's opposition to the tour. The Agreement did not allow for account to be taken of any progress towards integration in sport in South Africa and so gave no hope that the position would be any different in the future. He asked if it would be possible for the British Government to indicate publicly that further changes in South African sport would lead to a reconsideration of the British position. He said that M Francois-Poncet had indicated to Mr Botha that he would take an early opportunity to give such an indication on behalf of the French Government.

As the South African Government have not given us a clear indication that they will call off the tour, we do not think it would be wise to refrain any longer from giving a definitive public statement of the Government's position on this tour in relation to the Gleneagles Agreement. If the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Environment are content, we would propose to issue the enclosed statement on Friday 14 September and would also

/recommend

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

recommend that Mr Monro should write to the Home Rugby Unions on the same day.

I am copying this letter to the recipients of Pattison's letter of 4 September.

Yours ever

Paul Lever

pp

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

DSR 11

Registry No.

PRESS RELEASE

DRAFT

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

To:-

From

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

Earlier this month, the Minister for Sport (Mr Hector Monro) asked the Home Rugby Unions to reconsider their invitation to the South African Barbarians Rugby Team to tour the United Kingdom. In the light of the comment which this invitation has aroused, it may be worth briefly restating the Government's attitude towards ~~apartheid~~ South Africa in sport.

The Government fully accepts the Gleneagles Agreement on this subject, as the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary made clear in the House of Lords on 19 June. But The Government also recognise that progress has been made in South Africa towards integration in certain sports. ~~but~~ Their view is that this progress is not yet sufficient to warrant any modification of the terms of the Agreement. As and when they judge sufficient progress to have been made, they would be ready to discuss with their Commonwealth colleagues the possibility of an eventual modification of the Agreement's terms.

Dd 0532000 800M 5/78 HMSO Bracknell

The Government recognise that some progress has been made in South Africa towards integration in certain sports. But our view is that this progress is not sufficient to merit any modification of the terms of the Gleneagles Agreement. By the time you get this letter, however, you will have seen the text of a statement about the Barbarians' tour which I hope will serve to clarify our attitude. I attach a copy. As you will see this makes clear we are watching for signs of real progress towards integration. When we judge that this progress has been sufficient, we shall be very ready to raise the question with our Commonwealth colleagues. But the time has not yet come.

Enc

While I understand your Committee's wish to encourage international sporting activity, we must consider the facts in each case; and I do not think we can accept the contention that South African rugby is non-racial.

Dd 0532000 400 M 5/78 HMSO Bracknell

DSR 11

Registry No.

DRAFT letter

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

In Confidence

From

Mr Monro

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

To: The Hon Secretary of the Home Rugby Unions

Thank you for your letter of 2 September, confirming your Committee's intention to maintain its invitation to the South African Barbarian Rugby Club to tour the United Kingdom next month.

I am bound to say that this is a decision which the Government regret, and I would like to explain why ~~it is~~ we take this attitude.

As you know, the Government accept the Gleneagles Agreement on apartheid in sport, and the Agreement was mentioned only last month in a declaration issued by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Lusaka. You will remember that the text of the Agreement calls on Commonwealth Governments to "take every practical step to discourage contact in competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa". It is quite clear that this view is shared by the whole Commonwealth, as well as by a very wide spectrum of international public opinion.

GRS 525
CONFIDENTIAL
FM PARIS 111706Z SEP 79
TO IMMEDIATE F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 578 OF 11 SEPTEMBER 1979
INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA

YOUR TELNO 343, PARAGRAPH 3 : FRENCH/SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TALKS

1. WHEN HEAD OF CHANCERY CALLED ON GUEGINOU, DIRECTOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEPARTMENT AT THE QUAI LAST NIGHT, LATTER SAID THAT, DURING HIS TALK WITH M. FRANCOIS-PONCET ON 8 SEPTEMBER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAD ACCEPTED THAT THE PROPOSED SPRINGBOK TOUR OF FRANCE COULD NOT NOW TAKE PLACE. MR PIK BOTHA HAD TRIED TO PERSUADE M. FRANCOIS-PONCET TO RECONSIDER THE RECENT FRENCH DECISION TO IMPOSE A VISA REGIME ON SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALS. HE HAD ARGUED THAT, IF THE FRENCH WITHDREW THEIR DECISION, IT WOULD GREATLY HELP IN ENABLING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO PERSUADE ITS PUBLIC OPINION TO ACQUIESCE IN THE CANCELLATION OF THE TOUR. M. FRANCOIS-PONCET HAD REPLIED THAT THE DECISION STOOD. THE DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC HAD BEEN RELATIVELY BRIEF.

2. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION, GUEGINOU CONFIRMED OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE LONG ARTICLE ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH APPEARED IN LE MONDE OF 9/10 SEPTEMBER ACCURATELY REPRESENTED THE FRENCH POSITION. IT IS REINFORCED BY AN INTERVIEW GIVEN BY M. FRANCOIS-PONCET IN TODAY'S FIGARO.

3. THE MAIN THRUST OF THE ARTICLE IN LE MONDE AND OF THE FIGARO INTERVIEW IS THAT THE FRENCH REFUSAL TO COUNTENANCE A SPRINGBOK TOUR INDEED REFLECTED A CHANGE OF FRENCH POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA : '' THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS CHOSEN BETWEEN THE DOMINATION OF WHITE MINORITIES IN AFRICA AND BLACK AFRICA : THE REFUSAL OF VISAS TO THE SPRINGBOK TEAM IS BUT A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THIS CHOICE''.
LE MONDE MAKES THE POINT THAT M. FRANCOIS-PONCET, WHOSE POLITICAL FIEFDOM IS IN THE LOT-ET-GARONNE (IN SW FRANCE, THE HOME OF MANY FRENCH RUGBY ENTHUSIASTS) WAS THE FIRST TO BE EMBARRASSED BY THIS DECISION.

/4. CRITICS

4. CRITICS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY HAVE ACCUSED IT OF MIXING SPORT AND POLITICS AND OF APPLYING DOUBLE STANDARDS IN THAT IT WAS NOT CONTEMPLATING SUSPENDING SPORTING RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WHICH VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS. IN HIS FIGARO INTERVIEW, M. FRANCOIS-PONCET POINTED OUT THAT THE FRENCH WERE MERELY CONFORMING TO THE PRINCIPLE IN THE OLYMPIC CHARTER UNDER THE TERMS OF WHICH DISCRIMINATION WITH REGARD TO A COUNTRY OR AN INDIVIDUAL FOR RACIAL, RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL REASONS IS INADMISSABLE. HE ALSO RECALLED THE MARCH 1979 DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN MINISTERS (I.E.COUNCIL OF EUROPE MINISTERS) RESPONSIBLE FOR SPORT, CONDEMNING SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES PRACTISING APARTHEID. HE RATHER FUGED THE ''DOUBLE STANDARDS'' QUESTION BY SAYING THAT AS REGARDS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, FRANCE WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

5. WE NOTE FROM YOUR TELNO 320 TO PRETORIA THAT YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSDOR IN LONDON (WHO, OF COURSE, HAS BEEN PROMINENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SPRINGBOKS) WAS PRESENT AT THE TALKS.

6. WE SHALL BE REPORTING SEPARATELY ON THE WIDER POLITICAL QUESTIONS RAISED IN T U R .

HIBBERT

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

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Sport

(2)

PRIME MINISTER

South African Rugby Tour

You agreed on Wednesday that a second letter from Mr. Munro to the Home Rugby Union should be held over for the time being. Since then Government spokesmen have tried to keep a low profile on the question. The attached letter gives the background. As you will see, there is some hope that the South African Government may be prepared to exert pressure on their rugby union to have the tour called off. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office will be getting in touch with the South Africans on Monday to clarify South African intentions.

You will probably have seen this morning's editorial in The Guardian. You may not have seen the attached articles from the Daily Mail and the Daily Express since they did not appear in every edition. The articles have generated a considerable number of questions. The Press Offices here, at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and at the Department of the Environment have been taking the line that the matter is still under consideration by Ministers and this seems to have been accepted by the correspondents.

The Irish Foreign Minister yesterday issued a statement expressing concern about the invitation to the South Africans. Mr. O'Kennedy told the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary on Wednesday that, if necessary, the Irish Government would be prepared to stop the tour taking place but that they hoped the Irish Rugby Football Union would in the end withdraw the invitation.

7 September 1979

CONFIDENTIAL

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File on my desk.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 September 1979

Dear Mike,

South African Barbarians' Rugby Tour

As I told you by telephone, the South African Ambassador called on Mr Blaker on Wednesday afternoon. On instructions from Pretoria, Dr de Villiers asked the Government to refrain from doing anything which might raise the temperature over the tour, at least until after the weekend. He said that the South African Foreign Minister would be visiting Paris then in an attempt to reduce the tension caused by the proposed Springbok tour of France and the reactions to it of the French Government and Rugby Federation. (We have since received confirmation of this in the attached telegram from Paris). Likewise, the South African Government did not wish the Barbarians' tour to provoke a confrontation with the United Kingdom, and hoped that we could work out a way to avoid one.

Mr Blaker welcomed the approach. He said that we also wished to avoid confrontation and would do our best to avoid raising the temperature.

The South African Government are evidently concerned about the strong statement made by the French Foreign Minister on 1 September, of which I enclose a copy. From what the South African Ambassador said (and the South African Foreign Minister is reported to have spoken in similar terms to the French Ambassador in Pretoria), there is an implication that the South African Government may be prepared to put pressure on their Rugby Unions to cancel the Barbarians' tour, an outcome which we would obviously welcome.

You agreed that, in the light of the South African Ambassador's approach, a second letter from Mr Hector Munro to the Home Rugby Union (mentioned in your letter of 4 September to Geoff Needham) should be held over for the time being. We are arranging to be in touch with the South African Embassy on Monday 10 Spetember to clarify what the South Africans have in mind, and will then offer further advice.

I am copying this letter to the recipients of your letter of 4 September.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

R M J Lyne

M Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

PAFO 06/05 SEPT 79-

P.S. Private Office

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RR PRETORIA

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HD/SAFD
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FM PARIS 051550Z AUG 79
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 563 OF 05 SEPT 1979
INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA

(files)

PRETORIA TELEGRAM NO 546: RUGBY

1. THE QUAI (GUEGUINOU, HEAD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA DEPARTMENT) HAVE TOLD US THAT A MEETING HAS BEEN FIXED BETWEEN PIK BOTHA AND M. FRANCOIS-PONCET ON SATURDAY 08 SEPTEMBER. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE ASKED TO DISCUSS THE SPRINGBOK TOUR AND BILATERAL RELATIONS. GUEGUINOU CONFIRMED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS SEEMED TO HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF PERSUADING THE FRENCH GOVT TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS OVER THE TOUR.

2. WE CAN CONFIRM THE REPORT OF FRANCOIS-PONCET'S STATEMENT (PARA 2 OF TUR). IT WAS ISSUED AFTER THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING WITH FERRASSE ON 31 AUGUST.

3. GUEGUINOU ADDED THAT FRANCOIS-PONCET WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO WANT TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA IN DETAIL WITH BOTHA. THE FRENCH WERE SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF SIR J MURRAY'S VISIT AND WITH THE PROGRESS OF WORK IN NEW YORK.
HIBBERT

NNNN

SENT PARIS 05/1615Z MG/

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE A LONDRES
Service de Presse et d'Information
58 Ki[illegible]sbridge, S.W.1. 01-235 8080

NOTE D'ACTUALITE

* * *

CTL/DISCOM/77/79 3 September 1979

PROPOSED SPRINGBOKS' TOUR IN FRANCE

STATEMENT OF M. JEAN FRANCOIS-PONCET, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(1 SEPTEMBER 1979)

"I had a talk yesterday with M. Ferrasse, President of the Fédération Française de Rugby, about the problems created by the proposed French tour of the South African Springboks team. We discussed the question very widely and openly.

"As an elected representative of the South-West, I understand better than anyone the viewpoint of rugby supporters and the store they set by this proposal.

"I nonetheless reminded M. Ferrasse that government responsibility must of necessity be exercised on a different plane.

"The system of racial segregation is embodied in South Africa's Constitution. It is constantly and ostensibly asserted and applied in all areas of daily life. One must say in all honesty that it also applies to sport, including rugby, even though the principle is sometimes subject to certain mitigations dictated by circumstances. Thus the multi-racial nature of the teams formed to play abroad is an expedient ; it is indeed perceived as such by the black population as a whole and even by certain white players.

"Apartheid is reacted to by the whole Black African world as a fundamental slur on its dignity, an affront and a humiliation. This is a human fact, not a political problem. A major sporting event is a festive occasion that should heighten feelings of camaraderie and solidarity. It must on no account be open to ambiguity of interpretation, or give moral support to a system founded on contempt for man.

"It is for these reasons that the Government regards the Springboks' tour in France as inopportune.

"I am convinced that this attitude, dictated by our conscience, is the only one likely to help bring about a genuine evolution in a universally condemned system"./.

DAILY MAIL - FRIDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER, 1979

Maggie won't ban Rugby tour

By JOHN HARRISON
Political Reporter

PRIME Minister Margaret Thatcher has ruled that the Government must not ban next month's controversial South African rugby tour of Britain.

The Rugby Unions have defied warnings by Sports Minister Hector Monro that the tour—which faces anti-apartheid demonstrations — should be scrapped.

But beyond warning the Unions of the consequences, including Britain's exclusion from next year's Olympics in Moscow, Mrs Thatcher wants no further Government interference.

Welcome

The only effective option open to the Government was to ban the tour on the grounds that it could provoke public disorder.

But the Prime Minister, after talks with senior Ministerial colleagues, including Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, and Home Secretary Mr William Whitelaw, has decided that such a veto should not be used.

Her decision will be welcomed by a large number of Conservative MPs, but it is also bound to cause considerable embarrassment for Lord Carrington who chairs the critical Rhodesia peace conference in London next week.

Black Africa will be quick to question the Government's sincerity on the sensitive issue of apartheid if the tour goes ahead.

Double threat to peace talks as Rhodesia's leaders fly to London

RUGBY TOUR GOES AHEAD

By ALAN COCHRANE

THE Government will not act to stop the multi-racial South African Rugby team touring Britain.

Unless the British Rugby authorities go back on their word and decide to cancel the tour which starts on October 1, Britain could become an international sporting outcast.

And next week's constitutional conference on Rhodesia could also be in jeopardy.

But last night Ministers were still hoping the four home Rugby unions would reconsider.

The Ministers have spent several days looking at the problem.

They thought of invoking the 1971 Immigration Act and stopping the players entering Britain for reasons of "public good."

But this was ruled out as too extreme a step for a Tory Government to take.

Many sections of the party want the tour to go ahead.

Dilemma

The Government has no desire to mix sport with politics but is bound by the spirit of the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement—signed by Labour—not to encourage sporting links with South Africa.

Whitehall sources opposed to the tour are now hopeful that pressure from other sporting organisations will be applied in earnest on the Rugby authorities to cancel the tour.

John Hart, secretary of the Home Unions, said he was very pleased at the news.

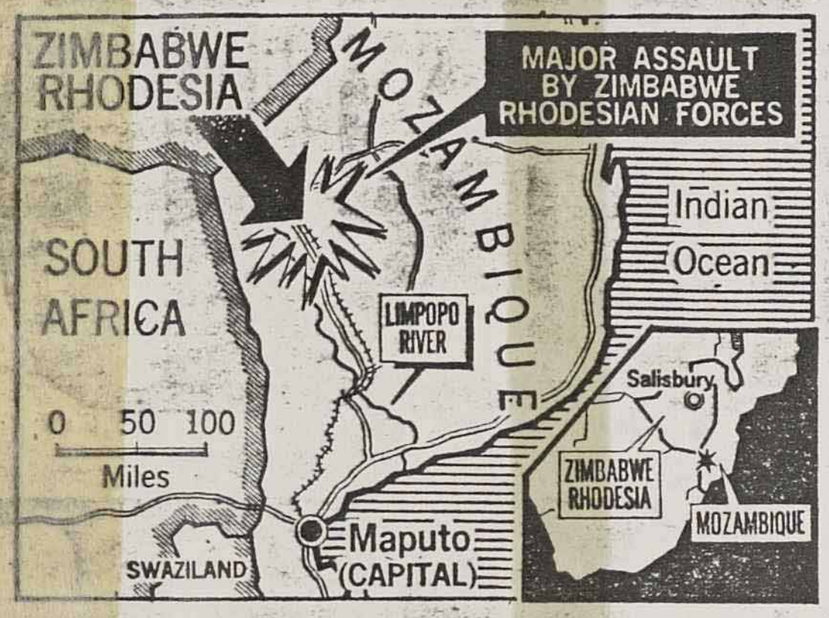
"This is a small club side coming to play in a low-key, low-profile way and it has no political weight at all."

Asked about the threat to Britain's part in the Moscow Olympics, Mr Hart said: "Rugby is a non-Olympic sport. The International Olmpic Committee issues the invitations and I'm sure there'll be one for Britain."

Peter Hain, chairman of the Stop All Racist Tours Campaign, warned of "non-violent but militant" plans to disrupt the visit.

He said: "Mrs Thatcher will go down in history as the first Prime Minister to get Britain expelled from the Olympics. She will become public enemy Number One as far as Britain's sportsmen are concerned."

Terror targets blitzed, then Smith warns Maggie



By JOHN KELLEY in Salisbury

A NEW Rhodesian blitz on terrorist lairs far inside Mozambique and a blunt warning from ex-Premier Mr Ian Smith, last night posed a twin threat to next week's critical constitutional talks in London.

As commandos and warplanes mounted their biggest attack yet, Mr Smith said that he and Bishop Muzorewa were preparing to reject outright Mrs Thatcher's demands for sweeping changes.

Instead they will demand recognition—and an end to sanctions.

"We have complied with the six British principles for recognition," Mr Smith told a meeting of his 27 fellow white members of the Salisbury Parliament.

"Are they now trying to impose a seventh and eighth?"

Tyranny

In another blow to Mrs Thatcher's hopes, Bishop Muzorewa said in a nation-wide broadcast that he would not allow the security forces to be taken out of his control as the Patriotic Front will demand in London.

The new Rhodesian leader was speaking as he and Mr Smith prepared to leave Rhodesia today for the London talks.

"We will not accept a constitution which will be a seed bed for tyranny and chaos," said the Bishop.

Meanwhile, for the second day running, Rhodesian shock troops, backed by helicopters and jets, struck at targets either side of the Limpopo River up to 200 miles inside southern Moizambique.

It was the most wide-spread raid in the seven-year guerrilla war.

Salisbury military headquarters said five major road and rail bridges had been destroyed and a "significant number" of Mozambique troops and guerrillas loyal to Mr Robert Mugabe had been killed.

One of their own helicopters had been lost with the death of a crewman, and three soldiers had been injured.

It was the tenth major Rhodesian raid into Mozambique.

PRIME MINISTER

Proposed South African Barbarians Rugby Tour

The South African Ambassador called on Mr. Blaker today. He asked that the British Government should avoid raising the temperature for the time being as the South African Government were considering whether they should take any action in relation to the proposed tour. We will be getting a full report on the conversation between Mr. Blaker and the Ambassador tomorrow, but the implication is that the South Africans may regard it as in their best interests to stop the tour from their end.

In the circumstances, I have told Mr. Monro's office not to send his letter to the four home rugby unions. I think we must wait to see whether the South Africans are intending to help us over these difficulties, and reserve any final formal Government expression of view until this avenue has been fully explored. Do you agree?

MAP

PM - yes

TL

5 September, 1979.

PM/Lynch Meeting
Wed 5 September
at No10

Original on
Ireland (Lynch)
May 79 Sport

On a different aspect of the Vietnamese refugee problem, Mr. O'Kennedy referred to the fact that his Government had recently offered to accept a batch of refugees from Hong Kong but only about half of the agreed number had arrived. The remainder had refused to come, evidently preferring to go to the United States. If it became apparent that this incident was part of a trend, the whole problem of refugee resettlement might become more complex. It would be difficult for countries like Ireland to play a role if the refugees insisted on going elsewhere.

Cambodia

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that the situation in Cambodia was much worse than that in Vietnam. Mr. O'Kennedy agreed and regretted the absence of a position of the Nine. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that as he understood it the Red Cross were now distributing food in Cambodia: this appeared to create the possibility that the Nine could be more generous.

Mr. O'Kennedy said that he was aware of nothing that need inhibit the Nine from doing so. In fact he believed that M. Cheysson had succeeded in maintaining a food aid programme to Cambodia despite the absence of a Ministerial decision on the subject. The Nine would be free to increase the programme if they chose to do so. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that he thought it would be much better to do it in Cambodia than in Vietnam.

South African Rugby Tour

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Mr. O'Kennedy agreed that the decision reached by the various Rugby Union Federations to invite the South Africans to tour the British Isles next month was very regrettable. After the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary had explained the difficulties facing HMG, Mr. O'Kennedy said that, if necessary, his Government would probably step in to prevent the tour taking place. But he expected the Irish Rugby Union Federation would in fact accept the view of the Irish Government and withdraw the invitation.

/Rhodesia and Namibia

Private Secretary
10 Downing Street

With the compliments of

CULTURAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

B.J. SHARLAND

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE,
LONDON, SW1A 2AH

6 SEPTEMBER 1979

ADVANCE COPY

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RR PRETORIA

GRS 120
CONFIDENTIAL
FM PARIS 051550Z AUG 79
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 563 OF 05 SEPT 1979
INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA

PRETORIA TELEGRAM NO 546: RUGBY

1. THE QUAI (GUEGUINOU, HEAD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA DEPARTMENT) HAVE TOLD US THAT A MEETING HAS BEEN FIXED BETWEEN PIK BOTHA AND M. FRANCOIS-PONCET ON SATURDAY 08 SEPTEMBER. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE ASKED TO DISCUSS THE SPRINGBOK TOUR AND BILATERAL RELATIONS. GNEGUINOU CONFIRMED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS SEEMED TO HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF PERSUADING THE FRENCH GOVT TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS OVER THE TOUR.

2. WE CAN CONFIRM THE REPORT OF FRANCOIS-PONCET'S STATEMENT (PARA 2 OF TUR). IT WAS ISSUED AFTER THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING WITH FERRASSE ON 31 AUGUST.

3. GUEGUINOU ADDED THAT FRANCOIS-PONCET WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO WANT TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA IN DETAIL WITH BOTHA. THE FRENCH WERE SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF SIR J MURRAY'S VISIT AND WITH THE PROGRESS OF WORK IN NEW YORK.
HIBBERT

NNNN

SENT PARIS 05/1615Z MG/

Letter held
Await further FCO report

MAP 6/IX

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

My ref:

Your ref:

Mike Pattison
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

5 September 1979

Dear Mike,

As agreed, I attach a draft letter from Mr Monro to the Honorary Secretary of the Committee of Home Rugby Unions for the Prime Minister's consideration.

The draft has been agreed with the Home Secretary, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney General.

Yours ever

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM
Private Secretary

DRAFT LETTER FROM MR HECTOR MONRO TO MR J G M HART, HONORARY SECRETARY, THE COMMITTEE OF HOME RUGBY UNIONS

I have received your letter of 2 September confirming that it is the intention of the Committee of the Home Rugby Unions to maintain its invitation to a South African Barbarians team to tour the United Kingdom next month.

I assume the Rugby Union authorities have considered all the possible consequences of the decision to go ahead with this tour. I am bound to say that it is one which the Government regrets.

cc Master ✓ MAP Sport

RECORD OF A MEETING HELD AT 10 DOWNING STREET ON 4 SEPTEMBER AT 1700 HOURS TO DISCUSS A PROPOSED TOUR BY A SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIANS RUGBY TEAM

PRESENT

Prime Minister
Home Secretary
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Lord Privy Seal
Lord President of the Council
Attorney General
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Department of the Environment (Mr. Hector Munro, M.P.)
Mr. C.A. Whitmore
Mr. M.A. Pattison

At the invitation of the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary commented on the legal position. It had been suggested that immigration controls could be used to prevent entry of the team. Some members of the team would almost certainly have patrial rights. These could not be refused entry. In some cases, the Home Secretary could use his personal powers to direct refusal of entry: such a direction could be appealed to an adjudicator, and appealed further to an immigration tribunal. Whilst the Home Secretary had wide powers to prohibit the entry of persons whose presence would be considered as "not conducive to the public good", he was advised that the problems created by the use of this power would be greater than the initial problem to which their use would be directed. He personally subscribed to this view. There were also police powers to ban the tour, or individual engagements in the tour, on grounds of a threat to public order, but similar considerations arose over invoking these. He would need to check the position on the powers available to a Chief Constable to say, in respect of a fixture which would be taking place inside public property, that he could not permit this to go ahead on the basis of an earlier bad experience on the tour. The Home Secretary said that it had been suggested on previous occasions that the Home Secretary's power to exclude individuals should be used to prevent South African tours, but that no Government had yet done so. The Attorney General said that, if the tour were to be banned on public order grounds, this would only hold up in court if firm evidence of a real threat to public order could be offered.

/ He commented

He commented that there were ways to avoid the full exercise of the right of appeal if the Home Secretary prohibited entry on the grounds that individuals were not conducive to the public good. This apart, he endorsed the Home Secretary's comments.

The Prime Minister said that it would be politically impossible to stop the tour as outlined by the Home Secretary. It therefore seemed that the Government had to recognise that the tour would take place. She asked who would have financial responsibility for police arrangements. The Home Secretary said that the clubs concerned were responsible for policing within their grounds. Policing outside fell to the ratepayers. He was unhappy with the situation where a sports organisation, or any other, could create a need for large scale police attendance but have no financial responsibility for it. But legislation would need to be required to change this position.

If clubs found it necessary to have their grounds guarded inside, to prevent sabotage, he believed clubs would have to pay.

The Prime Minister said the Government appeared to have no powers to stop the tour. Unlike the French Government, the UK had no visa control in respect of South Africa for entry to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Monro felt that he should call the home rugby unions in and speak severely to them, thus demonstrating that the Government had done all it could in fulfilling all its obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement. Alternatively, he ought to write a further letter. The Foreign Secretary commented that Mr. Monro would be snubbed. The Prime Minister said that the Government had its own public opinion to think of. She doubted the wisdom of seeming to bully the home unions to no purpose. A summons by Mr. Monro would not change the position. The Lord Privy Seal commented that public opinion could take a very different view if our runners were excluded from the Olympics in a year's time.

The Foreign Secretary said that the only reason for Mr. Monro to see the unions again was to demonstrate to outsiders how hard the Government had tried. As it was, the Government was likely to be blamed whatever line it now took either for letting the tourists in, or for trying to keep them out, or for the disorder which might arise on the tour. The Government would appear feeble whatever way it now turned, but there seemed no escape.

/ The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister asked whether the rugby unions understood the risk of repercussions and demonstrations, and whether they were clearly united. She knew for instance, that the President of the Rugby Union had not been at the unions meeting. Her husband had been in his company at the time. Mr. Monro said that the rugby unions were well aware of the disruption of the 1969 Springboks tour. It was an unhappy tour. The present South African Ambassador had been captain.

The English union had led the pressure for the tour. There were some doubts in Ireland, which was united for rugby purposes but the Southerners might be uneasy. There might be some doubts in Wales.

In further discussion, doubts were expressed as to the value of any further discussion with the unions or any further correspondence with them. There was also some discussion of the extent of the Government's obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement. In response to the Foreign Secretary, the Attorney General felt that it was at least necessary to write a further letter expressing the Government's view of the unions' decision to go ahead. The Attorney General said that Mr. Monro's first letter had not covered the wider repercussions of the first tour. The Prime Minister said that she had instructed that the letter should be kept narrow, in view of the complications over the next Olympics being held in Moscow, where there was a tyranny as repressive as any to be found elsewhere in the world.

Mr. Monro mentioned there had been suggestions that the Sports Council grant to rugby clubs could be stopped. He would not wish to do this. Other Ministers agreed with him.

The Prime Minister said that, but for obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement, and the problems caused by Mr. Hain and fellow demonstrators, she would personally feel that the presence of a mixed South African team touring in the UK would have a beneficial effect back in South Africa on their return. But, given present circumstances, it would clearly be preferable for the tour not to go ahead. Ministers had concluded that they did not have powers which could reasonably be evoked to stop the tour from this end. It was worth considering whether there was any

/ possibility

possibility of stopping it from the other end. If it was not possible, it would now be advisable for Mr. Monro to write a further letter pointing to the fact that there were many possible unpleasant consequences from the proposed tour, and expressing the Government's regret at the decision for it to go ahead. Mr. Monro should prepare a draft of a letter along these lines which would be seen by the other Ministers directly concerned and submitted to her before being despatched.

4 September 1979

CONFIDENTIAL

File

Sport -

10 DOWNING STREET

B/F 5.9.79.
overtaken

From the Private Secretary

4 September 1979

Dear Geoff

As you know, Mr. Munro attended a meeting at No. 10 today about the proposed rugby tour by a South African Barbarians team. The Home Secretary, the Foreign Secretary, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal and the Attorney General were also present.

The powers which might be invoked to stop the tour were considered. The meeting concluded that the Home Secretary did not have powers under immigration legislation which were likely to be successful in preventing the tour party from entering the United Kingdom. The meeting also concluded that the Public Order Acts did not provide the basis for the Government to direct that the tour should not take place.

Ministers nevertheless regretted the likely consequences of the tour going ahead, both in terms of the threat to public order, as illustrated by the last Springbok rugby tour in 1969, and the possible effect on British participation in other major international sporting events. Although the precise consequences in either direction could not be predicted at present, the Ministers present at the meeting concluded that Mr. Munro should write again to the four Home Rugby Unions stressing the need for all possible consequences of the tour to be considered, and expressing the Government's regret at the decision that the four Home Unions had apparently reached.

The Prime Minister would like to see this letter in draft before it is sent. I would be grateful if you would arrange for your Minister to clear a draft with the Home Secretary, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney General and to forward this for the Prime Minister's consideration. I hope it will be possible for the draft to reach me in the early afternoon of tomorrow, Wednesday 5 September.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Chilcot (Home Office), Roderic Lyne (FCO), Michael Richardson (Lord Privy Seal's Office), Jim Buckley (Lord President's Office) and Bill Beckett (Law Officers' Department).

Yours ever

Mike Pattison

CONFIDENTIAL

G. Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

CONFIDENTIAL

File VB

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 September 1979

Dear Geoff.

When we spoke on the telephone this afternoon, I said that I would send you a letter recording the conclusions of today's meeting of Ministers to discuss the proposed South African Barbarians rugby tour. I also said that I would let you have, for your personal information, a draft reflecting the thoughts raised in the discussion here. This I now attach. It is brief, in line with the views expressed.

I am sending a copy of this letter only to Michael Richardson, as the Lord Privy Seal asked to see this letter and enclosure for his personal information.

Yours ever

Mike Pattison

G. Needham, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

CONFIDENTIAL

PBC

PRIME MINISTER

The Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary, Attorney General, and Mr. Munro will be here at 1700 to discuss the Government's attitude to the South African Barbarians Rugby tour. I attach the relevant papers as follows:

A The draft letter which you approved for Mr. Munro to send to the Committee of Home Rugby Unions;

B The letter from Mr. Heseltine's Private Secretary; (31.8.79)

C Lord Carrington's Answer in the House of Lords on the Gleneages Agreement;

D The "Gleneagles" Agreement.

*

I have asked that the Home Secretary should come briefed on the issue of responsibility for the costs of policing. The essential distinction is that policing inside the grounds at the request of clubs is at their expense: policing elsewhere is at public expense. A trickier issue is what should happen if the clubs took the view that the majority of their own spectators can deal effectively with any demonstrators who infiltrate themselves into the grounds. The police authorities might feel that public order requires their presence, but the clubs would perhaps refuse to pay.

MAP

* E The Lusaka declaration of the Commonwealth on racism and racial prejudice

4 September 1979

cc Mr Ames
Mr Gow

DRAFT LETTER FROM MR. MONRO TO J. G. M. HART, ESQ., HON. SECRETARY, COMMITTEE OF HOME RUGBY UNIONS, BALFRON, HERMITAGE ROAD, KENLEY, SURREY, CR2 5EB

I am writing to you about the invitation the Home Rugby Unions have extended to the South African Barbarians Club to tour here in October.

I recognise that progress had been made over recent years, particularly in certain sports, in South Africa towards non-racialism. I note that the Barbarians team is reportedly to be a mixed one.

But this country has obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement, a copy of which I enclose. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary stated in Parliament on 19 June that the Government accepts this agreement.

Your own invitation must therefore be viewed in this light.

I value the independence of our sports bodies. They have a right to order their own affairs. But I believe that they should consider their wider responsibilities too.

In the light of the Gleneagles Agreement I would ask you to reconsider your invitation to the South African Barbarians Club.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions and to the Chairmen of the Sports Councils.

THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT: SPORTS FIXTURES

2.44 p.m.

Lord HATCH of LUSBY: My Lords, I beg leave to ask the Question which stands in my name on the Order Paper.

The Question was as follows:

To ask Her Majesty's Government whether they still approve of the spirit and letter of the "Gleneagles Agreement" of 1977.

Lord CARRINGTON: My Lords, the Government accept the "Gleneagles Agreement", which was an agreement made between Commonwealth Heads of Government.

Lord HATCH of LUSBY: My Lords, in view of that Answer would the noble Lord tell us whether the Government have protested to the sporting clubs, particularly to the rugby clubs which have been visiting South Africa recently, and the Surrey County Rugby Club which has visited Rhodesia?

Lord CARRINGTON: My Lords, all these visits were proposed, made and authorised in the days of the noble Lords opposite.

Lord HATCH of LUSBY: My Lords, my Question was: have the present Government protested to those clubs since they came into office?

Lord CARRINGTON: My Lords, had we wanted to it would have been too late.

Lord GORONWY-ROBERTS: My Lords, I am sure it is within the knowledge and recollection of the Secretary of State when I say that successive Governments have no actual power to prohibit these visits, but they do exercise their best endeavours in the interests of anti-racism to persuade these clubs not to engage in these fixtures.

Lord CARRINGTON: My Lords, the noble Lord is quite right, and that is what I understand the noble Lord opposite did.

Lord AVEBURY: My Lords, is the noble Lord aware that his answers may be greeted with slightly less amusement in Lagos than they are on that side of the House and that his flippant attitude towards playing sports with *apartheid* is one of the reasons for the penalties exacted from us by the Nigerian Government in respect of oil belonging to a British company?

Lord CARRINGTON: My Lords, I am distressed to think that anything I have said should appear to the noble Lord, Lord Avebury, as flippant.

House of Lords
Hansard
19. 6. 79
Cols 810-1

COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT 14 JUNE 1977

The member countries of the Commonwealth, embracing peoples of diverse races, colours, languages and faiths, have long recognized racial prejudice and discrimination as a dangerous sickness and an unmitigated evil and are pledged to use all their efforts to foster human dignity everywhere. At their London meeting, the Heads of Government reaffirmed that apartheid in sports, as in other fields, is an abomination and runs directly counter to the declaration of Commonwealth principles which they made at Singapore on 22 January 1971.

They were conscious that sport is an important means of developing and fostering understanding between the people, and especially between the young people, of all countries. But, they were also aware that, quite apart from other factors, sporting contacts between their nationals and the nationals of countries practising apartheid in sport tend to encourage the belief (however unwarranted) that they are prepared to condone this abhorrent policy or are less than totally committed to the principles embodied in their Singapore declaration. Regretting past misunderstandings and difficulties and recognizing that these were partly the result of inadequate inter-governmental consultations, they agreed that they would seek to remedy this situation in the context of the increased level of understanding now achieved.

They reaffirmed their full support for the international campaign against apartheid and welcomed the efforts of the United Nations to reach universally accepted approaches to the question of sporting contacts within the framework of that campaign.

Mindful of these and other considerations, they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage, contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organized on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

They fully acknowledged that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge these commitments. But they recognized that the effective fulfilment of their commitments was essential to the harmonious development of Commonwealth sport hereafter.

They acknowledged also that the full realization of their objectives involved the understanding, support and active participation of the nationals of their countries and of their national sporting organizations and authorities. As they drew a curtain across the past they issued a collective call for that understanding, support and participation with a view to ensuring that in this matter the peoples and Government of the Commonwealth might help to give a lead to the world.

Heads of Government specially welcomed the belief, unanimously expressed at their meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid. On that basis, and having regard to their commitments, they looked forward with satisfaction to the holding of the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton and to the continued strengthening of Commonwealth sport generally.

LUSAKA DECLARATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH ON RACISM AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

We, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, recalling the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles made at Singapore on 22 January 1971 and the statement on Apartheid in Sport, issued in London on 15 June 1977, have decided to proclaim our desire to work jointly as well as severally for the eradication of all forms of racism and racial prejudice.

The Commonwealth is an institution devoted to the promotion of international understanding and world peace, and to the achievement of equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, sex, creed or political belief, and is committed to the eradication of the dangerous evils of racism and racial prejudice.

We now, therefore, proclaim this Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

United in our desire to rid the world of the evils of racism and racial prejudice, we proclaim our faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the human person and declare that -

(i) the peoples of the Commonwealth have the right to live freely in dignity and equality, without any distinction or exclusion based on race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin;

(ii) while everyone is free to retain diversity in his or her culture and lifestyle, this diversity does not justify the perpetuation of racial prejudice or racially discriminatory practices;

(iii) everyone has the right to equality before the law and equal justice under the law;

(iv) everyone has the right to effective remedies and protection against any form of discrimination based on the grounds of race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin.

We reject as inhuman and intolerable all policies designed to perpetuate apartheid, racial segregation or other policies based on theories that racial groups are or may be inherently superior or inferior.

We reaffirm that it is the duty of all the peoples of the Commonwealth to work together for the total eradication of the infamous policy of apartheid which is internationally recognised as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and the very existence of which is an affront to humanity.

We agree that everyone has the right to protection against acts of incitement to racial hatred and discrimination, whether committed by individuals, groups or other organisations.

We affirm that there should be no discrimination based on race, colour, sex, descent or national or ethnic origin in the acquisition or exercise of the right to vote; in the field of civil rights or access to citizenship; or in the economic, social or cultural fields, particularly education, health, employment, occupation, housing, social security and cultural life.

We attach particular importance to ensuring that children shall be protected from practices which may foster racism or racial prejudice. Children have the right to be brought up and educated in a spirit of tolerance and understanding so as to be able to contribute fully to the building of future societies based on justice and friendship.

We believe that those groups in societies who may be especially disadvantaged because of residual racist attitudes are entitled to the fullest protection of the law. We recognise that the history of the Commonwealth and its diversity require that special attention should be paid to the problems of indigenous minorities. We recognise that the same special attention should be paid to the problems of immigrants, immigrant workers and refugees.

We agree that special measures may in particular circumstances be required to advance the development of disadvantaged groups in society. We recognise that the effects of colonialism or racism in the past may make desirable special provisions for the social and economic enhancement of indigenous populations.

Inspired by the principles of freedom and equality which characterise our association, we accept the solemn duty of working together to eliminate racism and racial prejudice. This duty involves the acceptance of the principle that positive measures may be required to advance the elimination of racism, including assistance to those struggling to rid themselves and their environment of the practice.

Being aware that legislation alone cannot eliminate racism and racial prejudice, we endorse the need to initiate public information and education policies designed to promote understanding, tolerance, respect and friendship among peoples and racial groups.

We are particularly conscious of the importance of the contribution the media can make to human rights and the eradication of racism and racial prejudice by helping to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between people and by drawing attention to the evils which afflict humanity. We affirm the importance of truthful presentation of facts in order to ensure that the public are fully informed of the dangers presented by racism and racial prejudice.

In accordance with established principles of International Law and, in particular, the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, we affirm that everyone is, at all times and in all places, entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of the right to be free of racism and racial prejudice.

We believe that the existence in the world of apartheid and racial discrimination is a matter of concern to all human beings. We recognise that we share an international responsibility to work together for the total eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination.

We note that racism and racial prejudice, wherever they occur, are significant factors contributing to tension between nations and thus inhibit peaceful progress and development. We believe that the goal of the eradication of racism stands as a critical priority for governments of the Commonwealth, committed as they are to the promotion of the ideals of peaceful and happy lives for their people.

We intend that the Commonwealth, as an international organisation with a fundamental and deep-rooted attachment to principles of freedom and equality, should co-operate with other organisations in the fulfilment of these principles. In particular the Commonwealth should seek to enhance the co-ordination of its activities with those of other organisations similarly committed to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Ly Rmds 10/9

RECORD OF MEETING BETWEEN THE MINISTER OF STATE AT THE FCO AND MR MONRO, MINISTER FOR SPORT, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR AND MR LOUW: 3 SEPTEMBER 10.30 AM

Present:

FCO

Mr Peter Blaker MP
Mr C A Munro
Mr P Morrice
Mr E J Sharland

HE Mr D J de Villiers
Mr D V Louw

DOE

Mr Hector Monro MP
Mr N Palmer

1. Mr de Villiers said that he was not calling on behalf of any sporting body but wished to seek clarification of the principles guiding British policy on sporting contacts with South Africa. He considered that South Africa could now claim that sport was by and large integrated and it was difficult to see what more could be done internally. He asked whether British policy would be based upon what was happening in sport in South Africa, the Gleneagles Agreement or the prospects for the Rhodesian Constitutional Conference or the Olympic Games in 1980, and whether that policy would be temporary.

2. Mr Blaker replied that policy was based upon the acceptance by the Government of the Gleneagles Agreement. In response to a question he agreed that there was little real prospect of the agreement's being modified before the 1981 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. He acknowledged that much progress had been made in the integration of sport in South Africa but considered that there was room for further progress.

3. Mr de Villiers accepted that some sports had made more progress than others, but pointed out that it was possible for clubs to obtain exemptions from such legislation as the Liquor Law. It was the policy of the South African Government to give the greatest

/autonomy

autonomy possible to clubs and sporting bodies. Mr Louw added that Western countries had a role to play by accepting mixed teams so as to encourage those in South Africa who were promoting greater integration in sport. Dr de Villiers noted that a South African team had come to the United Kingdom for the Paraplegic Games at Stoke Mandeville and that individual South Africans appeared to be acceptable. How strictly did the Government intend to apply the Gleneagles Agreement, which was itself unclear as to its intentions?

4. Mr Blaker said that, while the agreement had been interpreted in such a way as to allow the South African Paraplegic team to come to England and individual South Africans to take part in international sports, the proposed tour by the Barbarians was clearly not acceptable under it. He added that he feared that one consequence of the recent announcement of the proposed tour by the South African "Barbarians" was that the furore which it seemed likely to provoke might set back the prospects of moving to a more discriminating policy on sporting contacts with South Africa, which would allow recognition to be given to those sports which had become really integrated. It might also be used as ammunition by the hard-line opponents of any sporting contacts with South Africa, even those which now took place. Mr Monro said that, while Government policy was based, and would continue to be based, on the Gleneagles Agreement, the timing of and publicity surrounding proposed visits might also have a bearing on their acceptability. He regretted that the rugby unions had given no warning to HMG of their intention to invite the South African team.

5. Dr de Villiers, in thanking the Ministers for receiving him and explaining the British position, said that while it was useful to

/know

know where South Africa stood, it was disappointing that the Gleneagles Agreement did not allow for consideration to be given to the degree of integration achieved in the different sports within South Africa.

6 September 1979 Cultural Relations Department

Distribution:

Private Office - extra copy for No 10.
PS/Lord Privy Seal
PS/Mr Blaker
Sir A Duff
Lord N Gordon Lennox
SAfD
News Department
CCD
Rhodesia Department
CRD

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE A LONDRES
Service de Presse et d'Information
58 Knightsbridge, S.W.1. 01-235 8080

NOTE D'ACTUALITE

* * *

CTL/DISCOM/77/79 3 September 1979

PROPOSED SPRINGBOKS' TOUR IN FRANCE

STATEMENT OF M. JEAN FRANCOIS-PONCET, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(1 SEPTEMBER 1979)

"I had a talk yesterday with M. Ferrasse, President of the Fédération Française de Rugby, about the problems created by the proposed French tour of the South African Springboks team. We discussed the question very widely and openly.

"As an elected representative of the South-West, I understand better than anyone the viewpoint of rugby supporters and the store they set by this proposal.

"I nonetheless reminded M. Ferrasse that government responsibility must of necessity be exercised on a different plane.

"The system of racial segregation is embodied in South Africa's Constitution. It is constantly and ostensibly asserted and applied in all areas of daily life. One must say in all honesty that it also applies to sport, including rugby, even though the principle is sometimes subject to certain mitigations dictated by circumstances. Thus the multi-racial nature of the teams formed to play abroad is an expedient ; it is indeed perceived as such by the black population as a whole and even by certain white players.

"Apartheid is reacted to by the whole Black African world as a fundamental slur on its dignity, an affront and a humiliation. This is a human fact, not a political problem. A major sporting event is a festive occasion that should heighten feelings of camaraderie and solidarity. It must on no account be open to ambiguity of interpretation, or give moral support to a system founded on contempt for man.

"It is for these reasons that the Government regards the Springboks' tour in France as inopportune.

"I am convinced that this attitude, dictacted by our conscience, is the only one likely to help bring about a genuine evolution in a universally condemned system"./.

JPA

cc710

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 September 1979

Dear David,

Proposed Tour by South African Barbarians Rugby Club

You wrote to me on 31 August enclosing a draft letter which Mr. Munro intended - subject to the Prime Minister's approval - to send to the Home Rugby Unions.

I showed this draft to the Prime Minister and, as you know, she took the view the draft needed considerable toning down. The Prime Minister herself redrafted the letter (as per the attached), and authorised that it should go out on this basis.

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

Yours ever,

Tim Lankester.

David Edmonds, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

PRIME MINISTER

i. m. Patterson

South African Rugby Club Tour

You were concerned about the handling of the draft letter from Mr. Munro to the Home Rugby Unions. In particular, you asked why it was that we had been told that Lord Carrington had personally approved the draft sent over from DOE.

I have made enquiries at the FCO and at DOE about this. In fact, Lord Carrington considered an earlier draft last Friday afternoon, and made some minor suggestions for the toning down of that draft. He told his staff that, provided the suggestions were taken on board, the draft was satisfactory. DOE have confirmed that Lord Carrington's comments were taken on board in the draft which was sent over to us.

As regards your conversation with Lord Carrington at dinner on Saturday evening, I can only think that he assumed that his toning down suggestions had not been taken into account.

Very useful – the letter was written.

3 September 1979

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

Pat.

Re the attached initial draft (letter changed by me).

You noticed the top says that Lord Richard Hamilton & Lord C. approved the draft — i.e. the one included with the letter. I was somewhat surprised because I thought it very high-handed and spoke to Lord C about it when I dined with him last evening (Sat.). He said that not only did he not approve it but that he specifically asked for it to be redrafted to take it down. Could you make further enquiries? Normally I would let something he had approved go through. Fortunately on this occasion — I didn't.

M.T.

S Africa

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

c.c. Mr. Alexander

South African Rugby

M. Bouchaud, Charge at the French Embassy, telephoned me on Saturday. He said that French Ministers were facing increasing criticism from the French Rugby Union players, and they were worried that HMG appeared to be back-tracking from the position which Mr. Hector Monro had taken in his statement earlier last week. M. Bouchaud referred to newspaper reports that the Prime Minister was critical of the line which Mr. Monro had taken.

After consulting the Resident Clerk (FCO) I told M. Bouchaud that Mr. Monro would be writing to the Rugby Union the following day, and although I could not give him the text of this letter, it would almost certainly confirm the line taken in his (Mr. Monro's) statement. M. Bouchaud said that he was very happy to hear this, and would let his Ministers know accordingly.

R.

3 September, 1979.

2

International Rugby Football Board

COMMITTEE OF HOME UNIONS

Hon. Secretary
J.G.M. HART

Phone
01-660 6460

Balfron
Hermitage Road
Kenley Surrey
CR2 5EB
England

cc Mr Cow
Mr James

2nd September, 1979

1. Mr Alexander
2. Prime Minister

A practicable response.

H.S.P.Monro, Esq,J.P.,D.L.,M.P.,
Parliamentary Under Secretary of State,
Department of Environment,
2 Marsham Street,
London SW1P 3EB.

Dear Mr Monro,

Flag A (i.e. you rebutt)

Your letter of 1st September 1979 asks my Committee to reconsider, in the light of the Gleneagles Agreement, its invitation to the South African Barbarians Club to tour in Great Britain and Ireland in October.

The Gleneagles Agreement was made in June 1977. In the two years since then many changes have taken place in the organization and playing of Rugby Football in South Africa because, we believe, of the effectiveness of our policy of continuing contact.

The Constitution of the South African Rugby Board, the governing body of the Game in South Africa, is now non-racial; its development policy is non-racial; joint coaching courses have been conducted and are being conducted and facilities and opportunities for advancement in the Game are available for all players.

These are major changes in the situation since June 1977. The Gleneagles Agreement acknowledged that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge its commitments.

My Committee sees no reason why the Government should not exercise the discretion thus afforded to it by the Gleneagles Agreement in the light of the situation prevailing today. This is typified by the multi-racial nature of the Club side which has been invited.

Continued.....

'My Committee therefore stands by its invitation and feels justified in expecting the full support of the Government.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions. Perhaps you will kindly arrange for copies to be sent to the Chairmen of the Sports Councils, to whom you sent copies of your letter to me.

Yours sincerely,

J.G.M.HART

Tele[illegible]e
01-2[illegible] 3434

DEPARTMENT OF THE
ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET
SW1P 3EB

MIKE PATTISON

With the Compliments of

the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

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

My ref:

Your ref:

1 September 1979

J G M HART Esq
Honorary Secretary
Committee of Home Rugby Unions
c/o East India Sports, Public Schools
and Devonshire Club
16 St James' Square
London SW1

Dear Mr Hart,

I am writing to you about the invitation the Home Rugby Unions have extended to the South African Barbarians Club to tour here in October.

I recognise that progress has been made over recent years, particularly in certain sports, in South Africa towards non-racialism. I note that the Barbarians team is reportedly to be a mixed one.

But this country has obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement, a copy of which I enclose. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary stated in Parliament on 19 June that the Government accepts this agreement.

Your own invitation must therefore be viewed in this light.

I value the independence of our sports bodies. They have a right to order their own affairs. But I believe that they should consider their wider responsibilities too.

In the light of the Gleneagles Agreement I would ask you to reconsider your invitation to the South African Barbarians Club.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions and to the Chairmen of the Sports Councils.

Yours sincerely

G Needham

HECTOR MONRO

(Agreed by Mr Monro and signed in his absence)

COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT 14 JUNE 1977

The member countries of the Commonwealth, embracing peoples of diverse races, colours, languages and faiths, have long recognized racial prejudice and discrimination as a dangerous sickness and an unmitigated evil and are pledged to use all their efforts to foster human dignity everywhere. At their London meeting, the Heads of Government reaffirmed that apartheid in sports, as in other fields, is an abomination and runs directly counter to the declaration of Commonwealth principles which they made at Singapore on 22 January 1971.

They were conscious that sport is an important means of developing and fostering understanding between the people, and especially between the young people, of all countries. But, they were also aware that, quite apart from other factors, sporting contacts between their nationals and the nationals of countries practising apartheid in sport tend to encourage the belief (however unwarranted) that they are prepared to condone this abhorrent policy or are less than totally committed to the principles embodied in their Singapore declaration. Regretting past misunderstandings and difficulties and recognizing that these were partly the result of inadequate inter-governmental consultations, they agreed that they would seek to remedy this situation in the context of the increased level of understanding now achieved.

They reaffirmed their full support for the international campaign against apartheid and welcomed the efforts of the United Nations to reach universally accepted approaches to the question of sporting contacts within the framework of that campaign.

Mindful of these and other considerations, they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage, contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organized on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

They fully acknowledged that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge these commitments. But they recognized that the effective fulfilment of their commitments was essential to the harmonious development of Commonwealth sport hereafter.

They acknowledged also that the full realization of their objectives involved the understanding, support and active participation of the nationals of their countries and of their national sporting organizations and authorities. As they drew a curtain across the past they issued a collective call for that understanding, support and participation with a view to ensuring that in this matter the peoples and Government of the Commonwealth might help to give a lead to the world.

Heads of Government specially welcomed the belief, unanimously expressed at their meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid. On that basis, and having regard to their commitments, they looked forward with satisfaction to the holding of the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton and to the continued strengthening of Commonwealth sport generally.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

31 August 1979

Prime Minister

Mr Heseltine and Lord Carrington have approved the attached draft. Are you prepared to authorise it - notwithstanding your earlier reservations? (Could you please ask the Cons. Room girl to phone your decision to me).

TL 31/8

I could not possibly agree to this letter. Its tone is much too high-handed. And we shall need S. Africa's help over the Moscow Games. Have redrafted. MT

PROPOSED TOUR BY SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIANS RUGBY CLUB

Following the discussion at Cabinet yesterday and the Prime Minister's concern about the statements made in relation to the attitude of the Government to the proposed tour by the South African Barbarians Rugby Club, my Secretary of State has considered the action which might now be taken.

Flag A

Flag B

He takes the view that the Government is committed to the Gleneagles Agreement. The Foreign Secretary made this clear in the House of Lords on 19 June and, as the Prime Minister is aware, the first paragraph of the Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice refers in its first paragraph to this Agreement. The Agreement commits the Government to take every practical step to discourage contact by its nationals with teams from South Africa. It is, of course, a matter of judgement how far the Government should go and what constitutes a "practical step".

Mr Monro's statement earlier in the week to the Press was prompted by the fact that there is to be a meeting on Sunday of the Home Rugby Unions. After careful consideration, my Secretary of State feels that it would be right for a letter to be sent before that meeting in order to make clear the attitude of the Government. This view is shared by Lord Carrington. I attach a proposed letter, which has been personally approved by Lord Carrington and Mr Heseltine for Mr Monro to send, subject of course to the agreement of the Prime Minister.

As I understand that the Prime Minister may not be able to consider this until tomorrow, I should be grateful if your office could give the decision direct to Mr Monro's Private Secretary, Geoff Needham, whose home telphone number is 505 8271.

I am copying this to Stephen Wall in Lord Carrington's office.

Yours sincerely
Dave Edmonds

D A EDMONDS
Private Secretary

Tim Lankester Esq

retyped 1/9/79 KB

DRAFT LETTER FROM MR MONRO TO J G M HART ESQ. HON SECRETARY, COMMITTEE OF HOME RUGBY UNIONS, BALFRON HERMITAGE ROAD, KENLEY, SURREY CR2 5EB

I am writing to you about the invitation the Home Rugby Unions have extended to the South African Barbarians Club to tour here in October. ~~There are wider sporting implications and I am sorry that the Unions did not seek prior consultation with the Government. I would, therefore, ask you to present this letter to the meeting of the Committee of Home Unions at their meeting on Sunday 2 September.~~

I recognise that progress had been made over recent years, particularly in certain sports, in South Africa towards non-racialism. I note that the Barbarians team is reportedly to be a mixed one.

But ~~as you are aware, the implications of your invitation extend beyond Rugby~~. This country has obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement, a copy of which I enclose. ~~convenience I attach a copy~~. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary stated in Parliament on 19 June that the Government accepts this agreement. ~~The Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice approved by Commonwealth Heads of Government at Lusaka earlier this month specifically refers to it.~~

~~The Gleneagles Agreement lays a duty on each Government to take "every practical step to discourage" contacts with South African teams.~~ Your invitation must therefore be viewed in this light. ~~Our standing in world sport generally could well be damaged.~~

I value the independence of our sports bodies. They have a right to order their own affairs. But I believe that they ~~must~~ should consider their wider responsibilities too. ~~including those to their government and to fellow sportsmen.~~

In the light of the Gleneagles agreement I would ask you, ~~therefore~~, to reconsider your invitation to the South African Barbarians Club. ~~At the same time, I must ask you not to proceed with plans for a British Lions tour next year to South Africa.~~

I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions and to the Chairmen of the Sports Councils.

Agree only as redrafted above

MT

GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT

COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT 14 JUNE 1977

The member countries of the Commonwealth, embracing peoples of diverse races, colours, languages and faiths, have long recognized racial prejudice and discrimination as a dangerous sickness and an unmitigated evil and are pledged to use all their efforts to foster human dignity everywhere. At their London meeting, the Heads of Government reaffirmed that apartheid in sports, as in other fields, is an abomination and runs directly counter to the declaration of Commonwealth principles which they made at Singapore on 22 January 1971.

They were conscious that sport is an important means of developing and fostering understanding between the people, and especially between the young people, of all countries. But, they were also aware that, quite apart from other factors, sporting contacts between their nationals and the nationals of countries practising apartheid in sport tend to encourage the belief (however unwarranted) that they are prepared to condone this abhorrent policy or are less than totally committed to the principles embodied in their Singapore declaration. Regretting past misunderstandings and difficulties and recognizing that these were partly the result of inadequate inter-governmental consultations, they agreed that they would seek to remedy this situation in the context of the increased level of understanding now achieved.

They reaffirmed their full support for the international campaign against apartheid and welcomed the efforts of the United Nations to reach universally accepted approaches to the question of sporting contacts within the framework of that campaign.

Mindful of these and other considerations, they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage, contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organized on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

They fully acknowledged that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge these commitments. But they recognized that the effective fulfilment of their commitments was essential to the harmonious development of Commonwealth sport hereafter.

They acknowledged also that the full realization of their objectives involved the understanding, support and active participation of the nationals of their countries and of their national sporting organizations and authorities. As they drew a curtain across the past they issued a collective call for that understanding, support and participation with a view to ensuring that in this matter the peoples and Government of the Commonwealth might help to give a lead to the world.

Heads of Government specially welcomed the belief, unanimously expressed at their meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid. On that basis, and having regard to their commitments, they looked forward with satisfaction to the holding of the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton and to the continued strengthening of Commonwealth sport generally.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

cc p.m.

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY
OF STATE

Mike

overtaken

M.

As requested a note on this weeks developments is attached together with a copy of the proposed letter to the Rugby Unions and a copy of the Gleneagles Agreement.

Geoff Needham
PS/Mr Mouto
Tel. 212 5421
30 August '79.

PROPOSED TOUR BY SOUTH AFRICAN BARBARIANS RUGBY CLUB

Last weekend the four Home Rugby Unions announced in a Press Release for use on Tuesday that they had invited the South African Barbarians club to send a team to tour the UK in October. The touring party of 24 players would comprise equal numbers of white, coloured and black players. They would play two fixtures in each of the four countries. Despite his close personal links with the Rugby Unions the news came as a surprise to the Minister for Sport.

Against questioning from the media Mr Monro expressed his concern about the invitation and the lack of prior consultation with the Government: that FCO and Home Office Ministers would need to be involved: reiterated that the Government was bound by the Gleneagles Agreement to discourage sporting contact with South Africa; and referred to possible repercussions concerning the Olympic Games next year. He said that he would be consulting his colleagues with a view to a possible Government Statement leading to a request from him to the Rugby Unions to reconsider their invitation.

The Minister of State FCO (Mr Blaker) has been kept in close touch with developments and it is understood that he fully approved Mr Monro's statement.

Attached is a copy of the letter Mr Monro intends to send today to the Rugby Unions the text of which has been agreed by Mr Blaker.

The relevant committee of the Unions meets on Sunday next to consider the itinerary and a possible British Lions tour of South Africa next year.

Attached also, is a copy of the Gleneagles Agreement.

August 30 1979

CR

DRAFT LETTER FROM MR MONRO TO HON SEC COMMITTEE OF HOME RUGBY UNIONS, J G M HART ESQ, HON SECRETARY, COMMITTEE OF HOME RUGBY UNIONS, BALFRON, HERMITAGE ROAD, KENLEY, SURREY CR2 5EB

1. You will have heard of the statement I have made on the invitation the Home Rugby Unions have extended to the South African Barbarians Club to tour here in October. As I said in it I am very concerned at the decision and somewhat surprised that the Unions did not regard the invitation of such wider significance as to warrant prior consultation with the Government. I am writing to you now, therefore, to ask you to present this letter to the meeting of the Committee of Home Unions on Sunday next.

2. I recognise that progress has been made over recent years, particularly in certain sports, in South Africa towards non-racialism and I note that the Barbarians team is reportedly to be a mixed one. You probably see such a tour as reflecting and recognising progress in Rugby Football. But as things stand at present the issues is not so simple as that and the implications of your invitation go well outside Rugby itself.

3. You are well aware of our obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement and for convenience I attach a copy. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary stated in Parliament on 19 June that the Government accepts the Agreement and the Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice approved by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their meeting in Lusaka earlier this month mentions it. Your

invitation must be viewed in the light of this and, also, of the fact that it comes in the months leading up to an Olympics year. I must voice my concern about the likely repercussions. A Barbarians tour could lead to demonstrations and disruptions. Our participation in the Olympic Games could well be in jeopardy or there may be boycotts such as have occurred at similar Games in past years. And our standing in world sport generally could well be damaged.

4. Other sportsmen and women might be excused for calling into question the right of yourselves and those who think like you to act in such a manner as to affect their sporting lives in this way.

5. I value the independence of our sports bodies and the right this gives them to order their affairs in their own way. But they have responsibilities too and I suggest that one of these is to fellow sportsmen. You might also consider it proper that in matters of such appropriate international concern the views of the Government should be considered as well. We have undertaken in the Gleneagles Agreement to take every practical step to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa.

6. I must ask you, therefore, to reconsider your invitation to the South African Barbarians Club and at the same time not to proceed with plans for a British Lions tour next year to South Africa, against which the arguments apply with equal if not even

more force. I look forward to having the Committee's reactions as soon as possible after its Sunday meeting.

7. I am sending copies of this letter to the Presidents of the Home Rugby Unions and to the Chairmen of the Sports Councils for their own personal information at this stage.

3F