

PREM 19/3568

Sporting Relations with South Africa.

Genealogical Agreement

closed - See Relations

SPORT

Pt1: August 1979

Pt2: March 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>31.3.80</del>		<del>13.2.84</del>					
<del>15.4.80</del>		<del>24.3.84</del>					
<del>12.5.80</del>		<del>28.3.84</del>					
<del>16.7.80</del>		<del>28.3.84</del>					
<del>6.8.81</del>		<del>24.3.84</del>					
<del>3.8.81</del>		3.12.84					
<del>4.9.81</del>		21.8.85					
<del>2.10.81</del>		<del>21.8.85</del>					
<del>3.3.82</del>		16.5.89					
<del>8.3.82</del>		<del>2-8-89</del>					
<del>11.3.82</del>		11.4.91					
<del>19.3.82</del>		<del>22.4.91</del>					
<del>23.3.82</del>		20.4.91					
<del>4.5.82</del>		7.5.91					
<del>19.5.82</del>		6.6.91					
<del>28.7.82</del>		27.6.91					
<del>21.8.82</del>		6.7.91					
		<del>15.7.91</del>					
		23.7.91					
		26.7.91					
		28.8.91					
		<del>23.9.91</del>					
		30.9.91					
		2.10.91					

~~PREM 19/3568~~

PREM 19/3568

Series closed



010

cc PC



Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 October 1991

→ file.

Dear Stephen,

Sporting Links with South Africa : Letter from  
Mr A N R Robinson, Prime Minister of  
Trinidad and Tobago

I enclose a copy of Mr Robinson's reply to the Prime Minister's letter of 23 July about sporting links with South Africa. The letter was sent through the Trinidad and Tobago High Commission in London. It does not need a reply.

Yours ever,

Christine Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)  
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO  
10 Downing Street

# INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL

Telephone No.  
071-266 2691  
(Direct Line/Answerphone)  
Telephone No.  
London 071-289 611/3  
(M.C.C. Pavilion)  
Telex  
297329 MCCQG  
Fax. 071-289 9800



Lord's Cricket Ground,  
London,  
NW8 8QN

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

*file*

TO: Mr. Stephen Wall  
OF: No. 10 Downing Street, c/o Cabinet Office  
FAX NO: 071 930 1419 DATE: 8 October 1991  
FROM: Lt. Col. J.R. Stephenson, OBE

...<sup>3</sup>page(s) is/are being transmitted, including this page. If you do not receive that number, please advise.

URGENT

Colin Cowdrey has asked me to send you a copy of the attached letter and would appreciate comments. His inclination is to doff his hat with this letter to the Commonwealth Heads of Government as they meet in Harare but with an additional final paragraph such as:-

"I trust this decision will have the support of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Harare later this month."

Do you think this is suitable?

*J.R. Stephenson*

Secretary ICC

# INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL

Telephone No.  
071-366 2691  
(Direct Line/Autophone)

Telephone No.  
London 071-289 1611/3  
(M.C.C. Pavilion)

Telex  
297529 MCCC G  
Fax. 071-289 9108

MCC/JRS



Lord's Cricket Ground,

London,

NW8 8QN

10 October 1991

FAX/TELEX

TO: Presidents/Chairmen of Countries  
taking part in the 1992 World Cup  
and the Chairman, ICC Associate Members

Dear President/Chairman,

## SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD CUP 1992

At the Meeting of the International Cricket Council held in London in July 1991, it was agreed that South Africa should be admitted as a Full Member. The key factors enabling the Council to make this historic decision were the formation of a new non-racial United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA), evidence of a development programme to promote cricket in the townships, and the support of the African National Congress (ANC).

Following the decision to admit South Africa, the representatives of the Australian Cricket Board and New Zealand Cricket, on behalf of the World Cup Committee, raised the question of South Africa's possible participation in the World Cup, to be staged in Australia and New Zealand in February and March 1992. Reflecting the feel of the Conference, I used my prerogative to declare that the inclusion of South Africa in the World Cup was premature.

In August, the World Cup Committee discussed the possibility of South Africa being a late inclusion in the World Cup, and agreed it would be possible provided a decision was made by 30 September 1991. On 23 September 1991, the President of UCBSA made a formal application to me for South Africa to take part in the World Cup - you were sent a copy of this.

I would draw your attention to the major developments which have taken place since the July Meeting of ICC:-

1. The lifting of the moratorium on international competition for certain integrated sports, including cricket, with effect from 1 October 1991.
2. The support given by both the National and Olympic Sports Congress and the African National Congress to South Africa's application to take part in the World Cup.

In the light of these developments, I have approached all the cricket authorities of the Countries due to participate in the World Cup (Australia, UK, New Zealand, Pakistan, India, West Indies, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe), although some reservations have been expressed about South Africa's participation. I feel all seven Countries are looking to me to take the decision on South Africa's entry in the best interests of international cricket.

The Secretary and I have given consideration to the turn of events since the ICC Conference in July and, as a result, I am able to announce, on behalf of ICC, that South Africa will be invited to take part in the World Cup.

Throughout our deliberations we have been acutely aware of the political sensitivity surrounding issues involving South Africa. We believe the decision reflects the degree to which progress has taken place within South Africa itself, in particular with regard to certain sports, with cricket taking the lead.

We also believe that it reflects the views taken by the international community, and particularly by the Commonwealth, whereby international sporting contacts with South Africa should resume on a sport by sport basis. We have also been at pains to ensure that the decision accords with the opinion of leading black South African groups.

It is our hope that South Africa's participation in the World Cup will enrich the game of cricket, that it will encourage the further development of the game on a truly non-racial basis in South Africa, and that it will serve as an example to other sports to bring about change and re-integration into world competition.

(Possible final sentence.)

Yours sincerely,

Chairman ICC



Mr Martinez *ja*

HIGH COMMISSION  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

TELEPHONE: 071-245 9351  
TELEGRAMS: TRINTAGOF LDN  
FAX: 071- 823 1065

42 BELGRAVE SQUARE  
LONDON, SW1X 8NT



NOTE NO 120/91

The High Commission of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago presents its compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to request that the attached letter from the Honourable Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr A N R Robinson be transmitted to the Rt Honourable John Major, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The original will follow.

The High Commission of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurance of its highest consideration.

LONDON

7 OCTOBER 1991







PRIME MINISTER

*ce/pe*

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T2466/91

October 4, 1991

The Rt. Honourable John Major  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
10, Downing Street  
London  
ENGLAND.

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
~~FILED ON:~~

I thank you for your letter of July 23, 1991 concerning the return of integrated sports to international competition and other developments involving South Africa.

I fully concur that there is still much left to be done by South Africa in respect of the desegregation of sport and I look forward to discussion on this and other related matters in Harare.

Yours sincerely

A.N.R. Robinson



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 October 1991

*Dear Richard,*

**SOUTH AFRICA: NELSON MANDELA**

I hope that the Prime Minister will be able to speak on the telephone to Mr. Mandela on Friday morning. You are kindly preparing a brief.

One of the main objectives of the call will be to discuss the handling of South Africa's participation in the Cricketing World Cup in February.

Colin Cowdrey has telephoned various figures in the cricketing world. The position as described to us by him is:

- (i) England, Australia and New Zealand are happy to admit South Africa;
- (ii) the West Indies are strongly against. They argue that not enough has changed to reconsider the July decision and they want to plan the re-entry more carefully;
- (iii) India and Pakistan both feel, at a cricketing level, that there is no reason to change the original decision, but at a political level see difficulties in rebuffing Mr. Mandela.

Colin Cowdrey has concluded that within the cricketing world, he has not garnered enough support to carry South Africa through. The only way to achieve this would be if Mr. Mandela was ready to make an approach to heads of government.

The Prime Minister thinks it is probably not a good idea to encourage Mr. Mandela to raise the matter in Harare unless he has written to heads of government beforehand. He therefore has it in mind to propose that Mr. Mandela should write and he will offer to weigh in either in writing or individually with the heads of government concerned in Harare. The Prime Minister discussed this with Simon Hemans this morning.

I should be grateful if you could let me have the briefing for the phone call during the course of tomorrow (Thursday).

I am copying this letter to Mela Watts (Office of the Minister for Sport).

*J. S. Wall*  
(J. S. WALL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

*File SKW  
aPC*

*SA*

PRIME MINISTER

SOUTH AFRICA: CRICKET

The story so far. The United Cricket Board of South Africa wrote to Colin Cowdrey as Chairman of the ICC arguing that, since the decision to readmit South Africa taken in July, sufficient progress had been made to justify South Africa's participation in the World Cup in February. It had previously been envisaged that the first South African tour, inward or outward, would come rather later. Mr. Mandela wrote to Colin Cowdrey endorsing the UCBSA's request.

Colin has now rung round various figures in the cricketing world:

- (i) England, Australia and New Zealand are happy to admit South Africa;
- (ii) the West Indies are strongly against. They argue that not enough has changed to reconsider the July decision and they want to plan the re-entry more carefully;
- (iii) India and Pakistan both feel, at a cricketing level, that there is no reason to change the original decision, but at a political level see difficulties in rebuffing Mr. Mandela.

Colin's conclusion is that, within the cricketing world, he has not garnered enough support to carry South Africa through. The only way to achieve this would be if Mr. Mandela was ready to make an approach to Heads of Government with a request for a discussion in Harare.

There is something odd, however, about Heads of Government taking a second order decision, i.e. precisely the competition through which South Africa makes its re-entry. You already have it in mind to talk to Mr. Mandela by phone.

Do you want to encourage him to raise this in Harare where Heads of Government may find it more difficult to say no to him face to face?

Or do you feel that it is wrong for this decision to be taken at a political level?

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

30 September 1991

C:\pps\cowdrey (pmg)

Colin Cowdrey  
Angmering Park  
Littlehampton  
West Sussex  
BN16 4EX  
Tel: (090674) 423/543  
Fax: (090674) 530

TO: FOR THE ATTENTION MR ANDREW TURNBULL  
FAX NO: 071-930-1419  
FROM: COLIN COWDREY  
FAX NO: 090674-530  
DATE: 30 SEPTEMBER 1991

NO OF PAGES  
INC. THIS ONE:

#### CRICKET WORLD CUP - SOUTH AFRICA

Last week South Africa made a late application to be admitted to the World Cup to be held in Australia and New Zealand in February and March 1992. This was accompanied by a personal plea by way of support from Mr Nelson Mandela. A copy of these two documents have been sent to every test match playing country.

#### THE POSITION AS I SEE IT

There is now no logical reason why South Africa should not be admitted to the World Cup. That is certainly how the sporting world would view it, and certainly the British Press would view it, and possibly the Press world wide would view it.

Australia have put together a new itinerary to include South Africa. This can be left open until mid-October before a final decision. Obviously it would be helpful if a decision could be reached before then, but this may not be possible.

The final IOC Moratorium, on cricket in particular, and three other sports, is being lifted tonight and so there can be no objection to the South African cricket team being exposed to international competition.

furthermore. Mr Mandela has thought it important to enter the fray, acknowledging that cricket are the leaders in totally integrated sport in South Africa, that they deserve this reward and, by receiving this reward, it will be a spur to one or two of the other major sports, like rugby football and athletics to put their house in order.

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

27 September 1991

Dear Richard,

SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

As you may have seen, the United Cricket Board of South Africa has written to Colin Cowdrey as Chairman of the International Cricket Council seeking agreement to South Africa's participation in the 1992 World Cup. I attach a copy of the relevant letter. Mr. Mandela has followed this up with a letter indicating that the ANC fully supports the application.

Colin Cowdrey has told the Prime Minister that, in the light of Mr. Mandela's letter, it should be possible to secure an agreement to South Africa's participation. Colin Cowdrey has taken soundings among the cricketing nations. Australia and New Zealand are in favour and, with a little persuasion, India and Pakistan may well come out in support, not wishing to stand in the way of such an approach by Mr. Mandela. The West Indies are not happy with the proposal but would probably go along with it if all the other countries were in favour.

Colin Cowdrey asked the Prime Minister if he could send messages to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan indicating that, in the light of Mr. Mandela's approach, he favoured a positive reply to the South African request and that he hoped the Governments of India and Pakistan would look favourably on the proposal as well. The Prime Minister said he would be happy for such messages to be passed. Could you arrange for our High Commissioners to contact the offices of the two Prime Ministers to pass on to them Mr. Major's views.

I am copying this letter to Mela Watts (Office of the Minister for Sport).

Yours sincerely  
Andrew Turnbull

(ANDREW TURNBULL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

Colin Cowdrey  
Angmering Park  
Littlehampton  
West Sussex  
DIN10 4EA  
Tel: (090674) 423/543  
Fax: (090674) 530

TO: FOR THE ATTENTION MR ANDREW TURNBULL  
FAX NO: 071-930-1419  
FROM: COLIN COWDREY  
FAX NO: 090674-530  
DATE: 26 SEPTEMBER 1991

NO OF PAGES  
INC. THIS ONE: 2

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from Nelson Mandela which I have just received, a copy of which has gone to each one of the test playing countries.

The more I think about it, the more I realise that this letter makes it game, set and match with test playing countries. There is no way I could envisage telling the cricket world that we had knocked back Nelson Mandela, unless, of course, it had been blocked by one of the governments.

I will be making a lot of telephone calls around in the next 24 hours and will let you know of any progress.

Yours ever

Colin  
~

Colin Cowdrey

51 Plein Street  
Johannesburg  
P.O. Box 61884  
Marshalltown 2107

Tel: (011) 330-7000  
Fax: 333-9090  
333-4609  
Telex: 42-1262



**AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

25th September 1991

Mr Collin Cowdrey  
Chairman  
ICC Lordes Cricket Ground  
St. John's Wood  
London NW8 5QN  
UK

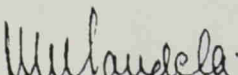
Dear Mr Cowdrey,

The United Cricket Board of South Africa is making an application to participate in the World Cricket Cup Competition due to take place in Australia and New Zealand in February, 1992.

In this regard the ANC wishes to inform the International Cricket Council that the ANC fully supports the application of the United South African Cricket Board. We would gratefully appreciate it if permission was granted for their participation in that competition.

The United South African Cricket Board is a non-racial, democratic body and it has cricket development programmes which it is implementing throughout South Africa. Further, their participation in that competition will enhance the process of unity in sport as well as the spirit of reconciliation generally in my country.

With warmest regards

  
Nelson R. Mandela  
President



M.C. CONNERY

Angmering Park  
Littlehampton  
West Sussex, BN16 4EX  
Patching (090 674) 423

L2579

Sept. 24<sup>th</sup>

Dear Andrew.

I wrote out this note for my own benefit looking at the change of horizon since the Ice Meeting in July.

I enclose a copy of the fax received from South Africa to-day. (23.9.91)

May I speak with you to-morrow (Wednesday) morning?

As ever,  
Colin

### I.C.C. Meeting, July 1991

When South Africa were admitted to the I.C.C. in July, the new United Cricket Board of South Africa had been in being two weeks and, whilst cricket was acknowledged to be the leader towards bringing about unified non-racial sporting bodies in South Africa, so many uncertainties lay ahead.

The Delegates from South Africa highlighted the importance of being back in the international cricket family and the encouragement that that would bring as they strove to build the new non-racial cricket board. The whole question of international competition and the return to Test Cricket, whilst very important in the longer term, was secondary in the short term.

It was against this background that South Africa were welcomed back into the Fold, and that their participation in the World Cup was really rather premature. It was the feeling of the overwhelming majority of those present at the I.C.C. Meeting that they were delighted to have South Africa back but that South Africa should build slowly with the prospect of a tour from India or West Indies into South Africa in due time as the first objective.

### South Africa Apply to be Admitted to the World Cup, September 23 1991

Australia and New Zealand, who are responsible for staging the World Cup, have made it quite clear that they could be fitted in at this late stage and an alternative itinerary has been prepared.

It is now for each of the test playing countries, and Zimbabwe, and for Joe Buzaglio of Gibraltar, representative of the Associate Countries, to give fair and proper consideration as to whether there has been sufficient change since July to justify their participation.

### What has changed?

In July, all South African sport was held under a moratorium by the black African countries and there could be no international competition.

This moratorium has been lifted for four sports, cricket being the main one.

Furthermore, the IOC lift their moratorium on cricket as from October 1 1991 so that they are free to play internationally.

When we looked at the whole picture in July, there was no guarantee that either of these developments would take place in so shorter time, but now they have, it makes all the difference and removes all the obstacles to South Africa competing in Test Cricket or the World Cup. Even so, certain countries may still feel that South Africa should proceed slowly, building towards tours coming into South Africa. South Africa have announced that they have no plan for a tour this next season and feel that participation in the World Cup would be a fitting reward and encouragement to their best players.

Chronology of Events of Significance to South African Sport

AUGUST 2 1991 CANOEING

21 year ban lifted and the SA team competed at the World Championships in Paris in August.

AUGUST 5 1991 SQUASH

International Squash Players Association have accepted the SA bid to host the 1992 World Championships in South Africa.

AUGUST 10 1991 SWIMMING

A united body was formed and an application under review by the international body.

AUGUST 11 1991 SOCCER

Complete unity amongst the various bodies was announced, thus removing the final hurdle in the way of international re-admission. This is now awaited.

AUGUST 11 1991 CYCLING

SA re-admitted to the international cycling in Stuttgart, Germany.

AUGUST 22 1991 ANGLING

SA team participated at the international competition in Italy.

SEPTEMBER 7 1991 GYMNASTICS

The SA team participated at the World Gymnastic Championships in USA.

SEPTEMBER 7 1991 RUGBY/FOOTBALL

Four South African rugby players played for the Barbarians against Scotland at Murrayfield.

SEPTEMBER 12 1991 BOWLING

The international blind bowlers were accepted as members of the international body and can now participate.

SEPTEMBER 12 1991 TRIATHLON

SA granted full membership of the international body and invited to compete in the World Championships in California in November.

DECEMBER 7 1991 SOCCER

FIFA will decide on SA's membership and re-entry into international soccer. SA are scheduled to host the 1996 Africa Cup.

General Points

The Stoke Mandeville Sports Federation lifts the ban on South African handicapped sports persons.

South African yachtsmen will be able to race in the Cape to Rio big race in 1993.

South Africa, captained by Gary Player, will play in the Dunhill Cup at St Andrews in October 1991.

The twelve European Community States have supported the principle of renewing sporting contacts at international level where unified and non-racial sporting bodies have been set up.

#### Problem Areas

TENNIS is still having difficulty in producing a united body acceptable to the tennis world.

ATHLETICS is still having similar difficulties and have received rejections for Tokyo, yet the IOC have extended an invitation to SA to participate in the 1992 Barcelona games.

RUGBY/FOOTBALL is still battling to provide a united body acceptable to the IRFC.

#### Summary

It is quite clear that the decision taken at the I.C.C. in July, that South Africa be returned to the fold, has provided a tremendous stimulus and encouragement to everyone connected with South African sport.

Happily, the cricket administrators in South Africa have led the way and it is a matter of pride that cricket is at the head of the field with the new United Cricket Board of South Africa.



Wanderers Club, North Street, Illovo, 2196, P.O. Box 55009, Northlands, 2116, Telegraphic Address: "WICKET" Bimam Park.

Facsimile: (011) 880 6578 Telephone: (011) 880 2810

23rd September 1991.

Mr. M. C. Cowdrey, C.B.E.  
Chairman,  
International Cricket Council,  
Lord's Cricket Ground,  
LONDON, NW8, 8QN.

Dear Sir,

BENSON & HEDGES WORLD CUP 1992.

The Executive Committee of the United Cricket Board of South Africa met over the weekend and considered South Africa's position vis-a-vis participation in the Benson & Hedges World Cup next year.

It was agreed that an application should be submitted immediately to the International Cricket Council for South Africa's participation in this prestigious event, which we hereby do.

You will recall that at the ICC meeting in July 1991 our delegation comprising Mr. K. Mackerdhuij (Vice-President), Dr. Ali Bacher (Managing Director), Mr. Steve Ishwete (National Executive Committee member of the African National Congress) and myself, sought immediate international recognition, with participation to be determined later by the South African people.

It is with much pleasure that I can advise the ICC that on August 23rd 1991 the National & Olympic Sports Congress announced that the Moratorium, previously accepted by cricket, be lifted unconditionally. This action permits South Africa to return to the international arena this coming South African summer. As you know, the National & Olympic Sports Congress is the mass based non-racial sports organisation linked to the African National Congress.

In addition, I would like to advise you that both the National & Olympic Sports Congress and the African National Congress have publicly and in communication with my Executive Committee stated that they would support a decision by the United Cricket Board of South Africa to apply for participation in the Benson & Hedges World Cup.

/Further ...

- 2

23rd September 1991


Further, I confirm that on the 23rd August 1991 the following sports were permitted to participate internationally with immediate effect :-

Soccer	Amateur Boxing
Road running	Professional golf
The martial art of Taekwondo.	

The Benson & Hedges World Cup Organising Committee have indicated that it is possible to accommodate South Africa at the World Cup at this late stage without incurring any financial loss to the participating countries and without any inconvenience. The World Cup Organising Committee have also indicated that the deadline for possible participation by South Africa be decided by 30th September 1991. May we request that this deadline be extended to the end of October to allow sufficient time for the participating countries to consider our application.

Once again we state how thrilled we are to be accepted back in the world of cricket and the United Cricket Board of South Africa and the people of this country would be elated to see their flag flying at the Benson & Hedges World Cup.

Yours faithfully,



N. T. Dakin - President.

PRIME MINISTER

23 SEPTEMBER 1991



I noticed the attached article by Clive Lloyd about cricket in South Africa in today's Telegraph and thought you would like to see it. It's rather encouraging!

*John Mills*

JOHN MILLS

# Progressive forces worth supporting on discovery trip

I HAVE been in South Africa for the past fortnight on a cricket mission to see what is happening here at first hand. If anybody had said a year ago that I would be in South Africa coaching cricket this September, I would have doubted their sanity, but why did I agree to go?

Firstly, the invitation came from the United Cricket Board of South Africa who had just been granted unconditional membership of the International Cricket Council. Secondly, changes were taking place in South Africa, and apartheid had been removed from the statute books. And thirdly, I wanted to see for myself what was happening in the country that I and others had successfully helped to isolate because of apartheid.

I did a great deal of homework with people I know in diplomatic circles, including those in my own government, the African National Congress and somebody I greatly admire, Lord Pitt.

All agreed that I should go, and if need be, help the progressive forces at play in South Africa, particularly in cricket. I am a humble cricketer and my observations are made in



**Clive Lloyd, former West Indies captain, takes a first-hand look at the conditions and prospects of life in modern South Africa**

shot of the mourners for the victims of a weekend of violence.

I have travelled to the desolate village of Mdingi in the Eastern Cape where I saw children playing cricket — descendants of those taught the game in the late 1800s by the British army.

Mdingi still has an annual cricket festival against neighbouring villages run on a knockout basis — if you lose, you pay the victors a sheep which is eaten by supporters with great relish in full view of the hungry losers.

Two of my most memorable moments so far came at the

## 'I have seen cricket played within earshot of mourners for the victims of violence'

famous Kingsmead ground in Durban, where I watched a mini-cricket festival.

A white kid was bowled, and on his way out, handed the bat to an incoming "brown-

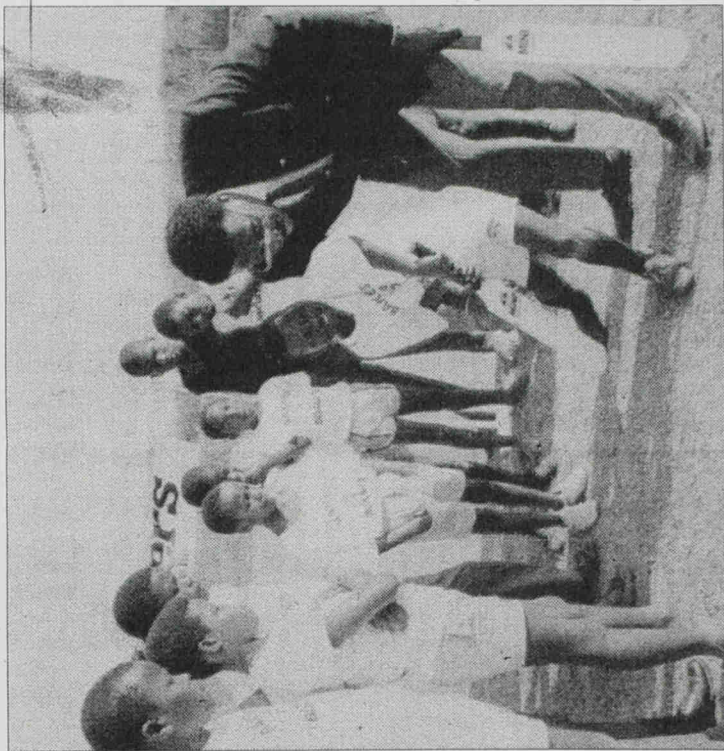
don't let it rain on my hand." These might seem like trivial incidents to most people, but in South Africa they are enormously important because they symbolise the breaking down of the barriers that apartheid built.

These symbols, however heartwarming, cannot on their own eradicate the cruel conditions of life in the townships that I visited.

I do not want to compare them on a kind of human deprivation Richter scale to shanties in my own and other countries, except to say that they are unacceptable.

Basic human needs like on-tap water, electricity, education, employment, and health services are lacking in many communities.

These basic issues, together with township violence and the question of universal franchise, are now in the hands of the politicians. From my travels over thousands of miles in South Africa, I can see that cricket



**Best foot forward: Clive Lloyd coaching during his cricket mission to South Africa**

seen them responding to the game with enthusiasm and considerable talent. I come from very humble beginnings, and few can tell me what it is like for a child to want to improve, to make a success of yourself, and to do so without regrets.

I have seen what cricket has done for the West Indies, Australia and New Zealand and international pride and international esteem against a background of division and colonialism.

The United States, with a similar background, used

about us in the West Indies, but we proved to the world that we can produce great cricketers and great leaders given the opportunity.

● The United Cricket Board of South Africa are still hoping to be included in the World Cup, despite the decision of the Pakistan Board to oppose their participation, writes **Christopher Martin-Jenkins**

The Indian Board will make their position on the issue clear to the ICC chairman, says no-strings-attached ICC

Colin



# LIUGLASSIVE IWLLES

## worth supporting on discovery trip

I HAVE been in South Africa for the past fortnight on a cricket mission to see what is happening here at first hand. If anybody had said a year ago that I would be in South Africa coaching cricket this September, I would have doubted their sanity, but why did I agree to go?

Firstly, the invitation came from the United Cricket Board of South Africa, who had just been granted unconditional membership of the International Cricket Council.

Secondly, changes were taking place in South Africa, and apartheid had been removed from the statute books. And thirdly, I wanted to see for myself what was happening in the country that I and others had successfully helped to isolate because of apartheid.

I did a great deal of homework with people I know in diplomatic circles, including those in my own government, the African National Congress and somebody I greatly admire, Lord Pitt.

All agreed that I should go, and if need be, help the progressive forces at play in South Africa, particularly in cricket.

I am a humble cricketer and my observations are made in this context. South Africa is a place of wide distances, wide gaps between the have and have-nots, and wide opportunities to harness human endeavour.

I have seen cricket being played by children in the black townships of Natal, within sight of patrolling army vehicles and within ear-



**Clive Lloyd, former West Indies captain, takes a first-hand look at the conditions and prospects of life in modern South Africa**

shot of the mourners for the victims of a weekend of violence. I have travelled to the desolate village of Mdingi in the Eastern Cape, where I saw children playing cricket — descendants of those taught the game in the late 1800s by the British army.

Mdingi still has an annual cricket festival against neighbouring villages run on a knockout basis — if you lose, you pay the victors a sheep which is eaten by supporters with great relish in full view of the hungry losers.

Two of my most memorable moments so far came at the moments so far came at the tap water, electricity, employment, and health services are lacking in many communities. These basic issues, together with township violence and the question of universal franchise, are now in the hands of the politicians.

From my travels over thousands of miles in South Africa, I can see that cricket is playing a leading and vital role, both on and off the field.

It is taking the game to all communities; it is striving towards equal opportunities and equal facilities; it is breaking down racism. Cricket in South Africa is also providing a way up for the kids in the ghettos created by apartheid, and I have

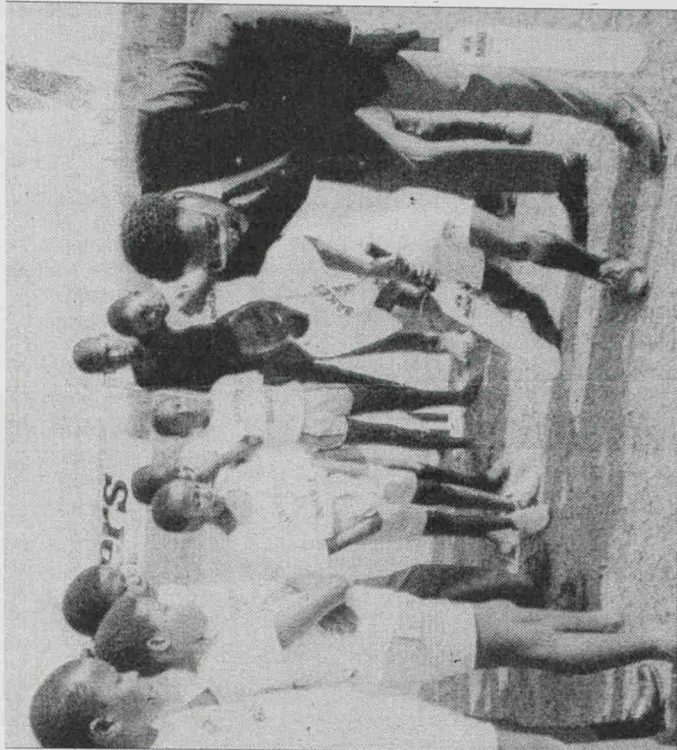
seen them enthusing about the game, with enthusiasm and considerable talent.

I come from very humble beginnings, and few can tell me what it is like for a child to succeed of yourself, and to do so without regrets.

I have seen what cricket has done for the West Indies, Australia and New Zealand next year.

A logical thing is taking the position on the issue clear to the ICC chairman, Colin Cowdrey, after elections of board members this week.

Although the West Indies Board are expected to oppose South African participation at their meeting on Sept 28, it is understood that they would not pull out of the tournament if an ICC majority supported South African inclusion.



**Best foot forward: Clive Lloyd coaching during his cricket mission to South Africa**

about us in the West Indies, but we proved to the world that we can produce great cricketers and great leaders given the opportunity.

● The United Cricket Board of South Africa are still hoping to be included in the World Cup, despite the decision of the Pakistan Board to oppose their participation, writes **Christopher Martin-Jenkins**.

The Indian Board will make their position on the issue clear to the ICC chairman, Colin Cowdrey, after elections of board members this week.

Although the West Indies Board are expected to oppose South African participation at their meeting on Sept 28, it is understood that they would not pull out of the tournament if an ICC majority supported South African inclusion.

of South Africa are now full members of the ICC. It should be given full rein and encouragement to play cricket at all levels, from the international arena to the propagation of its outstanding development programme in the townships.

A natural entry for South Africa is the World Cup in Australia and New Zealand next year.

I believe there is nothing logical to stop that, taking into consideration South Africa's no-strings-attached ICC membership and the hosts' invitation to participate.

South Africa, now that it is developing all its resources and redressing imbalances, is going to be one of the finest cricketing nations, and in the process is exploring forever the myth that black Africans cannot play the game. They used to say the same



Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

London SW1A 2AH

28 August 1991

*Dear Stephen, 01*

Guyana

/ I enclose a letter from President Hoyte to the  
Prime Minister in response to the Prime Minister's  
letter of 28 June on sporting links with South Africa.  
No response is called for, but President Hoyte is  
expected to send a follow-up to the letter (see  
/ Georgetown teleletter unnumbered of 20 August, a  
copy of which is enclosed). We will be in touch  
again if and when this materialises.

*Answer  
S L Gass*

(S L Gass)  
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

020106  
MDTTAN 0554

CHO

RESTRICTED  
FM GEORGETOWN  
TO TELELETTER FCO  
TELELETTER  
OF 201500Z AUGUST 91

TO: GORDON BAKER ESQ, WIAD, FCO  
FROM : DOUGLAS GORDON ESQ

HISCOCK'S T/L OF 131630Z AUG: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT HOYTE

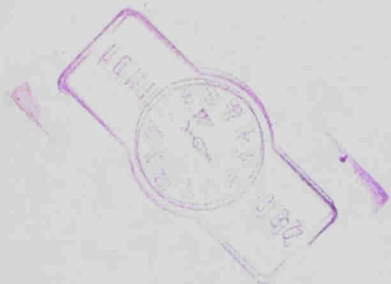
1 WHEN I CALLED ON DR TYRONE FERGUSON, THE HEAD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARIAT, ON 16 AUGUST, HE ASKED IF THE PRIME MINISTER HAD RETURNED FROM HIS VACATION AS PRESIDENT HOYTE WISHED TO CONTACT HIM. ALTHOUGH HE COULD NOT BE SPECIFIC ABOUT THE PURPOSE, FERGUSON THOUGHT THAT THE PRESIDENT WANTED TO FOLLOW UP ON HIS LATEST LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND SEEK FURTHER SUPPORT WITH THE IMF WHO ACCORDING TO HIM WERE QUOTE MAKING THINGS DIFFICULT UNQUOTE FOR GUYANA IN THE LATEST ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE APPROACH FROM PILGRIM IS THUS STILL VALID.

2 FERGUSON ADDED THAT HE FULLY EXPECTED THE PRESIDENT TO ATTEND CHOGM. HE WAS GIVEN THE LEAD ROLE ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AT THE CARICOM SUMMIT IN JULY AND WITH HIS RAIN FOREST INITIATIVE ALSO VERY MUCH IN MIND PRESIDENT HOYTE WILL WISH TO BE PRESENT AT HARARE. FERGUSON THOUGHT THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY WOULD TRANSIT LONDON EN ROUTE TO AND FROM HARARE. HE HAS PROMISED TO KEEP ME INFORMED.

SIGNED GORDON  
NNNN

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

SPORT: Relation with S.A. PRZ





OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
GEORGETOWN  
GUYANA

AUGUST 2, 1991

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

The Rt Honourable John Major, M.P.  
Prime Minister of Great Britain  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

Dear Prime Minister,

SERIAL No. T20811/91

Many thanks for your letter of June 28, 1991, concerning integration in sport, particularly cricket, in South Africa. I also received subsequently your letter of June 22, in which you informed me of your Government's decision to disburse as soon as possible the balance of the grant funds pledged as programme aid in 1989, which for 1991/92 amounts to approximately US\$7 million.

As an interim and immediate reply to your letter on South Africa, I sent a message to you to indicate that I was not unmindful of the progress which was being made over integration in sport and that I would exert my influence to encourage my colleague Heads of Government of CARICOM to support the request for the admission of the United Cricket Board to the International Cricket Council (ICC). The CARICOM Heads did consider this matter at their meeting in St Kitts and Nevis early last month. As you may have been informed, having reviewed all the circumstances, we decided to support the admission of the United Cricket Board to the ICC. I am certain that all the parties in South Africa welcome the decision of the ICC to re-admit South Africa to international competition.

Notwithstanding the heartening developments in sport, I remain concerned over the attempts to bring forward the timetable for the lifting of phased sanctions which the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa had proposed to the international community at their meeting in February last. The recent disclosures that the South African Government has been secretly funding the Inthaka Movement, and President De Klerk's admission that this was indeed the case, have been a source of worry. I hope that, in its review of the timetable for the lifting of sanctions, the Committee at its next meeting in New Delhi would continue to appreciate the need for the De Klerk

Government to act in ways that would win the confidence of the ANC. We would of course have an opportunity to discuss these matters at the forthcoming CHOGM in Harare and I look forward to an exchange of views on that occasion.

On the subject of Guyana's needs with respect to its Economic Recovery Programme, the decision of your Government to expedite the disbursement of programme aid was good news. So also was the proposal which you made at the Commonwealth Finance Minister's Meeting in Port-of-Spain that the Paris Club consider a reduction of two-thirds in the stock of bilateral debt of the poorer countries pursuing economic reform.

I remain grateful for the support which we have received from your Government and the timely manner in which it has been made available. I am pushing ahead with the programme in very difficult circumstances, but am very much concerned about the hardships which vulnerable groups, including the lower echelons of the public service, are enduring. We are, however, currently in discussions with the Management of the Fund on additional ameliorative measures that could be adopted. My task is to establish the delicate balance between the economic and financial imperatives of the programme and the adverse social consequences that flow from it. As is the custom, my officials would be keeping your Executive Director apprised of these developments.

It is indeed a source of encouragement to know that I could look forward to the continued co-operation of your Government and to your personal interest in Guyana's efforts to restore its economy to growth and development. For this, I thank you.

With kind regards.

*Yours sincerely,*

*H. D. Hoyte*

Hugh Desmond Hoyte  
President  
Co-operative Republic of Guyana

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T207/91



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

SH  
eefwo  
SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 August 1991

Dear Eugenia,

Thank you for your letter of 15 July. I much appreciated your kind words.

I was glad that the CARICOM meeting had time to discuss sporting links with South Africa and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. As you say, South Africa often looms too large at international fora, but there was an opportunity to send a signal which will have encouraged further integration there.

It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Africa are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen and sportswomen of different races together. I hope that the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

I also look forward to seeing you again in Zimbabwe.

Yours Ever,  
John R.

The Hon. Miss M. Eugenia Charles, M.P.

KW



cc/9

Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 July 1991

Dear Stephen,

Letter to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of  
Dominica

/ Thank you for your letter of 24 July. I enclose a draft reply from the Prime Minister in reply to Miss Charles' letter of 15 July on sporting links with South Africa and the role of the CARICOM meeting 1-4 July.

Yours ever,  
Christopher Prentice,

(C N R Prentice)  
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO  
10 Downing Street



The Hon. Miss M

(T)

Eugenia  
Charles MP

FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: The Prime Minister of Dominica

Thank you for your letter of 15 July. I much appreciated your kind words.

I was glad that the CARICOM meeting had time to discuss sporting links with South Africa and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. As you say, South Africa often looms too large at international fora, but there was an opportunity to send a signal which will have encouraged further integration there.

It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Africa are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen and sportswomen of different races together. I hope that the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

I also look forward to seeing you again in Zimbabwe.

JMS:AGT

SPAR: Kelantan, via S. A. H. A. C.



**SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:**



Rep  
DAS

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

cc FCW

THE PRIME MINISTER

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T203/91**

26 July 1991

*Dear Mr. President,*

Since I wrote to you at the end of last month before the Caricom meeting began, our hopes for a return to international competition of integrated sports have begun to be realised. It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Africa are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen of different races together. I was glad that the Caricom meeting had time to discuss these issues and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. This week has seen the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports.

There is, of course, much to do on the ground in South Africa to give everyone the same sporting opportunities. But I believe this week's events will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

*Yours Sincerely,  
John Major*

His Excellency Comrade H. Desmond Hoyte, S.C.

ST



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

24 July 1991

I attach a copy of a letter the Prime Minister has received from the Prime Minister of Dominica.

I should be grateful for advice and a draft Prime Ministerial reply, to reach me by Tuesday 30 July.

I am copying this letter to Miss Mela Watts (Department of Education and Science).

J.S. Wall

Simon Gass Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

WJ

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T200 civ/a.



FILE DAS

cc FCO.

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 July 1991

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

Dear Prime Minister,

Since I wrote to you at the end of last month before the Caricom meeting began, our hopes for a return to international competition of integrated sports have begun to be realised. It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Africa are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen of different races together. I was glad that the Caricom meeting had time to discuss these issues and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. This week has seen the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports.

There is, of course, much to do on the ground in South Africa to give everyone the same sporting opportunities. But I believe this week's events will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

Yours faithfully,  
John Major

The Honourable Arthur N. R. Robinson, M.P.

\*

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T200ciii/a1



File DAS

cc FCO

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 July 1991

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

*For Michael,*

Since I wrote to you at the end of last month before the Caricom meeting began, our hopes for a return to international competition of integrated sports have begun to be realised. It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Africa are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen of different races together. I was glad that the Caricom meeting had time to discuss these issues and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. This week has seen the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports.

There is, of course, much to do on the ground in South Africa to give everyone the same sporting opportunities. But I believe this week's events will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

*Yours sincerely,  
John*

The Right Honourable Michael Manley, J.P.

#

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T200 cii/a1



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

FILE DAS

cc FCO

THE PRIME MINISTER

*Your Excellency,*

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

Since I wrote to you at the end of last month before the Caricom meeting began, our hopes for a return to international competition of integrated sports have begun to be realised. It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Africa are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen of different races together. I was glad that the Caricom meeting had time to discuss these issues and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. This week has seen the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports.

There is, of course, much to do on the ground in South Africa to give everyone the same sporting opportunities. But I believe this week's events will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

*Your Faithfully,  
John Major*

The Right Honourable L. Erskine Sandiford, M.P.

#

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T200ci/91



FILE DAS

cc FCO

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 July 1991

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

Dear Mr. President,

I know that Douglas Hurd will have told you of the work we have done to encourage other members of the international community, including Commonwealth countries, to agree to South Africa's re-entry into international sport. The readmission, just announced, of South African cricketers and Olympic athletes to international competition will help South Africa regain its proper place in the world. I hope that it will also help you in the process of building a new South Africa where all its sportsmen may play together regardless of race and have equal sporting opportunities.

The American decision, also just announced, to lift the sanctions imposed by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will, I am sure, be enormous encouragement to you to press on with the greater enterprise you have undertaken to transform South Africa. It will also help our efforts to persuade the international community to play its part in creating conditions which will help you restore growth to the South African economy. I am acutely aware from the talks in April how important this is to the political process of designing a new Constitution for South Africa.

Yours Sincerely,  
John Major

The Honourable F. W. de Klerk, D.M.S.

K



RESTRICTED

103277  
MDLIAN 7070

RESTRICTED  
FM PRETORIA  
TO ROUTINE FCO  
TELNO 166  
OF 180800Z JULY 91  
INFO ROUTINE JOHANNESBURG



PW  
Please ensure this  
goes to PS/NO 10  
- thro' Private Office  
C. R. H. 19  
wi

SOUTH AFRICA: SPORT: CRICKET

1. BACHER (UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA: UCBSA) AND TSHWETE (ANC) ARE NOW BACK IN SOUTH AFRICA. THEY HAVE BOTH TOLD US HOW GRATEFUL THEY WERE FOR ALL OUR EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET, AND PARTICULARLY FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL INTERVENTIONS. AND THEY WERE ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL FOR THE INVITATION TO MEET THE PRIME MINISTER AT 10 DOWNING STREET, WHICH THEY MUCH ENJOYED.

REEVE

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

145

MAIN 138

SOUTH AFRICA  
LIMITED  
CSAD  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
PUSD  
CCD  
EAD  
ECD(E)  
ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
ERD  
ESAU  
NEWS D  
NPDD  
PLANNERS  
UND  
WAD

CSAD/ODA  
PS  
PS/MRS CHALKER  
PS/PUS  
MR LANKESTER  
CHIEF CLERK  
MR FAIRWEATHER  
MR WESTON  
MR SLATER  
MR GREENSTOCK  
MISS SPENCER  
MR HEMANS  
MR HUDSON  
MR KERBY  
CABINET OFFICE

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

ADDITIONAL 7

SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED

NNNN



PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 196819

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER  
CABINET SECRETARIAT

Telegrams: External, Dominica.  
Telex 613 EXT. DO  
Reference: P. 077/09-473

GOVERNMENT HEADQUARTERS,  
ROSEAU,  
COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA,  
WEST INDIES.

July 15, 1991

→ SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

The Rt. Honourable John Major  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON

Dear Prime Minister,

I was very happy that you were able to see me during my last visit in May. It was a very busy day for you and I want to congratulate you on your success that day with the Irish. I hope this augurs well for a solution of that long outstanding and troublesome problem. But we all know that the road to solution is long and arduous.

Our Caricom meeting as usual devoted too much time to the problems of South Africa. But we managed to ensure that "we support on a case-by-case basis to international contact with South Africa in such areas of sport".

The words of the communique are quoted above in inverted commas. But we all agreed that the West Indies Cricket Board of Control should be informed that we wanted the sanctions on playing Cricket with South Africa to be removed.

I have not yet received a copy of the letter sent to the West Indies Cricket Board of Control and in fact the information may be passed on informally.

I must say my fellow members were amused at my participation on the subject since it is well known that I know nothing of the game!

I look forward to seeing you again in Zimbabwe!

Yours sincerely  
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

M. E. Charles  
Prime Minister



Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

London SW1 2AH

15 July 1991

*Dear Stephen,*

South African Cricket

Thank you for your letter of 9 July. I enclose draft messages for the Prime Minister to send to President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and the main West Indian Heads of Government to follow up his earlier message. We think the Prime Minister need write only to the most influential West Indian leaders on this occasion, especially as it is not clear what line the West Indians took at the ICC. (Mr Cowdrey told the press that "nobody voted against", which implies a West Indian abstention.)

Mr Mandela sets off on his travels again on 19 July: you will have seen from the record of the Foreign Secretary's meeting with him that Mr Mandela looks forward to speaking to the Prime Minister, and the Foreign Secretary undertook to arrange this.

*Yours ever*  
*S L Gass*  
(S L Gass)  
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq  
10 Downing Street

FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: President F W de Klerk  
State President  
Republic of South Africa

*C. J. F. (S)*  
*Wern*  
*(S)*

*me*

I know that Douglas Hurd will have told you of the work we have done to encourage other members of the international community, including Commonwealth countries, to agree to South Africa's re-entry into international sport. The readmission, just announced, of South African cricketers and Olympic athletes to international competition will help South Africa regain its proper place in the world. I hope that it will also help you in the process of building a new South Africa where all its sportsmen may play together regardless of race and have equal sporting opportunities.

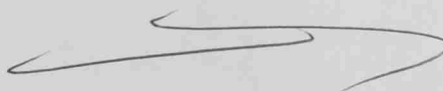
The American decision, also just announced, to lift the sanctions imposed by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will, I am sure, be enormous encouragement to you to press on with the greater enterprise you have undertaken to transform South Africa. It will also help our efforts to persuade the international community to play its part in creating conditions which will help you restore growth to the South African economy. I am acutely aware from the talks in April how important this is to the political process of designing a new Constitution for South Africa.

Letter from the Prime Minister to :

The Rt Hon Michael Manley MP  
Prime Minister of Jamaica

Prime Minister A N R Robinson  
Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

The Rt Hon Erskine Sandiford  
Prime Minister of Barbados

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be a stylized 'S' or similar character, located to the right of the Barbados recipient information.

President Hugh Desmond Hoyte SC  
Co-operative Republic of Guyana

FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: Nelson Mandela  
President of African National Congress

I congratulate you warmly on your election as President of the African National Congress last week. I hope that you have emerged fully strengthened by the way the Congress showed its confidence in you. I now hope that the ANC can enter multi-party talks on South Africa's future with renewed vigour. Douglas Hurd has told me of his talk with you about this, and of your understandable concern about violence in the townships.

I expect that you are as pleased as I am by the news that South Africa will after this week be able to re-enter international cricket and Olympic sport. We have aligned ourselves with the ANC's policy on sporting contacts because - like you - we believe that they will help break down racial divisions and give an important fillip to the development of equal opportunities for all South Africans.

I regret that we did not find a convenient opportunity to talk on the telephone before the ANC Conference but I hope that we shall soon have an opportunity to do so.

FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: West Indian Heads of Government  
(see attached list)

*Imee*

Since I wrote to you at the end of last month before the Caricom meeting began, our hopes for a return to international competition of integrated sports have begun to be realised. It is a significant step forward that more and more sports in South Arica are no longer organised on the basis of race and are at last bringing sportsmen of different races together. I was glad that the Caricom meeting had time to discuss these issues and to endorse the principles already upheld by the ANC and many others in South Africa. This week has seen the re-entry of South Africa into international cricket and into Olympic sports.

There is, of course, much to do on the ground in South Africa to give everyone the same sporting opportunities. But I believe this week's events will give impetus to the development for equal opportunities for all those who wish to engage in sport in South Africa.

SUBJECT

Meeting Record

File  
ECC

cc. MASTER



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

11 July 1991

Dear Mr. M.,

SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

Following the vote at the ICC yesterday, Colin Cowdrey brought the South African delegation to see the Prime Minister for a celebratory drink yesterday evening. Those present were Dr. Ali Bacher, Mr. Dakin, President of the United Cricket Board of South Africa, Mr. Makerdhuj, the President-elect, Mr. Tshwete of the ANC, Mr. Sam Ramsamy, and Colonel Stephenson, Secretary of the ICC. Mr. Atkins was also present.

The Prime Minister expressed his delight at the outcome of the ICC meeting and asked where matters went next. Dr. Bacher said it was essential that after the euphoria died down there were visible changes at grass roots level. It could not simply be a matter of international support at the highest level. He drew attention to the severe shortage of facilities in the townships. In Alexandra there were 92 football teams but only one grass pitch. He urged the UK and the European Community to make resources available to improve facilities. (This did not crystallise into a specific request.) Mr. Tshwete said the ANC had stuck its neck out to support the cricket initiative. It was essential that the opening up of international cricket led on to integration of sport at all levels in South Africa.

Mr. Atkins asked when tours were likely to begin and in what form. Mr. Dakin reminded him that, following the "Gatting" tour, an internal boycott of overseas tours operated in South Africa. This had succeeded in bringing rebel tours in all sports to an end. It would be necessary to negotiate the lifting of this boycott before any tours could take place but he believed that would be possible.

Opinion at the meeting seemed to favour a cricket tour to South Africa rather than one abroad by a South African eleven. It might be better to bring to South Africa a country that had never been there before. One possibility was India who had supported South African entry staunchly.

It was suggested that there were dangers in sending a tour abroad immediately as this would be picked from the best players at the time who would inevitably be white. Mr. Makerdhuj said he was reconciled to the fact that initially South African teams would be mainly white but it would be better to face up to this rather than wait until cricketers from other races had been

EM



developed. The Prime Minister endorsed this view. Rather than wait for perfection it was better to build on the current interest which would generate enthusiasm and resources.

Mr. Ramsamy thought that soccer would be ready for an overseas tour earlier than cricket.

Mr. Dakin said South Africa would love to be invited to the Cricket World Cup in Australia and New Zealand but he recognised that plans were well advanced. He did not, however, wish to press the matter if it was going to cause dissention.

The meeting concluded with a tribute from Mr. Makerdhuji thanking the Prime Minister for all he had done to bring about South Africa's entry into the ICC.

I am copying this letter to Simon Gass (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

*Yours sincerely  
Andrew Turnbull*

(ANDREW TURNBULL)

Miss Mela Watts,  
Office of the Minister for Sport,  
Department of Education and Science.

*Confidential and Personal File*



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

9 July 1991

*Dear Christopher,*

SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

You drew my attention to Pretoria tel. no. 137.

As I mentioned to you, the Prime Minister may have an opportunity to see Mr. Tshwete privately tomorrow evening ~~when~~<sup>if</sup> the vote on South African readmission to the ICC goes as we hope. Arrangements for this will be made through Colin Cowdrey and there is no action to be taken. Nor should the fact that this is happening be referred to in any conversation with Mr. Tshwete and others.

You may want to let the Foreign Secretary know what is happening.

If the vote on South African readmission goes according to plan, the Prime Minister would like to send messages to President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela and to the West Indian heads of government to whom he has already sent messages.

It will be helpful if the drafts could reach me by Friday 12 July.

*Yours,*

*Stephen Lark*

J. S. WALL

Christopher Prentice, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

ELIZABETH HOUSE YORK ROAD LONDON SE1 7PH  
TELEPHONE 071-934 9000

ROBERT ATKINS MP  
Minister for Sport

DES MIN/SP	
MR MACKAY	
ADVICE	INFO. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
C	PS/S of S
O	PS/PS
P	MR WIGGINS
I	MR HORNE
E	MR VAUGHAN
S	RAPO

Richard Gozney  
Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
London  
SW1A 2AH

*rule x*  
*8 July '91*

Dear Richard,

Mr Atkins met Solomon Morewa, Secretary General of the South African Football Association (SAFA), and John Beer on 3 July to discuss the progress being made towards integration of football in South Africa.

Mr Morewa explained that there had previously been 4 bodies running football, where about 85% of the participants are black. The South African Football Association incorporates 3 of these organisations and was inaugurated on 22 September 1990 with the aim of developing a racially integrated football structure.

Mr Morewa added that the next step for SAFA is to seek recognition from the Confederation of African Football Associations (CAF). CAF are visiting South Africa between 18-21 July, and it is hoped that the visit will pave the way for SAFA membership. This would allow South African teams to play matches within Africa. Once CAF recognition is forthcoming, the next step will be to apply to FIFA for entry onto the world stage. The President of FIFA has apparently indicated that provisional membership is likely to be agreed rapidly.

Mr Morewa pointed out that the enthusiasm for football within South Africa is very evident, but the lack of adequate facilities and coaching meant that there were difficulties in maximising potential. He hoped that official recognition by CAF and FIFA would open the door for more coaching visits. Mr Morewa acknowledged that although professional football was benefitting from increased sponsorship, it was proving difficult to encourage South African industry to fund development needs at grass roots level.

In view of these problems Mr Morewa asked whether the Government had any resources available to aid the development of soccer in South Africa. He commented that a gesture similar to the presentation by our ambassador of £25,000 worth of cricket bats to the leaders of the new joint cricket board, would be widely welcomed.

Mr Atkins, while welcoming the progress that was being made towards integrated football in South Africa, made it clear that he could not commit the Government to providing financial support. He agreed to pass on SAFA's views to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Wall.

Yours sincerely

Mela Watts

MELA WATTS

RESTRICTED

050642  
MDLIAN 4694

RESTRICTED

FM BRIDGETOWN

TO ROUTINE FCO

TELNO 275

OF 081607Z JULY 91

INFO ROUTINE PORT OF SPAIN, KINGSTON, GEORGETOWN, NASSAU, BELMOPAN, HAVANA, CARACAS

INFO SAVING (PERSONAL FOR) GOVERNORS MONTSERRAT, BVI, ANGUILLA  
(PASSED LOCALLY BY BAG)

✓ pl. cc IS/No 10 p.a. Sport. POW 9/

CARICOM HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING: ST KITTS

SUMMARY

-----

1. THE 12TH CARICOM HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING HELD IN ST KITTS, 1-4 JULY. RATHER BETTER FOCUSSED DISCUSSION THAN USUAL THANKS TO A NEED TO CONSIDER RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WEST INDIAN COMMISSION'S INTERIM REPORT. THESE WERE APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE. BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS AND TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS ADMITTED TO ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP: ANGUILLA AS OBSERVER. GREEN LIGHT GIVEN TO SOUTH AFRICAN RE-ENTRY TO INTERNATIONAL SPORT WHEREBY SPORTING BODIES ARE MULTI-RACIAL: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS TO CONTINUE.

DETAIL

-----

2. THE CARICOM HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MET IN ST KITTS FOR THEIR 12TH MEETING. THE AGENDA WAS CROWDED, BUT NEVERTHELESS DEALT WITHIN THE TIMEFRAME. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY A DEAL OF HOT AIR (ACCORDING TO MISS EUGENIA CHARLES) DISCUSSION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN RATHER BETTER FOCUSSED THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS, THANKS LARGELY TO THE NEED TO CONSIDER THE 6 RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE WEST INDIAN COMMISSION IN ITS INTERIM REPORT VIZ FREEING UP REGIONAL TRAVEL: FREE MOVEMENT OF SKILLS: MOVE TO A COMMON CURRENCY: ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT: CREATION OF SINGLE MARKET AND PREPARING FOR INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AS A REGION.

3. ONE OF THE CONTINUING CRITICISMS OF CARICOM OVER THE YEARS HAS BEEN THAT WHILE IT HAS MADE MANY BRAVE DECISIONS IT HAS FALLEN DOWN LAMENTABLY OF IMPLEMENTATION. THE SECRETARIAT IS NOT EMPOWERED TO ENFORCE DECISIONS: A POINT EXAMINED CRITICALLY IN THE WEST INDIAN

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

COMMISSION'S REPORT. AS AN INTERIM MEANS OF IMPROVING MATTERS IT WAS DECIDED THAT CERTAIN GOVERNMENTS WOULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CERTAIN DECISIONS OR AT LEAST THE WORK TO BE DONE BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT MEETING.

4. THE OUTSTANDING FEATURE OF THE MEETING WAS THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE WEST INDIAN COMMISSION AND ITS INTERIM REPORT, BUT IT GOES TOO FAR TO SUGGEST THAT THE MEETING WOULD HAVE BEEN A DISASTER WITHOUT THE COMMISSION'S REPORT. AS IT IS SIR SHRIDATH RAMPHAL IS DELIGHTED WITH THE PROMINENCE ACCORDED THE COMMISSION'S WORK AND THE CLEARLY KEY ROLE TO BE PLAYED AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM IN THE REGION BY THE COMMISSION. (HE PROTESTED TO ME AT SOME PERHAPS INORDINATE LENGTH THAT HE HAD NO WISH FOR THE COMMISSION TO TAKE ON A PERMANENT EXECUTIVE ROLE.)

5. THE DISCUSSION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS SPORTING LINKS LED TO THE SURPRISING DECISION THAT THE GREEN LIGHT COULD BE GIVEN FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF SOUTH AFRICA INTO INTERNATIONAL SPORTS WHERE MULTI-RACIAL BODIES HAD BEEN SET UP. CARICOM HAS THUS GONE FARTHER AND FASTER THAN PERHAPS THEY NEEDED TO GIVEN THAT ALL THE PRESSURE HAS BEEN ON THE CRICKET SCENE. THE MEETING HOWEVER CONFIRMED THAT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS MUST REMAIN FOR THE TIME BEING.

6. DEPENDENT TERRITORIES. I HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY (NOT TO ALL) ON MR OSBOURNE'S PERFORMANCE. THE BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS AND THE TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS WERE ACCORDED ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP AND ANGUILLA ACCEPTED AS OBSERVER ON A NUMBER OF CARICOM INSTITUTIONS. MR STOUTT, AT LEAST, HAS BEEN REPORTED AS EXPRESSING SATISFACTION AT THIS OUTCOME.

7. CUBA. A CUBAN DELEGATION LED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN SECRETARY PARIDO, WAS MUCH IN EVIDENCE AND MADE MUCH OF THE FACT THAT CUBA HAD FOR THE FIRST TIME BEEN OFFICIALLY INVITED. ALTHOUGH SOME PROGRESS HAS CLEARLY BEEN MADE, RELATIONS WITH GRENADA REMAIN AN OBSTACLE. THERE IS NO MENTION OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA IN THE COMMUNIQUE.

8. PARIDO HIMSELF EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN DEVELOPING CONTACTS IN THE FIELD OF TOURISM, WHICH HE CLAIMED (I THOUGHT QUITE UNCONVINCINGLY) TO BE AN AREA WHERE CUBA AND THE OTHER CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES HAD COMPLEMENTARY INTERESTS. IT WOULD APPEAR THAT CUBA'S INTENTION IS TO DEVELOP FUNCTIONAL LINKS BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO ACHIEVE FULL MEMBERSHIP. I WAS INTRIGUED BY LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE CUBAN DELEGATION AND MR MITCHELL, THE PRIME MINISTER OF ST VINCENT, CLEARLY ON THE BASIS OF A DOCUMENT PRODUCED BY THE CUBANS. I ASSUMED

THIS TO HAVE BEEN A BILATERAL MATTER RATHER THAN TO DO WITH MITCHELL'S REGIONAL STABILITY FOR THE FUTURE OF BWIA AND LIAT AIRLINES.

9. BWIA/LIAT. NO DECISIONS WERE TAKEN ABOUT THE INDIVIDUAL OR JOINT FUTURES OF THE TWO AIRLINES. MR MITCHELL HAS BEEN ASKED TO CONTINUE HIS EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEM: HE HAD SAID THAT HE WILL DO SO, BUT WITH A COMMITTEE OF DIFFERENT MEMBERSHIP, INCLUDING FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS PEOPLE.

10. AIR SERVICES. THE MEETING SEEMS TO HAVE NO MORE THAN CONFIRMED THAT THE SUB REGIONAL APPROACH SHOULD BE PURSUED VIZ A VIZ THE UK.

11. UNITED NATIONS. THERE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN NO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE SUCCESSION TO PEREZ DE CUELLAR. HOWEVER, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO BACK MR CHARLES FLEMING OF ST LUCIA AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE FORTHCOMING SESSION,

12. GUYANA ELECTIONS. IT WAS APPARANTLY DECIDED THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE A SEPARATE CARICOM OBSERVER DELEGATION, BUT THAT INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRIES SHOULD FORM PART OF THE COMMONWEALTH DELEGAATION.

13. THE VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT ATTENDED THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE MEETING AND SIGNED AN AGREEMENT TO PURSUE HIS IDEA OF DUTY-FREE TRADE BETWEEN VENEZUELAN AND CARICOM (STARTING WITH A FIVE YEAR PERIOD UNRECIPROCATED DUTY-FREE ACCESS FOR CARICOM GOODS). THE PRESIDENT'S EXPRESSED ASPIRATION FOR VENEZUELA TO BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF CARICOM WAS NOT TAKEN UP. MR ROBINSON OF TRINIDAD, FOR ONE, MADE IT CLEAR THAT SUCH A MOVE WAS A LONG WAY AHEAD.

14. OTHER POINTS WILL BE COVERED IN SEPARATE CORRESPONDENCE.

DAVIES

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

83

MAIN 83

.COMMONWEALTH MATTERS  
LIMITED  
CCD

SPD  
UNCD/ODA  
WAD

PAGE 3  
RESTRICTED

ADVANCE COPY ✓

CONFIDENTIAL  
UK COMMS ONLY  
FM WASHINGTON  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 1836

OF 082330Z JULY 91

INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK, ANKARA, PARIS, ROME, MADRID, GENEVA  
INFO PRIORITY POLAD 40 CDORM, JHQ HIGH WYCOMBE, MODUK, THE HAGUE  
INFO PRIORITY ACTOR  
INFO ROUTINE UKDEL NATO

SIC I9M

OUR TELNO 1822: OPERATION HAVEN: WITHDRAWAL: PUBLIC REPRESENTATION

1. THE HEAD OF STATE'S OFFICE OF NORTHERN GULF AFFAIRS (NEUMANN) GAVE US THE TEXT OF THE PUBLIC STATEMENT MENTIONED IN TUR. THIS HAS NOW BEEN CLEARED BY THE WHITE HOUSE. NEUMANN SAID THAT THERE WAS STILL NO DECISION ON THE DATE FOR ITS RELEASE, BUT IT WAS LIKELY THIS WEEK, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS 10 JULY. THE US EMBASSY IN LONDON HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SHARE THE TEXT WITH FCO AND TO SEEK OUR REACTIONS. NEUMANN SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS SHOULD BE ON THE SAME LINES, ALTHOUGH INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL TEXTS WOULD DIFFER.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF US STATEMENT:

QUOTE COALITION FORCES HAVE FULFILLED THE HUMANITARIAN MISSION FOR WHICH THEY DEPLOYED TO NORTHERN IRAQ. VIRTUALLY ALL THE KURDISH REFUGEES FROM TURKEY HAVE RETURNED TO IRAQ AND MANY ARE RETURNING FROM IRAN AS WELL. ACCORDINGLY, AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME, WE WILL WITHDRAW OUR FORCES FROM IRAQ.

HOWEVER, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND IN PARTICULAR THE COALITION PARTNERS, WILL NOT LESSEN ITS CONCERN REGARDING THE WAY IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ DEALS WITH ITS CITIZENS. THUS, WE HAVE INFORMED THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR CAREFULLY INTERNAL EVENTS IN IRAQ BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER A WITHDRAWAL. MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS WILL BE HELD WITHIN IRAQ ON A REGULAR BASIS. WE HAVE CALLED UPON ALL PARTIES TO ACT WITH RESTRAINT, TO AVOID THE USE OF FORCE, AND TO ALLOW ONGOING HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES BY THE UN AND PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS TO CONTINUE FREE OF HARASSMENT OF ANY KIND.

CONSISTENT WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS (INCLUDING



RESOLUTION 688), WE REMAIN PREPARED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS IF THE SITUATION REQUIRES. TO THIS END, THE COALITION PLANS TO MAINTAIN AN APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF FORCES IN THE REGION UNQUOTE.

ACLAND

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

45

ADVANCE

IRAQ/KUWAIT	HD/NENAD
PS (2)	HD/SED
PS/MRS CHALKER	HD/UND (2)
PS/MR HOGG	HD/NPDD
PS/S OF S FOR DEFENCE	HD/APD
PS/PUS	HD/ACDD
MR LANKESTER	HD/FINANCE D/ODA
<del>MR FAIRWEATHER</del>	HD/IEAD/ODA
MR BROOMFIELD	HD/ECFAD/ODA
MR SLATER	CHIEF OF ASSESSMENT STAFF
MR GORE-BOOTH	MR APPELYARD CABINET OFFICE
<del>MR GOULDEN</del>	MR W D REEVES CABINET OFFICE
MR IRETON	SIR C CURWEN CABINET OFFICE
MR AINSCOW	MR CHARLTON CABINET OFFICE
MR KIRBY	<u>PS/NUMBER 10 DOWNING ST</u>
MR JAY	SIR P CRADOCK, 10 DOWNING ST
MR BERMAN (LEGAL ADVISERS)	CABINET OFFICE DIO
HD/MED	SIR ROBIN BUTLER, CAB OFFICE
HD/CONSULAR D	AUS (C) MODUK
HD/ECD(E)	HD/SEC (O) (C) MODUK
HD/NAD	MR LS SMITH BANK ENGLAND (2)
HD/NEWS D (2)	RESIDENT CLERK

NNNN

RESTRICTED  
FM BRIDGETOWN  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 276  
OF 081925Z JULY 91  
INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA  
INFO PRIORITY KINGSTON, PORT OF SPAIN



*Pl. cc = PS/Na 10.*

*p.a.  
Sport,  
Row  
9/7*

MY TELNO 271: SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

1. THE ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE WEST INDIES CRICKET BOARD OF CONTROL STATED PRIVATELY LAST NIGHT THAT THE BOARD WILL NOT REPEAT NOT SUPPORT UCBSA'S RE-ENTRY INTO THE ICC AT THE FORTHCOMING MEETING. A DECISION HAD BEEN MADE IN MAY TO THIS EFFECT AND COULD NOT BE REVISED UNTIL A FURTHER MEETING SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER.
2. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO SEE THE BOARD STICKING TO THEIR GUNS AS THEY FELT A LOT MORE STILL NEEDED TO BE DONE IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT. HE WAS UNMOVED BY BOTH THE ANC SUPPORT FOR RE-ENTRY OR THE DECISION TAKEN AT THE RECENT CARICOM SUMMIT.
3. THE LOCAL PRESS HAS REPORTED CLYDE WALCOTT AS TAKING A SIMILAR LINE IN THE UK.
4. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHY WICB SHOULD BE MAINTAINING SUCH A HARD LINE WHEN CARIBBEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO MOVE, UNLESS IT IS A CASE OF TRADITIONAL WEST INDIAN BLOODY-MINDEDNESS.

DAVIES

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

60

MAIN 58

LIMITED  
CSAD  
CRD  
CCD  
WIAD  
CSAD/ODA

PLANNERS  
INFO  
PS  
PS/MRS CHALKER  
PS/MR LENNOX-BOYD  
PS/PUS

RESTRICTED

FM NEW DELHI

TO DESKBY 061000Z FCO  
TELNO 941OF 060615Z JULY 91  
INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA  
INFO ROUTINE CANBERRA

ADVANCE COPY

RESIDENT CLERK FOR CSAD  
NEW DELHI TELNO 939 (NO COPIED):SOUTH AFRICAN READMITTANCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET  
CONFERENCE (ICC)

## SUMMARY

1. INDIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT 8 JULY ICC MEETING WILL HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO PROPOSE OR SECOND ADMISSION OF UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA IF REQUESTED BY OTHER ICC MEMBERS.

## DETAIL

2. KHOSLA (SECRETARY WEST, MEA) CONTACTED ME ON 6 JULY IN RESPONSE TO THE APPROACH REPORTED IN TUR. HE SAID THAT INDIA WAS PREPARED TO PROPOSE OR SECOND THE ADMISSION OF THE UCBSA TO THE ICC IF OTHER ICC MEMBERS WISHED THEM TO DO SO. HE DID NOT KNOW WHO WOULD REPRESENT INDIA IN SCINDIA'S ABSENCE, BUT WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE WOULD HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO THIS EFFECT.

3. KHOSLA SAID THAT INDIA DID NOT HOWEVER CONSIDER CRICKET TO BE A FULLY INTEGRATED SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA YET. HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT OTHER CRICKETING BOARDS, NOT FULLY INTEGRATED, REMAINED IN SOUTH AFRICA. INDIA DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN THE UCBSA, WHOSE ADMISSION TO THE ICC HAD BEEN SOUGHT BY THE ANC, AND THESE OTHER BODIES.

4. IT FOLLOWED, ACCORDING TO KHOSLA, THAT INDIA WOULD CONSIDER PROPOSALS FOR CRICKET MATCHES INVOLVING SOUTH AFRICAN TEAMS AS A SEPARATE QUESTION FROM THAT OF UCBSA ADMISSION TO THE ICC. ANY SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY INDIA ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS. A SOUTH AFRICAN TEAM PLAYING UNDER UCBSA AUSPICIES SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. OTHERS MIGHT NOT BE.

5. COMMENT. KHOSLA'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE DETAILED POSITION REGARDING SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKETING BODIES AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF FUTURE INTERNATIONAL MATCHES MAY NOT BE COMPLETE. IF SO IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO RECEIVE ADVICE IN DUE COURSE. BUT HE WAS QUITE CLEAR ABOUT INDIA'S POSITION ON THE IMMEDIATE AND SPECIFIC QUESTION OF UCBSA ADMISSION TO THE ICC AT LORDS NEXT WEEK.

GOODALL

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

13

ADVANCE

13

INDIA  
PS (2)  
PS/MR LENNOX-BOYD  
PS/PUS  
~~SIR J COLES~~  
MR BURNS  
HD/SAD

HD/NEWS D  
HD/CONSULAR D  
HD/PUSD  
DEPUTY HD/PUSD  
PS/PM  
RESIDENT CLERK

NNNN



RESTRICTED

FROM: PS/Mr Lennox-Boyd

DATE: 3 July 1991

cc: PS/Mrs Chalker  
PS/PUS  
Mr Fairweather  
CSAD  
WIAD

*Prime Minister* (2)

Private Secretary

SOUTH AFRICA CRICKET: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT  
OF GUYANA

1. Mr Pilgrim, the High Commissioner of Guyana, called on Mr Lennox-Boyd at 1115 today to discuss the Prime Minister's recent message to President Hoyte asking him to use his influence to help the readmission of South African cricket to the ICC (FCO telno 127). CSAD will produce a full record of the call in due course but this minute records the main points of the meeting which you may wish to pass on to No 10.

2. The Guyanan High Commissioner said that President Hoyte would be replying shortly, but he had been asked to pass on the gist of his reply. President Hoyte had received the Prime Minister's letter shortly before his departure for St Kitts to attend the CARICOM summit. He agreed with the thrust of what the Prime Minister said and undertook to raise the matter at the summit. He would "use his good offices" to urge CARICOM agreement to support the readmission of the United Cricket Board of South Africa to the ICC.

3. Mr Lennox-Boyd said that this good news would be passed to the Prime Minister immediately and asked that his thanks be conveyed to the President for his positive response.

*Paul Speller*

Paul Speller

PC1AHQ

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

O15161  
MDHOAN 6245

PRIME MINISTER  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. 1795/191

RESTRICTED  
FM FCO  
TO IMMEDIATE BRIDGETOWN  
TELNO 217  
OF 271800Z JUNE 91  
*INFO PRIME MINISTER*

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

BRIDGETOWN PASS TO DOMINICA

FROM CSAD:

SOUTH AFRICA: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF DOMINICA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE START OF THE CARICOM MEETING.

TEXT BEGINS:

IT WAS A GREAT PLEASURE TO MEET YOU ON YOUR BIRTHDAY LAST MONTH IN LONDON. I THOUGHT I WOULD NOW WRITE PERSONALLY ABOUT THE PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER INTEGRATION IN SPORT, PARTICULARLY CRICKET. THE DECISION OF THE TWO CRICKET BOARDS TO UNITE THIS WEEK AS A SINGLE RACIALLY INTEGRATED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA SETS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT, AND OFFERS A MODEL FOR THE NEW SOCIETY WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BUILDING.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE DECIDED, WHEN IT MET IN FEBRUARY, THAT SPORTS WHICH ACHIEVED INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES DESERVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. SINCE THEN, THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAVE ADOPTED THE SAME PRINCIPLE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ANC HAVE BEEN LOBBYING US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE ADMISSION OF THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL (ICC) NEXT MONTH. THE ANC HAVE PUT IT TO US THAT READMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WOULD BE A JUST REWARD FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE NON-WHITE SPORTS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD FOR UNITY.

THE SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT HAS SWEEP AWAY THE THREE PILLARS OF STATUTORY APARTHEID THIS MONTH. THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

28 JUN 1991  
*Cas 2915/1*

NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERIA, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SO I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF MR MANDELA AND OTHERS WHO HOPE THAT THE ICC WILL, AT THEIR MEETING AT LORDS ON 8-11 JULY, ADMIT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA. I KNOW THAT, AS WITH THE TCCB, THE WEST INDIES BOARD IS INDEPENDENT. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. TEXT ENDS.

2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

3. WHEN HANDING OVER THIS TEXT (PREFERABLY IN PERSON TO THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT OTHERWISE TO HIS OFFICE) YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER DECIDED TO WRITE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANC WERE THEMSELVES TRYING TO PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO CARIBBEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE, IN ANY CASE, SENDING THEIR SPORTS SPOKESMAN, STEVE TSHWETE TO THE LORDS MEETING TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD'S APPLICATION TO THE ICC.

4. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

WHAT IS ANC'S POSITION?

- ANC HAVE TOLD US (STEVE TSHWETE/SECRETARY OF STATE 22 MAY AND THABO MBEKI'S LETTER OF 29 MAY TO SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ICC COUNTRIES) THAT THEY FULLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE THAT PROPERLY INTEGRATED SPORTS SHOULD RESUME INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. THEIR CONDITIONS ARE THE ABOLITION OF STATUTORY APARTHEID (TO BE COMPLETED BY END JUNE) AND FORMATION OF UNIFIED GOVERNING BODIES FOR EACH SPORT.

- THE ANC IS PROMOTING SPORTS UNITY TO HELP CREATE A NEW, NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. UNITY WILL ENABLE BLACK SPORTSMEN TO IMPROVE THEIR FACILITIES.

CONFLICT WITH GLENEAGLES?

- NO. GLENEAGLES (1977) COMMITS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO DISCOURAGE SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SPORTS ARE ORGANISED ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOUR OR ETHNIC ORIGIN. SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS EG CRICKET, WILL THEREFORE COMPLY WITH GLENEAGLES AS THEY BECOME INTEGRATED.

RESTRICTED

Susun  
/28/6/91 AIV)

015227

MDHOAN 6252

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL NO. T1994 Alal

RESTRICTED  
FM FCO  
TO IMMEDIATE KINGSTON  
TELNO 159  
OF 271800Z JUNE 91

Info Program Referece  
FROM CSAD:

SUBJECT  
PRIME MINISTER  
TOP COPY  
FILED ON:

SOUTH AFRICA CRICKET: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR MANLEY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE START OF THE CARICOM MEETING.

TEXT BEGINS:

I WAS GLAD TO SEE YOU IN LONDON EARLIER THIS MONTH. I THOUGHT I WOULD NOW WRITE PERSONALLY TO FOLLOW UP OUR TALK ABOUT PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER INTEGRATION IN SPORT, PARTICULARLY CRICKET. I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE TAKEN A CLOSE PERSONAL INTEREST IN THIS. THE DECISION OF THE TWO CRICKET BOARDS TO UNITE THIS WEEK AS A SINGLE RACIALLY INTEGRATED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA SETS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT, AND OFFERS A MODEL FOR THE NEW SOCIETY WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BUILDING.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE DECIDED, WHEN IT MET IN FEBRUARY, THAT SPORTS WHICH ACHIEVED INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES DESERVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. SINCE THEN, THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAVE ADOPTED THE SAME PRINCIPLE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ANC HAVE BEEN LOBBYING US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE ADMISSION OF THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL (ICC) NEXT MONTH. THE ANC HAVE PUT IT TO US THAT READMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WOULD BE A JUST REWARD FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE NON-WHITE SPORTS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD FOR UNITY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS SWEEP AWAY THE THREE PILLARS OF STATUTORY APARTHEID THIS MONTH. THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERION, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

28 JUN 1991  
28 JUN 1991



ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SO I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF MR MANDELA AND OTHERS WHO HOPE THAT THE ICC WILL, AT THEIR MEETING AT LORDS ON 8-11 JULY, ADMIT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA. I KNOW THAT, AS WITH THE TCCB, THE WEST INDIES BOARD IS INDEPENDENT. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. N.P. YOUR VOICE IS PARTICULARLY INFLUENTIAL IN THIS MATTER, TO WHICH I ATTACH IMPORTANCE. I DO HOPE THAT YOU WILL DO WHAT YOU CAN TO HELP. TEXT ENDS.

2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

3. WHEN HANDING OVER THIS TEXT (PREFERABLY IN PERSON TO THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT OTHERWISE TO HIS OFFICE) YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER DECIDED TO WRITE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANC WERE THEMSELVES TRYING TO PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO CARIBBEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE, IN ANY CASE, SENDING THEIR SPORTS SPOKESMAN, STEVE TSHWETE TO THE LORDS MEETING TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD'S APPLICATION TO THE ICC.

4. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

WHAT IS ANC'S POSITION?

- ANC HAVE TOLD US (STEVE TSHWETE/SECRETARY OF STATE 22 MAY AND THABO MBEKI'S LETTER OF 29 MAY TO SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ICC COUNTRIES) THAT THEY FULLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE THAT PROPERLY INTEGRATED SPORTS SHOULD RESUME INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. THEIR CONDITIONS ARE THE ABOLITION OF STATUTORY APARTHEID (TO BE COMPLETED BY END JUNE) AND FORMATION OF UNIFIED GOVERNING BODIES FOR EACH SPORT.

- THE ANC IS PROMOTING SPORTS UNITY TO HELP CREATE A NEW, NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. UNITY WILL ENABLE BLACK SPORTSMEN TO IMPROVE THEIR FACILITIES.

CONFLICT WITH GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT?

- NO. GLENEAGLES (1977) COMMITS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO DISCOURAGE SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SPORTS ARE ORGANISED ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOUR OR ETHNIC ORIGIN. SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS EG CRICKET, WILL THEREFORE COMPLY WITH GLENEAGLES AS THEY BECOME INTEGRATED.

23

RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

015266

MDHOAN 6254

PERSONAL MESSAGE

RESTRICTED

FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE PORT OF SPAIN

TELNO 89

OF 271759Z JUNE 91

INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA

SERIAL No. T17924121

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS  
FILED ON:

FROM CSAD

SOUTH AFRICA CRICKET: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINSITER TO MR ROBINSON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE START OF THE CARICOM MEETING.

TEXT BEGINS:

I ENJOYED MEETING YOU LAST YEAR IN PORT OF SPAIN AT THE COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS' MEETING. I THOUGHT I WOULD NOW WRITE PERSONALLY ABOUT THE PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER INTEGRATION IN SPORT, PARTICULARLY CRICKET. THE DECISION OF THE TWO CRICKET BOARDS TO UNITE THIS WEEK AS A SINGLE RACIALLY INTEGRATED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA SETS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT, AND OFFERS A MODEL FOR THE NEW SOCIETY WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BUILDING.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE DECIDED, WHEN IT MET IN FEBRUARY, THAT SPORTS WHICH ACHIEVED INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES DESERVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. SINCE THEN, THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAVE ADOPTED THE SAME PRINCIPLE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ANC HAVE BEEN LOBBYING US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE ADMISSION OF THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL (ICC) NEXT MONTH. THE ANC HAVE PUT IT TO US THAT READMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WOULD BE A JUST REWARD FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE NON-WHITE SPORTS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD FOR UNITY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS SWEEP AWAY THE THREE PILLARS OF STATUTORY APARTHEID THIS MONTH. THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERIA, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

<p>295</p> <p>28 JUN 1991</p>
-------------------------------

NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERION, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SO I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF MR MANDELA AND OTHERS WHO HOPE THAT THE ICC WILL, AT THEIR MEETING AT LORDS ON 8-11 JULY, ADMIT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA. I KNOW THAT, AS WITH THE TCCB, THE WEST INDIES BOARD IS INDEPENDENT. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. TEXT ENDS.

2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

3. WHEN HANDING OVER THIS TEXT (PREFERABLY IN PERSON TO THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT OTHERWISE TO HIS OFFICE) YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER DECIDED TO WRITE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANC WERE THEMSELVES TRYING TO PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO CARIBBEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE, IN ANY CASE, SENDING THEIR SPORTS SPOKESMAN, STEVE TSHWETE TO THE LORDS MEETING TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD'S APPLICATION TO THE ICC.

4. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:  
WHAT IS ANC'S POSITION?

- ANC HAVE TOLD US (STEVE TSHWETE/SECRETARY OF STATE 22 MAY AND THABO MBEKI'S LETTER OF 29 MAY TO SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ICC COUNTRIES) THAT THEY FULLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE THAT PROPERLY INTEGRATED SPORTS SHOULD RESUME INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. THEIR CONDITIONS ARE THE ABOLITION OF STATUTORY APARTHEID (TO BE COMPLETED BY END JUNE) AND FORMATION OF UNIFIED GOVERNING BODIES FOR EACH SPORT.

- THE ANC IS PROMOTING SPORTS UNITY TO HELP CREATE A NEW, NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. UNITY WILL ENABLE BLACK SPORTSMEN TO IMPROVE THEIR FACILITIES.

CONFLICT WITH GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT?

- NO. GLENEAGLES (1977) COMMITS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO DISCOURAGE SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SPORTS ARE ORGANISED ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOUR OR ETHNIC ORIGIN. SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS EG CRICKET, WILL THEREFORE COMPLY WITH GLENEAGLES AS THEY BECOME INTEGRATED.

HURD

RESTRICTED

227

015256

MDHOAN 6253

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SUBJECT  
MASTER  
OPS p.a  
FILED ON:

RESTRICTED

FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE GEORGETOWN

TELNO 127

OF 271800Z JUNE 91

INFO PRIORITY PREORA

FROM CSAD

SOUTH AFRICA CRICKET: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT HOYTE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE START OF THE CARICOM MEETING.

TEXT BEGINS:

I WAS SORRY NOT TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ATTEND THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF GUYANA'S INDEPENDENCE LAST MONTH, BUT I HAVE BEEN GIVEN A FULL ACCOUNT. IT SOUNDS AS THOUGH I MISSED A GOOD PARTY.

ON ANOTHER HAPPY SUBJECT, I THOUGHT I WOULD WRITE TO YOU PERSONALLY ABOUT THE PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER INTEGRATION IN SPORT, PARTICULARLY CRICKET. THE DECISION OF THE TWO CRICKET BOARDS TO UNITE THIS WEEK AS A SINGLE RACIALLY INTEGRATED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA SETS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT, AND OFFERS A MODEL FOR THE NEW SOCIETY WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BUILDING.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT GUYANA AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE DECIDED, WHEN THEY MET IN FEBRUARY, THAT SPORTS WHICH ACHIEVED INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES DESERVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. SINCE THEN, THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAVE ADOPTED THE SAME PRINCIPLE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ANC HAVE BEEN LOBBYING US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE ADMISSION OF THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL (ICC) NEXT MONTH. THE ANC HAVE PUT IT TO US THAT READMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WOULD BE A JUST REWARD FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE NON-WHITE SPORTS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD FOR UNITY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS SWEEPED AWAY THE THREE PILLARS OF STATUTORY APARTHEID THIS MONTH. THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

CS 295/1  
28 JUN 1991

NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERIA, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SO I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF MR MANDELA AND OTHERS WHO HOPE THAT THE ICC WILL, AT THEIR MEETING AT LORDS ON 8-11 JULY, ADMIT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA. I KNOW THAT, AS WITH THE TCCB, THE WEST INDIES BOARD IS INDEPENDENT. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. TEXT ENDS.

2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

3. WHEN HANDING OVER THIS TEXT (PREFERABLY IN PERSON TO THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT OTHERWISE TO HIS OFFICE) YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER DECIDED TO WRITE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANC WERE THEMSELVES TRYING TO PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO CARIBBEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE, IN ANY CASE, SENDING THEIR SPORTS SPOKESMAN, STEVE TSHWETE TO THE LORDS MEETING TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD'S APPLICATION TO THE ICC.

4. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

WHAT IS ANC'S POSITION?

- ANC HAVE TOLD US (STEVE TSHWETE/SECRETARY OF STATE 22 MAY AND THABO MBEKI'S LETTER OF 29 MAY TO SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ICC COUNTRIES) THAT THEY FULLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE THAT PROPERLY INTEGRATED SPORTS SHOULD RESUME INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. THEIR CONDITIONS ARE THE ABOLITION OF STATUTORY APARTHEID (TO BE COMPLETED BY END JUNE) AND FORMATION OF UNIFIED GOVERNING BODIES FOR EACH SPORT.

- THE ANC IS PROMOTING SPORTS UNITY TO HELP CREATE A NEW, NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. UNITY WILL ENABLE BLACK SPORTSMEN TO IMPROVE THEIR FACILITIES.

CONFLICT WITH GLENEAGLES?

- NO. GLENEAGLES (1977) COMMITS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO DISCOURAGE SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SPORTS ARE ORGANISED ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOUR OR ETHNIC ORIGIN. SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS EG CRICKET, WILL THEREFORE COMPLY WITH GLENEAGLES AS THEY BECOME INTEGRATED.

RESTRICTED

Susim  
/28/6/91 ALY

232

015205  
MDHOAN 6248

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T1791A/1

SUBJECT  
MASTER

Q DIST ?  
TOP COPY

FILED ON:

RESTRICTED  
FM FCO  
TO IMMEDIATE BRIDGETOWN  
TELNO 218  
OF 271759Z JUNE 91  
INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA

FROM CSAD:

SOUTH AFRICA CRICKET: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR SANDIFORD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE START OF THE CARICOM MEETING.

TEXT BEGINS:

I HOPE THAT YOU ENJOYED YOUR RECENT STAY IN BRITAIN. IT WAS GOOD TO SEE YOU DURING THE SATURDAY OF THE LORDS TEST. I THOUGHT I WOULD FOLLOW UP OUR CONVERSATION ON THAT OCCASION BY WRITING TO YOU PERSONALLY ABOUT THE PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER INTEGRATION IN SPORT, PARTICULARLY CRICKET. THE DECISION OF THE TWO CRICKET BOARDS TO UNITE THIS WEEK AS A SINGLE RACIALLY INTEGRATED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA SETS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT, AND OFFERS A MODEL FOR THE NEW SOCIETY WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BUILDING.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE, WHEN IT MET IN FEBRUARY, DECIDED, THAT SPORTS WHICH ACHIEVED INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES DESERVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. SINCE THEN, THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAVE ADOPTED THE SAME PRINCIPLE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ANC HAVE BEEN LOBBYING US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE READMISSION OF THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL (ICC) NEXT MONTH. THE ANC HAVE PUT IT TO US THAT READMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WOULD BE A JUST REWARD FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE NON-WHITE SPORTS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD FOR UNITY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS SWEEP AWAY THE THREE PILLARS OF STATUTORY APARTHEID THIS MONTH. THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

Ces 295h  
28 JUN 1991

NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERIA, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SO I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF MR MANDELA AND OTHERS WHO HOPE THAT THE ICC WILL, AT THEIR MEETING AT LORDS ON 8-11 JULY, ADMIT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA. I KNOW THAT, AS WITH THE TCCB, THE WEST INDIES BOARD IS INDEPENDENT. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. TEXT ENDS.

2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

3. WHEN HANDING OVER THIS TEXT (PREFERABLY IN PERSON TO THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT OTHERWISE TO HIS OFFICE) YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER DECIDED TO WRITE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANC WERE THEMSELVES TRYING TO PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO CARIBBEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE, IN ANY CASE, SENDING THEIR SPORTS SPOKESMAN, STEVE TSHWETE TO THE LORDS MEETING TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD'S APPLICATION TO THE ICC.

4. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

#### WHAT IS ANC'S POSITION?

- ANC HAVE TOLD US (STEVE TSHWETE/SECRETARY OF STATE 22 MAY AND THABO MBEKI'S LETTER OF 29 MAY TO SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ICC COUNTRIES) THAT THEY FULLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE THAT PROPERLY INTEGRATED SPORTS SHOULD RESUME INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. THEIR CONDITIONS ARE THE ABOLITION OF STATUTORY APARTHEID (TO BE COMPLETED BY END JUNE) AND FORMATION OF UNIFIED GOVERNING BODIES FOR EACH SPORT.

- THE ANC IS PROMOTING SPORTS UNITY TO HELP CREATE A NEW, NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. UNITY WILL ENABLE BLACK SPORTSMEN TO IMPROVE THEIR FACILITIES.

#### CONFLICT WITH GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT?

- NO. GLENEAGLES (1977) COMMITS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO DISCOURAGE SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SPORTS ARE ORGANISED ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOUR OR ETHNIC ORIGIN. SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS EG CRICKET, WILL THEREFORE COMPLY WITH GLENEAGLES AS THEY BECOME INTEGRATED.

HURD

RESTRICTED

Susan.

28/6/91 Au)

231

015124

MDHOAN 6240

RESTRICTED  
FM FCO  
TO IMMEDIATE BRIDGETOWN  
TELNO 216  
OF 271800Z JUNE 91  
INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA

TOP COPY  
Q DIST ?

BRIDGETOWN PASS TO GRENADA

FROM CSAD:

SOUTH AFRICA: CRICKET LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR BRATHWAITE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE START OF THE CARICOM MEETING.

TEXT BEGINS:

I HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO MEET AT THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN OCTOBER IN ZIMBABWE. MEANWHILE, I THOUGHT I WOULD WRITE PERSONALLY ABOUT THE PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER INTEGRATION IN SPORT, PARTICULARLY CRICKET. THE DECISION OF THE TWO CRICKET BOARDS TO UNITE THIS WEEK AS A SINGLE, RACIALLY INTEGRATED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA SETS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT, AND OFFERS A MODEL FOR THE NEW SOCIETY WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BUILDING.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE DECIDED, WHEN IT MET IN FEBRUARY, THAT SPORTS WHICH ACHIEVED INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES DESERVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. SINCE THEN, THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HAVE ADOPTED THE SAME PRINCIPLE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ANC HAVE BEEN LOBBYING US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE ADMISSION OF THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET COUNCIL (ICC) NEXT MONTH. THE ANC HAVE PUT IT TO US THAT READMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WOULD BE A JUST REWARD FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE NON-WHITE SPORTS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD FOR UNITY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS SWEEPED AWAY THE THREE PILLARS OF

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

Case 2937/1
28 JUN 1991



STATUTORY APARTHEID THIS MONTH. THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA NOW MEETS THE POLITICAL CRITERION, SUGGESTED BY THE IOC AND THE ANC, FOR THE RE-ENTRY OF UNITED SPORTS INTO INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SO I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF MR MANDELA AND OTHERS WHO HOPE THAT THE ICC WILL, AT THEIR MEETING AT LORDS ON 8-11 JULY, ADMIT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA. I KNOW THAT, AS WITH THE TCCB, THE WEST INDIES BOARD IS INDEPENDENT. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. TEXT ENDS.

2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

3. WHEN HANDING OVER THIS TEXT (PREFERABLY IN PERSON TO THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT OTHERWISE TO HIS OFFICE) YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER DECIDED TO WRITE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANC WERE THEMSELVES TRYING TO PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO CARIBBEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE, IN ANY CASE, SENDING THEIR SPORTS SPOKESMAN, STEVE TSHWETE TO THE LORDS MEETING TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED CRICKET BOARD'S APPLICATION TO THE ICC.

4. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

WHAT IS ANC'S POSITION?

- ANC HAVE TOLD US (STEVE TSHWETE/SECRETARY OF STATE 22 MAY AND THABO MBEKI'S LETTER OF 29 MAY TO SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ICC COUNTRIES) THAT THEY FULLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE THAT PROPERLY INTEGRATED SPORTS SHOULD RESUME INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. THEIR CONDITIONS ARE THE ABOLITION OF STATUTORY APARTHEID (TO BE COMPLETED BY END JUNE) AND FORMATION OF UNIFIED GOVERNING BODIES FOR EACH SPORT.

- THE ANC IS PROMOTING SPORTS UNITY TO HELP CREATE A NEW, NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. UNITY WILL ENABLE BLACK SPORTSMEN TO IMPROVE THEIR FACILITIES.

CONFLICT WITH GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT?

- NO. GLENEAGLES (1977) COMMITS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO DISCOURAGE SPORTING CONTACTS WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SPORTS ARE ORGANISED ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOUR OR ETHNIC ORIGIN. SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS EG CRICKET, WILL THEREFORE COMPLY WITH GLENEAGLES AS THEY BECOME INTEGRATED.



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

27 June 1991

SOUTH AFRICA : CRICKET

Thank you for your letter of 26 June with messages to Caribbean Prime Ministers. We agreed that these would issue, with a minor amendment to the message to Mr. Manley, and you are kindly arranging to send the messages by telegram. There will be no signed originals.

(J. S. WALL)

S.L. Gass, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

A handwritten signature in the bottom right corner of the page, appearing to be 'hw'.



*SLC*

Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

London SW1 2AH

26 June 1991

*Dear Stephen,*

South Africa : Cricket

Thank you for your letter of 20 June. <sup>-att.</sup> The Prime Minister had suggested that he might write to the Prime Ministers of Trinidad and Tobago and of Guyana. The Foreign Secretary agrees, but considers that such a message, which would be intended to provoke discussion - and a change of heart - at next month's CARICOM meeting (1-4 July) should be addressed to all Caribbean Heads of Government. I attach ten draft letters which would be delivered and followed up orally by our High Commissioners.

You may feel that a letter to the Barbadian Prime Minister is not necessary - or needs special tailoring - in the light of whatever transpired between the Prime Minister and Mr Sandiford in the box at Lords.

A letter to Mr Manley would give an opportunity to underline any points made by the Prime Minister on 12 June. As outgoing CARICOM Chairman, and a historian of West Indies cricket, Mr Manley is a key personality.

One note of caution. Various recent conversations with Clyde Walcott, West Indies delegate to the 11-13 July ICC meeting, show he remains inclined not to respond to the South African application "with indecent haste". He is certainly open to influence from Caribbean governments, and from the ANC (we are trying to arrange this) but he asserts the independence of the West Indies Board. He has commented that even if he wanted to reconvene the Board to consider new advice from Caribbean Prime Ministers there would not be time to do so before the ICC meeting.

*Lawson*  
*S-L*  
(S L Gass)  
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



Ex PC.

Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

21 June 1991

file No

London SW1A 2AH

*Jean Richardson*

SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

You spoke yesterday to Simon Hemans about tactics to secure the readmission of South Africa to international cricket.

Simon has spoken at length to Colin Cowdrey. He reports talking to the ANC who say that the Indians have told him that they are swinging round to the South African side on sport, and may even decide to propose South Africa for ICC membership. If they do decide, and it may be as early as Monday, 24 June, this should influence Pakistan and Sri Lanka, and will also give pause to the West Indians. The latter through Clive Walcott have let it be known that they will oppose even a discussion of South African readmission. Cowdrey described Walcott as a stubborn old school operator whose natural instincts were stuck in past attitudes. He has spoken again himself to the ANC to urge them very strongly to make high-level telephone calls to all the West Indian Prime Ministers including the Barbadian here in London - preferably before he sees the Prime Minister at Lords tomorrow, 22 June.

Colin Cowdrey's view is that things are now moving slowly the right way and that it is for the ANC to carry the Indian momentum forward. We have instructed Cape Town to take action with the ANC to reinforce his own message to them. It would be useful if the Prime Minister could broach the subject fairly gently with the Barbadian, and if he sees him at Lords with Walcott as well. Depending on progress in the meanwhile, it will be worth considering covering this topic if the Prime Minister, as he suggested he might, telephones Nelson Mandela next week.

Cowdrey told Simon Hemans that he was thinking of giving the Prime Minister a note on the state of play this evening in case it was difficult to have a private word in the box tomorrow.

We have just received the enclosed telegram from Islamabad. Cowdrey may wish to urge the ANC to greater efforts there as well. If necessary you may wish to speak to Cowdrey on the telephone next week to encourage him to work on the doubters.

*Yours ever,* *Richard Gozney*  
(R H T Gozney)  
Private Secretary

SH9AAF  
J S Wall Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

RESTRICTED

174537  
MDHIAN 2173

RESTRICTED  
FM ISLAMABAD  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 630  
OF 210835Z JUNE 91  
INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN, NEW DELHI, COLOMBO

YOUR TELNO 225 TO CAPETOWN: SOUTH AFRICA: CRICKET

1. FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH SHAHARYAR REITERATED TO ME YESTERDAY THAT PAKISTAN WOULD NOT PUT A SPOKE IN THE WHEEL BUT WOULD GO ALONG WITH A CONSENSUS OF THIRD WORLD CRICKET COUNTRIES. THE MOST INFLUENTIAL DECISION WOULD STILL BE THAT OF THE WEST INDIES.
2. AN ANC VISIT HERE WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A HELP. SHAHARYAR SAID THE FINAL DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN HERE BY THE PRIME MINISTER (HIMSELF A KEEN AMATEUR CRICKETER) BUT THE MFA WOULD BE CLOSELY INVOLVED AS WELL AS THE SPORTS ESTABLISHMENT. SHAHARYAR HAD ALREADY BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE PERMANENT SECRETARY OF SPORTS AND TOURISM (OMAR AFRIDI) AND THE CHAIRMAN OF PAKISTAN'S CRICKET ASSOCIATION (GENERAL ZAHID OF WAPDA).
3. WHEN ASKED ABOUT A POSSIBLE COORDINATED LINE AMONG THE THREE CRICKETING COUNTRIES OF THE SUBCONTINENT SHAHARYAR DID NOT RULE THIS OUT, SAYING THAT IT MIGHT IN THEORY BE DISCUSSED BY THE SENIOR OFFICIALS WHO WOULD MEET IN THE MALDIVES ON 29 JUNE (HE AMONG THEM) TO PREPARE FOR THE NEXT SAARC SUMMIT. BUT THAT MIGHT BE TOO LATE.
4. PLEASE COPY FURTHER IF NECESSARY.

BARRINGTON

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION 158

MAIN 151

SOUTH AFRICA  
LIMITED  
CSAD  
CCD  
CSAD/ODA

WIAD  
SAD  
SPD  
PS  
PS/MRS CHALKER

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

174537  
MDHI 173

ECD(E)  
ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
ERD  
ESAU  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
NEWS D  
NPDD  
PLANNERS  
PUSD  
UND  
WAD

PS/PUS  
MR LANKESTER  
CHIEF CLERK  
MR FAIRWEATHER  
MR SLATER  
MR GREENSTOCK  
MISS SPENCER  
MR HEMANS  
MR HUDSON  
MR KERBY  
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL 7

SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED

NNNN

PAGE 2  
RESTRICTED



a/foreign / sports  
MEN

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

6 June 1991

SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

Thank you for copying to me your letter to Richard Gozney of 29 May. I have shown it the Prime Minister. He wonders if the organisers of the proposed Crickathon later this year might be prepared to devote some of the proceeds to the cause of sports facilities in South African townships. This is something you might want to take up with them.

I am copying this letter to Richard Gozney (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

J. S. WALL.

Miss Mela Watts,  
Office of the Minister for Sport

MEN



Woody  
asking -  
f 3.6

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

The letter below says that the S. African townships need grassed areas for sports, including cricket.

I wonder if the organisers of the Cricathon (the event David Saver is associated with) might be prepared to devote some of the proceeds to that cause?

Stephen 2/6





THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

ELIZABETH HOUSE YORK ROAD LONDON SE1 7PH  
TELEPHONE 071-934 9000

ROBERT ATKINS MP  
Minister for Sport

*Copy of can't read yr. note. ccpc*

*Russie Minister*

*Maybe the organisers of the cricket could be interested in this as a project.*

Richard Gozney  
Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
London  
SW1A 2AH

Dear Richard,

*Steph* 29 May 1991  
*RDW*

Last week Mr Atkins met Steve Tshwete (ANC), Stephen Gawe (ANC) and Ali Bacher to discuss sport in South Africa. I understand that the Foreign Secretary has also met the party, whose primary reason for coming to the UK was to lobby for readmission to the ICC.

Dr Bacher was both enthusiastic and optimistic about the changes in South Africa, although he was realistic about the continuing turbulence there. He explained that the main thrust of the South African Government's spending was towards housing, employment and education - not sport.

The party reiterated their appreciation for the cricket equipment donated recently, saying that the psychological value of the gift far outweighed its' monetary value.

Dr Bacher identified a serious problem for the true integration of sport in South Africa - the total lack of any grassed areas or sports facilities in the townships. To provide the townships with facilities anywhere near the standard of those in predominantly white areas, such as Johannesburg, would cost about £200 million. Some of this money will come from tour profits - but not all. Dr Bacher asked Mr Atkins if the Government would be prepared to make some money available to develop sports facilities, including grass pitches, in the townships; such a move, Dr Bacher thought, would represent the UK taking the lead within Europe. Dr Bacher suggested that this money might be best directed through the National Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC) which represents the sporting contingent of the black townships.



Mr Atkins made clear that he could not commit the Government to anything. But, he agreed to pass on the views expressed to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary and was certainly supportive of the work being done to move towards fully integrated sport.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Wall.

Yours sincerely

Mela Watts

MELA WATTS



*CPC*

Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

RESTRICTED

15 May 1991

London SW1A 2AH

*Dear Stephen,*

South Africa: Sport

Thank you for your letter of 7 May. The recommendations by the Heads of Mission in South Africa indeed represented a good result. We still have some way to go to persuade all EC Governments to adopt these recommendations and be willing to announce them at the European Council. The Spaniards, for example, are very sensitive about the possible implications for the Olympic Games which they are to host.

Despite these hesitations and doubts expressed by other countries, we have succeeded in persuading our EC partners that the report should be moved ahead in the EC process, and it will come before Political Directors soon. We shall be lobbying doubters meanwhile.

*Yours ever,*

*Christopher Prentice*

(C N R Prentice)  
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

SPORT: SA BLS pr 2



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

13 May 1991

**SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET**

I spoke to Mela Watts in Mr. Atkin's office last week about the position reached on South Africa's re-admission to international cricket.

As I told Mela, Colin Cowdrey has been in touch with Andrew Turnbull here. His understanding is that the formal meeting of the ICC Conference on Wednesday, 10 July, should be in a position to agree the re-admission of South Africa. The Prime Minister is anyway hosting a reception for ICC members on Monday, 8 July, but Colin Cowdrey hopes that if South Africa is re-admitted to the ICC on the Wednesday morning, the Prime Minister might be able to join the ICC for a celebratory drink at Lords before their dinner that evening.

We have noted this in the Prime Minister's diary, but it may in the event be difficult for him to get there. I imagine that Mr. Atkins would anyway go, and could if necessary convey a message of congratulation from the Prime Minister.

I am copying this letter to Simon Gass (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

J.S. WALL

Miss Christina Bienkowska,  
Department of Education and Science.

*File  
to  
F/Crickit*

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

7 May 1991

*Dear Richard,*

SOUTH AFRICA: SPORT

The Prime Minister has seen a copy of Cape Town telno 188 recording the agreement reached by the EC Heads of Mission in South Africa on recommendations on the sports boycott. The Prime Minister thought this a very good result, particularly since he understands that some pressure had to be brought to bear on one or two of our Partners to achieve it.

I am copying this letter to Christina Bienkowska (Department of Education and Science).

*Jam,*

*J. S. Wall*

J. S. WALL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

*file PMM*

*bc: PC*

*Sir Robin Kanwar*

*DS*

RESTRICTED

167344  
MDHIAN 4911

Rice Master

*Good!*  
*C*

*This represents a victory over  
the Dutch who were being  
held back. Good  
result*

RESTRICTED  
FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 188  
OF 030939Z MAY 91  
INFO EC POSTS, LUSAKA, HARARE, WELLINGTON, CANBERRA, OTTAWA,  
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, JOHANNESBURG

FROM DHM

*Rice*

SOUTH AFRICA: SPORT

1. ON 2 MAY EC HEADS OF MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS ON LIFTING THE SPORTS BOYCOTT, LARGELY BASED ON OUR REVISED DRAFT:

'THE HEADS OF MISSION RECOMMEND THAT EC GOVERNMENTS SHOULD NORMALIZE THEIR SPORTS RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON A SPORT BY SPORT BASIS AS SOON AS ALL THE FOLLOWING REQUIREMENTS HAVE BEEN MET:

A) REPEAL OF THE REMAINING APARTHEID LEGISLATION (GROUP AREAS ACT, LAND ACTS, POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT):

B) ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTEGRATED NON-RACIAL GOVERNING BODY FOR THE FORM OF SPORT CONCERNED, WHICH MAKES IT CLEAR THAT ITS APPROACH IS NON-RACIAL AND THAT IT IS ACTIVELY PROMOTING FULL PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERS OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION.

IT WILL THEN BE FOR THE RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS TO DECIDE WHEN TO RESUME CONTACT AND COMPETITION.

EC GOVERNMENTS CAN IN THE MEANTIME HELP TO REDRESS HISTORICAL IMBALANCE IN THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES PROVIDING TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AS SOME ARE ALREADY DOING BILATERALLY. CONSIDERATION COULD BE GIVEN TO FINANCING THESE KIND OF ACTIVITIES OUT OF THE EC POSITIVE MEASURES PROGRAMME.'

2. FCO PLEASE PASS TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET.

RENWICK

YYYY

PAGE 1  
RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

167344  
MDHIAN 4911

DISTRIBUTION

161

MAIN 150

SOUTH AFRICA  
LIMITED  
CSAD  
CCD  
CSAD/ODA  
CONSULAR D  
ECD(E)  
ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
ERD  
ESAU  
IEAD/ODA  
INFO D  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
NEWS D  
NPDD  
PLANNERS

PUSD  
UND  
WAD  
PS  
PS/MRS CHALKER  
PS/PUS  
MR LANKESTER  
CHIEF CLERK  
MR FAIRWEATHER  
MR SLATER  
MR GREENSTOCK  
MISS SPENCER  
MR HEMANS  
MR HUDSON  
MR KERBY  
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL 11

SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED

PS NO 10

NNNN



1 JSW  
2. RA

From: ROBERT ATKINS  
Date: 30 April 1991  
cc Permanent Secretary  
Mr Wiggins  
Mr Horne  
SCI  
Mr Vaughan  
Mr Mackay

SECRETARY OF STATE

SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

1. I spoke to Colin Cowdrey (Chairman of the ICC) following his visit to Barbados. He confirmed the substance of my conclusions after meeting Senator Wes Hall, Minister for Sport and Tourism and former Test cricketer, namely that Clyde Walcott and the WIBC are very much in favour of the moves towards integrating South African cricket and wish to do all they can to speed the process. Sir Gary Sobers is to visit South Africa in the very near future to show support.

2. There is an ICC meeting on July 8 - 11 at Lord's where there is a possibility of accepting South Africa back into the fold as full members if Dr Steve Tshwete of the ANC is successful in his talks with others of the seven Test-playing countries to persuade them of the new South African Board's viability. He and Mr Ramswamy of SANROC are working very hard on India and Pakistan, and are very hopeful of a satisfactory conclusion in the near future.

3. I am copying this to the Prime Minister's office and to the Foreign Secretary's office.

RA.

ROBERT ATKINS

[SAC]

PUBLICATION	THE STAR	WEEKLY MAIL	THE SOWETAN	CITY PRESS	CITIZEN
DATE	26 April 1991				

**R125 000  
cricket  
gift**

**Citizen Reporter**  
THE British Ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick, yesterday presented the United Cricket Board of SA with cricket bats to the value of R25 000 for use in the board's development programme in under-privileged communities.

The bats were the first part of the R125 000 British grant announced earlier this week, to mark the decision of cricket's governing bodies to unify as the United Cricket Board of South Africa.

The bats were received by Dr Ali Bacher and Mr Khaya Majola, co-directors of the board's programme.

"We will use the grant for equipment in rural areas of the Eastern Cape, Natal and Transvaal, where cricket has been played for many years, but where there is an almost total lack of equipment and facilities," said Mr Majola.

✓  
file  
P  
Punie Minister (S)  
—  
16/4

PUBLICATION	THE STAR	WEEKLY MAIL	THE SOWETAN	CITY PRESS	
DATE	26 April 1991				



Forward defence . . . United Cricket Board officials — Dr All Bacher (left), Geoff Dakin, Krish Mackerdhuj and Khaya Major — yesterday accepted bats from British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick (second from right). Picture: John Ifor

## Britain balling for SA cricket, says UK envoy

By Mark Suzman

South Africa stands an excellent chance of being readmitted to the International Cricket Council in June, outgoing British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick said yesterday.

Speaking at the Wanderers Club, where he presented the newly formed United Cricket Board of South Africa with 260 cricket bats valued at R25 000 for use in a development programme for underprivileged communities, Sir Robin said he was very optimistic about the situation.

"Our Prime Minister, Mr Major, is a very ardent cricket fan, and the people in Britain look forward to the day when we can play South Africa again, both at the Wanderers and in Soweto."

Sir Robin said he hoped that as soon as apartheid laws had been removed, the atmosphere would be favourable for South Africa's readmission to other arenas. He said the British government would continue its support for South African sport.

# UK leads way for underprivileged cricketers

By Dave Beattie

Dr Ali Bacher, managing director of the emergent United Cricket Board of South Africa, "applauded" the British government today for their decision to lend aid to the underprivileged cricketers of South Africa.

Yesterday, in London, after talks with British Premier John Major, State President FW de Klerk said that sport could be the first boycott to fall.

"I am sure there is a very specific wish on the part of the Prime Minis-

ter to bring SA back into the international sporting arena," he said.

Hand in hand with the British government's favourable dispensation towards South African sports which had achieved unity and nonracism, was a promise to send cricket equipment for distribution in underprivileged areas.

Dr Bacher, co-director with Khaya Majola of the National Cricket Development programme, was delighted.

"This is very good news," he said.

Dr Bacher said the

British Embassy had been approached for grassroots level aid at the beginning of the year, and officials had gone both to Alexandra and Mitchell's Plain to assess the situation.

"I then got a call from the British Ambassador in Cape Town, Mr Robin Renwick, indicating he had had a favourable report-back from the officials," said Dr Bacher.

"He then assured me that when unity had been achieved, the British government would provide the equipment - not money. We so badly need in some

areas. "As I understand it now, the British government will contact sporting goods manufacturers over there, the equipment will be sent out here, and distributed to areas where development aid is most needed. The British government must be applauded for this gesture."

Dr Bacher said that while the future looked rosy, South African cricket could "not afford to take its eye off the ball".

"Grassroot development, particularly in the

disadvantaged areas, is where the future is. Those areas must continue to be the main focus of our drive and energy."

Dr Bacher hoped that other governments would follow the British lead. "We have had talks with officials from two other countries," he said, "and their initial responses have been very warm."

"There is a great deal to be done, and we need plenty of support from outside South Africa, not only for cricket, but for other sports, too."

Per fax Immediate K 23/4 : CSAS, FCO - re Penn

- per pass Immediate to HMA, c/o Head of Photon Section

Per Penn  
J 24/4

U 23/4

SOWETAN

WEDNESDAY APRIL 24 1991

# British Premier gives to cricket

CRICKET equipment worth about R125,000 which was donated to the newly formed United Cricket Board of South Africa by British Premier John Major, would go to the disadvantaged people of South Africa, the managing director of the group, Dr All Bacher, said yesterday.

By JOE MDHLELA

MD of the white South African Cricket Union until the merger with the Krishna Mackerthaj South African Cricket Board, on Saturday, said he was impressed with Major's gesture to help develop cricket in the country.

"The equipment will go to the townships where the need is great," Bacher said.

development programme, Bacher said. "The bulk will redress the imbalances that were created by apartheid in the country."

Asked if cricket tours were of importance at this stage, Bacher said although unity had been achieved in cricket, "tours were not an issue."

## Well tipped

OUR racing expert, Ingwenya has done it again! This time he tipped the R4 jackpot paying R41 and the Syndicate Pick Six which netted our punters a handsome R100 profit.

If you want to join the money-makers, follow Ingwenya in your favourite newspaper, *Sowetan*, every race day.

## Significant

More than anything, it was the acceptance by the International Cricket Council that was significant.

Bacher said decisions with regard to tours would be made by "powers above us".

He said whatever the cricket body did, it was important that it should have the support of the



Dr All Bacher will use the R125 000 from British Prime Minister John Major to boost cricket in the townships.

majority of the people. "We want to gain membership of the ICC so that we can talk at an official level with countries like the West Indies, Australia and New Zealand," he said.

## Borg beaten

MONACO - Bjorn Borg was beaten in straight sets in his comeback bid yesterday with hundreds of international Pressmen witnessing the event.

ADVANCE COPY

RESTRICTED

FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 180

OF 261630Z APRIL 91

INFO PRIORITY CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, NEW DELHI, ISLAMABAD  
INFO PRIORITY PORT OF SPAIN, BRIDGETOWN, GEORGETOWN, HARARE

SOUTH AFRICA: SPORT

1. FOLLOWING THE STATEMENT FROM NO 10 AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH DE KLERK, WE ANNOUNCED IMMEDIATELY A GRANT OF RAND 125,000 (POUNDS 25,000) FOR SPORTS EQUIPMENT FOR THE TOWNSHIPS TO MARK OUR SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT REACHED ON THE NEW NON-RACIAL GOVERNING BODY FOR CRICKET. AT THE WANDERERS GROUND IN JOHANNESBURG YESTERDAY I PRESENTED 260 BRITISH-MADE CRICKET BATS WORTH RAND 25,000 TO THE LEADERS OF THE NEW JOINT CRICKET BOARD (DAKIN, MACKERDUJ AND BACHER). THESE ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THEM TO CRICKETING GROUPS IN THE TOWNSHIPS AND IMPOVERISHED RURAL AREAS.

2. THE CRICKET ORGANISERS CONFIRM THAT STEVE TSHWETE (ANC) WHO HELPED TO MASTER-MIND THE INTEGRATION OF THE TWO CRICKET BODIES WILL BE URGING THE INDIAN, PAKISTANI AND WEST INDIAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES NOT TO OPPOSE THEIR CRICKET UNIONS AGREEING TO THE RE-ADMISSION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE ICC. DAKIN, MACKERDUJ AND BACHER WILL TOGETHER BE ATTENDING THE ICC MEETING IN LONDON IN JULY, AND I HOPE THEY MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN THE RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE ICC.

3. DR DANIE CRAVEN TOLD ME TODAY THAT, AGAIN WITH TSHWETE'S HELP, THERE WERE GOOD PROSPECTS FOR ACCELERATING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A UNIFIED GOVERNING BODY FOR RUGBY.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO NO 10 AND TO PS/MINISTER FOR SPORT.

RENWICK

YYYY

RESTRICTED

MDADA 45264  
12

DISTRIBUTION

6

ADVANCE

6

HD/CSAD  
HD/CCD  
HD/CSAD/ODA

PS NO 10.

PS/MINISTER FOR SPORT  
RESIDENT CLERK

NNNN

PAGE 2  
RESTRICTED

MR. WALL

---

#### SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

Colin Cowdrey phoned me today on his return from Barbados to report on the prospects for the readmission of South Africa to international cricket. He said he was much more encouraged than he had been a few weeks ago. The most he could have hoped for then was an agreement to listen to the South African companies without some of the ICC members walking out.

The factors which lay behind this more optimistic assessment were as follows:

First, a senior member of the ANC, Mr. Tshwete was putting together plans for an integrated cricket authority in South Africa, the United Cricket Board. Its constitution was to be ratified on 29 June.

Secondly, by June the South African government should have enacted the repeal of the three major apartheid laws.

Thirdly, Mr. Tshwete would be travelling next week to Harare with Dr. Ali Bacher to talk informally to representatives of the Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan governments. Colin Cowdrey said he would ring me next week with a report on this meeting.

He had made enquiries with lawyers as to whether it was possible to bring this issue to the ICC meeting on 10 July. Although the normal practice is for resolutions to be tabled by 31 March, it is possible for items exceptionally to be tabled later.

The Prime Minister is hosting a reception for ICC members on Monday 8 July. This is at the end of the first, informal, day of the ICC Conference. The formal meeting is on Wednesday 10 July. Colin Cowdrey nurtures hopes that it might be possible to agree the readmission of South Africa on the Wednesday morning. If that were the case, he hoped the Prime Minister would be able to



join the ICC for a celebratory drink at Lords before their dinner that evening. In terms of diary, this would be possible as the Audience will end at 1830 sharp that day.

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

26 April 1991

c:\pps\south (slh)

CONFIDENTIAL



File DAS  
CPC

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

SUBJECT CC MASTER

22 April 1991

*Dear Sir,*

SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Following the recent correspondence on this subject, the Prime Minister held a meeting this evening attended by the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for Sport, Sir Robin Renwick and other officials. The main points to emerge from the meeting were:

- i. Where an integrated sports body was established in South Africa, we should seek to make early progress in resuming links with the sport concerned.
- ii. This approach was consistent with the Gleneagles Agreement.
- iii. The procedure involved in each case would be for the relevant international sporting body to recognise that the South African sport concerned was fully integrated.
- iv. As regards soccer, the position was complicated by the fact that there were three bodies (FIFA, UEFA and the Olympic Committee) involved. There was also an African football body who would have to give recognition first. This was complicated by the existence of one small splinter group within South Africa. The practical consequence of this was that very early progress was not envisaged though it might be possible to arrange a fixture with Crystal Palace, as had been mooted, by next Winter.
- v. Cricket was the sport where the swiftest progress could be made, not least because cricket was not an Olympic sport and the ICC was the only international body involved.
- vi. The Minister for Sport reported that soundings taken by Colin Cowdrey among West Indian members of the ICC indicated that all might well support South Africa's readmission to the sport with the possible exception of Guyana. India could also be problematic, though steps had been taken to influence the Indians. Perversely, the New Zealanders seemed to be the odd men out in maintaining their opposition.

CONFIDENTIAL

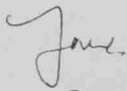
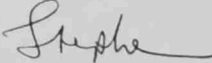
CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

- vii. Mr Atkins reported that there was a good prospect of the ICC's rules being changed so that South Africa would not have to give a year's notice before being admitted. This change in the rules might involve admitting Namibia as well. There was a good prospect of a sporting fixture with South Africa, not for this Summer in the United Kingdom, but for the next South African cricket season, ie the Winter of this year. It was agreed that Mr Atkins would talk to Colin Cowdrey on the latter's return to the United Kingdom.
- viii. Sir Robin Renwick indicated that the acquiescence of the ANC would be important in determining the attitude of international sports bodies like the ICC. The Prime Minister asked what price Mr Mandela would ask. Sir Robin Renwick said that the ANC would require the repeal of the three principal pieces of apartheid legislation; genuine integration of sport and help for township sports.
- ix. It was agreed that we should use funds already available to finance up to £25,000 worth of sporting equipment for the townships straightaway. This money should be disbursed in consultation with the new integrated cricketing authority in South Africa.
- x. The Prime Minister said that the private sector should be encouraged to send out people who could provide cricket coaching.

Later in the evening, President de Klerk raised the issue of sporting contacts in private with the Prime Minister. He said that South Africa had applied for readmission to the ICC and that there was a great deal of excitement on the subject in South Africa. The South Africa's had been told that they had applied too late to be readmitted at the 9 July meeting of the ICC. In President de Klerk's view, only Colin Cowdrey could put this right. The Prime Minister would be happy to see Mr Cowdrey and we should perhaps arrange this once Mr Atkins had spoken to him. I should be grateful for advice.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Crowne (Department of Education and Science) and to Suma Chakrabarti (Overseas Development Administration).

  
  
J. S. WALL

Simon Gass, Esq.  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL



Cite Tw  
alsport

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

11 April 1991

INTEGRATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

Nicholas True in the Policy Unit here recently had a meeting with David Pickup, the Director-General of the Sports Council.

David Pickup apparently wanted us to know that he had made provisional arrangements with Ron Noades at Crystal Palace for a game to be fixed at very short notice between Crystal Palace and a leading South African football team, should that be timely in the context of our aim to bring South Africa back within the sporting field as apartheid is dismantled.

The Office of the Minister for Sport are already aware of this approach. It is something which we may need to consider at the Prime Minister's meeting on sporting contacts with South Africa on Monday 22 April. I understand that no action would be taken without a say-so from us. But there are obvious advantages in a predominantly black team from South Africa playing in the UK.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Crowne (Department of Education and Science).

(J. S. WALL)

Simon Gass, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

B

cc Pickup.  
B

MR WALL

10th April 1991

INTEGRATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

I saw on the float today the references to the programmes on the above and have since seen the further minutes.

I recently met David Pickup, the Director-General of the Sports Council. The meeting was largely concerned with issues which are not of immediate concern to you and which are embraced within Mr Atkins' review of sport.

He was, however, keen to leave a message with the Government that he had made provisional arrangements with Ron Noades at Crystal Palace for a very short notice game to be fixed between Crystal Palace and a leading South African football team should that be timely in the context of the Prime Minister's aim to bring South Africa back within the sporting fold, as apartheid is dismantled.

I am copying to Robert Atkins' office. The matter is currently entirely personal and confidential between Pickup and Noades. However, they are ready to organise a fixture within a matter of weeks at most, if that is judged apposite in policy terms. This could form part of the Prime Minister's strategy on reintegration, particularly in view of the powerful black interest in football in South Africa. It would be a valuable signal to UK domestic opinion to see a predominantly black team from South Africa in the UK. No action will be taken without a signal from Mr Atkins. You may wish to integrate this possibility into your programme.

NT

NICHOLAS TRUE

063.nt



*ck*

Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

RESTRICTED

London SW1A 2AH

9 April 1991

*Jean Stephen,*

South Africa: Sporting Links

Thank you for your letter of 2 April. The Prime Minister has asked how we would take forward the idea of an EC declaration calling for the renewal of contacts in sports which are internationally recognised as integrated in South Africa.

We have prepared the ground with the French and the Germans, both of whom welcomed the idea. Chancellor Kohl, when he responded to our action plan, implied that he would favour something on these lines emerging from the June European Council. Franco-German support should enable us to steer a text relatively quickly through the EPC machinery. We launched the idea at the Africa Working Group last month with a generally positive response. It was agreed to commission a report on sport in South Africa from Heads of EC Missions in Cape Town as a basis for action. The next stage will be to secure Political Directors' agreement well before the Luxembourg European Council (scheduled for 28-29 June).

The declaration would also serve to lay to rest the 1985 EC ban on official sporting contacts and agreements, which has no practical effect, but some symbolic significance.

We have now broached with the Canadians the idea of a fund financed by Commonwealth countries for coaching sportsmen (Joe Clarke's Political Adviser was in London on 3 April and supported the idea). We and the DES propose to take it further at a meeting in Malta on 13-15 April of the Working Party on strengthening Commonwealth sport. Our delegation will talk to the Australians and others beforehand.

/I am

RESTRICTED



RESTRICTED

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mela Watts, Private Secretary to the Minister of Sport.

*Yours ever,*

*Richard Gozney*

(R H T Gozney)  
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED



TEB  
ST  
bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 April 1991

Dear Christopher,

SOUTH AFRICA: SPORTING LINKS

The Prime Minister was grateful for the action plan on sporting contacts with South Africa which Simon Gass sent with his letter to me of 28 March.

The Prime Minister is content with the action plan and has in particular ticked all the 'action now' points. The Prime Minister also thought it a good idea to approach the Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders - and later the Commonwealth Secretariat and other Commonwealth countries - about setting up a Commonwealth fund for coaching in South Africa. The Prime Minister also endorsed the idea of seeking support among our EC partners for a declaration by the Twelve calling for the renewal of sporting contacts with sports which are internationally recognised as integrated. The Prime Minister has asked how we would go about this.

Although the Prime Minister is content with the game plan, he would like to have a meeting with the Foreign Secretary and Mr Atkins (and the senior officials concerned) to discuss our policy on the issue. We shall try and arrange this meeting as soon as the Foreign Secretary is back from China. I presume we shall not need to take action before then. In particular, I know that the Prime Minister will want to talk, among other things, about the exact terms in which we explain to the Sports Council and others that links should be renewed with properly integrated sports in South Africa.

If there is any point of the plan on which action cannot wait until mid-April, perhaps you could let me know.

Jas.  
Stephen  
J S WALL

Christopher Prentice Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED

ST





10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

This looks a sensible plan.  
 The exact terms in which  
 the Minister of Sport speaks  
 to the Sports Council etc.  
 need to be agreed in advance.  
 We shall push this forward  
 but not blast it by a  
 repetition of Gatting.

Crucial to avoid a re-write of  
 Sleazegate. It gives us all  
 the cover we need and a  
 rewrite could end up worse.

I favour making further use  
 of Seb Coe: he made a

very good impact on his  
visit .

Agree on this basis?

Steph

28/5



CCPC

Foreign &  
Commonwealth  
Office

RESTRICTED

London SW1A 2AH

28 March 1991

Prime Minister

*Paul Stephenson*

*Stephen / OK - but  
Ad like a meeting  
- F. Sec / Mr. A. C. ... + appropriate of Africa  
1 meeting in  
April for about  
1 hour  
4 50.3*

South Africa: Sporting Links

Charles Powell's letter of 21 February asked that the Minister for Sport and the Foreign Secretary produce a game-plan to enable progress to be made very rapidly in re-establishing sporting contacts with South Africa.

/ A game-plan is attached which has been agreed by the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for Sport. We have not waited for the game-plan to be complete before initiating action. A list of what we have already done and are doing is also attached.

In further action we shall balance the need for Britain to be seen to be leading the resumption of sporting contacts against the need to avoid premature action which impedes the process rather than advances it. We shall be considering direct approaches to South African sporting bodies to encourage them to integrate. The visit of the International Olympic Committee looks promising, as the Prime Minister observed to the Foreign Secretary (your letter of 26 March). The Cape Town Embassy will report as soon as the results of that visit are clear.

President de Klerk's visit later this month will be a chance to discuss the tactics with the South Africans. While President de Klerk, like us, wants early movement, they recognise that to move too quickly could be counter-productive. They are probably better placed than anyone to judge what the market will bear.

/I am

RESTRICTED



RESTRICTED

I am sending copies of this letter and the game-plan to Miss Mela Watts (Office of the Minister for Sport).

*Yours ever,  
S. L. Gass*

(S. L. Gass)  
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

SOUTH AFRICA: GAME PLAN ON SPORT

1. Our objective is to restore normal sporting contacts with South Africa in the reasonably near future (and to mark this with a tour to Britain by a South African side). We aim to benefit UK and world sport, and to reinforce political progress in South Africa.

2. The Prime Minister told Parliament on 19 February that the sole criterion for the renewal of sporting contacts should be the achievement of racial integration (a single governing body) within a Sporting Code. Prime Minister Hawke agrees. In this way contacts may be resumed sport by sport. This principle is gaining ground internationally: the Committee of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers endorsed it in February, as did <sup>a</sup> meeting in Gaborone earlier in March of South African sporting bodies and the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA).

3. The principle has for us the tactical advantage of being in full accordance with the Gleneagles Agreement, which discourages sporting contacts "with South Africa or any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin". There is therefore no need to amend Gleneagles nor for the CHOGM to try to take a decision to lift the embargo (which would be difficult). We should argue that as sports become integrated they comply with Gleneagles and should no longer be subject to embargo.

4. The reaction of sporting bodies in South Africa and the UK to attempts to renew sporting links will be strongly influenced by the outcome of the Gaborone meeting and by decisions taken at the International Olympic Committee's annual congress in June. Although they are primarily of concern to Olympic sports, it is likely that others will

await the outcome before deciding future strategy. At present UK grant aid to sports bodies is conditional upon their not being involved with South Africa. This condition will be lifted as the process of integration of sport in South Africa continues. ✓

5. For some influential sports bodies, integration in sport is not enough: the ANOCA meeting said that the repeal of apartheid laws was a precondition for the renewal of sporting links. In South Africa, sports bodies linked to the more extreme opposition groups may try to preserve the boycott until a new constitution is in place (ie in several years' time). Unity talks between the governing bodies of South African sports are heavily politicised and likely to take longer than wishful thinking in the sporting press might suggest.

6. Some sports have, however, already made good progress towards integration. If all goes well a united governing body for cricket may be formed by September, rugby football has a deadline of 31 October for the formation of a single non-racial body and soccer is already largely integrated. The divisions between opposition groups for and against a sport-by-sport lifting of the boycott will persist, but the scope for hard-liners to delay recognition of integrated sports has decreased with the recent formation of a new umbrella organisation - the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA). A summary of the state of integration in different sports is annexed.

7. South African sports bodies are positioning themselves for international contacts: the Rugby Football authorities are reported to be discussing a possible visit by the French Barbarians, or a national side, in July. The cricket authorities are believed to be exploring Springbok participation in the World Cup in Australia in February 1992. The soccer authorities are believed to be in contact with Liverpool and Manchester United about a pre-season tour

to South Africa (ie late July). But all of this remains hypothetical.

8. The timing of the first tour in any given sport will in any case need to be finely judged: progress must not become hostage to splinter groups, but, at the same time, premature movement on sport might damage the broader process of political reform and the interests of UK sportsmen. We should also consider the interest of eg South African footballers, who, if they came too soon, might face violent intimidation when they returned.

ACTION NOW

For FCO Ministers and Officials

- Encourage the Australians to focus on tactics for resuming cricket and rugby football contacts; ✓
- Encourage the New Zealanders to concert with the Australians on both sports; ✓
- [with the DES] encourage the Australians to approach Caribbean and other cricketing countries so that the latter begin to focus on the positive changes in South Africa and renewal of cricketing contacts; Mr Atkins might build on recent discussions on cricket with government contacts in the Caribbean; ✓
- Encourage the French to study tactics for the renewal of rugby football contacts as soon as conditions in South Africa and internationally allow; ✓
- Encourage the Germans and the Italians to do the same in respect of soccer contacts; ✓
- Encourage coaching trips possibly with limited HMG funding and linkage with township projects run by the ✓

RESTRICTED

Ambassador; for this purpose stay in close touch with leading UK sportsmen (eg Sebastian Coe and Daley Thompson);

- Good idea!*
- Approach the Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders - and later the Commonwealth Secretariat and other Commonwealth countries - about setting up a Commonwealth fund for coaching in South Africa; for this purpose, explore sporting and commercial sources of finance;
  - Seek support among our EC partners for a declaration by the Twelve calling for the renewal of sporting contacts with sports which are internationally recognised as integrated (the French have already told us that they support this proposal);
  - Work for the lifting of the 1985 EC ban on official sporting contacts and agreements (this will, joined with an EC declaration, help us with the Commonwealth);
  - Head off, with Australian support, any attempts to revise the Gleneagles Agreement at the Harare CHOGM; argue that Gleneagles conditions will be satisfied as sports become integrated; at the same time, protect our national sporting interests.
- Good - how do we progress.*

For the Minister for Sport and his Officials

- Explain to Sports Council, other UK bodies and, as appropriate, sporting contacts in other Governments, that links should be renewed with properly integrated sports in South Africa. Discussion with Sports Council how policy on funding to sports bodies might be affected by political changes.
- Encourage UK bodies to approach competent international organisations to get the latter to focus on and stimulate



RESTRICTED

progress towards sports integration in South Africa and opportunities for resuming sporting contacts (among the latter: to explore the possibility of early visits by major English soccer teams, eg Liverpool or Manchester United, this year);

- Press UK representatives on international bodies to work with like minded delegations for early recognition of integration;

- Encourage the working party on the strengthening of the Commonwealth Games (due to report to the Harare CHOGM) to comment positively on opening the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Canada to South Africans.

- Send UK sports representatives as necessary to visit South Africa to establish the basis for renewed contact;

- Investigate possibilities for further coaching visits to South Africa following up an initial visit by eg Sebastian Coe;

- Consider whether to make facilities at UK National Training Centres available [on suitable terms] to South African sportsmen.

ACTION TAKEN BY MINISTERS AND FCO OFFICIALS

- The Prime Minister spoke to Mr Hawke on the telephone on 5 and 18 February; they agreed strongly that the time had come to begin lifting the sports sanctions where sports were integrated in South Africa.

- The Secretary of State told the Commonwealth Secretary-General on 14 February that the Commonwealth should lift the sports boycott in respect of integrated sports.

- Mrs Chalker spoke to Mr Mandela on 13 February during her visit to South Africa and urged the ANC to consider modifying their position on sport. (The ANC have since promoted unity in rugby football, cricket and soccer.)

- Mr Clark, the Canadian Foreign Minister, told the Secretary of State on 18 February that there had been forward movement on sport at the CCFM-SA meeting on 16 February and agreed to keep in close touch with us on sporting contacts.

- The Secretary of State said to the new Australian High Commissioner on 15 March that he hoped that both countries' officials would together explore ways of lifting the sports boycott. They are doing so.

- FCO officials have approached Commonwealth High Commissions, particularly the Australians and Canadians, to underline the Prime Minister's views and to get them to consider how best to accelerate sports integration in South Africa and its readmittance into the international sporting arena.

- We have at official level successfully persuaded the Australians to steer Canada away from proposing a revision of Gleneagles.
  
- We have warned the Australians of the dangers of another Gattling tour and encouraged them to pursue their objectives in collaboration with the competent international sports bodies, eg the International Rugby Board.
  
- Our Embassy in Paris have lobbied officials in the Quai, who are actively considering renewal of sporting links and would have no objection to the question being raised within the EC. The French were firm on the undesirability of restoring links in sports where integration was not already operative. We have encouraged the French (via their Embassy) to focus on rugby football.
  
- The Cape Town Embassy have regular contact with sporting bodies in South Africa and with other Embassies to help promote integration in sport. For example, our officials met Mr Ramsamy of SANROC on 25 January, Dr Bacher of SACU and Mr Majola of SACB on 22 February, senior officers of the South African Rugby Board and, separately, Yusuf Ebrahim, President of SACOS, on 1 March. The Cape Town Embassy has given assistance, under the Head of Mission Gift Scheme, to township cricket.
  
- Mr Atkins has been in touch with a number of senior sports administrators, including Mr A C Smith, Chief Executive of the Test and County Cricket Board. The latter are keen that South Africa should rejoin the International Cricket Council sooner rather than later. (Their present estimate is that this will be around July 1992).

## ANNEX

### SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

#### Cricket

1. Hopes for a unified cricket body rose during recent meetings between the establishment South African Cricket Union and the black-controlled South African Cricket Board in December last year and in January 1991. SACU and SACB have agreed in principle to form one united body. Discussions are now proceeding at grass roots/club level. One united governing body could be expected to exist by September 1991, but full practical merging at club level is unlikely to take place before September 1992.

#### Rugby

2. Discussion were held on 27 February between the establishment South African Rugby Board led by Dannie Craven, and the South African Rugby Union. An agreement was reached which set a deadline of 31 October for the formation of a single non-racial body. However, before the ink was dry on the agreement, rumblings were coming from influential regions of SARU that the process was moving too far and too fast.

#### Soccer

3. Soccer is black dominated and in 1990 three different organisations - the Soccer Association of South Africa, the Football Association of South Africa and the South African Soccer Federation were unified at amateur level, but the South African National Football Association (SANFA) has declined to join the newly formed body which will be called the South African Football Association. The Association of National Olympic Committees in Africa (ANOCA) has intervened to attempt to bring SANFA into the fold. It is likely that any joint body which excludes SANFA will not be accepted by

the African Confederation.

#### Athletics

4. The South African Amateur Athletics Board and the South African Amateur Union got off to a good start in their recent unity talks. A united governing body could emerge within a year or so.

#### Table Tennis

5. The activities of the ANC dominated National Olympic and Sports Congress (NOSC) have split non racial table tennis in two. There have been some unity talks between the establishment South African Table Tennis Union and the South African Table Tennis Board but the South African Table Tennis Federation was not involved.

#### Tennis

6. Unity talks between the Tennis Association of South Africa, the Tennis Federation of South Africa and the South African Tennis Union are going well. A joint constitution should be finalised by the end of this year. Monthly meetings have been arranged.

#### Softball

7. The South African Softball Federation and the South African Softball Association are talking about unity with their establishment counterparts.

#### Baseball

8. The South African Baseball Federation and the South African Baseball Association have agreed to merge and hope to have one controlling body by August this year.

#### Basketball

9. The South African Basketball Association and the Basketball Federation of South Africa have agreed in principle to unite.

#### Swimming

10. All swimming bodies have agreed in principle to unite.

#### Karate

11. There was a recent meeting attended by members of the Olympic and Sports Congress Working Committee and the National Amateur Karate Association. NAKA described the talks as fruitful. An interim committee is due to be appointed to look at obstacles in the unity process.

#### Netball

12. No unity moves have been made between the South African Union and the All South African Netball Association. This is primarily because ASANA is, unusually among even establishment sports in South Africa now, still structured on exclusively racial lines.

#### Squash

13. Contact was made for the first time between the South African Squash Rackets Association (SASRA) and the South African Squash Rackets Federation (SASRF) last October. Progress appears slow. SASRF has said that they still need to conduct a referendum among players to find out whether they were in favour of unity talks. The results are expected in March or April.

#### Volleyball

14. The South African Volleyball Union and the Amateur Association are due to start unity talks soon.

#### Golf

15. The white dominated Professional Golfers Association and the black dominated Tournament Players Association on 29 October announced their agreement to disband and regroup as a single organisation.

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

26 March 1991

SUBJECT CC MASTER

SOUTH AFRICA: SPORT

When the Foreign Secretary saw the Prime Minister this morning, Mr Major enquired after the action plan on sporting contacts with South Africa which you have in hand. The Foreign Secretary said that he had asked for more work on this. A plan was now with Mrs Chalker and he would send it to the Prime Minister in time for the weekend.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary thought that the killings in Daveytown might complicate things, but the meeting between President de Klerk and the IOC seems to have gone well and the Prime Minister would like to keep the initiative on this issue.

STEPHEN WALL

R H T Gozney Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED

File  
EA

C: Foreign/SA

no PC

W.S.

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY  
TO DESKBY 281200Z FCO PS TO PRIME MINISTER  
TELNO 79 NO 10 DOWNING ST  
OF 281030Z FEBRUARY 91  
INFO PRIORITY COMMONWEALTH POSTS

MY TELNO 10: SOUTH AFRICA: SPORTS BOYCOTT

SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING ANC MEDIATION, AGREEMENT REACHED ON AN INTEGRATED RUGBY UNION, TO BE ESTABLISHED BY OCTOBER. SOCCER FURTHER ADVANCED. RIVAL CRICKET BODIES EXPECTED TO MERGE BY JUNE. MBEKI FAVOURS SELECTIVE LIFTING OF THE BOYCOTT AS SPORTS ARE INTEGRATED. EFFECTIVE MORATORIUM ON TOURS MEANWHILE. SOME RADICAL ORGANISATIONS AND MOST ASIAN AND AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES STILL RESISTING SELECTIVE RELAXATION. IF, WITH THE AUSTRALIANS, WE KEEP UP THE PRESSURE, THE BOYCOTT WILL CRUMBLE. WE SHOULD PROPOSE A COACHING TOUR LED BY SEBASTIAN COE AND A COMMONWEALTH FUND FOR TOWNSHIP SPORT.

DETAIL

2. INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT INVOLVES THE DISMANTLING OF LEGAL AND PRACTICAL OBSTACLES WHICH HAVE PREVENTED SOUTH AFRICANS OF DIFFERENT COLOURS COMPETING TOGETHER, AND THE CREATION OF A SINGLE NON-RACIAL GOVERNING BODY FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL SPORT. MOST SPORTS HERE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON BOTH FRONTS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS AND THE RIVAL GOVERNING BODIES OF ALL MAJOR SPORTS ARE NOW MEETING REGULARLY TO TRY TO ACHIEVE UNITY BOTH IN ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS AND ON THE GROUND. A WORKING GROUP LED BY RAMSAMY (SANROC) HAS BEEN SET UP TO CO-ORDINATE THIS PROCESS, ON WHICH 'ESTABLISHMENT' SPORT AND ANTI-APARTHEID SPORTS ORGANISATIONS ARE REPRESENTED. THERE IS FAIRLY WIDE AGREEMENT THAT TOURS SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE PENDING THE OUTCOME OF THE MERGER TALKS. BUT THE COMMITTEE IS DUE TO MEET THE ASSOCIATION OF NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES OF AFRICA (ANOCA) IN BOTSWANA ON 8-10 MARCH, WHEN A RECOMMENDATION TO RELAX THE BOYCOTT IN RESPECT OF COACHING IS EXPECTED.

3. THE PRINCIPLE THAT SPORT SHOULD BECOME INTEGRATED IS NOW ACCEPTED ON ALL SIDES. THE CONTINUING DIFFICULTY LIES IN ACHIEVING ADMINISTRATIVE INTEGRATION UNDER ONE GOVERNING BODY FOR EACH SPORT IN A WAY WHICH BRINGS SOME TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO TOWNSHIP SPORTSMEN AND WOMEN WHOSE FACILITIES ARE VASTLY INFERIOR TO THOSE IN 'WHITE'



AREAS. THE RADICAL SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL ON SPORTS (SACOS) AND THE MORE PRAGMATIC ANC-LED NATIONAL OLYMPIC SPORTS CONGRESS (NOSC) ARE INSISTING THAT THE INTEGRATION OF INDIVIDUAL SPORTING BODIES SHOULD INVOLVE SERIOUS ATTEMPTS TO TACKLE SUCH DISPARITIES. ELEMENTS WITHIN THE ANC AND NOSC INCLINE TOWARDS A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH, WHEREBY FULLY INTEGRATED SPORTS CAN TAKE PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. SACOS CONTEND THAT FULL COMPETITION SHOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY WHEN A FINAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS REACHED. WE MUST MARGINALISE THEM AND THEIR EXTERNAL BACKERS.

4. SO FAR AS INDIVIDUAL SPORT ARE CONCERNED, SOCCER (THE BLACKS' MOST POPULAR SPORT) IS FULLY INTEGRATED ON THE GROUND AND IS NOW NEAR TO BEING UNDER ONE COMPLETELY INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODY, THOUGH ONE BLACK SOCCER AMATEUR ASSOCIATION LOYAL TO SACOS HAS NOT JOINED. THE ANC AND RAMSAMY HAVE PUT SOCCER AT THE HEAD OF THEIR LIST FOR POSSIBLE MOVEMENT ON SPORTS SANCTIONS. BUT THEY WILL INSIST ON GETTING THE AGREEMENT OF THE AFRICAN BLOC WITHIN WORLD SOCCER BEFORE TOURS ARE RESUMED. MBEKI HOPES TO MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION IN DUE COURSE AND THE LOCAL SOCCER AUTHORITIES WILL NOT DO ANYTHING TO COMPROMISE THAT MEANWHILE. AS SOON AS THERE IS MOVEMENT, WE CERTAINLY SHOULD AIM TO GET A TEAM TO BRITAIN.

5. IN RUGBY THE DEADLOCK BETWEEN THE WHITE-DOMINATED RUGBY BOARD LED BY DANIE CRAVEN AND THE NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY UNION HAS NOW BEEN BROKEN FOLLOWING MEDIATION BY TSHWETE (ANC). THE TWO BOARDS HAVE DECIDED TO FORM A UNITED BODY BY THE END OF OCTOBER. THE INTERNATIONAL RUGBY BOARD HAVE PROVISIONALLY SCHEDULED TOURS OF SOUTH AFRICA BY NEW ZEALAND AND FRANCE NEXT YEAR PROVIDED THIS PROCESS GOES AHEAD. DE KLERK HAS EMPHASISED REPEATEDLY THAT A RUGBY TOUR WOULD BE OF MOST HELP TO HIM IN FIGHTING OFF RIGHT WING RESISTANCE TO HIS POLICIES.

6. CRICKET HAS MADE GOOD PROGRESS TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODY AND THIS IS NOW EXPECTED TO BE ESTABLISHED BY JUNE. WE HAVE OFFERED TO MARK THE FORMATION OF A JOINT BODY BY DONATIONS OF CRICKET EQUIPMENT FOR TOWNSHIP SPORT FROM THE SPECIAL PROJECTS SCHEME. GETTING AGREEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET BODIES TO AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF TOURS WILL STILL BE A STRUGGLE, GIVEN THE TENDENCY OF THE WEST INDIANS, INDIANS AND PAKISTANIS TO TRY TO GO ON HOLDING UP CRICKET TOURS UNTIL A FINAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS REACHED. WE CAN COUNT ON AUSTRALIAN SUPPORT IN RESISTING THAT.

7. THE DIFFICULTY ABOUT SUPPORTING ANY UNILATERAL MOVES IN RESPECT OF THE SPORTS BOYCOTT IS THAT THE SPORTS AUTHORITIES INVARIABLY

CAPITULATE WHEN CONFRONTED WITH DEMONSTRATIONS, WHILE A PROCESS IS UNDERWAY HERE WHICH ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF MOST SPORTING BODIES AND OFFERS A WAY IN WHICH THE BOYCOTT EVENTUALLY CAN BE BROUGHT TO AN END.

## CONCLUSION

8. RAMSAMY AND OTHER EXTERNAL ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANISATIONS IN SPORT ARE ENGAGED IN A DEVIOS GAME, DESIGNED TO TRY TO KEEP SPORTS SANCTIONS IN PLACE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. BUT THEY ARE NOW ON THE DEFENSIVE, IN PARTICULAR OVER SOCCER, AND AS INTEGRATED GOVERNING BODIES ARE FORMED FOR CRICKET (IN JUNE) AND RUGBY (BY OCTOBER) THE PRESSURES ON THEM ARE GOING TO INCREASE TO GIVE GROUND ON THESE SPORTS TOO. THERE STILL WILL BE RESISTANCE FROM AFRICAN AND ASIAN COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES WHOSE REAL DESIRE IS TO TRY TO MAINTAIN THE BOYCOTT UNTIL THE ANC GET INTO THE GOVERNMENT. SOME ANC LEADERS ARE MORE PRAGMATIC THAN THAT. UNILATERAL ACTION BY US WILL NOT SUCCEED. ANYTHING WE CAN AGREE WITH THE AUSTRALIANS WILL HAVE GOOD PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS. MEANWHILE THERE ARE SPECIFIC INITIATIVES WE CAN TAKE THAT WOULD MAKE A REAL IMPACT AND HELP THE PROCESS FORWARD. AS A FIRST STEP I RECOMMEND THAT THE MINISTER OF SPORT SHOULD CONSULT URGENTLY WITH SEBASTIAN COE, WHO DEVELOPED EXCELLENT CONTACTS DURING HIS VISIT HERE. COE TOLD US THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO LEAD A COACHING TEAM TO SOUTH AFRICA IN WHICH HE WOULD SEEK ALSO TO INCLUDE DALEY THOMPSON. I HOPE THAT WE MIGHT OFFER TO FINANCE SUCH A TOUR. THAT WOULD HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT HERE, BUT IT WOULD NEED TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE BLACK ORGANISATIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA AND BE SET UP WITH THEIR ASSISTANCE. COE WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE IT ON ANY OTHER BASIS. WE SHOULD TELL HIM THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A TOUR LATER THIS YEAR AND WE HOPE THAT HE WILL START PLANNING FOR IT. WE CAN HELP OVER THE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE BLACK ORGANISATIONS ABOUT THIS. WE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER PROPOSING THAT A COMMONWEALTH FUND BE SET UP TO HELP DEVELOP TOWNSHIP SPORT. INITIATIVES SUCH AS THESE WOULD SHOW THAT THERE IS A ROLE FOR PRACTICAL CONSTRUCTIVE ENCOURAGEMENT FROM OUTSIDE, SIDE-LINING THOSE WHOSE ONLY CONTRIBUTION IS A NEGATIVE ONE.

RENWICK

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

156

MAIN 149

SOUTH AFRICA  
LIMITED  
CSAD  
CCD  
CSAD/ODA  
CONSULAR D  
ECD(E)  
ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
ERD  
ESAU  
IEAD/ODA  
INFO D  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
NEWS D  
NPDD  
PLANNERS

PUSD  
UND  
WAD  
PS  
PS/MRS CHALKER  
PS/PUS  
MR LANKESTER  
CHIEF CLERK  
MR FAIRWEATHER  
MR SLATER  
MR GREENSTOCK  
MISS SPENCER  
MR HEMANS  
MR HUDSON  
MR KERBY  
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL 7

SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED

NNNN



file 1/10

as if

66

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

2 August 1989

SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The Prime Minister has considered your Secretary of State's minute of 1 August about the projected rugby and cricket tours to South Africa by British players. She agrees that the Minister of Sport should write to the Test and County Cricket Board and the Rugby Football Union, but has slightly amended the draft to the Chairman of the TCCB in the way indicated in the enclosure. She thinks it would be useful for Scottish Office and Welsh Office Ministers to write in similar terms to the Scottish and Welsh Rugby Unions.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Wall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), David Crawley (Scottish Office), Stephen Leach (Northern Ireland Office), Howell Rees (Welsh Office) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

Roger Bright, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.

DRAFT LETTER TO RAMAN SUBBA ROW ESQ CHAIRMAN TCCB

I was very concerned to learn of the "rebel" tour to South Africa by English cricketers this winter. I know that you share my disappointment, in view of the strong action which the TCCB has taken, as part of the International Cricket Conference, to discourage such tours.

The players involved can be in no doubt of the TCCB's position on this subject nor of the implications for their own international careers. I should like them also to be aware of the Government's position and I would be grateful if you would pass on copies of this letter to the players who are reported to have accepted the South Africans' invitations.

As you know, the Government is fully committed to the Gleneagles Agreement. Under the terms of the Agreement, our policy is to discourage sporting contact by both teams and individuals with South Africa. For this reason and because of the possible implications for other sportsmen and women, I would wish to discourage cricketers from going to South Africa.

I recognise that the TCCB has taken a strong line on this subject and that it is for the players as individuals to decide what to do. But on behalf of the Government I must make our position clear on this matter which could go far wider than the immediate issue.

copy ①

Have written slightly - surely he is speaking on behalf of H.M.G. - should we not say so clearly. We would have then on hand at least 1000 copies



Prime Minister

Prime Minister

SPORTING CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA

I think this is probably right: we write stating Government's position but not trying to exercise any pressure. Agree?

You will have seen that this subject has flared up again in both rugby and cricket. The four "Home" Rugby Unions have received or are about to receive invitations to pass on to individual players to take part in the South African Rugby Board's celebrations this year. And 16 England cricketers have been signed up by the South Africans for a "rebel" tour this winter.

CDD  
1/8

As result, there is increasing talk of boycotts at the Commonwealth Games in New Zealand in January. I understand that the New Zealand Government is becoming increasingly alarmed about the prospect and is pressing us to "do something". The subject will no doubt be raised at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in October.


I doubt that there is much that we can do that would prevent either of the projected rugby or cricket tours by British players. Colin Moynihan, Malcolm Rifkind and Ian Grist wrote to the respective rugby unions in May to urge them to reconsider their decision to pass on invitations to individual players from South Africa; and received an unhelpful response. The position in cricket is different in the sense that the Test and County Cricket Board have signed up to an international agreement that will ban the players concerned from international cricket for five years, from the date they finish playing in South Africa. But the players seem to be willing to accept this as a consequence of their agreeing to tour.

Clearly, there is a limit to the further action we can take. But I think that it might help to re-emphasise the Government's own position if we were to write to the governing bodies and ask them to pass the letters on to the players concerned, stressing both the Gleneagles Agreement in relation to their own sport and the possible implications for other sports. This would make our point without drawing us too closely into the disputes themselves.



I attach drafts which Colin Moynihan proposes to send to the Test and County Cricket Board and the Rugby Football Union. Malcolm Rifkind and Ian Grist may wish to consider sending similar letters to the Scottish and Welsh Rugby Unions. I would be grateful to know if you are content for Colin to send these letters. They have been discussed with John Major. Subject to your views, I propose that the letters should be sent and released to the press tomorrow.

I am copying this to John Major, Malcolm Rifkind, Peter Brooke, Ian Grist and Sir Robin Butler.

  
PP CP  
1 August 1989

(Approved by the Secretary of State  
and signed in his absence)

DRAFT LETTER TO RAMAN SUBBA ROW ESQ, CHAIRMAN, TCCB

I was very <sup>concerned</sup> ~~disappointed~~ to learn of the "rebel" tour to South Africa by English cricketers this winter. I know that you share my disappointment, in view of the strong action which the TCCB has taken, as part of the International Cricket Conference, to discourage such tours.

The players <sup>involved</sup> ~~concerned~~ can be in no doubt of the TCCB's position on this subject nor of the implications for their own international careers. I should like them also to be aware of the Government's position and I would be grateful if you would pass on copies of this letter to the players who are reported to have accepted the South Africans' invitations.

As you know, the Government is fully committed to the Gleneagles Agreement. Under the terms of the Agreement, our policy is to discourage sporting contact by both teams and individuals with South Africa. For this reason and because of the possible implications for other sportsmen and women, I would wish to discourage cricketers from going to South Africa.

I recognise that the TCCB has taken a strong line on this subject and that it is for the players as individuals to decide what to do. But <sup>on behalf of the Government</sup> I <sup>must make</sup> ~~I thought that I should re-iterate~~ our position <sup>clear on this</sup> in this ~~letter~~. <sup>matter which could go far wider than the immediate issue</sup>



DRAFT LETTER TO J R SIMPSON ESQ, PRESIDENT RUGBY FOOTBALL UNION

I wrote to you on 17 May to express my concern about the possibility that you would pass on to players invitations from the South African Rugby Board to take part in their centenary celebrations this year. I understand that the invitations may now have arrived or be about to arrive.

If it remains your intention to pass on the invitations to the players concerned, I would be grateful if you would also let the players have a copy of this letter. As you, and they, know, the Government is fully committed to the Gleneagles Agreement. Under the terms of the Agreement, our policy is to discourage sporting contacts by both teams and individuals with South Africa. For this reason and because of the possible implications for other sportsmen and women, I would wish to discourage rugby players from going to South Africa.

It is for the RFU as a governing body and for the players as individuals to decide whether or not to accept Government advice. But I thought that I should re-iterate our position both to you and to the players who receive invitations.

CONFIDENTIAL



FIVE

KK

bc PC,

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

16 May 1989

Thank you for your letter of 15 May. The Prime Minister accepts that Mr. Moynihan should make HMG's position known. She is generally content with the form of the letter, subject to very minor changes which I have marked on the attached.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Stephen Wall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), David Crawley (Scottish Office), Stephen Williams (Welsh Office) and Stephen Leach (Northern Ireland Office).

(DOMINIC MORRIS)

Philip Stamp, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.

CONFIDENTIAL

ls



DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB  
01-276 3000

My ref:  
Your ref:

*copy*

CONFIDENTIAL

*Prime Minister<sup>2</sup>*

*Slightly late to be fixing a  
warning shot since the Scottish  
and Welsh Rugby unions have already*

*1. Write a few words may be eliminated made their policy clear.* 15 May 1989

*to make it read better - but*

*I accept that he has to make HRC's*

*Dear Dominic position known*

Following the pronouncements of the English, Scottish and Welsh RFUs on their handling of invitations from the South African Rugby Board, Mr Moynihan would wish to write to the English RFU in the terms of the draft attached. My Secretary of State is content with this line.

I would be grateful to know if you have any comments to make. The draft has been cleared at official level with Welsh Office and Scottish Office.

I am copying this letter to Stephen Wall (Foreign Office), David Crawley (Scottish Office), Stephen Williams (Welsh Office), and Mike Maxwell (Northern Ireland Office).

*Yours Sincerely  
Philip Stamp*

PHILIP STAMP  
Private Secretary

Dominic Morris Esq



DRAFT LETTER FROM MR MOYNIHAN TO J R (JOHN) SIMPSON, PRESIDENT  
RUGBY FOOTBALL UNION, TWICKENHAM, TW1 1DZ

I have noted with concern recent press statements from the Scottish and the Welsh Rugby Unions that they are to pass on to players invitations from the South African Rugby Board to join a World XV tour in August as part of their centenary celebrations.

It now seems that the Rugby Football Union may follow suit. If this is the case I must express my concern about the possibility. As you are aware the Government is fully committed to the Gleneagles Agreement and seeks to discourage sporting contacts by teams and individuals with South Africa. Under the terms of the agreement, I would strongly discourage [you from taking] action that would facilitate sporting contact with South Africa - including (the) passing on (of) invitations to individual players to compete there. Any such action could of course have implications for sport well beyond the confines of rugby.

It is [of course] for individual governing bodies to decide whether or not to accept Government advice but I very much hope you will give serious consideration to the position outlined in this letter.

01 405 7641 Extn. 3407

Attorney General's Chambers,  
Law Officers' Department,  
Royal Courts of Justice,  
Strand, W.C.2A 2LL

With the compliments of  
the Solicitor-General

MBPM  
Wt 22.5 110.



01-405 7641 Extn

cc/B  
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE  
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

The Rt. Hon. Patrick Jenkin, MP,  
Secretary of State for the Environment,  
Department of the Environment,  
2, Marsham Street,  
LONDON, SW1.

21 August 1985

*Patrick Jenkin*

*New request of required*

1. Thank you for your letter of 2nd August about the House of Lords' Judgment in Wheeler and Others -v- Leicester City Council. Michael is away until the end of the month, so I am replying on his behalf.
2. Wheeler is of limited application even so far as the particular duty imposed on local authorities by Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 to "promote" good race relations is concerned. The Lords did not rule that it was unreasonable for the Council to have a policy of discouraging sporting links with South Africa: they held that it was unreasonable, unfair, and a misuse of the Council's powers to punish Leicester City Football Club for not conforming to that policy in a manner acceptable to the Council.
3. The Lords seem to have been influenced by the fact that the Club were prepared to go a long way in support of that policy; and you will note that Lord Roskill made it clear in his speech that had the Club adopted a "different and hostile attitude different considerations might well have arisen". It is to be noted that the contention that Section 71 is applicable only to the Council's own behaviour was rejected at all judicial levels. It was held that the section requires local authorities when exercising their statutory discretions "to pay regard to what they thought was in the best interests of race relations".

/Cont'd...2



4. It follows that a local authority's policy with regard to the promotion of good race relations, as set out in resolutions or in its standing orders, is not necessarily unlawful per se, but it is to be judged by reference to the way it is applied in practice to individual cases. Accordingly, Wheeler is not authority for the proposition that it would be "improper" for an authority to have a policy of excluding contractors who maintain trading links with South Africa. A Court would be bound, on the authority of Wheeler, to consider whether, in all the circumstances of the case, the authority in applying that policy had acted unfairly or unreasonably with regard to a particular contractor.
  
5. I emphasise, however, that Wheeler is relevant only to the special statutory duty imposed upon local authorities by the Race Relations Act 1976. Judicial review provides what is essentially a discretionary remedy, and Wheeler does not bear upon conditions imposed by authorities in pursuance of other policies which they have no statutory duty to adopt. I would expect it to be held to be unreasonable, unfair and a misuse of its powers for an authority to adopt a policy of excluding contractors who had undertaken work at Cruise Missile sites, crossed picket lines during the miners' strike, or carried out any other lawful and proper activity of which the Council might nevertheless happen to disapprove: but this would be independent of the decision in Wheeler.

#### Enforcement

6. A person wanting to contract with an authority would have sufficient "interest" to challenge, by way of judicial review, any unreasonable condition in the tender or in the contract itself.
  
7. In other cases I think that the contractor, while not the only person able to challenge an authority's decision, is nonetheless the most suitable challenger, because the Court is likely to be more sympathetic to a plaintiff who can show he has been discriminated against on political grounds.



8. It would be open to the Law Officers to act. We would in every case wish to consider all the circumstances, but although our intervention could be explained on the grounds that it was unrealistic to expect a specific contractor to bring proceedings against one authority which applied its unreasonable conditions generally, a favourable court decision in respect of a condition imposed by one authority would not necessarily invalidate a differently-worded condition imposed by another. In general we would consider intervening only in a very clear case of abuse of power, and not in any marginal case.

Summary

9. Wheeler is relevant only to Race Relations Act cases, and was strongly dependant on the facts of that case.

Judicial review is available to contractors aggrieved by exclusion on unfair grounds. Working at Cruise sites; and crossing picket lines in the miners' strike, probably fall in this category.

In default of the contractor applying for judicial review it would be open to the Attorney General to intervene: but he would be prepared to do so only in a very clear case of abuse of power.

It remains for policy decision whether legislation to clarify the power of authorities in this context is both warranted and practicable.

Copies of this letter go to the Prime Minister, to members of H Committee and to Sir Robert Armstrong.





FILE  
27  
cc: JOK

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 January, 1985

Dear Mr. Jeeps.

Thank you for your letter of 7 December, and I note the points which you have made.

I understand that the first the Minister for Sport knew about any press interest was when his office was approached by a newspaper and asked to comment. As he had treated his discussion with you in total confidence, he refrained from making any comment at all, and was equally dismayed to learn that the news had become public.

I hope, therefore, that you will accept, as I do, that any information obtained by the press about your visit or about your subsequent conversation with the Minister for Sport did not emanate from the Department of the Environment.

Yours sincerely

R.L.G. Jeeps, Esq., CML

J. Margaret Thatcher  
RJR

SB



*GR*  
*Pls type & return*  
*with the letter*  
*referred to ab-x.*

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

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My ref:  
Your ref:

David Barclay Esq  
Private Secretary to  
The Prime Minister  
10 Downing St  
London SW1

*ans*  
*3/12*  
*Dykins*  
20 December 1984

*I would excuse the last para.*

Dear David,

*Dr*

Thank you for your letter of 11 December enclosing a copy of one which the Chairman of the Sports Council, Mr Dick Jeeps, has written to the Prime Minister.

*X*

Mr Macfarlane has already written to the Prime Minister to inform her of Mr Jeeps' recent visit to South Africa and of his subsequent meeting with the Chairman to express the Government's concern about the implications of such a visit. The Minister has since written to Mr Jeeps recording formally the points made at that meeting and seeking certain assurances. A copy is attached at E1.

Mr Jeeps' letter of 7 December alleges that news of his visit was given to the press by this Department. These allegations are, of course, quite unfounded. The Minister had expressed to Jeeps his serious concern at the possible damage to the Government's interests if the story should become public; for Jeeps to suggest that the Department then released the story to the press is clearly absurd. When contacted subsequently by the Daily Mail and asked to confirm the story, the Department refused to do so, commenting only that any discussions between the Minister and the Chairman were a matter for them alone. Nobody outside the Private Office was present at the meeting, and there was no breach of confidentiality. We do not know the source of the Daily Mail's story, but have discovered that a number of people were aware of Jeeps' visit to South Africa, even before the event.

I attach at E2 a draft reply for the Prime Minister's consideration, which has been approved by my Minister.

*Yours ever,*  
*Philip Dykins*

P DYKINS  
Private Secretary

DRAFT LETTER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO SEND TO REG. JEEPS ESQ  
CBE, CHAIRMAN, THE SPORTS COUNCIL, 16 UPPER WOBURN PLACE, LONDON  
WC1H 0QP

Thank you for your letter of 7 December, and I ~~do~~ note the points which you have made.

[ It was, of course, unfortunate that Ministers at the Department of the Environment were not forewarned of your intentions to travel to South Africa, and quite clearly a visit by you is bound to be known and observed by many people, no matter how private you may wish such a visit to be. ]

I understand that the first the Minister for Sport knew about any press interest was when his office was approached by a newspaper and asked to comment. As he had treated his discussion with you in total confidence, he refrained from making any comment at all, and was equally dismayed to learn that the news had become public.

*I hope therefore that you will accept, as I do, that*  
any information obtained by the press about your visit or about your subsequent conversation with the Minister for Sport did not emanate from the Department of the Environment.



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

My ref:

Your ref:

R E G Jeeps Esq CBE  
Chairman  
The Sports Council  
16 Upper Woburn Place  
LONDON  
WC1H 0QP

18<sup>th</sup> December 1984

*Jeeps*

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

I am writing to record our discussion in my office on Tuesday 27 November. I expressed my considerable concern that you had thought it right to go abroad without letting me know in advance, and without giving either me, as Minister, or your Director General information about your whereabouts. We all have a right to our holidays, but those of us with public responsibilities do have to be punctilious about giving proper notice of our intentions and arranging for contact in emergency.

I was even more concerned when you told me that you have been in South Africa. Even if this was a private visit at your own expense (something I would be glad if you would confirm), such a trip by the Chairman of the Sports Council has the potential to cause grave embarrassment to the Government, and to add to the international difficulties facing British sport. It has already been the subject of some comment in the press. I find your apparent unawareness of the dangers mystifying and worrying - because I have made this kind of point to you before.

We are both concerned about the success of the 1986 Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh, and aware this could be jeopardised by breaches of the Commonwealth agreement. The Sports Council has an important role in the preparations for the Games, and it is in my view essential that its position is not compromised by any implication that it is less than wholehearted in upholding the Government's position on links with South Africa. I would, accordingly, be grateful for your assurance that you will discontinue any links with South African sport, including South African representatives in London, and vigorously uphold the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the Sports Council. I must also ask that in future you give my office at least a month's warning of planned absence from your office for periods extending beyond two or three days, and tell them how to contact you. These are no more than the routine disciplines we expect all senior officials of a public Department to observe.

It is essential that there is no misunderstanding concerning a subject which has enormous implications for Her Majesty's Government, and I have therefore discussed these matters very fully with Ministerial colleagues. I regret having to write to you in these terms, but the issues are too serious to be misunderstood.

NEIL MACFARLANE

PERSONAL

hta ea

The Sports Council



20/12

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 December 1984

I enclose, for you and your Minister only, a copy of a letter sent to the Prime Minister by the Chairman of the Sports Council.

I should be grateful for your comments and a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature, to reach this office before Christmas. Please ensure that no copy of the letter is made, and that it is not passed outside the Private Office.

(David Barclay)

Phil Dykins, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.

PERSONAL

6

Added 11/12



R. Mark

Snailwell Road

Newmarket

Suffolk CB8 7DP

Tel. (0638) 669749

7/12/84

Dear Prime Minister

Your attention may have been drawn to a recent reference to me in the Daily Mail (4/12/84) and to the fact that the Minister for Sport had chosen to reprimand me.

In giving the facts to the reporter I enquired "since I had been honest with her in the interview if I could have a forthright answer, Yes, or No to one question, as to who had leaked the story because the reporter had used phones only used by me in the Minister's private office - She confirmed that the Daily Mail had received a phone call from the Department

Of the Environment after my discussion  
with the Minister.

Yes, I did get remarried some six  
weeks previously, quietly, unannounced, I  
also went to South Africa privately.

My reason for writing to you is because  
I am distressed at the lack of confident-  
iality demonstrated.

May I assure you Prime Minister  
that I am a loyal supporter of the  
Government

Yours sincerely,  
Dink Jurg.

(Chairman of the Sports Council).





BM

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

3 December 1984

The Prime Minister was grateful for your Minister's letter of 28 November about the Chairman of the Sports Council's visit to South Africa.

The Prime Minister has noted the position.

(David Barclay)

Phil Dykins, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment

08

CONFIDENTIAL



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

My ref:  
Your ref:

28 November 1984

The Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1

*cc Mr Ingham*  
Prime Minister

*This will cause a row.*

*Dear Prime Minister:*

*MT*

*Dud  
28/11*

I had cause last week to seek urgent consultations with the Chairman of the Sports Council. I found to my astonishment that he was out of contact; he had gone on holiday for a week without letting me or his staff know his whereabouts. I saw him on his return on Tuesday to register my surprise at his discourtesy and found that he had been to South Africa as a guest, we think, of one of their sports governing bodies - probably the Rugby Board. He told me he had gone partly to make some investments, but also for a honeymoon with his wife.

I have, of course, pointed out the potential embarrassment for you and for the Government in a visit to South Africa, however apparently private, by the Chairman of a major public body - and, in particular, one charged with the implementation, with my Department, of the Commonwealth statement on Apartheid in Sport. There is an obvious conflict of interest. I told Jeeps that he must discuss with me before hand any future contacts with South Africa.

I now understand that news of Jeep's visit to South Africa will break in the Press tomorrow. I do not propose to comment.

*Neil Macfarlane*  
*Neil Macfarlane*  
NEIL MACFARLANE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



PA 2/2/84  
9/4

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Prime Minister<sup>2</sup>

ZOLA BUDD

Thank you for your minute of 30 March.

As I said when we spoke on the telephone over the week-end, I take your point about the timing of an announcement in this case in relation to the Rugby Football Union's decision to send an international side to tour South Africa. However, I must also take account of the pressure of speculation that will mount if a decision is apparently being delayed and the risk of criticism growing about an anticipated decision. In addition I have also to bear in mind the effect of delay on Miss Budd herself. In these circumstances I am sure it is right to delay the announcement until the end of the week, but I think it would be unwise to delay it any further. In any announcement we shall naturally take great care to ensure that the briefing given to the press stresses that the really exceptional aspect of this case is its expedition; that this expedition is in no way to be linked with the RFU decision to tour South Africa; and that it has nothing whatever to do with and does not imply any change in the Government's general stand towards sporting contacts with South Africa.

Copies of this minute go to the recipients of yours.

Approved by the Home Secretary  
and signed in his absence

2 April 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

SWA: matches with S. Africa Pt 2

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

-2 APR 1984



*Handwritten:* Dub  
14  
N. Bayley 15.11.44

Prime Minister.

*Handwritten:* A.J.C. 2/4

FCS/84/101

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT

*Handwritten:* M

Zola Budd

1. I have read your Minute of 27 March about your intention to come to a favourable decision early next week on Zola Budd's application for registration as a British citizen.
2. You recognise that the case is receiving a measure of exceptional treatment in the handling. The question is just how exceptional.
3. I would strongly urge you to delay a decision for a little longer. The RFU's likely decision on 30 March to send an international side to tour South Africa will provoke major reactions at home and abroad. We can expect intense Parliamentary interest, including perhaps a Private Notice Question on Monday; the subject is almost certain to feature in the adjournment debate on Tuesday and could be raised in questions to the Prime Minister as well. A decision about Miss Budd, coming at this time and in this context, will inevitably be misrepresented. It is unrelated to the RFU tour, but it could be coupled with it to suggest that there is a switch in the Government's stand towards sporting contacts with South Africa.
4. As I understand it there is no longer a legal deadline for a decision on Miss Budd's application for British citizenship. Home Office spokesmen have been saying that a decision could be made in a matter of weeks. Could we not stick to that? I cannot see the disadvantages, and it would lessen the exceptional speed of the consideration as well as uncoupling this decision by the Government from the decision by the RFU about this tour.

/5. I am

CONFIDENTIAL



5. I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Minister for Sport and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'G' followed by a series of loops and a final flourish.

GEOFFREY HOWE

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
30 March 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

Spot: Relates with S. Africa P12

50 MAR 1984



CONFIDENTIAL

FILE  
da



see B1

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

28 March 1984

Miss Zola Budd

Thank you for your letter of 22 March, which I have shown to the Prime Minister together with the subsequent minutes on this subject from the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for Sport, and the Home Secretary's reply to the Foreign Secretary dated 27 March.

The Prime Minister agrees with the approach set out by your Secretary of State in his reply to the Foreign Secretary.

David Barclay

Nigel Pantling, Esq.,  
Home Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

cc B1

CF  
pps ppc  
28/3



M

Prime Minister (2)

Contact with this approach, subject to FCS?

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

MISS ZOLA BUDD

Yes - Law DMB  
same item 27/3  
standing in right in  
for  
approval not

Thank you for your minute of 23 March following my Private Secretary's letter to No 10 about Miss Zola Budd.

I quite understand the delicacy of the circumstances in which I am being asked to exercise my discretion in granting British citizenship to Miss Budd. The points you have made were raised when David Waddington discussed the case with Neil Macfarlane and Ray Whitney. But in the light of their discussion, and your minute, I think it would be very difficult to defend a delay which led to her being unable to attempt to qualify for the United Kingdom for this Olympics unless, as a Government, we were prepared to state publicly that we would not take account of her apparent talent in judging whether priority should be given to the handling of her case.

It seems to me that it is only realistic to give the case sufficient priority to enable her to try to qualify if she so wishes. I am not sure what could be construed as an unseemly rush, but it would certainly be unsatisfactory if, having said as agreed that an application would be considered with sympathy, we were, having received it, to allow its consideration to drag on while speculation as to its outcome mounted. I therefore propose to come to a decision in the early part of next week after the RFU have come to a conclusion about the proposed tour of South Africa.

More generally, I will underline the fact that a favourable decision in no way represents a judgment by the Government on Miss Budd's ability or on the desirability of her competing for Britain; but that the priority given to handling her case reflects her apparently rare talent and the timetable imposed by an attempt to qualify for the Olympics.

I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Minister for Sport, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

L.B.

CONFIDENTIAL

27 March 1984

Sport: Reis mit S. Anne  
P 2

7  
6  
5  
4  
3  
2  
1  
11  
12

27 FEB 1984

CF

cc B1

Await further letter  
from Home Office

PRIME MINISTER

Miss Zola Budd

D  
26/3

Both the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for Sport have doubts about the way in which the Home Secretary is proposing to handle Miss Zola Budd's expected application for registration as a British citizen.

There are two main worries. First the implications for the South African rugby tour; and secondly the risk that we may be accused of treating Miss Budd's application differently from the many others outstanding, just because of her sporting ability.

There is no need for you to intervene in the correspondence, though you may wish to support the cautious line advocated by the Foreign Secretary.

Duty Clerk pp.  
David Barclay

24 March 1984

CONFIDENTIAL



cc B1  
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB  
01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

David Barclay Esq  
Private Secretary to the  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London  
SW1

23 March 1984

Dear David,

MISS ZOLA BUDD

I refer to Nigel Pantling's letter to you of 22 March setting out the position in the case of Miss Zola Budd. Mr Macfarlane has asked me to make the following points.

The Minister does not regard it as the Government's role to make assessments of sporting talent; that is for the governing bodies of sport and it seems uncertain whether her arrival here would be wholly welcomed. Nigel's letter also refers to Sir David English's hope that she would be selected for the British team at the Los Angeles Olympics. You should be aware that this cannot be regarded as a foregone conclusion. Miss Budd would have to undergo a number of qualifying stages including domestic and international registration before she could be considered for selection.

Mr Macfarlane is also concerned about the timing of her arrival. South African sporting matters are likely to arouse considerable interest and possible controversy because of the proposed rugby tour. There are possible double standards here.

Mr Macfarlane has not objected to the Home Secretary's use of his discretion in favour of Miss Budd on the clear understanding that she is not receiving special consideration because of her reported sporting talent.

A copy of this letter goes to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President of the Council, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Home Secretary and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'S I Faulkner'.

MISS S I FAULKNER  
Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL



ZCBI

FCS/84/90SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENTMiss Zola Budd

1. I have seen a copy of the letter of 22 March from your Private Secretary to No 10 about the case of Miss Budd. As you will know, our Consulate in Johannesburg have today, with your agreement, issued Miss Budd's father with a British passport, and Miss Budd with a letter of consent to facilitate her entry into this country.

2. The treatment which you are proposing to give to an application from Miss Budd for registration as a British citizen is quite clearly exceptional. I know that Sir David English has been pressing very hard for this, but I do not know quite how quickly you think it necessary to go. The decision of substance is, of course, one for you. But it has wider implications, and presentation will be particularly important.

3. The whole question of sport and South Africa is, as you know, a political minefield. And, with the probability that the Rugby Football Union will decide on 30 March to send a touring side to South Africa, it is one which may have serious practical implications for the 1986 Edinburgh Commonwealth Games.

4. I would have thought that high-profile exceptional treatment for Miss Budd would also set an awkward precedent for you. We could expect strong pressure in Parliament, in

/the country



the country generally and from overseas, for similar treatment for many thousands of people living abroad whose claim to British citizenship is as strong or stronger than Miss Budd's. Our posts in South Africa are already reporting jammed switchboards as the result of local publicity about the Budd case.

5. I understand, in addition, that the sporting arguments do not by any means all point the same way, although that is more for Neil MacFarlane than for me.

6. I can see the attraction of moving to put ourselves in a position to say that Zola Budd is in the UK and is eligible to run for Britain in the Olympics. Sir David English's interest in this is also clear. I am certainly not suggesting that Miss Budd should be denied British citizenship if she is entitled to it. But I think we need to be careful to avoid giving the appearance of an unseemly rush.

7. I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Minister for Sport and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

(GEOFFREY HOWE)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
23 March 1984



CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister<sup>(2)</sup>HOME OFFICE  
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE  
LONDON SW1H 9AT

22 March 1984

Dear David

To note that the Home Secretary will be considering an application for registration from this young South African runner, so that she can compete in the Olympics. Sir David English is taking an interest.

MISS ZOLA BUDD

Doub  
23/3

The Home Secretary has asked me to let you know about the probable application for registration as a British citizen by Miss Zola Budd. She is a 17 year old South African middle distance runner who has, apparently, a rare talent and who is likely to come here to try to qualify to run for the United Kingdom. We have learned of this plan from Sir David English, who is sponsoring her. Sir David hopes Miss Budd will represent the UK in this year's Olympic Games.

If, as Sir David asserts, Miss Budd's father is British by descent he is entitled to settle here, and to have entry clearance granted to his wife and any children under 18. Provided she applies before she is 18, Miss Budd can, at the Home Secretary's discretion, be registered as a British citizen. This would give her the British passport she needs for international competition. Once Miss Budd passes her 18th birthday she would have to have been settled here for five years to qualify.

Mr Waddington has discussed the handling of this case with the Minister of Sport, and with Mr Whitney, on behalf of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. They identified a number of potential difficulties arising from Miss Budd's arrival, her possible registration or from any campaign on her behalf by the "Daily Mail", but agreed that these considerations, real though they were, were not so serious as to warrant trying to prevent her coming (which we cannot if her father is British) nor to ask the Home Secretary to decline to exercise his discretion in Miss Budd's favour on sporting or foreign policy grounds.

As regards registration, all that Sir David English has been told is that the Home Secretary will consider any application "with sympathy". It is, however, a most unusual case and therefore exceptional, and the Home Secretary has concluded that he would be ready to register Miss Budd if it seemed that her future lay in this country; it would be indefensible to let bureaucratic delay in processing her case deny her the opportunity to prove her worth. The decision would be presented simply in those terms and as in no sense reflecting

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

1.

a judgment by the Government on her actual competitive ability, or on the desirability of her representing this country.

We understand that Mr and Mrs Budd and their daughter are likely to arrive here on Saturday. If an application is then made for Miss Budd's registration it would exceptionally be given priority for the reasons mentioned in this letter. We also understand that the "Daily Mail" do not intend to publicise the story until after the completion of her application but news of her arrival may well leak before then.

A copy of this letter goes to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President of the Council, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Minister for Sport and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever,  
Nigel

N A PANTLING

David Barclay, Esq.

CONFIDENTIAL



**Mr. Golding:** Certainly not. No one in a car park is safe when I am parking my car, as those hon. Members who park on level 2 know.

What about the recreation ground? It is reasonable to allow photographs or those purporting to take photographs for trade or business to do that unless—this point should be added to the Bill to strengthen it—people say that they want to be photographed. Many of us who visit recreation grounds do not want to be photographed. We go there for recreation, not to be plagued by photographers with monkeys or cardboard cut-outs—[*Interruption*] I am glad that Conservative Members are giving me such support. I hope that I am not being offensive, but when I distinguished between the beautiful and the ugly, I was not excluding Conservative Members from the latter category. I shall be glad to have the support of some of those uglies for this amendment.

The Bill refers to a "pleasure ground or open space under the management and control of a local authority"

and to "a street or esplanade, parade, promenade or way"

There is a distinctly Victorian ring about that.

**Mr. Mikardo:** What about an arboretum?

**Mr. Golding:** An arboretum would certainly be included if it was under local authority control—

*It being Ten o'clock, the debate stood adjourned.*

*Debate to be resumed on Thursday.*

## Rugby Tour (South Africa)

*Motion made, and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn.—[Mr. Neubert.]*

10 pm

**Mr. John Carlisle** (Luton, North): I am grateful to you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for allowing me this opportunity, and to my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State for coming back from the winter Olympics especially for this important debate. It is absolutely right that he should have been there as he is a great sporting ambassador. We disagree on one or two matters, perhaps including the subject of this debate, but I have great admiration for him, which I know is shared throughout the international sporting world.

I bring this matter to the attention of the House today to highlight what I believe is continuing Government pressure on the Rugby Football Union. That pressure has been most apparent in the past few months both from my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State and, to a lesser extent, from my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. Pressure has been brought to bear to try to persuade the Rugby Football Union not to undertake its proposed tour of South Africa. It has, of course, a perfectly legitimate right to go there, as has any sports team that wishes.

South Africa has not been excluded from the International Rugby Board as it has been excluded from the relevant boards for some other sports—for political rather than sporting reasons, I hasten to add. No ban is imposed on sportsmen entering the country—a great change from 1968 and 1970 when the South African Government prevented Basil D'Oliveira from entering the country. Because this is a well-loved and well-played sport, especially among white South Africans, the moves that have been made towards full integration have been highlighted and should be emphasised today.

This debate will be a focus of great attention for sportsmen and sports-lovers both in this country and in South Africa, and especially for the non-white population and sportsmen of South Africa, who I believe have suffered most as a result of the boycott imposed by the Gleneagles agreement. It is ironic that occasionally—more often than not, I believe—when sanctions are imposed to try to benefit certain sections of the population, it is they who are most harmed. It is a great tragedy that millions of white and non-white South Africans cannot enjoy international participation or see international stars. If the tour goes ahead, I believe that it will bring immense benefit to them and to others who will follow the tour with great interest.

At Environment Question Time last week, I asked my hon. Friend to desist from further political pressure. He quite reasonably put the question back to me, asking what I defined as pressure. Perhaps I may begin to answer that now. The pressure that he has applied to the Rugby Football Union in the past few months is very similar to that which he applied, perhaps unwittingly, to MCC members last July, although I do not intend to go over that old ground again. It is the pressure that he has put on individual committee members to try to persuade them that the tour should not take place. There is also the pressure that he has put on his fellow Ministers, asking them in effect to join him in boycotting certain internationals. It was sad that a Welsh Minister felt that it was not fitting for him to go to an international, because a bunch of

purporting to take a photograph. If the newspaper's proprietor is a Conservative, the photographer will say that he wants a photograph of the Conservative candidate with Miss World, on their own, in a corner. That is what I call taking a photograph. It is simple. My hon. Friend cannot be very experienced in the ways of local newspapers and photographers if he does not know the difference between the two.

Many is the time that I have posed for photographers only to find that they are purporting to photograph. When I toured the country as a Minister, my advice to Labour candidates was always that they should stand in the middle. If they do not stand in the middle, they will be purportedly photographed. They will be cut off. If there is a candidate at the end of a row he will be cut off. However, if he is in the middle, the photographer cannot cut him off. One has to learn the distinction between being photographed and being purportedly photographed. I have learned it the hard way.

In a sense, the clause divides on the basis not of class, religion, political phooey or sex, but of beauty. The clause divides the ugly from the beautiful. Those who are beautiful may not object to being photographed.

I do not claim to be in that category, and I am against photographers who as a race always manage to take me speaking with my mouth open. That is the only photograph that ever appears. My hon. Friend the Member for Bolsover (Mr. Skinner) and I do not have many things in common, but the one thing that we have in common is that we are plagued and misrepresented by photographers. Admittedly, we have had a rough deal from nature, but we have had a rougher, harder deal from photographers, which has added to that disability.

**Mr. Skinner:** I fully understand the point that my hon. Friend makes. On one occasion I attended a demonstration outside No. 10 Downing street, when the Brazilian president was on a visit, and the police were taking photographs all the time. I asked, "Don't you have enough photographs of me without taking any more?" I do not know whether that photographer was in trade or business, or whether he was selling the photographs, but I suspect that he was putting them on file. I cannot understand why they needed more photographs of me, and apparently they were hounding my hon. Friend at the same time.

**Mr. Golding:** Had I been the policeman, my answer would have been simple—"I am trying to get a good one." That at least is the justification given to me.

My hon. Friend the Member for Stockport—

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett:** Will my hon. Friend accept that I am now the hon. Member for Denton and Reddish? Although that includes part of Stockport, it causes some confusion if I am now referred to as the hon. Member for Stockport.

**Mr. Golding:** I apologise to the hon. Member who now represents Stockport, if there is one. I apologise to my hon. Friend for getting his constituency wrong. I have often suffered from similar mistakes.

My hon. Friend talked about visits to the seaside, and referred to the cardboard cutouts through which someone pops his head and has his photograph taken as Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan or Miss World—

**Mr. Mikardo:** Mickey Mouse.

**Mr. Golding:** Indeed. But he did not refer to the most common sight, in other places, if not in Nottinghamshire—that of a photographer with a monkey on his arm, or even more than one monkey. A great feature of working class life when I was a kid was having one's picture taken with the monkey.

The clause does not refer to monkeys, but I can understand why Nottingham would wish to control photographers who are likely to visit there with monkeys. Mention has been made of the Goose Fair. That could be turned into a monkey house if unrestricted entry was given to photographers to take or purport to take photographs of people with their monkeys.

**Mr. Nellist:** The clause refers to ways "to which the public commonly have access, whether or not as of right".

In Nottingham, at the royal ordnance factory, Beeston, there could be a situation similar to that in Staffordshire, where the GCHQ station, according to the ordnance survey map, is supposed to be a public way of access, but where notices state that the public have no way of access. Does not the clause raise many problems about which areas will be affected by it, and about whether or not one should have regard to access in the ordnance survey or notices that are put up by Government Departments?

**Mr. Golding:** That is a serious point. I once discovered a regional seat of government—

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order. I hope that the hon. Gentleman will not follow that line. I find it difficult to relate it to the amendment under discussion. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will try to revert to photography.

**Mr. Nellist:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker. With the greatest respect to your judgment, I hope that you caught the fact that I referred to the royal ordnance factory in Beeston in Nottinghamshire. I asked my hon. Friend how he would define the way in which the public commonly have access. I wanted him to stick to the areas of Nottinghamshire under consideration in the Bill.

**Mr. Golding:** My hon. Friend could have gone further—he could have drawn my attention to the danger of people believing that they were in an open space, and taking a photograph for trade or business, and suddenly finding that they have photographed not an open space but a royal ordnance factory or a secret Government centre. I shall not refer again, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to the way in which I found the regional seat of government.

Subsection (7)(1)(a)(i) relates to "a public off-street car park".

Is it reasonable that people should be debarred from taking photographs in such a place? I think that it is, but the Bill's sponsors must say what is an off-street car park. I have looked carefully through the Bill for a definition. If a car park is off a road, is it an off-street car park? If it is at the end of an avenue, is it an off-street car park? If it is at the end of a cul de sac—as it often is—is it an off-street car park? The sponsors will have to give a definition.

It is perfectly reasonable to stop photographers and those who support to take photographs from entering public off-street car parks for that purpose. If I am parking my car, the last thing I want is somebody photographing me doing that. That would be almost harassment.

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett:** If they were taking my hon. Friend's photograph while he was parking his vehicle, would they be safe?

schoolboys came over here to play. That rubbed off on the Leader of the Opposition, who found himself in a certain dilemma.

There was also perhaps a veiled threat, in the answer to the questions on Wednesday, that some financial pressure might be put upon the Rugby Football Union. The Minister may have implied that the Sports Council, which discourages the giving of finance to sports that participate in games with South Africa, might apply that to the RFU. Those are the pressures that I have in mind. There is another form of pressure in the suggestion that the Rugby Football Union, by going to South Africa, might be behaving somewhat irresponsibly in relation to other sports. The Minister would have to admit that those forms of pressure have been applied. I understand that he is obliged to put some pressure on the RFU because of the Gleneagles agreement, but the use of those pressures warrants a debate and the asking of some questions.

The real question is whether that is pressure, blackmail or both. I believe that it is legitimate under the Gleneagles agreement to offer discouragement. Is it fair, though, to put excessive pressure upon individuals who are just making use of their legitimate right to ask themselves whether they should make a tour or not?

My hon. Friend's slavish adherence to the Gleneagles agreement, and his zealous enthusiasm to make sure that the agreement is applied, go beyond the aims of those who signed it in the first place. We must never forget that it is merely a discouraging document. Those are the words in the agreement. It was never legally sanctioned. It was not debated in the House at the time. Indeed, it has only been discussed here very rarely, and probably only in Adjournment debates and during Question Time. The agreement advises that Governments should try to discourage their various sporting bodies from making sporting contacts with countries such as South Africa "where selection is based on race, colour or ethnic origin".

If teams were still selected on that basis in South Africa, the agreement would have some credibility and could, perhaps, justifiably command some support. Since that situation does not now exist, the agreement is to my mind a deception and, frankly, a fraud.

I do not need to remind my hon. Friend of the various international commissions and individuals who have gone to South Africa and found great progress there towards full integration. In 1980, Mr. Dickie Jeeps of the Sports Council came back with a favourable report, although I must be careful to say that the report drew no conclusions.

The most dangerous threat facing sport under the agreement is the shift by the Government towards using an agreement made on sporting grounds to one that is now unashamedly used for political purposes. I believe that my hon. Friend will confirm—as, to his credit, he often has—that great progress towards integration has been made. The question that he must answer is whether he now believes that the Government should restrict their activities to the sporting field or whether—in the words of Sir Anthony Tuke, past president of the MCC—the goal posts have been moved. There is little doubt that we are now talking about a political document. My hon. Friends who signed my early-day motion would agree with me.

There is now a demand that the political situation in South Africa must change dramatically before sporting contact can take place. That is not what the Gleneagles agreement says. It says that sporting contact should be discouraged and does not mention political circumstances.

It is dangerous for my hon. Friend the Minister to move in that direction. If we begin to apply political considerations about where we play our sport, should we not also consider countries behind the iron curtain, in South America and so on? I must confess to being somewhat appalled during Question Time last Wednesday by my hon. Friend's quotation of the South African Council on Sport. It has often said that no normal sport can be played in an abnormal society.

I do not have time to question whether the definition of an abnormal society applies to South Africa—perhaps there is some justification for that—and whether it might be extended to India, Hungary and South America. My hon. Friend has just been to Yugoslavia. Is that a normal society? Although it is treading on dangerous ground to say so, one might even say that Northern Ireland is not entirely normal. My hon. Friend must be careful as the SACOS organisation is not representative of the non-white population. It is based purely on a small number of Indians and Cape coloureds who are using a political weapon and have no interest in sport. My hon. Friend will know of the various allegations that have been made about the intimidation processes used by SACOS. They were mentioned in the Sports Council report under Mr. Dickie Jeeps.

I was also disappointed that my hon. Friend did not see fit to see Mr. Abe Williams, the coloured manager of the recent South African schoolboys' side which visited Wales. He should have taken that opportunity to speak to him and possibly to meet the team. That visit was a breakthrough, albeit a small one, and it is a pity that he denied himself the opportunity to see them. I cannot help asking myself why, in June 1982, he received a deputation from the anti-apartheid movement which was led by an hon. Member but in the same month refused to see Mr. Joe Pamensky, the president of the South African Cricket Union. Such questions must be asked. I urge my hon. Friend, as I have urged him before, to go out to South Africa, whereupon he will be able to speak with much greater authority and will earn the respect of British people and the House.

One of the arguments that is bound to crop up—it has in the past few days—is that if the Rugby Football Union goes ahead with the tour, other countries will boycott the Commonwealth or Olympic games. Those of us who do not like blackmail—most right hon. and hon. Members do not—find such arguments somewhat fallacious. I remember being told in 1980 by a Whip who is not here at the moment that I should back off from my support for the British Lions going to South Africa, because the tour might prejudice the Lancaster House agreement. Perhaps it is a pity that it did not. I remember being told in 1982, when the rebel British cricket team went out and various right hon. and hon. Members tried to support its right to go that that might affect the Commonwealth games. There was no such effect.

I believe that we overemphasise the blackmail threat made by some countries. It has no part in the House and it has no part in sport. If we must play our sport and games looking over our shoulders all the time for a blackmail threat, the game is not worth playing. The sports bodies are now showing a great deal of sense. It is good that the Test and County Cricket Board told the Pakistan cricket authorities only two weeks ago that if it refused to accept Graham Dillie on the tour, the England side would not go.

[Mr. John Carlisle]

The sports authorities are now showing the Government and politicians that they want to get on with the game and that they are heartily sick of political interference. The rejection by the Commonwealth Games Council for England of the new code and the constant support of the Central Council for Physical Recreation and the Sports Council against retaliatory action means that many sportsmen are standing up and telling the Government, "Please get off our backs and let us get on with the game."

This early-day motion, with 102 signatures, is an expression of the belief, not just of hon. Members but of many people outside the House, that we fully acknowledge the difficulties faced by my hon. Friend the Minister and by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. However, the time has come to say stop, and to tell the Government that they should back off from further political pressure. It is understandable that they should discourage the tour under the agreement, but that motion—because of the number of people who signed it and the many who said that they would have signed it but for political reasons—is guidance, rather than a warning to the Government, that at this stage we should back off.

It is ironic that four or five years ago the Labour Minister with responsibility for sport, the right hon. Member for Birmingham, Small Heath (Mr. Howell), presented five conditions to the South African authorities. If he considered that those conditions were fulfilled, we would have resumed sporting relations. It has been confirmed by the opposition spokesman in Cape Town that the Labour party now believes those conditions to have been met. I hope that my hon. Friend the Minister will regard this as a genuine attempt to tell him that now that the conditions that were laid down by the Labour Minister have been fulfilled, it is our duty as a Conservative Government to allow the tour to proceed.

10.16 pm

**The Under-Secretary of State for the Environment (Mr. Neil Macfarlane):** I am bound to say at the outset that my hon. Friend the Member for Luton, North (Mr. Carlisle) has said some things this evening that would have been better left unsaid, that have been grossly distorted and will delude many people outside the House. He does his caucus outside the House no good by doing so.

No one can be under any illusion about the serious issues that we are debating this evening. They affect the Commonwealth and the future of sport at international level, and they concern a topic that has dominated the parliamentary career of my hon. Friend since 1979.

We know that the Rugby Football Union will decide at the end of next month whether to play rugby in South Africa. Many commentators in many journals seem to believe that the decision has been made, and that the tour will proceed. I do not know whether the decision has been made. Therefore, it is especially opportune that my hon. Friend has sought the debate now. It affords me a welcome opportunity to set out in more detail than might otherwise have been possible the Government's view for the House, the Rugby Football Union and the public.

My hon. Friend expressed concern that the Rugby Football Union should be free to make its decision without undue pressure from the Government. Here, again, he distorted what we have done so far. Our position is clear, not least to the RFU. It has an invitation from South

Africa, and its committee—no one else—will decide whether to accept it. There cannot and will not be any coercion from the Government or the Sports Council, but there will continue to be very strong advice, which I hope members of the RFU will consider closely.

That advice will come as no surprise to the RFU, the world of sport, or the House, based as it is on clear and consistent Government policy. This is fundamentally a Commonwealth policy. The Commonwealth view is that the principles underlying sport and those of apartheid are incompatible. Hence, we have the Commonwealth statement on apartheid in sport—the so-called Gleneagles agreement—which was first drawn up in 1977 and has since reaffirmed by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister and by Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka in 1979, in Melbourne in 1981 and in New Delhi last November. That statement calls on the Government and other Commonwealth Governments to discourage sportsmen and women from sporting contacts with South Africa. Its central passage reads:

"Mindful of these and other considerations, they [Commonwealth Heads] 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 organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin".

The key words are "practical steps" and "discourage". Our obligation and policy remain what they have been under successive Administrations: to do what we can to persuade, to advise, to discourage—not to prevent. On this, perhaps the most fundamental of points, there is no disagreement between my hon. Friend and the Government. There is and can be no restriction by the Government of the RFU's freedom to make its decision and to board planes at Heathrow airport if that is what it chooses.

Whatever the RFU's decision, the Government will not take any actions or sanctions that would prejudice the established autonomy of sports bodies. As the responsible Minister I am totally committed to doing what I can to maintain the independence of sports and sports organisations. The Sports Council was established in 1972, with its independence protected by royal charter. The governing bodies of sport—like the RFU—are autonomous and the Government's and Sports Council's roles are essentially supportive. Internationally, the same principle applies, and one of my aims is to resist further moves to use sport for political ends.

However, like it or not, international sport has acquired a political role. The enormous media attention which occasions such as the current Sarajevo winter games attract and the moneys involved make this inevitable. As the responsible Minister, I cannot ignore the worldwide importance of sport to our nation.

Nor can sport ignore its public and political importance. Sportsmen and women seek and enjoy the benefits of fame. They cannot ignore its responsibilities. They cannot wish away the possible wider consequences, for themselves and for others, of their decisions and actions in pursuit of their chosen sport. The Government has a role here with the Sports Council in watching and dealing with these wider or strategic issues. So, in a case of this kind, the Government and the Sports Council are quite properly putting their views to the RFU.

With the RFU's power to decide comes, inevitably, the responsibility to consider carefully the wider implications of this possible tour for rugby, for sport, for Britain and for the Commonwealth.

For the Government then, sporting relations with South Africa are primarily a Commonwealth issue. Membership of any international grouping brings benefits, responsibilities and obligations. We are proud members of the Commonwealth. We respect and meet our obligations, as we expect others so to do. For the Commonwealth, the Gleneagles agreement represents an important commitment and we respect and support that general view.

The basis of that commitment is that the commonwealth is multiracial, especially in sport. Some sports—cricket and rugby in particular—have developed in parallel with the Commonwealth itself. They have been essentially Commonwealth sports. The Commonwealth statement sets out the Commonwealth's opposition to, and concern about, the effect of apartheid on the playing and organisation of sport in South Africa.

For many sportsmen the exclusion of South African sportsmen from international competition is clearly a source of regret—the more so in our country because of the close ties which had developed over many decades. However, reality must be faced. The Government are committed to the Commonwealth and to the Commonwealth statement. Sport, too, has by and large taken a similar view; in fact, it led the way. The International Olympic Committee has excluded South Africa from membership since 1970, as has the International Cricket Conference. Other major international federations such as FIFA, the world governing body of football, and the IAAF, for athletics, have taken similar action, most before 1977.

Sport and Governments are in broad agreement about South Africa. The various unofficial cricket tours in recent years prove nothing, except the lure of cash to professional sportsmen. They are obviously a minority, but, I doubt whether the RFU would wish to take much account of that example.

My hon. Friend has talked about changes in South Africa, but sporting opportunities on and off the pitch are, I am told, still very different if one is black rather than white. Apartheid offends the ethic of sport, which embraces freedom and fairness and social contact. Apartheid means that people of different colours do different jobs, live in different areas, go to different schools. That physical and social separation of races makes the kind of integrated sport we know impractical, if not impossible.

In a recent incident which attracted much publicity, the West Indian test cricketer Colin Croft was ejected from the whites-only portion of a South African train. I imagine that no one was more horrified at this affair than those involved in South African sport who may directly or indirectly conceal such everyday truths during any foreign sports teams visit. For every Colin Croft there are thousands of aspiring coloured sportsmen and women in South Africa who are not afforded honorary white status.

Over the years there has undoubtedly been some change and progress, which I applaud. The South African Government have passed amending legislation, allowing some exemption to sport from wider apartheid laws. White and non-white players are seen on the same rugby pitch, and, but less frequently, in the same team.

All the indications are that the improvement is sporadic and an element of confusion emerges from time to time—as, for example, occurred in the autumn of last year, when many people believed that the international rugby media congress was designed to open the door a little more, but were dumbfounded when the Minister for National Education stated that sport in schools would still not be part of those integration proposals. It is not for me to pass judgment on the internal laws of nations, but that was disappointing to those who look for development. The general perception is that one step forward is often met by one step back.

We all have differing views of the modest progress in the integration of sport in South Africa. It is generally accepted that the boycott by international governing bodies of sport has brought this about. Some would argue that a relaxation in the boycott would lead to further progress. We could debate the issue at length, but I have to say to the House that this is not the Commonwealth view.

My hon. Friend is a leading luminary—if I am up to date—and has been for some time, of an organisation which calls itself Freedom in Sport. But it seems to me and to many other people that it is obsessed and concerned only with reopening sporting links with South Africa. I do not understand why that general and impressive title is required for what is essentially a narrow objective. The organisation currently has a campaign—of which my hon. Friend's speech was no doubt a part—to deflect what it perceives as a threat by the Government to interfere with the RFU's freedom.

It seems to me that the Rugby Football Union can look after itself very effectively, because most of its committees are experienced and have been trained in the art over many years. But I wonder whether my hon. Friend has examples of this Government restricting the freedom of sportsmen—like, perhaps, the legal and other restrictions placed on sportsmen in South Africa. I wonder whether my hon. Friend and his organisation concern themselves with the freedom in sport of black and coloured people in South Africa—or indeed elsewhere, to look at some of the countries and regimes that he enumerated during his speech. I have to say that I think Freedom in Sport seems disinterested in genuine freedom in sport.

I have spoken about our policy and the Commonwealth's policy, so let me tell the House what action we have taken. The Government's responsibility is to offer advice and to make representations in positive terms. The Prime Minister and I have made it clear to the House that our efforts to discourage this tour of South Africa are consistent. Indeed, our record over the years confirms that the RFU should not expect otherwise.

My regular dialogue with successive RFU presidents and officials has been courteous and constructive. The RFU listens to, and I hope understands, our point of view. My hon. Friend can rest assured that between now and 30 March my officials and I will continue to press on the RFU the strength of the Government's conviction that the proposed tour would be a grave mistake. I can only suggest to my hon. Friend that the comments of the RFU president on television recently confirmed that he was having a constructive dialogue with me. The pressure on that particular gentleman is something that he would not fully understand, having been a very distinguished prop forward.

[Mr. Neil Macfarlane]

No one at the RFU should be in any doubt about the seriousness of the vote to be taken next month. A decision to make an England tour will echo and reverberate around the international corridors of sport. The interests and discussion will be intense. An immediate threat will be a number of international events in this and future years, including the Olympics, the Commonwealth Games and various cricket tours.

I should have thought that the RFU had most to lose by undertaking such a tour. Rugby Union has developed primarily as a Commonwealth sport, especially among the old Commonwealth. Therefore, rugby people can point to the importance of South Africa within an already restricted international fixture list. However, the game has now taken off elsewhere. It is played in more than 100 countries, some of which, notably Romania, are emerging into the top flight, as our Welsh colleagues would no doubt testify.

Only in the latest edition of the RFU's official magazine I saw a reference to the growth of rugby in Barbados. The *Rugby Post* is the official RFU magazine, and Gareth Davies, the former Welsh captain, is quoted as saying:

"Rugby is still a new game in Barbados but it's well supported all the same. The locals are keen and feel that a visit from a club like Cardiff will do wonders".

That quotation is ample testimony to how the game may well expand and develop throughout our Commonwealth, and it could be put at risk over the next few months.

Continuing contact with South Africa could prejudice the RFU's and perhaps British involvement in the spread of the sport. Club and international tours to many of the

emergent countries could well be jeopardised. Already a tour to Zimbabwe by London Scottish has been postponed indefinitely, pending the RFU's decision on touring South Africa.

The RFU must make the judgment about the potential cost to its sport of touring South Africa. It is free to go or not to go, but it is my duty to ensure that the RFU recognises the possible consequences for it and for other sports and sports people.

The freedom of individual sportsmen and women to visit South Africa is not at risk, neither is the freedom of individual South Africans to use their passports to come here to play at Wimbledon, in the county cricket championships, in the Open Golf, and so on. We do not recognise the "black list" produced in the name of the United Nations.

My hon. Friend has expressed a false concern about freedom in sport. The freedoms at risk are not here in this country but in South Africa. The Government's view of the possible tour is based upon a wider concern than that of my hon. Friend, whose close links with South Africa are not concealed.

This must be an unsettling period for English Rugby, but I should remind the House that last year the Welsh Rugby Union decided not to tour South Africa. Now special efforts are being made to try to encourage a tour to take place. I hope that those concerned will not bow to pressure within the RFU. I hope that they will decide not to go, in the wider and future interests of theirs and other sports in the Commonwealth.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Adjourned accordingly at half-past Ten o'clock.*

510  
KG



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

My ref:

Your ref:

Richard Kinchen Esq  
Private Secretary to  
Raymond Whitney OBE MP  
Parliamentary Under Secretary  
of State  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
London  
SW1A 2AL

*OR*  
*119*

31 August 1983

*Dear Richard*

Mr Macfarlane has received the attached letter from the South African Ambassador, whom he is to meet on 26 September, inviting him to visit South Africa. Our officials are collaborating on advice, but I understand that yours have asked that I should send you a copy of the letter direct.

In view of the possible repercussions for CHOGM, I am copying this to John Coles at No. 10.

*Yours ever*  
*W L Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary



B8/76

South African Embassy  
Trafalgar Square  
LONDON WC2N 5DP

Admire: Mr Teasdale  
cc Mr Peers  
cc PS/NM

The Hon Neil Macfarlane, MP  
Parliamentary Under Secretary  
of State  
Department of the Environment  
2 Marsham Street  
LONDON SW1P 3EB

30 August 1983

Dear Mr Macfarlane,

I have requested Sir John Leahy at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to arrange an appointment with you during which I hope to be able to convey information pertaining to recent developments in sport in South Africa. I sincerely trust that you will see your way for a meeting to take place as the sensitivity of participation by South African sportsmen in international sport is well appreciated and my Government is anxious to contribute as constructively as possible to avoiding disruption at the international level of sporting events.

Note:  
Mr Macfarlane  
is due to see  
Mr Steyn on  
6 September at  
c.c.

I have been requested to convey to you the personal invitation of the Hon Minister of National Education, Dr G van N Viljoen, to visit the Republic of South Africa in order to acquaint yourself with the latest developments in sport in South Africa. It gives me great pleasure to transmit this invitation to you in the spirit of constructive dialogue and in the interest of ensuring objectivity when the question of sport and the manner in which it is practised in South Africa is under consideration.

Although, as in the United Kingdom, sport is autonomous in South Africa, it is the sincere hope of both the Hon Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information and the Hon Dr Viljoen that it will be possible to accept this invitation.

Yours sincerely,  
Marais Steyn

MAR AIS STEYN  
AMBASSADOR



RESTRICTED

SMT



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

My ref:

Your ref:

23 September 1982

M A Arthur Esq  
Private Secretary to  
The Lord Belstead  
Minister of State  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
London  
SW1

D  
24/9

Dear Michael

I enclose a note of the meeting that my Minister had with the Commonwealth Secretary General on Monday last. The atmosphere throughout the meeting was extremely cordial, and this would seem to augur well for further meetings in Brisbane. Mr Ramphal left with a clear understanding of the reasons underlying the position being taken by the 7 UK Commonwealth Games Associations on the proposed amendments to the Commonwealth Games Federation constitution.

The Commonwealth Secretariat has become increasingly interested in the future of the Commonwealth Games following the South African rugby tour of New Zealand last year. Mr Ramphal and his staff effectively ran the Special Assembly of the Federation at Marlborough House in May when the Federation decided to consider at Brisbane amendments to its constitution and the introduction of a "Code of Conduct", overtly linking affiliation with demonstrable support for the principles of Gleneagles. A three strong drafting group (all lawyers) was appointed to prepare suitable proposals and one member (Jeremy Pope of New Zealand) is a member of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

My Minister thought it would be helpful if, two days before flying out to Brisbane for the Games, I set out his assessment of the current position on these proposed amendments. The United Kingdom Associations are opposed particularly to the proposed new Article that would allow for the suspension of Associations, whose countries (ie Governments and others not subject to direction by the Commonwealth Games Association) had contributed to "gross non-fulfilment of the objectives of Gleneagles". They are also opposed to the requirement of the proposed "Code of Conduct" that they should notify the individual sportspeople concerned of the Associations' view of prospective sporting contacts with South Africa. They do, however, seem willing to write to the governing body of the individuals concerned.

The attitude of the other 51 Associations to the existing proposals is not known in any detail. Many Associations represent countries not renowned internationally for their sporting achievement, especially in sports in which South Africa is prominent. The effect of the proposals is therefore theoretical rather than real for many Associations. African and Caribbean countries are likely to regard them as weak but adequate. Of the others, the Australian CGA seems to favour the proposed amendments, the Canadian CGA finds them acceptable but would discuss amendments, and the New Zealand CGA opposes them. It is difficult to judge whether or not the amendments will carry the two-thirds vote necessary for approval.

The amendments will be discussed at a meeting of the Assembly on 27 September but cannot be decided upon until the Assembly on 6 October. Hence, any contentious debate should not take place until then, by which time the Games will be well underway. Mr Ramphal's role in this debate will be crucial since he has the ear of the African Associations and his own Secretariat has been closely involved in the drafting of the amendments.

Whilst in Brisbane, Mr Macfarlane intends to meet the more prominent of his colleagues from other Commonwealth Governments, and the competitors and officials of the United Kingdom teams. He will inevitably meet officers of the Commonwealth Games Federation. Since the constitution of the Commonwealth Games is solely a matter for the Federation, any discussions he has will be essentially low-profile. He will, however, be emphasising the essentially good record of the United Kingdom (particularly of late) on the implementation of the Gleneagles Agreement. Doubtless some Commonwealth Ministers will wish to take his mind. Mr Macfarlane will explain the position of the British Associations on this issue and will emphasise their autonomy. He will further stress that their opposition to the proposed constitutional amendments is because they are unable to accept responsibility where they have no authority.

I am copying this to John Coles at No 10, Andrew Chishom at the Scottish Office, and Mike Chown at the Welsh Office.

*Yours ever*  
*W L Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary

COMMONWEALTH GAMES : NOTE OF A MEETING HELD IN ROOM N15/03  
2 MARSHAM STREET, ON MONDAY 20 SEPTEMBER 1982 AT 5.30 PM

Those present:

<u>Department of the Environment</u>	<u>Commonwealth Secretariat</u>
Mr Neil Macfarlane MP (Minister for Sport)	Sir Shridath Ramphal
Mr Ryan Harman	(Secretary General)
Mr Warwick Smith (PS/Mr Macfarlane)	Mr Chris Laidlaw

Mr Macfarlane said that the UK had a good record on implementation of the Gleneagles agreement, but did not have a visa arrangement and respected individual freedom. The Government could not therefore absolutely prevent sporting contacts with South Africa. The Minister explained that the British Commonwealth Games Associations were not in any mood to accept amendments to the Commonwealth Games Constitution which they considered unreasonable.

Mr Ramphal said that he understood that the national associations could not control the actions of governing bodies which were not members of the association. But the proposed amendments to the Constitution had to be considered in the light of the May Marlborough House conference. The mood there, in the light of the then recent Springbok tour of New Zealand, threatened the future of the Games unless there was power given to the Federation to move against member states who similarly "transgressed". The Brisbane Games had been saved by the Commonwealth Secretariat taking "action" against New Zealand by moving the Finance Ministers meeting. Mr Ramphal understood that the English associations could not require the obedience of non-member governing bodies but said that the proposed amendments to the Constitution had to be looked at not as penalising an offending country but as saving the Commonwealth Games.

Mr Ramphal accepted Mr Macfarlane's point that the RFU acted out of step with the majority of the other British governing bodies and that the British Commonwealth Games Associations could not dictate to it. The Secretary General agreed that no-one could expect a guarantee from the national associations. But he felt that, if a similar tour took place again, it was a question of either suspending the "offending" country, or facing a mass boycott. His concern now was to ensure that there were fair safeguards. What was proposed was exceptional, and he was determined to make sure that it could only be invoked in exceptional situations. That was why he had used the terminology "gross" violations, and hoped that it would be agreed that a country could only be suspended on a two-third or three quarter majority.

Mr Ramphal reiterated that he understood the British Associations' contention that they could only accept responsibility where they had authority; but the principle of the present draft amendments to the Constitution was implicit in the compromise

worked out at the Marlborough House conference, and it was only that which had allowed the Brisbane Games to go ahead. If the British Associations now questioned this principle, they would be accused of bad faith. That would lead to the renewed prospect of boycotts of the 1986 Edinburgh Games. Thus, Mr Ramphal hoped that the discussion in Brisbane would centre on the safeguards to be applied. He wanted the draft amendments, if carried, to be invoked only when it was a question of suspending a particular country, or loosing the Games. He did not believe that any caveat which Mr Arthur Gold placed on the English Association's acceptance of the Marlborough House compromise would allow the British Associations to modify the proposed constitutional amendments.

Private Office  
Department of the Environment

21 September 1982



Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London SW1A 2AH

Spott. (4)  
Prime Minister  
to note.  
18/5

18 May 1982

Dear John,

Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) Meeting: 5 May

I enclose a message which the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Ramphal, has asked should be passed to the Prime Minister. This follows a message I forwarded on 28 April about the Federation's meeting on 5 May.

The outcome of the meeting was satisfactory in so far as New Zealand will not be excluded from the Commonwealth Games at Brisbane in September. Barring any attempts by the Africans to re-open the boycott question between now and the opening of the Games, we can now hope for a full turn-out.

The Federation did however agree that steps be taken to amend its Constitution to exclude countries which continued to maintain sporting links with South Africa. Provisions to this end will be presented to the CGF at Brisbane. This could cause us problems in future, particularly since the Commonwealth Games are to be held in Edinburgh in 1986.

Yours ever  
John Holmes  
(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

I.40/73/2

6 May 1982

I should be grateful if you would arrange to transmit the following message to your Head of Government by the speediest means possible.

BEGINS

"You will have heard separately of the outcome of the Meeting of the Commonwealth Games Federation held in Marlborough House yesterday in connection with the Commonwealth Games at Brisbane. It is a matter of much satisfaction to be able to report to you that on the basis of that meeting, with which the Secretariat was closely associated, we can expect a full house in Brisbane next September/October. As satisfying is the fact that this unanimous decision to support the Games has been taken in a context which complements on the part of the Commonwealth's sporting authorities the commitments already accepted by Commonwealth Governments under the Gleneagles Agreement.

The Federation's decision to put itself in a position "by due process and for good cause" to apply all appropriate sanctions in the context of the Commonwealth Games where there has been "gross non-fulfilment" of the objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement at the country level represents a major step forward in giving substance to the commitments entered into by Heads of Government in London in 1977 and reaffirmed at Melbourne as well as to the commitments you collectively sought from Commonwealth sporting authorities and sportsmen. The Secretariat has been asked to remain associated with the technical work in relation to the Constitution of the Federation and I have, of course, agreed to give all the help we can.

I hope you will agree that the overall outcome is a welcome one, and further confirmation of the Commonwealth's capacity for reaching consensus on a basis which couples adherence to principle with a spirit of accommodation and political realism.

With deep respect,

Shridath S. Ramphal"

ENDS

With kind regards,

CC  
CRD-for action  
PS  
PS/Kora Beistead  
PS/Mr Onslow  
PS/PUS  
Sir J. Neahy  
Sir L. Allison  
Lord Gordon Kennedy ←

News Dept  
SAD  
SPD  
PS/Mr Macfarlane  
HCC 295/2.

  
Shridath S. Ramphal

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COMMONWEALTH GAMES FEDERATION  
AT THE END OF ITS MEETING IN LONDON ON 5 MAY 1982

A Special General Assembly of the Commonwealth Games Federation at Marlborough House, London, on 5 May 1982, reviewed preparations for and developments affecting the forthcoming Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia. Representatives at the meeting unanimously reaffirmed the support of their Commonwealth Games Associations for the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977. They acknowledged that the full realisation of its objectives involves the understanding, support and active participation of national sporting organisations, authorities and sportsmen. Pledging their own understanding, support and active participation, they proclaimed their collective and individual determination to uphold the principles, fulfil the obligations and advance the objectives of the Agreement as part of the international campaign against apartheid.

The meeting unanimously condemned all sporting contacts with South Africa which had taken place contrary to the expectations of the Gleneagles Agreement. In particular, it unanimously condemned the tour of New Zealand in 1981 by the Springbok rugby team of South Africa and noted with satisfaction the strong and prompt reaction of Commonwealth Governments in demonstrating their disapproval of the tour. In this context representatives also recognised the opportunity later provided by the meeting of Heads of Government in Melbourne in October 1981 for a further expression of the Commonwealth's disapproval of the tour and they welcomed the fact that after face to face discussion at the highest level Commonwealth Heads of Government reaffirmed the Gleneagles Agreement and reiterated their commitment to fulfilling effectively the obligations arising under it.

Representatives recognised that there was need for continuous vigilance and a firm adherence to principle on the part of sporting authorities if these objectives were to be fulfilled and they committed their associations to pursuing all practical measures to this end.

In the specific context of the Commonwealth Games and with a view to ensuring that their future was not impaired by the actions of individual countries through their sporting authorities or otherwise, the meeting decided that the Constitution of the Commonwealth Games should be amended to facilitate pursuance of the objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement. It decided that there should be a thorough review of the Constitution, and that this should include incorporation of a Code of Conduct and provision for the ~~convening~~ of Special General Assemblies. ~~It directed that~~ provisions be drafted for consideration of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth Games Federation at Brisbane

in September 1982 designed to empower the Federation by due process and for good cause arising from gross non-fulfilment by any country of the objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement to suspend the right to participate in future Commonwealth Games of that country's constituent association.

In conclusion, representatives, reassured and strengthened by their consultations and by the many notable contributions of Australia, looked forward to the full participation in success of the forthcoming Commonwealth Games at Brisbane and to their meeting together again in September.

\*\*\*\*\*



839  
Spent  
4 May 1982

COMMONWEALTH GAMES FEDERATION

The Prime Minister has taken note of  
your letter of 28 April.

A. J. COLES

S

John Holmes, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

②

010



Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London SW1A 2AH

28 April 1982

Prime Minister

*[Handwritten signature]*

To note.

*MR 27/4*

Dear John,

Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF): 5 May

I am enclosing a message which the Commonwealth Secretary General, Mr Ramphal, has asked should be passed to the Prime Minister. In it he urges that all member associations of the Commonwealth Games Federation should be encouraged to attend the special meeting of the Federation in London on 5 May.

Lord Belstead has been assured by Mr Macfarlane that all seven UK associations are aware of the importance of attending this meeting and will do so. This is very much in our interest since it should make it more difficult for the more extreme African members to push through radical proposals such as moves designed to try to keep New Zealand away from the Games.

The letter is also a further example of Mr Ramphal's efforts to ensure a full turn out at Brisbane (about which Warwick Smith wrote to you on 19 May). Unfortunately it seems probable that the news that a number of British rugby clubs will be going to South Africa to play in what may be styled as a "world club championship" by the South Africans may break at about the time of the CGF meeting. This cannot be helped but it will obviously adversely affect the atmosphere of the CGF meeting.

Yours ever

*John Holmes*

(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL  
MARLBOROUGH HOUSE · PALL MALL · LONDON SW1Y 5HX

I.40/73/2

22 April 1982

I should be grateful if you would arrange to transmit the following message to your Head of Government by the speediest means possible.

BEGINS

"I wrote on 10 March to all Heads of Government expressing the hope that all member countries will be represented at the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane. The replies that I have received so far and discussions that I have been able to have with a number of Governments since then have been encouraging. But difficulties still lie ahead.

As you perhaps know, the Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Federation, Sir Alexander Ross, has convened a special meeting of the Federation in London on 5 May and I have offered Marlborough House as its venue. Although the London meeting is one for national Commonwealth games associations, the underlying issue involved is of importance to Commonwealth Governments and the meeting itself will have important implications for the Commonwealth association as a whole. I attach great importance to the need for full representation at the meeting in order that a genuine consensus can be reached and I urge you to do what you can to ensure that your national association is appropriately represented.

Given the circumstances which have led to the need for a special meeting, many national games associations will no doubt be seeking guidance from their Governments prior to coming to London. While I continue

Contd.... 2

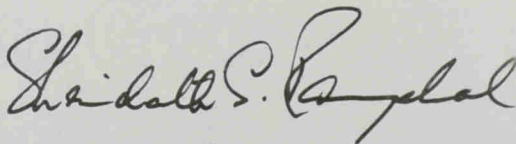
to be mindful of the misgivings that remain in some quarters, I am convinced that anything less than a full turnout at Brisbane would weaken the Commonwealth's collective resolve to eliminate sporting contacts with South Africa.

With deep respect,

Shridath S. Ramphal"

ENDS

With kind regards,



Shridath S. Ramphal

Copies to :-  
CRD for action ✓  
PS  
PS/Hord Belstead  
PS/Mr Onslow  
PS/POS  
Sir J. Leahy  
Sir K. Allinson  
Lord Gordon Lennox  
News Dept  
SAPD  
SPD  
PS/Mr MacFarlane  
HCC 295/2.



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 March, 1982

*Dear Mr. Ransford,*

Thank you for your letter of 11 March about sports contacts with South Africa with which you enclosed a copy of your circular letter to all Commonwealth Heads of Government on the same subject.

My support for Gleneagles has not changed since the Melbourne Conference and I share your concern about the prospects for the Commonwealth Games. I very much regret the possibility of these being damaged by the actions of individual sportsmen whose sports do not even feature in the Games programme. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Minister for Sport have both deplored the current unofficial cricket tour in strong terms and I have endorsed their comments in the House. You will recall that Mr Macfarlane was particularly critical of the covert way in which the tour was arranged. In fact, we were even more surprised than the Test and County Cricket Board when the news of this tour broke. The Minister for Sport has maintained close contact with the Board which has now demonstrated its commitment to the principles embodied in Gleneagles by making the tourists unavailable for test selection for the next three years.

/You mention also

*SW.*

*front  
FILE RM  
cc: DoE.*

You mention also a proposed visit by Cardiff RFC and suggest that we should demonstrate our continued commitment to Gleneagles by resolute action. But as the cricket episode demonstrates, and as I emphasised at Melbourne, our powers are limited to advice and persuasion and more direct action lies solely with the sports bodies concerned. Some, such as the Test and County Cricket Board are willing to face up to this responsibility. Others are not, and I am afraid that visits by Cardiff and one or two other clubs in the coming months look likely.

My Ministers with responsibility for sport in the four home countries have been in touch with their respective rugby unions, and with any clubs reported to be considering visiting South Africa to impress upon them our continued support for Gleneagles and the factors which they must take into account in considering such visits. Cardiff and two others however seem determined to go.

The nature of our democratic system means that our sportsmen are free to come and go as they please. Although we may sometimes question their judgment, freedom of movement is a fundamental principle which we cherish and one which we are not prepared to compromise. You have my full assurance therefore that we shall continue to seek to uphold the principles of Gleneagles in accord with our laws and democratic principles. I hope that you will accept this and will use your good offices to persuade others that incidents such as the current cricket tour do not indicate any weakening of our resolution. The decision is however ultimately one for the sportsmen concerned.

Yours sincerely  
Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Mr Shridath S. Ramphal, Kt., CMG, QC—



*Sport*

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

My ref:  
Your ref:

C O N F I D E N T I A L

John Coles Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

19 March 1982

*Type letter pl.*

*A.F.C. 2/3*

*Dear John*

Thank you for your letter of 11 March enclosing copies of two which the Prime Minister has received from Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, about sporting contacts with South Africa.

The second of these suggests that once again the UK is seen by the rest of the Commonwealth as a major offender against the principles of the 1977 Statement. My Minister considers that Mr Ramphal's concern about the effects on the Commonwealth Games of current and prospective contacts by British Sportsmen with South Africa is well founded. The experience of the recent England cricket tour of India illustrates the sensitivities of some Commonwealth members about this issue.

On cricket the Prime Minister should be able to offer Mr Ramphal some reassurance. We have been in daily contact with the TCCB since news of the unofficial tour first broke; the Board has made clear its opposition to the tour and will announce at 4.30 pm today that those taking part will be unavailable for test selection for three years. Effectively this means the end of their official test careers for most of the players involved. My Minister believes that this is about the strongest legal action possible in the circumstances, and hopes that Mr Ramphal will recognise this.

On rugby however we are not in such a happy position. As well as the Cardiff visit mentioned by Mr Ramphal we know that Gloucester and Bangor (Northern Ireland) are also planning trips to South Africa in May (to take part in the same invitation tournament as Cardiff). All are top clubs and their visits are certain to be well publicised by their hosts. They are however determined to go despite approaches from the respective Ministers with responsibility for sport in the three countries. As recently as last Tuesday my Minister met officials of Gloucester RFC with the RFU Secretary to impress on them the Government's continued support for Gleneagles and the possible repercussions of the club's tour. They were not however persuaded. The only bright spot is that Hawick has declined its invitation and no other Scottish Club has substituted.

Beyond these clubs' visits there are reports that one or two English (and possibly other British) players have been invited to take part in an invitation World XV match versus South Africa on 17 July to mark the opening of a new stadium in Johannesburg. This will be a match at the highest level of competition and will prove a major embarrassment only 11 weeks before the Brisbane Games open. My Minister has discussed this with the RFU; it sees no reason to refuse players permission to take part and its sister unions across the borders are likely to take a similar view. My Minister intends approaching the RFU again about this but he is not optimistic about the outcome. The Government is likely therefore to be faced with continuing pressure on this issue. There is nevertheless a remote possibility that these visits might be cancelled and, although the Prime Minister will not wish to advise Mr Ramphal of them in detail at this stage, my Minister thinks that she should do in general terms.

I am advised by the FCO that much of the criticism that is at present or is likely to be levelled at the Government over our handling of the rugby tours could be deflected if Ministers, including the Prime Minister, were in due course to make strong statements in the House deploring them. They realise the difficulties involved in this but consider that such statements would improve the outlook for the Brisbane Games, reduce the damage that would otherwise be inflicted on our relations within the Commonwealth and diminish the risk that some Commonwealth Governments might seek to prevent our hosting this years' Finance Ministers' Meeting just as they did last year over a New Zealand venue.

/ I attach therefore a draft reply along these lines which has been agreed by the FCO to whom I am copying this (John Holmes). I am sending copies also to Stephen Pope (Northern Ireland), Chris Burdett (Wales) and Paul Stephenson (Scotland).

*Yours ever*

*W L Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary



DRAFT LETTER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO S S RAMPHAL,  
SECRETARY-GENERAL, THE COMMONWEALTH

Thank you for your letter of 11 March about sports contacts with South Africa with which you enclosed a copy of your circular letter to all Commonwealth Heads of Government on the same subject.

My support for Gleneagles has not changed since the Melbourne Conference and I share your concern about the prospects for the Commonwealth Games. I very much regret the possibility of these being damaged by the ~~selfish~~ actions of individual sportsmen whose sports do not even feature in the Games programme. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Minister for Sport have both deplored the current unofficial cricket tour in strong terms and I have endorsed their comments in the House. You will recall that Mr Macfarlane was particularly critical of the covert way in which the tour was arranged. In fact, we were even more surprised than the Test and County Cricket Board when the news of this tour broke. The Minister for Sport has maintained close contact with the Board which has now demonstrated its commitment to the principles embodied in Gleneagles by making the tourists unavailable for test selection for the next 3 years.

You mention also a proposed visit by Cardiff RFC and suggest that we should demonstrate our continued commitment to Gleneagles by resolute action. But as the cricket episode demonstrates, and as I emphasised at Melbourne, our powers are limited to advice and persuasion and more direct action lies solely with the sports bodies concerned. Some, such as the Test and County Cricket Board are willing to face up to this responsibility. Others are not, and I am afraid that visits by Cardiff and one or two other clubs in the coming months look likely.

My Ministers with responsibility for sport in the four home countries have been in touch with their respective rugby unions, and with any clubs reported to be considering visiting South Africa to impress upon them our continued support for Gleneagles and the factors which they must take into account in considering such visits. Cardiff and two others however seem determined to go. ~~It is however the price we must sometimes pay for living in our democracy.~~ Our sportsmen are free to come and go as they please, ~~and~~ Although we ~~may~~ sometimes question their judgement, freedom of movement is a fundamental principle which we cherish and one which we are not prepared to compromise. You have my full assurance therefore that we shall continue to seek to uphold the principles of Gleneagles in accord with our laws and democratic principles. I hope that you will accept this and will use your good offices to persuade others that incidents such as the current cricket tour do not indicate any weakening of our resolution. The decision is however ultimately one for the sportsmen concerned.

The nature  
of our  
democratic  
system means  
that

WOL 21.  
3



CF

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 March, 1982

Sporting Contacts with South Africa

I enclose copies of two letters which the Prime Minister has received from the Commonwealth Secretary General. The first has been addressed to all Commonwealth Heads of Government. The second is a confidential letter seeking particular action in this country.

I should be grateful if, in consultation with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, you could provide advice and a draft letter for the Prime Minister to send to the Commonwealth Secretary General dealing, as appropriate, with both of his letters.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to John Holmes (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

S. J. COLLIER

W L Smith, Esq  
Department of the Environment

RM

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL  
MARLBOROUGH HOUSE PALL MALL LONDON SW1Y 5HX

Prime Minister

Advice and a draft reply

CONFIDENTIAL

The fact is that our capacity will follow  
to stop people going to S. Africa

A.T.C. 12/3

is very small indeed. March 11, 1982

We are far more likely to be successful  
My dear Prime Minister, in stopping them from  
coming here.

I am sending you separately a letter in terms I have addressed to all Commonwealth Heads of Government on the subject of sporting contacts with South Africa and the Commonwealth Games at Brisbane later this year. My object is to save the Games from the dangers that now loom. I hope I can hold off further gestures of protest directed to the Springbok tour of New Zealand relying on the stand Commonwealth countries took last year and the argument that we need not make our point all over again. I cannot be certain of success but I intend to try very hard. I desperately need your help, however, in not having the difficulties compounded by events like the renegade cricket tour of South Africa and the tour now contemplated by Cardiff rugby players.

I fear that only really strong action by all the appropriate authorities in Britain will head off massive reaction to what is being seen as a concerted offensive by South Africa against the essential purposes of the Gleneagles Agreement. I know how strong was your wish at Melbourne to have the Agreement specifically reaffirmed. We must now, I believe, defend it with vigour. A rather special responsibility falls, of course, on the sporting authorities here and I have welcomed all that has already been said by the Government, by the cricket authorities and by some sections of the media. If these sentiments of outrage are not followed by action, however, events could take a course fraught with danger over a much wider area. I know you will want to ensure that this does not happen. It is in that spirit that I have written and enlist your rather particular help.

Shridath S. Ramphal

Shridath S. Ramphal

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

Circular Letter No.13/82

10 March 1982

My dear High Commissioner,

I should be grateful if you would kindly transmit the following personal message to your Head of Government by the speediest means possible.

BEGINS

My dear Prime Minister,

I write amid recent developments in sport as they affect the Gleneagles Agreement and the prospect for the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane. My direct concerns are to widen support for the international campaign against apartheid, to deepen commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement and to ensure that the Games at Brisbane are worthy of the Commonwealth.

The reaffirmation of Gleneagles by Commonwealth Heads of Government at Melbourne, coming after the ill-fated Springbok tour of New Zealand last year, was an important safeguard against slippage in terms of the commitments of Governments. It is especially important at this time that Commonwealth Governments hold fast to the Gleneagles Agreement through scrupulous application of its letter and, equally important, by vigorously infusing throughout their sporting communities its spirit and expectations. The true measure of Gleneagles' success is the international concern which occasional dereliction from it now arouses.

The current private tour of South Africa by English cricketers is a case in point. Theirs is an act of defection in the struggle against apartheid. They have, for whatever reasons, fallen prey to the crudest attempt yet by South Africa to end its isolation on the playing fields of the world - an isolation which is intensifying pressure for the dismantling of apartheid barriers. If we hold fast to Gleneagles, however, even this conspiratorial exercise, and others that almost certainly will be attempted, could prove counter-productive to South African purposes.

The British authorities have given a clear warning of the wider repercussions for international cricket and the personal implications for the visiting players. But condemnation of the tour will need to be backed by determined action within Britain including specifically action by the cricket authorities. Commonwealth countries can help to ensure that such action is taken. Some have already done so. In this context, as with the Springbok tour of New Zealand, the eventual result could be a strengthened rather than weakened collective resolve to stand by the Gleneagles Agreement.

As regards the Commonwealth Games at Brisbane, I need not recount how strenuously I urged resistance of the Springbok tour of New Zealand and how comprehensive was the Commonwealth's condemnation of it. And it was condemnation that went further than words. In a firm but quite inevitable reaction, the Commonwealth took the step of transferring the 1981 Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting from Auckland to the Bahamas. It was the Commonwealth's way of saying that that tour was intolerable in the face of Gleneagles and the international campaign against apartheid. It was an honourable act by which Commonwealth countries made a collective stand for principle. Shortly afterwards, at Melbourne, Commonwealth Heads of Government had an opportunity to say face to face how they felt - including their praise for the stand against apartheid taken by hundreds of thousands of people in New Zealand. Against the backdrop of the action already taken on the Finance Ministers' Meeting, the discussions of Heads of Government at Melbourne and their decision specifically reaffirming the Gleneagles Agreement implied, I believe, a closing of the chapter on that sorry episode. The Commonwealth does not need to make its point all over again at Brisbane.

But there are further considerations. To seek to exclude New Zealand from the Games or to stay away if New Zealand is not excluded, far from advancing the international campaign against apartheid, may well impair it in many countries, especially Australia which would be the principal victim of such action. In the particular matter of the sporting boycott of South Africa - as indeed, over a wider range of Southern African and development issues - Australia has been courageously steadfast. I suspect that in Australia - which refused permission for the aircraft carrying the Springbok team even to transit - ordinary people will find it hard to believe that a boycott of Brisbane could be a just reward for their scrupulous

regard for the Gleneagles Agreement and their stand for principle on so many other issues of Commonwealth concern.

I understand and share the anguish that these matters generate, and I am mindful of the recent discussions among Commonwealth African Foreign Ministers in Addis Ababa. However, I urge all Commonwealth Governments to view their athletes' participation at Brisbane in a wider context, taking account of the considerations to which I have alluded, so as to ensure that the Commonwealth's capacity to act collectively against apartheid is not impaired.

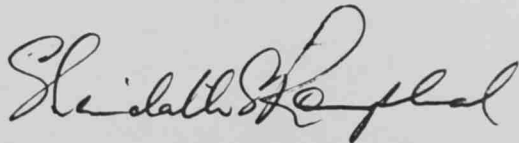
I am writing in similar terms to all Commonwealth Heads of Government.

With deep respect,

Shridath S. Ramphal

ENDS

With kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Shridath S. Ramphal', written in a cursive style.

Shridath S. Ramphal

Sport

File

BC

~~W.C.B.I.~~

MAP

AJC.

8 March 1982

Thank you for your letter of 8 March  
to Willie Rickett.

As I told you on the telephone the Prime  
Minister is content with the line which  
Mr. Macfarlane proposes to take in respect  
of Mr. Paul Stephenson's resignation from  
the Sports Council.

A J COLES

W.L. Smith, Esq.

D.O.E.

So





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

My ref:

Your ref:

8 March 1982

W C R Rickett Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

*Dear Willie*

/ I enclose copies of Mr Macfarlane's proposed reply to Paul Stephenson following his resignation from the Sports Council, and of a proposed Press Statement.

Mr Macfarlane would be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister is content with this line. My Minister hopes to be able to reply this afternoon.

I am copying this to Peter Bean in Mr Richard Luce's office, to Sarah Kippax in Mr Timothy Raison's office and to Jeremy Eppel in Sir George Young's office here.

*Yours ever  
W L Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary

DRAFT LETTER FROM MR MACFARLANE TO MR PAUL STEPHENSON

Thank you for your letter of earlier today tendering your resignation from the Sports Council. I accept this with regret. In doing so I would like to pay tribute to your work with the Council over the last 6 years.

I am surprised that you feel compelled to resign for the reasons stated. The Prime Minister has on numerous occasions condemned apartheid in South Africa and re-stated the Government's support for the principles of the Gleneagles Agreement which was reaffirmed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Melbourne last autumn.

Much has been written about the Government's position over the unofficial cricket tour of South Africa by some English Test players. I thought that it might be helpful for you to see exactly what the Prime Minister said to the House last week, both at Question Time on Thursday and in a Written Answer on Wednesday: I enclose copies of the Hansard extracts.

May I say how much I enjoyed my visit to the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association in Brixton last week, in support of you and Ron Greenwood, <sup>on</sup> ~~at~~ such an important occasion for local youngsters. I hope that your work there will go from strength to strength and I was pleased to be able to confirm to you recently that the bid for a further £27,180 under the Lambeth Partnership (for MASDA) had been successful.

I hope that you are not intending to leave the sporting scene altogether. There is a vital role that people of your experience can play in multi-racial sport. ~~and I doubt you will be giving this matter some consideration over the coming months.~~

I am copying this correspondence to Dick Jeeps.

With best wishes etc

tunities that  
ortant to get  
s have been  
d we shall  
ached.

that this  
ill he press  
European  
ure that we  
favourable  
other side

try would  
ther it had  
From this  
aid and  
aspects of  
se that I  
ation. In  
nd raised,  
nd I am  
en made

our only  
is that it  
en pretty-  
ention to  
? Time is  
ters and,  
angerous  
at there  
ve and a  
xcellent  
t so that

pect for  
t least  
and the  
dustry.  
show a  
d more

ter of  
resent  
United

. The  
gdom  
d that

of the  
t the  
ions?  
new  
aving  
ry by

d the  
The  
ed a

large part of the draft directive. However, it must await the opinion of the European Parliament before reaching a final decision on stocking densities and implementation dates.

**Mr. Marlow:** Does my hon. Friend mean the European Assembly?

**Mrs. Fenner:** I mean the European Parliament.

**Mr. Hardy:** Has the Ministry any information about the number of birds that are kept in cages with four or fewer birds per battery, and the number where there are seven birds per battery? Is it possible to compare the incidence of stress in those cases and the improved yield that is available where fewer birds are kept?

**Mrs. Fenner:** A great deal of research is currently being carried out on the effect of birds that are kept in battery cages, both in other European countries and here. The hon. Gentleman will know that we have proposed the two-tier approach in Europe—450 sq cm per bird at the first stage, and 600 sq cm per bird at the second stage.

### Beef Herd

**16. Mr. Knox** asked the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food if, in view of the decline in the beef herd of 3½ per cent. in each of the last two years, he will take steps to arrest that decline.

**Mr. Buchanan-Smith:** Beef producers' returns have recovered during the past year, and there are now signs that the decline in the beef herd is slowing down. Further measures to assist beef producers will be considered in the common agricultural policy price negotiations.

**Mr. Knox:** Will my right hon. Friend ensure that there is no reduction in the suckler cow premium this year?

**Mr. Buchanan-Smith:** There is no doubt but that the help that is given through that premium and the hill livestock compensatory amounts that this Government have consistently increased are of great importance to our beef producers.

**Mr. Mark Hughes:** Will the Minister consider extending less-favoured area status, at a lower level of assistance, to those areas where the beef herd, in particular, could be assisted by aid within the rules of the Common Market, without upsetting the susceptibilities of the French or anyone else?

**Mr. Buchanan-Smith:** As the hon. Gentleman knows, this is one of the aspects to be looked at in the marginal land survey, on which this country has moved particularly fast.

### PRIME MINISTER

#### Engagements

**Q1. Mr. Straw** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for 4 March.

**The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher):** This morning I presided at a meeting of the Cabinet and had meetings with ministerial colleagues and others. In addition to my duties in the House, I shall be having further meetings later today.

**Mr. Straw:** Is the Prime Minister aware that mealy-mouthed, half-hearted, fence-sitting comments in the House on Tuesday and in a written answer yesterday

strongly suggest to the world that, whatever her Minister with responsibility for sport, and the Foreign Secretary may say or think, she privately condones this tour and the racist régime in South Africa? To clear the air, will she now give a straight answer to a straight question: does she condemn this tour? "Yes" or "No"?

**The Prime Minister:** I am neither mealy-mouthed about upholding the Gleneagles agreement nor about the right of freedom of people in this country to travel. Both are very important indeed. I have given a written answer. I have nothing further to add. I endorse what my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary said today, that he thinks, perhaps, this tour is a mistake.

**Sir William Clark:** Will my right hon. Friend today consider the effect of a £9 billion reflationary Budget next week? Does she agree that if there were such a Budget, the public sector borrowing requirement would go up by at least £6 billion, which would increase the interest paid, and that that would hit industry, jobs, and so on? Does she further agree that every one point increase in interest charges means that the cost of the national debt goes up by £1,000 million per annum?

**The Prime Minister:** I entirely agree with my hon. Friend that if an increase in expenditure of that amount were put on to the borrowing requirement, interest rates would go up very sharply. I cannot confirm my hon. Friend's figures, but I share his general view, and I can say that the payments of interest on debt have gone up enormously. They were about £2 billion in the year 1970. This year they are £15 billion, which is more than we spend on either national health or education.

**Mr. Foot:** I come back to the answer that the right hon. Lady gave a minute or two ago about the cricket tour. Does she not now appreciate that the answer that she gave on Tuesday, far from assisting the situation, only made it worse, and that her further equivocal answer here today continues to make the situation worse? Can she say, without any equivocation, that she entirely agrees with what the Foreign Secretary said on the matter, and repudiates what her Back Benchers have said on the matter?

**The Prime Minister:** The right hon. Gentleman cannot have been listening. In my last reply I endorsed what my right hon. and noble Friend the Foreign Secretary said on the matter.

**Mr. Hannam:** Will my right hon. Friend take time today to remind the country that Britain and the United States are the only two major countries that had lower inflation in 1981 than in 1979?

**The Prime Minister:** Some figures have recently been released. What my hon. Friend says is true in relation to the end of 1981 compared with the end of 1979.

**Q2. Mr. Bob Dunn** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Thursday 4 March.

**The Prime Minister:** I refer my hon. Friend to the reply that I gave some moments ago.

**Mr. Dunn:** Does my right hon. Friend accept that the declaration of nuclear-free zones by the GLC and other Labour-controlled local authorities will be construed only as a sign of weakness by our enemies? Does she agree that it is amazing how few people, especially among those on

Dr. Marmalov asked a British Refugee Council official for directions to the Soviet consulate in London and these were given to him.

On 17 February Dr. Marmalov presented himself to an immigration officer at Heathrow for embarkation on the Aeroflot flight to Moscow. He spoke to the immigration officer and there were no indications that he was not returning to the Soviet Union of his own free will.

### Commission for Racial Equality

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will make a statement on the increases in salaries of officers of the Commission for Racial Equality; whether the commission is advised of the Government's pay guidelines; and whether the commission is expected to adhere to those guidelines.

Mr. Whitlaw: The pay of the staff of the commission is firmly linked to that of the Civil Service, and commission staff salaries are increased or restricted in line with Civil Service pay settlements.

### Metropolitan Police

Mr. Norman Atkinson asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department by how much he estimates the total cost of the Metropolitan Police will increase during the year 1982-83 as against the cost for the year 1981-82; what proportion will be paid by the London local authorities; and whether the increase is subject to the restraints and cash limits set by the Government for other local authority services.

Mr. Whitlaw: The approved estimate of net expenditure by the Metropolitan Police for 1982-83 exceeds the revised estimate for 1981-82 by £49 million—8.4 per cent. This increase allows for the growth of about 1,000 in the strength of the force. About 50 per cent. of the cost of the force is met by precept levied by the receiver on the boroughs and districts in the Metropolitan Police district, but this is partly offset by block grant paid to the authorities through the rate support grant system. On the basis of the rate support grant report for 1982-83, this would be 44 per cent. of the precept for that year.

The force's budget is not subject to a cash limit, but in approving the budget I have due regard to the Government's public expenditure policies.

### Violent Crime

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many incidents of robbery and other violent theft, burglary and armed robbery were reported in each month of 1980 and 1981 in the Metropolitan Police districts which cover the area of the London borough of Newham.

Mr. Mayhew [*pursuant to his reply*, 17 February 1982, c. 121]: Provision of the detailed information requested would involve disproportionate cost. I understand from the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis that the available quarterly information is as given in the following table.

Quarter	Violence against the person		Burglary		Robbery	
	1980	1981	1980	1981	1980	1981
1st	144	127	1,077	1,344	53	95
2nd	176	161	1,269	1,448	61	89
3rd	151	161	840	1,201	41	43
4th	158	—	1,123	—	75	—

### PRIME MINISTER

#### Alcohol and Tobacco Consumption (Control)

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked the Prime Minister if in view of the fact that the reasons given by Her Majesty's Government for the introduction of the compulsory use of car seat belts was that it would mean a saving of life, and since there are more losses of life and greater costs to the National Health Service by people smoking and drinking, Her Majesty's Government will examine the extent to which a similar system of prevention or cure can be introduced in respect of those who smoke and drink.

The Prime Minister: The Government are continuously pursuing more effective ways of preventing the disease and death which results from smoking and from misuse of alcohol.

#### Cricketers (South African Tour)

Mr. Gwilym Roberts asked the Prime Minister whether Her Majesty's Government consider that the visit of 12 England cricketers to South Africa is in breach of the Gleneagles agreement; and if she will make a statement.

The Prime Minister: Although described as a "private tour" the composition of the tour party and the fact that a series of four-day and one-day test matches are planned is such that the tour cannot be regarded other than as a major sporting link with South Africa. As such it is contrary to the principles of the Gleneagles agreement to which the Government are committed. My hon. Friend the Minister with responsibility for sport has made clear Her Majesty's Government's view of the tour and the secrecy under which the arrangements were made. Both the Government and the Test and County Cricket Board were unaware of this tour.

I must pay tribute to the Test and County Cricket Board for all it has done to uphold the principles of the Gleneagles agreement. No test matches have been played against South Africa here or in that country since 1965. The ramifications of this tour could affect the financial structure of cricket in this country and jeopardise the future of multi-racial international cricket; it could also have implications for international sport generally. I deeply regret that the Government were not given the opportunity to discuss the matter beforehand.

My hon. Friend the Minister with responsibility for sport has already discussed the tour with the chairman and secretary of the Test and County Cricket Board with whom any action must lie.

#### Privatisation (Financial Advice)

Mr. Dalyell asked the Prime Minister pursuant to the answer given by her to the Leader of the Opposition on

DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT

Neil Macfarlane, Minister for Sport, today accepted with regret the resignation of Mr Paul Stephenson from the Sports Council. The Minister paid tribute to the work of Mr Stephenson during his 6 years membership of the Sports Council and to his work as Chairman of the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association in Brixton.

In his reply, Mr Macfarlane stressed that the Prime Minister had frequently condemned apartheid in South Africa, and stressed the Government's support for the principles of the Gleneagles Agreement, which she had reaffirmed last Autumn in Melbourne along with other Heads of Commonwealth Governments. Indeed, the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and Mr Macfarlane had termed the unofficial cricket tour of South Africa as a mistake.

7 Avenue Park Road  
Tulse Hill  
LONDON SE27

8 March 1982

Hon. Neil McFarlane, M.P.  
Sports Minister  
2 Marsham Street  
LONDON SW1

Dear Neil,

I have been thinking very deeply over the weekend regarding some of the implications facing the future of international non-racial sport in the light of the Prime Minister's reluctance in the House of Commons last week, to personally condemn the present cricket tour of South Africa by some of England's test players.

I am bound to say, both as a member of the Sports Council and an English born black citizen, the Prime Minister has regretfully given the impression to the countries black and Asian communities that she has little regard or understanding of their feelings over this matter.

The failure by the Prime Minister to condemn the present cricket tour, I find morally indefensible and as a member of the Sports Council deeply humiliating, particularly after reading reports that she was furious about the tour.

In these circumstances, having both regard for the feelings and honour of Britain's black and Asian citizens, concerning the Prime Minister's behaviour which has resulted in their expression of anger and dismay, I feel I can no longer in good faith continue being a member of the Sports Council with any honour and accordingly wish to place my resignation at your disposal immediately.

Thank you for the prompt action you have taken on this matter, in particular condemning the England cricket test players tour of South Africa for their deception. You have shown and highlighted in my opinion, the real dangers facing the future of British international sport by your actions and I trust that you will continue to steadfastly honour on behalf of your government, the Commonwealth statement (Glen Eagles Agreement).

Yours sincerely,

  
PAUL STEPHENSON.



Mr Coley <sup>MR 5/3</sup> to see. *WFSR. & Quatern.*  
I am asking for  
Australia's cricketing.  
MAD 9/3.

*Spink*

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

\*5 March 1982

*Joan Lawrence,*

UNOFFICIAL ENGLAND CRICKET TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. Thank you for your letter of 2 March recording Mr Macfarlane's meeting with the Chairman and Secretary of the Test and Country Cricket Board. Mr Luce is in full agreement with Mr Macfarlane that the TCCB have done everything possible to prevent the tour and has welcomed Mr Macfarlane's firm statements of the Government's position.
2. We shall be very interested to know what advice the TCCB receive from their legal advisers on what further action it might be possible for them to take against the players who have gone to South Africa. When we discussed this today, you mentioned that we should know after the full Board Meeting of the TCCB next Tuesday what action the TCCB would propose to take.
3. In this context, Mr Luce feels that the best time for Mr Macfarlane to see the Commonwealth High Commissioners might be after the TCCB decision has been announced. As you say, it is important to put over the point that this visit was contrary to the TCCB's policies and against the Government's standard advice, but if the TCCB have decided to take strong action it would surely be a good opportunity to link the High Commissioner's call with an announcement of, hopefully, good news.
4. I am copying this letter to Mike Patterson at No 10.

*Yours own  
P.L.B.*

P L Bean  
Assistant Private Secretary  
to Mr Luce

W L Smith Esq  
PS/Mr Macfarlane  
Department of Environment  
2 Marsham Street  
London SW1P 3EB



UNCLASSIFIED

26428 - 1

OO BIS NEW YORK

OO UKMIS NEW YORK

GRS 327

UNCLASSIFIED

FM FCO 041030Z MAR 82

TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES  
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 23 OF 4 MARCH 1982

UNOFFICIAL ENGLISH CRICKET TOUR TO SOUTH AFRICA

1. THERE ARE AT PRESENT 12 ENGLISH CRICKETERS, OF WHOM 11 HAVE PREVIOUSLY PLAYED IN INTERNATIONAL SIDES, IN SOUTH AFRICA AND RUMOURS THAT A 13TH WILL SHORTLY JOIN THEM. THEY INTEND TO PLAY AS AN ENGLAND TEAM AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL AWARD SPRINGBOK CAPS TO THOSE WHO PLAY AGAINST THEM.
2. THE ENGLISH PLAYERS ARE VISITING SOUTH AFRICA AS INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT THE APPROVAL OR FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE TEST AND COUNTY CRICKET BOARD. THEY DO NOT CONSTITUTE AN OFFICIAL ENGLAND SIDE. INDEED, THE TCCB DID EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO DISSUADE THEM FROM GOING: THEY WROTE SOME WEEKS AGO, WHEN RUMOURS OF A POSSIBLE TOUR SURFACED, TO ALL PROFESSIONAL CRICKETERS AND TELEPHONED AS MANY AS THEY COULD DURING THE LAST WEEK OF FEBRUARY. THE TOUR WAS ARRANGED IN SECRET AND NEITHER THE TCCB NOR HMG KNEW ANY DETAILS OF IT UNTIL FRIDAY 26 FEBRUARY.

LINE TO TAKE

3. THE TOUR HAS RECEIVED EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY AND CONDEMNATION IN THE BRITISH PRESS. IF QUESTIONED OR WHEN SUITABLE OPPORTUNITIES ARISE YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(I) HMG DEPLORES BOTH THE TOUR AND THE SECRECY WITH WHICH IT WAS ORGANISED. IT IS CLEARLY AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT.

/II) ANY

1  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

26428 - 1

(II) ANY CLAIM THE TEAM MAY MAKE TO REPRESENT ENGLAND IS FALSE. THEY ARE IN SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE EXPRESS WISHES OF THE TCCB WHO WARNED PLAYERS THAT VISITING SOUTH AFRICA COULD JEOPARDISE THEIR FUTURE SELECTION FOR ENGLAND.

(III) EVEN HAD HMG HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE CRICKETERS BEFORE THEY LEFT THE UK THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE THE POWER TO PREVENT BRITISH SPORTSMEN AND WOMEN FROM VISITING SOUTH AFRICA OR ANYWHERE ELSE. THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT RECOGNISES THAT GOVERNMENTS CAN ONLY ACT TO DISCOURAGE VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THEIR LAWS AND TRADITIONS.

CARRINGTON

BY TELEGRAPH

UKMIS NEW YORK  
BIS NEW YORK  
CAPE TOWN  
PRETORIA  
CG JOHANNESBURG

ISLAMABAD  
CANBERRA  
WELLINGTON  
NEW DELHI  
COLOMBO

SALISBURY  
KINGSTON  
PORT OF SPAIN  
GEORGETOWN  
BRIDGETOWN

[IMMEDIATE]

MAPUTO  
DACC  
LAGOS  
NAIROBI

LUSAKA  
MASERU  
MBABANE

CASTRIES  
ST VINCENT  
ANTIGUA

[PRIORITY]

AND SAVING TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS

FCO/WHITEHALL  
INFORMATION DEPT

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
GUIDANCE

2

UNCLASSIFIED

Telephone  
01-212 3434

DEPARTMENT OF THE  
ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET  
SW1P 3EB



na

MA 4/3

*With the Compliments of  
the Private Secretary to  
the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State*



Sport

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB

01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

C O N F I D E N T I A L

P L Bean Esq  
Assistant Private Secretary  
Richard Luce Esq MP  
Minister of State  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

2 March 1982

*Dear Peter*

UNOFFICIAL ENGLAND CRICKET PARTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr Macfarlane met George Mann (Chairman) and Donald Carr (Secretary) of the Test & County Cricket Board yesterday evening.

The TCCB confirmed that professional cricketers these days have seasonal contracts with their Counties which do not restrict their playing for other teams during the winter. Some contracts may include references to consultation with the Counties but none of the players presently in South Africa would be in breach of contract. There was some surprise all round that players with the obvious Test cricket future of Gooch and Emburey should put their Test careers at risk for a reported £30/40,000. The older players would certainly see this as a nest egg but the younger ones might be looking forward to similar visits in the future.

The visit had been arranged in the utmost secrecy, players having been contacted by their colleagues in the dressing room over a period of many months. But last week they were only given one day or so in which to decide whether to take part. Some of the players presently in South Africa had misled the TCCB when approached by the Board last Friday and the South African Cricket Union had also given less than straight answers when approached by the TCCB at the same time.

Both the Board and Mr Macfarlane were extremely concerned about the effect that the visit might have on future international cricket and other sporting contact. Reports from India already suggested that they would not be willing to play against an England team including one of the 12 during their proposed tour here this summer. The Board expected Pakistan to take a similar stance. That in itself need not create insuperable difficulties though it might not be possible to give India guarantees in advance. No reaction had yet been detected from the West Indies. Mr Macfarlane feared a strong backlash, perhaps even to the extent of overseas Commonwealth players being prevented by their Governments or Boards from competing in English County cricket. The Commonwealth Games was an obvious target.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

The TCCB said that they had written to all registered players last summer reminding them of the Board's policy against representative contact with South Africa. The letter had gone on to say that anyone taking part in a representative game in South Africa could jeopardise his future selection for England. The TCCB were now taking legal advice on whether it would be possible for them to say that the 12 would not be available to the selectors this season. They very much wished to do this but were understandably wary following the Packer case. In advance of that advice the Board could say no more than this important decision would be taken at their next meeting. They had telephoned all those players they could find reminding them of the Board's position and asking them not to go to South Africa. They felt that these calls had probably prevented Willis and Cook from going and Botham, Gower and Gatting had already declined (perhaps on simple financial grounds). The Board could not predict how individual Counties would react on their players return but felt that action would probably be taken only against Captains or Vice-Captains: Old and Emburey. Yorkshire would probably not renew Boycott's contract but this action would be taken as being best for the side.

It was agreed that the party did not comprise an England or MCC XI and the visit was contrary to the TCCB's policies. It was important for this view to be publicised both domestically and abroad. Likewise, it was important to point out that 11 of the 16-strong England party which went to India during the winter had not accepted invitations to go to South Africa. The TCCB would get in touch with other national boards immediately - ie before they had Counsel's opinion - to make their position clear. Mr Macfarlane said that, subject to advice from his Foreign Office colleagues, he favoured meeting Commonwealth High Commissioners to put over the same point at Government level. Mr Macfarlane is likely to raise this with Mr Luce when he sees him in the corridors.

I am copying this to Mike Pattison at No 10.

*W L SMITH*  
*W L SMITH*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary

Sport



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

My ref:  
Your ref:

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Willie Rickett Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

2 October 1981

*Dear Willie*

*p.a. WM 5/10*

PROPOSED VISIT BY THE DURBAN COLLEGIANS RUGBY TEAM

- / As promised, I enclose a copy of the notes of Mr Macfarlane's meetings yesterday with the RFU President and Secretary and the Richmond Club Chairman. I also enclose a copy of Mr Macfarlane's letter to the RFU President and of his telex to the Prime Minister bringing her up to date.

Mr Macfarlane also spoke last night with Mr Ian Gow MP in Melbourne and agreed that under the circumstances the right amount and type of publicity had now been achieved. It would be counter-productive for the Minister to do TV or radio interviews for example, since this might create hostility amongst the rugby world and indeed the Government's own supporters. The Government had broken a precedent in its implementation of the Gleneagles Agreement by dealing directly with clubs and it was now best to sit pat. I am copying this letter to Francis Richards (FCO), John Halliday (Home Office) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

*For ever  
W L Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary

C O N F I D E N T I A L

NOTE OF A MEETING HELD ON THURSDAY 1 OCTOBER AT 2 MARSHAM STREET  
TO DISCUSS THE VISIT OF SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY CLUBS TO GREAT BRITAIN

Those Present

Mr Neil Macfarlane MP - Minister for Sport

Mr Richard Luce MP - Minister of State, FCO

Mr Warwick Smith - PS/Mr Macfarlane

Mr D Brooks - President, RFU

Air Commodore Weighill - Secretary, RFU

Mr Macfarlane explained that the timing of the proposed matches between the Salazas and Richmond Over 40s, and Durban Collegians and Richmond, coinciding with the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne, made the matter extremely sensitive. The UK risked isolation in sport; there could be more serious law and order difficulties than those recently experienced in New Zealand following the bad period generally; and the Government had a commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement.

Mr Luce said that in an ideal world sport and politics would be divorced; but realistically this was not possible, though the Government worked to minimise the overlap. The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary were in a difficult position in Melbourne; the blunt fact was that they were having to work hard to seek to maintain the Gleneagles Agreement in its present state against moves to strengthen it from the majority of the Commonwealth. The proposed matches, if they went ahead, would make this job almost impossible.

Mr Macfarlane said that there were repercussions for sport generally and not just for rugby football; the proposed MCC tour of India was a case in point. The Indian Government operated a black list which was not recognised and indeed condemned by the UK. But the black list approach could be advanced in Melbourne as the only effective way of enforcing Gleneagles and if the proposed match went ahead this could be used as evidence in support of this move. The Minister appreciated that the Rugby Football Union had to operate within its constitution but strongly requested and urged the President to write to those clubs who intended to play against the South African sides, drawing to their attention the risks if the games went ahead and urging them not to play. The Brisbane Commonwealth Games were at risk; British sportsmen could find themselves isolated; there was a threat to the India tour insofar as the Indian Government would be given an excuse to call off the tour; and the matches could give ammunition to those interested in furthering the use of blacklists.

The RFU said that the last time their Executive Committee had considered contact with South African teams it had voted by approximately 44 to 3 in favour of contact because the game in South Africa was now more integrated. They interpreted paragraph 4 of the Gleneagles Agreement as permitting contact with integrated sports. They referred to the black member of the South African touring party to New Zealand and to the presence of a black player in a Boer farmers side. A black team, again organised by Tommy Bedford

C O N F I D E N T I A L

had visited the country under similar circumstances last year and the Government had not reacted.

Mr Macfarlane again referred to the sensitivity of the present time and to the immediate problem. Mr Luce said that the RFU's interpretation of paragraph 4 of the Gleneagles Agreement was not valid since the Agreement referred to sport generally and indeed to the system of apartheid generally. But progress toward integration was a further argument for not strengthening the Gleneagles Agreement, something which the proposed match, if it went ahead, would make more difficult.

Mr Macfarlane pointed out that deep feelings were held on apartheid by many left-wing groups in Western Europe who could easily travel to this country to escalate any public disorder. He appealed to the RFU to consider the cost of the proposed match in terms of law and order and again asked them to write to Richmond, pointing out the difficulties.

The RFU said that they had drawn all their member clubs' attention to the Government's adherence to the Gleneagles Agreement. Whilst it would be possible for the President to write to the Richmond club personally pointing out the difficulties, he had a meeting of his Executive Committee tomorrow morning and would prefer to put the question to them. The RFU was still trying to discover whether or not the South African Rugby Board had approved the proposed match; it was their practice not to sanction matches between British and foreign clubs unless the Foreign Union also authorised the match. They hoped to know the position some time this afternoon; if the South African Board had given no authorisation the Executive Committee at its meeting tomorrow would automatically withhold its approval.

Mr Macfarlane asked the RFU President if, at that meeting, he would point out the Government's concern; the sensitivity of the timing; the threat to the Indian tour; the threat to the Commonwealth Games; the threat of isolation of British sport generally; and the enhancement of the case for black lists. The RFU agreed to read out a letter from the Minister setting this out. The RFU agreed to let the Government know the result of the Committee meeting as soon as it was reached.

Mr Macfarlane and Mr Luce would release a joint press statement saying that they had had discussions with the RFU and had outlined the problems. The statement would say that the RFU had drawn Gleneagles to the attention of its member clubs and that its Executive Committee was meeting tomorrow to discuss the proposed matches. Ministers would not give TV or radio interviews at this stage and the RFU would refer all press calls to the proposed Government statement. The press statement and the Minister's letter would be delivered by hand to the RFU President and Secretary later today.

1 October 1981



C O N F I D E N T I A L

NOTE OF A MEETING HELD ON THURSDAY 1 OCTOBER AT 2 MARSHAM STREET  
TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSED RUGBY MATCH BETWEEN RICHMOND RFC AND THE  
DURBAN COLLEGIANS

Those Present:-

Mr N Macfarlane MP - Minister for Sport

Mr N Palmer - DOE

Mr M Humphries - Chairman,  
Richmond RFC

Mr W Smith - PS/Mr Macfarlane

Mr Macfarlane said that the Government was in some difficulty over the proposed match in view of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne. The Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary would have to work very hard to prevent the Gleneagles Agreement being strengthened, perhaps by the addition of blacklists. The UK was determined to prevent that, but the job would be made more difficult if the match went ahead. There were wider implications for British sport: the MCC tour of India could be jeopardised as could the forthcoming Commonwealth Games. Moreover, recent events in New Zealand suggested that public disorder might result from the match. In view of all this the Minister asked Mr Humphries to consider seriously the proposed match and to cancel it.

Mr Humphries said that the Richmond Club worked under the aegis of the RFU. Their view was that they neither granted nor withheld permission from British touring sides going to South Africa. Mr Humphries was only too well aware of the blacklist threat; Richmond of all English clubs were a touring side and had visited and hoped to continue visiting many central African and other countries. If the RFU asked them to cancel the match they would do so, but they did not want to take that decision themselves. Mr Humphries was fairly certain that the RFU would advise them not to play the game. The Union's dilemma was whether this could be treated as a "one-off" or if it signified a change in their whole policy. He guessed that the RFU would urge cancellation on the technical grounds that the South African Board did not recognise the Collegians tour.

Mr Macfarlane said that he had heard that a Richmond Over 40s side was due to play a South African social side - the Salazas. Mr Humphries said this was not so: the "Richmond Heavies" were indeed to play a social match but not against a South African side. The match was against a scratch team (called the Palazas) which comprised a number of South African individuals who happened to be in the country - many on business.

It was agreed that Mr Macfarlane would issue a press statement saying that he had discussed the matter with Mr Humphries and that the latter would consider what he had said after consultation with the RFU.

2 October 1981



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

My ref:

Your ref:

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

David Brooks Esq  
President  
Rugby Football Union  
Whitton Road  
TWICKENHAM  
Middlesex TW2 7RQ

1 October 1981

*Dear Mr Brooks:*

When Richard Luce and I met you and Bob Weighill earlier today I undertook to write to you in the strictest confidence, explaining the Government's grave concern over the proposed matches between the Salazas and Richmond Over 40s, and the Durban Collegians and Richmond. You agreed to read this letter to your Executive Committee tomorrow.

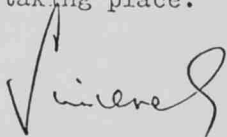
The Government adheres to the Gleneagles Agreement which requires it to take all steps to discourage sporting contact with South Africa. The proposed matches would be in contravention of the Gleneagles Agreement if they took place.

The RFU is aware that Commonwealth Heads are at present meeting in Melbourne and that the Gleneagles Agreement is to be discussed. Some Commonwealth Governments are liable to contend that the Gleneagles Agreement should be strengthened, perhaps by the addition of blacklists. The British Government has denounced blacklists: we believe that individual sportsmen and sportswomen must be free to travel and compete when and where they wish within the law. So the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary will seek to gain agreement that there should be no change in Gleneagles and that the existing text should be merely reaffirmed. As you can appreciate, this will be difficult to achieve. If the proposed matches go ahead the proponents of blacklists will use them as evidence of the inability of Governments to "enforce" Gleneagles without the use of blacklists.

The consequence of this could lead to the virtual isolation of British sportsmen. The Commonwealth Games in Brisbane will be in jeopardy as will the imminent MCC tour of India. This is, as you know, already under threat and the proposed games will give the Indian authorities perhaps the excuse they might seek to cancel the tour. All this indicates the need for the rugby world to think again about the implications of its actions upon its fellow sportsmen.

Finally, following recent events in New Zealand, no one can be in any doubt as to the implications for law and order.

For all these reasons, I and my Ministerial colleague Richard Luce strongly urge the RFU to withhold its approval to these matches taking place.



NEIL MACFARLANE



OUT. TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats  
CONFIDENTIAL

Precedence/Deskby IMMEDIATE  
DESKBY 022100Z

ZCZO  
GRS  
CLASS  
CAVEATS  
DESKBY  
FM FCO  
PRE/ADD  
TEL NO

1 ZCZC  
2 GRS  
3 CONFIDENTIAL  
4  
5 DESKBY 022100Z  
6 FM FCO 011845Z OCT 81  
7 TO IMMEDIATE UKDEL MELBOURNE  
8 TELEGRAM NUMBER  
9 INFO TO ROUTINE PRETORIA  
10 MIPT: SOUTH AFRICA RUGBY TOUR  
11 FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR PRIME MINISTER FROM MINISTER FOR SPORT  
12 1. The first indication here of the short two-match tour by t  
13 Durban Collegians Rugby Club was carried in the Daily Telegrap  
14 and Daily Mail on 30 September. Immediate enquiries of the  
15 Rugby Football Union confirmed that the Club was due to arrive  
16 on 7 October. The RFU had not notified Government of the  
17 impending visit. Provisional arrangements had been made to  
18 play matches against Torquay Athletic RFC on 8 October and  
19 Richmond RFC on 11 October. The Durban team is not, repeat not  
20 a Natal State representative side. It is a college team which  
21 includes one or two international and some state players.  
22 2. Following discussions between officials of the FCO and DOE  
23 and between the Home Secretary and myself (law and order aspect  
24 and the Lord Privy Seal and myself, I sent letters that afterno  
25

NNNN ends  
telegram

BLANK

Catchword  
/ to

File number

Dept  
CRD

Distribution

Drafted by (Block capitals)  
J E C MACRAE

AS TEL UNDER REF

Telephone number

Authorised for despatch

9/2/10

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats  
CONFIDENTIAL

Page  
2

<<<<

1 <<<< 1  
 2 to the President of the RFU asking for approval of this short  
 3 tour to be withdrawn. Similar letters were sent to the Chairman  
 4 of the two rugby clubs concerned. By early evening arrangements  
 5 had been confirmed that, together with the Minister of State,  
 6 FCO (Richard Luce), I should meet the President and Secretary of  
 7 the RFU at 11.00 am today, Thursday 1 October. A further meeting  
 8 was arranged for me to meet the Chairman of the Richmond club  
 9 this afternoon. After several telephone calls to the Torquay  
 10 Chairman, they cancelled the match.  
 11 3. Following an exchange of telegrams and telephone calls  
 12 between London and Melbourne approval was given for the meeting  
 13 with the RFU to be taken by Richard Luce and myself.  
 14 4. At that meeting I stressed the Government's fullest support  
 15 of the principles of the Gleneagles Agreement and our determination  
 16 to do all we could to discourage sporting contacts with South  
 17 Africa. I pointed out that the timing of the proposed matches -  
 18 coinciding with the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in  
 19 Melbourne - made the matter extremely sensitive. I also made  
 20 the point there could be serious law and order difficulties, as  
 21 evidenced by recent events in New Zealand: and there was a  
 22 growing risk of Britain's isolation in sport. The FCO Minister  
 23 of State explained in more detail the difficulties you were  
 24 facing in Melbourne in maintaining the status quo and that, if  
 25 the proposed matches went ahead, it would make your task that  
 26 much harder.  
 27 5. I also stressed possible repercussions for sport generally.  
 28 The proposed MCC tour of India this autumn was a case in point:  
 29 the Commonwealth Games next year in Brisbane was another.  
 30 6. The RFU President said that the last time their Executive  
 31 Committee had considered contact with South African teams it  
 32 had voted by approximately 44 to 3 in favour of contact because  
 33 the quote game in South Africa was now more integrated unquote.  
 34

NNNN ends  
telegram

BLANK

Catchword  
/ They

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats CONFIDENTIAL	Page 3
--	--	-----------

1 They interpreted paragraph 4 of the Gleneagles Agreement as  
 2 permitting contact with integrated sports. Mr Luce said the  
 3 RFU's interpretation of paragraph 4 of Gleneagles was not valid  
 4 since the Agreement referred to sport generally and indeed to  
 5 the system of apartheid generally.  
 6 7. The RFU Executive Committee meets tomorrow morning. The  
 7 Government's views on the Collegians' match will be passed to  
 8 the Committee through the medium of a personal and confidential  
 9 letter I have written to the RFU President following this  
 10 morning's meeting.  
 11 8. At my meeting with the Richmond chairman I repeated the point  
 12 made earlier to the RFU representatives.  
 13 9. He explained that he would be guided by the advice he would  
 14 receive from the RFU. He was confident that this advice would  
 15 be to cancel the match.  
 16 10. We agreed that a general announcement would probably have  
 17 to be deferred until after the full RFU Executive meeting has  
 18 taken place. But he has now told my Private Office that the  
 19 match is cancelled semi-colon the media have been told.  
 20 Meanwhile I have released an interim press notice, agreed by all  
 21 concerned. At the specific request of the RFU, I agreed not to  
 22 give any media interviews for the time being.  
 23  
 24 CARRINGTON  
 25 NNNN  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34

<<<

///  
//  
/

NNNN ends  
telegram

BLANK

Catchword

Mr. Honour

SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

You have seen Lord Carrington's telegram (No.26 of 1 October) to the Home Secretary. I learned this morning that Mr. Macfarlane had already arranged (with some difficulty) to meet representatives of the RFU at 11 a.m. ITN were aware of the meeting. Mr. Macfarlane was inviting the Lord Privy Seal to attend the meeting. I therefore explained to Mr. Whitmore in Melbourne that the Home Secretary was in North Yorkshire and could not attend an 11 o'clock meeting in London. To cancel the meeting at such a late stage would clearly be embarrassing. Mr. Whitmore agreed that the meeting would have to go ahead without the Home Secretary. The possibility of the Home Secretary holding a further meeting could be considered if necessary thereafter. He asked me to report to him the outcome of Mr. Macfarlane's meeting, and I have made arrangements to do so. (I understand that the Lord Privy Seal decided not to attend the meeting).



Private Office  
1.10.81.

J. F. HALLIDAY  
Principal Private Secretary

c.c. Miss Collins  
Mr. L.P.Wright  
Mr. Andrew  
Mr. D. Grant  
Mr. G.H.Phillips

P.S. to Lord Carrington  
P.S. to Mr. Luce  
P.S. to Mr. Macfarlane  
Mr. Pattison (No.10)  
Mr. D. Wright (Cabinet Office)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 010800Z

FM UKDEL MELBOURNE 010120Z OCT

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 26 OF 1 OCTOBER

PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG TO HOME SECRETARY REPEAT FOR INFORMATION TO MR MCFARLANE MINISTER FOR SPORT AND TO SIR BRIAN CUBBON(HOME OFFICE) AND MR GEORGE MOSELEY (DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT).

THERE IS VERY LIVELY INTEREST HERE BOTH IN THE CONFERENCE AND IN THE PRESS IN SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT. PRESS REPORTED YESTERDAY THAT A SOUTH AFRICAN PROVINCIAL RUGBY TEAM WAS ABOUT TO TOUR UNITED KINGDOM. WE GATHER THAT THERE ARE PLANS FOR A NATAL TEAM TO PLAY AT RICHMOND AND AT TORQUAY WITH THE FIRST GAME ON 7 OCTOBER. MINISTER FOR SPORT HAS WRITTEN IN STRONG TERMS TO RFU AND IS DUE TO SEE REPRESENTITIVES OF RFU AND OF THE TWO CLUBS CONCERNED VERY SHORTLY.

AS SEEN FROM HERE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT HMG SHOULD BE SEEN TO TAKE EVERY POSSIBLE STEP OPEN TO IT TO DISCOURAGE THE SPORT AUTHORITIES CONCERNED FROM PROCEEDING WITH THEIR PLANS AND TO PREVENT THE TOUR FROM GOING AHEAD. FOR THIS REASON PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY STRONGLY THINK THAT YOU AS ACTING PRIME MINISTER AND SENIOR MEMBER OF CABINET PRESENTLY IN UK SHOULD YOURSELF WITH THE MINISTER FOR SPORT SEE THE RFU AND THE TWO CLUBS CONCERNED TO IMPRESS ON THEM THE VERY GREAT DESIRABILITY OF CANCELLING THIS TOUR. MUCH OF THE CRITICISM OF MULDOON BOTH IN NEW ZEALAND AND OUTSIDE IS THAT HE DID NOT HIMSELF TRY HARD ENOUGH TO PREVENT THE SPRINGBOKS' TOUR OF NEW ZEALAND. IN THE PRIME MINISTER' ABSENCE YOU WOULD BE THE RIGHT PERSON TO SEE THE RFU AND THE CLUBS THERE WOULD BE GRAVE CRITICISM AT THIS CONFERENCE AND IN BRITAIN IF IT WAS LEFT TO A NON-CABINET MINISTER TO DO SO.

AS HOME SECRETARY YOU WOULD BE IN A PARTICULARLY STRONG POSITION TO POINT OUT TO THE RFU AND THE CLUBS THAT RECENT EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND WILL ENSURE THAT ANY SUCH GAMES WOULD ATTRACT WIDE PUBLIC ATTENTION AND THE HIGH PROBABILITY OF NATIONALLY ORGANISED AND VIOLET DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH WOULD CREATE ACUTE PROBLEMS FOR POLICE WITH ALL THE ATTENDANT RISKS OF CAUSALTIES AND CONSIDERABLE EXPENSE FOR POLICE AND INDEED FOR THE CLUBS THEMSELVES. THIS COULD BE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN FOR METROPOLITAN POLICE. THE PRIME MINISTER IS ESPECIALLY ANXIOUS TO AVOID ADDING TO THEIR BURDENS. I AM ASKING FCO TO REPEAT THIS MESSAGE TO NEIL MCFARLANE.

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST.]

CARRINGTON

LIMITED  
CRD  
CCD  
SPD  
S AF D  
OADS  
NEWS D

PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
MR DAY

LORD N G LENNOX  
SIR L ALLINSON  
MR DONALD

CONFIDENTIAL

COPIES TO:-  
HOME SECRETARY  
MR MCFARLANE MIN.OF SPORT  
SIR BRIAN CUBBON HOME OFFICE  
MR G MOSELEY D/ENVIRONMENT  
MR J V WILLIAMS PSC 3  
D/ENVIRONMENT





BP 7/60  
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB

01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

Michael Humphries Esq  
Chairman  
Richmond Rugby Football Club  
55D Barkston Gardens  
LONDON SW5

30 September 1981

*3 pps*  
*Dear Mr Humphries:*

I am writing to express the Government's grave concern at the proposed visit here next month of the Durban Collegians rugby team.

Members of Richmond RFC are doubtless aware of the Government's policy which, in support of the 1977 Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, is firmly opposed to sporting links with South Africa. Moreover, in the wake of recent events in New Zealand and elsewhere club members must be appreciative of the particular sensitivity of these sporting links and the very major problems they create for law and order authorities.

I am therefore very concerned that your Club proposes to play the Durban Club on 11 October. I am also appalled that instead of seeking to dissuade you from inviting that Club to play here, the RFU has seen fit to give their approval to this game. I am therefore asking the RFU - even at this late stage - to reconsider their attitude and, as the responsible governing body for rugby, withdraw approval of this tour taking place.

I am writing in similar terms to the President of the RFU and the Chairman of Torquay Athletic Rugby Football Club.

*James Sweeney*  
*Neil Macfarlane*

NEIL MACFARLANE



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

My ref:

Your ref:

B G Lang Esq  
15 Manscombe Road  
Liverhead  
TORQUAY

30 September 1981

*B G Lang :*

I am writing to express the Government's grave concern at the proposed visit here next month of the Durban Collegians rugby team.

Members of Torquay Athletic RFC are doubtless aware of the Government's policy which, in support of the 1977 Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, is firmly opposed to sporting links with South Africa. Moreover, in the wake of recent events in New Zealand and elsewhere club members must be appreciative of the particular sensitivity of these sporting links and the very major problems they create for law and order authorities.

I am therefore very concerned that your Club proposed to play the Durban Club on 8 October. I am also appalled that instead of seeking to dissuade you from inviting that Club to play here, the RFU has seen fit to give their approval to this game. I am therefore asking the RFU - even at this late stage - to reconsider their attitude and, as the responsible governing body for rugby, withdraw approval of this tour taking place.

I am writing in similar terms to the President of the RFU and the Chairman of Richmond Rugby Football Club.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Neil Macfarlane*

NEIL MACFARLANE



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

My ref:

Your ref:

30 September 1981

David Brooks Esq  
President  
Rugby Football Union  
Whitton Road  
TWICKENHAM  
Middlesex TW2 7RQ

*Dear Mr Brooks:*

I am writing to express the Government's grave concern at the proposed visit here next month of the Durban Collegians rugby team.

The RFU can be in no doubt of the Government's policy which, in support of the 1977 Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, is firmly opposed to sporting links with South Africa. Moreover, in the wake of recent events in New Zealand and elsewhere the RFU cannot be unaware of the particular sensitivity of these sporting links and the very major problems they create for law and order authorities.

I am therefore appalled that instead of seeking to dissuade the English host rugby clubs from inviting the Durban Collegians to play here, the RFU has seen fit to give their approval to this short tour taking place. I must therefore ask the RFU - even at this late stage - to reconsider their attitude and, as the responsible governing body for rugby, withdraw approval of this tour taking place.

I am writing in similar terms to the Chairmen of the two rugby clubs reported to be competing against the South African team.

*Yours sincerely*  
*Neil Macfarlane*

NEIL MACFARLANE

CONFIDENTIAL

*Sport - J*

15 September 1981

SPORT AND SOUTH AFRICA

The Prime Minister has seen and taken note of your letter to me of 8 September and of the enclosure to it.

MA

*CS*

W.L. Smith, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.



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

My ref:  
Your ref:

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

8 September 1981

*MS*  
/

*Prime Minister* (4)

*Paul*

*Dear Michael*

SPORT AND SOUTH AFRICA

On the evening of 3 June Mr Monro had a private meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss sport and South Africa and in particular the Gleneagles Agreement. Willie Rickett was present but he has suggested that I should write to you since I understand that you are doing the work on CHGM.

At their meeting the Prime Minister asked Mr Monro to consider what progress towards racial integration in sport had been made in South Africa following the Gleneagles Agreement and to consider if this should affect our stance in Melbourne. The results of Mr Monro's consideration are in the enclosed letter and paper which he has sent to the Foreign Secretary. The FCO were not involved in the original meeting nor did they know of it: hence I have not copied you this correspondence openly.

I hope, however, that this letter and Mr Monro's will discharge his commitment to the Prime Minister whilst at the same time ensuring that the FCO is aware and can take account of his views.

*Yours ever*  
*Robert Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary



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

My ref:

Your ref:

The Rt Hon The Lord Carrington KCMG MC  
Secretary of State  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

8 September 1981

*Dear Peter*

SPORT AND SOUTH AFRICA - THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT

I have been giving careful thought to the Prime Minister's position at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting over Gleneagles. In particular I am concerned about the views of our own backbenchers and sport as a whole.

The Gleneagles Agreement is not popular: it is attacked by some as being without teeth and by others as being an infringement to personal freedom. Nonetheless, it remains probably the best compromise for the UK as a means of helping ensure the survival of sport within the Commonwealth, whilst not requiring the Government to take action outside British convention and law.

But even our supporters who recognise this complain on two counts:-

- a. The Agreement refers to sport generally and not to individual sports; thus it is not possible to recognise progress made towards non-racialism in individual sports by re-admitting them, even in a limited way, to the Commonwealth sporting fold;
- b. The operation of blacklists.

Recognition of progress in individual sports

The attached paper details the moves made by the six major South African sports towards non-racialism since the Gleneagles Agreement was written in 1977. Some have made significant moves, and it has been suggested, for example by the South African cricket ruling body, that the hawks within their administration will now point to the futility of progress towards non-racialism since the moves they have already made have not been recognised.

Ideally, there may well be something to be said for a provision which would allow gradual re-admission of particular sports as sufficient progress towards non-racialism was made. But in practice this is probably a non-starter: who would decide what constituted sufficient progress? Who would judge when and at what level re-admission should take place (schoolboy, club, national etc)? The problems involved in making these sort of judgements are all too apparent from the introduction to the attached note.

S E C R E T

Perhaps more importantly, although the Gleneagles Agreement states that it is concerned only with apartheid in sport, many of the black Commonwealth nations would take the view that teams cannot be selected on a non-racial basis whilst South Africa's society is based on apartheid. This may be a distortion of the original aim of the Gleneagles Agreement but is probably inevitable and it would not be realistic to seek to change it.

Blacklists

Blacklists are entirely separate from the Gleneagles Agreement. The Agreement does no more than require Commonwealth states to take every practical step to discourage sporting contact with South Africans by their own nationals; it does not require action against nationals of other Commonwealth states as is inherent in the blacklist concept. This distinction is not always clear, the result being that the fury of our back-benchers, brought about by the operation of blacklists, is directed towards the Gleneagles Agreement. We have of course publicly stated our disapproval of blacklists.

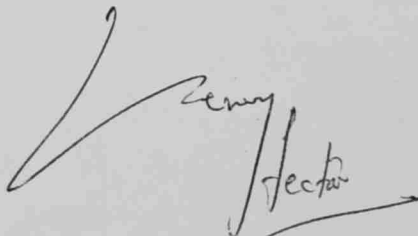
It could be argued, though perhaps not convincingly in the eyes of black Commonwealth Governments, that the operation of blacklists is contrary to the spirit of the Gleneagles Agreement. It acknowledges that it is for each Commonwealth Government to determine how it should discourage sporting contact with South Africa in accordance with its own laws. Thus in the UK we withhold public financial support for any British sportsmen competing against South Africans and formally ask the governing body of the sport concerned not to sanction the event.

It might be possible for the Prime Minister to deploy this line of argument in Melbourne, particularly if she comes under attack. She could say that, whilst the UK adheres to the Gleneagles Agreement, those nations which operate blacklists do not.

It would though, in my mind, be dangerous to withdraw all grants from sports that breached Gleneagles - an idea which might come up in Melbourne. I can imagine the outcry both from sport and our backbenchers if we prevented any grants going to rugby clubs throughout the UK.

Sport

May I make one final point about the feelings of the sports world in all this. They tend to close ranks in expressing concern at Government action which affects them when their views were not previously sought. This happened in 1977 when the Gleneagles Agreement came out of the then CHGM, and again over the Moscow Olympics. If, at Melbourne, it seems that Gleneagles is to be strengthened or changed in any way, I would be exceedingly grateful if I could be brought into the picture before final decisions were taken. Over a telephone call I could perhaps ensure that any nuances or complications about the future administration of any new Agreement were fully understood and appreciated before the Prime Minister gave it her stamp of approval.



HECTOR MONRO

S E C R E T

SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA: PROGRESS TOWARDS NON-RACIALISM  
FOLLOWING THE 1977 COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT ON APARTHEID  
IN SPORT (THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT)

Introduction

The 6 major sports in South Africa are athletics, boxing, cricket, football, rugby and tennis. Progress in each is detailed below.

Though the Government (FCO) announced in August 1977 that it would seek "to re-negotiate the Gleneagles Agreement when the racial integration of sport in South Africa has progressed sufficiently" no criteria were established for assessing the progression. There are difficulties in doing so; there is no shortage of reports on the nature of sport in South Africa but none is comprehensive or authoritative. For the purpose of this assessment the following two questions have been asked:-

1. At each level of participation (ie professional if appropriate, national, provincial, club, school etc) is the playing (ie selection of teams and opponents, membership of clubs) of a particular sport non-racial?
2. Is the governing body for the sport integrated or are there separate controlling bodies for different racial groups?

It is important too to distinguish between sports which are "non-racial" and those which are "multi-racial". In 1971 the South African Government announced that "sports bodies would be allowed to form umbrella groups to which the controlling bodies of all population groups would affiliate on an equal basis". The adoption of this approach leads to "multi-racial" competition between individuals or racially homogenous teams of different races. This is integration of a sort but since race remains a fundamental factor in determining team selection, club membership, and so on, sports operating in this way cannot be considered "non-racial".



S E C R E T

Matters are further complicated insofar as reports from the Embassy in Pretoria indicate that different sports are popular with different racial groups. This may or may not be a direct result of apartheid; but it does mean that if all aspects of apartheid which impinge upon sport were abolished there might remain at least some of the existing patterns of participation. This in itself could confuse assessments of the degree of integration.

PROGRESS IN EACH SPORT

Athletics

South Africa was suspended from taking part in international athletics by the International Amateur Athletics Federation in 1976. Since then there have been moves towards integration, but these developments have been less pronounced at grass roots level. In particular the composition of individual clubs reflects their catchment areas and tends therefore to remain racially homogenous. Three formally racially distinct controlling bodies have combined to form the South African Amateur Athletic Union, but it is not clear whether this is merely an umbrella body. The South African Amateur Athletic Board, a South African Council on Sports (SACOS) affiliate remains separate.

(SACOS is the body which initiated the campaign for non-racial sport and against South Africa's world sporting links over 30 years ago.)

Boxing

Professional boxing seems wholly integrated, including spectator facilities. At amateur level changes are in the pipeline but separate racially constituted control bodies remain under the umbrella of the South African National Amateur Boxing Federation. Boxing is not commonly a school sport.

Cricket

Some non-racial cricket appears to be played at all levels (bar schools) and this seems the direction in which the game is developing. The South African Cricket Union (comprising the formerly separate control bodies for the different racial groups) came into existence in 1977.

S E C R E T

Although there is a separate SACOS affiliated body (South African Cricket Board) which represents a significant minority of non-white cricketers, the difference between the two seems political rather than racial. A significant element within the International Cricket Conference is keen to recognise the progress which has occurred.

Football

Non-racial football is played in South Africa at professional level (although there are two rival Leagues). At amateur level there remain separate governing bodies for "whites" and "non-whites" (plus a third SACOS affiliated organisation) and the game remains segregated. At amateur level change seems to be in the direction of "multi-racialism" rather than "non-racialism".

Rugby

The South African Rugby Board, reconstituted in 1977, is an umbrella body with separate control bodies for the different racial groups. Evidence of progress towards non-racialism seems to be confined largely to the higher levels of the game (eg the selection of a coloured player in the national side). Moreover, towards the grass roots and at school level, change has been in the direction of "multi-racialism" rather than "non-racialism". The South African Rugby Union (a SACOS affiliate) remains independent of the South African Rugby Board.

Tennis

The position does not seem to have changed materially since 1977, when there were three distinct controlling bodies each racially constituted. Two of these have since combined as the Tennis Association of South Africa (TASA) but there has been no progress towards amalgamation with the South African Tennis Union. This body, affiliated to the International Tennis Federation, but suspended from competition pending amalgamation with TASA, claims to be non-racial but is apparently "white". In terms of participation, the position may even have worsened since 1976, at least at top level.

S E C R E T

Conclusion

Some progress towards non-racialism seems to have been made in most of the major sports, with integration being apparently most advanced in the professional sports (football and boxing) while the greatest progress at all levels has occurred in cricket. Otherwise the development of athletics and boxing seems to offer encouragement to the cause of non-racialism in sport, but in rugby and amateur football change has been confined mainly to moves towards multi-racialism. In tennis there seems to have been no progress at all.

Sport may be viewed as a microcosm of South African society. Internally and at administrative level there is some division and dissension which mirror the broader racial and political situation. The SACOS stance is based on the view that there can be "no normal sport in an abnormal society". On the other hand there is the Verkrampptes fear that "sport is the thin edge of the wedge". Neither of these views could assist the Government at some future date in their declared objection of seeking to re-negotiate Gleneagles when sufficient progress has been made towards integration of sport in South Africa.

Most change is recent and seems therefore to be a result of the isolationist policy exemplified by Gleneagles. It is a moot point whether further change would be encouraged by a change or a continuation of the present policy. Certainly, the South African Cricket Union feels it has done all it can and that if international recognition is not soon forthcoming its present administrators may well be changed to those favouring a harder line.

Many of the changes in sport in South Africa are moves towards "multi-racial" rather than "non-racial" sport. This seems to reflect a fundamental conceptual difference between South African and British sporting philosophies.

Whilst many of our supporters in the House and in the country would like to see some relaxation of Gleneagles, in practical terms this seems likely to be very difficult. Events over the past months in New Zealand add to that conclusion.

S E C R E T

A further danger is that African countries wanting "clarification" of Gleneagles will inevitably make our own position harder to hold in that we have tended to ignore minor club sides and individuals going to South Africa. As we all know we can do no more than "discourage" and have no wish to have legal powers to prevent sporting contacts.

7 September 1981

*Telephone*

01-30434

DEPARTMENT OF THE  
ENVIRONMENT  
2 MARSHAM STREET  
SWIP 3EB



*With the Compliments of  
the Private Secretary to  
the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State*



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

My ref: M/PSO/17203/81

Your ref:

*Spelt*

*Am*

*In Memo*

C O N F I D E N T I A L

4 September 1981

C J Burdett Esq  
Private Secretary to  
Michael Roberts Esq MP  
Parliamentary Under Secretary of State  
Welsh Office  
Gwydyr House  
Whitehall  
LONDON SW1

*R*

*2/9*

*See Also*

RUGBY SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA *letter requested*

Thank you for your letter of 18 August following mine to Willie Rickett at No 10.

Our view is that the Welsh Rugby team tour of South Africa next Spring is a much more positive fixture than you tend to think. Whilst there is always some degree of uncertainty about the international sporting calendar, our information is that the Welsh tour was firmed-up when the International Rugby Board met in Cardiff earlier this year. This would make the actual invitation a formality when everything is cut and dried. We further doubt very much that the South African Rugby Board would even consider the possibility of calling off the Welsh tour because of the present difficulties facing the Springbok tour of New Zealand, though they may of course affect the WRU's view.

Having said this, Mr Monro takes the firm view that no action is necessary by the Government with the Welsh Rugby Union until the actual invitation has been publicised (probably early next year). This was the basis of his advice in a letter dated 2 September to Nicholas Ridley at the FCO.

I understand that our officials are in touch.

I am copying as before.

*Yours sincerely  
Derek Fisher*

W I SMITH  
Private Secretary



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

My ref:  
Your ref:

William Rickett Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
Whitehall  
LONDON SW1

31 July 1981

Prime Minister

2

To be aware

wm  
4/8

mb

Dear Willie

Mr Monro and, because of a close involvement of the Royal Naval Sailing Association (RNSA) in its organisation, Mr Peter Blaker have been concerned at the inclusion in the entries for the forthcoming "Whitbread Round the World Yacht Race" of a yacht owned and skippered by a South African. Whilst entirely separate, the race organising committee is staffed by RNSA officials. The anti-apartheid groups are already labelling it as a sporting contact in terms of the Gleneagles Agreement (see the enclosed cutting from the Daily Mail of 27 July). Whilst this level of contact - by an individual not representing his country or any South African club or team - is not one which we would normally seek to discourage with our full vigour, it does fall within the strict letter of the Agreement.

The race starts off Portsmouth on 29 August and its first stage ends at Capetown. It will be in progress at the time of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, and may attract attention in the national and international press. There may be references to "the South African boat". In view of this, both Ministers thought that the Prime Minister should be aware of the situation and of the action which they have taken.

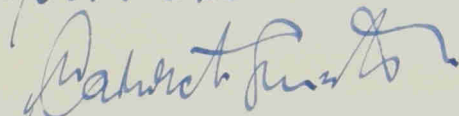
Mr Blaker's office wrote to the Commodore of the RNSA - a serving Vice Admiral and member of the Admiralty Board - drawing his attention to the Gleneagles Agreement. The RNSA is however independent of the Royal Navy. The upshot of this is that, whilst the RNSA will continue to oversee the conduct of the race, the participants will no longer use the Royal Naval shore facilities at HMS Vernon as had been intended. The entries will now berth at the private Camper and Nicholson yard at Portsmouth.

Mr Monro has written to the responsible governing body - the Royal Yachting Association - reminding it of the provisions of the Gleneagles Agreement and asking that the organisers should be discouraged from allowing the South African entry to compete.

The Prime Minister should also be aware that a serving Surgeon Sub-Lieutenant will be crewing in one of the (non-South African) yachts. In accordance with the Civil Service Department guidelines applied at the time of the Moscow Olympics he will be on special leave without pay.

I am copying this to Ken Temple at the Foreign Office and Margaret Aldred at Defence.

*Yours ever.*



W L SMITH  
Private Secretary



Weekend of political turmoil hits sport

# Now round world yacht race is a target

By JOHN PASSMORE  
THE anti-apartheid group which three days ago set out to blacklist the organisers of the wheelchair Olympics, has now turned on the world's toughest yacht race.

The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee is considering trying to blacklist Whitbread, the sponsors of the round-the-world race starting on August 23, because there is a South African competitor.

And there could be much wider repercussions. For one of the

stopping places on the route is Capetown, and last night SANGOC's chairman Sam Ramoah said: "This would mean that all the yachtsmen would be technically competing in South Africa, and we would definitely recommend that they be put on the United Nations blacklist."

If they were, the competing crews would be banned from some 79

countries which support the blacklist, including many of the West Indian Islands which host major sailing events.

The presence of the South African boat, the 65ft Xango III in the 31 entries, has already led the Navy to sever its connections with the race.

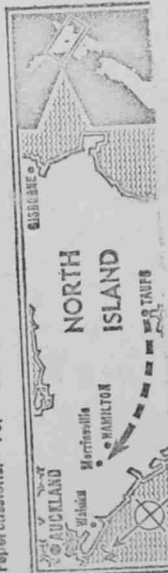
Usually the boats leave from H.M.S. Yarnon in Portsmouth Har-

bour. But six weeks ago the Ministry of Defence said that because Britain had signed the Gleneagles Agreement, designed to stop sporting links with South Africa, such help for the race would be embarrassing.

The boats will now complete their preparations at the Camper and Nicholson boatyard on the other side of the harbour.

Last night a spokesman for Whitbread was adamant that nothing could stop the race and no pressure would be put on South African skipper Peter Kuitiel to withdraw.

He said: "The race is non-political and Whitbread is non-political."





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

My ref:  
Your ref:

William Rickett Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
Whitehall  
LONDON SW1

*ms*

31 July 1981

Prime Minister

2

*Mr Manro is considering with Mr Ridley how best to draw the Gleneagles agreement to the attention of the Rugby Unions, and will report to you in due course.*

*Dear Willie*

RUGBY SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

*WM  
4/8*

The Prime Minister may wish to know that there is every indication that the Welsh Rugby Union will send their national team to South Africa at the end of the forthcoming season ie in May or June 1982.

Apparently this decision, and decisions affecting overseas tours by the International Board countries were taken a few months ago when representatives of all rugby nations met in Cardiff. The South African visit by the Welsh is thus firmly on the international rugby calendar, although it will probably not be announced until early next year when the formal invitation is extended.

Assuming that after the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Melbourne early in October the Gleneagles Agreement remains much as it is at present, this tour of South Africa is likely to cause the Government much embarrassment. The next Commonwealth Games are scheduled to take place in Brisbane in October 1982, and if this proposed tour to South Africa goes ahead it will probably be the last major Commonwealth sporting contact with that country before Brisbane. Much of the criticism currently being heaped upon the New Zealand Government because of the Springboks tour there could thus be deflected in our direction. Taken together with the Springboks tour it could put the Commonwealth Games in jeopardy.

This information will undoubtedly be included in the Prime Minister's defensive briefing on Gleneagles for Melbourne. We are hopeful that the subject will not arise but it is wise for the Prime Minister to be forewarned.

I am copying this to Ken Temple at the FCO and to Chris Burdett at the Welsh Office.

*News ever*

*W L Smith*

W L SMITH  
Private Secretary



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

6 February 1981

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 5 February, with which you enclosed the draft of the letter which Mr. Monro would like to send to the President of the Irish Rugby Football Union.

Provided that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary is content, the Prime Minister would have no objection to his writing as proposed.

I am sending copies of this letter to Richard Prescott (Paymaster General's Office), Roderic Lyne and Colin Munro (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Stephen Pope (Northern Ireland Office).

**M. A. PATTISON**

Geoffrey Needham Esq  
Department of the Environment.

VLS



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

My ref:  
Your ref:

5 February 1981

Mike Pattison Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

Prime Minister

*Yes - as usual. No. I wish Rugby Football Union (which covers Ulster and the Republic) about their proposed tour to South Africa?*  
*Dear Mike,*  
SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA *MAJ 5/2*

As you are aware, the Irish Rugby Football Union has accepted an invitation to send a team to South Africa in May for a 2-month tour. Players and officials from both north and south of the border are likely to be included.

My Minister thought that the Prime Minister would wish to know of his intention to write to the IRFU President asking the Union to reconsider this decision. Since the Government are party to the Commonwealth Statement of 1977 under which we agreed to discourage sports contacts with South Africa, and in the light of previous action taken regarding the tour here in 1979 of the South African Barbarian Rugby Club and the British Lions tour of South Africa last year, my Minister feels that this is the least he can do. A copy of the letter he proposes to write is attached.

Through their Minister for Foreign Affairs and Sports Minister, the Irish Government have already made a number of statements condemning this tour. Indeed, if the tour goes ahead, Irish Ministers have made it clear that the IRFU will receive no grant-in-aid in 1980 and 1981 and that special leave will not be granted to any State employees who may be invited to join the tour party. My Minister has been in touch with the Irish Minister for Sport, but in view of the action already taken by the Irish Government they agree that a joint approach to the IRFU at this stage would not be opportune.

Mr Monro would also like to release early next week a short Press Notice announcing the action he has taken. A draft of this Notice is also attached. This may well result in some criticism from Government backbenchers who are pro-South African, but in the light of the Government's commitment to the Commonwealth Statement which has been supported in the House by the Prime Minister and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, my Minister takes the view that he is obliged to take the action indicated above.



DRAFT LETTER FROM THE MINISTER TO MR R GANLY, PRESIDENT,  
THE IRISH RUGBY FOOTBALL UNION, 62 LANSDOWNE ROAD, DUBLIN 4

I am writing to you to express the concern of Her Majesty's Government at the prospect of the Irish Rugby Football Union sending a touring party to South Africa in May in view of the likely inclusion of players and/or officials from Northern Ireland.

You will know from the copy of my letter of 3 January last year to the Chairman of the Tours Committee about the Lions, if not from our many statements on the matter, that Her Majesty's Government are party to the Commonwealth Statement of 1977 by which we agree to discourage sports contacts with South Africa. We can respect the view, which I believe your Union holds, that the undoubted progress made so far towards non-racialism in sport there ought to be encouraged. But we cannot accept that progress to date has been sufficient for us to consider discussing possible changes in our attitude with our colleagues in the British Commonwealth.

It is against this background that I would ask you to let your meeting on 13 February know of my approach to you and of the request I now make that the Union reconsider its decision to send a team to South Africa. In the event that you press ahead with the tour I would be grateful if you would at least advise every member of the touring party selected from Northern Ireland of the concern of Her Majesty's Government over their participation.

In view of the Irish Government's strong opposition to the proposed tour I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr James Tunney TD my counterpart, as Minister for Sport, in Dublin.

I am also copying this letter to Lord Elton in the Northern Ireland Office in Belfast.

DRAFT PRESS NOTICE

SPORTS CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Hector Monro, Minister for Sport, in a letter to their President, has called upon the Irish Rugby Football Union to reconsider their decision to send a touring party to South Africa in May.

In expressing the Government's concern he has in mind that players and officials from Northern Ireland are likely to be involved and that the Government is a party to the Commonwealth Statement of 1977 which discourages sports contacts with South Africa.

Mr Monro has asked the President of the IRFU to make the Government's views known to his members at their next meeting on 13 February.

NOTE TO EDITORS

Brief comment on the Commonwealth Statement of 1977.



Original  
LGR.



MPS  
CUDOE

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 July 1980

Dear John.

I am sorry it has taken a little time to let you have a reply to your letter of 3 June about South Africa. However, I am grateful to you for taking the trouble to explain your reasons for raising this matter during Questions.

I realise that my reply then will have disappointed you. However, I believe that the Government's policy which rests entirely on the Commonwealth Statement of 1977 is clear to all. We recognise that there has been some progress towards racially integrated sport in South Africa. The Sports Council's recent report on this confirms the extent to which totally integrated sport varies between areas, sports and individual clubs. We do not therefore believe that the time has yet arrived when we could consider seeking to discuss with our Commonwealth colleagues the possibility of modifying the Statement. Hector Monro set out our reaction to the Report in his Answer to you on 24 April.

The Sports Council's report itself was, of course, discussed in the House on 4 June and I do not think there is anything I would wish to add to Hector's comments during the debate. However, since then I understand that the Sports Council itself has had an opportunity to consider the report. It has decided to send copies to the International Olympic Committee and

/other

other international sports bodies and to recommend that they should review their policies towards South Africa. This seems a most sensible decision since it was these bodies which led towards South Africa's sporting isolation. We shall be interested to learn of their reactions in due course, but in the meantime I hope the Government's position is clear.

Yours sincerely  
Raymond

---

J.R. Carlisle, Esq., M.P.



cc FCO  
Sport

vb

*Sp*

## 10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

12 May 1980

*mf*  
Dear *Ordia*

Thank you for your letter of 6 April informing me of the decision taken under the auspices of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to establish in London a full time office for coordination of the campaign to isolate South Africa in the sports world. I have also received a message from the Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, about sporting contacts with South Africa, and will reply to both messages in this letter. I am asking the British Ambassador at Yaounde to send a copy of this letter to Monsieur Lamine Ba.

As Mr. Hector Monro, the Minister of Sport, explained to you in his letter of 3 December 1979 and as Mr. Mervyn Brown, our High Commissioner in Lagos, explained when you called on him on 28 February, the British Government is firmly opposed to the policy of apartheid and fully accepts the Commonwealth's statement on apartheid in sport, the Gleneagles Agreement.

Before the Tours Committee of the Home Rugby Unions accepted the invitation to the British Lions to tour South Africa this summer, Mr. Monro both spoke and wrote to the Chairman of the Committee stressing the Government's support for the Gleneagles Agreement and asking that the invitation to the British Lions should not be accepted. After the Committee's decision to accept the invitation was announced the British Government publicly deplored it. I have made clear in Parliament that Mr. Monro, in his approaches to the Tours Committee, was acting for the Government as a whole and with my full personal support. I can confirm that no Government financial assistance will be made available towards the costs of the tour.

/ Since our democratic

*570*

Since our democratic traditions do not permit us to withdraw passports from British subjects such as sportsmen because of Government disapproval of the functions in which they will participate, there is nothing more that I, or the Government, can do to prevent the Tour. We have taken the same measures to discourage the British Lions Team as those used in our attempt to dissuade British teams from attending the Summer Games in Moscow.

Yours sincerely

MT

Mr. Abraham Ordia, M.B.E.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

9 May 1980

*Dear Michael,*

British Lions Tour to South Africa

I sent you yesterday a draft reply from the Prime Minister to Mr Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

We have also received a message addressed to the Prime Minister from Mr Amadou Lamine Ba, Secretary General of the SCSA (in the enclosed telegram from HM Ambassador at Yaounde). Although Mr Ordia is based in Lagos and M Ba in Yaounde, we do not think that the Prime Minister will wish to send separate replies to the President and Secretary General. We therefore suggest that HM Ambassador at Yaounde should be instructed to send M. Ba a copy of the Prime Minister's reply to Mr Ordia: and that the draft reply which I sent you yesterday should be amended by the addition of the following at the end of the first paragraph:

" "I have also received a message from the Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, about sporting contacts with South Africa, and will reply to both messages in this letter. I am asking the British Ambassador at Yaounde to send a copy of this letter to M. Lamine Ba."

I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Needham in the Department of the Environment.

*yours ever*  
*Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 May 1980

*Dear Michael,*

British Lions Tour to South Africa

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Mr Abraham Ordia MBE which was forwarded to the FCO at Mr Ordia's request by our High Commissioner in Lagos and a draft reply for the Prime Minister's consideration (which might be sent through Mr Brown).

Mr Ordia wrote to Mr Hector Monro about the Lions Tour on 20 October 1979 and Mr Monro replied on 3 December. On 28 February this year Mr Ordia called on the High Commissioner in Lagos, who also took the opportunity of explaining to him that the Government had done all in its power to discourage the Tour.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Needham in the Department of the Environment.

*yours ever*  
*Rodric*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq  
No 10 Downing Street  
London



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 May 1980

28/5

Type for signature

Dear Michael,

British Lions Tour to South Africa

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Mr Abraham Ordia MBE which was forwarded to the FCO at Mr Ordia's request by our High Commissioner in Lagos and a draft reply for the Prime Minister's consideration (which might be sent through Mr Brown).

Mr Ordia wrote to Mr Hector Monro about the Lions Tour on 20 October 1979 and Mr Monro replied on 3 December. On 28 February this year Mr Ordia called on the High Commissioner in Lagos, who also took the opportunity of explaining to him that the Government had done all in its power to discourage the Tour.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Needham in the Department of the Environment.

yours ever  
R M J Lyne

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq  
No 10 Downing Street  
London





decision to accept the invitation was announced the British Government publicly deplored it. I have made clear in Parliament that Mr Monro, in his approaches to the Tours Committee, was acting for the Government as a whole and with my full personal support. I can confirm that no Government financial assistance will be made available towards the costs of the tour.

Since our democratic traditions do not permit us to withdraw passports from British subjects such as sportsmen because of Government disapproval of the functions in which they will participate, there is nothing more that I, or the Government, can do to prevent the Tour. We have taken the same measures to discourage the British Lions Team as those used in our attempt to dissuade British teams from attending the Summer Games in Moscow.

*Am*

GPS 220  
EN CLAIR  
FM YAOUNDE 291330Z  
UNCLASSIFIED  
TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 87 OF 29 APRIL  
REPEATED FOR INFO PRETORIA LUSAKA MOSCOW UKMIS, NY.

*Mn Morris*

*Can you please take any  
action on this & Tel No 88  
Thanks R. Benson WAD  
30/4*

YOUR GUIDANCE TEL NO 4

THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF SPORT IN AFRICA HAVE ASKED ME TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER, DATED 24 APRIL, BUT RECEIVED TODAY (COPIES BY BAG TO JOHNSON, WAD)

BEGINS

QUOTE

AFTER A TOUR TO BRITAIN LAST YEAR OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TEAM THE BARBARIANS, A TOUR WHICH WENT ON INSPITE OF OUR PROTESTS, WE ARE SUPRISED TO LEARN THAT THE BRITISH RUGBY TEAM THE "BRITISH LIONS" ARE INTENDING TO PLAY IN MID MAY IN SOUTH AFRICA STOP CONSEQUENTLY, GREAT BRITAIN HAS COMPLETELY IGNORED THE GLEANAGLES DECLARATION AND HAS DECIDED TO CONTINUE CONTACTS WITH RACIST SOUTH AFRICA STOP TO THIS REGARD WE CONFIRM THAT OUR POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED AND THAT AFRICAN SPORTSMEN UNITED WITHIN THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SPORT IN AFRICA REAFFIRM THEIR POSITION AGAINST ANY COUNTRY WHICH MAINTAINS SPORTING RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA FOR LONG AS THIS COUNTRY WILL CONTINUE TO FRACTISE ITS BANEFUL POLICY OR RACIAL DISCRIMINATION STOP WE ARE APPEALING TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO USE ALL MEANS TO STOP THE "BRITISH LIONS" FROM GOING TO THE STRONGHOLD OF APARTHEID STOP VERY HIGH REGARDS

AMADOU LAMINE BA  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF SCSA

UNQUOTE ENDS

THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED

GLASBY

*FILES  
WAD  
S. AF 2.*



cc: CSD  
FCO  
DOE

JS

*Spnt*

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

15 April 1980

**THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS  
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)  
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT**

*TEMPORARILY  
RETAINED*

*S. Gray*

*18/3/2017*

Dear Mr. Canavan,

Thank you for your letter of 25 March enclosing one from your constituent, Mr. W.M. Oswald about the Government's policy in relation to the participation by British athletes in the Olympic Games to be held in Moscow.

The advice we have given to the British Olympic Association not to accept the invitation of the Moscow Organising Committee to participate in the Summer Olympic Games is one only of a number of ways in which the Government is expressing disapproval of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. It would be inconsistent with this policy to give special facilities or encouragement to civil servants who may wish to attend the Games as contestants, officials, technical advisers or spectators; and those who do nevertheless travel to Moscow will not be allowed paid special leave. On the other hand, they will not be stopped from taking special leave without pay or using some of their annual leave unless there are overriding operational reasons for doing so. A civil servant who decides to go to Moscow with the necessary approval granted will not be subject to any kind of disciplinary action and his career prospects will not be adversely affected. In pursuing this course, the Government is doing no more than acting as an employer in the same way as it is asking other employers to act.

(sgd) Margaret Thatcher

Dennis Canavan, Esq., MP.



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

---

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

President:- Abraham Ordia MBE,  
P.O. Box 642,  
Lagos,  
Nigeria.

6th April, 1980.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister,  
10, Downing Street,  
London, SW.1.

Dear Prime Minister,

Two historical days of meetings have just been concluded in New York. The context of these meetings was the growing international concern over South Africa's expanding sports relations in spite of international and inter - governmental agreements that such relations must cease.

The focus of this concern was, of course, the proposed British Lions Rugby Tour of South Africa this summer. The group met initially under the auspices of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. Representatives of governments, the Organisation of African Unity, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, the South African Council on Sport, the South African Non -Racial Olympic Committee and anti - apartheid groups from Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, France and the United States all expressed their deep commitment to stopping this tour which would represent a significant propagand-a coup for South Africa if it takes place.

As a manifestation of this commitment, the representatives agreed to establish a full -time office for international coordination of the campaign to isolate South Africa in the sports world. London was selected as the location for this office since it was commonly believed that Britain is the Leading sports ally of South Africa.

We respectfully appeal to you to use your good office to directly intervene with the four Home Rugby Unions to cancel this propaganda tour immediately. As a signator of the Gleneagles Agreement, you can do no less than this. .... /2.

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

We thank you for your anticipated Co-operation.

Yours Sincerely,

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



# CENTRE AGAINST APARTHEID

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL  
AND SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

Information Note No. 18/80

31 March 1980

STATEMENT BY ABRAHAM ORDIA, PRESIDENT, SUPREME COUNCIL  
FOR SPORT IN AFRICA

An international centre to co-ordinate the world-wide campaign against apartheid in sport has been established, following hearings on apartheid and sport held by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on 28 March.

The Centre will be based in London and will be directed by a full-time co-ordinator. The most pressing task to be handled by the Centre will be the co-ordination of the growing international pressure against the scheduled Lions Rugby Tour of South Africa in May and June.

The decision to create the Centre was reached in discussions on Saturday by leaders of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, the South African Council on Sport, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, and of anti-apartheid groups from Britain, Ireland, France, New Zealand and the United States who participated in the Special Committee's hearings. Consultations were also held with the Organization of African Unity and representatives of a number of governments. I am greatly encouraged by the commitment of all concerned to develop the Centre to facilitate and speed up the final and total isolation of South Africa in international sport in order to halt the racist regime's use of sport contacts for international propaganda. It comes in response to South Africa's renewed effort to re-enter the sports world.

The Centre will co-ordinate all aspects of the campaign against apartheid in sport. It will maintain close and regular contacts with governments, as well as the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, international and sports bodies, all anti-apartheid movements. The Centre will be advised by the International Commission to End Apartheid Sport, with Mr. Abraham Ordia as chairperson. The selection of the Co-ordinator will be announced at a later date.

I am convinced that the establishment of the Centre represents a major milestone in the history of the international campaign against apartheid in sports.

I trust that it will receive the support of all those opposed to the inhumanity of apartheid.

**SUBJECT**

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T7a/80**

*Spalt*

UNCLASSIFIED

22891 - 2

RR MONROVIA

GRS266

UNCLASSIFIED

*fa. Hunt*

FM FCO 280915Z MARCH 1980

TO ROUTINE MONROVIA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 64 OF 31 MARCH

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT: LIONS TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER  
TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S MESSAGE ABOUT THE LIONS TOUR:  
BEGINS:

DEAR MR PRESIDENT,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE ABOUT THE PROPOSED TOUR OF SOUTH  
AFRICA BY THE BRITISH LIONS RUGBY TEAM.

AS YOU WILL KNOW, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OPPOSE THE POLICY  
OF APARTHEID AND ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE COMMONWEALTH'S  
GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT. WE HAVE SOUGHT BY  
EVERY MEANS OPEN TO US, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR LAWS AND TRADITIONS,  
TO DISCOURAGE BRITISH RUGBY PLAYERS FROM MAKING THIS TOUR OF  
SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, THE RUGBY UNIONS ARE INDEPENDENT OF THE  
GOVERNMENT. MY COLLEAGUES AND I VERY MUCH REGRET THAT THE  
UNIONS HAVE NOT FOLLOWED THE GOVERNMENT'S ADVICE, BUT WE DO NOT  
HAVE THE POWER TO PREVENT RUGBY PLAYERS FROM GOING TO SOUTH  
AFRICA. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL OF COURSE CONTINUE, IN  
CONFORMITY WITH THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT TO OPPOSE SPORTING  
CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL SUCH TIME AS SOUTH AFRICA'S  
POLICY TOWARDS INTEGRATED SPORT CHANGES SUFFICIENTLY TO WARRANT  
MODIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENT BY THE COMMONWEALTH.

JUST AS, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT, THE  
GOVERNMENT ADVISED THE RUGBY UNIONS NOT TO SEND A TEAM TO  
SOUTH AFRICA, WE HAVE ADVISED THE BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION  
NOT TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION TO GO TO MOSCOW. I CAN THEREFORE  
ASSURE YOU THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF OUR APPLYING DOUBLE  
STANDARDS.

1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

22891 - 2

WITH MY BEST WISHES.  
MARGARET THATCHER  
MESSAGE ENDS.

CARRINGTON

DISTRIBUTION:-

FILES

CRD

WAD

SAFD

PS

PS/MR BLAKER

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR DAY

LORD N G LENNOX

COPIES TO:

MR ALEXANDER NO 10 DOWNING ST

MR NEEDHAM D/ENVIRONMENT



FILE

VLB

SPORT

31 March 1980

Message from President Tolbert:  
Lions' Tour of South Africa

The Prime Minister has seen and approved the draft text of a message from her to President Tolbert enclosed with Roderick Lyne's letter to me of 27 March.

~~N J SANDERS~~

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

6



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 March 1980

*Dear Michael,*

Message from the Liberian President:  
Sporting contacts

Under cover of his letter of 24 March, Geoff Needham sent you a draft reply to President Tolbert's recent message about the Lions Tour of South Africa. He suggested that I should let you have the FCO's comments. We think that the message might usefully be shortened. I therefore enclose a revised version, in the form of a draft telegram to Monrovia. I have checked by telephone that Geoff Needham is generally content with this: we have also agreed that the DOE and FCO should liaise more closely in future at official level over the preparation of these drafts.

For ease of reference I enclose a copy of President Tolbert's message.

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

*Yours ever*  
*Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London

*draft with PM*  
*MS*

# OUT TELEGRAM

	↓	Classification and Caveats <b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>	Precedence/Deskby <b>ROUTINE</b>
--	---	---	-------------------------------------

ZCZC	1	ZCZC	1
GRS	2	GRS	
CLASS	3	UNCLASSIFIED	
CAVEATS	4		
DESKBY	5		
FM FCO	6	FM FCO 280915Z MARCH 1980	
PRE/ADD	7	TO ROUTINE MONROVIA	
TEL NO	8	TELEGRAM NUMBER	
	9	MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT: LIONS TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA	
	10	1. Please convey the following reply from the Prime Minister	
	11	to President Tolbert's message about the Lions Tour:	
	12	Begins:	
	13	Dear Mr President,	
	14	Thank you for your message about the proposed tour of South	
	15	Africa by the British Lions Rugby Team.	
	16	As you will know, the British Government oppose the policy	
	17	of Apartheid and are formally committed to the Commonwealth's	
	18	Gleneagles Agreement on Apartheid in Sport. We have sought by	
	19	every means open to us, in the light of our laws and traditions,	
	20	to discourage British Rugby players from making this tour of	
	21	South Africa. However, the Rugby Unions are independent of the	
///	22	Government. My colleagues and I very much regret that the	
//	23	Unions have not followed the Government's advice, but we do not	
/	24	have the power to prevent Rugby players from going to South	
	25	Africa. The British Government will of course continue, in	

*Yes me*

PRIME MINISTER  
Are you contact with  
His draft reply to  
President Tolbert?  
MS  
28/3

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword  /conformity
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution Files CRD PS PS/Mr Blaker PS/Mr Luce Mr Day Lord N Gordon Lennox WAD SAFD cc Mr Alexander, No 10 Mr Needham, Dept of the Environment
Drafted by (Block capitals) R M J Lyne		
Telephone number 233 4641		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats UNCLASSIFIED		Page 2
--	--	--	-----------

<<<<

1 <<<<  
 2 conformity with the Gleneagles Agreement, to oppose sporting  
 3 contacts with South Africa until such time as South Africa's  
 4 policy towards integrated sport changes sufficiently to warrant  
 5 the modification of the agreement by the Commonwealth.  
 6 Just as, in the context of the Gleneagles Agreement, the  
 7 Government advised the Rugby Unions not to send a team to  
 8 South Africa, we have advised the British Olympic Association  
 9 not to accept the invitation to go to Moscow. I can therefore  
 10 assure you that there is no question of our applying double  
 11 standards.  
 12 With my best wishes.  
 13 MARGARET THATCHER  
 14 Message ends.  
 15  
 16 CARRINGTON  
 17 NNNN  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30

/// 31

// 32

/ 33

34

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword
-----------------------	-------	-----------

AGENCY MARGARET THATCHER

MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1 (ENGLAND)

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON DISHEARTENING NEWS REPORTS HAVE REACHED ME REGARDING THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH LION RUGBY TEAM THAT IT WILL TOUR SOUTH AFRICA IN MAY OF THIS YEAR STOP WE IN AFRICA HAVE CONSISTENTLY HELD THE VIEW THAT THE CONTINUOUS MAINTENANCE OF SPORTING LINKS BY SOME COUNTRIES WITH THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME TENDS TO OVERSHADOW AND NEGATE THE EFFORTS BY ALL PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES TO ISOLATE THAT REGIME UNTIL ITS HEINOUS POLICY OF APARTHEID IS COMPLETELY ABOLISHED STOP AT A TIME WHEN CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS ARE WAGING A VICEROUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS CMA WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND WHY THE SAME RULES SHOULD NOT BE APPLIED AGAINST A REGIME WHICH DEFINITELY CONTINUES TO PURSUE POLICES OF SUPPRESSION CMA OPPRESSION AND BLATANT RACISM AS WELL AS FRUSTRATE THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF A STRUGGLING PEOPLE STOP WHILE I AM AWARE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE GLENEAGLES DCLARATION CMA YET I AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPORTUNITY CMA IN MY CAPACITY AS CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU CMA TO SINCERLY IMPLORE YOUR GOVERNMENT TO DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO CANCEL THE PROPOSED RUGBY TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA BY THE BRITISH LIONS STOP SUCH A ACTION IN MY ESTIMATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE ALREADY CORDIAL TIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION SO HAPPILY SUESISTING BETWEEN YOUR GREAT COUNTRY AND THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF AFRICA STOP PLEASE ACCEPT MADAM PRIME MINISTER THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA AND CURENT  
CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU +



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

My ref: MO/PSO/12370/80

Your ref:

Michael Alexander Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

24 March 1980

Reply and

Lg. Hunt - 21/3

Dear Michael

Thank you for your letter of 13 March enclosing a copy of one from the President of Liberia about the proposed Lions' tour of South Africa, and the Moscow Games.

I attach a draft reply which has been approved by my Minister for the Prime Minister to send which follows the line of earlier recommended drafts for correspondence of a similar nature.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Roderic Lyne (FCO), so that he can let you have any comments direct.

Yours sincerely

A large, cursive handwritten signature that reads 'Geoff Needham'.

GEOFF NEEDHAM  
Private Secretary

DRAFT REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO W R TOLBERT JR,  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

Thank you for your recent message about the proposed tour of South Africa by a representative rugby union team from this country. May I say at once how much we in Britain appreciate the friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

I entirely understand your attitude towards apartheid generally and to sporting contacts with South Africa. The British Government are opposed to the policy of apartheid, and, as you recognise, fully accept the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, commonly known as the "Gleneagles Agreement". You will know that I joined with all the other Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka last August in a Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice which mentioned the Statement in its preamble.

We naturally regret the decision by the Home Rugby Unions to go ahead with this tour but they have decided to do so in full knowledge of the Government's position on sports contacts with South Africa. They were informed of the contents of the Commonwealth Statement soon after it was made in 1977, as were all our governing bodies of sport. Moreover, the Minister for Sport wrote to them on 3 January urging them to decide against this tour. The text of his letter was made public, and I have myself confirmed our position in Parliament.

We are taking the same line over the Moscow Olympic Games which you also mention. In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there has been much reaction throughout the world over the question of Moscow's acceptability as the site for the world's most prestigious sporting event. This has been concentrated in a short period and people are looking to the Government to secure the Russians' withdrawal from Afghanistan. That is why we are taking a series of measures, together with other countries, of which our advice to athletes not to attend the Moscow Games is but one.

In both cases, the fact however remains that our governing bodies of sport are rightly autonomous and Ministers just do not have powers to direct them in their day to day affairs. We have sought by all the means open to us, in the light of our laws and tradition, to discourage our rugby players from touring South Africa just as we have our athletes from going to Moscow. We shall, of course, continue in conformity with the "Gleneagles Agreement" to oppose sports contacts with South Africa until such time as South Africa's policy towards integrated sport changes sufficiently to warrant the modification of the Agreement by the Commonwealth.

May I conclude by sending you my personal good wishes and expressing the confidence of the British Government that the relations between our two countries will remain as cordial as they have traditionally been.



Original in C/R.

VLB

Sport

cc DOE (sport)  
FCO

20 March 1980

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 13 March, with which you enclosed a copy of the Sports Council report "Sport in South Africa".

The Prime Minister will certainly read the report with interest, but in the meantime she has suggested that you might like to approach Mr. Monro with a view to discussing its contents. I am sure that he would be willing to meet yourself and Miss Newson for this purpose. If you find this acceptable, then it would clearly be helpful to Mr. Monro if you could give some indication of the issues raised by the report which you feel should concern the Government.

I am sending copies of your letter and this reply to Mr. Monro's Private Secretary for information.

CAROLINE SHEPHENS

Dick Jeeps, Esq., C.B.E.

PH

file

ds  
Sport

17 March 1980

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 11 March, about the Sports Council's fact-finding mission to South Africa, and she has noted the assessment enclosed with it.

M A PATTISON

Geoff Needham, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.

ASO

SUBJECT

RH  
S. P. C.

M. J. O. P.

cc:- DOE  
Pay. Gen. Office  
FCO  
Cab. Office

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
TSS/80  
SERIAL No. 13 March 1980

Dear Mr President

Thank you for your letter of 26 February about the proposed tour to South Africa by the British Lions Rugby Team. May I say at once how much we in Britain appreciate the rapport and good relations between our two countries which you mention.

I entirely understand your attitude towards apartheid generally and to sports contacts with South Africa. The British Government are opposed to the policy of apartheid and fully accept the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, often referred to as the Gleneagles Agreement. You will know that I joined with all the other Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka last August in a Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice which mentioned the Statement in its preamble.

We naturally regret the decision by our Home Rugby Unions to go ahead with the British Lions tour. But they have taken the decision in full knowledge of the Government's position on sports contacts with South Africa. They were informed of the contents of the Commonwealth Statement soon after it was made in 1977, as were all our governing bodies of sport. Moreover, they have been left in no doubt in recent months about our attitudes. The Minister for Sport wrote to them on 3 January urging them to decide against this tour. The text of his letter was made public, and I have myself confirmed our position in Parliament.

/The fact,

58

SUBJECT

RH  
Sport

Mater  
Ops

cc:- DOE  
Pay. Gen. Office  
FCO  
Cab. Office

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T55/80  
13 March 1980

Dear Mr President

Thank you for your letter of 26 February about the proposed tour to South Africa by the British Lions Rugby Team. May I say at once how much we in Britain appreciate the rapport and good relations between our two countries which you mention.

I entirely understand your attitude towards apartheid generally and to sports contacts with South Africa. The British Government are opposed to the policy of apartheid and fully accept the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, often referred to as the Gleneagles Agreement. You will know that I joined with all the other Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka last August in a Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice which mentioned the Statement in its preamble.

We naturally regret the decision by our Home Rugby Unions to go ahead with the British Lions tour. But they have taken the decision in full knowledge of the Government's position on sports contacts with South Africa. They were informed of the contents of the Commonwealth Statement soon after it was made in 1977, as were all our governing bodies of sport. Moreover, they have been left in no doubt in recent months about our attitudes. The Minister for Sport wrote to them on 3 January urging them to decide against this tour. The text of his letter was made public, and I have myself confirmed our position in Parliament.

/The fact,

58

The fact, however, remains that our governing bodies of sport are rightly autonomous and Ministers do not have the power to direct them in their day-to-day affairs. We have sought by all the means open to us, in the light of our laws and traditions, to discourage the tour. We shall continue, in conformity with the "Gleneagles Agreement", to oppose sports contacts with South Africa until such time as South Africa's policy towards integrated sport changes sufficiently to warrant the modification of the Agreement by the Commonwealth.

May I conclude by sending you my personal good wishes and expressing the confidence of the British Government that the relations between our two countries will remain as cordial as they have traditionally been.

signed

MT

His Excellency Monsieur Leopold Sedar Senghor GCMG



81F 213-80

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

13 March 1980

British Lions' Rugby Tour

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Tolbert of Liberia about the British Lions' rugby tour to South Africa.

I should be grateful for the text of a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send to President Tolbert. It would be helpful if this could reach me by close of play on Friday 21 March.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Roderic Lyne (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) with whom you will, no doubt, wish to agree your draft.

M. O'D. L. ALEXANDER

Geoffrey Needham, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment.

JWR



POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS INTERNATIONAL  
To send Telegrams—CONSULT TELEPHONE DIRECTORY OR TELEX DIALLING CARD

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS INTERNATIONAL  
To send Telegrams—CONSULT TELEPHONE DIRECTORY OR TELEX DIALLING CARD

CLF691 LEM103 FLB6920 ROC263 1BT0012 MO1827 311 600

LFS0498

XX CO LIMV 278  
MONROVIA 278 11 1438GMT

*Madr  
Ops*

*SUBJECT*

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. TS2 A/80

HER EXCELLENCY MARGARET THATCHER  
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1 (ENGLAND)

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON DISHEARTENING NEWS REPORTS HAVE REACHED ME REGARDING THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH LION RUGBY TEAM THAT IT WILL TOUR SOUTH AFRICA IN MAY OF THIS YEAR STOP WE IN AFRICA HAVE CONSISTENTLY HELD THE VIEW THAT THE CONTINUOUS MAINTENANCE OF SPORTING LINKS BY SOME COUNTRIES WITH THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME TENDS TO OVERSHADOW AND NEGATE THE EFFORTS BY ALL PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES TO ISOLATE THAT REGIME UNTIL ITS HEINEOUS POLICY OF APARTHEID IS COMPLETELY ABOLISHED STOP AT A TIME WHEN CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS ARE WAGING A VICOROUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS CMA WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND WHY THE SAME RULES SHOULD NOT BE APPLIED AGAINST A REGIME WHICH DEFINITLY CONTINUES TO PURSUE POLICES OF SUPPRESION CMA OPPRESSION AND BLATANT RACISM AS WELL AS FRUSTRATE THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF A STRUGGLING PEOPLE STOP WHILE I AM AWARE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE GLENEAGLES DCLARATION CMA YET I AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPORTUNITY CMA IN MY CAPACITY AS CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU CMA TO SINCERLY IMPLORE YOUR GOVERNMENT TO DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO CANCEL THE PROPOSED RUGBY TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA BY THE BRITISH LIONS STOP SUCH A ACTION IN MY ESTIMATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE ALREADY CORDIAL TIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION SO HAPPILY SUBSISTING BETWEEN YOUR GREAT COUNTRY AND THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF AFRICA STOP PLEASE ACCEPT MADAM PRIME MINISTER THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUELIC OF LIBERIA AND CURENT  
CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU +



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

*Phs* 11 March 1980

- 1 *M. Alexander*
- 2 *PRIME MINISTER.*

*ms*

*Mr Munro's reaction to the  
Sports Council report on  
Sport in South Africa.*

*MAP 13/3*

*Dear Mike,*

The Prime Minister will know that the Sports Council sent a fact-finding mission to South Africa in January to examine the extent of progress towards racially integrated sport there. The Report of the mission has now been published and my Minister thought that the Prime Minister would appreciate the attached assessment he has had prepared.

The Report was debated yesterday by the Sports Council, when it was agreed that no action should be taken other than to circulate copies of the Report to the governing bodies of sport, Government Ministers and some MPs. Doubtless one will arrive for the Prime Minister, receipt of which I would suggest need be no more than just acknowledged.

I am sending a copy of this letter and the attachment to George Walden (FCO), Colin Munroe (FCO), John Chilcot (Home Office) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely*

*Geoff Needham*

GEOFF NEEDHAM  
Private Secretary



NOTE ON THE SPORTS COUNCIL REPORT "SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA"

In the wake of the Rugby Unions' decision to invite the South African Barbarians Rugby Club to tour here last Autumn, the Sports Council decided at its meeting on 1 October 1979 to send a fact finding mission to South Africa. The aim was to examine the extent of progress to racially integrated sport. The mission was led by Dick Jeeps, Chairman of the Sports Council, and it spent nearly three weeks in South Africa during January. Ministers have not been consulted at any stage.

The report was published on 28 February. It is a record of the activities of the mission and neither draws conclusions nor makes any recommendation. The mission spent much of its time talking to representatives of sporting organisations and of the Government and the report simply records those discussions. The report confirms the Government's own assessment of the situation, ie. that some progress has certainly been made towards integration, but that the extent varies from sport to sport, and overall is constrained by the wider operation of apartheid. Rugby remains one of the less well integrated sports.

The Government's position on sporting contacts with South Africa rests on the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport of 1977. Ministers have indicated that they would seek changes in this as and when circumstances were right. This report does not materially affect that position.



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

My ref: MO/PSO/12040/80

Your ref:

11 March 1980

Michael Alexander Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

CR  
=  
Draft to type for signature

Dear Michael,

LIONS' RUGBY TOUR

Thank you for your letter of 3 March enclosing a copy of a letter received by the Prime Minister from the President of Senegal about the forthcoming rugby tour of South Africa by the British Lions.

I attach a draft reply for the Prime Minister. It has been cleared with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office at official level and, to save time, I am copying this letter to Roderic Lyne so that he may comment direct to you if he wishes.

Yours sincerely

Geoff Needham

GEOFF NEEDHAM  
Private Secretary

DRAFT REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF SENEGAL

Thank you for your letter of 26 February about the proposed tour to South Africa by the British Lions Rugby Team. May I say at once how much we in Britain appreciate the rapport and good relations between our two countries which you mention.

I entirely understand your attitude towards apartheid generally and to sports contacts with South Africa. The British Government are opposed to the policy of apartheid and fully accept the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, often referred to as the Gleneagles Agreement. You will know that I joined with all the other Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka last August in a Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice which mentioned the Statement in its preamble.

We naturally regret the decision by our Home Rugby Unions to go ahead with the British Lions tour. <sup>the decision</sup> But they have taken ~~it~~ in full knowledge of the Government's position on sports contacts with South Africa. They were informed of the contents of the Commonwealth Statement soon after it was made in 1977, as were all our governing bodies of sport. Moreover, <sup>this</sup> <sup>has</sup> <sup>been</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>last</sup> <sup>month</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>1977</sup> ~~the events of recent months~~ will have left them in no doubt <sup>of</sup> <sup>our</sup> <sup>attitude</sup> ~~in particular~~ The Minister for Sport wrote to them on 3 January urging them to decide against this tour. The text of his letter was made public, and I have myself confirmed our position in Parliament.

The fact, however, remains that our governing bodies of sport are rightly autonomous and Ministers ~~just~~ do not have the power to direct them in their day-to-day affairs. We have sought by all the means open to us, in the light of our laws and traditions, to discourage the tour. ~~AND I can assure you that we shall continue,~~ to oppose sports contacts with South Africa in conformity with the "Gleneagles Agreement", until such time as South Africa's policy towards integrated sport changes sufficiently to warrant ~~its~~ <sup>the</sup> modification <sup>of the Agreement</sup> by the Commonwealth.

May I conclude by sending you my personal good wishes and <sup>expressing</sup> the confidence of the British Government that the relations between our two countries will remain as cordial as they have traditionally been.

*Ant*

BA 11/3/80

3 March 1980

Lions' Rugby Tour

I enclose a copy of a letter received by the Prime Minister from the President of Senegal about the forthcoming rugby tour of South Africa. I should be grateful if you could let me have the text of a reply which the Prime Minister might send to President Senghor. It would be helpful if your draft could reach me by Tuesday 11 March.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Roderic Lyne (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) with whom you will no doubt wish to agree your draft.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Geoffrey Needham, Esq.,  
Department of the Environment

KRB

PART 1 ends:-

Enw to MAP 28. 2. 80

PART 2 begins:-

MODBA to Enw 3. 3. 80