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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

(2) London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

We have had no request from the New Zealanders for a meeting but I am sure Mr Muldoon will seize an opportunity to raise the issue with you.

27 July 1981

Dear Michael,

Print, 27/7

New Zealand Prime Minister

During the course of his visit to London this week for the Royal Wedding, Mr Muldoon may tackle British Ministers on the question of the Springbok Tour of New Zealand and the change of venue of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting. I attach a brief which has been prepared against this possibility.

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While pointing out that the United Kingdom has consistently supported New Zealand in the matter of the Finance Ministers' Meeting, and sympathising privately with Mr Muldoon's predicament, we would obviously wish to avoid the damage to the Commonwealth likely to ensue if Mr Muldoon makes an issue of human rights at Melbourne.

yours ever
Robert Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing St

Sir L Allinson

PS/Mr Luce

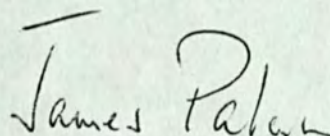
cc: Private Office
 PS/Mr Ridley
 PS/PUS
 Sir E Youde
 Mr Day
 Lord Gordon-Lennox
 Mr Donald
 Mr Barder, SAfD
 Mr Macrae, CRD
 Mr Carruthers, SPD
 Planning Staff

MR MULDOON : SPORTING CONTACTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1. I submit a brief for the Prime Minister to use in meetings she is likely to have with Mr Muldoon over the period of the Royal Wedding.
2. The New Zealand Government have so far asked for no official call by Mr Muldoon on the Prime Minister. She will, however, meet him at various social functions, the first probably being Mr Ramphal's reception (if both attend) on the evening of Monday, 27 July, where there is a possibility that Mr Ramphal may try to get Mr Fraser, Mr Muldoon and Mrs Thatcher together to try to calm Mr Muldoon down.
3. In view of recent events over the change of venue of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting from Auckland to Nassau, and statements made both by Mr Muldoon and Mr Ramphal, and British support for the New Zealand position in the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa, Mr Muldoon will almost inevitably wish to speak, and indeed complain, to Mrs Thatcher of what he regards as unfair treatment at the hands of the Commonwealth.
4. At a meeting on 24 July between Professor Harries (Mr Fraser's Adviser on International Affairs) accompanied by Mr Holditch, (Head of Mr Fraser's International Affairs Division) who are in London in advance of Mr Fraser's own arrival, and Lord N Gordon-Lennox, the Australians said they feared that unless dissuaded at the highest level, Mr Muldoon was likely to proceed with his threat to attack the human rights records of various Commonwealth

- 2 -

countries (who 'sat in judgment on New Zealand' over the sporting contacts issue) at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne. The Australians (and we) feel this would be very damaging for the meeting. The Australians maintained that any intervention by Mr Fraser with Mr Muldoon would be counter-productive - in view of the present state of relations between the two men - and asked us whether Mrs Thatcher could try to dissuade Mr Muldoon from his human rights ploy. Lord N Gordon-Lennox said no more than that he would report this request to Ministers. At the same time it was made clear to the Australians that whilst we might try to dissuade Mr Muldoon in the human rights context, we were in no position - nor disposed - to chide him on his interpretation of the Gleneagles Agreement, since it tallied with our own, and, as we had stated publicly, we believed he had fulfilled his obligations under it in respect of the Springbok tour.



25 July 1981

J R Paterson
Commonwealth Coordination
Department

BRIEF FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING(S) WITH MR MULDOON OVER
THE ROYAL WEDDING PERIOD

MR MULDOON : SPORTING CONTACTS : HUMAN RIGHTS AND MELBOURNE

POINTS TO MAKE

COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS MEETING (22/23 SEPTEMBER)

1. Regret venue changed to Nassau. Did our best at Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa meetings (a) to prevent this; and, (b) to postpone decision until your arrival in London. In the end we reluctantly acknowledged consensus but stated publicly that we considered New Zealand Government had fulfilled obligations under Gleneagles Agreement.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING (CHGM) MELBOURNE :
29 SEPTEMBER - 7 OCTOBER

2. Had hoped sporting contacts issue could be reserved for weekend discussions between Heads of Government. Will continue to strive for this but seems likely that some countries will want a more formal debate.

3. Our interpretation of Gleneagles Agreement very similar to yours. We will not be willing to see any strengthening of the Agreement at Melbourne.

4. Have read your statement issued at CSAC on 21 July. Sympathetic with your feelings but consider a raking-over of Commonwealth countries' human rights practices would do nothing to help the sporting contacts/Gleneagles debate; rather would it lead to such an acrimonious debate that it would sour whole meeting and Commonwealth atmosphere thereafter. Hope you will - in the interests of Commonwealth harmony - reconsider this line of action.

ESSENTIAL FACTSCOMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS MEETING (CFMM): 22/23 SEPTEMBER

1. At meetings of the Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee at Marlborough House on 10 and 21 July the overwhelming majority of Commonwealth representatives expressed the view that, because of what they saw as the New Zealand Government's failure to fulfil its obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement, and the fact that the CFMM was to take place within days of the end of the Springbok tour of New Zealand, the venue of the CFMM should be moved from Auckland. The Bahamas volunteered Nassau and this was accepted.

2. The UK representative made clear at both meetings that we considered that the New Zealand Government had fulfilled its obligations at Gleneagles, and that we saw no justification for the change in venue. At the second meeting, however, where the UK representative was the only one to support unequivocally a New Zealand request that a decision on the change of venue should await Mr Muldoon's arrival in London, ~~we reluctantly, and~~ in the interests of Commonwealth harmony, ^{we} acknowledged the consensus (of all representatives except New Zealand) that the tour venue should be changed.

3. In taking the decision to acknowledge the consensus, Ministers were conscious both of the Commonwealth tradition of decision by consensus, and of the undesirability of a major Commonwealth meeting taking place without a British representative present - which would have been the consequence of our holding out to the bitter end against a change of venue.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING : MELBOURNE :
29 SEPTEMBER - 7 OCTOBER

4. At the second meeting of the CCSA the New Zealand representative read out a statement by Mr Muldoon (Annex A) in which he warned he would come to Melbourne 'well prepared to discuss' which country of the Commonwealth fulfilled its responsibilities enshrined in the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles of 1971 (Annex B) in the matter of human rights.

5. Mr Ramphal also issued a statement (Annex C) in which he argued that the New Zealand Government had been derelict in its responsibilities under the Gleneagles Agreement (Annex D). The British representative expressed disagreement with this argument.

6. If Mr Muldoon makes good his threat of exposing those countries whom he considers do not observe the 1971 Declaration of Principles, this will escalate the affair into a Commonwealth row of major proportions, which is likely to extend well beyond the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Melbourne, and might well create such bitterness as to lead to requests for expulsion from, or resignations from, the Commonwealth.

7. The Australians have also requested that we do what we can to stop Mr Muldoon from playing his human rights card at Melbourne. In talks with Lord N Gordon-Lennox on 23 July Professor Harries (Mr Fraser's Adviser on International Affairs) and Mr Holditch (Head of Mr Fraser's International Affairs Division) said that any attempt by Mr Fraser to sway Mr Muldoon would be counter-productive at this stage (Australia has sided firmly with the countries of the Commonwealth opposed to the Springbok tour of New Zealand and forbade transit visas to the tourists); they hoped that some pressure might be put on Mr Muldoon at the Pacific Forum Meeting on 8 August, but thought that he would really only be deflected by an approach from Mrs Thatcher.

STATEMENT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND,
RF HON. R.D. MULDOON, C.H., M.P.

"The South African Springbok Rugby Tour of New Zealand and the United States has now commenced. The tour will consist of sixteen matches in New Zealand, followed by three in the United States. Both the New Zealand and the United States Governments have issued visas to the rugby players and management of the team in accordance with their normal customs.

New Zealand has no policy which would have permitted visas to be withheld, even though the Government and all other parties in the New Zealand Parliament had passed a resolution opposing the tour and communicated their views to the New Zealand Rugby Union.

The Government of the United States has issued a statement indicating that visas were issued under current Government policy.

The Commonwealth Secretary-General will confirm that in Gleneagles in 1977 I made it clear that New Zealand Government policy did not permit the withholding of passports or visas from sportsmen and that, as in the United Kingdom, the final decision on sporting contacts would continue to be made by sportsmen and sports bodies and that the original draft of the Gleneagles Agreement was amended to accommodate this point of view.

New Zealand is not in breach of its obligations under the Gleneagles Agreement and any move to penalise my country by changing the venue of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting will be regarded as entirely inappropriate and a direct insult to New Zealand by those nations.

I quote to you from the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles agreed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Singapore in January 1971:

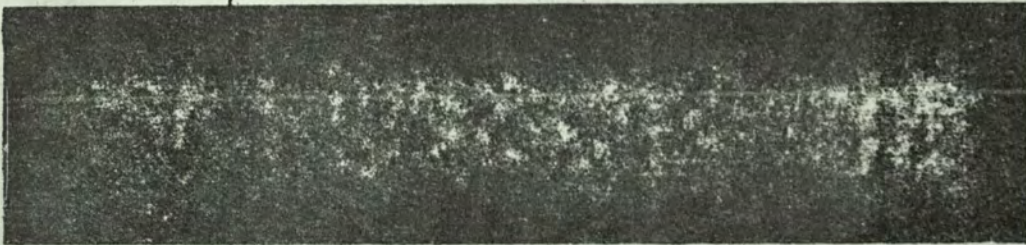
'We believe in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live. We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage.'

New Zealand implements that clause in the letter and in the spirit. I ask each of you if you can honestly and sincerely say the same about your country. If you cannot, then you are not qualified to sit in judgment on my country. This is the issue which I propose to take up at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne and place my country's record alongside that of each of the other Member States of the Commonwealth.

I assure you that I shall come to Melbourne well prepared to discuss this matter in the frank and open fashion which is characteristic of Commonwealth discussions."

**COMMONWEALTH
DECLARATION**

SINGAPORE JANUARY 1971



**COMMONWEALTH
HEADS' OF GOVERNMENT
MEETING**

COMMONWEALTH DECLARATION

COMMONWEALTH HEADS' OF GOVERNMENT
MEETING
SINGAPORE JANUARY 1971

COMMONWEALTH DECLARATION

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS is a voluntary association of independent sovereign states, each responsible for its own policies, consulting and co-operating in the common interests of their peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace.

Members of the Commonwealth come from territories in the six continents and five oceans, include peoples of different races, languages and religions, and display every stage of economic development from poor developing nations to wealthy industrialised nations. They encompass a rich variety of cultures, traditions and institutions. Membership of the Commonwealth is compatible with the freedom of member governments to be non-aligned or to belong to any other grouping, association or alliance.

Within this diversity all members of the Commonwealth hold certain principles in common. It is by pursuing these principles that the Commonwealth can continue to influence international society for the benefit of mankind.

WE BELIEVE that international peace and order are essential to the security and prosperity of mankind; we therefore support the United Nations and seek to strengthen its influence for peace in the world, and its efforts to remove the causes of tension between nations.

WE BELIEVE in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live. We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage.

WE RECOGNISE racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race and racial discrimination as an unmitigated evil of society. Each of us will vigorously combat this evil within our own nation. No country will afford to regimes which practise racial discrimination assistance which in its own judgment directly contributes to the pursuit or consolidation of this evil policy.

We oppose all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and are committed to the principles of human dignity and equality. We will therefore use all our efforts to foster human equality and dignity everywhere and to further the principles of self-determination and non-racialism.

WE BELIEVE that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated; they also create world tensions; our aim is their progressive removal; we therefore seek to use our efforts to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, in raising standards of life and achieving a more equitable international society. To this end our aim is to achieve the freest possible flow of international trade on terms fair and equitable to all, taking into account the special requirements of the developing countries, and to encourage the flow of adequate resources, including governmental and private resources, to the developing countries, bearing in mind the importance of doing this in a true spirit of partnership and of establishing for this purpose in the developing countries conditions which are conducive to sustained investment and growth.

WE BELIEVE that international co-operation is essential to remove the causes of war, promote tolerance, combat injustice and secure development amongst the peoples of the world; we are convinced that the Commonwealth is one of the most fruitful associations for these purposes.

In pursuing these principles the members of the Commonwealth believe that they can provide a constructive example of the multi-national approach which is vital to peace and progress in the modern world. The association is based on consultation, discussion and co-operation. In rejecting coercion as an instrument of policy they recognise that the security of each member state from external aggression is a matter of concern to all members. It provides many channels for continuing exchanges of knowledge and views on professional, cultural, economic, legal and political issues among member states. These relationships we intend to foster and extend for we believe that our multi-national association can expand human understanding and understanding among nations, assist in the elimination of discrimination based on differences of race, colour or creed, maintain and strengthen personal liberty, contribute to the enrichment of life for all, and provide a powerful influence for peace among nations.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, MR SHRIDATH RAMPHAL AT
THE MEETING OF THE COMMONWEALTH COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
LONDON - 21 JULY 1981

The Springbok tour of New Zealand represents the most significant sporting contact between any Commonwealth country and South Africa since the Gleneagles Agreement was concluded in 1977. The Commonwealth has confirmed that it is an unacceptable departure from the goals of Gleneagles. What Gleneagles called for was vigorous discouragement of such sporting contacts through all practicable means. Governments who chose as a matter of policy not to exercise the right of withholding visas to South African sporting teams (as distinct from preventing their own sportsmen from travelling) do not thereby absolve themselves of Gleneagles obligations - they make it even more necessary to find other means of discharging their obligations. Otherwise it would be simple enough for any Government to recite itself out of the Agreement's commitments. This was not and is not the intent of Gleneagles.

It was because all this was fully understood that Commonwealth leaders "specially welcomed the belief unanimously expressed at their meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord there were unlikely to be sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries and their nationals and South Africa." The Prime Minister of New Zealand gave this expectation more specific content when at his Press Conference after Gleneagles he said "I'm well convinced that there will be no rugby test between New Zealand and South Africa while South Africa is selecting its rugby teams on other than a fully integrated basis." There were no exceptions or reservations at Gleneagles which diminish the obligations of Governments.

Gleneagles is about apartheid. It expressed the Commonwealth's explicit rejection of the system and its

determination to contribute to its eradication by efforts to combat it - "vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid" - through the international campaign against it. Since 1977, the Gleneagles Agreement has made a great contribution to making that campaign effective. Where it has fallen short of its goals the reasons have been mainly in lack of co-operation by individual sportsmen and sporting organisations. Sometimes it has been due to a lack of vigorous effort on the part of Governments. Always it has been assisted by South African Government policy to breach the campaign of isolation.

New Zealand is not the only country to have been at fault; indeed, the Springbok tour apart, the New Zealand record on the whole has been good. But this South African tour is altogether a great victory for South Africa. It permits the South African national team in South Africa's national sport for the first time in years to play abroad officially. That is why the Commonwealth has called so persistently for the tour to be cancelled and expressed such acute disappointment that it has begun.

This needs to be remembered when it is suggested that the Commonwealth is somehow 'picking on' New Zealand. This is not true; the Commonwealth has done everything possible to avoid an occasion of conflict with New Zealand, both collectively and through the efforts of individual countries. Even at the eleventh hour it withheld a decision on the Finance Ministers Meeting in the hope, however tenuous, that the tour might be cancelled.

But the Commonwealth has also to protect itself. It cannot make only a ritual bow in the direction of Gleneagles without compromising its own commitments. Commonwealth Ministers cannot see themselves assembling in Auckland as the Springboks depart. They too have rights; they have chosen to exercise them in conformity with the principles and objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement.

Commonwealth Governments have made it clear that their decision to change the venue of the Finance Ministers Meeting was reached with sadness, but as a necessary consequence of a defiance of national, regional, Commonwealth and international entreaties not to lend to apartheid the appearance of respectability and support which the tour gives it. They stressed that their decision to change the venue of the meeting was necessary to uphold their own commitment to the objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement and the international campaign against apartheid. It is not a commentary on human rights in New Zealand but on the need for respect of the human rights of the black people of South Africa. The discussion should not be diverted from that need.

In reaching their decision, Commonwealth Governments have helped to undo the damage of the Springbok tour. They make the Commonwealth stronger not weaker - more principled not less - and, not least important, stand by the people of New Zealand who in such large numbers have taken their stand against apartheid, in support of Gleneagles and in rejection of the Springbok tour. The Commonwealth has made its point. The international campaign against apartheid will be the stronger for it.

Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
London SW1

21 July 1981

COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT

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

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

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

Mindful of these and other considerations, they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting 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.

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

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

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

London, June 15 1977.