

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

**LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE SEPARATION OF THE CHAGOS
ARCHIPELAGO FROM MAURITIUS IN 1965**

(REQUEST FOR ADVISORY OPINION)

Written Submission of
The Republic of Djibouti

1 March 2018

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Annex 1

Note for the Prime Minister's Meeting with Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Premier of Mauritius,
22 September 1965, PREM 13/3320

PRIME MINISTER

*This is a poor brief, as the 4 of 13 has
extended, either by cutting off or adding on
cards.*

hr

Mauritius

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam is coming to see you at 10.00 tomorrow morning. The object is to frighten him with hope: hope that he might get independence; Fright lest he might not unless he is sensible about the detachment of the Chagos Archipelago. I attach a brief prepared by the Colonial Office, with which the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Office are on the whole content. The key sentence in the brief is the last sentence of it on page three.

I also attach a minute from the Colonial Secretary, which he has not circulated to his colleagues, but a copy of which I have sent to Sir Burke Trend. In it, the Colonial Secretary rehearses arguments with which you are familiar but which have not been generally accepted by Ministers.

September 22, 1965

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PRIME MINISTER AW

I am glad you are seeing Ramgoolam because the Conference is a difficult one and I am anxious that the bases issue should not make it even harder to get a Constitutional settlement than it is already. I hope that we shall be as generous as possible and I am sure that we should not seem to be trading Independence for detachment of the Islands. That would put us in a bad light at home and abroad and would sour our relations with the new state. And it would not accord well with the line you and I have taken about the Aden base (which has been well received even in the Committee of 24). Agreement is therefore desirable and agreement would be easier if Ramgoolam could be assured that:

- (a) We would retrocede the Islands if the need for them vanished, and
- (b) We were prepared to give not merely financial compensation (I would think £5,000,000 would be reasonable but so far the D.O.F. have only approved £3,000,000) but a defence agreement and an undertaking to consult together if a serious internal security situation arose in Mauritius.

The ideal would be for us to be able to announce that the Mauritius Government had agreed that the Islands should be made available to the U.K. government to enable them to fulfil their defence commitments in the area.

A.G.

Lancaster House

22nd September, 1965

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Copy sent to
Sir B. Tread 22A.

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NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING
WITH SIR SEEWOSAGUR RAMGOOLAM, PREMIER OF MAURITIUS

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam (call him 'Sir Seewoosagur' - pronounced as spelt with accents on the first and third syllables; or 'Premier' his official title. He likes being called 'Prime Minister').

Born Mauritius 1900. Hindu. Locally educated, studied medicine at University College Hospital, London. L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S. Leader of the Mauritius Labour Party, the largest Mauritius political party, which polled 42% of the electorate at the 1963 General Election. In politics since 1940. Knight Bachelor, June 1965, dubbed last Saturday, September 18th, his 65th birthday.

Getting old. Realises he must get independence soon or it will be too late for his personal career. Rather status-conscious. Responds to flattery.

The Defence Facilities Proposals

The proposal is that the whole of the Chagos Archipelago (population about 1000), shall be detached from Mauritius; and three islands from Seychelles. In developing defence facilities, the British would be responsible for providing the sites, including compensation, removal and resettlement of population, etc., and the Americans for construction, with joint British-American user of the facilities. Neither the American nor the British defence authorities can accept leasehold. At present no more than an airfield and communications installations will be constructed.

Cost

On the British side, the total cost might be up to £10m., of which Mauritius and Seychelles would each receive about £3m. compensation for detachment, while costs of compensation to land-owners, resettlement of displaced population and other contingencies might amount to £3-4m. The U.S. Government has secretly agreed to contribute half these costs indirectly, by writing off equivalent British payments towards Polaris development costs.7

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The Mauritius reaction

The proposals have been discussed, first in Mauritius by the Governor with the Council of Ministers, and more recently in London by the Secretary of State with the four main Mauritius party leaders and a leading Independent Minister. Their reaction has been that, while in principle they are anxious to co-operate in western defence, they cannot contemplate detachment but propose a long lease, and that they would require concessions from the Americans as regards U.S. purchases of Mauritius sugar and Mauritius purchases of U.S.

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U.S. rice and wheat on favourable terms, and also as regards emigration to the U.S. The unsurmountable difficulties of securing these concessions from the Americans, especially as regards sugar (which the Mauritians regard as the most important) have been explained to Mauritius Ministers at length and they have heard the arguments direct from the Economic Minister at the U.S. Embassy. When offered lump-sum compensation for detachment of the order of £2m., they brushed it aside as a drop in the ocean of Mauritius requirements, returned to their proposals for trade and immigration concessions from the U.S., and suggested as an alternative that they should receive what the Mauritians calculate is the money value of these concessions, viz. up to £7m. per annum for twenty years and £2m. per annum thereafter. (They appear to think that we ought to persuade the Americans to pay this. The Premier at one stage said he was not trying to "sting" Britain for this).

There is thus deadlock as to compensation for detachment. In discussion however, Mauritius Ministers have made it clear that, since the Americans are involved, their desire is for trade concessions from the Americans, and that, if it were simply a matter of helping Britain, they might consider providing the sites as a gesture of co-operation - though whether with or without the £2m. compensation is not clear. The discussions have also shown that agreement that the islands should revert to Mauritius when no longer required for defence facilities might help.

In the course of discussion, the Secretary of State hinted that, if Mauritius Ministers persisted in their demands, it might be necessary for H.M.G. either to call the whole thing off or to consider whether the facilities could be provided entirely on Seychelles islands. On their side, Mauritius Ministers are well aware that H.M.G. wishes to continue to enjoy the use of H.M.S. Mauritius, a £5m. communications station, and Plaisance air-field, both in the island of Mauritius itself and both of strategic importance.

The Mauritius Constitutional Conference

The gap between the parties led by Sir S. Ramgoolam wanting independence, and the Parti Mauricien and its supporters who seek continuing association with Britain, will not be closed by negotiation. H.M.G. will have to impose a solution. The remaining conference sessions will be devoted to bringing the position of all parties on details of the constitution as close together as possible and, in particular to securing the agreement of all parties to the maximum possible safeguards for minorities. The Secretary of State's mind is moving towards a decision in favour of independence,

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followed by a General Election under the new Constitution before Independence Day, as the right solution, rather than a Referendum to choose between independence and free association, as the Parti Mauricien have demanded.

Sir S. Ramgoolam's present position

The Premier heads an All-Party Government - hence the negotiations on defence facilities with the leaders of all parties. It is thus difficult for him to come to any final agreement on the defence facilities without consulting his colleagues. The Premier should not leave the interview with certainty as to H.M.G.'s decision as regards independence, as during the remaining sessions of the Conference it may be necessary to press him to the limit to accept maximum safeguards for minorities.

Handling the interview

The Prime Minister might say that he has heard of the progress of the Conference and knows that the Secretary of State is impressed by the difficulties of the proposals for a referendum and free association, and the strength of the case for independence. If the ultimate decision is in favour of independence, the Premier will understand the necessity to include in the Independence Constitution maximum safeguards for minorities, especially as regards the electoral system, so as to remove as far as possible their legitimate fears. With the Conference approaching its end it would be regrettable if difficulties should arise over the defence facilities question. The Premier has asked for independence but at the same time has said that he would like to have a defence treaty, and possibly to be able to call on us for assistance in certain circumstances towards maintaining internal security. If the Premier wants us to help him in this way, he must help us over the defence facilities, because these are in the long term interests both of Britain and Mauritius. He must play his part as a Commonwealth statesman in helping to provide them.

Throughout consideration of this problem, all Departments have accepted the importance of securing consent of the Mauritius Government to detachment. The Premier knows the importance we attach to this. In the last resort, however, detachment could be carried out without Mauritius consent, and this possibility has been left open in recent discussions in Defence and Overseas Policy Committee. The Prime Minister may therefore wish to make some oblique reference to the fact that H.M.G. have the legal right to detach Chagos by Order in Council, without Mauritius consent, but this would be a grave step.

Colonial Office, September 22nd 1965.

Annex 2

Record of a Conversation Between the Prime Minister and Premier of Mauritius, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, at No. 10, Downing Street, at 10 A.M. on Thursday, September 23, 1965, FO 371/184528

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RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE
PREMIER OF MAURITIUS, SIR SEEWOSAGUR RAMGOOLAM, AT NO. 10,
DOWNING STREET, AT 10 A.M. ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1965

Present:-

The Prime Minister The Premier of Mauritius,
Mr. J.O. Wright Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam

After welcoming the Prime Minister of Mauritius, the Prime Minister said how glad he was to see him in London: the Queen had told him at his audience the previous Sunday of the honour she had bestowed on him on his 65th birthday. The Prime Minister then asked Sir Seewoosagur how the conference was going. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam said that the conference was going reasonably well. He had had a discussion with his colleagues the previous evening and they were now thinking over what he had said. He himself felt that Independence was the right answer; the other ideas of association with Britain worked out on the lines of the French Community simply would not work. There was also some difference of opinion over the future of the electoral pattern in Rhodesia.

The Prime Minister said that he knew that the Colonial Secretary, like himself, would like to work towards Independence as soon as possible, but that we had to take into consideration all points of view. He hoped that the Colonial Secretary would shortly be able to report to him and his colleagues what his conclusion was. He himself wished to discuss with Sir Seewoosagur a matter which was not strictly speaking within the Colonial Secretary's sphere: it was the Defence problem and in particular the question of the detachment of Diego Garcia. This was of course a completely separate matter and not

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bound up with the question of Independence. It was however a very important matter for the British position East of Suez. Britain was at present undertaking a very comprehensive Defence Review, but we were very concerned to be able to play our proper rôle not only in Commonwealth Defence but also to bear our share of peace-keeping under the United Nations: we had already made certain pledges to the United Nations for this purpose.

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam said that he and his colleagues wished to be helpful.

The Prime Minister went on to say that he had heard that some of the Premier's colleagues, perhaps having heard that the United States was also interested in these defence arrangements, and seeing that the United States was a very rich country, were perhaps raising their bids rather high. There were two points that he would like to make on this. First, while Diego Garcia was important, it was not all that important; and faced with unreasonableness the United States would probably not go on with it. The second point was that this was a matter between Britain and Mauritius and the Prime Minister referred to recent difficulties over taxi-drivers at London Airport.

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam said that they were very concerned on Mauritius with their population explosion and their limited land resources. They very much hoped that the United States would agree to buy sugar at a guaranteed price and perhaps let them have wheat and rice in exchange. The important thing was not so much to have a lump sum but to have a steady guaranteed income.

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The Prime Minister said that Britain would of course continue with certain aid and development projects. The money for the airfield at Diego Garcia would also come from Britain and would come in the form of a flat sum. Moreover that flat sum would not be very much more than the Secretary of State had already mentioned. While he could make no commitment at the moment, the Prime Minister thought that we might well be able to talk to the Americans about providing some of their surplus wheat for Mauritius. As for Diego Garcia, it was a purely historical accident that it was administered by Mauritius. Its links with Mauritius were very slight. In answer to a question, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam affirmed that the inhabitants of Diego Garcia did not send elected representatives to the Mauritius Parliament. Sir Seewoosagur reaffirmed that he and his colleagues were very ready to play their part.

The Prime Minister went on to say that, in theory, there were a number of possibilities. The Premier and his colleagues could return to Mauritius either with Independence or without it. On the Defence point, Diego Garcia could either be detached by order in Council or with the agreement of the Premier and his colleagues. The best solution of all might be Independence and detachment by agreement, although he could not of course commit the Colonial Secretary at this point.

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam said that he was convinced that the question of Diego Garcia was a matter of detail; there was no difficulty in principle. The Prime Minister

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said that whilst we could make no open-ended commitment about the defence of Mauritius, our presence at Diego Garcia would, of course, make it easier to come to Mauritius's help when necessary.

On leaving, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam said that the one great desire in Mauritius was that she should retain her links with the United Kingdom. Mauritius did not want to become a republic but on the contrary wished to preserve all her present relationships with the United Kingdom. The Prime Minister said that he felt that the Commonwealth had a much more important rôle to play in the future than it had even in the past as a great multi-racial association. The last Prime Ministers' meeting had been a very exciting one and he looked forward to seeing Sir Seewoosagur at the next one.

As Sir Seewoosagur was leaving, the Cabinet was assembling outside the Cabinet Room and the Prime Minister introduced Sir Seewoosagur to a number of members of the Cabinet.

September 23, 1965

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