

**The struggles to deracialise South African sport:  
A historical overview**

**by**

**Philani Nongogo**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree**

**D. Phil (Human Movement Science)**

**in the Department of Sport and Leisure Studies  
at the**

**UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

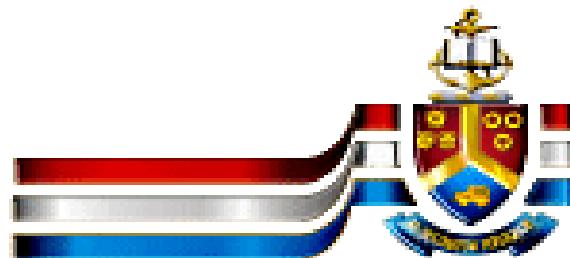
**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

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## The struggles to deracialise South African sport: A historical overview

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**University of Pretoria**

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Department of Sport and Leisure Studies

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Faculty of Humanities

Supervisor: Professor A.E. Goslin

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November 2015

## Declaration

I, Philani Nongogo, declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae at the University of Pretoria is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another university.

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**P. Nongogo**

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## Abstract

This study examines struggles to deracialise South African sport. In the Colonial era and under Apartheid, sport has been racialised in South Africa, due to being entwined with the colour bar and later, the Apartheid political system. The struggles for political freedom and non-racial sport were therefore intertwined. These struggles evolved in methods and tactics with time given their duration and complexity. This thesis aims to undertake a historical overview of the struggles to deracialise South African sport, which culminated into the sport boycott in the 1970s. This is critical for history teaches people respect for insights from the past.<sup>1</sup> Britain, South Africa's strategic partner, became the main target of black people's<sup>2</sup> diplomatic efforts after 1910. By the late 1940s and 1950s, hopes for British support had shifted to the United Nations (UN) and its new African member States and the Olympic Movement. Inside South Africa, the Liberation Movement and the Non-Racial Sport Movement (NRSM) begun to emerge as a coherent force. The NRSM approached and petitioned the International sport Federations (IFs), the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and local white-only sport bodies. South Africa's official participation in the Olympic Games between 1908 and 1960 "excluded" black sportspersons in its teams and the struggles to challenge the *status quo* were initiated in the 1940s and were intensified in the 1950s. These struggles were halted in the early 1990s, paving the way for South Africa's controversial re-admission into the Olympic family in 1992. Literature surveyed outlines the struggle to deracialise South African sport and an analysis of the impact of the latter on South Africa's transforming sport landscape and society was undertaken. This study is grounded in a qualitative, historical and descriptive research design, with the aim of generating a body of literature and contextualising the sport struggles and the subsequent sport boycott campaigns. The latter was undertaken against the backdrop of the transition; from the era that was characteristic of application of Colour-bar and Apartheid sport policies and practices thereof, to the era of the ideal - egalitarian, non-racial and social democratic sport landscape.

**Keywords:** Apartheid sport, Colour-bar, equality, Olympism, Olympic Movement, politics, practices, race, sport boycott, sportspersons, sports struggles, non-racial

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<sup>1</sup> A. Marwick, *The Nature of History*, 1970, p.12.

<sup>2</sup> NOTE: To some readers, references to groups like Africans or natives, bantus, Black people or simply, "Blacks", Boers, Coloureds, Indians, Malays, White people or simply, "Whites" can be viewed as politically incorrect and re-igniting South Africa's Apartheid experience. However, while sensitive, historically these terms have a certain cohesion, which cannot be summarily wished away. Conflating them in the name of politeness or in the quest for political correctness could be *ahistorical* and this poses a danger in the development of this section of South African historiography.

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die geskiedenis van die stryd om Suid-Afrikaanse sport te derassifiseer. Suid-Afrika het 'n lang geskiedenis van rassediskriminasie, en die stryd vir politiese vryheid en nie-rassige sport was aanvanklik vervleg.<sup>1</sup> Hierdie stryd het oor tyd in werkswyse en taktieke gegroei, veral gegewe die duur en kompleksiteit daarvan. Die doel van hierdie verhandeling is om 'n oorsig te gee van die geskiedkundige ontwikkeling van die stryd binne sport wat uitgeloop het in die sportboikot. Dit is van kritieke belang, veral as mens die siening huldig en waardeer dat geskiedenis mense respekteer vir insigte uit die verlede leer. Brittanje was Suid-Afrika se strategiese vennoot, en daarom was dié land aanvanklik die hoofteiken van swartmense se diplomatieke pogings na 1910. Teen die laat 1940s en 1950s het die hoop vir Britse steun geskuif na die Verenigde Nasies (VN), die pas onafhanklike Afrikastate en die Olimpiese Beweging. Tuis in Suid-Afrika is 'n omvattende veldtog om Suid-Afrikaanse sport te derassifiseer onderneem deur swart sportlui, die Nie-Rassige Sportbeweging (NRSB) en die breër anti-Apartheidsbeweging. Die NRSB het die Internasionale Sportfederasie (IS), die Internasionale Olimpiese Komitee (IOK) en die plaaslike slegs-blanke sportliggame genader en by wyse van 'n petitie 'n beroep op hulle gedoen om die rasprobleem in die land se sport aan te spreek. Suid-Afrikaanse amptelike deelname aan die Olimpiese Spele tussen 1908 en 1960 was gebou op rassediskriminasie teen swart persone, en die stryd om die *status quo* teen te staan is gevvolglik in die 1940s begin en het in die 1950s geintensifiseer. Die stryd is kontroversieel beeindig in die vroeë 1990's, wat die weg oopgemaak het vir Suid-Afrika se hertoelating tot die Olimpiese familie in 1992. Die literatuurstudie bied 'n oorsig van die stryd om Suid-Afrikaanse sport te derassifiseer en analyseer die impak daarvan op die transformasie van die sportlandskap en die samelewning. Die studie is gegrond in 'n kwalitatiewe, geskiedkundige en beskrywende navorsingsontwerp, met die doel om 'n liggaam van literatuur te genereer en die sportstryd en daaropvolgende sportboikotte te kontekstualiseer teen die agtergrond van die oorgang van die kleurslagboom en apartheidssport na gelyke, nie-rassige en sosiaal-demokratiese sportlandskap.

**Sleutelwoorde:** Sportstryd, sportboikot, nie-rassig, gelykheid, kleurslagboom, apartheidssport, politiek

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<sup>1</sup> NOTA: Sommige leesers kan verwysings na groepe soos swart, wit, Afrikaner of inboorlinge, Bantoes, Kleurlinge of Indiërs sien as polities inkorrekte en as iets wat die Suid-Afrikaanse Apartheidsgeskiedenis weer wakker maak. Histories het hierdie begrippe egter 'n sekere verband wat nie weggewens kan word nie, hoe sensitief dit ookal is. Deur die terme te versag of saam te voeg in die naam van goeie maniere of politieke korrektheid sal *a-histories* wees, en dit hou gevare in vir die ontwikkeling van hierdie deel van die Suid-Afrikaanse historiografie.

## Dedication

To ALL the Non-Racial Sport Movement and Anti-Apartheid Movement activists, inside South Africa, Africa and the world over, with special mention of, **Christian Dubruel de Broglio, Dennis Brutus and Samba Ramsamy and, Peter Hain**, whose triumph of spirit, dedication, courage, and numerous sacrifices during the course of the sports struggles inspired me to strive to document their work and story in this doctoral degree

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

<b>AAM</b>	Anti-Apartheid Movement
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>ANOC</b>	Association of National Olympic Committees
<b>ANOCA</b>	Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa
<b>APO</b>	African Political Organisation
<b>ASOIF</b>	Association of Summer Olympic International Federations
<b>AIOWF</b>	Association of the International Olympic Winter Sport Federations
<b>BLR...</b>	Olympic Charter Bye-Law to Rule...
<b>CAS</b>	Court of Arbitration for Sport
<b>CCIRS</b>	Coordinating Committee for International Recognition of Sport
<b>CIR</b>	Committee for International Recognition
<b>EOC</b>	European Olympic Committees
<b>FIFA</b>	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
<b>FSAW</b>	Federation of South African Women
<b>ICC</b>	Imperial Cricket Conference (1909-1963), later International Cricket Conference (1964-1988) and International Cricket Council (from 1989--)
<b>IOA</b>	International Olympic Academy
<b>IOC</b>	International Olympic Committee
<b>INOCSA</b>	Interim National Olympic Committee of South Africa
<b>IPC</b>	International Paralympic Committee
<b>IF's</b>	International sport Federations
<b>NOC</b>	National Olympic Committee
<b>NOCSA</b>	National Olympic Committee of South Africa
<b>NEUM</b>	Non-European Unity Movement (later simple New Unity Movement (NUM) and Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA), in exile)
<b>NRSM</b>	Non-Racial Sport Movement
<b>NSOC</b>	National Sports and Olympic Congress/Council (later simply, <b>NSC</b> -National Sports Congress/Council
<b>OCA</b>	Olympic Council of Asia
<b>OC</b>	Olympic Charter
<b>OCOG</b>	Organising Committee of the Olympic Games
<b>OGKM</b>	Olympic Games Knowledge Management Programme
<b>ONOC</b>	Oceania National Olympic Committees
<b>PAC</b>	Pan-Africanist Congress
<b>PASO</b>	Pan-American Sport Organisation
<b>R...</b>	Olympic Charter Rule...
<b>SAAAA</b>	South African Amateur Athletics Association
<b>SACOS</b>	South African Council on (or/of) Sport
<b>SAOCGA</b>	South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association
<b>SAONGA</b>	South African Olympic and National Games Association
<b>SANOC</b>	South African National Olympic Committee
<b>SAN-ROC</b>	South African Non-Racial Olympic (Open) Committee
<b>SASA</b>	South African Sports Association
<b>SASCOC</b>	South African Sport Confederation and Olympic Committee
<b>SCSA</b>	Supreme Council on Sport in Africa
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UoSA</b>	Union of South Africa
<b>WADA</b>	World Anti-Doping Agency

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## CHAPTER ONE

### ORIENTATION, PROBLEM STATEMENT, AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This study examines the struggles to deracialise South African sport. The South African society has a long history of racial discrimination.<sup>1</sup> The same holds true on the sport front.<sup>2</sup> During the colonial era and under apartheid, sport became racialised in South Africa due to colour bar policies and later the apartheid political system. The Struggle for political freedom and the efforts to establish equality in sport or all-race-inclusive South African teams and later non-racial sport, were generally intertwined. The sport struggles therefore formed part of the broader Struggle against the legacies of colonialism, imperialism, the application of colour bar<sup>3</sup> policies and practices,<sup>4</sup> the apartheid political system and the subsequent application of apartheid policies in sport. The Struggle for political freedom and the efforts to reform sport<sup>5</sup> evolved in tactics and methods with time due to their complexity, duration and perilous nature.

This study was therefore aimed at undertaking a historical overview of this long battle, which culminated in the long drawn-out sports boycott campaigns. The examination of these efforts is critical, particularly since the documentation and publication of history is necessary as a body of lessons because ‘those who do not learn from history are doomed

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<sup>1</sup> NOTE: To some readers, references to groups like Africans or natives, bantus, black people or simply, “blacks”, Boers, Coloureds, English, Afrikaners, Indians, Malays, white people or simply, “whites” can be viewed as politically incorrect and re-igniting South Africa’s apartheid experience. However, while sensitive, historically these terms have a certain cohesion, which cannot be summarily wished away. Conflating them in the name of politeness or in the quest for political correctness could be *ahistorical* and this poses a danger in the development of this section of South African historiography.

<sup>2</sup> Odendaal, A. (1977) *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town: Self-published (Odendaal, A.); Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982; Odendaal, A. (1984) *Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protests Politics in South Africa to 1912*, Cape Town: David Phillip; Grundlingh, A. Odendaal, A. and Spies, B. (1995) Beyond the tryline: Rugby and the South African Society, Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Odendaal, A. (2003) *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of the Cricket's Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850-2003*, Cape Town: David Phillip; Nongogo, P. (2004) *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane: A Case Study of Selected Clubs – 1911 to 2000*. Alice [Eastern Cape, South Africa]: Fort Hare University (MA-dissertation.); Hall, B. Parry, R. and Winch, J. (2009) “Chapter One: ‘More Than a Game.’” In Murray, B. and Vahed, G. (eds.) *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, Pretoria: University of South Africa Press; Cleophas, F.J. and Van Der Merwe, F.J.G. (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South Africa sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape”, in *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPHERD)*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March), pp. 124-140.

<sup>3</sup> Nelson Mandela declared: “We have consistently condemned the colour bar and maintained no man of principle could surrender his dignity and submit to it,” in an essay entitled “Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy,” written on Robben Island in 1976.

<sup>4</sup> The Colour bar policies were based on the Union of South Africa’s Colour bar constitution of 1910, which ‘gave legal status of a racial divide that had developed during colonial rule’, this is explored further in Cleophas and Van Der Merwe, (2011) “Contradictions and responses,” p.125; and in Hall, Parry and Winch (2009) ‘More Than a Game,’ p.16.

<sup>5</sup> The story of Armien ‘Krom’ Hendricks’s systemic hounding and exclusion from provincial and international cricket, just because he was a Malay or non-White yet talented cricketer, ‘over a period of several years in the 1890s,’ this is also seen in Odendaal, (2009) “Foreword.” In Murray and Vahed (eds.) *Empire and Cricket*, p.xvi-xvii.

to repeat it.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, history is intrinsically an important part of people's lives as it tends to teach people respect for insights from the past.<sup>7</sup> It is often when the past achievements or mistakes are shared and appreciated that the nation can collectively celebrate or seek to correct mistakes and avoid reverting to the past evil ways.

It is important to respect what has been done or "achieved" in the past for a nation to mend the brokenness and to move forward. For instance, the sports boycott, which was preceded by demands for 'equality of opportunity in South African sport'<sup>8</sup> in the 1940s and attempts to deracialise the country's sport in the 1950s<sup>9</sup>, was a lengthy transnational campaign to force the country to accept fundamental political change. It brought about deep division within the ranks of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the broader Olympic Movement, including the International sport Federations (IFs).<sup>10</sup>

This thesis is not primarily a description of events, 'although there is a factual (empirical) framework.'<sup>11</sup> It attempts to record the activities and analyse the impact of the struggles to deracialise South African sport. It does not claim to be a definitive account of these sports conflicts; nor does it necessarily arrive at a simplistic judgment about the effectiveness of these endeavours. It is rather more of an invitation to the readers of this work to draw their own conclusions from the empirical evidence. It should, however, be indicated that, as it is shown in the later part of this thesis, the sports struggle's 'success lay less in its influence on particular [colour bar and apartheid sport] policies than in its ability to raise and keep [the impact of colour bar and] Apartheid on the [sporting and] political agenda [of the IOC, IFs and UN], and change the climate of debate,'<sup>12</sup> as Roger Fieldhouse argues. It was therefore important for the activists to maintain momentum throughout the years of these sports struggle.

There is evidence that the colour bar problem had very deep roots in South African sport in the Cape, especially in the sports of the empire - cricket<sup>13</sup> and rugby. The same could be said about the colour bar experiences in association football (or soccer), boxing,

<sup>6</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.309.

<sup>7</sup> More about the discussion on history is presented in the methodology section within this chapter. However, for more information on the importance of history, in his book, *The Nature of History*, p.12, Marwick (1981) A. (1981) describes the importance of history in detail.

<sup>8</sup> Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E. (2004) *Reflections on a life in sport*. Greenhouse: Cape Town, p.1.

<sup>9</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*.

<sup>10</sup> Cornelissen, S. (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem": Transnational activism, ideology and race in the Olympic movement, 1960-91, in *The International Journal of the History of Sport (TIJHS)*, 28, pp. 153-169, p.153; Montagu, I. and Spector, J.B. (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa". A Paper Presented at the Anti-apartheid Movement Conference, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> This phrase was used by Fieldhouse, R. (2005), in his monograph - *Anti-apartheid: A history of the movement in Britain – A study in pressure group politics*, London: The Merlin Press, p.xii.

<sup>12</sup> See Fieldhouse (2005) *Anti-apartheid*, p.xii.

<sup>13</sup> The details on the Armien 'Krom' Hendricks case are discussed in Murray and Vahed (eds.) (2009) *Empire and Cricket*.

horse racing as well many other modern sport that were practiced in South Africa in the late nineteenth century and beyond.<sup>14</sup> Yet black sportspersons initiated the challenge to this *status quo* later in history. In fact, the attempts to bring equality and to deracialise sport and resist the application of colour bar policies in sport were not always a unified action during the 1940s when movement in this direction started. Black (they later organised themselves into non-racial structures and organisations) sportspersons often had to deal with the effects of this ordeal as individuals and often as inter-and-intra-ethnically divided groupings.

From the 1940s onwards, the fight against colour bar practices was further complicated by the advent of the apartheid political system, which further emphasised the application and adherence to the principle of ‘separate development’<sup>15</sup> and policies that supported it. The social divisions, however, took on a multi-faceted character, which included religious, tribal, racial and/or ethnic categorisations that excluded some within the black<sup>16</sup> socio-cultural milieu in addition to categorisations of white sportspersons versus the black sportspersons.<sup>17</sup> For example, before the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) was established, there was reluctance among some black football association to desegregate in addition to the opposition of the government and the white sporting establishment, which complicated the realignment.

This matter was brought to the fore by Andre Odendaal in 1995 with reference to black rugby and cricket<sup>18</sup> as one of the challenges that obviated sports unity among the black sportspersons of various ethnic groups. Odendaal, however, never actually referred to these social divisions as some form of colour bar practice as Cleophas and van der Merwe did in 2011.<sup>19</sup> Similar challenges were reported by David Black and John Nauright in 1998. In their discussion of black rugby in South Africa, Black and Nauright noted that ‘[W]hite policies were not the only factors in the creation of and maintenance of social

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<sup>14</sup> More detail on colour bar practices are discussed in Cleophas, F.J. (2010) *The story of Jan Bantjes: linking sport, history, drama and poetry*. Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa. April-June, 64(2):52-61 and in Van der Merwe, F.J.G. (2010) “Race and South African rugby: a review of the 1919 ‘All Black’ tour.” *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 32(2):161-169.

<sup>15</sup> For more information on this matter please see Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game*, p.58; Draper, M. (1963) *Sport and Race*, p.6. For an ethnographic history of apartheid bureaucracy in the 1950s and its role in institutionalising oppression see Evans, I. (1997) *Bureaucracy and Race*.

<sup>16</sup> The appellation “black” in this context refers to all those people who would not be categorised white under the apartheid political system.

<sup>17</sup> The article by Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses” explores this line of argument.

<sup>18</sup> In his Chapter: “The thing that is not round,” Odendaal, A. (1995) in Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies *Beyond the Tryline*, describe the sporting organisation in the Western Cape in the 1950 right through to the 1990s.

<sup>19</sup> See the article by Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses” explores this line of argument.

divisions... historical agents in local communities also profoundly shaped local [sport] cultures.<sup>20</sup>

It is also critical to note that the apartheid regime did not enact any law that proscribed interracial interactions in sport until at least 1956. It was the whites-only sport federations that voluntarily excluded the black sportspersons and inserted discriminatory clauses into their respective constitutions. In fact, the establishment sport officials often blamed segregation in South African sport on internal divisions in black sport and ‘[b]lacks’ inferior standard of play vis-a-vis [w]hites, and even claimed mixed sport led to racial tensions.<sup>21</sup> The government relied on existing legislation, mainly the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 as amended in 1945, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, to make truly non-racial sport effectively impossible. The government stance of course was boosted by the establishment sports’ willingness and enthusiasm to respect the country’s “cultures and customs” that underpinned segregation of ethnic groups and races. This is discussed further in Chapter Four.

In the late eighteenth century onwards, the non-white or non-European sportspersons’ exclusion in sport teams on the basis of colour bar practices gained some support from prominent white liberal figures and sportspersons. Odendaal declares that for instance:

...[T]he British colonial[,] political and sporting elite in Cape Town, centred around the arch-imperialist and then prime minister, Cecil John Rhodes, systematically hounded and excluded the talented black [Malay] cricketer, [Armien] ‘Krom’ Hendricks, from provincial and international, and ultimately league cricket, over a period of several years in the 1890s. This act of exclusion was decisive in shaping the subsequent direction of South African cricket. Hendricks was good enough to play at the highest level at a time when inter-racial matches were not uncommon and when influential establishment figures and journalists (such as Ernest ‘Barberton’ Halliwell, Abe Bailey and Harry Chadwallander) supported the goals of black cricketers seeking merit selection, but the action against him fatally fixed the colour bar...<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Black, D.R. and Nauright, J. (1998) *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.49.

<sup>21</sup> Alegi, P. (2010) *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origins to 2010*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, p.114. This detail is also found in the SASA Memorandum that the latter submitted to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1959.

<sup>22</sup> Odendaal (2009) “Foreword,” in Murray and Vahed (eds.) *Empire and Cricket*, p.xvi-xvii.

Cecil John Rhodes' actions described above should of course be viewed within the wider socio-political role that the empire games - cricket and rugby, were to play in mending the apparently waned relationship between the white races: the English and the Afrikaner populations in South Africa, especially on the backdrop of the brutal 'Anglo-Boer War,'<sup>23</sup> now known as the South Africa War.

It is no exaggeration therefore to speculate that the inclusion of the non-white or non-European athletes (as how all athletes that were not classified "white" people were referred to in colonial and apartheid eras) in the provincial and especially in the international touring teams to the United Kingdom (UK) might have frustrated and further complicated the strategic reconciliation role that the teams selected from the warring races, were meant to build. "Contaminating" the whiteness of these teams would have been cumbersome, particular if the birth of the Union of South Africa (UoSA) in 1910 and the policies that were implemented are to be used as the yardstick to assess the future direction of South Africa from then onwards. Further, and perhaps more importantly, what complicated the early sports efforts against racial exclusion and inequality was that following the [colour bar] legislation that sought to protect white people's interests and that marginalised black people in education and economy,

...some sections of the [b]lack community operated within the government organs that protected it [colour bar policies]. Throughout all this, British hegemonic imperialism and culture was not challenged by large sections of South African communities and with time they, particularly the elite amongst them, imitated British discriminatory practices. These practices were extended to the field of sport...<sup>24</sup>

The assimilation and conformity described above should, however, be viewed against the backdrop of successes by the colonialists in conquering and integrating the black population [including the Kingdoms and people] into western ways of living. The settlers managed to usher in new cultural forms. Education, religion and modern sports played an integral part in civilising the natives throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. It was against the backdrop of the newly established UoSA in 1910 and the passing of the Land Act of 1913, that black populations had to adapt and embrace new forms of resisting

<sup>23</sup> The appellation "Boer" like "bantu" has since gained derogatory connotations and as such it is used sparingly in this work because it is historical work, even though to some readers, references to terms like these can be viewed as politically incorrect and re-igniting old painful South Africa's life experiences. However, as noted in the "NOTE" in the beginning of this work, while sensitive, historically these terms have a certain cohesion, which cannot be summarily wished away. Conflating them therefore could be *ahistorical* and this poses a danger in the development of this section of South African historiography.

<sup>24</sup> See Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses," p.124.

colonial rule. In the process they adopted the imperial culture and modern ways of life, including taking up western forms of education, forming political organisations, converting to Christianity and adopting the modern sports of the empire. This adaptation was paramount in responding to the new socio-political environment.<sup>25</sup> Isaac Bangani Tabata,<sup>26</sup> with reference to the above socio-political development, asserts that:

...The beginning of this [twentieth] century closed a chapter in our history – the end of the resistance of the Blacks by military means. It opened a new chapter with new forms of struggle, the political form of struggle. This manifested itself in the formation of Imbumba and Ingqungquthela...<sup>27</sup>

This approach was generally maintained throughout the early twentieth century until the 1940s. In fact, in the late 1940s and early 1950s things started to change, especially after the formation of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944. Defiance Campaigns were launched by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1952, with Nelson Mandela as Volunteer in Chief.<sup>28</sup> ‘In sport as in wider society, the rise of apartheid provoked an upsurge in popular protest’<sup>29</sup> and resistance. For instance, in 1951, African, Coloured and Indian football officials in Durban established the SASF. In 1954, black and white women founded the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) and in June 1955, the Congress of the People adopted the non-racial, democratic Freedom Charter on an open field used for football matches at Kliptown, near Soweto.

Before these acts of resistance and protests against the apartheid system, prominent black political nationalists and some organisations, including the ANC<sup>30</sup> and the African Political Organisation (APO), actively participated in the apartheid community structures. This included the Native Representative Councils of 1936,<sup>31</sup> the ‘Native Parliamentary

<sup>25</sup> This might be viewed as a form of attempting to “beat the enemy at its own game,” so to speak.

<sup>26</sup> Tabata was popularly known as simply I.B. Tabata.

<sup>27</sup> Isaac Bangani Tabata [address: 80 Harrington Street, Cape Town, 16 June 1948], born in 1909 and clearly a senior to Nelson Mandela, the latter at the time a vibrant leader of the ANC Youth League, says this in a letter to Mandela with reference to the “Organisations of the African People” on 16 June 1948 [published on-line by the South African History On-Line (SAHO) - Letters: www.saho.org.za], four years after the formation of the ANCYL.

<sup>28</sup> The details on these political development is discussed in Tambo, A. (2014) *Oliver Tambo Speaks: Speeches, Letters and Transcripts*, Cape Town: Kwela Books (an imprint of NB Publishers, a division of Media24 Boeke (Pty) Ltd), 2014 (reprinted and published IN 2014 by arrangement of with Pearson Education Limited). This book was first published as Tambo, A. (1984) *Preparing For Power: Oliver Tambo Speaks*, by Heinemann Educational Books Ltd; also see Alegi, (2010) *Laduma!*, p. 87-88.

<sup>29</sup> Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p. 88.

<sup>30</sup> With reference to the ANC’s Govan Mbeki’s participation in the *AmaBhunga* or Traditional Local Councils in the Transkei Territory, Louis Leo Mtshizana, compares this to I.B. Tabata’s Unity Movement’s commitment to total non-collaboration with the apartheid political system and the regime that enacted in the first place. For more information on this see Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*.

<sup>31</sup> Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.184.

Representatives, Advisory Bodies, Bungus,<sup>32</sup> and the Administrative Boards.<sup>33</sup> One exception was the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) of I.B. Tabata, which propagated total non-collaboration with the apartheid government and its substructures.<sup>34</sup> In fact, there is evidence that Tabata effectively campaigned, building awareness and consciousness in relation to ‘the importance of Africans needing to turn their backs on all structures of segregation.’<sup>35</sup>

The point raised above is important as it shows that the approaches to fighting the colonial and apartheid political system were not homogeneous. For instance, contrary to the ANC programmes in the 1940s, Tabata travelled<sup>36</sup> in the Cape publicising the NEUM programme and attacking government programmes aimed at limiting African livestock in 1945<sup>37</sup> in his Xhosa version of his pamphlet: *The Rehabilitation Scheme: A Fraud*.<sup>38</sup> This issue was later taken up by the All African Convention<sup>39</sup> (AAC) ‘activists in the first campaigns against the Rehabilitation Scheme from 1946.’<sup>40</sup> In fact, just as the ANC was launching the Defiance Campaigns in June 1952, Tabata published a new pamphlet entitled *Boycott as a weapon of Struggle*, putting forth the case for his own approach and that of the NEUM.<sup>41</sup> The pamphlet indicates that NEUM might have been the first to publicly pronounce that boycotts, as proven from the 1960s onwards, could be used as a critical arsenal in the political struggle. In his letter to Nelson Mandela on 16 June 1948 on the “Organisation of the African People,” Tabata emphasised the issue of non-collaboration with the Government or simply put, *boycotting* the apartheid regime:

... [P]eople can be organised for good or evil. I cannot quarrel with any organisation which is built for the purpose of fighting for liberty. Such organisation, if it is true to its principles, will seek to unite the oppressed people and will at the same time follow a course of non-collaboration with the Government. But I am totally opposed to any

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<sup>32</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.326.

<sup>33</sup> Details of these are discussed in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*.

<sup>34</sup> The detail on this political development is shared by Louis Leo Mtshizana in an interview with Nongogo, P. (2001), at Sterkspruit. It is also discussed in Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*. For more information on I.B. Tabata and the Non-European Unity Movement he co-founded in 1943, see Carter, G. and Karis, T. (1977) *From Protest to Change: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*. Vol 4. Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press; also see Rassool, C.S. (2004) *The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa*. A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History. Bellville: University of the Western Cape.

<sup>35</sup> See Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.326.

<sup>36</sup> The details of Tabata’s travels to the Transkei are found on Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.304, where he assesses the work of Allison, D. (1997/2000) *South Africa’s radical Tradition*, Volume Two, p156.

<sup>37</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.300.

<sup>38</sup> Carter and Karis (1977) *From Protest to Change*; Rassool (2004) *The Individual*.

<sup>39</sup> The AAC was formed in 1935 as a “federal” or a conglomeration of various political organisations for the liberation of the African people. For more information on the AAC see Rassool (2004) *The Individual*.

<sup>40</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.305.

<sup>41</sup> Carter and Karis (1977) *From Protest to Change*.

organisation whose policy is to collaborate with the Government and disunite the people. This is the crux of the question...<sup>42</sup>

It is not far-fetched to believe that the Non-Racial Sport Movement (NRSM) and some other elements of the anti-apartheid campaign were forged from these 1950s debates, actions and influences.<sup>43</sup> In fact, between 1948 and 1960, many racially defined black sport organisations forged unified national bodies in protest against apartheid.<sup>44</sup> The South African Sports Association (SASA) of Dennis Brutus and Alan Paton, which was strongly supported by Louis Leo Mtshizana, at the time the President of the South African Rugby Board, emerged from these forces and worked closely with the Rivonia Trialists to oppose the West Indies cricket tour to South Africa.<sup>45</sup> In fact, there is evidence that SASA was supported by the ANC and the white liberals such as Alan Paton,<sup>46</sup> which inevitable opened it to malice, abuse and accusations by the South African government and the establishment sport federations.

In contrast to the accusations by apartheid political elite and the establishment sport officials, that the NRSM activists were not really sportspersons but rather camouflaged politicians; the struggle for equality and deracialisation of sport in South Africa and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns were in fact, ‘originally called’<sup>47</sup> and undertaken by real sportspersons. For example, the whites-only Football Association of South Africa (FASA) dismissed the non-racial SASF’s calls for racial integration in South African soccer several times as ‘political’ rather than concerned with sport: ‘the political agitators who are now ruling the Federation behind scenes, are merely using soccer as a cat’s paw for their own selfish ends.’<sup>48</sup> It was, however, apparent that it had been the 27 June 1956 Dönges’ policy statement that explicitly politicised sport in South Africa for the first time. This line of argument is extended in Chapter Four. Here, suffice to note that the non-racial sportspersons believed that South African sport should be organised on non-racial basis or all-race inclusive manner.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Tabata, letter to Mandela, 16 June 1948.

<sup>43</sup> The details on this political development is discussed in Tambo, A. (2014) *Oliver Tambo Speaks*.

<sup>44</sup> Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.111.

<sup>45</sup> For more on this, see Nongogo (2004) *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby*; for further details on the 1950s Volunteers, see Suttner, R. (2012) “ANC: a long and difficult journey”, INLSA, January 9.

<sup>46</sup> Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.116.

<sup>47</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.i.

<sup>48</sup> Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.p.114 – Alegi quoting Sir Stanley Rous Paper [held by University of Brighton, Falmer Library]: “Memorandum to the FIFA by the FASA,” presented to the FIFA Commission in January 1963.

<sup>49</sup> For detailed profiles of the NRSM activists, see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.182; also see Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.112.

The non-racial sport proponent constituted themselves into the NRSM inside South Africa in 1955, initially comprising the Coordinating Committee for International Recognition of Sport<sup>50</sup> (CCIRS), later simply Committee for International Recognition (CIR). The CIR was founded by Dennis Brutus, a teacher, poet, journalist, sportsman and an activist from Port Elizabeth, for the purpose of driving a single principle: ‘...That, all South Africans should be allowed to represent their country – if they are good enough.’<sup>51</sup> The CIR was succeeded by the SASA in October 1958, when a group of weightlifters led by Dennis Brutus established SASA was established in East London and later formally launched in Durban in 1959, with Alan Paton, as its patron.<sup>52</sup> The SASA leaders were harassed by the security establishment and forced to dissolve in 1963. In its place the South African Non-Racial and Olympic Committee (SANROC) was established. They carried a new mandate of convincing the IOC that only a racially inclusive or non-racial<sup>53</sup> National Olympic Committee (NOC) that properly represents the country that should be recognised by the Olympic movement.<sup>54</sup> The SANROC leaders were persecuted by the apartheid security forces and as such the organisation and its influenced was crushed inside the country and later re-surfaced overseas and received support from the Anti-apartheid Movement (AAM) in London and its sub-entities throughout the UK and other countries.<sup>55</sup> In the 1960s the IOC president, Avery Brundage, and his Executive Board, pressured SANROC to refrain from using the word “Olympic” and they adjusted their name to the SANROC, with the word “Open” instead of “Olympic.”<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; also see Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.112.

<sup>51</sup> Alegi (2010) *Laduma!*, p.1112, quoting Dennis Brutus in the *Golden City Post*, published on 5 August 1956.

<sup>52</sup> Box 7769, IOC Archives, Paton, A. “Opening address, conference of national sport federations convened by the steering committee of the South African Sports Association, Durban, 10-11 January 1959”, CIO CNO-AFRIS-APART apartheid: Dossier documentaire, Lausanne, Switzerland; also see IOC Archives / IOC and the OM / South Africa, 1955-1960 / SANROC Memo, 1968.

<sup>53</sup> Alan Paton, “Opening address, conference of national sport federations convened by the steering committee of the South African Sports Association, Durban, 10-11 January 1959”, CIO CNO-AFRIS-APART apartheid: Dossier documentaire, Box 7769, IOC Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland.

<sup>54</sup> Avery Brundage correspondence to Meyer, 24 February 1959, Brundage Collection, Box 7596, IOC Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland.

<sup>55</sup> Lord Owen, the former British Government Foreign Secretary (1977-79) declares that the AAM ‘was the most powerful protest movement in the Western democracies in the second half of the twentieth century,’ see Fieldhouse (2005) *Anti-apartheid*. Also see the African Nation Congress (ANC) On-line Archives/ANC Policy document, 1989, available at [www.anc.org.za/policy](http://www.anc.org.za/policy); UN/ ANC/E.S. Reddy, “United Nations, India and the boycott of apartheid sport”, 1988, n.p.; ANC On-line Archives/ Christabel Gurney, “The origins of the British Anti-apartheid Movement”, ANC, n.d., n.p. [This paper was authored by Christabel Gurney and is accessible at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5691andt=British+Anti-apartheid+Movement>]; Arianna Lissoni, The Anti-apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa: Anti-apartheid Protest vs Real Politik: A history of the AAM and its influence on the British Government’s policy towards South Africa in 1964, a dissertation, 15 September 2000. Also found in <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5695andt=British+Anti-apartheid+Movement>; see, Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004, p.5; C. Taylor C, “Day of the smart mobs”, Time, 10 March 2003, p.53; R. Denniston, *Trevor Huddleston*. London, Macmillan Publishing, 1999, p.149; Trevor Huddleston, *Naught For Your Comfort*, London, Collins Publishing, 1956.

<sup>56</sup> For more information regarding the interactions between SASA (and later SANROC) and the IOC between late 1950s, 1960 and 1992, see Box 7596. Correspondence to Meyer, 24 February 1959, Brundage Collection, IOC Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland; also see the Olympic studies Centre REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA: Philani\_Nongogo, “The Effect of Sports

Inside South Africa, as early as mid-1961, the vanguard of the NRSM and the sports boycott movement, SASA, had launched and initiated a campaign to call on all local and international sports enthusiasts to “Support only the Non-racial Events In Sport” (SONREIS).<sup>57</sup> This call was specifically made by SASA’s Honorary Secretary, Dennis Brutus on 1 June 1960 and 16 July 1961.<sup>58</sup> Inside South Africa, the SONREIS campaign continued unabated way after the establishment of both SASA and SANROC in the country throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s. SONREIS ultimately became the South African Council on (of) Sport (SACOS),<sup>59</sup> which was formed in 1973 to coordinate the non-racial national sport federations inside the country, after SANROC officials were persecuted by the Apartheid security establishment in South Africa and re-emerged in London between 1964 and formally launched in 1966.<sup>60</sup> Internationally, the NRSM worked quiet efficiently under difficult times and gained invaluable support from other anti-apartheid bodies and sometimes worked within the ambit of the broader AAM. This matter is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

In the 1970s, however, the relationship between the local and international NRSM entities was relatively sound and these two worked well together, albeit some tensions often emerged and in fact the situation got even worse in the 1980s. In the late 1980s, SACOS had to contend with the birth of a “rival” organisation, the National Sports and Olympic Committee/Council (NSOC), which was formed 1988 and formally launched in 1989.<sup>61</sup> This marked a difficult era for the NRSM from then on until South Africa was controversially readmitted into the international sporting arena from 1991. This development is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

The AAM based its original chapter in London and others were scattered throughout the UK and there were several in-country-specific chapters across Europe and the United States of America (USA). The NRSM and the broader Southern African

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boycott and Social Change in South Africa: A Historical Perspective, 1955-1992”, International Olympic Committee: Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2012 - [www.olympic.org](http://www.olympic.org).

<sup>57</sup> See the SASA’s appeal, through D.A. Brutus (Hon. Sec. SASA), 01 June 1960, “Appeal to National Olympic Bodies Sportsmen and Friends, [to support the non-racial sport]; also see SASA 16 July 1961 “Operation SONREIS”: “Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport”, issued by Dennis Brutus –Hon Sec SASA.

<sup>58</sup> For more information on the work of SONREIS, see, Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Alegi, P, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origins to 2010*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, (2004) / 2010

<sup>59</sup> Throughout its history since 1973, various SACOS publications are not always consistent on the use of “of” or “on” in the name “SACOS” – other write South African Council of sport while others referred to the same organisation as South African Council on sport.

<sup>60</sup> For more information on this development, see Christian Dubruel de Broglio, “The SAN-ROC Story”, 2005; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>61</sup> For more information about SACOS-NSC dynamic, see Roberts, C. (eds.) (1989) *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport* (Township Publishing Cooperation, Cape Town, South Africa, 1989); Roberts, C. (eds.) (1990) *Challenges Facing South African Sport*, Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, Cape Town, South Africa, 1990; Mbeye, K. (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa: Analysis and Illustration of a Humanist Sport Policy*. Lausanne: IOC; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run*, 2010; Nongogo, *The Origins*, 2004.

National Liberation Movement (LM)<sup>62</sup> were able supported and assisted by the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU), through its sport wing, the Supreme Council for sport in Africa (SCSA) and its related sister organisation, including the Associations of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) and the Union of African Sports Confederations (UASC). Most importantly, the NRSM and the AAM activities were in time graciously supported by the lobby groups within the transnational forums, organisations and institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and its specialised units and committees, and Asian and Eastern European countries. The Eastern European countries also assisted the NRSM's campaign against apartheid sport within the IOC. Cornelissen calls this network 'a loose and variable coalition of African, Third World and Communist states'<sup>63</sup> that waged the attempts to reform sport within the IOC and the broader Olympic movement. The former instituted one of the earliest and most sustained campaigns to deracialise South African sport; a feat that quickly proved that it could have been very difficult to achieve without also fighting and defeating the apartheid political system. The above 'coalition' networks together with the supportive role played by several entities described earlier therefore propelled the NRSM and the AAM to achieve many of their respective goals. This thesis examines the struggles to deracialise South African sport, which culminated in protracted sports boycott campaigns against apartheid sport. These boycotts, as shown above, cannot be adequately addressed without discussing a brief history of the political Struggle for equality in South Africa. It is imperative to dissects, analyse and interrogate the endeavour to establish non-racial sport struggles within a broad social, historical and political context,<sup>64</sup> as shown in Chapter Three.

The NRSM for instance, raised sport-specific concerns as the main justification for the initiation of the struggles to deracialise South African sport, as shown in Chapter Four. It is however, no exaggeration to conclude that there were also inherent socio-political

<sup>62</sup> Liberation Movement is generally believed to be an organisation leading a rebellion against a colonial power or national government, often seeking independence based on a nationalist identity and an anti-imperialist outlook. For more information on this see: <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/events/n/a.htm>. In South Africa however, the LM comprised of various anti-apartheid political structures and organisation, dating back from the era of emergence of modern political struggle against colonial rule – and this include the *Imbumba* of Mpilo Walter Benson Rubusana in the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the African Native National Congress of 1912 (later simply known as the ANC), the All African Convention (AAM) of 1935, the Non-European Unity Movement (later simple known as New Unity Movement of South Africa of 1934, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) formed in 1959; the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) of 1974, which inspired the formation of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) in the late 1970s), and various labour, social and church organisations. The ANC and PAC has their respective military wings, which inherently formed an integral part of the LM, uMkhonto WeSizwe popularly knows was the MK and the Azanian People's Liberation Army or simply, APLA.

<sup>63</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", in *TIJHS*, pp.153-169, p.154.

<sup>64</sup> See interviews: Hassan Howa in 1977 (originally cited in Odendaal, A. (1977) *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*. Cape Town: self-published (Odendaal, A.), pp.269-270 and pp.276-277) and that of Jasmat Dhiraj (in 1980 in London), both cited in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.iv-viii and p.1; Gudmundur Arnar Gudmundsson (1000055812), *South Africa's Developmental Challenges Ten Years after apartheid*, n.d., n.p.; Mayet, S. (2006) *The Progress with Transformation in South African Cricket since Unification in 1991*, an unpublished mini-Master's Degree Dissertation, Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

considerations in the mix.<sup>65</sup> It is known that the earliest recorded challenge against the colour bar and inequality in the country's sport were observed in the 1940s. Van der Merwe declares that 'the first documented response to racial segregation in sport dates from 1946 when T. Ragasamy applied to the British Amateur Weightlifters Association for affiliation on behalf of non-White weightlifters' because at the time, the only sport federation that enjoyed official and international recognition was reserved for the white sportspersons.<sup>66</sup> This was followed by the appeal made by Milo Pillay to the South African Olympic and Empire Games Association for entry to the 1948 Olympic Games in 1948.<sup>67</sup> These, however, were moderate in intensity and relatively small in scale.

Similarly to what the LM and the OAU did in the UN and the other related transnational platforms between 1955 and 1991, the NRSM and the AAM did in the IOC and the IFs to attain not only the removal of South Africa from the Olympic 'movement, but also the repeal of apartheid.'<sup>68</sup> For instance, in 1955 the CCIRS was established in Durban with the aim of supporting all black national sporting bodies in their efforts to achieve international recognition.<sup>69</sup> The results were immediate. In 1956 the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) suspended the membership of South Africa's whites-only table tennis body due to its discriminatory policy against Black sportspersons. They subsequently recognised and replaced it with a non-racial or Black table tennis body, the South African Table Tennis Board (SATTB) as the country's sole international representative. This body participated and represented South Africa in the World Table Tennis Championships in Stockholm in 1957.

This strategy was also adopted by other black "national" sport federations that believed in the practice of non-racialism in sport such as the SASF, the South African Weightlifting Federation, the South African Bodybuilding Federation, the South African Cricket Board of Control and others. These sport federations successfully lobbied with their respective international mother bodies or IFs such as *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA), the International Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation

<sup>65</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.1.

<sup>66</sup> For more information on this, Van der Merwe, F.G.J. (2004) *Sport History: A Textbook for South African Students*. Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies, p.111. [See also Van Der Merwe, F.G.J. (1994/9) *Sportgeschiedenis: 'n Handleiding Vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies].

<sup>67</sup> This is discussed in Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses."

<sup>68</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", in *TIJHS*, p.155.

<sup>69</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", in *TIJHS*, p. 155.

(IWBF), and the International Cricket Council (ICC)<sup>70</sup> in later years. It is important to note that after almost two decades of petitioning and sending memoranda to the establishment sport federations in South Africa and the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) that the NRSM decided to take its battle to the IOC and the IOC's Executive Board. It was only when this proved fruitless that the NRSM decided to consider and then initiated sports boycott campaigns in the 1960s. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

The sports boycott campaigns were undertaken as part of the wider subversive methods to fight against the apartheid political system throughout the liberation Struggle. The calls for: economic sanctions, the arms embargo, boycotts of the country's goods and the isolation of South African sport from the international arena, together with the academic, cultural and sports boycott, formed an integral part of the broader fluid strategies and tactics of the LM, the NRSM and the AAM to bring down South Africa's economy and destabilise the country. What was paramount in this tactic was to starve the white population of sport and cultural exchange and entertainment to coerce them into seeing the cost of the apartheid political system in their lives and subsequently the benefit of a deracialised and liberated country, society and sport. The ultimate goal of these strategies therefore was to defeat and remove the apartheid political system in South Africa.

The political, economic and sport struggles took various forms, including economic sanctions, social organisation programmes of disobedience, non-collaboration with the apartheid regime schemes and programmes, and selective boycott campaigns. These campaigns were therefore, collectively and individually, not strict and rigid tactics as end to themselves, but were rather means to specific end goals. The form, texture and intensity of these efforts changed with time, the different phases of the sports struggles, political liberation Struggle and the specific motive forces prevailing at a particular time and space, as they weighed against each other, both within and outside these sports and liberation struggles.<sup>71</sup> This line of argument is developed in Chapter Three but is also expressed in Chapter Four and Five.

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<sup>70</sup> Since 1989 until the present day, the international cricketing board was known as the International Cricket Council. Initially, it was known as the Imperial Cricket Conference, between 1909 and 1963 and later, the International Cricket Conference, between 1964 and 1988. For more information on these developments, see: <http://www.icc-cricket.com/about/62/icc-organisation/history>.

<sup>71</sup> Mac Maharaj, speaking at the South African Broadcasting Cooperation's "Nelson Mandela's Passing Special Broadcast Show, on 08 December 2013.

It was, however, the IOC's watershed foreign policy decision to expel SANOC from participation in the Olympic Games (and subsequently from the Olympic movement) in 1970 that set in motion the important process of totally isolating South Africa from the global sport arena. There is evidence, however, that it was the OAU and its sport wing, the Supreme Council on Sport in Africa (SCSA), in collaboration with the NRSM and the AAM, the Asian, Third World and Communist countries that pressed for changes in the UN and within the IOC.<sup>72</sup>

The IOC's decision to expel South Africa from the Olympic Games in 1970 precipitated a series of suspensions and expulsion by several IFs and diplomatic action by several countries. This included particularly African and Asian countries, the broader Third World countries and Communist countries, the Commonwealth Heads of Governments (CHOG), and transnational organisations such as the UN and its subsidiary organisations, which soon left South Africa internationally isolated.<sup>73</sup> The UN for instance put the South African sport question on its agenda in 1959, unlike the IOC that proved to be indifferent to the colour bar and the apartheid sport question for a very long time. It was not until it was pressured by the SASA, Transvaal Indian Youth, OAU and its sport wing, the SCSA and AAM that the IOC reacted<sup>74</sup>. The UN has a long history of working hard to resolve the South African colour bar or racial discrimination since 22 June 1946, when the Government of India requested that 'the question of the treatment of Indians in the UoSA be included in the agenda of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly.'<sup>75</sup>

Debates and resolutions continued to come to the fore in the UN General Assembly from the 1940s onwards, particular after the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960. The South African police shot dead peaceful demonstrators against pass laws for African people and as a result 69 men, women and children were killed and about 200 wounded. Subsequent to this, on 25 March 1960, the representatives of 29 African and Asian

<sup>72</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem," p.154.

<sup>73</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem," p.153.

<sup>74</sup> For more information regarding the interactions between SASA (and later SANROC) and the IOC between late 1950s, 1960 and 1992, see Box 7596. Correspondence to Meyer, 24 February 1959, Brundage Collection, IOC Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland; further details of the NRSM, specifically SASA and later SANROC are found in the Sam Ramsamy Collection of the SANROC Archives, held by the Robben Island Museum, Mayibuye Centre that also hold the IOC and the Olympic Movement documents/ in the file: IOC and South Africa/1946-1959. The details of SASA's pleas to the IOC are also found in the Olympic studies Centre REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA: Philani\_Nongogo, "The Effect of Sports boycott and Social Change in South Africa: A Historical Perspective, 1955-1992", International Olympic Committee: Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2012 - [www.olympic.org](http://www.olympic.org). also see Brittain, I. (2011) "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", Sport in Society, Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165-1181 and also Brittain, I. (2012) "South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games," pp. 97-110, in Le Clair, J.M. (ed.) (2012) *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge.

<sup>75</sup> More information on the chronological description of the UNs' Resolutions, Declarations and pronouncements in relation to apartheid, see A document prepared by E.S. Reddy, the former Director of the United Nations Centre against apartheid: <http://www.anc.org.za/un/un-chron.html> [henceforth: UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.].

members of the UN requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider ‘the situation arising out of the large-scale killings of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators against racial discrimination and segregation in the Union of South Africa.’<sup>76</sup>

On 30 March 1960, the Security Council considered the above request by the Afro-Asian countries and on 1 April 1960 adopted resolution 134 (1960), its first action related to South Africa. They stated that they deplored the policies and action of the South African Government (SAG) which had given rise to a loss of life of so many Africans and led to international friction and called on South Africa to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. They requested the UN Secretary-General, in consultation with the SAG, ‘to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the [United Nations] Charter.’<sup>77</sup>

There were many of these pronouncement and resolution by the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly that followed after that. For instance, in March and April 1961, debates on apartheid ensued in the 15<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly, where African and Asian delegations pressed for sanctions against South Africa. Critical in these debates was the watershed decision by the UK representatives and delegation’s stance and pronouncement on 5 April 1961, which for the first time acknowledged the atrocities of the apartheid political system on a UN platform. The UK representative declared that ‘while the importance attached by UK to Article 2 (7) of the UN Charter<sup>78</sup> remained undiminished, it regarded apartheid as being now so exceptional as to be *sui generis* and his delegation felt able to consider proposals on the question of the merits.’<sup>79</sup>

Subsequent to this important “change” by the UK, the UN’s Special Political Committee recommended two draft resolutions: an African resolution calling for specific measures and another by five Asian countries asking all states to consider separate and collective action as was open to them. Out of these drafts, the Asian (specifically sponsored by India) draft, which condemned apartheid as ‘reprehensible and repugnant to human dignity,’<sup>80</sup> won the day and was adopted on 13 April 1961 by 96 votes to 1

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<sup>76</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>77</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>78</sup>Article 2(7) state that: Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII. This information is found on: [http://www.worldpress.org/specials/iraq/article2\(7\).htm](http://www.worldpress.org/specials/iraq/article2(7).htm)

<sup>79</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>80</sup> This resolution was apparently a precursor of the UN General Assembly’s Declaration (Resolution 2627 (XXV)) on 24 October 1970 that ‘apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind.’ More information in this is found on UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

(Portugal), with no abstentions as resolution 1598 (XV), with UK voting for a resolution against apartheid for the first time.

The “changing” political development of course did not necessarily threaten UK-SAG’s political and strategic relationship. This should be viewed within the broader geopolitical dynamics within and outside the Commonwealth countries and the interplay between these within the UN throughout the 1960s and 1970s, with pressure put on the UK to reconsider its political and foreign policy on apartheid. For instance, by June-July 1960, boycotts of South African goods were being implemented in many countries. Labour organisations refused to service South African cargos.<sup>81</sup> From 15 to 24 June 1960, a second Conference of Independent African States was held in Addis Ababa. They called for sanctions against South Africa, an action that apparently put pressure on both the UK and the SAG.

These developments were followed by another important decision by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on 29 June 1961, which voted 163-0-89 in favour of a resolution calling for South Africa’s withdrawal from the ILO. Of course the ILO’s Constitution did not have a provision that made it possible to exclude a member. What might have complicated the SAG situation further was the Security Council statement on 23 January 1961 in relation to the 1 April 1960 resolution 134, declaring that in the course of discussions with the Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, ‘so far no mutually acceptable arrangement,’<sup>82</sup> had been found on racial policies in South Africa. It came as no real surprise therefore that on 15 March 1961, following the strong opposition in the Conference of Commonwealth, Dr Verwoerd announced the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth ‘in the interest of South Africa’s honour and dignity’<sup>83</sup>. The decision was carried through 31 May 1961 and was coupled with the proclamation of the country as a Republic.

It became apparent that the SAG was feeling more pressure from many political fronts. For example, on 11 October 1961 the General Assembly decided by 67 votes to 1 (SA), with 20 abstentions, to censure South Africa’s Foreign Minister, Mr. Roelof Frederik “Pik” Botha, on account of an offensive speech he made in the Assembly. The UN General Assembly continued to pass several resolutions against apartheid throughout the 1960s and 1970s. It is important to note that after the UN Commission on Human

<sup>81</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>82</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>83</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

Rights deplored the actions of the SAG as ‘contrary to international law and international morality’ on 6 March 1967; the UN General Assembly requested all states and organisations ‘to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid.’<sup>84</sup> It should be remembered of course that the IOC had already issued South Africa with some form of ultimatum of suspension from the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games (having been already suspended the country from the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games) if it does not select its team in accordance with the Olympic Charter.<sup>85</sup> On 23 July 1970, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 282 (1970), calling on states to take a series of measures to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa, with a vote of 12, with France, UK and the USA abstaining. In the same year on 24 October 1970, the UN General Assembly in a declaration on its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary described apartheid as ‘a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind’<sup>86</sup> (Resolution 2627 (XXV)). More importantly, on November 1971, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2775 D (XXVI) calling for a boycott of sports teams selected in violation of the Olympic principle of non-discrimination.<sup>87</sup> A similar “Agreement” was signed in June 1977<sup>88</sup> by the CHOGM and was known as the Commonwealth Statement on apartheid in Sport, popularly known as the “Gleneagles Agreement”. It was the key in this development.<sup>89</sup>

It was clear that after 1960 and throughout the 1970s there was a simmering shift taking place in the geo-political space and South Africa was becoming isolated. However, the decision by the IOC to expel the South Africa from the Olympic Games 1970 was a turning point, not only in global sports, but in the broader international community’s stance on the country. Similarly, when the IOC decided to readmit South Africa back into the Olympic Games and the broader Olympic Movement in 1991, this decision was

<sup>84</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>85</sup> For more information on South Africa’s imminent suspension between 1960 and 1970 see IOC Archives / IOCS and OM / South Africa, 1960-1970/ SANROC Memorandum, 1968; also see Christian D. De Broglie (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbaya, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; de Broglie, “The SANROC Story,” 2009; IOC, REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA, 2012.

<sup>86</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>87</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>88</sup> In June 1977, the CHOGM produced the Gleneagles Agreement, which was possibly the most famous incident CHOGM, see more details in Richard Cashman, ‘Australia’s role in the apartheid Sports boycott in 1977: RG Neale Lecture Series [on behalf of The National Archives of Australia and the Department of foreign Affairs and Trade: Commonwealth of Australia, 2008], a Lecture delivered at the National Archives of Australia on 30 October 2008; also see UNA/UN Library/Geneva Office/UN Centre Against apartheid: Department of Political and Security Studies Council Affairs/The Gleneagles Agreement/ Text of statement issued by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, H.E. Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, on 9 March 1981, UNCAA/1981; Archive of the Anti-apartheid Movement, 1956-98/ Bodleian Library: Rhodes House, Oxford University/BOX: MSS AAM 1429 – FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/A second important letter is from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982, to Mr. Neil Macfarlane M.P. Minister of Sport, Department of Environment at 2 Marshal Str., London SW1.

<sup>89</sup> See BOX: MSS AAM 1429/FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982.

swiftly followed by parallel actions by the broader international community. There is a view that these sport changes assisted and contributed to the political stalemate situation between the LM and the apartheid regime and as such culminated in the country's full diplomatic reincorporation.<sup>90</sup> For example, after President F.W. de Klerk made a watershed speech in the South African Parliament on 2 February 1990,<sup>91</sup> the UN, like the IOC,<sup>92</sup> sent a delegation led by Abdulrahim A. Farah, Assistant Secretary-General to South Africa from 9 to 19 June 1990 to meet the SAG representatives, political parties and organisations to gather factual information on measures and proposals made for bringing about an end to the apartheid system.<sup>93</sup> On 19 June 1990, Abdulrahim A. Farah held a press conference in Pretoria and stressed the need for a series of confidence-building measures that could reduce the political violence and increase the level of trust and understanding among all parties and between the people and the government.

One should keep in mind that the 1980s and the early 1990s saw a very large number of people dying at the hands of the security forces and what was generally considered "black-on-black" violence in South Africa.<sup>94</sup> In fact, it might have been against this backdrop that on 22 June 1990, in his address to the UN Special Committee against apartheid in New York, Nelson Mandela declared that there was nothing that has happened in South Africa that could call for the revision of the position that the UN had

<sup>90</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", p. 154; for more information with regard to the work and potential influence the IOC and the Olympic Movement can be, see the already published parts of this work: For more information on this aspect, see already published work from the current thesis: P. Nongogo; B.S. Shaw and I. Shaw. Delivering International Olympic Committee's mandate on Youth Olympic Games in South Africa: Olympic studies. Journal Title: African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance. Volume: Volume 15, Issue: Issue 2, Publication Date: 2009, Pages: 223 – 234; Philani Nongogo, "South Africa and the Youth Olympic Games: Challenges and Strength in Delivering the International Olympic Games Mandate", in International Olympic Committee/Academy, *16<sup>th</sup> International Academy Post Graduate Participants Symposium Reports*, International Olympic Academic, Olympia, Greece, 12/8/2009, pp.188; Philani Nongogo, "The South African Sport and the Anti-apartheid Movement", in Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. (2012). *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO; [Retrieved from [Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. \[Retrieved from \[www.olympic.org\]\(http://www.olympic.org\)\]; Nongogo, P. \(2012\). International Olympic Committee and the Olympic movement's mechanism to engage humankind: Conferences, congresses, forums and major events, 1894 to 2012, African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December \(Supplement 1:1\), 252-267; Nongogo, P. \(2012\). Providing "intellectual guidance" for the Olympic movement: The Olympic congresses – history and highlights, 1894 – 2009. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December \(Supplement 1:1\), 268-287; Nongogo, P and Paul, Y. \(2012\). Sport, education and culture conferences: A brief history and highlights. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December \(Supplement 1:1\), 288-303.](http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&andid=A1884C_V1-2319)

<sup>91</sup> Announcing among other measures the release of Nelson Mandela and some other political prisoners, the lifting of a 30-year ban on the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and other anti-apartheid organisations, the suspension of the death sentence and partial lifting of restrictions on the media and on some detainees.

<sup>92</sup> For more information on post 2 February 1990 development within the IOC, see Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; IOC, REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA, 2012.

<sup>93</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>94</sup> The finding of the Commission led by Judge Justice Richard Goldstone, which conducted a full-scale enquiry into the security forces and political armies, in response to a recommendation made in the UN Secretary-General's Report's (S/24389), which he submitted to the Security Council on 7 August 1992. For more information on the issue of violence in South Africa during the 1980s and 1990s see Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; IOC, REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA, 2012.

taken in its struggle against apartheid. He further urged the UN to do everything in its power to maintain the consensus it had achieved when it adopted the Declaration on Apartheid in December 1989.<sup>95</sup>

Further, on 5 November 1991, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, following a two-day consultative meeting with representatives from non-governmental organisations and anti-apartheid movements in Geneva, adopted a statement of action in which they agreed to pursue a two-track policy to put pressure on the SAG while also providing assistance ‘to democratic organisation’<sup>96</sup> in the country. On 13 December 1991, the UN General Assembly adopted seven resolutions on the “Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa.” The General Assembly ‘called upon the international community to resume academic, scientific and cultural links with democratic anti-apartheid organisations and sport links with the non-racial sporting organisations, as well as to review existing restrictive measures as warranted by positive developments.’<sup>97</sup> Three of these resolutions were adopted with consensus.

The political situation in South Africa after February 1990 and 1994 proved to be complex, delicate and difficult to predict from all quarters and as such any movement towards lifting economic sanctions against South Africa and the possibility of readmitting the country to the Olympic Games proved to be generally polarising and highly contested.<sup>98</sup> What complicated the efforts within sport more during the period between 1988 and 1992 was that the NRSM had somewhat collapsed as the united force it showed to be between 1955 and 1988. A new SACOS rival organisation, the NSOC, had come to the fore and the international NRSM wing, the SANROC “chose” NSOC as a partner from then onwards.<sup>99</sup> This development is examined in detail in Chapter Five.

In this thesis, the critical events during the campaign for equality, the fight against the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns that ensued later on, the major organisations and personalities that were involved in these efforts, their respective histories and contributions are analysed. This study recognises that individuals, however powerful they may be, are often restrained by ‘the institutional constraints of the positions they occupy

<sup>95</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>96</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>97</sup> UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

<sup>98</sup> For more information on the twists and turns and contestations within the UN and its subsidiaries, within the IOC, the LM and the AAM, see UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p., also see Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; IOC, REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA, 2012.

<sup>99</sup> For more details of this development are found in Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *A Reflection*, 2004; Booth, *South African Game*, 1998.

and the pressures they face'.<sup>100</sup> Karl Marx argues that yes people ‘make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past’.<sup>101</sup> This working basis is referred to as the “structural conditioning of social life”<sup>102</sup> and ‘the historical transformation of structures by conflict, social movements and class struggles’.<sup>103</sup> It is through these “historical-structuralist explanations”<sup>104</sup> that the dynamic interplay between actors and context and between historical conditions and specific circumstances under which the initiation and halting of the struggles for equality, deracialisation of South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott, can be properly examined.

This thesis does not only examine the struggles to deracialise South African sport but also the rationale for initiation and the subsequent cessation of these struggles, which led to bitter divisions and tensions within the ranks of the NRSM, the AAM, the IOC, the IFs, the UN, the CHOGM and several countries, like Britain, Australia and New Zealand.<sup>105</sup> The South Africa sport, like elsewhere in the world, is a highly contested terrain and there have been arguments and counter-arguments on the value, role and effect of the attempts to deracialise sport, including the sports boycott campaigns against racialised sport landscape in South Africa under the period under discussion in this thesis.<sup>106</sup> This thesis attempts to present empirical evidence, looking at both sides of these arguments and therefore makes fair and unbiased conclusions. The reader of course can make specific pertinent conclusions independently. This approach finds merit in Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela’s words: ‘There are victories whose glory lies only in the fact that they are known to those who win them.’<sup>107</sup>

The campaign against the application of colour bar policies in South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns that were directed against apartheid sport in the second half of the twentieth century, were unrelenting global efforts to push the

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<sup>100</sup> Adam Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14.

<sup>101</sup> Karl Marx, ‘The Eighteenth Brumaire of Luis Bonaparte, in R. Tucker (ed), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, New York: WW Norton, 1852/1972, p. 437.

<sup>102</sup> Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution*, 2013, p.14.

<sup>103</sup> Henrique Fernando Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, p. x.

<sup>104</sup> Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution*, 2013, p.14.

<sup>105</sup> The 1981 socio-political crisis in New Zealand is an important example of in-country polarisation on the account of apartheid sport.

<sup>106</sup> For more information on this debate, see Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.1; Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy,” 2004; Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy,” 2004, pp.145-166.

<sup>107</sup> Quoted in Anne Marie du Preez Bezdrob, *Winnie Mandela: a life*, Cape Town, South Africa: Zebra Press, 2003, n.p.

country to concede to undertaking significant political and social change.<sup>108</sup> For instance, the boycott strategies and tactics by the liberation movement and AAM, albeit often contested within and outside movements and the country, evolved with time as determined by the balance of forces that played out against each other throughout the sport struggle era and the boycott period until the early 1990s.

The struggles to deracialise and liberalise South African sport originated from a long history of racial segregation, prior to the advent of apartheid and dates back to emperial and/or colonial times.<sup>109</sup> The boycott movement, however, emerged from concerns over the application of specific apartheid policies and laws such as the Dönges' policy statement of 27 June 1956, yet ultimately became part of a broad-scaled and comprehensive effort to achieve extensive changes in South Africa's political and socio-cultural landscape.<sup>110</sup> This development was further complicated by the IOC's indifference towards the plight of the black athletes in South Africa, during the era of President Avery Brundage (1952-1972) and to some degree, under Lord Killanin (1972-1980). It was apparent that during this period, as the NRSM and all the ant-apartheid proponents argued, the IOC (and to some degree, some IFs and the broader Olympic movement) chose to side with South Africa's establishment sport in contrast to its Olympic Charter.<sup>111</sup>

Throughout the 1950's, 1960s and the 1970's, the IOC faced serious challenges from the NRSM, AAM and from those who questioned the former's indifferent stance and this hypocrisy. These developments contributed in eroding the credibility and reputation this very important world sport organisation. It should be indicated that during this period,

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<sup>108</sup> Montagu and Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa", [A Paper Presented at the Anti-apartheid Movement Conference and held by the Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), (UKZN), Durban, South Africa, 2004, n.p.) [Also available in: [scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc](http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc)] [<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/18587620/Non-Traditional-Diplomacy>] [<http://uscpolicydiplomacy.org/index.php/library/>]; J. B. Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa", 2004, pp.145-166, also found in [www.ukzn.ac.za/aam2004/aamconfpapers/spector, jb.doc](http://www.ukzn.ac.za/aam2004/aamconfpapers/spector, jb.doc); [The Paper first appeared in a different form in the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) book entitled "New Tools for Reform and Stability", as: Spector, J.B. (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa", 2004, pp.145-166, in The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), book edited by G. Mills and E. Sidiropoulos, eds., *New Tools for Reform and Stability: Sanctions, Conditionalities and Conflict Resolution*, South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Jan Smuts House, Braamfontein: Johannesburg, 2004.

<sup>109</sup> Bernard Magubane, "The Politics of History in South Africa", New York: United Nation, 1982, p.1. [This paper, presented by Bernard Magubane, at the time a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Connecticut, was published at the request of the Special Committee Against apartheid, albeit the views expressed remained those of the author]; F. J.G. Van Der Merwe, *Sport History* (Stellenbosch, RSA, 1997); Andre Odendaal, Foreword to *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, by Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed, eds., University of South Africa Press, 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, pp.145-166.

<sup>111</sup> For more information about the discussion concerning the IOC's controversial role during this period, see the IOC Archives / IOCS and OM / South Africa, 1960-1970/ SANROC Memorandum, 1968; IOC, REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA, 2012; also see De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; de Broglio, "The SANROC Story," 2009. For more information on the twists and turns and contestations within the IOC, within the UN and its subsidiaries, within the LM and the AAM - see the UN, UN and apartheid – Chronological, u.d., n.p.

global sport had generally gained some socio-cultural and socio-economic hegemony throughout the world.

The global reach of sport such as the association football (or soccer), rugby, cricket, basketball, and the array of sport in the Olympic Games programme, ironically has a potential to create an important platform for social organisation or rallying people around a pertinent cause or the other and/or social movements like the NRSM and the AAM to view and use sport as an efficient target to highlight and achieve their cause. This practice in the contemporary world can be traced back to Europe and the USA's imperial and commercial expansion. The agents of imperialism, which included teachers, soldiers, traders, and colonial officials, viewed sport as an important part of their "civilizing mission." Military interventions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, often accompanied by "soft power" cultural programs and private business ventures, fuelled the popularity of Western sport. Reform movements tied eugenics and racism<sup>112</sup> to their dissemination. But local elites and subalterns were not simply duped; they enjoyed the games on their own terms. As more communities participated, sport came to represent and constitute broader processes of social change.

In the stands, sport pages, and clubhouses the fans rendered sport a place to debate racial and gender hierarchies. In the late twentieth century, international sport became part of a new global capitalist network of sport institutions (for example, FIFA, IOC, International Rugby Board (IRB) now simply, World rugby (WR) and the ICC), private corporations, mass media, and migrant athletes and coaches. In this process, sport came to symbolise and intensify unequal social and economic relations. This perhaps assists in understanding the nature and complexities involved in the struggles to deracialise South African sport throughout the mid-twentieth century.

Histories of sport reveal a paradox, where sport has proven to both create possibilities to generate empowerment and disempowerment; inclusion and exclusion and unity and division. This also happened in the apartheid sport experiences that gave rise to the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns. Sport has provided spaces for pleasure, freedom, solidarity, and resistance, but they have also reproduced class privilege, patriarchy, and racism. The modern Olympic

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<sup>112</sup> Eugenics was a late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomena. Its influences and aftermath relates creating a racialised society. The efforts to deracialise South African sport were some form of a response to the eugenic view. Although not related to this research, reflection on how the eugenics movement developed and impacted on South Africa and how 'eugenics thinking' facilitated the establishment of a foundation of racists thinking in the minds of white South Africans which left the policy of segregation and the ideology of apartheid unquestioned and accepted as scientific fact, could be invaluable.

Games have, from inception, at least in reality and practice, been reflective of contradictions. The performance of masculinities, creation of ideal body types, and the ongoing marginalisation of women in sport illustrate these tensions. It is no exaggeration to postulate that it was against the backdrop of these contradictions that the endeavour to deracialise South African sport started. Recent events in Brazil, where controversy over contemporary mega sporting events merged with massive demonstrations for a range of social justice issues, highlight the unusual capacity of sport both to crystallise inequalities and to trigger civic activism. Reports of labour abuses in Qatar and censorship and environmental damage in Russia cast a dark shadow on the human and material costs of hosting “mega” sport events.

Chapter Two of this thesis examines the background influences to and South Africa’s colonial sporting experiences (specifically, the application of the colour bar policies in sport) that might have been the precursors to apartheid sport. This is done to trace the arguments made to justify the initiation of the struggles to deracialise South African sport. The rationale for the fight for equality in sport and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns is assessed within the backdrop of the nature and state of the establishment sport,<sup>113</sup> including SANOC<sup>114</sup> during the pre-1948 period. The forces behind the original calls for the struggle against racially organised sport in South Africa and the subsequent proposals to initiate the processes to isolate it from the international arena are discussed.

This is achieved by outlining and “profiling” significant role players as they emerge from documentary sources in this more than forty-years of struggle to deracialise South African sport. This research is not necessarily a biographic work, but a historical study, which in the process of describing and analysing events and historical developments, themes emerge. The themes might also include key players in this long struggle. Reference and lessons from the work and the latest debates around issues relating to biography in South Africa by Ciraaj Rassool and Jonathan Hyslop have been consulted as demonstrated later in this section. For example, in the process of identifying key figures and major turning events, from which themes in this thesis emerged, an attempt was made to avoid beatification of individuals. While this work attempted to build narratives that are

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<sup>113</sup> The establishment or official sport was comprised of the provincial and national sport federations such as the South African Cricket Union (SACU); South African Rugby Board (SARB); South African Amateur Athletics Association (SAAAA) and others, as coordinated by the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC).

<sup>114</sup>The South Africa’s NOC has changed names several times in its long history. It started as the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association (SAOCGA) but later changed to simply, SANOC, throughout the apartheid years. In this thesis therefore, the acronym, SANOC is used.

geared towards the discovery of origins and causation, and although the study is based on an extensive, transnational search for written and other forms of sources of evidence of the struggles to deracialise South African sport, careful evaluation of these sources was paramount.

The initial responses by the establishment sport federations and SANOC, the IFs or otherwise the Olympic Movement, which comprises of the IOC, and the various NOCs, the IFs and the International Paralympic Committee (IPC), are assessed. The positions taken, methods adopted and the boycott calls by the NRSM and AAM to deracialise South African sport are also examined. More critically, the analyses of these struggles, particularly the outcome of the sports boycott campaigns and their role in shaping South Africa's sport policy direction after 1992, is undertaken. The assessment of how the sporting landscape and society responded to or "changed" subsequent to the struggles to deracialise South African sport post is paramount in order to put this study in a proper historical perspective.

In order to properly evaluate the impact of the endeavour to deracialise South African sport and the outcomes and effect of the sports boycott on country's sport landscape and society generally,<sup>115</sup> the period between 1988 and 1992<sup>116</sup> is important. This period includes examining the nature, status, organisational dynamics and coherence or lack thereof, of the NRSM,<sup>117</sup> the SANROC, the SACOS and the NSOC and their respective affiliate national (and provincial and regional) sport federations<sup>118</sup> and the key individuals.<sup>119</sup> The late 1980s and the early 1990s were the era of significantly heightened socio-political activity and manoeuvring in South Africa, both in the "sporting" front and/or on the "purely" body-political-dimension.<sup>120</sup> This era saw the release of political prisoners, including Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political

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<sup>115</sup> This includes South Africa's socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political dimensions.

<sup>116</sup> The period between 1988 and 1992 proved to be very important and challenging to the NSMS and the broader AAM. It also saw the release of probably the most well-known and important South African "prisoner", Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela. This is significant in the history of South Africa, for various reasons but most importantly, 02 February 1990 is generally believed to have initiated a series of momentous changes not only in the country but throughout the world. This is the year that the then IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch started the most essential processes that saw South Africa return to international sporting family, twenty years after it was expelled by the IOC and various Olympic Movement entities. For more information on these developments see Roberts (eds.) (1989) *Sport and Transformation*; Roberts (eds.) (1990) *Challenges Facing South African Sport*; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities*; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*.

<sup>117</sup> These include the South Africa Sports Association (SASA); South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC); SACOS and NSOC or simply, National Sport Congress/Council (NSC).

<sup>118</sup> Such as the Amateur Swimming Association of South Africa (ASASA); South African Rugby Union (SARU), etc.

<sup>119</sup> These include among others, Dennis Brutus and Sam Ramsamy, the President and Executive Chairman of SAN-ROC respectively and Frank van der Horst and Yusuf Joe Ebrahim of SACOS, etc.

<sup>120</sup> See Roberts (eds.) (1989) *Sport and Transformation*; Roberts (eds.) (1990) *Challenges Facing South African Sport*; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities*; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*.

organisations but critically, in the sporting front, South Africa and the world “celebrated” the “Olympic-breakthrough” in 1991 when the *Sport and Olympism Commission* chaired by Judge Kéba Mbaye granted provisional IOC recognition to the newly-formed Interim National Olympic Committee of South Africa (INOCSA).<sup>121</sup>

This thesis also recommends that for future research, an assessment of the effect of this “Olympic breakthrough” should be undertaken, particularly the period between 1992 and 2005. Such research can add invaluable contribution in the South African historiography and of course play a critical role in augmenting the current work and that of Desai, A. *The Race To Transform: Sport in Post-apartheid South Africa*, HSRC, 2010.<sup>122</sup> The period 1992 and 2005, however, fall outside the scope of the study. This thesis, however, attempts to evaluate the role that the struggles to deracialise South African sport played in the country’s and the international community’s socio-political sporting dynamics. This was done through the use of UN documents, IOC documents and other pertinent sources from the AAM, the NRSM and the LM.

During the colonial and apartheid period, governments interfered in sport matters and how the national sport federations were governed and administered. This in some way contributed in the application of the colour bar policies and the apartheid policies in the sport after 1948. This formed the crux of the argument and the struggles to deracialise South African sport by the NRSM.<sup>123</sup> It was, however, the whites-only sport federations that religiously accepted the racist status quo of the colonial system and enthusiastically applied the apartheid policies in sport. In fact, even though there was no law to this effect, the whites-only sport federations constitutionally ‘barred blacks from membership’,<sup>124</sup> This perhaps relates to need for a reflection on how the eugenics movement developed and impacted on South Africa and how ‘eugenics thinking’ facilitated the establishment of a foundation of racists thinking in the minds of white South Africans which left the policy of segregation and the ideology of apartheid unquestioned and accepted as scientific fact,<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>122</sup> Desai, A. (eds.) (2011) *The Race To Transform: Sport in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Pretoria: Human Research Council.

<sup>123</sup>United Nations (U.N.)/Department of Political and Security Council Affairs/Notes and Documents/April 1980/Sam Ramsamy/“Racial Discrimination in South African Sport” /pp.1-61/ [A paper published at the request of the Special Committee Against apartheid and prepared by Sam Ramsamy, Chairman of SANROC].

<sup>124</sup> Ramsamy (1980) “Racial Discrimination in South African Sport,” p.3.

<sup>125</sup>Sutton, G. “The Layering of History A brief look at Eugenics, the Holocaust and Scientific Racism in South Africa. *Yesterday & Today* No1, May 2007. Also available on: [http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/5574/Y%26T\\_2007\(1\)\\_Sutton.pdf?sequence=1](http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/5574/Y%26T_2007(1)_Sutton.pdf?sequence=1)

could be invaluable. Most importantly, it was against this background that the NRSM called for the deracialisation of the country's sport.<sup>126</sup>

The apartheid government and the whites-only sport federations' relationship brought challenges to the country's sport, especially between SANOC, its national sport federation and the broader Olympic Movement. The Olympic Movement, as outlined in the Olympic Charter, generally insists on a non-government "interference" principle in sport and preferring to rather deal directly with the respective national sport federations and NOC's with regard to sport matters. The apartheid government together with the whites-only sport federations, some sympathetic IFs to it and some countries that supported and sympathised with the SAG joined forces in resisting the calls for the egalitarian sport organisation in South Africa. The non-racial sport leaders were frequently banned, imprisoned and persecuted, sometimes treated with brutality.<sup>127</sup> In fact, the whites-only sport federations in many occasions seemed to voluntarily apply the policy of apartheid in sport and conscientiously adhered to it even though there was no sport policy or legislation in place until 1956, to enforce racial segregation in the country's sport fields.<sup>128</sup>

The application of colour bar and apartheid policies to the country's sport was therefore analysed in this thesis against the backdrop of the need to deracialise and transform the South African sporting landscape from colonial sporting experiences, to the apartheid sporting quagmire and *en route* to the era of sport equality. Evidence is the crux of historical study, as in all research. This thesis relies on documentary evidence, housed in various archival repositories. It is critical to note that this research does not present these archives as neutral sites of information storage, which they are not. This is a shortcoming that any historical researcher will have to address: how does one engage with source material? The work of Ciraaj Rassool (2004), Douglas Booth (2006) and Premish

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<sup>126</sup> Ramsamy (1980) "Racial Discrimination in South African Sport," pp.1-61.

<sup>127</sup> For example Dennis Brutus, at the time leading SANROC, was shot in the stomach at point range in Johannesburg. Many other leaders were also persecuted and as such left the country for several exile destinations. For more information on these, see Ramsamy (1980) "Racial Discrimination in South African Sport," pp.1-61; IOC Archives / IOCS and the Olympic Movement (OM) / South Africa, 1955-1960 / SASA Memorandum, 1959; IOC Archives / IOCS and OM / South Africa, 1955-1960 / SANROC Memorandum, 1968; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Booth, *The Race Game. Sport and Politics in South Africa*, 1998; De Broglio, "The SANROC Story" [Online: www.san-roc], 2009; Guelke, A. (1986) "The Politicisation of South African sport", in Allison, L. (eds.) *The Politics of Sport*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, pp.119-120; Guelke, A. (2012) "Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies" [Paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference, 25-28 June 2012 at Ulster University, Northern Ireland, UK].

<sup>128</sup> IOC Archives / IOC and OM / South Africa, 1955-1960 / SASA Memo, 1959; IOC Archives / IOC and the OM / South Africa, 1955-1960 / SANROC Memo, 1968, De Broglio (1970) *South African Sport*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story"; Guelke (1986) "The Politicisation of South African sport", pp.119-120; Guelke (2012) "Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies".

Lalu<sup>129</sup> serves as important guide as they have presented work in the area of the problems around archives. For instance, Rassool, quoting Baruch Hirson, refers to the importance of raising above ‘rancour of yesteryear’<sup>130</sup> and a form of writing that ‘stand(s) as more than merely the personal testimony of an activist wanting to set records straight,’<sup>131</sup> but rather relay on ‘basic documents’ as evidence to tell stories ‘dispassionately’ and to achieve the accuracy needed to avoid a ‘mere plotting of history.’<sup>132</sup>

The debate on the issue of source material in this study is paramount. For example, Hirson argues that:

The reading of documents is not proof against false conclusions – but the historian must at least have these available before a coherent account can be written. More than this, there must be some insight into the period in the country’s history, the members and their actions. In the absence of such evidence and insights, what is written can only misinform.<sup>133</sup>

Hirson’s position above is important. This thesis relies heavily on documentary evidence. However, it also taps to other pieces of evidence (including the video recorded material) such as data on the topic under discussion, and therefore makes it less of a “purely” documented analysis and or account as discussed by Rassool and Hirson above.

In an attempt to respond to the challenges posed by material sources, this study undertook a critical analysis of pertinent documentary sources. They predominantly included information from all sides of the sport-discussion divide, namely the whites-only establishment or official sport versus the broader NRSM side. Of course the sporting divide was not always necessarily a whites-only side versus the black and/or non-racial side. For instance, in 1971, the SAG ‘introduced the multinational sport programme’ as a response to problems that were presented by the sports boycott campaigns and as such some sections of the black population were somewhat coerced into participating in these

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<sup>129</sup> For instance, in the paper, “Sara’s suicide: History and the representational limit,” University of the Western Cape: Kronos, No. 26. (8).1. 2000, pp. 89-101, Premesh Lalu deals with cognitive failures and historiographical blind spots in legal and historical representations of the colonised subject. It concerns an archival fragment from the seventeenth century—the suicide of a young woman called Sara in the period of Dutch rule at the Cape. The paper focuses on the production of evidentiary sources and examines the mediations by which a colonial text on subalterns becomes available to the present.

<sup>130</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.307; for more information on this position see Baruch Hirson, *Yours for the Union: Class and Community Struggles in South Africa 1930-1947*, London: Zed, 1989.

<sup>131</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.307.

<sup>132</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, p.307.

<sup>133</sup> See Rassool (2004) *The Individual*, pp.307-308, quoting, Hirson, B. (1993) *Additional Comments to Al Richardson’s (1991) Review of Alexander, R.J. (1991) International Trotskyism 1929-1985: A Documented Analysis of the Movement*. Durham: Duke University Press 1991), in Revolutionary History, Vol 4, Spring, 1993, pp.173-174.

official (or establishment) sport programmes, albeit with subservient status to the white sportspersons.<sup>134</sup> This is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

The approach of accessing all pertinent documents or documents that are inclusive of various viewpoints was adopted to get information from the contending parties. More importantly, this study also endeavoured to avoid treating these documentary sources ‘as unmediated source, and simply mined for facts’<sup>135</sup> on the struggle to deracialise South African sport. Consideration was granted to for instance, of the latest debates around issues relating to problems and challenges with regard to archival sources, documentary evidence and to some degree, auto/biography on South Africa and beyond. For example, the works of Ciraaj Shahid Rassool, “The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa”, 2004<sup>136</sup>, Jonathan Hyslop,<sup>137</sup> and Douglas Booth, *The Field*,<sup>138</sup> were used as important guides to making certain decisions and drawing some conclusions.

Inevitably, the question of bias arises in relation to a topic as contested as the one with which this thesis is concerned. Bias can never be totally avoided, but a real effort to obtain evidence from a wide range of often conflicting sources and an honest weighing of this evidence can enable the historian to come, as far as possible, to balanced, rational, conclusions. This is consistent with a definite point of view in the historian: the question is not one of denying that point of view, which in this case is one of broad sympathy with the forces of non-racialism in sport, but rather of recognising it and not allowing it to overshadow his scholarly weighing of evidence from whatever source. As will be seen, records from all sides in the ongoing debates and conflicts have been identified and considered, not least the records of the official apartheid sporting bodies, many of which are conveniently gathered in the archives of the IOC in Lausanne in Switzerland. In short, the author believes that he has surveyed all sides of the questions with which he has dealt, that his point of view is made clear to the reader, and that he has made every effort to understand and record the positions of all the actors.

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<sup>134</sup> For more information on the multinational programmes, see Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.202.

<sup>135</sup> For more information on the approach ‘to biographic research and heritage work that poses questions about the conditions and relations through which biographical narratives came to be produced,’ (p.513), as presented by Rassool (2004) *The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa*, A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of the Western Cape, May, p.304. Rassool also uses the word ‘mined’ and the phrase “...for facts on....” in p.300, with reference to Carter, T.G. and Karis, G. (eds.) (1977) *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. Volume 4, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1972-1977, p.150.

<sup>136</sup> Rassool (2004) *The Individual*.

<sup>137</sup> See for instance, Hyslop, J. (2008) *Gandhi, Mandela and the African Modern*, in Mbembe, A. and Nuttall, S. (eds.) *Johannesburg – The Elusive Metropolis*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press and also in Hyslop, J. (2014) “Mandela on War”, in Barnard, R. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Nelson Mandela*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 162-181.

<sup>138</sup> Booth, D. (2006) *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. London: Routledge.

The IOC Archives for instance, house documents in the form of meeting minutes of the IOC Sessions and the IOC Executive Board, the IOC commissioned reports and the memoranda submitted to the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement or IFs by the various affected individuals, interest groups such as SANOC, the Transvaal Indian Youth (TIY), SASA, SANROC, SCSA, the ANOCA, the various IFs and the broader AAM. Some other documents came on the form of IOC publications and the important IOC correspondence. Correspondence was from various sources either to the IOC and/or from it to SANOC or the whites-only sport federations or from the NRSM and other role players within the NRSM and the AAM.

Most importantly, as can deduced from above, the IOC Archives contained documents about the activities of South African whites-only sport federations including SANOC, of which some were actually kept, collated and deposited. Similarly, the NRSM documents are also found in the IOC Archive, within IOC Olympic Museum's Olympic Studies Centre, which made these archives, in as far as the researcher was concerned, balanced and acceptable. The bulk of this documentation is located in the archives of the IOC at the Olympic Museum in the Olympic capital city, Lausanne in Switzerland.

Documents of both the establishment sport and those of the NRSM and AAM were found in other repositories well. These include the Robben Island Museum's Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape in Bellville in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. There is also another significant repository, namely the ANC archives at the National Heritage and Cultural Studies (NAHECS) Centre repository at the University of Fort Hare (UFH) in Alice in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This centre is closely linked to the "Sport and Liberation" archives that are also housed by NAHECS at the same University. Last, but not least, are the two important repositories that include the AAM archives that are located at the Bodleian Library at the Rhodes House (a part of the Bodleian Libraries) of Oxford University in Oxford in the UK. The second is the UN Library material in the Geneva Office in Switzerland. The researcher had the privilege of receiving funding from various sources, which made it possible to travel to these destinations to access these documents.

## 1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM / PROBLEM STATEMENT

Sport in South Africa has long been organised on a racially segregationist basis and it is therefore not surprising that it became a powerful symbol of the struggle against apartheid for many years.<sup>139</sup> The relationship between politics and sport has always been a factor in South Africa and in many divided societies throughout the world.<sup>140</sup> In fact, ‘sport and global politics have become intertwined to such an extent that scarcely any major international sporting contest takes place without political controversies involving issues that have no direct bearing on the contest itself or even the particular sport.’<sup>141</sup> Further, as identity issues have come to the fore in contemporary politics, there is often a connection to questions of race and ethnicity as well. Naturally, the notion that sport in the past was ever entirely free of such entanglements is a myth.<sup>142</sup> The precept or norm that politics should not intrude in sport was however, widely advanced. ‘Its demise may be seen, in part, as a consequence of the impact of the issue of apartheid in sport, an argument decisively won by the advocates of a boycott of South African sport.’<sup>143</sup> This set a precedent for the more general use of boycotts in sport as a diplomatic weapon against rogue regimes, especially after the end of the Cold War.

In the case of deeply divided societies such as South Africa during the colonial/imperial and apartheid times, the connection between politics and sport is underpinned by a central aspect of such societies, the tendency of people in such societies to view virtually all aspects of life through the prism of the central divide. ‘The conduct of sport itself in such societies therefore tends to reflect the primary fault-line within society, if it is, at worst, not a direct player in the conflict or otherwise in resolving it? And there

<sup>139</sup> The racial experiences in South African sport are well-known and the challenge to these by people such Rangasamy in 1946 and the birth of CIR in 1955 were an expression of this discontent, as shown in the current Chapter and are discussed in detail in Chapter Two and Chapter Four. More information on this subject can be found in: IOC, 1955; IOC, 1959; SASA, 1959; IOC, 1963; SANROC, 1963; De Broglio (1970) *South African Sport*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*,1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Brown, B. (2005) “The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport–A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement” in Thomas, C. (eds.) (2006) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*. Pretoria: Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare; Thomas, C. (2006) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*; Van Der Horst, F.A. (2005) “The South African Council on Sport (SACOS): The sport wing of the liberation movement,” a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference, hosted by UFH and the Sport and Recreation South Africa (Department of Sport), in East London, in October 14–16; Brittain, I. (2011) “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, *Sport in Society*, Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181. Also see Brittain, I. (2012) “South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games,” pp. 97–110, in Le Clair, J.M. (ed.) (2012) *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge.

<sup>140</sup> This is discussed in among others: De Broglio (1970) *South African Sport*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*,1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Brown, ‘The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport, 2006; Thomas, *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*, 2006; Van der Horst, ‘The South African Council on Sport’, 2006; Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, 2011; Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games”, 2012, pp. 97–110; Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

<sup>141</sup> Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

<sup>142</sup> Al-Tauqi (2003) *Olympic Solidarity*, p.1; Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

<sup>143</sup> Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

may be limited opportunities for sport to bridge the divide.<sup>144</sup> In exceptional cases, however, even during periods of intense inter-communal conflict, sport in individual cases may succeed in transcending the divide and may stand out as an example against the prevailing spirit of the times. Less controversially, when the conflict is brought to end, sport can act as a symbolically important arena of reconciliation in a deeply divided society.<sup>145</sup> The post-apartheid South African sport policy apparently took this form while at the same time also underpinning the essence of transformation and broadening the sport base and participation. They emphasise development of youth sport and introduce “new” sports in some communities.

This thesis therefore, as it examines the struggles to deracialise South African sport, also hopes to address the history of the fight for equality in sport and the application of colour bar and later apartheid policies in sport. Specific emphasis was placed on the role of transnational sport organisations such as the IOC and the various IFs, in resolving the South African sport racial problem. These efforts were primarily led by the NRSM and to some degree by the broader AAM. The AAM was ably assisted by individual sportspersons or leaders that were members of the IOC and IFs within these transnational organisations. These were coordinated by ‘a loose and variable coalition of African, Third World and Communist states in the Olympic movement’<sup>146</sup> and/or specifically within the IOC and the IFs.

To achieve their goals of defeating apartheid sport, the African states primarily used their sport wing, the SCPA and ANOCA. Their contribution in assisting the NRSM and the AAM deal with the apartheid sport problem, the African states, together with Asian and/or Third World countries and Communist states also utilised the international forums such as the UN, the AOU, and CHOG. The results of these collaborative efforts contributed in forcing the IOC to suspend South Africa from the 1964 Seoul Olympic Games, from the Mexico Games in 1968 and eventually expelling it in 1970. This triggered a series of diplomatic actions by other organisations that soon left the country internationally isolated.<sup>147</sup>

A similar development was also observed when the IOC readmitted South Africa’s NOC back to the IOC and this in the Olympic Movement in 1991. The broader

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<sup>144</sup> Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

<sup>145</sup> Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

<sup>146</sup> Cornelissen, “Resolving the South Africa problem,” 2011), p. 153 & pp.154-169.

<sup>147</sup> Cornelissen (2011) “Resolving the South Africa problem”, 2011, p. 153.

international community of nations and other transnational organisations followed swiftly by initiating similar actions, which ultimately culminated in country's full diplomatic reincorporation. These IOC decisions were a watershed of foreign policy moments in the global society's stance against the South African regime that was still practising apartheid as its overarching policy. The former, could also be associated with the apparent effect of a lengthy transnational sports boycott campaigns.

In the post-institutionalised apartheid era, a variety of scholarly analyses has explored the dimensions and longer-term legacies of the broader AAM, which the NRSM was an integral part, as one of the twentieth century's most far-reaching and influential social movement. These analyses have looked at the significance of the AAM's transnational nature, which was totally able to maintain momentum for close to thirty years of activism.<sup>148</sup> This thesis focused on the attempts to deracialise South African sport and part of this exercise was to assess the sports boycott-transnational activism that might have generated the broader Olympic movement's isolation of whites-only South African teams and specifically, the IOC's 'watershed foreign policy moment' decisions - to suspend (1964 and 1968), expel (1970) and re-admit (1991) the country.

It is apparent in the literature<sup>149</sup> that the essence of exploring the historical, ideological underpinnings and the political dimensions of an advocacy campaign that spanned decades is found. The former placed emphasis on looking at the apparent systemic rationale and to the way in which the apartheid order was maintained, as well as how it was challenged transnationally. Scarlett Cornelissen argues that '[O]ne domain in which these aspects are visible in the anti-apartheid movement – and an arena that has largely been ignored by most reviewers of South Africa's recent political transition – is that of sport.'<sup>150</sup>

The current thesis therefore sought to embark on examining the struggles to deracialise South African sport, which culminated in the sports boycott campaigns. This took the form of long transnational activism, which were not only aimed isolating whites-only teams from the international sports arena but also aimed at forcing policy change and this the deracialising South Africa's racial sports landscape. One of the ultimate goals of these actions within the sports community was to effect policy change from apartheid regimes sport policies, including the multinational sports policy, to non-racial or all-race

<sup>148</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", 2011, p. 154.

<sup>149</sup> See the detailed discussion of this in Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", 2011.

<sup>150</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", 2011, p. 154.

inclusive and egalitarian sport set-up. This became the measure according to which to assess the extent to which these efforts paid off during and after these campaigns.

Given that by 1970s many IFs (such as athletics' International Amateur Athletics Federation, IAAF; soccer/association football's FIFA; table tennis' ITTF; tennis' Davis Cup, weightlifting and body building's IWBF, boxing's World Boxing Association and World Boxing Council (WBC), wrestling, to mention a few), sparing rugby (the International Rugby Board, IRB) and to some degree, cricket (ICC), the sports of the empire and most popular sports in South Africa, (especially among the white populations (English and Afrikaans speakers) and the black peoples (the Xhosa people, the Coloured and peoples of Indian descend) in the (eastern and western) Cape and some other places such as Kimberly and Natal, had long suspended membership or expelled and excluded the whites-only South African teams from their international sport competitions.<sup>151</sup> In fact, it was for this reason that the sports boycott campaigns mostly affected whites-only rugby and cricket. However, even though the ICC had excluded South Africa from its competitions, the country's whites-only cricket teams continued to enjoy support and competed against the white commonwealth cricketing countries.<sup>152</sup>

In fact, by the time the sports boycott were initiated against the whites-only South African teams even before the country's racial cricket team was suspended by the ICC, they had only played white cricketing nations. The same could be said of the South African whites-only rugby as well. It was only in 1981 that the IRB issued a ban on South Africa rugby team. Yet, the Springboks, the South African rugby team had been engaging in numerous international rugby encounters against the rugby superpowers of New Zealand, Australia, the British Lions and France, to mention a few. It was against this backdrop that rugby and cricket faced so much controversy in the international arena during the apartheid era. Consequently, after the 1991/1992 Olympic "breakthrough" season and certainly after 1994 South Africa's political "breakthrough," a lot was expected of these two sporting codes in terms of both transformation at all levels (including giving opportunities to previously excluded black athletes, administrators and officials) and their broadened development programme (provision of playing, coaching and training opportunities and facilities to previously marginalised youth) base, by both the newly

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<sup>151</sup> See UNU on apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971; see also de Broglio, SANROC Story, 2009.

<sup>152</sup> UNU on apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971.

configured “non-racial” sport federations and the various layers of the new democratic government.

In the mid-1990’s, for instance, the issues of sport transformation and/or “affirmative action” strategies such as the “quota system” became the hue and cry as sport in general had been hardly transformed for the better in the eyes of the black majority sportspersons.<sup>153</sup> Andre Odendaal argues that during the mid-1990’s complaints began to surface about glass-ceiling and lack of change in South African cricket.<sup>154</sup> Many former non-racial cricket activists felt that while there was apparent rhetoric on development, black cricketers were making little headway at the elite provincial and national levels and calls for substantial and fundamental transformation in South African cricket were made and tangible delivery of agreed-up deliverables were demanded.<sup>155</sup>

In fact, by 1998 already, the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) was forced to find a more equitable solution to the prevailing impasse, and more seriously, the supposed ‘lack of trust’<sup>156</sup> within itself and the broader cricketing fraternity in the country. It took Imtiaz Patel to lead UCBSA in taking up a campaign of mapping out a new plan for cricket in the country and the ‘National Transformation Charter’ emerged.<sup>157</sup>

In the recent past, public spats had been observed between the former NRSM and the AAM activists.<sup>158</sup> These disagreements centred on criticisms of the state of the country’s socio-political and socio-economic condition, including lack of transformation in sport. It should be located in the context of the country’s socio-political transformation from apartheid to the democratic dispensation. This meant a drastic departure from apartheid sport to the non-racial or egalitarian sport landscape. The disagreements about the direction the country’s sport was taking came with growing calls to address the perceived perpetuation of socio-political and socio-economic disparities.

The former activists argued that change or transformation in sport was slow and in fact beginning to very much resemble the apartheid era and society as opposed to what they expected of ‘the South Africa we have fought for’.<sup>159</sup> In fact, early in 2008, John Minto, who fervently led the AAM and the sports boycott in New Zealand, declined the nomination for national honours by the South African government on the basis that he

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<sup>153</sup> *The Times*, Tuesday, April 1, 2008, p.38.

<sup>154</sup> Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*.

<sup>155</sup> Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*.

<sup>156</sup> Khota (2000) “Across The Great Divide”, p.6.

<sup>157</sup> Khota (2000) “Across The Great Divide”, p.6.

<sup>158</sup> *Mail and Guardian*, February, 2008.

<sup>159</sup> *Mail and Guardian*, February, 2008, p.4.

‘cannot celebrate the current social conditions’ in the country because they are not what he and other multitudes of ‘anti-apartheid fought and sacrificed for.’<sup>160</sup> A year earlier in December 2007, Dennis Brutus, one of the stalwarts of the NRSM also snubbed and refused to be in the South African sports Hall of Fame. Brutus returned the award that was bestowed to him as ‘a matter of principle.’<sup>161</sup> He denounced the ideology behind the establishment of the country’s sports Hall of Fame, describing it as ‘sham if those who fought the struggles against the apartheid sport were to be honoured the same way and alongside those who defended this inhumane system.’<sup>162</sup> This action underpinned the gravity of growing discontent and challenges facing the “new” South African sport dispensation and these have been dominating the discourse within various media platforms.

The leading print media houses, various radio stations and the dominant television stations in South Africa have been reporting and broadcasting the various sport challenges for several years now since 1992. The topical issues centred on the idea that the long-held view that sport and politics should not mix in South Africa and perhaps throughout the world, is misconceived and therefore a myth.<sup>163</sup> A growing body of evidence validating this have been in the public domain for a while now and still continue to surface,<sup>164</sup> showing that sport and politics are, in fact, overlapping more often rather than previously imagined. It was against this background that sport in South Africa under the apartheid government was in dire need of change to foster growth.<sup>165</sup>

In 2001 the UCBSA argued that it was due to the division orchestrated by the apartheid government’s policy that players and coaches from diverse racial groups developed differently. In its founding policy document the UCBSA<sup>166</sup> and all its affiliates, ‘confirmed their commitment to the growth of the new, democratic and non-racial, South

<sup>160</sup> See the South Africa’s *Mail and Guardian*, 28 January 2008, p.4; also the South African Press Association (SAPA), 28 January 2008, p.8; and the *Christchurch Press* newspaper, 28 January 2008, p.16.

<sup>161</sup> *The Mercury*, 07 December 07, 2007, p.21; *Sunday Independent*, 12 January 2008, p.20.

<sup>162</sup> *The Mercury*, 07 December 07, 2007, p.21; *Sunday Independent*, 12 January 2008, p.20.

<sup>163</sup> See the discussion on this subject in Al-Tauqi (2003).

<sup>164</sup> See SASA Memorandum, 1958; Brutus, Letters to the IOC, 1958; De Broglie (1970) *South African Sport*; Ramsamy, *Apartheid*, 1982; Allison, L. (1993) “The changing context of sporting life”, in Allison (eds.) *The Changing Politics of Sport*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993, pp.119-12011; Grundlingh, Odendaal, Spies, *Beyond the tryline*, 1995; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Arianna Lissoni, The Anti-apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa: Anti-apartheid Protest vs Real Politik: A history of the AAM and its influence on the British Government’s policy towards South Africa in 1964, a dissertation, 15 September 2000. Also found in <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5695andt=British Anti-apartheid Movement>; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Khota (2000) “Across The Great Divide”; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Al-Tauqi (2003) *Olympic Solidarity*; Thomas, *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*, 2006; Brown, “The Destruction of the Non-Racial Sport”, 2006; Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, 2011; Cornelissen (2011) “Resolving the South Africa problem”, 2011; Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”.

<sup>165</sup> United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA), “The Transformation Monitoring Committee Fifth Report”, UCBSA, 2001.

<sup>166</sup> UCBSA, “The Transformation Monitoring Committee Fifth Report”, 1991.

Africa<sup>167</sup> and its entire population. In 2004 the UCBSA introduced development programmes not only to make a dynamic impact on the reconstruction of cricket in the country but also to assist with the transformation of sport in South African society.<sup>168</sup>

This was so because the view that pervaded the South African lexicon at the time was that '[S]port remains an integral part of the process of cultural and political assimilation and mobilisation'.<sup>169</sup> This view was of course not necessarily new as Odendaal<sup>170</sup> states that:

...Sport and in particular cricket served a specific political function for the black elites: By enthusiastically playing the most gentlemanly and Victorian game, intended to adopt and assimilate European culture and behave like gentlemen and by extension to show their fitness to be accepted as full citizens in the Cape Society...<sup>171</sup>

The sport-and-politics relationship posed complex challenges for the newly-established country's sporting federation and a battle ground of ideas on this matter was also ensuing within world sport as well. In the pre-and-post South African contexts, sport has often had the propensity to expose or act an outlet of various national pressing questions in a more visible manner than any other socio-cultural form. This was so because the country's '[P]olitics decided on a racial basis on the scope of sporting relations, relegated black sportsmen to inferior facilities and opportunities.'<sup>172</sup> More interestingly, '[I]t was the Basil D'Oliveira affair that set the stage for opposition to apartheid sport, and resulted in South Africans eventual isolation in international sport.'<sup>173</sup>

The sports boycott as part of a comprehensive disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa, 'shook white morale and increased the sense of international isolation and unacceptability of the apartheid policy'<sup>174</sup> and; this was so because, [As] Trevor Huddleston observed, 'sport was South Africa's Achilles' heel'<sup>175</sup> arguing that '[O]ne is able to witness the groundless claim of sporting autonomy: The myth of sporting political autonomy'<sup>176</sup> is

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<sup>167</sup> K. Kidson, *The History of Transvaal Cricket*, The Transvaal Cricket, 1995, p.224.

<sup>168</sup> UCBSA, "Promotional Brochure", 2004.

<sup>169</sup> Gregory Fredericks, *Sport Transformation Charter*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 2004, p.2.

<sup>170</sup> Andre Odendaal, 'South Africa's Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century', in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700–1914*, London: Frank Cass, 1988, p.200.

<sup>171</sup> Odendaal, 'South Africa's Black Victorians', 1988, p.200.

<sup>172</sup> Peter Hain, *Don't Play with Apartheid: The Background to the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1971, p.86.

<sup>173</sup> Lapchick, *The Politics of Race and International Sport: The case of South Africa*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975, p.202.

<sup>174</sup> Penguin, "The Sanctions Report Prepared for the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa", 1989, p.13.

<sup>175</sup> E. Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*, London: Routledge, 1990:165; Allison, "The changing context of sporting life", 1993, p.6.

<sup>176</sup> Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*, 1990:165); Allison, "The changing context of sporting life", 1993, p.6.

challenged by specific and realistic forms that ‘demonstrate that sport could be used to cause political pain, and that recipients of sporting pressure were affected’.<sup>177</sup>

Accusations and counter-accusations from the country’s socio-political “agenda-setters” such as sport writers, radio personalities, academics and public commentators and sport and government officials, often ensued whenever a topical social issue such as the question of transformation or development in the country’s sport and other forms of social redress campaigns were up for discussion. Outlining his observations on the country’s post-1992 landscape, a leading sport writer and reporter, Archie Henderson, in his “No Boundaries: Take quota out of thine own eye” column, succinctly summarised the issue of sport transformation in South Africa:

... [B]y and large, white people, who have never had it so good in South Africa, and including the cricket players’ association, don’t really give a stuff for transformation. They can’t (won’t?) accept need for affirmative action .... The biggest stumbling block towards transformation... could be black players themselves. They need to start taking responsibility for themselves – instead of succumbing to white pressures that they are “quota” players”....<sup>178</sup>

It is apparent that by the mid-1990’s, South African society had social challenges. Sometimes it seemed as though the country was at political loggerheads with itself. Social transformation generally and the issue of transformation in sport in particular ‘had by that time proven to be unacceptably slow for the non-racial sportspersons’<sup>179</sup>. These ideals were overtly rejected, either with subtle and sophisticated tactics to delay, derail and frustrate the successes of these initiatives.<sup>180</sup> Issues included, among others, the alleged “gate-keeping” tactics<sup>181</sup> and “wiggle-rooms”; the significant social challenges, which included the supposed “racially motivated killings”<sup>182</sup>; the gross racial earning disparities; the staggeringly slow pace of economic deracialisation and; the lack of land reform. These issues motivated the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) chairperson, Jody Kollapen, to wonder ‘if perhaps the issue of reconciliation was over-emphasised in

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<sup>177</sup> Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*, 1990:165); Allison, “The changing context of sporting life”, 1993, p.6.

<sup>178</sup> *The Times*, Tuesday, April 1, 2008, p.38.

<sup>179</sup> *The Times*, Tuesday, April 1, 2008, p.38.

<sup>180</sup> Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Booth, *The Race Game* 1998; Odendaal, 2003; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Thomas, *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*, 2006; Brown, “The Destruction of the Non-Racial Sport”, 2006; *The Times*, 2008.

<sup>181</sup> Odendaal (1995) “The thing that is not round”; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*; Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*.

<sup>182</sup> *Mail and Guardian*, 2008.

post-1994 South Africa... at the expense of transformation'.<sup>183</sup> Like Kollapen, Bell and Ntsebeza<sup>184</sup> questioned:

...Were truth and justice sacrificed to reconciliation? Most importantly, no serious examination was made of the system that gave rise to some of the most horrific, racist social engineering of modern times....<sup>185</sup>

The AAM and the NRSM led by SANROC and SACOS had two main objectives: to deracialise South African sport and more generally to defeat and obliterate the apartheid system.<sup>186</sup> These movements effectively campaigned to bring about positive social change in the country.<sup>187</sup> In this sense, the AAM and the NRSM aimed to totally isolate the South African regime and the whites-only sport and encouraged all communities locally and internationally to punish and not collaborate with the country and its apartheid political system and its supporters.<sup>188</sup> On several occasions, the Antonio Samaranch's post-1980 IOC warned the SANROC and the broader NRSM and the AAM 'to be always on guard'<sup>189</sup> for the sophisticated forms of deceit and 'bodyguard of lies'<sup>190</sup> about the status of the apartheid political system inside the country and from the apologists from various fronts the world over.

In the 1970s the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), led by Steven Bantu Biko emerged in South Africa, with the purpose to raise political awareness and consciousness; urging black people to remove the shackles of inferiority and dependency engendered by generations of white oppression and paternalism.<sup>191</sup> However, the Nationalist Party (NP) government twisted the BCM's message, 'claiming that it was endorsing',<sup>192</sup> and consistent with 'its policy of separate development'.<sup>193</sup> Douglas Booth<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> *Mail and Guardian*, 27 February, 2008:4.

<sup>184</sup> Terry Bell and Dumisa Ntsebeza, *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*, 2001, p.20.

<sup>185</sup> Bell and Ntsebeza, *Unfinished Business*, 2001, p.21.

<sup>186</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Brutus, 1989; Montagu and Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", n.p.; Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", pp.145-166; Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*, 2004.

<sup>187</sup> Montagu and Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", n.p.; Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", pp.145-166; Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*, 2004.

<sup>188</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism".

<sup>189</sup> This matter is discussed in detail in Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.11; but this position was first shared by Juan Antonio Samaranch on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1988, which Mbaye, quoted in 1995, p.11. This also appeared in the *Olympic Review* – the Official Publication of the Olympic Movement), in 1988, p.347 [243-244] /IOC Documents, 1988, p.345-347.

<sup>190</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; F.W. De Klerk, *Die Laaste Trek – 'n nuwe begin: Die Outobiografie*. Human and Rousseau (Edms) Bpk, Cape Town, South Africa, 1998; F.W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek – A New Beginning: A Biography*, Macmillan Publishers Ltd, London, UK, 1999.

<sup>191</sup> Steven Bantu Biko, *I Write What I Like*, 1979, in Douglas Booth, "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa", University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999, p.9.

<sup>192</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>193</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>194</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism".

argues that the BCM's philosophy reinforced the entrenched SACOS's and therefore the broader NRSM's and the AAM's stance towards total non-collaboration with the apartheid regime, policies and programmes. It is known that the NUM, which many of its leaders were also leaders of SACOS, was the initial proponents of the principle of non-collaboration since the 1940s. The principle of non-collaboration was in-line with and reinforced the international sanctions against the South Africa apartheid regime, including the sports boycott. However, Douglas Booth argues that:

...non-collaboration neither transformed the state nor empowered the victims of apartheid'; but served 'as an obstacle to the resolution of apartheid. Only after confronting the realities of a South Africa teetering on the edge of an economic and political abyss did the anti-apartheid movement finally abandon non-collaboration and agree to negotiate with the apartheid regime...<sup>195</sup>

The struggles to deracialise the country's sport, the fight for equality and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns have a long and complex history thus, make their effect significantly susceptible to or necessarily open to scrutiny.<sup>196</sup> It was, however, after the sports boycott were abandoned that a political negotiated settlement reached that 'the historically and inherently "Africanist-leaning" ANC<sup>197</sup> emerged within itself, as a 'multicultural leaning entity'<sup>198</sup> that was to lead a government of 'pluralistic policies'<sup>199</sup> to create a multicultural society. This transition, albeit, initially observed in the late 1980s, 'confirmed the ANC's commitment to official recognition of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people'.<sup>200</sup> Similarly, the ANC's election policy, 'A better life for all'<sup>201</sup> for the 1994 elections referred to the 'development of... different cultures, beliefs and languages as a source of... common [national] strength'.<sup>202</sup>

The influence of these ideological and policy positions can be observed in the content of the country's first democratically crafted constitution,<sup>203</sup> the document that the representatives of South African people in parliament adopted and embrace in the post-apartheid dispensation. South Africa's constitution is celebrated, as probably one of the

<sup>195</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>196</sup> Montagu and Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy" , n.p.; Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", pp.145-166; Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*.

<sup>197</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>198</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>199</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>200</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>201</sup> ANC (1994), p.10; Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>202</sup> Booth (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism", p.9.

<sup>203</sup> South African Government Communication Services (GCS), "South African Constitution", 1996.

most liberal document in the universe, not only by the country's populace but by the persons of the whole world. At the centre of the South African Constitution, Act 108 of 1996 is its Preamble,<sup>204</sup> which among other things, state the following:

[W]e, the people of South Africa, [R]ecognise the injustices of our past; [H]onour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; [R]espect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and [B]elieve that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore...adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to [H]eal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights... and [B]uild a united and democratic South Africa...<sup>205</sup>

Emphasis should be placed on the need to redress the imbalances of the past within all the previously disadvantaged and disfranchised societies and communities in South Africa, which happened to be the black population groups. Addressing and dealing with these imbalances entailed various issues and several strategies. What became common course in South Africa's lexicon however, was the necessity to transform, affirm and develop the previously disadvantaged populations and communities. The people's general acceptance and embracing their constitution therefore was and continues to be a highly significant factor in the country forward towards an egalitarian society. This is expected to be so because the process of:

...drafting the current constitution involved many South Africans in the largest public participation programme ever carried out in South Africa...[T]herefore represents the collective wisdom of the South African people and has been arrived at by general agreement...<sup>206</sup>

The founding provisions of the South Africa constitution read as follows: '...South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values: Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms; [N]on-racialism and non-sexism.'<sup>207</sup> Shadrack Gutto writes:

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<sup>204</sup> It is apparent that the issue of redress, social justice, human rights and honouring all the citizens are central in the South African Constitution and perhaps it is for this reason that its Preamble reads the way it does? See: <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96preamble.htm>.

<sup>205</sup> See the Preamble of the South African Constitution, Act 106 of 1996, found on the South African Government Webpage (1996): <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96explan.htm>.

<sup>206</sup> See ' South African Government Webpage, 1996:<http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96explan.htm>

<sup>207</sup> <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons1.htm>

...[R]eal or substantive equality as distinct from formal or mere legal equality is enshrined in the Constitution. Equality is not only a human right under the Constitution; the state has an obligation to undertake positive measures that would make it a reality (section 9)...<sup>208</sup>

The pursuit of equality, non-racialism and non-sexism are among some of the core values defining South Africa's constitutional democracy (sections 1 and 7). It was therefore apparent that the new democratic government indeed had an obligation to transform the socio-cultural outlook of the country, including sport, just as all other aspects of life. Moreover, it is equally essential that the population also accept and embrace the prescripts of the supreme law. The population should also respect the fact that both the democratic government and all the pertinent institutions under it, including the newly established "non-racial" sport federations, should not only adhere to the edicts of the constitution but also implement all the policies flowing from it.

The post-1994 South African sport policy therefore had to be in line with the country's new constitution and embraced deracialisation process and the subsequent reinforcing inclusivity, equality and equity policies in South African sport. In fact the very idea of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, with space to initiate programmes to redress the imbalances of the past is enshrined in the country's interim constitution of 1996, which was agreed upon by all the South African citizens.<sup>209</sup> Consequently, it should follow that the South African nation would find it in its best interest that the issue of social transformation in its entirety, including within the economy, academia, culture and sport, is realised, if the painful history of the struggles to deracialise not only the South African sport, but the broader society as well, are to serve as lessons to the country. It was against this backdrop that this thesis was conceived and undertaken.

The influences and the dynamics surrounding the start (1940s) and later completion (1990s) of not only sports struggles, but the general political Struggle, should be understood within the context of the broader socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural changes and challenges that the country's sport, the South African government and the citizens experienced during this time. The citizens were organised into bodies such as the NRSM and the AAM, and the dominant political forces included the ANC and the

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<sup>208</sup> See Gutto, S.B.O. (2008) "Black "Racism" against Whites in the New South Africa: How the South African Human Rights Commission got it Wrong and the Challenges to Transformation of Knowledge Production and Application in South Africa: Guest Speech at the Graduation Ceremony," Tshwane University of Technology, Soshanguve Campus, Thursday, April 24, p.2.

<sup>209</sup> See the South African Government Webpage (1996): <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96explan.htm>

NP. There was also the Olympic movement and global political and economic order. It is apparent that an assessment of this development is worth undertaking.

### 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

On the main, this study seeks to answer the question:

This thesis sought to examine the outcomes and impact of the struggles to deracialise South African sport on the country's sport landscape. This process therefore specifically involved analysing the outcomes and impact of the attempts within the sports community to change the practices and the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in South African sport, and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns. This was undertaken against the backdrop of South Africa's historical context and transition from the colonial/imperial colour bar era and the apartheid political system - to an envisaged non-racial sport system and an egalitarian society. The sub-questions that flow from the main question included:

- What were the precursors to or influences to the struggles to deracialise South African sport? When and by whom were the struggles to deracialise South African sport initiated and how were these efforts sustained throughout the decades until they were halted in the early 1990s?
  - Who were the major proponents of these attempts to deracialise sport? How were these efforts, including the sports boycott campaigns modified to deal with the changing socio-political and geo-political landscape during the period under investigation?
  - Whose interests were represented in the Non-Racial Sport Movement (NRSM) and the broader AAM?
  - Why did the broader Olympic movement (IOC, IFs, and to some degree, the IPC [including SANOC]), apparently act indifferent and or “reject” the NRSM’s and the AAM’s appeals for the resolution of the racial sport problem in South Africa for so many years?
  - What were the forces behind the IOC’s transition from its initial indifferent stance towards the apartheid sport problem to 1959, when they eventually attempted deal with the process of deracialising South African sport?

- What were the forces and influences behind the cessation of the sports campaign against apartheid sport in the early 1990s and what were the main considerations in reaching this decision; and what was the general view of the NRSM and other forces within the broader AAM?
- What were the dominant views within the crumbling “NRSM” after February 2, 1990 and the after South Africa’s 1992 “Olympic-breakthrough”?

#### 1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

The overall aim of this thesis was to examine the outcomes and impact of the struggles to deracialise South African sport on the country’s sport landscape. The emergence and development of the sports endeavour against the practices and application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in South African sport were analysed. This work also sought to investigate the initial views and positions of the SAOCGA (later, SANOC); the IOC, IFs and the IPC, and the SASA (later, SANROC) and the AAM, with regard to the organisation of South African sport ‘on non-racial basis.’<sup>210</sup> Ultimately, this work sought to analyse the outcomes of the sports struggles to deracialise South African sport and assess whether they achieved what they were initiated and undertaken for.

The efforts to deracialise South African sport originally had the ‘two-pronged goal,’<sup>211</sup> namely: 1. ‘The exclusion of racist bodies from international sporting arena, and/or simply put, the Olympic Movement’<sup>212</sup> and; 2. ‘Seeking international recognition of non-racial South African sport federations at all levels, including the Olympic Games.’<sup>213</sup> In this regard, a discussion on the influences and background developments of the campaigns to deracialise sport in South Africa and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns was undertaken. Attention was also paid to the *early* period when the black sportspersons presented their grievances to the Olympic movement (SANOC, IFs and the IOC) in the 1940s and the 1950s. This discussion is extended further to include the three decades of attempts to deracialise sport running up to 1991, and South Africa’s re-

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<sup>210</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC”, (penned by Christian Dubruel de Broglie) on 23 November 1967 (for the Commission that set on 25 November 1967), p.1.

<sup>211</sup> Box 63/MCH63-168/ A letter from Dennis Brutus to the ANC, 1989, p.1/Sam Ramsamy Collection/SAN-ROC Archives/Mayibuye Centre/University of the Western Cape.

<sup>212</sup> Box 63/MCH63-168/ A letter from Dennis Brutus to the ANC, 1989, p.1.

<sup>213</sup> Box 63/MCH63-168/ A letter from Dennis Brutus to the ANC, 1989, p.1.

admission into the Olympic movement and the controversial participation in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games.

## 1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study is based on documented evidence and therefore grounded in a qualitative, historical descriptive research design. This is a study of the struggles to deracialise South African sport and it sought to undertake a historical overview of this wide-ranging and long sport struggle. Thus, generate a body of knowledge and to contextualise the efforts within the sports community and the sports boycott campaigns throughout the changing circumstance during which these actions were carried out. These were undertaking with the understanding and appreciation of the fact that the historical methodologies have ‘become quite widely accepted among professional in a way which certainly was not true in the late 1960s.’<sup>214</sup>

Part of the current research was concerned more with understanding social phenomena from perspectives of participants and this is achieved through historical empathy with participants in past social events.<sup>215</sup> In an attempt to achieve this, context, situational analysis and time are critical. With reference to the sports boycott campaigns against apartheid sport in South Africa, Montagu and Spector<sup>216</sup> become helpful:

...These calls for sports boycott must be seen from the perspective of their time, rather than from the vantage point of the post-apartheid South Africa. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, it was still just possible to envision a South Africa where the recent electoral victories of the Nationalist Party could be rolled back at the polls and its policies unwound. Similarly, it was difficult for any but the most optimistic to imagine a South Africa driven to the wall by any of the relatively ineffectual African liberation movements....<sup>217</sup>

In the current study, subjects concerned are documents about the struggles to deracialise South African sport, including the Sports boycott and individual and group participants concerned. The methodological view of qualitative approach is interpretative and constitutes an interactive dialogue. During the process of interaction between the

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<sup>214</sup> See Marwick (1981) *The Nature of History*, p.7.

<sup>215</sup> White (2005), p.80.

<sup>216</sup> Spector, 2004, p.5.

<sup>217</sup> Montagu and Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy,” n.p.; Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, pp.145-166.

researcher and the subject (the documents in this case), the subjects' world is discovered and interpreted by means of qualitative methods.<sup>218</sup> The goal of most qualitative researchers, including the one in the current study, is to develop an explanation or explanations from the data gathered.<sup>219</sup> The information located from the studied documents is, thus, critically scrutinised and assessed for the purpose of reaching general and specific conclusions and understanding.

In general, qualitative researchers often become part of the situation, present or past, and the phenomenon being studied. The emphasis is placed on the importance of data being collected by a skilled and prepared person. In historical studies an instrument such as a questionnaire is often utilised as a tool to collect data. The current study did not make use of a questionnaire, yet as in other historical studies, the researcher exercised and acquired an historical sensitivity for the period and subjects being examined. It is also customary that qualitative research is marked by 'disciplined subjectivity'.<sup>220</sup> A typical study of past events, as is the case with the current research, is historical, using analytical research techniques to reconstruct and understand the multiple realities of past events. While quantitative research seeks to eliminate subjectivity through design, qualitative research seeks to take subjectivity into account in data analysis and interpretation.

This study attempts to locate the history of the opposition to the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in the country's sport and the Sports boycott and their perceived role on South Africa's sporting dispensation within a historical socio-political and cultural context. White states that, 'a qualitative researcher believes that human actions are strongly influenced by the settings in which they occur.'<sup>221</sup> It is believed that the social researcher cannot understand human behaviour without the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions.<sup>222</sup> Similarly to the ethnographer, the qualitative historical researcher in the current study attempted to understand the circumstances in which the pertinent documents were generated and for what purpose, simulating the framework and context White<sup>223</sup> is referring to above during data collection and analysis. It is for this reason that 'qualitative research develops

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<sup>218</sup> Schurink, 1998:242; White (2005), p.82.

<sup>219</sup> White (2005), p.82.

<sup>220</sup> McMillan and Schumcher (1997), p.408; White (2005), p.83.

<sup>221</sup> White (2005), p.83.

<sup>222</sup> White, 2005.

<sup>223</sup> White, 2005.

context-based generalisations,<sup>224</sup> and it is anticipated that in this study such generalisation might be drawn.

The current study is comprised of general characteristics of qualitative research that include the following: ‘the employment of inductive research strategy; the humanistic nature; the researcher as a craftsman; the usual fieldwork involvement; and the descriptive nature’.<sup>225</sup> The researcher in this study attempted to take a holistic look at people and settings under study as they appear in the examined documents. Sensitivity to the fact that people or subjects should not be merely reduced to variables but viewed holistically and studied in the context of their past and present situations is critical. Here research reveals how all the parts work together to form a whole; and a key to this being the understanding of the phenomenon of interest from the subjects’ perspectives rather than the researchers.<sup>226</sup>

In addition, sensitivity to the possible effect on people (document subjects in the case of the present study) under investigation is paramount. The quest to understand subjects from their own frame of reference (empathising and identifying with subjects under investigation to understand how they see things), is essential. The essence of setting aside personal beliefs, perspectives and predispositions is vital. This therefore suggests that the researcher should always view situations and issues as though they are occurring for the first time, where nothing is taken for granted and; everything is subject to enquiry. The issue of respect and consideration for all perspectives as valuably considered is sacred. The aim is not to seek the ultimate truth or to judge the moral standing of documented subjects, but rather to arrive at a detailed understanding of research context. Similarly, the subject documents should be viewed as important to offer a forum for all views to have an equal chance to be heard. Here the emphasis on research validity cannot be overstated since it is the backbone of any research enquiry.<sup>227</sup>

Qualitative studies are often undertaken because there is a lack of theory or existing theory which fails to adequately explain a phenomenon.<sup>228</sup> In the current study however, the basic or generic qualitative approach that includes description, interpretation and understanding, is undertaken. This method identifies recurrent patterns in the form of themes.

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<sup>224</sup> White (2005), p.84.

<sup>225</sup> White (2005), p.84.

<sup>226</sup> Merriman, 1998, p.6; White (2005), p.86.

<sup>227</sup> Merriman, 1998; Whites, 2005.

<sup>228</sup> Merriman, 1998; Whites, 2005.

## 1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 1.6.1 Research instrument

Research instruments are fact finding strategies. They are tools to collect data. These include observation, interviews, questionnaires, and reading (documents).<sup>229</sup> In essence, the researcher should ensure that the instrument chosen is both valid and reliable. There is a view that the validity and reliability of any research project rest largely on the pertinence of the instrument(s).<sup>230</sup> It is therefore prudent that whatever procedure that the researcher chooses to employ for data collection is critically examined to check to what extent is the chosen instrument likely to give the expected result(s). The main research instrument used in this thesis was ‘reading documents’,<sup>231</sup> and to some degree, observation.<sup>232</sup>

In the current study therefore, the “subjects” concerned are the documents about the efforts to deracialise South African sport and: for the purpose of covering the background part of this thesis, the documents about the early sport influences and experiences during colonial/imperial era were sought. For the purpose of covering the beginnings of the fight for equality in sport in the 1940s, the initiation of the radical attempts in the 1950s and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns in the 1960s until the early 1990s, specific sets of document were also required. These documents were about the individual sportspersons or athletes, sports activists, sports leaders or the groups of sports people and the sports federations and organisations that participated in these endeavours over the period under investigation. Concerted efforts were made to identify and access as much of the known available documents as possible, from the various documentary repositories across the world, as they were deemed pertinent to this study, and which more importantly, covered all the areas outlined above.

Reading documents however, is often viewed as an activity that is more to do with literature review. It is yet an equally plausible research instrument tool for studying public documents such as newspapers, minutes of meetings and private documents such as letters, biographies and diaries. Documents are critical in enabling the researcher to obtain

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<sup>229</sup> For more information on this see, Annum, G. (2010) on his input on Thesis Writing 4 all: “Research Instruments. (lasts update 23/08/2015) and this can be found on: <http://campus.educadium.com/newmediart/file.php/1/giilmadstore/UgradResearch/ThesisWrit4all/files/notes/resInstr.pdf>

<sup>230</sup> Annum (2010) “Research Instruments.”

<sup>231</sup> Annum (2010) “Research Instruments,” p.1.

<sup>232</sup> Annum argues that observation entails studying photographs, videotapes, tapes and recordings, art objects, computer software and films, as part of the observation data collection technique and procedure.

the language and words of the informants that may not be alive, incapacitated, and or incapable of participating in the research, for various reasons, at the time of the research.

The difficulty or limitation of employing reading documents as a research instrument is that the documents may be protected or under embargo and researcher(s) may have limited access or no access at all to pertinent documents for a given project. This could occur when the specific documents involve national security documents or confidential documents.<sup>233</sup> It has been reported elsewhere in this thesis that this applied to some IOC documents, especially the meeting minutes and other documents of the organisation's Executive Boards. The researcher therefore had to rely on other multiple repositories and in some instances, on recorded material or germane documentaries or recorded videos and television programmes. This involved viewing (as some form of modified observation research instrument data collection tool) specific documentaries, which captured the deceased informants and some living individuals, on recorded video material. The important aspect of these video-recorded materials was that they were captured while the said individuals were still in their specific roles prior, during and after the opposition to racialised sport. This research avoided *ex post facto*<sup>234</sup> information as data hence reading documents was preferred over interviews. This was helpful on two fronts: to get information as untainted or unmediated as possible and assist in the triangulation process of data. Triangulation involved 'observation' as some form of modified research instrument tool. In this thesis, 'observation'<sup>235</sup> or viewing video recorded material was undertaken as discussed above.

According to Alan Bryman, triangulation refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings. Since much social research is founded on the use of a single research method and as such may suffer from limitations associated with that method or from the specific application of it, triangulation offers the prospect of enhanced confidence.<sup>236</sup> Triangulation is therefore one of the several bases for multi-method research approach. The term triangulation is derived from surveying and the idea generally associated with measurement practices in social and behavioural research. An early reference to

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<sup>233</sup> Those who administer certain individuals' estates might also refuse to receive some personal documents such as letters and diaries of their people.

<sup>234</sup> This might have involved responses and explanation of specific events that could be concocted after the event, and sometimes be misleading or unjust.

<sup>235</sup> Annum, "Research Instruments," 2010, p.1.

<sup>236</sup> See Alan Bryman, "Triangulation," n.d., p.1., this information is available on: <http://www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/triangulation.pdf>.

triangulation was in relation to the idea of discreet method proposed by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest who suggested that ‘[O]nce a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced.’<sup>237</sup>

Bryman further suggests that this might make more sense when a new survey-based measure of a concept like for instance emotional labour has been devised, which increases the researchers’ confidence in that measure if it can confirm the distribution and correlates of emotional labour through the use of another method, such as structured observation.<sup>238</sup> Undeniably, the prospect is raised that the two sets of findings may be inconsistent, but as Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest observed, such an occurrence underlines the problem of relying on just one measure or method.<sup>239</sup> Equally, the failure for two sets of results to converge may prompt new lines of enquiry relating to either the methods concerned or the substantive area involved. Similarly, even though a triangulation exercise may yield convergent findings, researchers should be wary of concluding that this means that the findings are unquestionable. It may be that both sets of data are flawed.<sup>240</sup> In order to deal with this challenge, different types of triangulation should be looked at and viewed beyond the terms’ traditional relationship with research methods and designs.

In 1970, Denzin pushed the boundaries in as far as the idea of triangulation beyond its conventional association with research methods and designs and outlined four forms of triangulation. This includes investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation data triangulation and methodological triangulation.<sup>241</sup> Data triangulation and methodological triangulation were important in the current study. According to Denzin, data triangulation entails gathering data through several sampling strategies so that slices of data at different times and social situations, as well as on a variety of people, are gathered.<sup>242</sup> This thesis gathered data from documents and videotaped materials originating from various people and organisations. This thesis also utilised more than one method for gathering data, namely, reading documents and observation of videotape recordings, otherwise referred to as methodological triangulation.

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<sup>237</sup> Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., and Sechrest, L., further argue that ‘[T]he most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes,’ see, their work: *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Measures in the Social Sciences*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1996, p.3.

<sup>238</sup> Bryman, “Triangulation,” n.d., p.1-2.

<sup>239</sup> Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest, *Unobtrusive Measures*, 1996, p.3.

<sup>240</sup> Bryman, “Triangulation,” n.d., p.1-2.

<sup>241</sup> See Denzin, N. K. *The Research Act in Sociology*. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

<sup>242</sup> Denzin. *The Research Act in Sociology*, 1970.

In fact, according to Denzin, methodological triangulation is the most common of the meanings of triangulation.<sup>243</sup> Furthermore, a distinction is drawn between ‘within-method’ and ‘between-method’ triangulation. The former involves the use of varieties of the same method to investigate a research issue, for example a self-completion questionnaire might contain two contrasting scales to measure a particular aspect of interest. While ‘between-method’ triangulation would therefore involve contrasting research methods, such as a questionnaire and observation. It was indicated earlier in this thesis that the researcher employed both reading of documents and observation of video recorded materials.

Bryman argues that triangulation is sometimes used to refer to all instances in which two or more research methods are employed.<sup>244</sup> Therefore, it might be used to refer to multi-method research in which a quantitative and a qualitative research methods are combined to provide a more complete set of findings than could be arrived at through the administration of one of the methods alone. However, it can be argued that there are good reasons for reserving the term for those specific occasions when researchers seek to check the validity of their findings by cross-checking them with another method. This is the reason data (documents and video recorded material) and between-method (reading documents and observing video recorded material) triangulation was utilised in this current study. The researchers sought to check the validity of the findings from reading documents by cross-checking them with those from observation of recorded video tapes. Triangulation has come to assume a variety of meanings, although the association with the combined use of two or more research methods within a strategy of convergent validity is the most common. In recent years, however, triangulation has attracted some criticism for its apparent subscription to a naively realist position.<sup>245</sup>

### 1.6.2 Demarcation of research study

This study focuses on the apparently long history of the attempts to deracialise the country’s sport, the fight for equality and the subsequent sports boycott and their impact on South Africa before, during and post-apartheid era. This study therefore almost covers the entire sporting history in South Africa, where the efforts for equality was observed until the cessation of these actions. For the purpose of positioning the sport campaigns

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<sup>243</sup> See Denzin, *The Research Act in Sociology*, 1970.

<sup>244</sup> Bryman, “Triangulation,” n.d., p.3.

<sup>245</sup> Bryman, “Triangulation,” n.d., p.5.

within a historical context, the history of South Africa's interaction with the IOC, the IPC and Olympic movement (or IFs) and the country's participation in the Olympic Games between 1904 and 1960 (in the IPC between 1960's until 1985), is discussed. In addition, therefore, the first five-year-term of the democratically elected government is assessed. This period is critical for the purpose of observing the "progress" made or "regression" observed towards the country's new "non-racial sporting" landscape or lack thereof.

This research focuses on specifically chosen themes as opposed to comprehensively outlining the chronological history of this period. For example, it is known that the emergence of resistance to racist or apartheid sport in the country was initially observed during the late 1940's. It was, however, in 1955 that the case and the plight of the black and/or non-racial sportspersons were first tabled to the IOC by SASA's precursor, the CIR. In the late 1980's to the early 1990's, the moratorium on sports boycott campaigns began to be debated and was eventually lifted, with South African sport returning to the international stage. The first fifteen years of South African sport history, since the establishment of the "unified" sport structures in the country in 1991 and the two terms of democratic rule are critical to properly understand the "paradigm shift" from apartheid sport to efforts to achieve an egalitarian sporting landscape during this period.

These developments and processes to integrate the previously segregated sport in South Africa during this period were apparently protracted and it is therefore logical to believe that the respective efforts to redress this quagmire would have been equally cumbersome. This era was central in shaping the future course, with the potential to "make" or "break" the new transitional South African society. This seems to make a compelling case for the study at hand to be undertaken.

This study also examines the South African sport landscape within a defined socio-political context. Specific focus however, was paid to major Olympic and non-Olympic sport such as Association Football (soccer), Boxing, Table Tennis, Weightlifting, Athletics, Cricket and Rugby Union, which faced torrent times during the sports boycott era.

### 1.6.3 Data collection and analysis

The current study among other things, sought to generate a body of knowledge on the question of sports boycott and achieving this meant immensely indulging in relevant and

available or accessible documentation on the topic. This is a literature study and the population of documents utilised is readily available in the public domain. These documents comprise of both primary or archival sources and secondary sources. The primary sources such as personal or private and official letters, meeting minutes, organisational reports, memoranda, brochures and other relevant documents (newspapers, magazines and other forms) of the IOC, the UN, the local (establishment sport and those of governments' documents) and international IFs, the NRSM, the AAM, were analysed. The official documents of the IOC, which included the IOC Sessions,<sup>7</sup> the IOC Olympic Congress's and the IOC Executive Board's minutes, Olympic Reviews, IOC's and IFs' press releases or statements and the commissioned reports, were also assessed. The documents of the IFs and/or the broader Olympic movement's documents; together with those of the IPC's and the various regional organisational and governmental documents were also studied. The secondary sources such as newspaper articles or newspaper clippings, press releases, academic articles and books were also important.

The bulk of the documents accessed and utilised in this thesis are located in the archives of the IOC at the Olympic Museum in the "Olympic Capital," the Lausanne city in Switzerland. The other critical documentary consignment, which comprised sources predominantly known as the "official" SANROC documents/archives, is housed at the Mayibuye Centre in the University of the Western Cape in Bellville in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. There is also another significant repository, the ANC archives at the NAHECS repository at the UFH in Alice in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. It is closely linked to the "Sports and Liberation" archives that are also housed by the same University. Finally but not least important, are the two important repositories which include the AAM archives that are located at the Bodleian Libraries at Rhodes House of Oxford University in Oxford in the UK. The second one is the UN Library material in the Geneva Office in Switzerland. The researcher managed to travel to above-mentioned destinations to access the pertinent documents. It should be indicated from the onset that there are various other repositories in South Africa and across the world. It was however, one of the limitations of this study was that it was not possible and feasible to travel to all the places to access all the important documents that could have added value to this thesis due to time and financial constraints.

It has been indicated that this thesis primarily relied on documentary sources. Essentially, the verbal nature of the collected data and the formulated research problem for

the present study called for descriptive and historical methods of data analysis. The chosen angle of enquiry and analysis was the descriptive historical perspective and therefore inherently qualitative. Specifically, thematic content analysis and historiography method were performed on the collected data.

The data collection mechanism employed in this research was a literature study and content analysis. The ‘qualitative research approach is idiographic’,<sup>246</sup> to understand the meanings that people attach to everyday life. In order to capture and discover the meaning once the researcher becomes immersed in data; the concepts are organised and presented in the form of themes, motifs and categories; observations are determined by information richness of settings and the types of observations used are modified to enrich understanding.<sup>247</sup> Data is analysed by extracting themes; the unit of analysis is holistic, concentrating on the relationships between elements and contexts.<sup>248</sup>

The analysis process was assisted by ATLAS.ti 7 for Qualitative Data Analysis, a computer software package.<sup>249</sup> This tool was adopted because qualitative data inherently results from fieldwork. Miles and Huberman assert that qualitative data that takes the form of words and that is language in the form extended text – or still or moving images. The words are based on documents, observations or interviews.<sup>250</sup> ‘Qualitative data is any information the researcher gathers that is not expressed in numbers,’<sup>251</sup> and as such videotapes, films, pictures, paintings, drawings, photographs and even music and soundtracks can be considered qualitative data if used for research purposes. The qualitative data collections activities typically are carried over a period of time and as such, they can be large and cumbersome to manage. It is against this backdrop that qualitative researchers also make use of the software packages such as the ATLAS.ti 7 for Qualitative Data Analysis.

A specific data collection method that was utilised in the present study was the historiography technique. Historiography implies conducting research or gathering information and data analysing historical evidence. There are ‘four types of historical evidence: primary sources, secondary sources, running records and recollections’.<sup>252</sup> The

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<sup>246</sup> Pertaining to or involving the study or explication of individual cases or events White (2005), p.84.

<sup>247</sup> White, 2005.

<sup>248</sup> White (2005), p.84.

<sup>249</sup> ATLAS.ti 7 for Qualitative Data Analysis package: Revision 27: copyright notice – 2003-2012, by ATLAS.ti Science Software Development GmbH.

<sup>250</sup> Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, Sage Publications, 1994, p.4.

<sup>251</sup> Tesch, R. *Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools*. New York: The Falmer Press, 1990, p.55.

<sup>252</sup> Qualitative and Quantitative methods, 2006, p.7.

current study will make use of all the available forms of evidence, *albeit* bias towards the primary sources due to the nature of the historical research.

## 1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

In order to achieve the aim of the study as outlined in the current Chapter (One) the following structure is followed:

### 1.7.1 Chapter Two: Precursors to the sports boycott: The racist sport organisation in South Africa and the Olympic Movement's response

The purpose of Chapter Two was to trace, document and analyse the early colonial or imperial colour bar sporting experiences in the country and the transition to apartheid sport. In an attempt to put this study in the proper historical context, a ‘situational analysis’<sup>253</sup> was imperative in setting the pathway. This Chapter also outlines South Africa’s Olympic sporting experiences since 1904 and the international sporting participation from late nineteenth century and the *early* twentieth century until the mid-1950s. In Chapter Two, the pertinent sport federations and leaders of this era; the country’s whites-only sport federations and their participation in international competitions and their relationship with the commonwealth counterparts, are outlined. A brief socio-cultural and socio-political overview of the country is provided to set the scene for the emergence of the endeavour to deracialise South African sport, as discussed in Chapter Four.

### 1.7.2 Chapter Three: An empirical/factual framework: Olympism, Olympic boycotts, petitioning, mass-mobilisation and the boycotts

Chapter Three is an empirical/factual framework and a prism into which the broader discussion of the thesis is taking place and viewed from and conclusions or findings, drawn and based. This chapter discusses the nature, meaning and the historical development of the notions of “*Olympism*” as “a way of life philosophy” and ‘humanist sport policy’ of the Olympic Movement<sup>254</sup> and *boycotts*, specifically the Olympic boycotts, as tools used by various countries and groupings as propaganda machinery or to expose or project some pertinent issues in various societies and countries.

<sup>253</sup> Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution*, 2013, p.14.

<sup>254</sup> Kéba Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa: Analysis and Illustration of a Humanist Sport Policy*, IOC, Lausanne, 1995.

This Chapter reviewed the literature on the emergence and dynamics of the protest actions against the apartheid political system by the oppressed peoples of South Africa as individuals and within political organisations and, the theories of boycotts in society. The discussion of the opposition against the apartheid sport by the individual sportspersons, the Coordinating Committees on International Relations/Recognition (CCIR)<sup>255</sup> and the broader NRSM, including the contribution of the SCSA, UN and its Units, is undertaken in Chapter Four. In this Chapter however, the work of the wider AAM, which included the progressive forces or political organisations within the South Africa Liberation Movement and the sympathetic individuals and international associations and organisations, is highlighted.

### 1.7.3 Chapter Four: ‘Sport is fairness’ – The advent of the efforts to deracialise South African sport and the Sports boycott

Chapter Four discusses the emergence of the protracted struggles to deracialise South African sport, which involved the fight against the practises and application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in sport and the subsequent sports boycott against South Africa’s National Olympic Committee and the whites-only “national” sport federations. To achieve this, the various “non-European” or “non-White” or black and/or “non-racial national” sport federations initiated a challenge to the racial organisation of sport in South African sport and the system that brought about it.

This Chapter outlines the major forces and influences behind the initiated sport struggles and the emergence of the NRSM that cohesively coordinated the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the challenge against the practises and application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in the country’s sport. Growth, development, dynamics and challenges that the NRSM and the broader AAM faced in the fight against apartheid sport in South Africa and worldwide, throughout the second half of the twentieth century, are also highlighted. The development and diffusion of the “non-racial sport” ideology and its proponents are discussed against the backdrop of the difficulties in mobilising and uniting the apparently fragmented black sport landscape.

Chapter Four further discusses the nature and the processes of the initiation and development of the NRSM. This includes the “sports boycott movement” within its

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<sup>255</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984, p.3; also see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.202.

mandate and within the context of other forms of boycotts, namely, the cultural, economic and academic boycotts and their impact on the South African sport landscape and broader society. The aim of this Chapter therefore was to discuss the struggles to deracialise South African sport from the late 1940s until the early 1960 and assessed the subsequent sports boycott from the *early* 1960s until 1970. In the process, this Chapter aimed to highlight the cultural significance of sport, in changing societies like South Africa in the twentieth century, specifically, and in the world order, generally.<sup>256</sup>

#### **1.7.4 Chapter Five: ‘The £35 second-hand electric typewriter’: The effect of the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the Sports boycott in South Africa**

Chapter Five outlined the outcome and impact of the long struggles to deracialise South African sport, which included the fight against apartheid sport as led by the NRSM and; highlighted the role and contributions of various partners within the AAM. This Chapter assessed the internal (or in-country) and the global, successes, failures and challenges that the NRSM-AAM complex enjoyed, experienced and suffered from the 1970s until the early 1990s. This long transition is discussed and assessed within the context of inherent contradictions that characterised the NRSM; ideological differences and other complex situations and struggle dynamics during this long history. The Chapter also explored the *changed* and/or *new* relationship(s), after the South Africa’s NOC was expelled by the IOC, between the NRSM and the IOC and between the NRSM and the broader Olympic movement (IFS and NOCs) from 1970 to 1992.

This Chapter assessed the NRSM’s and AAM’s claims in terms of ‘Winning the argument.’<sup>257</sup> This is achieved by reviewing and highlighting the important moments in the Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin reigns as IOC Presidents (1952-1980). It further discussed the Juan Antonio Samaranch’s era from 1980 to 1992, including South Africa’s re-admission into the Olympic movement in 1991. Chapter Five views South Africa’s Barcelona Olympics participation in 1992 and the post-1992 South Africa’s sport landscape until the beginning of the country’s ‘social democratic sport’<sup>258</sup> dispensation

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<sup>256</sup> See Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004, n.p.; Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy.”

<sup>257</sup> Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, Greenhouse: Cape Town, 2004, p.i and pp.71-98. In his book, entitled *South Africa: Racism in sport*, Christian Action Publishers (Ltd), London 1971, p.34-73, in chapter five: “Arguments answered”, De Broglio (2009) also discusses this idea of ‘winning the argument.’

<sup>258</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the University of Fort Hare/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, ‘Sport Perspectives 1988’: “Planning is Vital”, in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988; again others also refer to this concept, see Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002, pp.527; Sampie Terreblanche narrates this

and the election of Sam Ramsamy as a member of the IOC in 1995,<sup>259</sup> as critical areas that deserve more deeper research attention. However, these research areas fall outside the scope of this thesis.

### 1.7.5 Chapter Six: Conclusions and recommendations

Chapter Six provides a summary of the major discussion in this thesis and gives life and meaning to the “reported” finding thereof. “Findings” on the early influences of South Africa’s Olympic sporting interactions; the assessment of the development of bigotry in the country’s sport, are undertaken. Further, the outline of the IOC’s and the Olympic movement’s position towards the complexities of organising racist-free sport in South Africa, are examined. Chapter Six reports the main findings and makes concluding remarks regarding the research. This includes briefly covering the sections under study against the backdrop of analysing the struggles to deracialise South African sport; the challenges against racial and class inequality in sport and the impact of the subsequent sports boycott on the South African sport landscape.

An assessment of the newly democratically-elected government’s sport policy between 1994 and 1999 is also recommended, albeit not part of the scope of this thesis. The accusations against new government of meddling in sport levelled by some of the former ‘establishment’<sup>260</sup> sport forces are discussed. Also, accusations of “having presided” over ‘sham-unity’,<sup>261</sup> in other words having sold out or betrayed the non-racial sport struggle, non-racial sport or the non-racial sports ideal; for political expediency<sup>262</sup>

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thesis in a Canadian film, *Madiba: The Life and Times of Nelson Mandela*, CBC, 2004 [Sampie Terreblanche has the erudition and unique insight into both sides of the political divide in South Africa and makes him an excellent choice to attempt this ambitious book. A leading South African economist, he was until 1987 a member of the ruling National Party, the party of apartheid, but later became one of their fierce critics, becoming a founding member and economic adviser of the Democratic Party, while also being involved in clandestine meetings with the ANC in the 1980s.]; Peter Limb, (Michigan State University), *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8, Issue 3, spring 2006 [*African Studies Quarterly* <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i3a14.htm> Spring 2006]; also see, Adam Habib, *South Africa’s Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14; see Ebrahim Patel’s argument in Albert Grundlingh, “The new politics of rugby,” in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.5-6; Ebrahim Patel, main speaker on behalf of the former SACOS officials or administrators, to honour these non-racial sport leaders, hosted by SASCOC, at the Olympic House, at Melrose in Johannesburg, 08 May 2014; see interviews: Hassan Howa in 1977 (originally cited in Andre Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town, Self-published (Odendaal, A.), 1977, pp.269-270 and pp.276-277) and that of Jasmat Dhiraj (in 1980 in London), both cited in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.iv-viii and p.1.

<sup>259</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, 2004, p.xiv.

<sup>260</sup> See Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982, p.202; Anneliese Goslin, ‘Human Resource Management as a Fundamental Aspect of a Sport Development Strategy in South African Communities’, *Journal of Sport Management*, 10, 207-217, 1996, p.1; Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p.xi; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.20.

<sup>261</sup> See, Albert Grundlingh, “The new politics of rugby”, p.1-23, in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, p.7; John Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1997.

<sup>262</sup> See Basil Brown, “The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport–A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement”, pp.138-150 in Cornelius Thomas, (eds.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and UFH, Alice, 2006.

are discussed in the context of the new government's position and initiatives towards nation building, reconciliation and the deliverance of South Africa's constitutional mandate.<sup>263</sup> It would seem therefore that an analysis of the struggles to deracialise South Africa sport was paramount.

## 1.8 CONCLUSION

The purpose of Chapter One was to introduce the key themes addressed in the thesis and to outline the context of developing and outlining the problem under study. This Chapter discussed and justified the protocol utilised. Specifically, this Chapter was aimed at outlining the process of identifying the relevant material or sources as data and how data would be collected. It outlined the tools of analysing that data for the current study. In short this Chapter served as a general overview, a broad outline of the study and prepared the landscape and foundation for the following Chapters. This Chapter concluded that the nature of this study called for a qualitative research approach and relevant documents as research material, data or sources, were critical for this study.

The Chapter also argues that the available literature on this topic is relatively thin. It manages to demonstrate that racial segregation in sport was not necessarily inherent in South African sport but was systematically introduced, consciously. Literature demonstrates that the history of racist sport is complex and long; and that various settlers, played their respective roles in this development. It was after considerable effort to persuade the establishment sport structures for organising sport on a non-racial basis that black sportspersons contemplated and eventually initiated the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns against racist sport's ejection from the Olympic Games, the Paralympics and the Olympic movement. In this process the NRSM outlined its primary objectives to campaign for the total eradication of the colour bar and apartheid in the country's sport; that sport should be organised on a non-racial basis and; to fight for the replacement of whites-only sport federations from the IFs with the non-racial sport organisation and expulsion of South Africa's National Olympic Committee from the IOC and the Olympics.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Douglas Booth, "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa, University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999.

<sup>264</sup> Games (SASA Memorandum, 1958; IOC SANROC Files; de Broglio, *South African Sport*, 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

This Chapter has shown that the apartheid political system, which was grounded on the notions of white supremacy in South Africa, was applied in the field of sport as much as in all other aspects of life. It demonstrated that South Africa under apartheid, both the sport administrators, who control all official sport and the apartheid government jointly, took measures deliberately to exclude the country's black population from participating in representative sport, *albeit*, no specific law or policy was enacted to this effect until the mid-to-late 1950's, where a group of laws were evoked to achieve this purpose (a specific policy on sport segregation was only espoused on 27 June 1956). The imposition of apartheid in sport meant in effect that no 'mixed' sport was permitted under the auspices of the official organisations which were accorded international recognition and bore the responsibility for selecting representative teams for international competitions. There were no open trials to permit the selection of the best sportspersons in each class from the entire sporting community. Competition in sport was instead limited to Whites only and it is from them that national teams were selected. This situation was well-known to all the IFs who granted unqualified recognition to the racialist, official organisations in South Africa. Just as the South African white sport federations are responsible for enforcing racial discrimination in domestic sport, so the international bodies which granted them membership are responsible for bestowing respectability upon such practices.<sup>265</sup> The various different struggles to deracialise South African sport and the challenge the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in the country's sport and the subsequent Sports boycott were therefore aimed at changing this status quo, both internally and internationally. Chapter Two subsequently evaluate the long and complex relationship between South Africa's Olympic sport participation and the IOC and its Olympic movement. It assesses the nature and controversies of the country's Olympic interaction and participation from inception in 1904 to 1940s and the struggles to keep racist sport out of the Olympic movement between 1950 and 1970; within the context of examining the influences and proponents of racist sport and their adversaries.

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<sup>265</sup> UN/UN Unit on apartheid/Notes and Documents/No. 16/71/April 1971.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PRECURSORS TO THE STRUGGLES TO DERACIALISE THE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT: THE RACIST SPORT FEDERATIONS AND THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT'S RESPONSE

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter serves as background prism to view the broader struggles to deracialise South African sport. The struggles, specifically the challenge against the application of the colour bar policies and later the apartheid policies in sport were long and complex. The discussion is further complicated by an apparent failure to appreciate the fact that the practice of racial discrimination in the country and its sport landscape has a deep-rooted history, which is often viewed as *apolitical*, and importantly, predates the apartheid system of 1948<sup>266</sup>. This chapter is a consciously calculated tool to further the ‘ongoing transformation [debate] of South African society’ through a fuller understanding of history, and is hoped that it will be a worthy addition to the growing body of revisionist works on sport<sup>267</sup>. In the “Foreword” to *Empire & Cricket*, André Odendaal asserts:

...The game has one of the largest literatures of any sport, and histories of cricket have tended to reflect in complacent and nostalgic ways the Victorian, colonial and patriarchal values in which it was drenched until recently. The notion of cricket as a ‘British’ and ‘Gentlemen’s’ game that has somehow been neutral, ‘above politics’ and marked by ‘fair play’ is still widely held, without much critical reflection, in cricket circles. Yet, the game was integrally linked to the spread of British colonialism and social Darwinism at the height of imperial expansion in the mid to late nineteenth century and – in the colonies in particular – it served as a potent symbol of exclusivity and discrimination, shaping patterns of development which continue to influence countries long since independence. [The monograph],

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<sup>266</sup> For more information on this issue see Floris J.G. Van Der Merwe, *Sport History: A Textbook for South African Students*, Stellenbosch, FJG Publikasies, (Third Edition), 2004, the book was first published in 1997 by FJG Publikasies, 18 Swellengrebel Avenue, Stellenbosch, 7600; Andre Odendaal, “Foreword” in *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, by Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed, eds., University of South Africa Press, 2009; also see Christian Dubruel de Broglie, *South Africa: Racism in Sport*, 1970; Sam Ramsamy, *apartheid: The Real Hurdle*, 1982; Richard Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game: Sport and Racism and Racism*, London, Zed Press 1982; Andre Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town: Self-published, 1977; Bernard Magubane, “The Politics of History in South Africa”, New York: United Nation, 1982, p.1. [This paper, presented by Bernard Magubane, at the time a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Connecticut, was published at the request of the Special Committee Against apartheid, albeit the views expressed remained those of the author]; Andre Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*, Cape Town: Self-published, 1984; Andre Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’, in J.A. Mangan (eds.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700–1914*, London: Frank Cass, 1988; Andre Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of one of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850–2003*, Cape Town: David Philip, 2003.

<sup>267</sup> Andre Odendaal, “Foreword” in *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, by Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed, eds., University of South Africa Press, 2009, p.xix.

*Empire and Cricket* emphatically demonstrates the above point in the case of South Africa....<sup>268</sup>

It is to be noted that there have been instances where mixed sport and inter-racial sport interactions occurred in South Africa's sporting history.<sup>269</sup> This ought to be acknowledged and reflected in the country's historiography. With reference to the British sport influences at the Cape, Floris J.G. van der Merwe declare that:

When British Imperialism reached its height at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the empire comprised almost a quarter of the world, with the British Crown represented on every continent. As a result, British religion, language, culture, habits and customs also came to be established in Southern Africa. One of the customs to be transplanted here permanently, was the British form of sport and games...Once the dust had settled during the post-war period, the Nationalists came to power and the issue shifted from languages (sic) [language] differences to colour differences. And an issue it really did become, although this was nothing new. The British Imperial policy was notorious for its class distinctions. In South Africa... as...in many other British colonies, non-Whites were treated as political and social subordinates. This obviously spilled over into sport as well. At the Union in 1910, English-speakers were in full control of sport. This resulted in clubs, provincial and national bodies being organised purely on racial grounds. The only mixed sport participation was during goodwill boxing, cricket, tennis, golf and baseball matches. This practice would continue until 1948...sport involved politics from very early on...<sup>270</sup>

The limited racially mixed sport activities almost ceased post-1948, sparing those that were sporadically “allowed” in the 1970s through permits. It is, however, important to note that several apartheid polices actually found expression from *early* British laws. For instance, in their discussion on “Sport in South African History – ‘The Imperial Age’”, in the monograph, *The South African Game*, Archer & Bouillon assert that:

...The supply of labour in the European areas was already preoccupying the authorities, for Africans remained unwilling to sell their labour at the low wages offered. The British therefore introduced laws against ‘vagrancy’ which forced all Hottentots to acquire a registered address and place of work, and pass laws which required Africans to remain within defined geographic areas unless they were

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<sup>268</sup> Odendaal, “Foreword”, 2009, p.xv.

<sup>269</sup> In fact, there was no direct legislation that forbade racially mixed sport participation in South Africa, way into the Nationalist Party's reign and what is considered to be the first letter of sport policy in the country was passed in 1956. For more information on this matter see Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.188.

<sup>270</sup> Van der Merwe (2004) *Sport History*, p.99 and p.111.

specifically authorized to travel by the Administration. The boundaries of eight such areas were drawn in 1854 and they have served as a model for the Nationalist regime's...‘Homelands’ or Bantustan policy....<sup>271</sup>

Similarly, Cleophas and Van der Merwe argue that ‘[B]efore the apartheid regime passed the Group Areas Act in 1950, the Union government proposed the Class Areas Bill in 1924.’<sup>272</sup> This chapter is primarily a prelude to the *early challenge* and the opposition against inequality and the fight to deracialise South African sport. It is with this background that this thesis begins by discussing issues that can be viewed to be falling outside the generally accepted timeframe in which the *early challenge* and the struggle against inequality in sport and the fight to deracialise South African sport were undertaken and observed. The main discussion in this thesis is the long history of apparent discrimination and inequality in South African sport and the position held by and response by the Olympic Movement on the racial problem in the country’s sport.

It is possible to blame all South Africa’s socio-political and socio-cultural racial ills on the apartheid regime, yet, the British authorities, it would seem, were the main architects of these problems. W.H. Macmillan declares that the colour bar in the Cape Colony involved all ‘oppressive restrictions placed upon non-White peoples’,<sup>273</sup> and with the introduction of the UoSA, these policies were included in its constitution, the action that ‘gave legal status to a racial divide that had developed during colonial rule’,<sup>274</sup> and as such made ‘[B]oth Boer and British to be equally responsible.’<sup>275</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe assert that South Africa’s colour bar was ‘used to counteract a perceived Black peril and to unite the White’ Afrikaans and English speaking sections of the population.<sup>276</sup> Proper understanding and appreciation of this historical reality is critical in the study of sport in South Africa, the fight for equality in sport, the struggle to deracialise South African sport, and the initiation of the Sports boycott. In an attempt to address the above-stated realities and dynamics, it is essential to analyse the history of discrimination in South African society and its sport fields as the background and discuss the major

<sup>271</sup> See also Chapter 1: “Sport in South African History – ‘Imperial Age’”, pp.21-22, in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, pp.15-55

<sup>272</sup> Francois J. Cleophas and Floris Van Der Merwe, “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape”, *AJPHERD*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March) 2011, pp.124-140, p.125; for more information on this development see also E. Alexander, *Morris Alexander. A Biography*, Cape Town, Juta, 1953, p.120.

<sup>273</sup> W.H. Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, Cape Town, Balkema, 1968, p.288.

<sup>274</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe, “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar”, p.125.

<sup>275</sup> Cape Standard, The (1944), 12 December, in Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar”, p.125.

<sup>276</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar”, p.124.

influences and precursors to the struggles for the deracialisation of South African sport, the fight for equality and, the subsequent Sports boycott.

This chapter therefore, seeks to trace, document and analyse early interactions “between” South Africa’s all-race sportspersons and separate sport federations, the organisations’ participation and successes at national and at international level and the relationship between the South African sportspersons, sport federations and the Olympic Movement, specifically the IFs and the IOC, in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This discussion is extended to the 1950s, with 1931<sup>277</sup> until 1939<sup>278</sup> being an important period where blatant racialisation in organised sport was practised; some of the sport federations included racially exclusive clauses in their respective Constitutions. Cleophas and Van Der Merwe declared:

... Officials of the South African Amateur Athletics Union (SAAAU), stated that under no circumstances would they deviate from government policy. Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board (SARB), initially argued in favour of laws like the Group Areas Act. The South African Olympic and Commonwealth Union, through its chairman, B.C. Simms, admitted that it had a racially exclusive constitution because it was the law of the land and his union would apply segregation despite international pressure...<sup>279</sup>

It is apparent that these developments were not isolated practices. The colour bar phenomenon was entrenched. In 1931 the SAAAU declared publicly that it intended to apply racial segregation. The South African Cricket Union (SACU) also followed, taking a decision to ‘select only players of European (White) origin.’<sup>280</sup> Van der Merwe declares that

... Even after the Second World War, the White sport controlling bodies showed very little interest in their non-White peers. In true British tradition, everything outside politics was regarded as an institution. White-controlled sport federations acted as guardians for non-White sport by representing it at international level...When the National Party came to power in 1948, racial segregation was well-established, but not entrenched by legislation. Since apartheid formed the cornerstone of this party, it affected sport as well. This resulted in

<sup>277</sup> Van der Merwe (2004) *Sport History*, p.111.

<sup>278</sup> Kéba Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa: Analysis and Illustration of a Humanist Sport Policy*, IOC, Lausanne, 1995; Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar”, p.127.

<sup>279</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar”, p.128; *Die Burger*, 1957, p.1.

<sup>280</sup> Van der Merwe (2004) *Sport History*, p.111.

a considerable increase in resistance during the fifties. In 1955, the Committee for International Recognition was founded in Durban with the aim of supporting all national sporting bodies in their efforts to achieve international recognition...<sup>281</sup>

Incidents of racial segregation were observed much earlier than the above declaration. There were several cases of racism in sport in South Africa, under the control of the British and prior to the apartheid system. During the second half of the 19th century development and organisation occurred along racial lines. Sporting clubs and associations at local, regional, and national levels seem to have adhered to strict policies of segregation. As early as in 1894, ‘Krom Hendricks, a “coloured” (mixed-race) cricketer, was barred from participating in the South African tour of England’,<sup>282</sup> The Black Orange Free State association football tour of Europe in 1899 received significant negative and racist press coverage in South Africa.<sup>283</sup> Further, in 1919, a New Zealand army rugby team member and a decorated forward, A. “Ranje” Wilson, was not welcome in the country as part of the touring side, which was invited by the South African Rugby Board. Similarly, when the Springbok team toured New Zealand in 1921, racism again appeared when a South African journalist was reported to have written critically that the ““Bokke” had to play against coloureds’<sup>284</sup> In 1928, the New Zealand rugby controlling body had to leave their full-ball Maori, George Nepia behind in an attempt to avoid confrontation in the South African tour, which sparked retaliation by the Maori team, which refused to play against the touring Springboks in 1937. It is therefore apparent that the racial practices in South African society and its sport have a long history.<sup>285</sup>

The chapter nonetheless outlines South Africa’s Olympic sport transition from a “relative non-segregationist” interaction to a racist establishment landscape; and discusses the IOC’s initial position and reaction to this development. It provides a springboard to the initiation of the struggles to deracialise the country’s sport. Institutionalised racism in South Africa and the country’s sport did not start in 1948.<sup>286</sup> It was preceded by

<sup>281</sup> Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004, pp.111-112

<sup>282</sup>Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed (eds.), *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, University of South Africa Press, 2009, p. viii and p.xvi-xvii .

<sup>283</sup> Christopher Bolzmann, “The 1899 Orange Free State football team tour of Europe: ‘Race’, imperial loyalty and sporting contest”, a paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference: Beyond Boundaries: Race and Ethnicity in Modern Sport, Cave Hill, Barbados 15-18 July 2010.

<sup>284</sup> Van der Merwe (2004) *Sport History*, p.111.

<sup>285</sup> See De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982.

<sup>286</sup> For more information on this issue see Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu*, 1984; Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians,1988; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*; Van Der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004; Odendaal, “Foreword”, 2009.

colonialism and imperialism, which brought the colour bar policies.<sup>287</sup> It was against this background that Black sportspersons, Black sport organisations and later, the broader NRSM and the AAM launched a protracted challenge against the application of the colour bar, apartheid policies and initiated the Sports boycott. The discussion of these long, complex and difficult campaigns, however, falls outside the scope of this chapter, although some brief references are included. It is vital to note the main NRSM grievance was the call for the organisation and administration of sport in the country to be on a “non-racial basis” as opposed to the “official establishment” racial basis. This chapter puts the development of the anti-racist sport campaign into a historical context and a ‘situational analysis’ basis.<sup>288</sup> Sport in South Africa was not always inherently racially organised or exclusively played on a racial basis and that racial segregation was deliberately introduced by the White sport leaders and not necessarily by subsequent Governments.<sup>289</sup>

The chapter outlines South Africa’s *early* Olympic sporting experiences and participation from the late nineteenth century, the early twentieth century up to the mid-1950s. Here the pertinent sport federations and leaders of this era, the country’s Whites-only sport federations and their participation in international competitions and their relationship with the commonwealth counterparts, are outlined. A brief socio-cultural and socio-political dispensation of the country is discussed to map a background against the racist sport landscape.

## 2.2 THE IMPERIAL OR COLONIAL SPORTING INFLUENCES IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

From the 1940s to the early 1990s, a broad range of struggles to deracialise South African sport, were undertaken. These are discussed with the context of the country’s socio-political-socio-cultural transition from the apartheid state to a ‘social democratic’.<sup>290</sup> The literature of South African sport demonstrates that sport, race and Empire are related. This is particularly so in cricket especially in its most critical formative periods, the late

<sup>287</sup> See De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game*.

<sup>288</sup> Adam Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14.

<sup>289</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/NCAA and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984; also see De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu*, 1984; Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians,1988; Mbaya (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Van Der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*; Odendaal, “Foreword”, 2009.

<sup>290</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, ‘Sport Perspectives 1988’: “Planning is Vital”, in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988.

Victorian and Edwardian era that underlined ‘the extraordinary direct involvement in both cricket and politics by the same tiny group of imperialists, White colonists,’<sup>291</sup> African people, coloured people and peoples of Indian descent. This chapter therefore discusses organisation of racist sport and places it in the epicentre of socio-cultural research in South Africa; and isolate it from broader discussions on race and apartheid experiences.<sup>292</sup> The struggle against apartheid in sport and the fight for political liberties by the oppressed peoples of South Africa were always intertwined.<sup>293</sup> In South Africa, therefore, the cliché that “sport-and-politics do not mix”<sup>294</sup> is not only misguided but mischievous.<sup>295</sup>

### 2.2.1 The early sporting influences in South Africa: The beginnings of international sport participation

South Africa has a long and rich historical tradition of sport participation, both among South Africans within the country and internationally.<sup>296</sup> The country is sometimes described as a “sport-mad” nation. South Africa has enjoyed international sporting successes from the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Literature from the early Dutch colony, hardly ever mentions sport. What there was, is of a generally informal nature.<sup>297</sup> The arrival of the British in 1795 initiated a new era in sport in South Africa. The British brought a capitalist system and formal military organisation.<sup>298</sup> Organised sport in South Africa began to

<sup>291</sup> See the “Preface and Acknowledgements” in Murray and Vahed (eds.) (2009) *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience 1884-1914*, University of South Africa: UNISA Press, p.vii.

<sup>292</sup> See Montagu and Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, [A Paper Presented at the Anti-apartheid Movement Conference and held by the Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), (UKZN), Durban, South Africa, 2004, n.p. [Also available in: [scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc](http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc)] [<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/18587620/Non-Traditional-Diplomacy>]; also see Spector, J.B. (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, 2004, p.145-166, in Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*.

<sup>293</sup> Lissoni, A. (2000) *The Anti-apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa: Anti-apartheid Protest vs Real Politik - A history of the AAM and its influence on the British Government's policy towards South Africa in 1964*. (an on-line published dissertation), 15 September; Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, 2004, n.p.; Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa.”

<sup>294</sup> Ramsamy, S. (1987) “The Politics of racism and The Third World Equality”, a paper presented at The 1987 Challenge Address to the Olympic Academy of Canada: Canada Olympic Academy, 1987 [printed in June 1988], pp. 7-16. [Ramsamy was at the time the Executive Chairman of SANROC and the booklet carrying this paper has a “Foreword” (pp.3-4) by Bruce Kidd, The Chair of Olympic Studies Committee – Canadian Olympic Association; Sam Ramsamy’s brief biography, p.5 and a brief note “About the Olympic Academy of Canada”, p.6]; Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa 1995*.

<sup>295</sup> Al-Tauqi, M.A. (1993) *Olympic Solidarity: Global order and the Diffusion of Modern Sport between 1961 to 1980*. An unpublished doctoral thesis, Loughborough University, United Kingdom (UK).

<sup>296</sup> For more information on this issue see Van Der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004; Odendaal, “Foreword” in *Empire and Cricket*, by Murray and Vahed, eds., 2009; De Broglio, *South Africa: Racism in Sport*, 1970; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians’, in Mangan eds., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, 1988; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*.

<sup>297</sup> Marquard, 1952, p.63; Leonard and Affleck, 1947, p.423; Anderson, “An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979”, 1979, p.35; Philani Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane: A Case Study of Selected Clubs – 1911 to 2000*”, an unpublished Masters Dissertation, Fort Hare University, Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa, 2004; Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby*”, 2004, p.16.

<sup>298</sup> N. Leck, *South African Sport*, Cape Town, MacDonald, 1977, p.4; Anderson, “An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979”, 1979, p.35; Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby*”, 2004,

show signs of developing at this time.<sup>299</sup> On 23 August 1862, the first recorded rugby match, between the military and civilians, took place at Green Point Common in Cape Town.<sup>300</sup>

The earliest recorded international participation by a South African was in 1884, when E.L. Williams and E.W. Lewis reached the final of the first men's doubles at Wimbledon Tennis, albeit they lost. In 1893, Laurens S. Meintjes became South Africa's first world record holder in cycling. He won the sixty-two mile international championship at the World Fair Cycle Meeting in Chicago. Later that year in Springfield, Massachusetts, he set a world record in the hour's race. In 1896 when the modern Olympic Games were revived, South Africa won its first rugby test ever, against Great Britain.<sup>301</sup>

South Africans have had a long and special relationship with the Olympic Movement. The 1904 games were scheduled for Chicago, but eventually took place in St Louis and coincided with the World Fair.<sup>302</sup> Eight South Africans participated unofficially in the 1904 Games in St Louis. Five 'Boers' took part in the Olympic tug-of-war event and tied in fifth place with a Greek team and three men including two black runners, Len Tau and Jan Mashiani. One White athlete, Robert Harris, took part in the Olympic Marathon in August 30, 1904 in extremely hot (32° C) and humid conditions and finished in 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> place respectively out of 32 runners from 5 countries.<sup>303</sup> The third athlete, Robert Harris dropped out of the race. Len Tau also competed in the mile race and finished third. There is evidence that the two Black South Africans got the "opportunity" to participate in the Games by chance as they were there as part of the work team of the 'Anglo-Boer War' show that was put on at the World Fair.<sup>304</sup> This was the first and last time that Black sportspersons "represented" their country. South African official Olympic teams racially excluded Black sportspersons between the 1908 and 1960 Rome Games, as the country was suspended by the IOC from participating in Seoul Games and Mexico Games in 1964

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<sup>299</sup> Leck, 1977, p.4; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979", 1979, p.35; Nongogo, "*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby*", 2004, p.16.

<sup>300</sup> Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979", 1979, p.35, Nongogo, "*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby*", 2004, p.16.

<sup>301</sup> See Anderson, "An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979", 1979.

<sup>302</sup> Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004.

<sup>303</sup> Sport and Recreation South Africa, "Meet the Heroes of the Sport Struggle - Remembering sport in the struggle: A Human Rights Perspective Exhibition" 2013.

<sup>304</sup> IOC/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l'Afrique du Sud et l'Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/ Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lappe Laubscher, *Africa's First Olympians: The story of the Olympic Movement in South Africa 1907-1987*, SANOC'SANOK, Johannesburg, 1987, p.3; IOC Archives (IOC)/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l'Afrique du Sud et l'Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/ IOC and the Olympic Movement/South African Olympic and National Games Association/Annual Report 1983/84; Al-Tauqi (2003) *Olympic Solidarity*.

and 1968 respectively and eventually expelled in 1970, until the country was controversially re-admitted into the Olympic family in 1992.<sup>305</sup>

### 2.2.2 The origins of racism in South African sport

There is evidence that South Africa's sporting participation was not always totally fraught with discrimination.<sup>306</sup> This practice was deliberately introduced into the country's sport and posed a major problem in later years. Evidence of bigotry in South African sport is complex and longstanding, and is traceable from colonial and imperial times and predates apartheid.<sup>307</sup> One of the early incidents recorded in the late 1800s, the story of Krom Hendricks is legendary. In 1894, 'Krom Hendricks, a Black cricketer was barred from participating in the South African tour of England'<sup>308</sup> The Black Orange Free State association football tour of Europe in 1899 received significant negative and racist press coverage in South Africa. In 1919, a New Zealand army rugby team member and a decorated forward, A. "Ranje" Wilson, was not welcome in the country as part of the touring side, which was invited by the South African Rugby Board. Similarly, when the Springbok team toured New Zealand in 1921, racism was noticed, when a South African journalist subsequently wrote critically against the fact that 'the "Bokke" had to play against coloureds.' In 1928, the New Zealand rugby controlling body had to leave their full-ball Maori, George Nepia behind in an attempt to avoid confrontation in the South African tour, which sparked retaliation by the Maori team, which refused to play against the touring Springboks in 1937. It is therefore apparent that the racial practices in South African society and its sport do not only have a long history but were also *exported* to other countries as well.

Perhaps the most significant racial problem the Whites-only South African sport establishment had to face was observed when they were called upon to deal with the

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<sup>305</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story", 2009; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>306</sup> For more information on this issue see Van Der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004; Odendaal, "Foreword" in *Empire and Cricket*, by Murray and Vahed, eds., 2009; De Broglio, *South Africa: Racism in Sport*, 1970; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Odendaal, 'South Africa's Black Victorians', in Mangan eds., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, 1988; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*.

<sup>307</sup> See Andre Odendaal's "Foreword" to *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, by Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed, (eds.), University of South Africa Press, 2009; Chris Bolzmann, The Orange Free State Association Football tour of Europe, 2010; Francois J. Cleaphus and Floris van der Merwe, Contradictions to the application of the colour bar with specific reference to the Western Cape, 2011.

<sup>308</sup> Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed (eds.), *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*, University of South Africa Press, 2009, p. viii and p.xvi-xvii.

question of Black people and sport in the late 1930s.<sup>309</sup> The country was contemplating applying to host the Empire Games, which were later called the Commonwealth Games. When it dawned on the South African White sport administrators and Government that hosting the Empire Games would mean that the country would also have to host athletes and officials from the Asian and Caribbean countries like India, Pakistan, Jamaica and others<sup>310</sup> The sport administrators quickly abandoned the idea and ‘the “problem” was also solved’<sup>311</sup> In 1939, Comte Henri Latour, the President of the International Olympic Committee ‘stated that the colour bar prevented South Africa from staging an Olympic Games’<sup>312</sup>; saying this in direct reference ‘to White discrimination against Black athletes.’<sup>313</sup>

A case of overt racial exclusion in the country’s sport was observed in 1939 when the Weight-lifting Association that was initially open to all races started to bar Black people from being members. In 1933 a national weight-lifting federation was formed by a group made up of all sections of the South African population. Inter-racial contacts were established and competitions held until 1939.<sup>314</sup> It was therefore, the former development that Milo Pillay, a famous weight-lifter and physical culturist planned to attend the South African weight-lifting conference in Transvaal in 1945, with the intention to propose that

<sup>309</sup>See the South African History On-line (SAHO) /Lappe Laubscher/ [HTTP://V1.SAHISTORY.ORG.ZA/PAGES/ARTSMEDIACULTURE/CULTURE%20AND%20HERITAGE/SPORT/INDEX.PHP?ID=1]; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; Andre Odendaal, “Foreword”, in Murray and Vahed (eds), *Empire and Cricket*.

<sup>310</sup>UN/United Nations Unit on apartheid/Notes and Documents/No. 16/71/April 1971.

<sup>311</sup> See Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p. 131; SAHO /Lappe Laubscher/ [HTTP://V1.SAHISTORY.ORG.ZA/PAGES/ARTSMEDIACULTURE/CULTURE%20AND%20HERITAGE/SPORT/INDEX.PHP?ID=1].

<sup>312</sup>Cleaphus and Van der Merwe, “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar”, 2011.

<sup>313</sup>*Cape Standard*, 1939, p.2. It is worth noting that the IOC was aware of South Africa’s racial problem for this long yet, it took it almost forty years to act and act decisively on this matter. For more information on how the IOC and the Olympic Movement work, especially, the extent to which it can disregard its own constitutional prescript, the *Olympic Charter*, see the already published parts of this work: For more information on this aspect, see already published work from the current thesis: P. Nongogo; B.S. Shaw and I. Shaw. Delivering International Olympic Committee’s mandate on Youth Olympic Games in South Africa: Olympic studies. Journal Title: African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance. Volume: Volume 15, Issue: Issue 2, Publication Date: 2009, Pages: 223 – 234; Philani Nongogo, “South Africa and the Youth Olympic Games: Challenges and Strength in Delivering the International Olympic Games Mandate”, in International Olympic Committee/Academy, *16<sup>th</sup> International Academy Post Graduate Participants Symposium Reports*, International Olympic Academic, Olympia, Greece, 12/8/2009, pp.188; Philani Nongogo, “The South African Sport and the Anti-apartheid Movement”, in Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. (2012). *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO; [Retrieved from http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&did=A1884C\_V1-2319]; Philani Nongogo, “The African All-Africa Games”, in Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. (2012). *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. [Retrieved from http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&did=A1884C\_V1-2319]; IOC, Olympic studies Centre REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA: Philani Nongogo, “The Effect of Sports boycott and Social Change in South Africa: A Historical Perspective, 1955-1992”, International Olympic Committee: Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2012. [Also available On-Line: www.olympic.org]; Nongogo, P. (2012). International Olympic Committee and the Olympic movement’s mechanism to engage humankind: Conferences, congresses, forums and major events, 1894 to 2012, African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December (Supplement 1:1), 252-267; Nongogo, P. (2012). Providing “intellectual guidance” for the Olympic movement: The Olympic congresses – history and highlights, 1894 – 2009. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December (Supplement 1:1), 268-287; Nongogo, P and Paul, Y. (2012). Sport, education and culture conferences: A brief history and highlights. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December (Supplement 1:1), 288-303.

<sup>314</sup>Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.76.

the ban on inter-racial weight-lifting competitions be abolished.<sup>315</sup> Several scholars have reported similar contacts and interracial competitions during this era in South African sporting history.<sup>316</sup>

### 2.2.3 South Africa's Racial Segregation: apartheid Sport

The intricate position of and the relationships that existed between the IOC, the IPC the wider Olympic Movement, the South Africa's "NOCs"<sup>317</sup>, and the Whites-only national sport federations need to be assessed. This analysis is undertaken within the framework of understanding the meaning and value attached to the philosophy of "Olympism"; the "sacrosanct nature" and the guiding role of the Olympic Charter; the challenges posed by the practice of apartheid sport by South Africa's "NOC's"; the opportunities available to and missed by the IOC, the IPC and the Olympic movement in dealing with the former, and the processes that underscored the Olympic movement's expected position, attitude towards and response to, and in handling the issue of the apartheid sport and the resistance against it.

#### 2.2.3.1 Apartheid in South Africa

*Apartheid* is an Afrikaans word meaning 'apartness.'<sup>318</sup> It came about at a time when imperial rule was receding and enforcement of segregation was being relaxed. However, South Africa went against this world trend by strengthening barriers between Black and White people and attempting to rationalise this in terms of ideas about racial purity.<sup>319</sup> At a time when many nations were moving away from using race as a device for social division, South Africa continued its segregationist policies. 'Since the defeat and death of Adolf Hitler, South Africa is the only avowedly and systematically racist country remaining in the world.'<sup>320</sup> In 1948 after the Nationalist Party won the "national" elections

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<sup>315</sup> *Cape Standard*, 1945, p.4; Cleophas and Van der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions to the application of the colour bar," p.127.

<sup>316</sup> L.F.E Leonard and G.B. Affleck, *The History of Physical Education*, Philadelphia, Lea and Febiger, 1947, p.423; L. Marquard, L. *The People and Politics of South Africa*, Cape Town, Oxford University press, 1952; p.63; Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1971; Anderson, "An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979", 1979, p.35; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, *Beyond the tryline*, 1995; Nongogo, "The Origins and Development of Black Rugby", 2004; Odendaal, *The African Game*, 2003.

<sup>317</sup> The South African National Olympic Committees (NOC's) have changed names several times since its inception in 1906.

<sup>318</sup> Ian Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry University, Coventry, UK, Sport in Society, Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181, p.1165.

<sup>319</sup> Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*.

<sup>320</sup> Conor Cruise O'Brien, 'Foreword', p.10, in Donald Woods, *Black and White*, Ward River Press, Dublin, 1981.

in South Africa, the party quickly institutionalised and legislated the already segregationist way of life in the country. The main policy it enacted came to be known as apartheid. The policy of apartheid comprised of numerous pieces of legislation that controlled almost every facet of people's social life in South Africa and were fundamentally racist based and oppressive to all Black people and groups of people that would have otherwise been called the "non-European" or "non-White" population.

Beinart and Dubow assert that the explanation of the segregation practices of the National Party vary between the materialist and the ideological, the structuralist and the individualist.<sup>321</sup> In contrast, Whalley-Hammell claims that the cultural imperialism of colonial racism in apartheid South Africa was informed by specific interpretations of the Bible and of biology to justify withholding civil rights from those deemed 'inferior.'<sup>322</sup> Tatz describes the underlying cultural ideology of the Afrikaner as being based in 'fundamental Calvinism, their belief in a divine calling or mission in life to preserve White civilisation, their Puritanism and fanatical nationalism.'<sup>323</sup> Frank Braun, the President of the Whites-only SANOC, once 'scientifically'<sup>324</sup> explained why there were no qualified "non-White" swimmers in South Africa by stating that 'some sport the Africans are not suited for. In swimming, the water closes their pores so that they cannot get rid of carbon dioxide and so they tire quickly.'<sup>325</sup> Whalley-Hammell argues that the function of this ideology was to preserve, protect and perpetuate minority White power, and that ideology and power, in combination, served to maintain power and dominance with such effectiveness that the White minority group wielded the majority of power and the Black population, who make up the statistical majority, was accorded minority status.<sup>326</sup>

Ian Brittain asserts that racial discrimination helped to facilitate capitalist growth and provide Whites with material and political benefits.<sup>327</sup> Ben Turok shows how the National Party maintained its power through the introduction and maintenance of various Acts, and they then used the legal system to enforce its discriminatory practices. One such Act was the Natives Land Act, which prohibited Africans from gaining any legal rights to any lands outside their so called "traditional" areas.<sup>328</sup> Seedat claims that political pressure

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<sup>321</sup> Beinart and Dubow, ed., *Segregation and apartheid*.

<sup>322</sup> Whalley-Hammell, *Perspectives on Disability*.

<sup>323</sup> Colin Martin Tatz, *Sport in South*, Australian Institute of Political Science, 1983; also see Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", 2011.

<sup>324</sup> Tatz, *Sport in South*, Australian Institute of Political Science, 1983.

<sup>325</sup> Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", 2011, p.1170.

<sup>326</sup> Whalley- Hammell, *Perspectives on Disability*; Brittain, *South Africa, apartheid and Paralympics*, 2012.

<sup>327</sup> Seedat, *Crippling a Nation*.

<sup>328</sup> Ben Turok, *Inequality as State Policy*.

for passing of these Acts came almost entirely from those who wished to ensure a steady and cheap supply of labour.<sup>329</sup> The only way that those in power could force people to accept low wages in the White-owned mines, farms and factories of South Africa was to destroy their self-sufficiency and alternative forms of livelihood.<sup>330</sup> These laws were often enforced through police brutality. Fear was used as a means of ensuring compliance. Any attempt to protest or challenge the status quo would often result in the protesters being seriously injured as in the large numbers of protesters who died in Sharpeville (1960) and Soweto (1976).<sup>331</sup>

#### 2.2.3.2 Apartheid and sport in South Africa

The application of these racist policies in the country's sport meant that no Black sportsperson could officially be part of a representative South African team in the international competitions or Olympic Games. The apartheid system failed to meet the basic requirements as outlined within the Olympic Charter, which forbade any form of 'discrimination in sport'.<sup>332</sup> The interesting feature about apartheid is that the National Party did not introduce specific legislation to prohibit racially mixed sport or sport specific policy or law until the 1954's 'Boxing and Wrestling Control Act'<sup>333</sup> which naturally affected these two sporting codes. South Africa's sport policy was pronounced in 27 June 1956<sup>334</sup> because the Whites-only "national" sport federations strictly applied the racial segregation and colour policies in sport on their own voluntarily.<sup>335</sup> However, apartheid legislation was so all-encompassing, that it militated against integrated sport by such methods as making travel extremely difficult for non-Whites and having specific sport

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<sup>329</sup> Seedat, Crippling a Nation; Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", 2011, p.1170.

<sup>330</sup> Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", 2011, p.1170; also see Odendaal, "Vakani bantu" *The making of the political elite in black communities in South Africa*, 1982.

<sup>331</sup> Seedat, Crippling a Nation.

<sup>332</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>333</sup> See Bruce Murray and Christopher Merrett, *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2004, p.50; and Tyler Fleming, "Now the African reigns supreme": The rise of African boxing on the Witwatersrand, 1924-1959", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2011, 28: 1, 47 — 62, p.56-57.

<sup>334</sup> Guelke, *The Politics of sport in South Africa*, 2011; Mbaya, *The IOC and South Africa: An analysis of the humanist sport policy*, 1995, De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story"; De Broglio, "The struggle against apartheid sport", 2005; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Douglas Both, *The Race Game: Sport and politics in South Africa*, 1998; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>335</sup> IOC/ IOC and the Olympic Movement/Indian Youth Congress Memorandum to the IOC, 1955; IOC/ IOC and the Olympic Movement/SASA's Memorandum to the IOC, 1959/ De Broglio, *South Africa*, 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Richard Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*.

facilities for each of the races, with White facilities being vastly superior in quality and quantity to non-White facilities.<sup>336</sup>

On March 29, 1961, the South African Minister of the Interior, Jan De Klerk, announced that the government would not approve the participation of mixed teams in global sporting events; that mixed teams from other nations would not be welcome in South Africa; and that only separate White and non-White teams could compete abroad in international competition.<sup>337</sup> The White sporting federations in South Africa, which were affiliated to the International sport Federations and controlled access to international competition, did not allow for non-White membership. This made access to international sport, including the Olympic Games, almost impossible for non-White sportspersons.<sup>338</sup> Further, those non-Whites who did manage to compete for South Africa at the international level were not awarded their “Springbok Colours”, (national recognition and proof an individual had represented South Africa in international sporting competition), which were reserved purely for White competitors.<sup>339</sup> Interestingly, for decades it seems the IOC, while aware of racial discrimination and practices in South African sport, did not view this matter as problematic and was utterly indifferent towards the majority “excluded” Black sportspersons in South Africa. Naturally, the early history of the IOC and the Olympic Movement proves to be highly discriminatory, on the basis of race and gender, albeit purporting to be otherwise.<sup>340</sup> In fact, Sam Ramsamy writes that Pierre de Coubertin’s views on sport and people were controversial, ‘sexist and racist.’<sup>341</sup> Consequently, the leadership and the athlete-makeup of the Olympic Games and other international sport competitions were for many years, predominantly White and male.<sup>342</sup>

Some form of resistance to the apartheid system by individuals, the Black “national” sport federations and the South African sport organisations later, were first

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<sup>336</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African*, 1982; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Brittain, 2011; Whalley- Hammell, Perspectives on Disability.

<sup>337</sup> Keech, ‘The Ties That Bind’; Brittain, ‘Elite Athletes with Disabilities’.

<sup>338</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar”.

<sup>339</sup> Brittain, South Africa, apartheid and Paralympics, 2012.

<sup>340</sup> IOC, 2011, p.15; John Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport: History of the Present”, August 6, 2012 [[http://historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus\\_thread](http://historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus_thread)]; also see BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/Sam Ramsamy Collection/photocopied paper/Sam Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and third world equality”, 1987, pp.1-16/The booklet carrying this paper has a “Foreword” (pp.3-4) by Bruce Kidd, The Chair of Olympic Studies Committee – Canadian Olympic Association; Sam Ramsamy’s brief biography, p.5 and a brief note “About the Olympic Academy of Canada”, p.6]; Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa* 1995.

<sup>341</sup> BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/Sam Ramsamy Collection/photocopied paper/Sam Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and third world equality”, 1987.

<sup>342</sup> Archer and Bouillon, 1982; Guelke, *The Politics of sport in South Africa*, 2011; Mbaye, *The IOC and South Africa: An analysis of the humanist sport policy*, 1995, De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”; De Broglio, “The struggle against apartheid sport”, 2005, Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Nauright, “The modern Olympics represents that triumph of capitalism”, 2012.

observed in the mid-1940s.<sup>343</sup> The IOC rebuffed South Africa's non-racial sport federations, the SASA in the 1950s and SANROC in the 1960s and opted to continue recognising the racist SANOC. The IOC under the leadership of Avery Brundage insisted that 'even though SANROC uses the word "Olympic" in its name, it would have nothing to do with it.'<sup>344</sup> In fact, the IOC threatened to take harsh action if SANROC did not stop using the word "Olympic"; forcing it in 1963, to replace it with the word 'Open'. They were thereafter known as the South African Non-Racial Open Committee.<sup>345</sup>

The year 1970 was difficult for Whites-only sport as SANOC was eventually expelled from the Olympic Games, following suspension in 1964 and 1968.<sup>346</sup> By 1971, the international boycott of sporting links with South Africa, led to the introduction of a multinational sport programme which allowed White, coloured, African and the Indian people in South Africa to compete against each other as 'nations'<sup>347</sup> provided they affiliated to one of the established 'national' sport federations. Those sportspersons who refused to organise sport in this fashion were marginalised and persecuted. As international links receded further, the government eventually permitted domestic competitions between 'nations' and eventually club-level competitions between 'nations,' albeit maintaining the racist outlook of sport.<sup>348</sup> Brittain argues that it is likely that this legislation allowed the South African Sport Association for the Disabled to hold mixed trials and to send its first racially mixed team to Stoke Mandeville in 1975. As they were affiliated to a separate 'national' federation they were a distinct 'nation' for whom colour was a secondary consideration.<sup>349</sup>

### 2.2.3.3 Apartheid, disability and discrimination

Ian Brittain argues that the way people were classified in apartheid South Africa determined the 'rights' to which they were entitled.<sup>350</sup> The rights of citizenship were traditionally allocated according to physique, with physical differences used to divide the

<sup>343</sup> BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/Sam Ramsamy Collection/photocopied paper/Sam Ramsamy, "The politics of racism and third world equality", 1987; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982.

<sup>344</sup> IOC/IOC and the Olympic Movement/SANROC Memorandum to the IOC, 1963.

<sup>345</sup> IOC/IOC and the Olympic Movement/ SANROC Memorandum to the IOC, 1963.

<sup>346</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Mbaye, *The IOC and South Africa*, 1995; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>347</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.202.

<sup>348</sup> Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*.

<sup>349</sup> Brittain, South Africa, apartheid and Paralympics, 2012.

<sup>350</sup> Brittain, South Africa, apartheid and Paralympics, 2012; also see Archer and Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982.

powerful from the powerless.<sup>351</sup> In terms of apartheid in South Africa this was done purely on racial heritage and skin colour. Worldwide the same kind of classification based in physical difference has been used to discriminate against people with a variety of characteristics or impairments to define, and often control, their lives.<sup>352</sup> People with disabilities and the organisations that support them have a strong understanding of the impact of discrimination on their lives. The black people or the “non-White” population with a disability would also have been subject to a double discrimination in terms of both their skin colour and their impairment. This is perhaps one reason why the organisers of international disability sport were so adamant that the South African team should be allowed to continue to compete.<sup>353</sup> Being ostracised from the rest of society, participation in sport may have been one of the very few opportunities that South Africans with disabilities and the Black people in particular, might have had to prove to themselves and the rest of society that they were capable of contributing to society and achieving great things.

Similarly, the Paralympics also received attention from the NRSM and the AAM as they were also petitioned and boycotts were waged against them just as it was the case for the broader Olympic Movement. The scale of the boycotts was slightly less intense. That South Africa managed to send teams and participated in the International Stoke Mandeville Games until 1985, even though it was forced out twice in the early 1980s, is indicative of the limited opposition to these Games. This situation changed dramatically in the late 1970s and 1980s until South Africa was finally excluded from the Games after 1985.<sup>354</sup> There is no better illustration to beat the exchange between Mike Terry and the British Minister of Sport and Environment, Mr Neil MacFarlane in 1982, shown below. In this letter Mike Terry, at the time serving as the Executive Secretary of the British Anti-apartheid Movement, brings to or rather puts it to the Minister that he is:

...aware of the International Stoke Mandeville Games opened yesterday and amongst the participants is a team from South Africa. We did write about this matter on 8 June 1982 and drew your attention

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<sup>351</sup> Whalley- Hammell, *Perspectives on Disability*.

<sup>352</sup> Brittain, ‘Elite Athletes with Disabilities’.

<sup>353</sup> Archive of the Anti-apartheid Movement, 1956-98/ Bodleian Library: Rhodes House, Oxford University/BOX: MSS AAM 1429 – FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/A second important letter is from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982, to Mr Neil Macfarlane M.P. Minister of Sport, Department of Environment at 2 Marshal Str., London SW1 [In this letter Mike Terry puts it to the Minister that he is ‘aware of the International Stoke Mandeville Games opened yesterday and amongst the participants is a team from South Africa. We did write about this matter on 8 June 1982 and drew your attention to it again when you were kind enough to receive a delegation from the AAM a week before the letter was sent and response received]; see Brittain, South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympics, 2012; also see Archer and Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982.

<sup>354</sup> Brittain, “South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympics”, 2012.

to it again when you were kind enough to receive a delegation from the AAM last week. We were most encouraged by the assurances that no Sport Council grant aid is provided for the Games because of the participation of a team from South Africa. We were therefore most surprised to discover that the official opening took place in the presence of HRH the Prince of Wales. As the Heir to the Throne, and therefore future Head of the Commonwealth we are confident that he would not wish to encourage any breach of the Gleneagles Agreement. Equally we are sure that he would not wish to offend those from the British and other Commonwealth countries who did not participate because of their commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement. We understand that it is customary for advice to be sought from the Government of the day by the Royal family on matters such as these. Was such advice sought and what was the Government's response...<sup>355</sup>

It is interesting to note Mr Neil MacFarlane's somewhat sarcastic response to AAM's Mike Terry's letter on 26 July 1982. In his two and half page letter of response, Neil MacFarlane<sup>356</sup> says, among other things:

...I am now in a position to comment on the recommendations contained in the AAM Memorandum on British sporting relations with South Africa... I have one general comment to make. It seems clear to me that several of the recommendations and some of the supporting arguments in the earlier part of the Memorandum suggest that the AAM has not fully appreciated the status of the Gleneagles Agreement. Its correct title is, of course, the Commonwealth Statement on apartheid in Sport. It is not therefore in any sense a formal agreement, but a joint statement issued by Commonwealth Heads of Government giving expression to their abhorrence of apartheid, and outlining the policy towards sporting contacts with South Africa which they agreed to adopt. It therefore follows that only Governments could be regarded as being "in breach of" the Agreement, since they only are party to it. This is an important point which underlines much of my response to your concluding recommendations...<sup>357</sup>

It is apparently clear that the Minister's comments and views above were not only technical in nature, but were also problematic in that could very little if any in assisting the struggle to deracialise South Africa sport. Paramount to these therefore is some indication

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<sup>355</sup> Archive of the Anti-apartheid Movement housed at the Oxford University's Bodleian House/1956-98/BOX: MSS AAM 1429 – FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/A second important letter is from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982, to Mr Neil Macfarlane M.P. Minister of Sport, Department of Environment at 2 Marshal Str., London SW1.

<sup>356</sup> Address: Department of The Environment, 02 Marshal Str. London SW1 3EB.

<sup>357</sup> This is found in the archive of the Anti-apartheid Movement housed at University of Oxford in the Bodleian House/1956-98/BOX: MSS AAM 1429/FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/A second important letter is from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982, to Mr Neil MacFarlane M.P. Minister of Sport, Department of Environment at 2 Marshal Str., London SW1.

of lacking political will, not only to encourage British sport entities to refrain from keeping interactions with controversial South African teams, but making it difficult for them to do as they wish. This of course should be understood against the backdrop of the British Foreign Policy, particular in relation to the South African apartheid regime under the stewardship of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

### 2.3 THE POSITION OF THE LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL SPORTING ESTABLISHMENTS TOWARDS THE SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL SPORTING LANDSCAPE

The majority if not all present day popular modern sport such as cricket, rugby, football or soccer are all of British culture and origin. Black and White populations in the country adopted these sport codes mainly from the British soldiers in the Cape and elsewhere in the country.<sup>358</sup> The British did not only come into the country with their sport but with their social, cultural, class practices including racism. There are several cases of racism in sport in South Africa, under the control of the British and prior to the apartheid system. The development and organisation of sport in South Africa in the second half of the 19th century occurred along racial lines. Sporting clubs and associations at local, regional, and national levels seem to have adhered to strict policies of segregation.

It was the South Africa Athletics Amateur Union (SAAAU) and the South African Cricket Union (SACU) that made their intention to segregate on racial grounds public in 1931 and limited selection of their teams to only players of European (White) origin or all-White teams.<sup>359</sup> The Constitution and rules of the white South African Football Association (SAFA) stipulated members had to be of “full European descent.” As a consequence, SAFA refused to accept an invitation in 1931 to play in Java due to the possibility of playing against teams of other races. In 1934 White football authorities refused to field a team to play against an all-India touring team.<sup>360</sup>

Racial classification was entrenched in the 1950 Population Registration Act.<sup>361</sup> In the same year, the Group Areas Act was enacted, which assigned areas to different racial groups and was later used to exclude Black spectators from certain sport stadiums. The

<sup>358</sup> See Anderson, “An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979”, 1979; Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*, Ravan, Cape Town, 1995; see also Floris van Der Merwe, *Sportgeschiedenis: 'n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, Stellenbosch, FIG Publikasies/Publications, 1997 and 1999 or Floris van Der Merwe, *Sport History: A Textbook for South African Students*, Stellenbosch, FIG Publikasies/Publications, 2004.

<sup>359</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>360</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982.

<sup>361</sup> See Juan Klee, ““Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978”: The role of BJ Vorster and PGJ Koornhof”, New Contree, No. 64, July 2012, pp.155-170; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982.

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 segregated public spaces.<sup>362</sup> Various pass laws were introduced that strictly regulated the movement of Black South Africans in designated White areas. White sport authorities, particularly in horse racing and football, relied on Black spectatorship as an important source of income. Separate gate entries, toilet facilities, and stands were erected to keep racial groups apart.<sup>363</sup>

This practice continued beyond World War II, with White-controlling sport federations excluding Black counterparts and only prepared to act as their guardians for sport by representing them at international level. This was to become the major battlefield for almost half a century, when the oppressed majority non-racial sportspersons “triumphed” in the early 1970’s; isolating racist South Africa from international sporting competitions and the Olympic Games.<sup>364</sup>

British Imperial policy was notorious for its class distinction and this was true in South Africa as it was in many of its colonies throughout the world, treating Black people under their rule as political and social subordinates.<sup>365</sup> Available literature indicates that this practice is observable in all social facets, including sport during the early days of British rule. British Imperialists were in control of racially based clubs, provincial and national teams during this period. Life under British rule was complex in terms of race-relations and sport development intentions. There seems to be some considerable disjuncture in the rationale to develop and shaping of community social clubs as opposed to the diffusion of sport in Mission Schools. Diffusion of sport, games and physical education, with its accompanying values within the Mission Institutions such as Lovedale seems to have been different from that of the general community sport. The use of sport for the purpose of “civilising” and “Christianising” the young Black population in a quest to create Bantu Missionaries to spread Christianity within the country and across the continent; and “Black-Englishmen” to serve the British administration agenda, with the “race question” less emphasised, is evident in Mission Institutions of the day.<sup>366</sup> In contrast, values of segregation and indifference seem to have been “emphasised” among the “unconverted” or “uneducated” adult Black adult population.<sup>367</sup> The Reverend R.H.W.

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<sup>362</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Klee, “Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978”, 2012.

<sup>363</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982.

<sup>364</sup> See Thabo Mbeki, “Foreword” in Sam Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections of a life in sport*, 2004.

<sup>365</sup> Nedbank Group, *A Guide to South African Sport*, 1987, p.45; Van der Merwe (2004) *Sport History*, p.80; Van der Merwe (2004) *Sport History*, p.85; Murray and Vahed, *Empire and Cricket*.

<sup>366</sup> Shepherd, *The Story of a Century*, 1947; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>367</sup> P. Mayer and I. Mayer, *Tribesmen or Townsmen: A Study of Bantu Family in East London*, London, Oxford University press, 1968; Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Nongogo, “The Origins and Development of Black Rugby”, 2004; Odendaal, *The African Game*,

Shepherd, an eminent Principal of one of the oldest Mission Schools in South Africa, the Lovedale Institution, published a history of the School entitled *Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century, 1841 – 1941*. In this story, Shepherd discussed the role of sport in the civilising mission that the Scottish Presbyterians had set themselves when they established Lovedale Missionary Institution.

...Lovedale is concerned with the whole man, body, mind and spirit. With some 700 young people as boarders constantly within the Institution, special steps must be taken for the safe-guarding of health through games and other recreation. To look over Lovedale's Annual Report in any year is to see a network of activities centring on the sport' field: athletics, rugby, soccer, cricket, netball, and tennis... Recreation is a matter of supreme importance in the eyes of those responsible for Lovedale. Many of the amusement of the unconverted Bantu are incompatible with Christian purity of life, so have to be abandoned by those embracing Christianity. But youth is youth the world over and therefore among the Bantu, as among all other races, provision must be made for social activities, healthy exercise and profitable employment of leisure. What is and what is not Christian in this connection is a burning question in rural areas and urban centres...<sup>368</sup>

Some form of “mixed” racial or interracial community sport participation was observed during goodwill boxing, cricket, tennis, golf and baseball matches and continued until 1948.<sup>369</sup> There is evidence, however, that as early as the late 1800s, race relations were not harmonious in South Africa. Cleophas and van der Merwe argue that [B]between 1890 and the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a persistent feature of the collective mentality of a section of the South African White population was a public outcry against the dangers of political, social and business contact between Black and White.<sup>370</sup> The aftermath of the second South African war<sup>371</sup> (also known as the “Anglo-Boer War”, (1899-1902) brought fundamental changes on how the country was governed, at least on the side of the White population. The ‘British authorities wanted to unify the White “race” and legislation was needed.<sup>372</sup> After the war the School Board Act of 1905 was passed, with the purpose of

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<sup>368</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.iv

<sup>369</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>370</sup> See Bolsmann (2010) “The Orange Free State Association Football tour of Europe.”

<sup>371</sup> Grundlingh, A. (1987) *Fighting their own war, South African Blacks and First World War*. Johannesburg: Ravan, p.47; similar sentiments were recorded about the East London white communities during the same period and for more information about this, see Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*; Maqasho, L. (2000) *East London Land Restitution Claims: Social History Report*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, South Africa, Rhodes University.

<sup>372</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar”, p.125.

making ‘school attendance and education provision compulsory for Whites children.<sup>373</sup> The situation worsened for Black people in the country in 1948, when the NP won the Whites-only election. The new government quickly consolidated and legislated the already racially charged and polarisation populace, moving from the language question to hardcore colour bar politics. The NP had a choice to remedy the situation and move away from racism but chose apartheid over racial harmony and peace. Ironically this was the era, which the international community of nations and states was moving away from the various forms of discrimination, in a process that was ably coordinated by the UN.<sup>374</sup>

### 2.3.1 South Africa’s sport federations: The National Olympic Committee and the Olympic Movement

South Africa’s initial contact with the Olympic Movement and the IOC was made by the upper class or the socio-political elite and was on a racist and capitalist problematic basis. The *Africa’s First Olympians* by Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lappe Laubscher<sup>375</sup> documents how the social difficulties of the South African war<sup>376</sup> were dealt with by ‘rich men’ including Abe Bailey, Sir Leander Starr Jameson and Henry Nourse, together with their close and strategic contacts in London. They decided to ‘use sport’ to promote harmony and peace between the English and the Afrikaners.<sup>377</sup> Significantly, no mention of black people is made in this arrangement. It is interesting to note that Abe Bailey personally financed a cricket tour by a Whites-only “South African team” to England.<sup>378</sup> This development was based on an imperialist, class and racial exclusionary decision. These early contacts therefore initiated a strong social-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political polarised sporting base in the country and explains the stark racial contrast between the “1904 and 1908 South African Olympic teams” in St. Louis and London,

<sup>373</sup> See *Cape of Good Hope* (1905), p.417.

<sup>374</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*; Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, 2003.

<sup>375</sup> IOC/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l’Afrique du Sud et l’Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/ Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lappe Laubscher, *Africa’s First Olympians: The story of the Olympic Movement in South Africa 1907-1987*, SANOC’SANOK, Johannesburg, 1987, p.3; IOC Archives (IOC)/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l’Afrique du Sud et l’Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/ IOC and the Olympic Movement/South African Olympic and National Games Association/Annual Report 1983/84.

<sup>376</sup>This is known as the “Anglo Boer War”, which ended in 1902.

<sup>377</sup> See also Odendaal, “Foreword”, 2009, p.xvi; also see Cleophas and Van der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar,” p.124.

<sup>378</sup>This development might explain black people’s exclusion on the basis of race from this early period? For more details on this early sport history, see IOC/IOC and the Olympic Movement/SANOC’s Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lamppe Laubscher, *Africa’s First Olympians*, 1987, in IOC Archives/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l’Afrique du Sud et l’Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/IOC and the Olympic Movement/South African Olympic and National Games Association/Annual Report 1983/84.

albeit one ‘unofficial’<sup>379</sup> and the other an official team. In fact it is interesting to observe that the first South African official Olympic team was Whites-only and that the IOC did not take issue with this racially comprised team despite the non-discrimination Rule in the Olympic Charter, especially Articles 24 and 25.<sup>380</sup> In order to understand the dynamics and complexities in how the IOC works, a brief review of its structures and operations, especially around the South Africa’s racial problem, is necessary.

International sport was and is still generally governed by the respective IFs for each code and by the IOC, which specifically focuses on the Olympic Games. The IOC is the highest authority in international sport but does not control the IFs. ‘The relationship is best described as interdependence.’<sup>381</sup> The IOC is constituted by individuals selected and nominated by the President and his executive. The total number of IOC members, according to the latest version of the Olympic Charter, ‘Bye-Law Rule 16’, may not exceed 115.<sup>382</sup> Some countries have more than one member and many countries have none. The IOC members represent the IOC in their respective countries, rather than the reverse. In the “SANROC Story”, De Broglio asserts that:

...It is obvious that there is a moral responsibility on IOC Executive members to ensure that the Olympic Charter is respected, that fair play is upheld and that all are guaranteed unhindered participation in the Olympic Games and International Sport. This duty was not discharged by the IOC members towards Black South African sportsmen who have been discriminated against from the time South Africa became a member at the turn of the twentieth century. It appears that South Africa never gave the guarantees which are required of all new members. It appears that older members of the IOC have long persisted in covering up for apartheid South Africa with full knowledge of the extent of racism in South African sport. From 1948 onwards the IOC played its full part in the merry-go-round with the White South Africans. Petitions and appeals which were sent by representative organisations of Black South Africans were referred back to the offending body in South Africa, the South African Olympic Committee. The IOC member, Mr Reginald Honey, was not instructed by the IOC to demand that these racist practices be abandoned. As life president of the South African Olympic Committee

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<sup>379</sup> IOC Archives (IOC)/IOC and the Olympic Movement/SANOC’s Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lamppe Laubscher, *Africa’s First Olympians*, 1987, in IOC Archives/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l’Afrique du Sud et l’Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/IOC and the Olympic Movement/South African Olympic and National Games Association/Annual Report 1983/84, p.3; also see IOC Archives/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l’Afrique du Sud et l’Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/IOC and the Olympic Movement/South African Olympic and National Games Association/Annual Report 1983/84.

<sup>380</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*.

<sup>381</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, p.3.

<sup>382</sup> IOC/*Olympic Charter*/2011, p.30.

he was in fact responsible for the continuation of these racist practices...<sup>383</sup>

The report of a commission which visited South Africa in 1967<sup>384</sup> shows that the matter was ‘discussed in 1959’,<sup>385</sup> obviously through the pressure of the South African Sports Association.<sup>386</sup> At this meeting the President of the IOC accepted without reserve the declarations of Mr R. Honey that there is no discrimination in South African sport in spite of detailed evidence to the contrary supplied in a memorandum by Dennis Brutus as secretary of SASA.<sup>387</sup> It is evident that imperialism,<sup>388</sup> politics of class-differential and racial segregation underpinned the early Olympic sport organisation in South Africa.<sup>389</sup> Politics and political representatives played a major role in formalising the contacts and getting the country closer to the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. It was through the influence of the Office of Sir Starr Jameson who at the time was the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, that the British National Olympic Committee was mobilised that an invitation be extended to “South Africa” to take part in the fourth Olympiad, which the city of London was to host.<sup>390</sup>

There is evidence that in its meeting in The Hague in May 23, 1907, the IOC unanimously carried a motion that saw the four South Africa’s constituent units comprising the British Colonies, the Cape (Colony and later a Province) and Natal, and the two ‘Boer Republics’ of the Orange River Colony (or also widely known as the Orange

<sup>383</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, p.3. For more information on this matter see the letters in the IOC Archives/(17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondence du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; and the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-Apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Antony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (26 May 1955 and the response on June 1<sup>st</sup>. 1955) and the IOC in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondence du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>384</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967.

<sup>385</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, p.3; also see Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, 2011, p.1165.

<sup>386</sup> See the IOC resolution on its relationship, attitude and approach towards SANROC as captured in *Annexure V* of the minutes of IOC Executive Board in Munich 1959 (i.e., to snub SANROC albeit using the word “Olympic” in its title), IOC Archives/IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SASA Memorandum, 1959; Box 25 MCH63-7/ IOC Archives / IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SANROC Files / SASA Memorandum, 1959; IOC Archives / IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SANROC Files; 1959-1968; also see De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbeye, *IOC and South Africa*, 1995; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; de Broglio, “The Struggle against apartheid sport”, 2009; Brittain, “South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee”, 2012.

<sup>387</sup> IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondence du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also see De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”.

<sup>388</sup> See Murray and Vahed (eds.), *Empire and Cricket*.

<sup>389</sup> IOC On-line Archive/IOC post-graduate Grants/ Grant Report/Philani Nongogo, 2011

<sup>390</sup> IOC/Africa’s First Olympians/ IOC Archives (IOC)/IOC and the Olympic Movement/SANOC’s Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lamppe Laubscher, *Africa’s First Olympians*, 1987, p.3; also see IOC/D-RMOI-AFRIS/036/Publications sa l’Afrique du Sud et l’Apartheid/1965-1987/CIO D.RMOI. AFRIS 7777/SD2/IOC and the Olympic Movement/South African Olympic and National Games Association/Annual Report 1983/84.

Free State) and the Transvaal<sup>391</sup> invited into the Olympic Movement family. This hypocrisy continued to pervade both South Africa's Whites-only National Olympic Committee and the IOC over the years. The majority of the IOC members, IFs leaders and the Olympic teams of this period were predominantly White. The racist and sexist history of the IOC and the Olympic Movement is long and was naturally evident in the early days of the modern Olympic Games and any challenge to these practises was simply suppressed as politically motivated.<sup>392</sup> For instance, in response to the end of the Second World War, the IOC held an Executive Committee meeting in London in August 21<sup>st</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>, 1945, which point 4 of the minutes, states:

...[T]he Committee decided that letters should be sent to the National Olympic Committees suggesting that they resume their activities, stimulate public interest in the Olympic Movement, stress the principles of true amateurism, etc. Political influence in the movement should be avoided...<sup>393</sup>

Yet it is common knowledge that South Africa's National Olympic Committee excluded black sportspersons on political grounds and the IOC was aware of this fact. When the IOC and the host City Organising Committee extended an invitation to the racist SANOC for the Mexico City Games in 1968, the IOC President, Avery Brundage wrote:

... [T]here seems to be a serious misunderstanding of the action of the International Olympic Committee at its meetings in Grenoble last month. It did not approve either the Government of South Africa or its policies. It does not deal with governments nor with the political policies of any country...<sup>394</sup>

It is well-established that the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) had voluntarily chosen to exclude Black sportspersons, in direct response and alignment to its government's racist policy of apartheid. The IOC and its President were well aware of this reality. The IOC resolution on its relationship, attitude and approach towards SANROC as captured in *Annexure V* of the minutes of IOC Executive Board in Munich 1959 (i.e., to snub SANROC albeit using the word "Olympic" in its title) is an

<sup>391</sup> IOC/*Africa's First Olympians*, IOC Archives (IOC)/IOC and the Olympic Movement/SANOC's Rudolf W.J. Opperman and Lampe Laubscher, *Africa's First Olympians*, 1987, p.3 found in the IOC Archives/ Olympic Movement and South Africa/1907; for more information on this see also Chapter One: "Sport in South African History – 'Imperial Age'", pp.21-30 in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, pp.15-55 – here Archer and Bouillon asserts that as early as in 1867, 'the country [South Africa] could be divided politically into three zones – the Cape and Natal, under British authority; the Boer Free States of Orange State and Transvaal; and those areas over which the Zulus and other African tribal states still retained partial sovereignty.'

<sup>392</sup> See Ramsamy, "The Politics of racism and The Third World Equality", 1987, pp. 7-16.

<sup>393</sup> IOC Executive Meeting Minutes, 1945, p.2.

<sup>394</sup> IOC Archives/SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4, p.5.

indication of this hypocrisy and bias. In its annual report for the 1983-84 season, the SAONGA reports that: ‘...Morally, it is equally wrong for the IOC to boycott sportspersons in accordance with political acceptability or not...’<sup>395</sup>

There is evidence that the Olympic Movement and the IOC did not only tolerate Whites-only South African indifference towards the country’s Black sportspersons for a long time, but also sympathised and supported the racist regime.<sup>396</sup> The IOC’s Presidents’ view (Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin) that sport and politics do not mix was not only flawed, within the South African context but biased against the black sportspersons. This approach also furthered the racial divisions in South Africa and promoted the Black exclusion from the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. The exclusion occurred in the face of strong protestations by the non-racial sport movement and the Anti-apartheid Movement. That the IOC specifically and the Olympic Movement generally, never co-opted nor elected a Black South African sportsperson is an indictment on their part. That the IOC opted to snub SANROC as opposed to working closely with it, even after it had suspended and later expelled the racist SANOC since 1960 and in 1970 respectively, is bizarre. There is evidence that both the IOC Presidents, who reigned between 1952 and 1980, shared the view and belief that even though SANROC used the appellation “Olympic” in its name, it should be dismissed with contempt because it was led by “politicians” rather than sportspersons; a view also shared by the suspended racist South Africa’s NOC.<sup>397</sup> *Annexure V* in one of the IOC Sessions in 1959 reads:

...The International Olympic Committee resolved that, whilst SANROC uses the word “Olympic” in its title, neither the International Olympic Committee nor any of its officials shall have any communication or dealings with it...<sup>398</sup>

<sup>395</sup> IOC Archives/IOC Munich Executive Board Minutes, 1959/Annexure V - IOC OSC Archives.

<sup>396</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, p.3. For more information on this matter see the letters in the IOC Archives/(17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondence du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; and the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Antony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (26 May 1955 and the response on June 1<sup>st</sup>. 1955) and the IOC in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondence du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>397</sup> IOC/South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) Annual Report, 1983/84:3; IOC ARCHIVES: CIO\_D\_RMOI\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972; also see Richard Archer and Antoine Bouillon, The South African game: sport and racism, 1982.

<sup>398</sup> CIO D\_RMOI\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972 –Extraits des Session: Sur Afrique du Sud, 1959-1972

This stance delayed the liberalisation of South African sport from apartheid and denied many of South Africa's youth from taking their rightful place within the Olympic Movement.

Available literature on the sports boycott shows that SANROC and AAM were not inherently boycott-enthusiasts but non-racialists and were reconciliatory driven. There is a body of knowledge that illustrates that to the non-racial sport movement, boycotts were a potent weapon and last resort. It was only after considerable efforts to persuade the establishment sport structures to organise the country's sport on a non-racial basis that Black sportspersons contemplated and eventually initiated Sports boycott campaigns to eject apartheid sport from the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement. In the process the non-racial sport movement outlined its primary objectives to campaign for the total eradication of the colour bar in the country's sport; that it should be organised on a non-racial basis; replacement of Whites-only racist sport from the international federation with the non-racial sport organisation and expulsion of South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association (SAOCGA) from the Olympic Games.<sup>399</sup>

### 2.3.2 South Africa and the International Paralympic Committee

South Africa's participation in the International Stoke Mandeville Games was in direct contrast to that of the Games of the Olympiad on two accounts.<sup>400</sup> South Africa's National Olympic Committee (NOC) was barred from the 1964 Tokyo and 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games due to its unqualified adherence to the apartheid government's racial policies, before being finally expelled from the Olympic Movement in 1970,<sup>401</sup> the country's disabled athletes continued to participate in the international disability sport events until 1985. South Africa apparently competed in the International Stoke Mandeville Games (ISMG), which in an Olympic year became known as the Paralympic Games, for the first time in 1962 and missed out on these Games from 1980 to 1984. During this period, the country was barred from competing.<sup>402</sup> In 1985 the country was eventually expelled from the movement despite having 'competed with a racially integrated team

<sup>399</sup> SASA Memorandum, 1958; IOC SANROC Files; de Broglio, 1970; Ramsamy, 1982; Nauright, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) 2004.

<sup>400</sup> Archive of the Anti-apartheid Movement, 1956-98/BOX: MSS AAM 1429 – FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/A second important letter is from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982, to Mr. Neil Macfarlane M.P. Minister of Sport, Department of Environment at 2 Marshal Str., London SW1.

<sup>401</sup> Ian Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry University, Coventry, UK, Sport in Society, Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982.

<sup>402</sup> Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", 2011.

since 1975. The influence of international politics led to their exclusion and eventual expulsion from the disability sport movement, despite the claims by both South African leaders and those of the ISMG that ‘the fully racially integrated team was challenging apartheid by setting an example for others.’<sup>403</sup> Similar twisted logic was not new within the Olympic Movement.<sup>404</sup> The story of South African participation in international disability sport, long beyond the expulsion of its Olympic team from the Olympic Games, is extremely complex with numerous individuals, organisations and issues playing a part.

#### 2.4 SPORT, APARTHEID AND SOUTH AFRICA: THE STATE OF “NON-WHITE”, “NON-EUROPEAN” OR BLACK SPORT

It was the apartheid system grounded on the notion of White supremacy and totalitarianism<sup>405</sup> that subsequently led to the intensification of various struggles to deracialise South African sport. It is known that in South Africa under apartheid, the sport administrators, who controlled all official sport and the Government jointly, took measures deliberately to exclude the country’s Black population from participating in representative sport.<sup>406</sup> No open trials to permit the selection of the best sportspersons in each class from the entire sporting community took place. Competition in sport was instead limited to White sportspersons only and it is from them that national teams were selected.

In spite of his well-known favouritism towards the Whites-only SAOCGA during the 1950’s until the 1970s, the IOC President, Avery Brundage, due to growing pressure from the AAM and SANROC, was forced to review his and the IOC’s approach towards South Africa’s racial question in sport. However, it took a long time and hard work on the side of the non-racial sportspersons to engage and convince the IOC around racism in

<sup>403</sup> Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, 2011, p.1165.

<sup>404</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984; Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002, pp.527; Sampie Terreblanche narrates this thesis in a Canadian film, *Madiba: The Life and Times of Nelson Mandela*, CBC, 2004 [Sampie Terreblanche has the erudition and unique insights into both sides of the political divide in South Africa to make him an excellent choice to attempt this ambitious book. A leading South African economist, he was until 1987 a member of the ruling National Party, the party of apartheid, but later became one of their fierce critics, becoming a founding member and economic adviser of the Democratic Party, while also being involved in clandestine meetings with the ANC in the 1980s.]; Peter Limb, (Michigan State University), *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8, Issue 3, spring 2006 [*African Studies Quarterly* <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i3a14.htm> Spring 2006]; also see, Adam Habib, *South Africa’s Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14; see Ebrahim Patel’s argument in Albert Grundlingh, “The new politics of rugby,” in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.5-6; Ebrahim Patel, main speaker on behalf of the former SACOS officials or administrators, to honour these non-racial sport leaders, hosted by SASCOC, at the Olympic House, in Johannesburg, 08 May 2014; see interviews: Hassan Howa in 1977 (originally cited in Andre Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*, pp.269-270 and pp.276-277) and see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.202.

<sup>405</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*.

<sup>406</sup> Black people have a long history of modern sport participation and for more information in this regard, see Archer and Bouillon, *The South Africa game*, 1982; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Odendaal (1977) *Cricket in Isolation*; Anderson, “An Investigation into the Effect of Race and Politics on the Development of South African Sport, 1970-1979”, 1979; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nongogo, “The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane, 2004; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*.

South African sport. For example, when the non-racial or non-White South African Amateur Weight-Lifting and Bodybuilding Federation (SAAWBF) approached the IOC for it to be allowed to participate in the 1956 Melbourne Games, the IOC referred it to the Whites-only SAOCGA because the President ‘did not want to interfere in the local affairs of the country’; yet through pressure it eventually did so four years later at the Rome Olympic Games.<sup>407</sup> Noteworthy in the President’s response was his bold and suggestive view on the question of recognising the non-White sport organisation that ‘the sole question was whether the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association could continue to be recognised by the IOC?’<sup>408</sup>

Again, the IOC President, Avery Brundage made a statement to the SAOCGA in 1958 that ‘[P]ressure is mounting, and I am receiving many protests and requests for an official statement from all over the world.’<sup>409</sup> He further warned that the apartheid question would be placed on the IOC agenda and when that time came, ‘there could only be one result’ because the Rules of the Olympic Charter were clear. The IOC President seemed to imply that the South African National Olympic Committee would be sanctioned given the fact that the Charter unequivocally prohibited any racial discrimination. It took the IOC twelve years to ultimately expel South Africa from the Games. There is, however, evidence that, ironically, in 1958 SANOC initially threatened the IOC of withdrawing itself from the activities of the IOC and Olympic Movement. This threat came even before the boycott campaigns to expel it from the IOC and the Olympic Movement were initiated and explored by the non-racial sport movement and the AAM. This is observed in Emery’s (the Secretary-General of the SACGA) response to the warning about the country’s apartheid question. President Brundage himself wrote a threatening letter, stating:

... [I]t is to us a tragedy that through a few political agitators in two Non-European sport – Weight-lifting and Football – from all the sport on the Olympic programme should place the European population of this country [SA] in such a predicament that it may have to withdraw from the Olympic Games...<sup>410</sup>

After 1970, The South African Government worked tirelessly to keep racist sport’ contacts afloat on the international front. This was done through expensive propaganda.<sup>411</sup> In its

<sup>407</sup> IOC Rome Session, 1960.

<sup>408</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.76.

<sup>409</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.80.

<sup>410</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.80.

<sup>411</sup> The last President of the apartheid South Africa, former President F.W. de Klerk made this confession in this autobiography, entitled, *Die Laaste Trek – n Nuwe Begin: Die Outobiografie*. Human and Rousseau (Edms) Bpk: Cape Town, South Africa (or De Klerk, F.W.

Annual Report for the 1983/4 season, SAONGA complained about being “boycotted” by the IOC.<sup>412</sup> The “relatively tough” stance of the IOC towards South Africa’s racist sport came solely due to mounting pressure.<sup>413</sup> Signs of this “relative change” were observed during the indifferent Avery Brundage’s Presidency and tentative Lord Killanin reigns, yet there were also signs of “bending-over-backwards” to satisfy the racist SANOC. This was shown by the IOC’s controversial “fact-finding-commissions” to South Africa in 1967. This approach was adopted in conjunction with AAM and SANROC snubbing. A case in point is Avery Brundage’s view to the Lord Killanin led IOC “Fact Finding Commission” to South Africa in 1967, that:

... If we were to judge apartheid *per se*, it is not necessary to send a commission at all. Our concern is with the National Olympic Committee and what it is doing to comply with Olympic regulations, especially Articles 24 and 25. ...We must not become involved in political issues, nor permit the Olympic Games to be used as a tool or as a weapon for extraneous causes...<sup>414</sup>

Here the IOC President is oblivious of the apartheid system as it was manifested in the country’s sport or failing to appreciate that South Africa’s NOC and its Government were actually sharing the same view, which was to exclude the Black population in sport based on the colour of their skin. Interestingly, during Lord Killanin’s term of office in 1972 to 1980, SANOC was not given a chance to meet up with the IOC and with its structures, as its recognition had been withdrawn in 1970. From the President and the IOC’s point of view, South Africa’s NOC was non-existent.<sup>415</sup> It was in the 1980s that the IOC’s and the Olympic Movement’s attitudes and response towards South Africa’s non-racial sport movement started to alter dramatically during the term of Juan Antonio Samaranch as President. His “African Doctrine” on the South African apartheid question did not only prove to be progressive, but seemed strategic towards abolishing apartheid in sport; creating a climate of vigilance within the IOC and Olympic Movement; the non-racial sport movement, AAM, UN and African countries.<sup>416</sup>

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(1999) *F.W. De Klerk: The Last Trek – A New Beginning, The Autobiography*, Macmillan Publishers (Ltd), London, UK); also see Thabo Mbeki’s “Foreword” in Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a Life in Sport*, Greenfields, Cape Town, 2004.

<sup>412</sup> IOC/SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4:3)

<sup>413</sup> For more information on this matter see Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>414</sup> IOC/” (SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4, p.5

<sup>415</sup> IOC/SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4, p.5

<sup>416</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

SANOC with the help of its Government and its sympathisers continued to fight to return to the Olympic Movement long after its recognition by the IOC was withdrawn.<sup>417</sup> They never attempted to create an environment to organise sport on a non-racial basis but instead seemed committed to cosmetic reforms of the apartheid system with concomitant propaganda machinery.<sup>418</sup> This created a complex environment within the Olympic Movement, with the SANROC and the broader AAM continuing to maintain vigilance to safe-guard their gains. The battle lines were drawn between the apartheid apologists and the AAM. This also made the IOC to maintain its responsibility to mobilise and galvanise the Olympic Movement around its goal of maintaining coherent support for the fight against apartheid in sport. The IOC's "mishap" characterised by approving Tennis as an added sport in the Olympic programme in 1986 for the Seoul Games is worth noting.<sup>419</sup> Even though South Africa had been suspended from the Davis Cup, it was still a full member of the International Tennis Federation. This meant that a possibility existed of an argument for 'the inclusion of the South African tennis players in the Seoul Games.'<sup>420</sup> This occurred against the backdrop of well-coordinated apartheid Government propaganda machinery that was often evident around the Games or any major sporting event.

#### **2.4.1 The nature and character of sport organisation under apartheid: A springboard to the Non-Racial Sport Movement**

A purpose of this chapter is to assess the nature of the struggles to deracialise the country's sport. South African sport under the apartheid system was governed, administered and organised in terms of whether each community or its individual sportspersons or sport organisations or teams were to play or organise sport on an "official/racial" basis as opposed to a "non-racial" basis. The decision emanating from the controversial "choice" of whether to go either the "official/racial route" or the "non-racial" route then, inherently gave sport participation and organisation in South Africa a 'political character'.<sup>421</sup> It is important to note that South African sport was, at least at an official level, organised on a racial basis and categorised into four separate racial groupings, which included the White, coloured, Indian and African population groups. These groups had

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<sup>417</sup> Archer; NCO, Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ramsamy 2004

<sup>418</sup> See De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story".

<sup>419</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.86

<sup>420</sup> This argument is made by Kéba Mbaye in *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.86.

<sup>421</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.179.

their own “official” institutions that represented and promoted their respective sporting interests. For instance, the whites-only sport’s “national” umbrella Olympic body, which was the first organised sport body in South Africa, was formed as the South African Olympic and Empire Games Association (SAOEGA) in 1908 and its name was changed in 1961 to the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA), and remained such until 1971. There is evidence that even under apartheid, there was some form of interracial sport participation in the country, albeit many were carried out on a clandestine basis. Boxing led this development, with football, cricket and rugby close behind; provide examples of these interracial sport interactions. It is apparent that the former caused difficulties for the apartheid regime, such that, a law had to be passed to curb this practice. Fleming Tyler<sup>422</sup> asserts:

...Locally, African fighters became increasingly relevant and were now vying with their White peers by the 1950s. With Jake Ntuli’s capturing of the Empire Flyweight title, no one could deny that Africans were vying not only for equality but possibly also superiority in this particular sport. ‘Whilst in some games the African has not yet come to maturity because he has had such a late start’, notes Huddleston, ‘in boxing particularly he is producing champions: men in every way the equals and often the superiors of their White counterparts.’<sup>423</sup> It was perhaps because of the prominence of Ntuli and the era’s other African fighters as well as the perceived threat that African success in the sport collectively posed to apartheid’s racial hierarchy that prompted the Nationalist government’s enacting of the Boxing and Wrestling Control Act of 1954, which, according to Murray and Merret[t] (sic) was effectively the only time when interracial sporting competitions were made illegal under apartheid...<sup>424</sup>

The notorious Boxing and Wrestling Control Act of 1954 seemed to have, to a large degree, failed to halt “interracial” boxing activities in Johannesburg throughout the 1950s. Tyler<sup>425</sup> asserts that:

...Beyond Ntuli and the other fighters competing abroad, other African fighters regularly had their chance to prove their worth against their White peers in top-secret sparring matches. With such a small pool of sparring partners, local White boxers often practised against

<sup>422</sup> Tyler Fleming, “‘Now the African reigns supreme’: The rise of African boxing on the Witwatersrand, 1924-1959”, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2011, 28: 1, 47 — 62, p.56-57.

<sup>423</sup> Trevor Huddleston, *Naught For Your Comfort*, New York, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956, p. 198.

<sup>424</sup> Bruce Murray and Christopher Merrett, *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2004, p.50.

<sup>425</sup> Fleming, “‘Now the African reigns supreme’”, 2011, p. 57.

their African peers. Though extension measures were taken to ensure that news of such sparring matches did not leak to the general public, it inevitably did. ‘It was bad enough when on one occasion a European boxer of world class was knocked out in a sparring bout,’ remarks Huddleston, ‘and it was revealed two days later that his partner was an African.’<sup>426</sup> News of African successes over White South African fighters spread throughout the city, picked up by the Black press and ultimately surfaced as proof in the larger argument of equality for Africans...<sup>427</sup>

Similar subversive experiences were also observed in cricket in Pietermaritzburg in Natal in the 1970s. Christopher Merrett details activities of the once rebellious Aurora Cricket Club in his chapter, “Bowl brilliantly, bat badly and don’t stay for tea” in 2005.<sup>428</sup> These experiences developed in this manner because historically, in the history of South African sport, Black sportspersons or “non-White” or “non-Europeans”, were not given the opportunity to be affiliated to the official Whites-only sport federations either as individuals or as teams. Black sportspersons in the country were therefore not eligible to participate in international sport, including the Olympic Games. There was ‘no opportunity for any’ Black or “non-European” or “non-White” sportspersons to represent South Africa in international competitions during the colonial or imperial era and the greater part of the apartheid era<sup>429</sup>:

... A few however could showcase their talent outside the country... example is that of the African student from Butterworth in the Eastern Cape, Charles L. Bikitisha. He studied medicine at Edinburgh University and obtained a certificate of Physical Proficiency (Physical Education) from the Department of Physical Education...At a sport meeting in November 1940 he won the 100 and 220 yards sprints and the long jump. He also represented Edinburgh against Durham, St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen in the 100 yards.<sup>430</sup> Another example was Ron Eland, ‘a Coloured weight-lifter born in the Eastern Cape’, who was a member of the 1948 Olympic Games British weight-lifting team.<sup>431</sup> There was also Gerald Francis, ‘a Coloured soccer player’ from Johannesburg who played for Leeds United in 1957.<sup>432</sup> The ‘Coloured tennis player, David Samaai’, played at Wimbledon in 1950.<sup>433</sup> ‘Probably the most notable of all’, was Basil D’Oliveira who captained a non-racial South African cricket team

<sup>426</sup> Huddleston, *Naught For Your Comfort*, New York, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956, p. 195.

<sup>427</sup> *Drum*, ‘World Champs Fight With Black Sparmates’, September 1955; also see *Drum*, ‘They Spar in Secret’, October 1955.

<sup>428</sup> See Christopher Merrett, “Bowl brilliantly, bat badly – and don’t stay for tea”: Political activism and Aurora Cricket Club, Chapter, presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference, East London, October 2005.

<sup>429</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe, “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar”, 2011.

<sup>430</sup> *Cape Standard*, 1940, p.3.

<sup>431</sup> J. Halliday, *Olympic Weightlifting with Body-building for All*, Kent, Staples, 1950, p.108.

<sup>432</sup> *Golden City Post*, 14 July 1957, p.6.

<sup>433</sup> *Torch*, 1950, p.6.

against Kenya in 1956 and 1958... an alternative South African XI.<sup>434</sup> Later D’Oliveira left South Africa to settle in England, played in the national team and was awarded the Order of the British Empire...for his contribution to cricket. He was the centre of a major political furore, when England selected him to play against South Africa. These cases were not regarded as official by White sport federations in South Africa because they supported the colour bar...<sup>435</sup>

There are several other cases where, Black South Africans, achieved highest accolades locally while others had to leave the country to further their careers. The names of Sewsunker “Papwa” Sewgolum, Isiah Stein, Precious Patrick McKenzie, Jasmat Dhiraj, Jake Ntuli, Steve Kalamazoo Mokola, Sydney Maree, spring to mind. Dennis Brutus declares that in the 1950 and 1960s, he ‘discovered that there were Black athletes that were the best in the country, like Jake Ntuli, Precious McKenzie, but could not be in the Olympic team, because the team could only have White athletes.’<sup>436</sup> In the late 1960s for instance, Precious McKenzie, a Black South African weightlifter, left South Africa and settled in the UK in order further his career. De Broglio states that:

...When I was in South Africa in 1963 I had organised the Precious McKenzie show at Johannesburg and invited journalists and officials of weightlifting. As Precious [McKenzie] was the best in his weight division it would send the message that he should be in the 1964 Olympic team. The South African Sunday Times had a headline that Precious McKenzie had qualified for the Olympics. The White Weightlifting Association tried to convince Precious [McKenzie] to join their team if he would join an affiliate and resign from the Non-Racial Association of which he was a member but Precious said that he would not leave the Non-racial body until all Black weightlifters could compete on an equal basis with the White weightlifters. Precious went on to represent Great Britain at the Commonwealth Games in 1966, 1970 and 1974 and won Gold Medals and set Commonwealth records...<sup>437</sup>

Similarly, Jasmat Dhiraj, a tennis champion of Indian descent from Johannesburg, also went to Britain in 1966 under the sponsorship of non-racial South African Lawn Tennis

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<sup>434</sup> Peter Alan Oborne, *Basil D’Oliveira. Cricket and Conspiracy: The Untold Story*, London, Time Warner, 2005, p.43, 49.

<sup>435</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar,” p.126; also see University of Cape Town, 1954, p.27-128.

<sup>436</sup> Denis Brutus, interviewed in the documentary, “Anti-apartheid DVD Video Series: Fair Play” - Clarity Films/DVD, “Have You Heard From Johannesburg”, Sage/Clarity Films / Berkeley [Clarity Films (2010) / Anti-apartheid DVD Video Series. (2010): “Have You heard from Johannesburg: “Hell of A Job; Fair Play; Road to Resistance; The New Generation; From Selma to SOWETO; The Bottom Line and Free at Last”, 2010. Information about this DVD Series can be obtained on: [www.clarityfilms.org](http://www.clarityfilms.org). Clarity Educational Productions produced and directed by Connie Field in the USA and Canada.]

<sup>437</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, p.9.

Union.<sup>438</sup> Dhiraj won the North of England Men's Doubles Championship and the South of England Singles Championship and Mixed Doubles Championship. He was barred from competing in the South African Open Tennis Championships because the White South African tennis union would not accept him. He was obliged to remain in Britain and contributed to the struggle against apartheid sport as an executive member and leader of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) which fought for non-racialism in sport and promoted a total boycott of apartheid sport. In March 1978, Dhiraj was invited by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid to speak at a press conference calling for the expulsion of South Africa from the Davis Cup tennis tournaments.

Many Black athletes did not even have the opportunity to further their careers abroad, despite talent. One was Sewsunker "Papwa" Sewgolum, a golf caddie of Indian descent who proved to be also a talented player. In 1963 he won the Natal Open Golf Championship after he had won the Dutch Open Golf Championship in 1959 and 1960; the feat that forced the White golf authorities to allow him to compete in the Natal Open. The apartheid laws did not make life easy for Sewgolum. Following his win:

...He was obliged to receive the trophy in heavy rain outside the clubhouse, while the Whites were celebrating inside, as he was not allowed under the law to enter the clubhouse. This incident received world-wide publicity and helped promote action against apartheid in sport. But it did not help Papwa much...Papwa was runner-up in the South African Open Championship later in 1963. But from then on, he was banned successively from every major tournament in South Africa. His career as a golf champion ended because of apartheid.<sup>439</sup>

The oppressive, discriminatory practices that Black athletes faced during the period under review also meant that they could not earn "Springbok" colours until late 1970s and 1980s when the controversial "multi-national" and "multi-racial" sport policies were introduced. The dominant argument was that there were 'no Black athletes'<sup>440</sup> and even if there were

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<sup>438</sup> See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Online Documents/E.S. Reddy, "United Nations, India and Boycott of Apartheid Sport." [Chapter presented at the seminar of the Sport Authority of India and the Arjuna Awardees Association, New Delhi, July 28-29, 1988. This chapter is published as a pamphlet on 28 July 1988]. It is also available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6895andt=Boycotts>. E.S. Reddy writes that he present this chapter in the hope that it will help India in making its rightful contribution in the next phase of the struggle against apartheid sport and its collaborators.

<sup>439</sup> See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Online Documents/E.S. Reddy, "United Nations, India and Boycott of Apartheid Sport." [Chapter presented at the seminar of the Sport Authority of India and the Arjuna Awardees Association, New Delhi, July 28-29, 1988.

<sup>440</sup> Dennis Brutus shared this in the documentary, Have You Heard From Johannesburg: Fair Play, Clarity Films, United States of America and Canada, 2010.

they were believed to be of very low standard by the Whites-only sporting establishment, even though this view was not really tested.<sup>441</sup> Fleming<sup>442</sup> argues that:

...To compound matters further, these African fighters, in the words of Mandela, ‘were shackled by the twin handicaps of poverty and racism’<sup>443</sup> Despite this apparent revolutionary vanguard in African boxing, a professional African fighter needed to overcome significant odds in order to fight at the skill level of his White peers or on a world-class level. Mandela writes about African boxers during the era: ‘What money an African boxer earned was typically used on food, rent, clothing, and whatever was left went to boxing equipment and training. He was denied the opportunity of belonging to the White boxing clubs that had the equipment and trainers necessary to produce a first-rate, world-class boxer. Unlike White professional boxers, African professional boxers had full-time day jobs. Sparring partners were few and poorly paid; without proper drilling and practice, the performance greatly suffered.’...<sup>444</sup>

The problem for Black sportspersons and Black people generally under apartheid was that when they came forth to challenge the notion of “no Black athletes” or if they are there, ‘they are of poor standards compared to their White counterparts’, was that they were often dismissed as politicians.<sup>445</sup>

The sternness of the apartheid Government was apparent to the people and foreign governments. For instance, in 1961, which was significant in the history of South Africa’s political and sporting life, marked the year the country unilaterally proclaimed itself a “Republic” and left the Commonwealth. The country was consequently expelled from the Commonwealth Games and quickly created its own National Games. The SAONGA maintained its “all-White” structure and character until 1970. After South Africa was expelled by the IOC in 1970, the apartheid Government introduced “new policy” reforms, in the form of the “multi-national” sport policy. The SAONGA therefore took on a “multi-national” character by incorporating within its “national council”, three representatives, as observers, from the newly formed “non-White” Olympic Committee, named the South African Olympic and National Games Federation (SAONGF). The SAONGF was itself constituted by the racial or official members from the coloured, Indian and African

<sup>441</sup> See De Broglie (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*.

<sup>442</sup> Fleming, “Now the African reigns supreme”, 2011, p. 57.

<sup>443</sup> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom; The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1995 [first paperback edition], 194.

<sup>444</sup> Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1995, 194.

<sup>445</sup> Dennis Brutus shared this in the documentary, Have You Heard From Johannesburg: Fair Play, Clarity Films, United States of America and Canada, 2010; see De Broglie (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; De Broglie (2009) “The SANROC Story”; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1998.

“national” federations.<sup>446</sup> The supreme council of the SAONGA comprised of eleven associated members and twenty-four affiliated associations. The former’s role was to organise the country’s all-White “national” championships from 1959 until 1969. These were held in 1959, 1964, 1969, but from 1970, the year that marked the country’s historic expulsion from the Olympic Movement, the “open” championships, including the “non-White” athletes were also held in 1970, 1973 and the much more controversial one in 1981.

The all-white South African Sport Federation was formed in 1951 for the purpose of representing and promoting the interests of its affiliates, which were by the late 1970s, 90 “national” sport federations. The Sport Foundation was formed in 1964 by ‘the Rembrandt Group, directed by “Broeder” millionaire Anton Rupert’<sup>447</sup> with the aim to promote amateur sport through specialised training, giving technical advice to Sports Associations and financing the employment of foreign specialists. Along these lines, the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR) was created in 1966 with the purpose of promoting White sport and assisting White sport federations to promote sport. The Department strove to apply and render credible the “multi-national” sport policy which the apartheid government ‘introduced to counter South Africa’s international isolation since 1971.’<sup>448</sup> It was only in 1979 the Department’s services were extended to cater for Black people’s sport. By this period, there were separate government departments looking after the “interests” of coloured, Indian and Black people. This further entrenched separate development and apartheid sport and this increased discontent within the Black population, especially the section that espoused non-racialism in sport and society.

The issue of sport aid in South Africa is essential if a proper understanding of how the country’s sport has evolved and continued to evolve and transform from the colour bar policy to the apartheid sport policy, and from multi-national sport to ‘social democratic sport’<sup>449</sup> dispensation. The commercial influences upon South Africa’s organised sport have a long racially skewed history, which inherently always favoured the Whites-only people’s sport. Even though the “non-white” people’s sport or black peoples’ sport have had some form of sport sponsorship geared towards developing and promoting it, it was a far cry compared to that offered to Whites-only sport which was always by far the

<sup>446</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.179 and p.207.

<sup>447</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.179.

<sup>448</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.180.

<sup>449</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, ‘Sport Perspectives 1988’: “Planning is Vital”, in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988.

principal beneficiary of commercial sponsorship throughout the country's history.<sup>450</sup> Most critically, almost all sponsorship was devoted to official racially organised "national" associations; and sponsorship companies generally provided 'unequivocal support for the Government's "multi-national" sport policy.'<sup>451</sup>

In the early days of apartheid until the 1980s, coloured people's sport was administered by the Coloured Affairs Department, which ran support services, while the Department of Community Development was responsible for financing the sport programme of local authorities. A Culture and Recreation Council was established in 1967 for the purpose of also promoting the coloured people's sport. By the late 1970s, the council had 231 local offices, 141 "provincial" offices and twenty-nine "national" offices. These offices were opened to ensure that the coloured people's sport was co-ordinated locally in accordance with official policy "racial purity" of 27 June 1956, that of "multi-national" sport policy of 1971 and other related apartheid and specifically apartheid sport policies.<sup>452</sup>

The various local Indian authorities, administered facilities for the Indian people's sport, with the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR) providing limited administrative support and training facilities to officially recognised racial sport federations. It was the Department of Indian Affairs that provided the Indian sportsmen's related sport needs, which the DSR would not offer. Important material and promotional support was provided for by sport sponsorship, which had increased substantially in the 1960s. Yet, the status quo remained intact.<sup>453</sup>

Until 1979, African people's sport was catered for by the "Bantu" Affairs Department. A sport division was created in the ministry in 1973. It was in 1979 that the DSR started to assume partial responsibility for the organisation and promotion of African sport. Within the "bantustans", the "national tribal authorities" assumed this role. In 1973 a "Bantu" Sport and Recreation Fund was established to provide financial assistance, through the private sector to the African people's sport. All this funding was geared towards the promotion of "official" establishment sport, and therefore "multi-nationally" recognised African people's sport federations that were organised on a racial basis. The non-racial sport movement affiliated sport federations, which were in fact the majority

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<sup>450</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.181.

<sup>451</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.181.

<sup>452</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3.

<sup>453</sup> For more information on this see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.181.

were African sportspersons, since the 1950s, and more so in the 1970s and beyond, received little or no funding at all from government entities<sup>454</sup> including the “Bantu” Affairs Department, the DRS, the local Administration Boards and the “national tribal authorities”.

The apartheid Government sub-structures such as the local authorities, in the form of Administrative Boards, national authorities within the bantustans and the broader municipalities played a strategic role in the development or death of Black people’s sport. In fact, these structures were central in the Government’s grand colour bar ideology and policy. In reference to the Western Cape, Cleophas and Van der Merwe argue that:

...The colour bar was also carried through to the Coloured community by government-instituted organs such as the Cape Coloured Permanent Commission (CCPC) of 1943 that mutated into the Coloured Advisory Council (CAD) and finally into the Coloured Advisory Department (CAD). These organs had Coloured teachers serving in senior positions...<sup>455</sup>

The above-mentioned structures were an extension of the apartheid Government even though some of their leaders were “elected” by members of the communities that they were serving. Their mandates were clearly defined in terms of Government policy, which throughout their history, was to deliver, implement, support and promote the official racial sport organisations within the communities. This militated against any tendency that resisted or challenged the *status quo*. From 1960 and 1970, the alliance between the apartheid Government, the Whites-only sport federations and the local Administrative Boards and municipalities waged what Archer and Bouillon refer to as “The War of Attrition”<sup>456</sup> against the non-racial sport movement, the non-racial sport federations and its leaders by undermining the non-racial sport movement, where the apartheid planners evolved a strategy during the 1960s which informed the “multi-national” sport policy inaugurated in 1970 and finalised in 1976. Specifically, this broad strategy had three main axes and among other issues entailed:

...to breaking up the unified sport federations and create separate Indian, Coloured and African associations; ...to create new racial federations where it proves impossible to provoke a division; ...to

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<sup>454</sup> See Philani Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane: A Case Study of Selected Clubs – 1911 to 2000*”, An unpublished Masters Dissertation, Fort Hare University, Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa, 2004, p.240.

<sup>455</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar,” p.126; also see University of Cape Town, 1954, p.26.

<sup>456</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.194.

finance and promote the emergence of a new sporting elite among Blacks whose sporting and political interests will lead them to support the *status quo* and the official policies of the regime, while effectively depriving the non-racial sporting associations of finance and facilities...<sup>457</sup>

With the strategic political assistance from its sub-structures such as the local authorities, in the form of Administrative Boards, national authorities within the bantustans and the broader municipalities, the apartheid Government succeeded in breaking up ‘a multi-racial body into its racial constituents.’<sup>458</sup> This did not only reinforce apartheid principles but drove a wedge between the Indian and the Coloured minorities, on the one side, and the African majority on the other. An analysis of examples of several sports in the 1970s reveals the difficulties which non-racial sportspersons faced in their attempt to create sporting structures that would have been able to serve the interests of the black community as a whole. In fact, this illustrates why the non-racial sport movement eventually concluded that under apartheid conditions, no normal sport could have been truly played and this was the unfortunate legacy of the strategic cooperation between the apartheid Government’s sub-structures such as the local authorities.

The example of football in South Africa between 1961 and 1963 is critical in understanding this partnership. It offered a particularly good illustration of the campaign waged against the non-racial sport movement which was at the time the most popular sport in the country, except in the Cape, and was played by many African people. Further, it was one of the first sports to unify across the three black communities, under the auspices of the SASF. It was also a major professional and spectator sport with considerable capital committed to it: all these factors had historical bearing. The SASF was established in 1951, which Archer and Bouillon declare that:

... [w]hen three black racial organisations representing Indian, Coloured and African footballers, whose association dated from the Inter-Race Boards of the 1940s, decided to federate. They amalgamated on non-racial terms between 1958 and 1962, having created a professional wing in 1959 (the S.A. Soccer Federation Professional League – S.A.S.F. – P.L.). This movement towards unification provoked an immediate response from the White body. First of all, in 1959, the White Football Association of South Africa created its own professional league, the National Football League; in the same year, it allowed the S.A. Bantu Football Association (which

<sup>457</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.194-195.

<sup>458</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.195.

did not represent the majority of African footballers at this time) to affiliate to it...<sup>459</sup>

What followed was a serious struggle between the non-racial SASF and the official football entities; the former eventually succumbed. Following successive attacks, harassment and isolation by FASA, the SASF's Professional League lost its grounds, many of its supporters, a good proportion of its clubs, which included most of the African affiliates, and therefore the heart of its income. The FASA and the apartheid 'Government had strengthened white control over this strategic sport, had broken the unity of the non-racial union, had moderated criticism abroad, and had separated all but a minority of African footballers from the Indian and Coloured clubs.'<sup>460</sup> Similarly, in tennis, when the black federations began to prepare for amalgamation and the creation of a non-racial union as early as 1957, which they achieved in 1962, with the birth of the fully non-racial Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union (SALTU) being established. Two years later, SALTU made moves for recognition by the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF); this was viewed as threatening the status and authority of the all-White South African Lawn Tennis Union, which immediately offered SALTU associate status, without success. SALTU's rejection of the offer by the whites-only South African Lawn Tennis Union sparked harassment by the Whites-only body, with assistance from the apartheid Government which threatened to close all the courts under municipal control to African players 'if they continued to play with the Coloured and Indian tennis players. This ultimatum was sweetened with offers of technical assistance and financial aid if the African players would agree to form a separate association affiliated to the White body'<sup>461</sup> a condition they accepted and which led to the birth of the South African National Lawn Tennis Union. This move became characteristic of the South African inter-race-relations in sport during this period, where 'the White federations, in collusion with the Government and municipal authorities, consistently attempted to dismantle the non-racial sport movement, by encouraging splits, creating fictitious or semi-fictitious racial Black associations'<sup>462</sup> and by making offers of money, travel, technical assistance and threats to close the available sport facilities. In short, the role of the apartheid Government's sub-entities such as the local authorities like the Administrative Boards and municipalities was that of collaboration.

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<sup>459</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.195.

<sup>460</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.199.

<sup>461</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.199.

<sup>462</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.202.

Finally, one of the important issues to consider when analysing sport under apartheid, as indicated by the information outlined and presented above, is the argument made by Richard Archer and Antoine Bouillon that ‘the African population suffered far more than any other racial group from the effects of apartheid.’<sup>463</sup> Sam Ramsamy, declares that ‘[D]uring the days of apartheid, we had four distinct racial groups, in South Africa, and Whites enjoyed all the privileges, the coloureds, some privileges, Indians a few, and Africans, none.’<sup>464</sup> The consideration that the legacy and effect of this past, might, to some degree, be still felt by this population is still valid. In the broader discussion on the political character of sport in South Africa, the socio-political aspect of the country’s history is essential. Archer and Bouillon argue that ‘[T]he racial legislation affected the African people most harshly and many laws were framed precisely to restrict their freedom, especially of movement.’<sup>465</sup> In their discussion on sport in apartheid South Africa, Archer and Bouillon concluded:

...In sport, as in every area of social life, the African people were the most deprived and oppressed, they suffer[ed] more from discrimination and from the arbitrary authority of local and national Government, they are penalised more cruelly for legal infractions, and they are systematically confined within the impoverished environments of the townships and bantustans. The Group Areas Act affects the playing of sport, and relations between Black communities, more than any other...it confines each racial group to a fixed area of residence, outside which its social and economic activities are circumscribed or debarred. In general, nevertheless coloured [people] and (to a lesser degree) Indian people are relatively less constrained by the innumerable laws of apartheid than the African[s people], whose freedom of movement is severely hampered by the pass laws. [The] African[people] are physically confined to the townships and prevented at the same time from meeting people from other racial groups unless the latter are prepared to apply for passes to enter [the apartheid designated] African [people’s] areas...<sup>466</sup>

Oliver Tambo also articulated this separate development position and argued that a divide and-rule method was favourable to the ruling class if the apartheid system was to be

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<sup>463</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.181.

<sup>464</sup> Sam Ramsamy made this comment in the Clarity Films DVD, “Have You Heard From Johannesburg: ‘Fair Play’”, Sage, Clarity Films, Berkeley, 2010.

<sup>465</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.181.

<sup>466</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.181.

maintained and sustained.<sup>467</sup> It was therefore essential that the black leaders got together to deal with this challenge frankly and openly. The apartheid Government, however, did not make it easy for them. The advent of non-racial sport in the form of SASA's formation, seemed to have assisted a great deal in taking the struggle for non-racial and black sportsmen forward.

Given the above, a comment should be made that the indeed the politics of racial segregation are not necessarily unique phenomenon to South Africa. Countries such as the United States of America (USA) and other developing (or Third World) countries, which were also colonised might also share some similar experiences to those of South Africa. The questions that therefore emanates from this, among others, include: Can there be any comparisons made as such, especially with the USA? Are there any significant historical events with those of the apartheid sports in South Africa? Can such parallels be drawn? Otherwise, what the significant points of departure? Can any lessons be learned from the American experience, for example, how did USA address the issue of sport "transformation"? In spite of its dark historical past concerning racial discrimination in sport, the USA is considered as one of the best sporting nations in the world. How did they achieve this? What were some of the major challenges that they faced (and perhaps, continue to face) and how did they overcome the challenges?

Indeed the politics of racial segregation are not necessarily unique phenomenon to South Africa and the USA and other Third World countries do have some shared similar experiences. It must be said from the onset that this study did not set out to directly look at this matter, and therefore attempt to make any significant comparisons as such, especially with the USA. Some comments, however, are made in this Chapter and to some degree in Chapter Four and Five in relation to the role the NRSM and the broader AAM played in opening up debates on the plight of the Maori and the Aborigine communities in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia respectively. Furthermore, this study had the potential to also look at the apparently similar indifferent manner in which the IOC dealt with the Jewish challenge in the Nazi Germany. In fact, a short comment is made with regard to this matter in Chapter Three.

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<sup>467</sup> For more information on this discussion see Oliver Tambo, O.R. (1987) "The nature of our struggle." In Tambo, A. (eds.), *Oliver Tambo Speaks: Speeches, Letters and Transcripts*, Cape Town, Kwela Books (an imprint of NB Publishers, a division of Media24 Boeke (Pty) Ltd), 2014 (reprinted and published by arrangement of with Pearson Education Limited). This book was first published as Adelaide Tambo, *Preparing For Power: Oliver Tambo Speaks*, by Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1987.

As indicated above, comparisons with the USA were not initially thought as central to this study, due to several reasons. One, that the USA, as the largest economy in the world and with its well-established and highly commercialised College and University systems – which has a potential to create a unique opportunity to “all” USA citizens (and to some degree, even to the foreign peoples who found themselves in that country) irrespective of their economic, social, racial and/or ethnicity, and including their regional backgrounds (and that includes places such as Dallas, Texas, where with well-established difficult racial experiences in the USA). These forms of “opportunities” are of course not without problems. It is argued that:

... college sports help to perpetuate these [racial and false success] myths, especially given how committed big-time college sports programs are to winning conference and national titles using the labor of predominately black ‘student-athletes.’ At the same time, they demonstrate a lack of concern with actually graduating these students, most of whom will not go on to become professional athletes. Thus, these issues are really systemic, running through professional sports to the college level and even into high schools where we see similar patterns...<sup>468</sup>

Further, within the geo-political space, and the fight for political domination, sport’s global reach was also identified as another avenue to demonstrate political and economic success, power and dominance. The often difficult and complex political relations or lack thereof between the USA and the USSR, exposed these socio-political dynamics. In the socio-cultural space, this was never more expressed in sport, especially in the Olympic Games and other international sporting competitions. In fact, a case can be made for how Nazi Germany taught the world, including the USA and many other countries, how to effectively use or rather abuse the Olympic Games and the Olympic Ideal as a country’s propaganda machine at the 1936 Games.<sup>469</sup>

In the 1936 Games, the USA sent eighteen African-American athletes. The African American athletes won 14 medals, nearly one-fourth of the 56 medals awarded to the US team in all events, and dominated the popular track and field events. Many American journalists hailed the victories of Jesse Owens and other blacks as a blow to the Nazi myth of Aryan supremacy. Goebbels’s press censorship prevented German reporters from

<sup>468</sup> See <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-qa-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

<sup>469</sup> Hitler initially held the Olympics in low regard because of their internationalism, but he became an avid supporter after Joseph Goebbels, his Minister of Propaganda, convinced him of their propaganda value. The regime provided full financial support for the event, 20,000,000 Reichsmarks (\$8,000,000).

expressing their prejudices freely, but one leading Nazi newspaper demeaned the African-American athletes by referring to them as ‘auxiliaries.’<sup>470</sup> What became critical to note however, was how the USA was treated its “heroes” (African-American athletes) on the return from the Games. The continued ‘social and economic discrimination the black medallists faced upon returning home underscored the irony of their victory in racist Germany.’<sup>471</sup> This serves to show how the issues of race and ethnicity are often dealt with in the USA. It is not always what it seems on the surface until the situation blows out in the open.

The emphasis in the USA sport, it seemed and still, the case, has been talent and success – while the issues of ethnicity, race, social or economics are often suspended or shelved, should be looked at much deeper. The controversial issues of socio-political nature, including race and ethnicity, are not necessarily important and prevalent but often come to the fore each time a black athlete commits a crime,<sup>472</sup> often “social crimes” such as the adultery and or cheating on a stable known partner,<sup>473</sup> that the public opinion often changes, to emphasise race and ethnicity.

To emphasise this point, for instance, using past and present sports icons like boxers Jack Johnson, Muhammad Ali and Mike Tyson as examples, Carrington argues that ideas of white intellectual supremacy and black degeneracy still remain deeply embedded in sports culture.<sup>474</sup> In fact, a growing body of literature is beginning demystify the real state of race relations in the USA. For example, the notion that the USA population live in a “colorblind society” is carefully dismantled in the latest edition of *Racial Battle Fatigue in Higher Education: Exposing the Myth of Post-Racial America*.<sup>475</sup> Several contributing authors examining an emerging body of research that suggests chronic exposure to racial discrimination can lead to a serious anxiety disorder. In a chapter co-authored by Gregory J. Vincent, vice president of diversity and community engagement, Sherri Sanders, and Stella Smith, titled “Exercising Agency in the Midst of

<sup>470</sup> <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/olympics.html>

<sup>471</sup> The 1936 Berlin Games were an epitome of this development and position, and by the time the Games ended, Germany’s expansionist policies and the persecution of the Jewish and other “enemies of the state” were accelerated, culminating in World War II and the Holocaust. For more information on this, see: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/olympics.html>.

<sup>472</sup> The O.J. Simpson saga and or case come to mind here.

<sup>473</sup> Mike Tyson’s fracas with the girlfriend and Tiger Woods challenge with his Swedish wife and some of the cases where black athletes, to borrow from Ben Carrington’s words, ‘became black.’ See, Ben Carrington, “How Tiger Woods became black,” a paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference in Barbados, 2009.

<sup>474</sup> For more information on this subject, see, “Blacks, Sports and Lingering Racial Stereotypes: A Q&A with Sports Sociologist Ben Carrington”, 2010, [Posted on August 25, 2010 by Jessica Sinn and accessed 20 November 2010 and can be found on: <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-qa-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>; also see Ben Carrington, *Race, Sport and Politics: The Sporting Black Diaspora*. London: Sage, 2010.

<sup>475</sup> A monograph edited by Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner, Katrice A. Albert, Roland W. Mitchell, Chaunda M Allen, *Racial Battle Fatigue in Higher Education: Exposing the Myth of post-racial America*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014.

Racial Battle Fatigue: A Case for Intragroup Diversity," the authors examine court decisions regarding diversity in higher education and point out several mitigating factors that create racial battle fatigue. As a solution, they state the case for advocating and obtaining support for diversity and inclusion efforts in colleges and schools across the nation.

So, at least on the surface, it would seem that USA has done well and continues to do so, when it comes to transformation of sport and that of society. However, a deeper analysis often demonstrates the opposite. Commenting about his maiden book titled, *Sport, Race and Politics*, Carrington for instance argues that:

...the sociology of sport needs to go beyond some of the traditional ways of thinking about race and sport. Once you understand sport's historical and contemporary role in shaping racial discourse, you not only see how race impacts sport, but also how sport itself changes ideas about races and racial identity in society as a whole...<sup>476</sup>

This argument might be applicably in many other modern societies including South Africa. In response to how has the world of sport altered perceptions of race during the 20th century, Ben Carrington declares that at the beginning of the twentieth century, white athletes were considered to be superior to *the black athletes*,<sup>477</sup> (Further discussion on the subject of *the black athletes* is undertaken in Chapter Six of this thesis.) intellectually, aesthetically and even physically. However, by the 1930s, this logic began to shift as *the black athletes* were viewed as potentially physically superior to white athletes, in matters related to sports. 'Jack Johnson played a pivotal role in challenging these ideas of white supremacy when he became the first black heavyweight champion of the world, which is supposed to be the epitome of superior physical strength.'<sup>478</sup> A similar argument can be made about Jesse Owens, who in the face of ridicule by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime, won four gold medals<sup>479</sup> in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games or simply, The Nazi Berlin Olympic 1936.<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> See <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-qa-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

<sup>477</sup> In his review of Ben Carrington's monograph, *Race, Sport and Politics*, Thomas Fletcher declares that Carrington, introduces his readers "to a new racial typo, the black athlete, which he explains, is a (social) construction made from the repertoire of pre-existing white colonial fantasies about blackness, which are the result of growing imperialistic vulnerabilities and white impotency," for more information on this see, the review by Thomas Fletcher in the "Book Reviews" section of the *International Review of the Sociology of Sport*, 47(4), 534.

<sup>478</sup> <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-qa-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

<sup>479</sup> 100-meter dash (gold), 200-meter dash (gold), Broad (long) jump (gold) and 4x100-meter relay (gold).

<sup>480</sup> On May 13, 1931, the International Olympic Committee, headed by Count Henri Baillet-Latour of Belgium, awarded the 1936 Summer Olympics to Berlin. The choice signalled Germany's return to the world community after defeat in World War I.

Here, while the USA has to some degree allowed and given space to African-American athletes to excel in sport, there has not been real transformation in sport as South Africa's NRSM activists would have envisaged it in the South African case – that of equality, non-racialism and an egalitarian society. In fact, the sporting experiences of African-American athletes and the USA's version of "transformation" are more complex than meets the eye. Their "successes" are largely as a result of the cumbersome high school, college and university systems; the issue using the back athletes as tools in the broader notions of the country's propaganda machinery,<sup>481</sup> - a show of power, unity, freedom, individual liberty, prosperity and dominance; and to some degree, the individual African-American athlete's "chance" (or lucky) successes and or at worst as tools of or paraded as forms of entertainment. For example, Carrington argues that *the black athletes* are commonly seen as physically gifted and intellectually stunted:

... You see this in the way that many people believe that black athletes are 'naturally' gifted for sports, implying that their success comes from within, that it is rooted in their biology. This goes hand-in-hand with the idea that there is a split between the physical and the intellectual. Just as we might admire an animal's spectacular physicality, we don't therefore assume that animals have our cognitive capabilities. So the praising of black athleticism often serves to reinforce notions of black intellectual inferiority...<sup>482</sup>

One other areas that USA seems to resemble the South African context is how the media and dominant narratives seem to perpetuate stereotypes are perpetuated certain racial and inferior-superior notions among black sportspersons versus whites sportspersons. One would argue that while in the USA<sup>483</sup>, these are talked about far away from the sports fields, in South Africa, they are taken to another level, where serious and often problematic actions are taken. For, it is almost an unwritten law that black rugby players are all "designed" to play in the backline and only at wing positions, even though there might be evidence that a particular player can play centre or used as a utility back. Similarly in cricket, black cricketers are almost solely bowlers, and should play the shorter versions of the game as opposed the test cricket. Carrington explains the USA experiences as follows:

<sup>481</sup> The USA has been sending large numbers of athletes to the Olympic Games in each Olympiad, with a sizeable number of black athletes, as a show of power, unity, freedom, individual liberty, prosperity and dominance.

<sup>482</sup> See <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-q-a-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

<sup>483</sup> See <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-q-a-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

...White sports commentators and journalists used to be very explicit in comparing black athletes to monkeys and gorillas and cheetahs. Today they are more circumspect and instead tend to over-emphasize black players physical attributes – power, speed, strength and so on – and conversely tend to highlight the ‘intelligence’ and ability to ‘read the game’ of white athletes, who supposedly lack the ‘natural advantage’ of their black peers but can make up for it by their better play-making abilities. You often see this in how white basketball and football players are described, especially quarterbacks...<sup>484</sup>

It might not be an exaggeration therefore to conclude that the issue of political interference and or lack thereof, is as important in South Africa as it is elsewhere. The global reach of sport has given the world a chance to analyse sporting experiences at much deeper levels than before. The relationship between the white South Africa, white New Zealand and white Australia in relation to apartheid South Africa and the opposition to its sports policies created an interesting situation. Some scholars argue that the opposition, and specifically the sports boycotts against apartheid sport, contributed to bringing the plight of the Maori and Aborigine peoples in these respective countries onto the public agenda in a way that never happened before (in a unique way – ‘while we are fighting against SA’s racial question, yet we have the same situation in our back yard’ – HYHFS, 2010). It perhaps started a conversation to deal with these issues in future.<sup>485</sup> Examples include Trevor Richards’ *Dancing on our bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Race*,<sup>486</sup> Malcolm Templeton’s *Human Rights and Sporting Contacts: New Zealand Attitudes to Race Relations in South Africa 1921-94*;<sup>487</sup> I. MacLean and A. MacMillan’s (eds), *The concise Oxford dictionary of politics*;<sup>488</sup> Malcolm MacLean’s “Anti-apartheid boycotts and the affective economies of struggle: the case of Aotearoa New Zealand.”<sup>489</sup>

Secondly, there has been a lot in common between the white New Zealand, Australia (to some degree, UK) and South Africa, apart from the geographic South of the equator location, commonwealth origins and cultural ties – sports of cricket and rugby, whiteness, religion (Danie Craven’s admission) – rather than what South Africa would

<sup>484</sup> See <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-qa-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

<sup>485</sup> For more details on this subject see, Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999; MacLean and MacMillan, *The concise Oxford dictionary of politics*, 2003; Malcolm Templeton’s *Human Rights and Sporting Contacts: New Zealand Attitudes to Race Relations in South Africa 1921-94*.

<sup>486</sup> For more information on this subject see, Trevor Richards’ *Dancing on our bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Race*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1999.

<sup>487</sup> Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1998.

<sup>488</sup> For more information on this subject see, I. MacLean and A. MacMillan. (eds.) (2003) *The concise Oxford dictionary of politics*. Auckland: Oxford University.

<sup>489</sup> MacLean, M. (2010) *Sport in Society*, 13: 1, 72- 91.

actually share with the USA? The African American, even though they have a long standing Civil Rights Movement and a rich history of political and social struggle, never really threatened to wrestle power from the dominant Republicans or Democrats by organising themselves into a formidable political grouping or party of their own, unlike the black population in South Africa. This puts these two groups in a contrasting position with regard to their respective political and social struggles.

It should of course be indicated that the USA has a long history of civil liberties and established democratic system, as opposed to South Africa's 300 odd years of imperialism, colonialism, colour bar practices and apartheid, which further increased the economic and social divided between the white and black populations, as such the issue of equality in sport, it is known, can be achieved when the social and economic equalities are addressed. Lebogang Morodi, argues that '*Equality in sport will occur when equality is obtained in areas of education and employment.*'<sup>490</sup> McKay argues that fairness in sport happens when equality is realised in the fields of education and labour.<sup>491</sup> McKay further stresses that during apartheid, to effect socio-economic and political reforms, sport was used as a means in the struggle resulting in the AAM citation of South Africa's racist practice, '[Y]ou can't have a normal sport in an abnormal society' and used sport boycotts to dismantle apartheid.<sup>492</sup>

This thesis argues that South Africa's history has been characterised by a painful past that continues to be evident in the democratic system, a country with many faces in conflict with itself of gross economic inequalities and social injustices. Sport is frequently viewed to be an exception to social ill rooted in modern day democracies. It was perhaps this reason that Nelson Mandela used sport as a tool to unite different groupings in South Africa. However, focus was more concentrating on the political atrocities and the social, economic issues and impaired race relations were overlooked by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

It should be remembered that the UN's<sup>493</sup> Commission against apartheid in sports recognised that blacks and other marginalised race groups in South Africa were not included in sports activities and racist administrators and participants openly showing their

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<sup>490</sup> Lebogang Morodi, "The Reconstruction, Development and Transformation of South African Diversified Society through Sport: Cherished Ideals of Nelson Mandela and their Challenges," *The International Journal of Sport and Society* Volume 2, Issue 3, 2011, p.11/ <http://sportandsociety.com/journal/>

<sup>491</sup> J. McKay, *No pain, no gain " sport and Australian culture*. New York. Prentice Hall, 1991, p.56

<sup>492</sup> 1991:59

<sup>493</sup> United Nations. Report of the Commission against apartheid in sports. General Assembly official records. Forty-seventh session supplement No. 45 (A/47/45). New York, 1993, p.5.

allegiance to apartheid using national anthem associated with apartheid posing a challenge to national unity, hence Mandela's ideals: '*democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and equal opportunity for all,*'<sup>494</sup> were to transform such negative mentality. The ANC<sup>495</sup> led government and the state envisaged bringing people together as one by using resources in redressing imbalances by establishing a democratic, non-racial and non-sexiest country through sport as a medium in mobilizing all race groups. This approach finds another much deeper meaning in Ben Carrington's words, with regard to the role politics play in sport or vice versa. He argues that

...Some people argue that sports work like a distorting mirror. It has an ideological effect that makes us believe we're all happily a part of the same world. In the World Cup, one of the FIFA advertisements stated, 'this is not about politics, war, religion or economics. It's about football.' That makes us feel like we're all human beings that love the same sport. But in truth it's all about politics when you see politicians in the stands promoting their countries and wearing their national colors. On one hand it's an apolitical platform for games and entertainment, but on the other hand sport is deeply infused with political ideology...<sup>496</sup>

If the experiences in some other African countries, which in fact do not compare well to South Africa, is something to go by, it could be achieved. Money and economic development are of course very important, especially in the hyper-commercialised societies and therefore post-professionalisation of sport. It should also be recognised, however, that sometimes, political will and socio-economic justice, which emanates from the citizenry, particularly the privileged sectors of society can make an immeasurable difference in the lives of the youth in any country, irrespective of economic development. This is quite evident in the relatively poorer countries compared to South Africa in the Sub Saharan Africa.

The nature and composition of the Zimbabwean Cricket team, the Kenyan Cricket team, the Kenyan Athletics team, and the Kenyan Rugby Sevens team, are all beacons of hope that a country can win as a nation and loss as a nation, as opposed to one section(s) of the country. Underscoring the Government sport policy, President Thabo Mbeki argued

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<sup>494</sup> Morodi, "The Reconstruction, Development and Transformation of South African Diversified Society through Sport," 2011, p.11

<sup>495</sup> ANC. The Reconstruction and Development Programme: a policy framework. Johannesburg. Umanyano Publications, 1994, p.1.

<sup>496</sup> See: <https://sites.utexas.edu/shelflife/2010/08/25/blacks-sports-and-lingering-racial-stereotypes-a-qa-with-sports-sociologist-ben-carrington/>

this in the South African Parliament in reply to questions on sport transformation in the National Assembly in 2007.<sup>497</sup>

...Transformation in sport has to happen in the shortest period of time, but not at the expense of any South African athletes... With true transformation, as a country, South Africa could become an even greater force in world sport...As government we fully support the notion of a winning culture in sport and I will rally 100% behind our national teams when competing in the international sporting arena...However, to have a real and lasting impact on our nation, we cannot compete with the exclusion of certain parts of our population. If we win, it must be a victory for the whole country...With true transformation, as a country, South Africa could become an even greater force in world sport...There is no doubt that all sports-loving South Africans, “which is actually the entire population”, acknowledge the importance of representative teams...Sport must belong to the nation; it is an integral part of our way of life, of our South African culture over which government, with its elected representatives, has also a serious responsibility...All sporting federations are autonomous, with the federations responsible for their day-to-day activities, including the selection of national teams...Although we adhere to this practice, it does not distract government from pursuing our responsibility to accelerate transformation in sport, making sport accessible to all South Africans, making more funds available to school sport and to put academy systems and sporting facilities in place that will assist talented athletes to reach their full potential...<sup>498</sup>

The South Africa’s democratic Government’s position above is critical in understanding the country’s unique sporting experience and the contestations that often take place. The issue of South Africa’s “relative” autonomy is critical in understanding the dynamics and the dominant narratives within this space. For instance, the sport federations often claim that government should get involved in the provision of facilities, as indicated by Mbeki above. Yet, when Government comments with regard to issues of transformation, the very same sport federation accuse government of interference. It is therefore critical to work

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<sup>497</sup> Staff Reporter, “Mbeki: Transformation not at athletes’ expense,” *Mail and Guardian*, 08 Nov 2007, 16:30, see <http://mg.co.za/article/2007-11-08-mbeki-transformation-not-at-athletes-expense>

<sup>498</sup> Staff Reporter, “Mbeki: Transformation not at athletes’ expense,” *Mail and Guardian*, 08 Nov 2007, 16:30, also found on: <http://mg.co.za/article/2007-11-08-mbeki-transformation-not-at-athletes-expense>.

towards a common ground, if the country's sport is to be fully transformation and able to send representative teams.

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

In relation to the broader aim and the objectives of this study, the purpose of this chapter is to trace, document and analyse the influences and precursors of the emergence and development of the struggles to deracialise the country's sport and the initiation of the subsequent sports boycott to force change towards an equal sport structure in South Africa. South African sport was racialised and therefore needed to be changed and organised on "a non-racial basis". This chapter also assessed the position and responses of the Olympic Movement, specifically the IOC, the IFs and the IPC, to the racial situation in South African sport.

Further, this chapter also traced, from the late 1800s and those, more specifically between the 1930s and 1950s, documents and analysed the early colonial or imperial sporting experiences of the country and its transformation towards apartheid South Africa's Olympic sporting experiences and participation and the pertinent sport federations and leaders of this era. The country's whites-only sport federations, their participation in international competitions and their relationship with the commonwealth counterparts were outlined, with the purpose of locating this study not only within a historical context but also on a situational analysis pathway. A brief socio-cultural and socio-political dispensation of the country was discussed to set the scene for the emergence of the struggles to deracialise sport in South Africa.

It is concluded that "race" mattered a great deal in South African sport and this created problems within the Olympic Movement and the sport movement globally. Apartheid was an over-all government policy which affected all aspects of people's lives, including sport. Under apartheid people were classified and re-classified into four main racial groups and further sub-tribal groupings with the purpose of "dividing-and-ruling/controlling" them better. The African people were the most affected and oppressed group in all respects. No one was spared – men, women, children and those with disabilities. It was worse in the case of multiple disabilities.

This chapter provides a brief background to the campaigns by the NRSM, for the organisation and administration of sport in the country, on a non-racial basis as opposed to

the “official” establishment and racial basis, during the period under discussion.<sup>499</sup> It set the scene for the challenge to the whites-only sport establishment by the individual sportspersons, the sub-committees of the “national” black and/or non-racial sport federations and eventually, NRSM.<sup>500</sup> This chapter also illustrates that the country’s sport was not always “inherently” organised solely on a racial basis and that it did not have to be kept organised on a racial basis.<sup>501</sup>

In the final analysis, this chapter has illustrated that the efforts to bring equality in sport were undertaken by sportspeople themselves who were assisted by non-sportspeople; this was primarily because the very nature of the struggle against the colour bar and apartheid sport was inherently made political by the conditions in which sport was organised. The very nature of a discriminatory society, which in South Africa’s case, was characterised by the colour bar policies and later the apartheid system, and therefore apartheid sport, which became inherently the definitive sport system in the country, made the challenge to this discriminatory environment undeniably political in nature.

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<sup>499</sup> Adam Habib, *South Africa’s Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14.

<sup>500</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/NCAA and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984.

<sup>501</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### A EMPIRICAL/FACTUAL FRAMEWORK: PHILOSOPHY OF OLYMPISM, PETITIONING, MASS MOBILISATION, BOYCOTTS AND THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTTS

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is positioned to create an empirical/factual framework and a prism into which the broader discussion of the thesis is taking place and viewed from and conclusions or findings, drawn and based. This chapter discusses the nature, meaning and the historical development of the notions of “*Olympism*” as “a way of life philosophy” and ‘humanist sport policy’ of the Olympic Movement<sup>502</sup> and *boycotts*, specifically the Olympic boycotts, as tools used by various countries and groupings as propaganda machinery or to expose or project some pertinent issues in various societies and countries.<sup>503</sup>

Proper understanding of the Olympic Movement’s constitutional prescript and the use and application of the various boycott methods is particularly critical in this thesis. In Chapter Two above, only an outline of how the Olympic Movement, the IOC, the IFs and the IPC responded to South Africa’s racial question was presented and discussed. The discussion of the various forms of boycotts and specifically the Olympic and sports boycott against the whites-only South African teams and other sport struggles to deracialise the country’s sport were not undertaken. In this chapter, a detailed discussion on how the Olympic Movement ought to have responded is highlighted, using the constitutional guidelines as presented in the Olympic Chapter. In terms of boycotts for

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<sup>502</sup> Kéba Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa: Analysis and Illustration of a Humanist Sport Policy*, IOC, Lausanne, 1995.

<sup>503</sup> For more information on this aspect, see already published work from the current thesis: P. Nongogo; B.S. Shaw and I. Shaw. Delivering International Olympic Committee's mandate on Youth Olympic Games in South Africa: Olympic studies. Journal Title: African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance. Volume: Volume 15, Issue: Issue 2, Publication Date: 2009, Pages: 223 – 234; Philani Nongogo, “South Africa and the Youth Olympic Games: Challenges and Strength in Delivering the International Olympic Games Mandate”, in International Olympic Committee/Academy, *16<sup>th</sup> International Academy Post Graduate Participants Symposium Reports*, International Olympic Academic, Olympia, Greece, 12/8/2009, pp.188; Philani Nongogo, “The South African Sport and the Anti-Apartheid Movement”, in Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. (2012). *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO; [Retrieved from [http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&andid=A1884C\\_V1-2319](http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&andid=A1884C_V1-2319)]; Philani Nongogo, “The African All-Africa Games”, in Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. (2012). *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. [Retrieved from [http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&andid=A1884C\\_V1-2319](http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&andid=A1884C_V1-2319)]; IOC, Olympic studies Centre REPORT: THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND SOUTH AFRICA: Philani Nongogo, “The Effect of Sports boycott and Social Change in South Africa: A Historical Perspective, 1955-1992”, International Olympic Committee: Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2012. [Also available On-Line: [www.olympic.org](http://www.olympic.org)]; Nongogo, P. (2012). International Olympic Committee and the Olympic movement’s mechanism to engage humankind: Conferences, congresses, forums and major events, 1894 to 2012, African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December (Supplement 1:1), 252-267; Nongogo, P. (2012). Providing “intellectual guidance” for the Olympic movement: The Olympic congresses – history and highlights, 1894 – 2009. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December (Supplement 1:1), 268-287; Nongogo, P and Paul, Y. (2012). Sport, education and culture conferences: A brief history and highlights. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December (Supplement 1:1), 288-303.

instance, the Olympic boycotts in 1956 in Melbourne were about political issues and not necessarily directly related to sport and Olympics per se. These boycotts emanated from or were triggered by the specific actions of a country or various countries' actions on others.<sup>504</sup> Yet the sports boycott against the whites-only South African teams in 1968 in Mexico City and in 1976 in the City of Montreal for example, were undertaken to deracialise sport and society within the framework of South Africa's transformation from a colonial or imperial background and apartheid sport to an egalitarian or 'social democratic'<sup>505</sup> and a "non-racial" sporting dispensation and society.

The discussion of two significant aspects, namely the philosophy of Olympism and the boycotts above therefore places the attempts to bring equality and to deracialise sport in South Africa and the subsequent sports boycott, not only on an historical context but on a 'situational analysis'<sup>506</sup> base. The struggles to deracialise South Africa's sport and the subsequent sports boycott was long, complex, and dangerous and occurred on various fronts, therefore appreciation of the issue of time, longevity, context and the specific prevailing situation at these different conditions is critical. In Chapter Two, it was indicated that South African sport was not always organised solely and inherently on a racial basis. Yet it is known that the country has a long history of racial segregation that predates apartheid. For instance during the colonial or imperial era, sport organisation and societal outlook was characterised by the application of the 'colour bar'<sup>507</sup> policies. In the post-1948 era, however, the application of apartheid policies in the country's sport, otherwise known as apartheid sport was initiated and observed. These different periods and their respective socio-political and socio-cultural conditions are important to note when analysing the notions of Olympism and the boycotts.

Again, with hindsight from Chapter Two, Olympism and the boycotts are discussed in this chapter with the backdrop of an apparently 'indifferent'<sup>508</sup> IOC and the broader Olympic Movement<sup>509</sup> complex, towards and against the Non-Racial Sport

<sup>504</sup> Topsports, "Olympic Games: Olympic Games Boycotts and Political Events", The Sport and Science Resource, n.d.

<sup>505</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the University of Fort Hare (UFH)/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, 'Sport Perspectives 1988': "Planning is Vital", in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988.

<sup>506</sup> Adam Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14.

<sup>507</sup> Francois J. Cleophas and Floris J.G. van Der Merwe, "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape", *AJPERD*, vol.17, No. 1 (March) 2011, pp.124-140.

<sup>508</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.18.

<sup>509</sup> See IOC/ IOC *Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11. In this work however, the appellation "Olympic Movement" is used in a dual sense. First it refers to the set of values around humanity, goodwill, progress and international cooperation through sport that was espoused by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games. These ideas underpin – at least rhetorically – the games and the various activities towards sport development that are undertaken by the IOC and its affiliates. The promotion of these ideas is a key goal of the Olympic family. Second, the term is used in accordance to the IOC's *Olympic Charter*, to refer to the various organisations and

Movement<sup>510</sup> (NRSM) and the AAM, interface, as antagonists. In this chapter, an analysis of the ‘humanist sport policy’<sup>511</sup> is undertaken as a background prism to reflect and project the “expected” response and action by the Olympic Movement in dealing with the critical questions it faces, using the Olympic Charter as a guide. History has shown that when the IOC and the Olympic Movement appeared to have flouted its rules boycotts often became the resultant reaction.<sup>512</sup> The above-mentioned analysis is therefore achieved by reviewing literature on Olympism, the historical development of modern Olympics, the IOC’s dominance as a global sport force and character, with specific reference to the ‘humanist sport policy.’<sup>513</sup> In this discussion, the three central elements that underpin the philosophy of Olympism, namely, the *Olympic Ideal*; the *Olympic Movement* and the *Olympic Games*, are highlighted.

An analysis of the IOC’s “constitutional prescript” or guiding document, the Olympic Charter (OC), with specific reference to how the IOC recognises its member-National Olympic Committees (NOCs) through a process otherwise known as Olympic Recognition, is also undertaken. The latest version of the OC as published in 2011, stipulates that:

...the three main constituents of the Olympic Movement are namely the IOC, the IFs, the NOCs, ‘as well as the Organising Committees for the Olympic Games, all of which are required to comply with the Olympic Charter...<sup>514</sup>

The Olympic Movement’s obligations and reciprocal rights as defined by the Olympic Charter and the acknowledgment and acceptance of the IOC as ‘the supreme authority’<sup>515</sup> and leader are discussed in the backdrop of the Ifs’ defined ‘autonomous character.’<sup>516</sup> The IFs relate with the respective country’s national sport federations in a similar way to how the IOC relates with the individual country’s NOCs. The IOC follows its generally

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federations that constitute the governing structure of Olympic-recognised sport, which includes the IOC as the leader of the Olympic Movement and; the 202 national Olympic committees [which in this case, the South Africa’s NOCs that includes SAOEGA, 1908-1961, SAONGA, 1961-1971 then South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) from 1971 until 1990] of sovereign states and independent territories that are allied to the IOC; the local (i.e. national) organising committees of Olympic host cities; and international sport federations with affiliation to the IOC; and the International Paralympic Committee [and Paralympic Games] (IPC).

<sup>510</sup> The NRSM was generally constituted by individual sportspersons and/or organisations that later organised themselves as the SASA in 1958 under the leadership of Dennis Brutus and launched the former in January in 1959, South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), South African Council on Sport (SACOS) and the National Olympic and Sport Congress/Council (NOSC).

<sup>511</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.18.

<sup>512</sup> See South African History On-line (SAHO) /Lappe Laubscher, “South Africa and the Olympic Games: Isolations years, 1960 - 1992”, n.d. [also found in: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture%20%20%heritage/sport/index.php?id=1>].

<sup>513</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.18.

<sup>514</sup> International Olympic Committee Archives (IOC), *Olympic Charter*, IOC, Lausanne, Switzerland, 2011, p.8.

<sup>515</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,p.10.

<sup>516</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,p.10.

observable ‘guidelines’ it uses when choosing affiliates or offers recognition certificates, suspend or withhold/withdraw them.

These issues, collectively, share some light on the various Olympic Movement constituents’ usual approach when handling significant “crisis” situations they face in their long history, with specific focus on the Olympic boycotts since 1956 in Melbourne, Australia and beyond South Africa’s controversial re-entry into the Olympic Movement in 1992 until the London Games in 2012. Interestingly, the IOC and the Olympic Movement challenges seems to be revolving around similar themes such as accusing the IOC of flouting its own rules and the subsequent boycotts thereof, the accusation of human rights violations by host countries or other participating countries, the issues of security and drug use, to mention a few. The issue of flouting its own rules was demonstrated by the sport struggles and specifically the Sports boycott against South Africa’s apartheid sport impasse, and specifically, against SANOC and its affiliates, as is discussed in Chapter Four.

This chapter (3) reviews the literature on the theories of boycotts in society and the emergence and dynamics of the protest actions against apartheid by the oppressed people of South Africa as individuals and within political organisations. The discussion of the struggle against apartheid sport by the individual sportspersons, the Coordinating Committees on International Relations/Recognition (CCIR)<sup>517</sup> and the broader NRSRM, including the contribution of the SCSA, UN and its Units, is undertaken in Chapter Four. In this chapter however, the work of the wider AAM, which included progressive forces or political organisations within the Liberation Movement and sympathetic individuals and international associations and organisations, is highlighted.

The boycott typology as discussed by Montagu and Spector<sup>518</sup> is adopted and utilised to explain and better understand the Olympic boycotts, the protest struggles against the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in the country’s sport, the fight for equality and deracialisation of the country’s sport and the subsequent sports

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<sup>517</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984, p.3; also see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.202.

<sup>518</sup> See Montagu and Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, [A Paper Presented at the Anti-Apartheid Movement Conference and held by the Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), (UKZN), Durban, South Africa, 2004, n.p. [Also available in: [scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc](http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc)] [<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/18587620/Non-Traditional-Diplomacy>]; Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, 2004, p.145-166, in Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*.

boycott against apartheid sport practices, to induce change in this regard.<sup>519</sup> The literature on Olympism and the Olympic boycotts and other protest actions, is collectively discussed and therefore used to create a framework and a prism to which the effect of the Sports boycott in South Africa's transforming sport landscape and society are assessed and viewed.

The struggle for equality in sport was undertaken by genuine sport people and of course they were assisted by some non-sport people because the very nature of this struggle was inherently made political by the conditions under which sport was organised or administered and supposed to be played. The very nature of society was characterised by the colour bar policy and later the apartheid system, and so apartheid sport became inherently the definitive sport system in South Africa. This gave the challenge to this system an undeniably political nature. Hence at the later stage of the struggles to deracialise sport and the subsequent sports boycott, take a political nature.

### **3.2 THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE'S HUMANIST SPORT POLICY**

#### **3.2.1 The philosophy of Olympism**

The modern Olympics were revived by Baron Pierre de Coubertin in 1894. The IOC statute, the Olympic Charter (OC), was however, only published for the first time in 1908.<sup>520</sup> The Olympic movement led by the IOC, articulated a “philosophy of life” known as Olympism, which is a set of humanitarian values and codified fundamental principles that govern the IOC and guide the Olympic movement. Olympism puts and views the Olympic Games beyond sporting excellence.<sup>521</sup> Olympics have been therefore an ideal platform to promote Olympism and for educating societies and sportspeople. From the onset, the Olympic Charter emphasised and placed the notions of respect for the rule of law and the promotion of international norms at the epicentre of the Olympic movement’s work.

The Olympic Charter demonstrates this position by its use of phrases like “philosophy of life”, “educational-value-of-good-example,” “respect for universal fundamental ethical principles”, “preservation of human dignity”, “non-discrimination”

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<sup>519</sup> Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004, n.p.; also Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004, p.145-166.

<sup>520</sup> Adi, 2010.

<sup>521</sup> Nongogo and Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences, 2012, pp. 516-530.

and, “sport is a human right”.<sup>522</sup> The process of creating the Olympic Charter as a guiding document with the fundamental principles of Olympism was essential. The commitment to adhere to, meticulously apply and a proper interpretation of the Olympic Charter is thus, always paramount, lest laxity and non-compliance, brings ‘headaches’ to the IOC.<sup>523</sup>

There is, however, a plethora of cases where Olympics have been a galvanising platform for global civil society due to the perceived and real failure by the IOC and the constituents of the Olympic Movement to respect the Olympic Charter.<sup>524</sup> The Olympic boycotts of 1956 in Melbourne, Australia; the 1976 boycott of the Montreal Games and the strong opposition against apartheid sport by the NRSM in South Africa and the broader AAM, globally, spring to mind.

In fact the first, second, fourth, sixth and the seventh fundamental principles of the Olympic Charter, collectively seem to depict Olympics as a means to impose international norms. Simply put, the Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter catapult and position issues such as the rule of law and the promotion of internationally recognised and generally accepted norms as a top priority and the main agenda of the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement. The principles among others include respect for the other; excellence of effort and ethical values of life; universality of sport and sport participation; non-discrimination of any form; good governance and democratic values; promotion of peace in the world and preservation of human dignity; sport participation as a human right issue and; respect for the rule of law.

However, these noble principles have throughout the history of the Olympic Movement been a thorn to the IOC leadership and a rallying point of the civil society that sought its fair and full implementation. An assessment of the Olympic Games’ long history, focusing primarily on how the IOC, the Olympic Movement and any other pertinent stakeholder, had used and continue to use the “Olympics Games as means to impose international norms” as set-out in the OC; and whether they succeeded or failed in the interpretation of the Charter. According to the latest version of the Olympic Charter, the Fundamental Principles of Olympism include the following:

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<sup>522</sup> Nongogo and Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences, 2012, pp. 516-530.

<sup>523</sup> Peacock, “Geographie Sportive”, 2011.

<sup>524</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a life in sport*, 2004; Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004; also Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004; Chatzieftathiou, Henry, Theodoraki and Al-Touqi, 2008; Nongogo, Shaw and Shaw, 2009; Adi, “Olympic Humanitarianism”, 2010; Peacock, “Geographie Sportive”, 2011.

1. Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles. 2. The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity. 4. The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practising sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play. 6. Any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement. 7. Belonging to the Olympic Movement requires compliance with the Olympic Charter and recognition by the IOC...<sup>525</sup>

The modern Olympic Games are certainly one of the greatest world sport spectacles.<sup>526</sup> As such the recognition by the IOC and the other Olympic Movement's constituent structures make them probably the most attractive transnational organisations.<sup>527</sup> It is however, important to view the Olympic Games, 'the great sport festival'<sup>528</sup> as but part of the other equally important components of Olympism, which make-up the *whole*,<sup>529</sup> namely, the Games of the Olympiad, Olympic Ideal and the Olympic Movement.<sup>530</sup> It is also essential to note that the Games of the Olympiad are, at least according to the Olympic Charter and the IOC, a tool for promoting Olympic values and thus, one critical constituent in this tripod.<sup>531</sup> It is known that since 1956, the Olympic Games have been a fertile platform for propaganda manifestations by various countries, or organisations and individuals.<sup>532</sup>

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<sup>525</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter: The Fundamental Principles of Olympism*, 2011, pp.10-11.

<sup>526</sup> Brennan, 1998; Amusa, 2005; Amusa and Toriola, 2005; Chatziefstathiou, Henry, Theodoraki and Al-Touqi, 2008; Nongogo, Shaw and Shaw, 2009a; IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011; Byron Peacock, "Geographie Sportive." Over 100 Years of Charting the Globe's Territorial Disputes with the Olympic Formula', 2008; Murray, 2012; Nauright, 2012; Carr, Flannerly and Carr, 2012; Philani Nongogo and Yvonne Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences: A brief history and highlights, *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPHERD)* December 2012 (Supplement), pp. 516-530.

<sup>527</sup> Peacock, "Geographie Sportive", 2008; Murray, 2012; Nauright, 2012; Murray, 2012; Todt and Brunet, 2012; Genys, 2012.

<sup>528</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*, p.10.

<sup>529</sup> Nongogo and Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences, 2012, pp. 516-530.

<sup>530</sup> IOC, 2011; IOC, 2012e; Olympic Review, 2012e; Pan-American Sport Organisation (PASO), 2012; Genys, 2012; Todt and Brunet, 2012.

<sup>531</sup> Ana Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism", IOC's Olympic Studies Centre: Post Graduate Research Report, 2010. Also available on www.olympic.org.com; IOC, *Olympic Review*, 2012e; PASO, 2012; Nongogo and Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences, 2012, pp. 516-530.

<sup>532</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a life in sport*, 2004; Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004; also Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004; Chatziefstathiou, Henry, Theodoraki and Al-Touqi, 2008; Nongogo, Shaw and Shaw, 2009; Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism", 2010; Peacock, "Geographie Sportive", 2011.

The Olympic Ideal, in part, is defined as ‘the humanist sport policy’<sup>533</sup> or Olympism, the philosophy of life.<sup>534</sup> The Olympic Ideal is comprised of the seven fundamental principles of Olympism,<sup>535</sup> the core sets of values namely, ‘respect, excellence and friendship’,<sup>536</sup> and ‘mutual understanding, tolerance, solidarity between peoples’ and fair play<sup>537</sup> and; the central pillars that include ‘sport, education, culture and environment’.<sup>538</sup> The Olympic Ideal represents the ultimate goal, character and, the sacrosanct nature that the Olympic Movement and the Games of Olympiads ought to be about and signify. There is evidence however, as shown by the protracted apartheid sport question in this study, that the Olympic Ideal is not always necessarily adhered to and respected<sup>539</sup>, and several crisis situations have since emanated from it.<sup>540</sup>

The Olympic Games symbolise and represent the peak organisation by the Olympic Movement; ‘with the bringing together of the world’s athletes at the great sport festival.’<sup>541</sup> The latest version of the Olympic Charter stipulates that the Olympic Games comprise the Games of the Olympiad and the Olympic Winter Games. Competitions are between the athletes brought by their respective NOCs, whose entries have been accepted and ratified by the IOC to partake in individual or team events and ‘not between countries.’<sup>542</sup>

According to the latest version of the Olympic Charter<sup>543</sup>, the Olympic Movement is comprised of three main components, namely the IOC, as the supreme authority and leader, the IFs and the NOCs. The inaugural Olympic Congress in 1894 did not only result in the *rebirth* of the modern Games of the Olympiad as they are known today, it also ushered in the ‘humanist sport policy’<sup>544</sup>, a philosophy of life, known as Olympism. This was the constitutional prescript, also known as the Olympic Charter (OC) that the entire structure of the Olympic Movement was to be founded on, in subsequent years.<sup>545</sup> The movement began with the establishment of the IOC and later, the Olympic Games Organising Committees (OCOGs); the national sport federations, the local clubs and

<sup>533</sup> Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa* 1995, p.18.

<sup>534</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>535</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>536</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,p.10.

<sup>537</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, Cape Town: Greenhouse, 2004, p. xiv; IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,p.10.

<sup>538</sup> Trendafilova, Bemiller and Hardin, 2012.

<sup>539</sup> IOC Archives/IOC and the Olympic Movement/SASA Memorandum, 1959; Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa* 1995.

<sup>540</sup> Peacock, 2011

<sup>541</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,p.10.

<sup>542</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,p.19.

<sup>543</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*,pp.14-15.

<sup>544</sup> Mbaye, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa* 1995, p.i.

<sup>545</sup> Adi, 2010; PASO, 2012; IOC, 2012f; International Pierre de Coubertin Committee, undated [IPCC, u.d].

individual persons affiliated to the IFs and NOCs and other organisations and institutions that are recognised by the IOC.<sup>546</sup> The athletes are the main constituents as their interests represent an essential aspect of the Olympic Movement's action, as well as the judges, referees, coaches and the other sport officials and technicians.<sup>547</sup> The 2011 version of the Olympic Charter states that

...Any person or organisation belonging in any capacity whatsoever to the Olympic Movement is bound by the provisions of the Olympic Charter and shall abide by the decisions of the IOC...<sup>548</sup>

The IOC and the Olympic Movement in its entirety have long set themselves an ambitious yet vital mandate of being supreme authorities in global Olympic sport.<sup>549</sup> This has been demonstrated by their popularity and more importantly, their influence on the global socio-political landscape.<sup>550</sup> The second fundamental principle of Olympism reads:

...The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity...<sup>551</sup>

The IOC and the Olympic Movement therefore, as it is declared above, have positioned themselves to and are apparently expected to play a critical role in the lives of a multitude of people across the world.<sup>552</sup> This is, however, the point that the Olympic Movement and specifically the IOC, seem to have come to realise and fully appreciate, only recently.<sup>553</sup> It seems to have taken the IOC a long time to recognise the importance of the critical issues, including the various forms (racial, gender and class) of discrimination,<sup>554</sup> doping in sport<sup>555</sup> and the impact of sport, and especially, the Olympic Games, on the environment.<sup>556</sup> Part of this realisation consequently, is shown by a range of vital international gatherings that the IOC, the Olympic movement and its strategic partners have been holding and continue to stage in an attempt to live up to its constitutional prescripts, namely being transparent and accountable in the quest to engage each of its

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<sup>546</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>547</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>548</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*, p.15.

<sup>549</sup> Al-Tauqi, 2003; IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>550</sup> Mbaye, 1995; Peacock, “Geographie Sportive”, 2011.

<sup>551</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*, p.10.

<sup>552</sup> Nongogo and Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences, 2012, pp. 516-530.

<sup>553</sup> Trendafilova, Bemiller and Hardin, 2012.

<sup>554</sup> De Broglio, 1970; Ramsamy, 1982; Mbaye, 1995; Nauright, 1997; Booth, 1998; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) 2004.

<sup>555</sup> Pound, 2008; Martyn, 2008.

<sup>556</sup> Amusa, 2005; Trendafilova, Bemiller and Hardin, 2012; *Global Sport Management News*, 2012; Chernushenko, 1994; Frey, Iraldo and Melis, 2007; Olympic Games Global Impact (OGGI), n.d.; Satchu, Hembert and du Plessis, n.d.; Schmidt, 2006.

various components and more importantly, the public world population. The IOC's eventual involvement in the struggle against apartheid sport therefore was apparently one way of fulfilling its mandate.<sup>557</sup>

### 3.3 THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE: A LEADER OF THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

The Olympic Charter, the IOC's statute, defines in its first chapter the mission and role of the IOC, which is the Olympic movement's supreme authority. The IOC is a nongovernmental, non-profit organisation. Between 2005 and 2008, however, its revenues came from three principal sources: television broadcasting rights (67 percent), the global sponsorship programme TOP VI (27 percent) and Olympic licenses (6 percent). Its principal objective is to promote Olympism throughout the world and to manage the Olympic movement, primarily in partnership with the IFs and the 205 national Olympic committees (NOCs). To facilitate the running of the IOC, an executive commission (EC) was created in 1921. It was entrusted with two principal missions: to monitor the respect and application of the Olympic Charter and to ensure that orders of business, such as the appointment of a director general and other matters are being carried out.

The IOC points out that “the Charter represents the codification of the fundamental Principles of Olympism, the Rules and the Implementing Decrees adopted by the IOC. It regulates the organisation, the actions and the operation of the Olympic Movement and sets the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games.” On December 12, 1999, during the 110th session, held in Lausanne, the members of the IOC adopted a new rule on the composition of their assembly. It would never number more than 115, including a maximum of 70 individual members, 15 active athletes, 15 representatives of the IFs, and 15 representatives of the IOCs. Currently the IOC comprises 112 members, 19 of whom are women.

Twenty-two commissions, such as the commission for Olympic solidarity, are structured to help the president, the EC, or the members of the session to make a decision. The composition of the commissions such as those dealing with culture and Olympic education for example, includes 29 members representing, most notably, the IOC, the IFs, the NOCs, athletes, and experts. Only members of the IOC have the right to chair these commissions. It is during these Sessions “General Assemblies”, which bring together all

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<sup>557</sup> Nongogo and Paul, ‘Sport, education and culture conferences’, 2012, pp. 516-530.

the members of the IOC. This is where both future host cities of the Olympic Games and new members are elected and modification of the articles of the charter made uniquely on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, are voted.<sup>558</sup> From the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> October 2009, the IOC organised the 13th Olympic Conference, titled “The Olympic Movement in Society,” in Copenhagen. The objective of this global gathering (1,804 contributions from the Olympic family, the IOC administration, and the public were received by the conference secretariat) was to analyse all the advances made by the Olympic movement since 1894 and to envisage areas of study that might be explored during the third millennium. The IOC sought to promote Olympic youth education, encouraging young people to practice sport and transmitting to them values such as the joy that comes from effort, fair play, respect for others, the quest for excellence, and the balance between body, will, and mind.<sup>559</sup>

### 3.4 OLYMPIC HISTORY: THE WORKER GAMES VERSUS THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES

The first recorded ancient Olympic Games were held in 776 BC, held in Olympia, Greece.<sup>560</sup> However, some other form of the Games called the “Wenlock Games”, officially called the Wenlock Olympian Society Annual Games dates from 1850, and was the forerunner of the modern Olympic Games, which started almost 50 years later.<sup>561</sup> The Modern Olympic Games as they are known today therefore emerged as a borrowed vision of a French educator and notable sport figure, Baron Pierre de Coubertin.<sup>562</sup> He was enamoured with English game playing and visited the Much Wenlock “Olympic” Games in 1890.<sup>563</sup> In 1850 Dr William Penny Brookes founded the Much Wenlock Games as a

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<sup>558</sup> Eric Monnin, “International Olympic Committee”, in John Nauright (1997) *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012. ABC-CLIO eBook Collection. Web. 11 Sep 2012;

<sup>559</sup> Monnin, “International Olympic Committee, 2012; J.L. Chappellet, “CIO (Comité International Olympique)”, in *Dictionnaire culturel du sport*, edited by A. Mickael and J. Saint-Martin, 147–152, Paris: Armand Colin, 2010; R. Gafner, (ed.), *The International Olympic Committee, One Hundred Years, 1894–1994: The Idea, the Presidents, the Achievements*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1994; International Olympic Committee, *Teaching Values: An Olympic Education Toolkit*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2007; International Olympic Committee, *The Olympic Movement in Society: IOC Final Report, 2005–2008*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2008; International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2010; Eric Monnin, *L’Olympisme à l’école?* Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté et Pôle éditorial multimédia de l’Université de Technologie de Belfort-Montbéliard, 2008; N. Müller, *Pierre de Coubertin: Writings*, Vol. 2, *Olympism*. Zurich: Weidmann, 1986

<sup>560</sup> Topsports website, 2012.

<sup>561</sup> John Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport: Histories of the Present”, August 6, 2012, also see – [http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus\\_thread](http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus_thread).

<sup>562</sup> Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012.

<sup>563</sup> Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012.

means to promote the ‘moral, physical and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Wenlock,’<sup>564</sup> a small village in Shropshire, England.<sup>565</sup>

It is interesting to note that ““professional” athletes were allowed to participate in the Much Wenlock Games from 1868 and events were handicapped in 1869.”<sup>566</sup> Baron Pierre de Coubertin was consequently so impressed that he set in motion plans to revive the ancient Greek Olympic Games. He organised the first Olympic Congress in 1894, which decided to hold an Olympic Games in Athens, Greece in 1896<sup>567</sup> and in this way the modern-day Olympic Summer Games were born.<sup>568</sup>

The IOC, through its Olympic Charter and other forms of communication it uses, projects itself and the role of modern Olympic Games, to be an expression of youth coming together in peace, friendship and harmony, and to promote and highlight the noble values of humanity.<sup>569</sup> John Nauright, however, argues that the twenty-first century Games, simply ‘represent the ultimate triumph of capitalist sport.’<sup>570</sup> The Games do not represent the “ideals” that are presented to the global audience.<sup>571</sup> The Games are run by

<sup>564</sup> For more on Much Wenlock and British antecedents of modern sporting festivals see, M. Polley, *The British Olympics: Britain's Olympic Heritage, 1612-1912*, London: English Heritage, 2011. The best account of Baron de Coubertin and the rise of the modern Olympics is J. MacAloon, (new edition), *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games*, London: Taylor and Francis, 2008; Nauright, 2012.

<sup>565</sup> Fittingly, in honouring the Much Wenlock Games, one of the Olympic mascots for the London 2012 Summer Olympics was named “Wenlock”; see more information on this matter on Topendsport website, 2012.

<sup>566</sup> Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012.

<sup>567</sup> MacAloon, 2008; Polley, 2011; Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012; Philani Nongogo and Yvonne Paul, Sport, education and culture conferences: A brief history and highlights, *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPERD)* December 2012 (Supplement), pp. 516-530; Philani Nongogo, ‘Conferences, Forums and Major Events of the Olympic Movement, 1894 to 2012’, in Global Sport Management News: A Newsletter for the Sport Management Industry Professionals, Students and Academia, Edition Volume 3, 2012. Available online: Available online: <http://sportresearchconsortium.files.wordpress.com/2012/08/pate-gsm-news.pdf>; OGGI (Olympic Games Global Impact) (undated), Technical Manual Template.

<sup>568</sup> Eric Monnin, “International Olympic Committee”, in John Nauright (1997) *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012. *ABC-CLIO eBook Collection*. Web. 11 Sep 2012; Philani Nongogo, 2012.

<sup>569</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011; Adi, ‘Olympic Humanitarianism’, 2010; for more information on how the IOC and the Olympic Movement operated and manoeuvred in its quest for the ultimate sport hegemony, see parts of the already published work from this thesis: For more information on this aspect, see already published work from the current thesis: P. Nongogo; B.S. Shaw and I. Shaw. Delivering International Olympic Committee's mandate on Youth Olympic Games in South Africa: Olympic studies. Journal Title: African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance. Volume: Volume 15, Issue: Issue 2, Publication Date: 2009, Pages: 223 – 234; Philani Nongogo, “South Africa and the Youth Olympic Games: Challenges and Strength in Delivering the International Olympic Games Mandate”, in International Olympic Committee/Academy, *16<sup>th</sup> International Academy Post Graduate Participants Symposium Reports*, International Olympic Academic, Olympia, Greece, 12/8/2009, pp.188; Philani Nongogo, “The South African Sport and the Anti-Apartheid Movement”, in Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. (2012). *Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO; [Retrieved from [Sport around the World: History, Culture, and Practice. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. \[Retrieved from \[www.olympic.org\]\(http://www.olympic.org\)\]; Nongogo, P. \(2012\). International Olympic Committee and the Olympic movement’s mechanism to engage humankind: Conferences, congresses, forums and major events, 1894 to 2012, African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December \(Supplement 1:1\), 252-267; Nongogo, P. \(2012\). Providing “intellectual guidance” for the Olympic movement: The Olympic congresses – history and highlights, 1894 – 2009. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December \(Supplement 1:1\), 268-287; Nongogo, P and Paul, Y. \(2012\). Sport, education and culture conferences: A brief history and highlights. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreations and Dance, December \(Supplement 1:1\), 288-303.](http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/reader.aspx?isbn=9781598843019&id=A1884C_V1-2319)

<sup>570</sup> Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012, p.1.

<sup>571</sup> Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012.

an elite private organisation, the IOC, which has succeeded in stamping out all other “Olympic” games and movements as the self-proclaimed great unifier of the world through “Olympic” sport. The IOC owns the right to use the word “Olympic” and no event beyond its control can use the word without permission due to its licensing agreements and penchant for using legal systems to protect the name. The IOC has a long history of using its power to marginalise others and has been faced with numerous scandals over the past twenty years. There is no doubt that there is much to celebrate in the Games as athletes from around the world gather to compete for their native or chosen country.<sup>572</sup> These athletes have trained for many years to reach the top of their sport and have worked hard to reach their goals. However, with little or no surprise, from one Olympiad to the next, the world is made to observe the top nations almost frequently monopolising and dominating the medal table.<sup>573</sup>

In contrast to Much Wenlock and earlier regional sporting festivals, when they were established, the Modern Olympics were an elitist, amateur, and initially male-only affair; directed by an organisation of male aristocrats and other social and economic elites from Europe and European descendants from various settler societies. At the time the modern games began “amateur” was defined in ways to create class exclusion rather than the more contemporary understanding of someone who is or is not paid to play the game. In the 1890s sport organisations grappled with the class issue with some adopting open professionalism (association football, rugby league), some remaining amateur (rugby union, Olympic sport), and even some mixing amateurism and professionalism (cricket). Nearly all of these organisations remained for men only, though some women slowly made their way into a few of the Olympic sporting codes. The IFs were governed along the imperialist and racist Whites-only lines. The “father” of the modern Olympics, Pierre De Coubertin, viewed the inclusion of black populations and women into the Games as a problem, citing that this could make the games less appealing.<sup>574</sup> The issue of western countries’ dominance in the leadership and control of the IFs; the weighted voting tactics

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<sup>572</sup> Many athletes in the 2012 London Summer Olympic Games represented countries that they have moved to in order to compete in their sport, some through inducements, others through choice based on a number of factors. In a list of Team Great Britain’s top ten medal hopes prior to the Games in athletics (track and field), three fit this category, including one American.

<sup>573</sup> These were the USA, Russia, China, Germany, Australia, Great Britain, France, and Italy.

<sup>574</sup> Sam Ramsamy, in a paper presented in the Canadian Olympic Academy in 1986.

and apparent racism and sexism was perpetuated for many years and these were used to maintain the status quo unchallenged.<sup>575</sup>

Throughout much of the nineteenth century poorer rural and urban working class men played sport in isolation from the sport played by the landed gentry and bourgeois classes. In some sport large sums of money could be made through the winning of prizes or wagers particularly in “pedestrianism” and rowing. Football games, played in the streets, villages and on farmland, also continued to be played by young males throughout England and beyond. Some factory and business owners, particularly in the confectionary industry, supported their workers participating in sport and other physical activities, primarily to promote hygiene, although others feared too much playing sport could lead to injuries and come at a cost to productivity.

Worker sport organisations became popular in the first decades of the twentieth century. Initially workers formed their own sport teams, such as the football club founded by workers at Woolwich Arsenal, today’s Arsenal Football Club. Later competitions between groups of workers were held ultimately leading to the formation of the Worker Sport International, founded in Lucerne, Switzerland in 1920 (later changing its name to the Socialist Worker Sport International (SASI) in 1925). Not to be outdone by the socialists, communists responded by forming the Red Sport International in Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1921. Socialist Workers held a Winter Olympiad in Schreiberhau, Germany in February 1925 and a summer event in July 1925 in Frankfurt, Germany in which over 100,000 athletes participated and where 3,000 athletes from 12 countries competed in official events. There is evidence that the German women’s relay team broke the existing world record in their sprint relay, but the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) refused to recognise it since it did not sanction the event.<sup>576</sup>

A second summer Olympiad of workers took place in Vienna in 1931 with 77,000 athletes from 17 countries participating in front of over 200,000 spectators. At that time the Socialist Worker Sport International (SASI) boasted of over 2 million members in worker sport clubs internationally, though over half of these were in Germany. In 1935 the socialist and communist worker sport movements began to work together. Workers planned to hold another “Worker Olympics” in Barcelona in 1936 to counter the Nazi

<sup>575</sup> De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1971; Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real Hurdle*, 1982; Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a life in sport*, 2004; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”; Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012.

<sup>576</sup> For more detail on these games and European worker’s sport movements, see A. Krueger and J. Riordan (eds.), *The Story of Worker Sport*, Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1996; Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport, 2012.

controlled 1936 Berlin games of the IOC. Athletes from 11 countries had planned to participate, but the Spanish Civil War intervened. Many athletes stayed on to fight the fascists in Spain. Once the fascists took over in Spain, one of their leaders was none other than Juan Antonio Samaranch, who assisted Franco as governor of the Barcelona region and who was President of the IOC from 1980 to 2004. The Worker Olympiad events were so successful that the Popular Front government in France financially supported French teams for Barcelona and Berlin in 1936. A combined event involving socialist and communist workers was held in Antwerp in 1937 involving another 30,000 participants and 100,000 spectators.

After World War II, the IOC consolidated their position as custodian of the “Olympic” traditions and name in part enabled by the decision of the Soviet Union to enter its events beginning in 1952. The Soviet regime decided to utilise the Olympics as a venue to demonstrate its superiority. In many European countries the impact of the War left worker sport organisation in disarray and without funds or adequate facilities. The rule that only one governing body for sport would be recognised by International sport Federations and the IOC made it doubly difficult for worker sport organisations to gain traction.

During the 1960s the majority of people around the world engaged with the Olympics through the medium of television. More and more money entered the Olympics as a result of global television coverage and national governments viewing the Games as valuable public relations exercises leading the IOC to remove amateur restrictions enabling professional athletes, many of whom earned large sums of money, to compete openly. In these endeavours, the IOC could close off any possible space for alternative “competitors” like the “Workers Olympics” and fulfil its long-held quest for absolute sport hegemony throughout the world. By the 1990s, cities spent small fortunes in the hope of hosting the games and millions and even billions to build facilities for the Games in the hope of gaining global publicity, increases in tourism, and legacies for future generations. However, the distribution of costs and benefits has been vastly uneven. Currently, the Olympics represent the triumph of the neo-liberal global capitalist sport system based on a global economy of sport centred on a sport-media-tourism complex where professional sport leagues and regional and global international sporting competitions circulate among an elite few.

### 3.5 THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, OLYMPISM AND POLITICS

In reading Byron Peacock's "*Geographie Sportive:*" Over 100 Years of Charting the Globe's Territorial Disputes with the Olympic Formula<sup>577</sup> one gets the idea that the IOC obviously understood, from inception, the politically charged nature of the terrain it was entering.<sup>578</sup> Consequently, the IOC attempted to put measures and lay down "laws", for not only to mitigate these possible political considerations and influences on its work, but rather, to eliminate them altogether. This was naturally going to be an intricate endeavour or act.<sup>579</sup> Part of this process meant that the IOC should be vigilant, very early on, in the beginning of the Olympics, especially when it deals with 'tensions between who would be representing what at the Games'.<sup>580</sup> It is apparent that this process was extremely essential to the IOC, such that it decided to embark on a delicate and possibly, self-defeating exercise of drawing up 'its own world map and shake [shook] off the shackles of political geography. When this got into the way of the realities of sport'<sup>581</sup>, or, when it was apparent 'that it was the only pragmatic solution to the already politically charged Olympic Movement'.<sup>582</sup> This was important it seems, for IOC's convenience, to effectively manage and define the relationship between the Olympic movement and the global community of States. De Coubertin had anyway deliberately kept direct government interference out of the Olympic movement from early on and significantly, managed to structure the Games in such a way that governments are involved without threatening its authority and hegemony.

Pierre de Coubertin seemed to have gained invaluable experience during the first two Olympiads and 'had strengthened [his] liberal conviction that any kind of state involvement in sport introduced "the fatal germ of impotence and mediocrity."'<sup>583</sup> The Olympic movement, however, grappled to concede that political influences are inevitable in the politically charged public space it was operating in and more critically, which it was seeking to influence. Consequently, the IOC gradually found it cumbersome to adhere to and apply its founding constitutional prescripts from inception and early on in the

<sup>577</sup> Peacock, "*Geographie Sportive*", 2011.

<sup>578</sup> Peacock, "*Geographie Sportive*", 2011, p.311.

<sup>579</sup> Nongogo and Paul, 'Sport, education and culture conferences', 2012, pp. 516-530; Nongogo, 'Providing "intellectual guidance" for the Olympic movement, 2012, pp.497-515; Nongogo, 'International Olympic Committee and the Olympic movement's mechanism to engage humankind', 2012, pp.481-496.

<sup>580</sup> Peacock, "*Geographie Sportive*", 2008, p.311.

<sup>581</sup> Guttmann, 2002, p. 22; Peacock, "*Geographie Sportive*", 2008, p. 311.

<sup>582</sup> Peacock, "*Geographie Sportive*", 2008, p.311.

<sup>583</sup> Guttmann, 2002, p. 22; Peacock, "*Geographie Sportive*", 2008, p. 311.

existence of the Olympic Movement. When this possibility reared its head, the IOC relied heavily on “pragmatic” and “innovative” solutions. This approach was not always without its own inherent problems. It rapidly became a norm for the IOC’s general policies to be thought of as ‘imperfect “formulae”’ that, while based on codified regulations, have on several occasions, proven to be fundamentally flexible and extremely manoeuvrable.<sup>584</sup> The IOC continued since the early days, and still continues to be faced with tricky political questions, so that it becomes reasonable and pragmatic to concede that global political influences are inevitable and subsequently, duly consider modifying its prescript.

The IOC has a long history of political biasness and racial prejudices. With reference to racist comments made following the developments at the St. Louis Games, Sam Ramsamy declares that the ‘founder of the modern Olympics, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, publicly reflected his racial prejudices in 1904.’<sup>585</sup> Further, listing numerous incidents of political bias, Ramsamy argues that:

...the IOC did not conceal its political bias when, after World War I, it barred the “aggressors” Germany and Austria from participating in the Games. Later, after World War II, Germany and Japan were not invited to participate in the 1948 London Games. It was the post-World War II period which heightened political and racial bias within the Olympic Movement. Outwardly, Sigfrid Edstrom of Sweden (IOC President 1946-52) and Avery Brundage of the USA (IOC President 1952-72) refused to accept the contiguity of sport and politics but their covert sympathy for the Western status quo brought the Olympic Movement face to face with a series of political and racial problems...<sup>586</sup>

There is a plethora of these cases in the history of the IOC. In fact, even though the IOC, ‘after World War I, barred the “aggressors” Germany and Austria from participating in the Games.’<sup>587</sup> It was the same IOC that allowed the same “aggressors,” the Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler, not only back into participating in the Olympic Games, but host them. When one IOC member, Ernest Lee Jahncke, an American, dissented, questioning the decision, he was ridiculed and treated harshly in a way that was never seen within the

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<sup>584</sup> Peacock, “Geographie Sportive”, 2008, p.311.

<sup>585</sup> BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/Sam Ramsamy Collection/photocopied paper/Sam Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and third world equality”, 1987, pp.1-16/ Presented at the Challenge Address to the Olympic Academy of Canada/Ramsamy, S. (1987) “The Politics of racism and The Third World Equality”, a paper presented at The 1987 Challenge Address to the Olympic Academy of Canada: Canada Olympic Academy, 1987 [printed in June 1988], p.8. [Ramsamy was at the time the Executive Chairman of SANROC and the booklet carrying this paper has a “Foreword” (pp.3-4) by Bruce Kidd, The Chair of Olympic Studies Committee – Canadian Olympic Association.

<sup>586</sup> BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/Sam Ramsamy Collection/photocopied paper/Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and third world equality”, 1987, p.9.

<sup>587</sup> BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/“The politics of racism and third world equality”, 1987, p.9.

IOC's history. In his letter to the IOC President, Count Henri Baillet-Latour, Jahncke wrote:

...Neither Americans nor the representatives of other countries can take part in the Games in Nazi Germany without at least acquiescing in the contempt of the Nazis for fair play and their sordid exploitation of the Games...<sup>588</sup>

In its response to this, the IOC expelled Jahncke, from the IOC in July 1936 due to his strong public stand against the Berlin Games. The IOC pointedly elected Avery Brundage to fill Jahncke's vacant position. It is important to note that Jahncke is the only member in the 100-year history of the IOC to be cast out of the organisation.<sup>589</sup> Further, in 1947, for instance, Edstrom was most reluctant to admit communist countries into the IOC. In his letter to Avery Brundage on September 3, 1947, Edstrom wrote that '[T]he greatest trouble will be to find men that we can have present in the IOC. I do not feel inclined to go as far as to admit communists there.'<sup>590</sup> The way in which the issue of the two Chinas, two Germanys,<sup>591</sup> and the two Koreas was dealt with demonstrated very clearly the political bias within the Olympic Movement. Generally, these positions by the IOC leaders often attracted challenge and many of these came in the form of Olympic boycotts by individual countries or group of countries. This therefore landed the IOC and the Olympic Movement in crisis. The outline of the Olympic boycotts below is indicative of this development. More importantly, the above developments are a clear indication how indifferent, insensitive and hypocritical the IOC has been over the years. These challenges by various countries are not only similar to South Africa's apartheid sport problem, but are also indicative of the broader challenges that faced the IOC and the broader Olympic movement at the time. These also, to some degree, explain why the struggles to deracialise South African sport unfolded for many decades before the IOC could act, using its own constitutional prescripts as outlined in the Olympic Charter.

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<sup>588</sup> Letter by Ernest Lee Jahncke, [An American and former assistant secretary of the Navy and of German Protestant descent], at the time an IOC member, in a letter to Count Henri Baillet-Latour, President IOC, November 25, 1935.

<sup>589</sup> See more on: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/olympics.html>

<sup>590</sup> IOC/IOC Presidents and the Executive Board/Correspondence/Letter from Sigfrid Edstrom to Avery Brundage 1947; also see BOX 1.8/MCH63-8/Sam Ramsamy Collection/photocopied paper/Ramsamy, "The politics of racism and third world equality", 1987, p.9.

<sup>591</sup> See the IOC Archives/"Agreement on German Participation in 1952 Olympic Games"/IOC/Mon Repos, Lausanne, Suisse.

### 3.5.1 The Olympic boycotts, 1956 to 2012

The 16<sup>th</sup> modern Olympiad of 1956 was the first to be hosted in the Southern Hemisphere. It was in these 1956 Melbourne Games for the first time it became apparently clear that ‘the Olympic Games were and would in the future be used by countries to promote their political agendas’.<sup>592</sup> In these Games, Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland boycotted in protest against the Soviet Union’s invasion and brutal suppression of a potential rebellion in Hungary. Further, Iraq, Egypt and Iran pulled out because of the ‘so-called Suez crises’. Finally, the People’s Republic of China refused to participate due to the inclusion of the Republic of China (Taiwan).<sup>593</sup> The IOC President at the time, the American Avery Brundage, tried to stop the political tide. ‘We are dead against any country using the Games for political purposes, whether right or wrong. The Olympics are competitions between individuals and not nations,’<sup>594</sup> he declared rather naively. In Africa a “wind of change” was starting to blow, where the former wanted the European colonial powers to leave the continent. “Uhuru” (freedom) was the shout echoing over the continent. This “wind” was about to develop into a storm. For the South African Whites-only athletes the Games was a major disaster. A country which was used to bringing back Gold Medals from the Olympic Games, this time won four bronze medals. The track and field manager and coach, Mr S. P. Barkhuizen, claimed in his report at the end of the Games that a total lack of discipline and dedication on the part of the athletes resulted in their failure in competition.<sup>595</sup>

The 1960 Games in Rome, Italy were to be the last Games the Whites-only South Africa participated in. For several decades, South Africa had developed a notorious tradition to solely select its sport teams from the White minority population. During the period between 1904 in St. Louis and 1908 in the London Games, South Africa, until 1956, did not have any laws that directly forbade inter-racial ‘mixed matches’<sup>596</sup> or racial exclusion in sport. In Chapter Two, evidence demonstrates that the first time South African sportspersons participated in the Games was in St. Louis, albeit this was not a

<sup>592</sup>Topendsport, “Olympic Games: Olympic Games Boycotts and Political Events”, The Sport and Science Resource, n.d. [also found in: <http://www.topendsport.com/events/summer/boycotts.htm>]. Also see, South African History On-line (SAHO) /Lappe Laubscher, “South Africa and the Olympic Games: Isolations years, 1960 - 1992”, n.d. [also found in: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture%20%20%heritage/sport/index.php?id=1>].

<sup>593</sup> Topendsport, “Olympic Games: Olympic Games Boycotts and Political Events”, The Sport and Science Resource, n.d.

<sup>594</sup> See South African History On-line (SAHO) /Lappe Laubscher, “South Africa and the Olympic Games: Isolations years, 1960 - 1992”, n.d. [also found in: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture%20%20%heritage/sport/index.php?id=1>].

<sup>595</sup> See South African History On-line (SAHO) /Lappe Laubscher, “South Africa and the Olympic Games: Isolations years, 1960 - 1992”, n.d. [also found in: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture%20%20%heritage/sport/index.php?id=1>].

<sup>596</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.188.

normal or an official constituted Olympic team that was presented.<sup>597</sup> The Whites-only sport leaders and organisations seemed to have taken a view that this was just the way it was supposed be done, as the similar practice was exercised in other aspects of the country's socio-political and socio-cultural life. Sport was "the White man's domain."<sup>598</sup> For the majority of the White South African population, the country's threatened suspension and the eventual expulsion from the Games, the response was initially that of disbelief and then anger that the international world would not accept this situation. At the 55th IOC meeting in Munich in 1959 questions were for the first time officially asked about the South African National Olympic Committee's ability to send a team to an Olympic Games select on merit only. A motion was tabled to expel South Africa from the Olympic movement.<sup>599</sup>

A Johannesburg lawyer and member of the IOC, Reginald Honey, assured members that the South African Government would issue a passport to any South African selected to represent the country at an Olympic Games. The traditional "White only" South African Olympic teams became an embarrassment to the country's friends in the international world. On the world scene a "Cold War" was fast developing between the West with the USA as its leader and the East with Russia (the USSR) as its leader. South Africa aligned itself with the leaders of the Western World.<sup>600</sup> There was never any doubt, outside South Africa, that a practice of racial discrimination in sport was not justifiable and immoral; yet the Western World, hesitated to turn its back on South Africa. The country was looked upon as the country to defend the sea route around the tip of Africa. The country also produced minerals valuable to Western economy and defence systems.<sup>601</sup>

The original reaction from the Western World when South Africa's racial policy question was put on the international agenda by Russia was to defend South Africa as 'it was a sovereign country and while its racial policies were immoral, it remained an internal affair.'<sup>602</sup> Against this background 57 white South African sportspersons were selected to represent the country at the Olympic Games in Rome in 1960. An argument given was:

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<sup>597</sup> This perhaps explains the stark racial contrast between the "1904 and 1908 South African Olympic teams" in St. Louis and London Games respectively, albeit one unofficial and the other an official team. In fact it is interesting to observe that the first South African official Olympic team was whites-only and that the IOC did not take any issue with this racially comprised team despite the non-discrimination Rule 6 in the *Olympic Charter*, especially Articles 24 and 25; see the IOC/*Olympic Charter*, 2011.

<sup>598</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; De Broglio, *South Africa*, 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*.

<sup>599</sup> IOC/IOC Sessions/ 55th IOC meeting in Munich in 1959; see also De Broglio, "The SANROC Story", 2005.

<sup>600</sup> Scarlett Cornelison, "Resolving the South African Problem", 2011.

<sup>601</sup> Topendsport, "Olympic Games: Olympic Games Boycotts and Political Events", The Sport and Science Resource, n.d.

<sup>602</sup> See de Broglio, "The SANROC Story", 2005, p.16.

...If the 1956 team were accused for a lack of “discipline and dedication” this team went on better. Less than a fortnight before the opening of the Games a group of South African athletes went partying into the early hours of the morning. On the way back to their hotel the car in which they were driving was involved in an accident. One of South Africa’s medal hopes, Gert Potgieter, the captain of the athletics team, was injured in this accident. When the Games opened he was still in hospital. The manager of the South African athletes was immediately dismissed. But it was all a case of too little too late. The South African team performed dismally and only brought home two bronze medals...<sup>603</sup>

The period after 1960 was very difficult for the establishment sport leaders in South Africa. In the 1964 Tokyo Games, South Africa was barred by the IOC from taking part due to its oppressive apartheid regime, albeit under very complex and controversial circumstances.<sup>604</sup> This ban lasted until 1992.<sup>605</sup> In the 1968 Mexico City Games, 10 days before the Olympics began, students protesting against the government were surrounded by the army who opened fire, killing 267 and injuring more than 1,000. During the Games, American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos were expelled for raising their fists in a "Black power" salute on the winners' podium. These actions were as a result of hard work by the non-racial sport movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). In 1972, the Munich Games were overshadowed by the incident involving eleven Israeli athletes that were taken hostage by Palestinian terrorists ‘Black September’ to protest against the holding of 234 Palestinian prisoners in Israel. The terrorists murdered two of their captives, then, as the result of a bungled rescue attempt by the authorities, the remaining nine captives were killed alongside three of their captors.

The 1976 Montreal Games were a decisive action and sign of power by African countries, even though not all that was planned turned out the way it was wished for. In these Games, 26 African countries boycotted the Games in response to New Zealand’s inclusion. Earlier that year a New Zealand team had undertaken a three-month rugby tour of segregated South Africa, but the IOC refused to ban them. The Republic of China (Taiwan) team was also barred from entering the country, and then allowed to enter if they agreed not to compete as “the Republic of China”; the Taiwanese considered this unacceptable and withdrew. In the 1980 Moscow Games, there was a boycott challenge as well. Due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter called upon the U.S.

<sup>603</sup> See, <http://www.topendsport.com/events/summer/countries/unified-team.htm>

<sup>604</sup> Mbaye, The IOC and South Africa, 1995; De Broglio, The SANROC Story, 2005.

<sup>605</sup> See, <http://www.topendsport.com/events/summer/countries/unified-team.htm>

Olympic Committee to boycott the Games. The Olympic Charter requires such committees to resist all pressures of any kind whatsoever, whether of ‘a political, religious or economic nature,’<sup>606</sup> but theory and practice diverge. The Americans stayed home, and in total 62 countries including West Germany and Japan refused to attend. In all, 80 nations participated in the Games, down from 122 nations in Munich. The USSR won 195 medals, but allegations of cheating tainted this astonishing result.

In an action of “tit-for-tat” in the 1984 Los Angeles Games, 14 countries, including the USSR, boycotted the Games in what was widely seen as revenge for the Moscow Games four years earlier, though the official line was that they had security concerns. Ironically, China chose this year to return to the Games after a 32-year absence. In the 1988 Seoul Games, following a failure by the IOC to recognise North Korea, which at the time was still technically at war with South Korea, as co-host of the Games, North-Korea boycotted the Games, with Cuba and Ethiopia joining them in solidarity. However, there were no widespread boycotts for the first time since 1972.

The 1992 Barcelona Olympics marked the controversial return of South Africa into the Olympic family. It was a rare Olympic games with no boycotts. The Soviet Union had broken up, and the new Russian republics competed under one banner or a unified team. The Berlin Wall had been torn down, so East and West Germany competed together as a united country. South Africa returned to the Games after the end of apartheid and 32 years of sporting isolation. However, the situation was different in the 2008 Beijing Olympics, where there was talk of a boycott of the Beijing Olympic Games due to China’s treatment of the Tibetan people, and other human rights abuses, though no major protest eventuated. These Games set in motion several human rights advocacy groups that started or continued their work in the field of sport and human rights. In the 2012 London Games, there were no boycotts planned or mentioned but the main challenge, like many other mega-sport-events in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, was the issue of security and this aspect of the Game, is yet to be resolved because it continues to be a problem throughout the world.

The above incidents indicate without a doubt that the Olympic Games have been a rallying point for global civil society.<sup>607</sup> Throughout its over a century-long history, and specifically since 1956, the IOC has witnessed several forms of confrontation; petitioning; protest, boycotts and or even attacks by many different groups to achieve a particular

<sup>606</sup> See the IOC/*Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11.

<sup>607</sup> Top End Sport, n.d., n.p., also found on <http://www.topendsport.com/events/summer/boycotts.htm>.

cause or varying purposes. Specific groupings or individuals often expose some “nonconformity” to or perceived disregard of the prescripts of the Olympic Charter by the IOC or section of the Olympic movement. The protests or boycotts are often peaceful or non-violent and more importantly, use or point to the fundamental principles of Olympism when advancing and validating their arguments and pleading for total commitment and unbiased adherence to the OC by the IOC and the Olympic movement. The most notable of these international civil society groups was the NRSM and the AAM, which campaigned against apartheid sport for almost four decades.

In the subsequent Chapters Four and Five the above-mentioned struggle, focusing on how the IOC generally interpret and apply its own constitutional mandate, while seeking to position the “Olympics as means to impose international norms” is discussed. The IOC and the Olympic Movement’s attempt to give meaning the notion of sport as a fair play endeavour, practising “non-discrimination”, “egalitarianism” and “sport-for-all”, as well as applying the “universality principle”, is also assessed in Chapter Five. In the process, the issue of how the IOC decides which country or which NOC to recognise or shun is important. There is evidence that the geo-politics, one way or the other, play a critical part when the IOC takes these decisions.<sup>608</sup>

### **3.5.2 The geo-political landscape and its effect and the boycotts**

The drive towards equality in sport, the fight for deracialisation of South Africa’s sport and the subsequent Sports boycott took a transnational turn and as such, the analysis should consider the geo-political positions and stances different countries took. Further, it is vital to also consider major political issues outside sport which acted as a backdrop to the issue of the boycott campaign against South Africa’s whites-only team and the differing views arising thereof. The Cold War between western nations and the Soviet bloc was at its height during this period, with ‘fear’<sup>609</sup> of communism and communists at the very top of the agenda for some western governments.<sup>610</sup>

Similarly, the apartheid government and the establishment sport leaders in South African branded anyone “a communist” who did not agree with them or happened to be on the opposite end of the socio-political divide. The accuracy or lack of accuracy of the

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<sup>608</sup> See Mbaye, 1995; Peacock, 2008.

<sup>609</sup> Ian Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, 2011, p.1170.

<sup>610</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982; Cornelison, “Resolving the South African problem”, 2011; De Broglio, “The SANROC Story”, 2005; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

accusation, apparently did not matter.<sup>611</sup> In addition, the civil rights movement was gaining momentum in the 1960s in the USA as the non-racial and Black sportspersons in South Africa were attempting also, to fight to attain equal rights with their fellow White sportspersons. Both these issues were extremely emotive.

According to Richard Lapchick, a 1970 survey showed that 68% of white nations were not opposed to South African participation in sport, believing that apartheid was an internal South African issue. However, 98% of black nations were opposed to South African participation in sport without complete sport integration. All 32% of White nations opposed to South Africa's participation were from the socialist bloc.<sup>612</sup> Archer and Bouillon argue that the common 'absurd accusation' levelled by the white political and sporting establishment against the non-racial sport movement emerged solely for the purpose of furthering political ends, implying that the non-racial sportspersons were not really athletes 'but politicians in disguise,' is misguided.<sup>613</sup> In his blog entitled, "Struggle against Apartheid sport," de Broglio wrote in 2005:

...When SANROC started scoring victories against apartheid South Africa in 1963, with their suspension from World football and Olympics, the Security Police started a campaign of harassment against all those involved with SANROC. The Secretary [of SANROC], Reg[inald] Hlongwane...was officially warned by a Magistrate under the Suppression of Communism Act...<sup>614</sup>

Again, when Dennis Brutus, Chairman of SANROC, wrote to members of the IOC in 1963 asking them to join the struggle against racist sport, Arthur Porritt, the IOC member for New Zealand dismissed him as 'a well-known trouble maker.'<sup>615</sup> The harassment by the security police within South Africa and the indifference of the IOC, forced SANROC eventually to wind up its activities in South Africa and go into exile in London where it continued its activities, applying pressure to any national and international sporting organisations and teams that continued to have sporting links with South Africa. Jarvie and Reid claim the strength of SANROC was their refusal to separate sporting demands

<sup>611</sup> See Tambo, Oliver Tambo speaks, 1987. For example, in 1950 the Unlawful Organisation Bill a predecessor to the notorious Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was introduced but quickly withdrawn as a result of protest and agitation; see, Tambo, "The nature of our struggle", 2014, p.58; Raymond Suttner, "ANC: a long and difficult journey", January 9 2012; Raymond Suttner, *Inside Apartheid's Prison*, 2001; Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008.

<sup>612</sup> See Lapchick, *The Politics of Race and International Sport: The case of South Africa*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975; see also Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games", 2011.

<sup>613</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.182.

<sup>614</sup> De Broglio, "Struggle against apartheid sport: The role of De Broglio in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle", an on-line blog, Friday, February 18, 2005.

<sup>615</sup> Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; also see Brittain, 2011.

from the broader demands of social change.<sup>616</sup> According to Miller, SANROC had no serious connection to sport. They were in fact a political arm of the black African protest movement, funded by Czechoslovakia and other Communist sources, which must have added fuel to western nations' claims that the AAM movement was a communist plot.<sup>617</sup>

Douglas Booth reports that most White people in South Africa regarded the Sports boycott against racism in sport and the AAM as a whole, to be part of a coordinated communist campaign.<sup>618</sup> Sam Ramsamy also claims that support for Harry Edwards and his Project for Human Rights helped play a vital role in the exclusion of South Africa from the Olympic movement.<sup>619</sup> Edwards' project was primarily aimed at seeking justice for African-American athletes, possibly as part of the wider civil rights movement, and felt a common cause in the exclusion of 'racist South Africa'.<sup>620</sup> Ramsamy further argues that it is possible that some of the pro-South African lobbyists actually voted to exclude South Africa in the hope of countering Edwards' campaign for a boycott of the Olympic Games by black USA athletes.

### 3.6 THE THEORIES OF BOYCOTTS IN SOCIETY

#### 3.6.1 Nature and categories of boycotts

Available literature indicates that since the 20<sup>th</sup> century boycotts have taken three broad categories<sup>621</sup> namely: 'the international coalitions of states acting upon non-state actors to affect yet another state; the non-state actors seeking to persuade groups of states to act to promote change in the internal policies of yet another state; and the efforts by coalitions of international non-state actors, sometimes with the assistance of individual states or international organisations to bring pressure to bear on the government of a particular state.'<sup>622</sup> It is interesting to note where the NRSM and the broader AAM coalition fell under these categories. The AAM coalition was led by the conglomeration of various actors that include the NRSM (in the form of SASA, SANROC, South African Council on/of Sport (SACOS), National Olympic and Sport Congress/Council (NOSC)); the AAM and/or the Liberation Movement (LM), in the form of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress

<sup>616</sup>Jarvie and Reid, *Sport in South Africa*.

<sup>617</sup>Miller, *The Official History*, p.167; also see Brittain, 2011.

<sup>618</sup>See Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; also see Brittain, 2011.

<sup>619</sup>See Harry Edwards, *Sociology of Sport*, Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1973.

<sup>620</sup>Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*.

<sup>621</sup>Montagu, I. and Spector, J.B. (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.145-166.

<sup>622</sup>Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.145-166.

(PAC), Azanian People Organisation (AZAPO), United Democratic Front (UDF), South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)/Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); and the United Nations, the International Olympic Committee, the Olympic Movement, and other actors.

The first category could be illustrated by the Arab League's attempt at retaliatory action against American firms trading with Israel.<sup>623</sup> The second category may be explained using the campaign by international human rights/civil rights non-governmental advocates to press for a boycott of Zimbabwe in the 2003 ICC Cricket World Cup, to compel it [Zimbabwe] to change its internal policies.<sup>624</sup> The third category could be exemplified by the campaigns by various European academic associations to end educational exchanges between the rest of Europe and Austria following a neo-Nazi party entering into a coalition with the ruling government.<sup>625</sup>

Montague and Spector<sup>626</sup> argue that the domestic non-state actors can initiate an internal boycott organised around a particular economic activity to induce policy alteration or even a regime change, while drawing upon international public opinion to sustain their effort and add pressure on that regime. Gandhi's 'March to the Sea'<sup>627</sup> to protest a British monopoly tax on salt in British India; and the Southern Christian Leadership Council's bus boycotts in the American South – a campaign that effectively heralded the start of the American civil rights struggle, are indicative of former forms of boycotts. In both cases, while the actions of the internal actors did not immediately produce fundamental domestic change, they contributed to a much broader campaign that did, even as they also elicited significant international opprobrium directed against the ruling structures.

Regardless of variations, policy-directed boycotts appear to share several central features. First, they aim to achieve a change either in government policy or in the actual regime. Second, the proponents of the policy-directed boycotts believe in the efficacy of working beyond the usual international legal order or the formal texture of the domestic legal system in their quest to achieve such results. Third, these hold a broad, often unvoiced, belief in the efficacy of boycott techniques over the long term in producing policy or regime change without overt physical coercion. In that respect, boycott proponents draw upon a body of doctrine holding that such transformation can be achieved

<sup>623</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.145-166.

<sup>624</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p. ; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.145-166.

<sup>625</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.145-166.

<sup>626</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.146.

<sup>627</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.146.

through non-violent, collective means if enough people and groups can be brought to act in concert. Furthermore, there is a conviction that the power of the boycott is derived from both the actions of its proponents and from its impact on the larger scheme of body of public opinion, that initially flows first nationally and then internationally.<sup>628</sup>

In short, the typology of boycotts as espoused by Montagu and Spector organises boycotts according to specific actors and their goals, in relation to their particular targeted regimes. The first type is the boycotts that are initiated and led by the intra-state non-state group(s) and these could aim to change policy (for example, the Montgomery bus boycott); punish the targeted regime (Boston Tea Party); isolate the regime (Cyber protest against US over Iraq) or change the regime (Gandhi's "March to the Sea").<sup>629</sup>

The second type is that initiated by external non-state group(s) often in association with, or in support of, domestic groups, which can also attempt to change policy, as was shown by the academic and cultural boycotts against South Africa and the sports boycott campaigns. The boycott was undertaken apparently to punish the regime (specifically through, for example, the sports boycott). Further, to isolate the regime as was characterised by South Africa's Olympic expulsion; the broad Olympic Movement's ejection or its anti-rugby tour campaigns. The academic, sport and cultural isolation of South Africa were in sync with the economic sanctions and disinvestment campaigns that were witnessed during the apartheid era. Also, to change the apartheid regime's clandestine plans and goal, as was illustrated by the post-1983 UN's cultural boycott and the "name and shame" listings.

Third, the boycotts organised by external state and multi-state group actors or supported by external non-state actors or internal non-state actors, for the purpose of changing policy are also identified. The punitive academic boycotts against Israel in relation to Palestinian policies in 2002-03, which apparently were designed to punish the regime, just as the punitive Sports boycott against Zimbabwe in 2002-03. The aim to isolate the regime springs to mind when thinking about the Arab League trade boycotts against firms that were doing business dealings with Israel. Further, the academic boycotts against Haider's Austria in the 1990s are indicative of boycotts which were undertaken for the purpose of changing regimes.<sup>630</sup>

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<sup>628</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.146.

<sup>629</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.146.

<sup>630</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, p.146.

### 3.6.2 The historical review of the incidents of “Boycotts” globally

#### 3.6.2.1 History of boycotts

Boycotts by individual countries, multilateral groups and especially non-state actors, have a long historical development. This can be traced as far back as 1773’s Boston Tea Party in America, where a British imported tea was dumped into the harbour as part of a larger boycott of British goods and taxes in the years before the American Revolution.<sup>631</sup> It is worth noting that this occurred a full century before the word “boycott” came to describe such actions. One of the first documented acts of boycott in sport is ironically that of Pierre de Coubertin, the man credited and considered to be the father of the modern Olympic Games.<sup>632</sup> Roche<sup>633</sup> writes that in 1904 de Coubertin, decided to boycott his “own” Games, running away from the “embarrassing” and controversial “Anthropology Games” of St. Louis, in the United States of America (USA), attended instead Wagner’s festival in Germany.<sup>634</sup> In these 1904 USA Games, modern sport was used as a pinnacle of “civilisation and progress”, and two “anthropology days” were held in which various “primitive” non-Westerners were put on display. Peoples of African and North and South American ethnic groupings, were asked to learn and practice Western sport. Kruger and Riordan<sup>635</sup> point out that in the World Show, the main thing was to compare black and white persons, and non-Western young men had to try their luck at Western sport and did, of course, relatively poorly. This was interpreted to support the theory of white superiority over “non-white.”<sup>636</sup> Sam Ramsamy also concurs with the above notions, albeit with a different twist in context and he asserts that:

...During the 1904 St. Louis Games, two days were set aside as so-called “Anthropology Days”, a concept which was outrageously racist in character. During this time, in an attempt to recoup the cost of holding the Games, events were staged not only with Pygmies, American Indians and Blacks, but also with Patagonians and Filipinos. Coubertin himself was not present at the St. Louis Games. But when news reached him of this undignified occurrence he was upset, not because it demeaned these non-Whites but because he predicted that the Games would “of course lose its appeal when Black men, red men,

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<sup>631</sup> Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004, n.p.; Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004, p.146.

<sup>632</sup> Al-Tauqi, 2003; IOC, 2011.

<sup>633</sup> Roche, 2000; also see Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and the third world equality”, 1987.

<sup>634</sup> Al-Tauqi, 2003, p.70.

<sup>635</sup> Kruger and Riordan, 1999.

<sup>636</sup> Al-Tauqi, 2003, p.70.

and yellow men learn to jump and throw and leave the White men behind them...<sup>637</sup>

The ‘ethnological show’ or “show business” phenomenon described above was not really new as it was widely practised in the Western world over a century before the 1904 Games.<sup>638</sup> The “Anthropology Games” of 1904 in St. Louis are indicative of the treatment of “non-Westerners”, especially the African people or black people by the ‘racist’,<sup>639</sup> white colonial world. A similar practise was observed in colonial and apartheid South Africa about fours earlier. In reference to the “1899 Football Team Tour of Britain with South African Black players”, Christopher Bolsmann<sup>640</sup> argues that the colonial and imperial framework in the early twentieth century and the social Darwinism that prevailed in both Britain and South Africa during this period became all too apparent in the attitude of the British press towards black South Africans. It is no surprise therefore, that the St. Louis Games referred to above, also illustrate the abuse and tainting of the noble Olympic Games and ideals from very early on in history. Consequently, for almost throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the IOC and the Olympic Movement was to become the battlefield into which many socio-cultural and socio-political concerns, including that of the oppressed South African non-racial sportsmen, were fought for this very reason: fighting against racism, chauvinism and the total eradication of apartheid in the country and its sport.

### **3.7 THE NATURE OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID: THE EMERGENCE OF THE “BOYCOTT MOVEMENT”**

#### **3.7.1 Boycotts against apartheid**

The literature that discusses boycotts and sanctions of whatever form often uses these terms almost interchangeably, although it is apparent that these do not necessarily mean the same thing.<sup>641</sup> The current study uses the term boycott(s) and attempts to use sparingly if it cannot totally avoid the use of the term sanction(s).

The sport, cultural and academic boycotts that the NRSRM, the ANC and the broad AAM imposed on South Africa in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were unrelenting international efforts to pressurise the country to accept fundamental political change.<sup>642</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and the third world equality”, 1987, n.p.

<sup>638</sup> Bolsmann, “The 1899 Orange Free State football team tour to Europe: ‘Race’, imperial loyalty and sporting contest”, 2010, p.2.

<sup>639</sup> Ramsamy, “The politics of racism and the third world equality”, 1987, n.p.

<sup>640</sup> Bolsmann, “The 1899 Orange Free State football team tour to Europe”, 2010, p.2.

<sup>641</sup> See Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*.

<sup>642</sup> See Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004; also see Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004; also see Clarity Films DVD, “Have You Heard From Johannesburg”, 2010.

The boycotts arose from concerns over specific apartheid policies, but eventually became part of a much larger, multi-facet effort to achieve important alterations in South Africa's socio-political dispensation. The NRSM, the ANC and the AAM saw the boycotts as efforts based on moral principles<sup>643</sup> in the context of the titanic battle against the long-standing brutal apartheid government. The main goal of these boycotts was to demonstrate the cost of apartheid to white South Africans, thereby, encouraging them to withhold support for apartheid and instead promote a radical restructuring of South African political order.<sup>644</sup> The sports boycott therefore formed part of the broader struggles to deracialise South African sport, which specifically included the fight for equality and non-discrimination in the country's sport and, the challenge to the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in sport.

The boycotts emerged from a tradition of efforts to achieve decisive political change without recourse to the coercive power of military-style force. By the mid-1950s, however, the ANC had already adopted the armed-struggle both inside the country and abroad, following decades of a futile passive resistance approach.<sup>645</sup> The boycotts therefore served as an added strategic and moral mechanism to solicit international support in the struggle for National Liberation by the Congress Movement, led by the ANC. The NRSM and the AAM advanced its tactics and goals over time in response to changes in the larger picture of political and security order in Southern Africa.

### 3.7.2 The political Struggle in South Africa

The history of the political Struggle in South Africa is long. The word “boycott” or “sanctions” have been an integral part of this evolving political development and process. It seems that it was the African National Congress Youth League’s (ANCYL) “Programme of Action”, which was adopted by the mother body, the African National Congress (ANC) during its conference in 1949 that prepared the way for civil disobedience against the apartheid regime throughout the 1950s.<sup>646</sup> This followed the

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<sup>643</sup> Oliver Reginald Tambo, in a documentary by Clarity Films, “Have you heard from Johannesburg, (HYHFJ): Hell of a job”, 2010, screened on SABC TV, Channel 1, 12 September 2010:21h00 -22h00.

<sup>644</sup> See Montagu and Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004; also see Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, 2004; also see Clarity Films DVD, “Have You Heard From Johannesburg”, 2010.

<sup>645</sup> For more details on this subject see Oliver Tambo, “The nature of our struggle”, in Adelaide Tambo, Oliver Tambo speaks, 1987; Suttner, “ANC: a long and difficult journey”, 2012; Suttner, *Inside Apartheid's Prison*, 2001; Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008.

<sup>646</sup> See, “Freedom in our lifetime: Introduction”, p.48, in Adelaide Tambo (Ed.). *Oliver Tambo Speaks: Speeches, Letters and Transcripts*, Cape Town, Kwela Books (an imprint of NB Publishers, a division of Media24 Boeke (Pty) Ltd), 2014 (reprinted and published by arrangement with Pearson Education Limited). This book was first published as *Preparing For Power: Oliver Tambo Speaks*, by Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1987.

election of the eight prominent founding members of the ANCYL, for the first time, into the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), in December 1949. 'This group shaped the ANC philosophy and direction in important way.'<sup>647</sup> For instance, it was this leadership that directed the "Defiance Campaign" in 1952 and, perhaps more importantly; that also largely affected the shift from an exclusive African nationalism that prepared the ground for the Congress Alliance of the four organisations, namely, the ANC itself, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and the South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD).<sup>648</sup> The Congress Alliance crafted the Freedom Charter, which became the ANC's guiding principles that created the mass movement represented by around three thousand delegates at the Congress of the People at Kliptown on 25-26 June 1955. This was but one of the most earliest and critical political developments in as far as mass mobilisation and "all-racial group" or "all-ethnic group" cooperation against the apartheid regime inside the country and; it is no exaggeration to suggest that this laid the foundation for the calls for boycotts and sanctions during the 1950s.

The 1950s were a difficult and complex decade in the political history of South Africa. In his *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, Nelson Mandela summarised the politics of the 1950s in these words:

...During the last ten years the African people in South Africa have fought many freedom battles, involving civil disobedience, strikes, protest marches, boycotts and demonstrations of all kinds. In all these campaigns we repeatedly stressed the importance of discipline, peaceful and non-violent struggle. We did so, first, because we felt that there were still opportunities for a peaceful struggle and we sincerely worked for peaceful changes. Second, we did not want to expose our people to situations where they might become easy targets for the trigger-happy police of South Africa. But the situation has now radically altered. South Africa is now a land ruled by the gun...<sup>649</sup>

The 1950s saw the escalation of the fight against the apartheid regime and its evil system to unprecedented heights, in all fronts, including not only in the field of politics but also on the economic, cultural, and sport fronts. The 1950s was a decade of transition from protest politics to mass resistance that demanded adept guidance by the leadership that was

<sup>647</sup> Tambo, *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 1987, p.48.

<sup>648</sup> This was symbolised by a wheel with four spokes, see Tambo, *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 1987, p.48.

<sup>649</sup> Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, 1965, p119, quoted in Adelaide Tambo (Ed.), *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 1987, pp.50-51.

itself experiencing enormous transformation. This decade is often described as ‘stormy’<sup>650</sup> and desperately testing to the leadership of the struggle and continued until the ANC and PAC were banned in 1960. The 1960s marked the rise and quick growth of the NRSM and other forms of AAM in South Africa.<sup>651</sup> Commenting on the wide range of speeches and writings by Oliver Tambo between the 1960s and the late 1980s, which he had not read, Nelson Mandela predicted that these in all probability would cover ‘the importance of sanctions against South Africa, mass mobilisation,’<sup>652</sup> among other important issues. By the mid-1960s, boycotts and sanctions were an integral part of the fight against the apartheid system.

In his critic of the ANC’s centenary, Raymond Suttner<sup>653</sup> traces the evolution of the organisation and discusses the challenges and success. He further writes that:

...The 1950s opened a new phase of resistance...The Freedom Volunteers who broke the law were known as *amadel'akufa*, “defiers of death”, because they pledged that they would face any danger, including death...This was the ANC on the offensive. But the organisation followed this campaign with a creative turn. It advanced an alternative vision of the SA to be, through the mass Congress of the People Campaign leading to adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955...Its broad inclusive message “provoked” the arrest of 156 leaders on high treason. The decade saw increasing violent repression of legal activities, culminating in the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the ANC and PAC...This again raised difficult challenges in adapting to illegality and embarking on armed struggle. The period that followed saw both setbacks and advances in the fortunes of the ANC and its allies. Significantly, this phase also saw the emergence of mass popular struggle on an unprecedented level. The combination of activities on a range of fronts, mass popular, underground, military and international, created a situation that made a negotiated settlement possible...<sup>654</sup>

The academic, cultural and sports boycott formed part of the broader struggles to defeat apartheid. There were many forces that took part in this long, hard and often dangerous campaign but in its position paper, the ANC asserts that:

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<sup>650</sup> Tambo (Ed.). *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 1987, p.50.

<sup>651</sup> Tambo (Ed.). *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 1987, p.51.

<sup>652</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Foreword”, Cape Town, 1986, p.40, in Tambo (Ed.). *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 1987, p.48.

<sup>653</sup> Suttner, R. (2012) “ANC: a long and difficult journey”, INLSA, January 9, also at: [<http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/anc-a-long-and-difficult-journey-1.1210053>].

<sup>654</sup> Suttner (2012) “ANC: a long and difficult journey”, INLSA, January 9, also at: [<http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/anc-a-long-and-difficult-journey-1.1210053>].

The cultural and academic boycotts[s] (sic) were conceived as important aspects of the ANC's strategy for the total isolation of the racist minority regime. After intensive campaigns, conducted by our movement and people, with the support of the world's anti-apartheid forces, the UN and other international agencies, cultural, sporting, academic and other contacts between the international community and apartheid South Africa are today reduced to a bare minimum. These campaigns have already resulted in the exclusion of official South African sport teams from every world sport body...the cutting off from international...and the stigmatisation of...sportspersons...who continue to foster links with apartheid South Africa...<sup>655</sup>

The ANC, as noted by Montagu and Spector, also declares that:

...The multi-pronged offensive of the democratic forces, inspired by the ANC, has resulted in the transfer of the initiative from the oppressor regime to the people. An important and dynamic dimension of this democratic offensive against the structures and institutions of apartheid colonialism is the sphere of culture - embracing the arts, other intellectual pursuits and sport. Cultural activity has won and already occupies an important position as an integral part of our overall strategy for national liberation and democracy...<sup>656</sup>

It is interesting to note that the ANC and the broader AAM had foresight and attempted to make provisions for the time when South Africa would be a free land for all its population. Instead of creating an entirely frustrating situation, the anti-apartheid cultural workers and sportspersons who had a way to leave the country to pursue their talents, were given the space and support to do so. For instance the ANC declares that:

...Democratic and anti-racist South African artists, cultural workers, sportspersons and academics - individually or collectively - who seek to perform, work or participate in activities outside South Africa should be permitted to do so without fear of ostracism or boycott...<sup>657</sup>

Further, it seems that plans were also afoot to gain control of the situation inside the country by not only merely facilitating communication and logistics for travelling by cultural workers and sportspersons, but by building new structures that the organisation

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<sup>655</sup> ANCA/The ANC position paper on boycotts and cultural desk/Lusaka, Zambia/Position paper on the Cultural and Academic Boycott Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the ANC/25 May 1989, Lusaka/ [also available at: <http://wgmradio.com/> and <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6870andt=Boycotts>.

<sup>656</sup> ANCA/The ANC position paper on boycotts and cultural desk/Lusaka, Zambia/Position paper on the Cultural and Academic Boycott Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the ANC/25 May 1989.

<sup>657</sup> ANCA/The ANC position paper on boycotts and cultural desk/Lusaka, Zambia/Position paper on the Cultural and Academic Boycott Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the ANC/25 May 1989, np.

would have some influence over in terms of how they were going to be run. In its 1989 position paper, the ANC proposed that:

...It would greatly facilitate matters if the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) created credible structures for consultation inside South Africa to vet such travel. The National Liberation and Democratic Movement should also be timeously informed of such plans so as to enable it to offer advice and assistance where necessary...<sup>658</sup>

### 3.8 THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SPORTS BOYCOTT

The history of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa is long.<sup>659</sup> It started in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the first settlers arrived in the most southern tip of the country. The wars of conquest soon began and went on until the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Black people of the land were eventually defeated, made destitute by having their wealth stripped-off, land taken away, farm-produce and livestock destroyed, killed and taken away. They were somewhat leaderless after their chiefdoms and Kingdoms were ravaged and destroyed and the resisting Chiefs and Kings either captured and killed or held as prisoners of war and sent to the notorious Robben Island.<sup>660</sup>

For the Black population, emerging from the above-mentioned background, taking up and adapting to the modern politics as a response was inevitable. The struggle to retain and protect some limited rights and fight for the extension of such rights took on a different form altogether and under different circumstances. In this “new” modern political space, the African Native National Congress (ANNC), later known as simply the ANC, was born in the Waaihoek Wesleyan Church, in Bloemfontein, in 1912; to take up the responsibility to liberate the African people. An IsiXhosa poem below entitled, “Zimk’iinkomo magwala ndini”<sup>661</sup> [*Your cattle are gone, my countrymen!*], by I.W. Citashe succinctly captures the situation of a conquered people at the time. This signalled the end of an era after the 19th century had seen the military conquest of all independent

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<sup>658</sup> ANCA/The ANC position paper on boycotts and cultural desk/Lusaka, Zambia/Position paper on the Cultural and Academic Boycott Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the ANC/25 May 1989.

<sup>659</sup> For more details on this subject see Oliver Tambo, “The nature of our struggle”, in Adelaide Tambo, Oliver Tambo speaks, 1987; Suttner, “ANC: a long and difficult journey”, 2012; Suttner, *Inside Apartheid’s Prison*, 2001; Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008; Suttner, “ANC”, 2012.

<sup>660</sup> Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008; Suttner, “ANC”, 2012.

<sup>661</sup> This old inspirational [originally written in] IsiXhosa poem is taken from Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008; Suttner, “ANC”, 2012, p.1.

chiefdoms and Kingdoms, following fierce resistance led, among others, by the warrior-prophet Makana, who launched an attack on the Grahamstown garrison and decades of resistance by BaPedi under Sekhukhune, the Sotho under Moshoeshoe, and the Zulu under Cetshwayo.<sup>662</sup>

*Your cattle are gone,  
my countrymen!  
Go rescue them!  
Leave the breechloader alone  
And turn to the pen.  
Take paper and ink,  
For that is your shield.  
Your rights are going!  
So pick up your pen.  
Load it, load it with ink.  
Sit on a chair.  
Repair not to Hoho<sup>663</sup>  
But fire with your pen.*

The newly formed liberation movement, the ANC, took up its task, first in the form of petitioning the British, pleading for their rights and political space in the Union. By the 1930s, however, petitioning had clearly failed and the organisation was geared to annual conferences rather than campaigning. Suttner writes:

...At one point the ANC was practically moribund. From the[-]1930s and into the 1940s, however, Reverend (later Canon) James Calata and Dr AB Xuma set about reviving and also setting the ANC on to an organised footing. They built branches and created a functioning administration, laying the basis for the development...into a mass organisation in the 1950s. That decade was the moment of the Defiance campaign, when the organisation moved beyond seeking constitutional rights and denied allegiance or political obligation to the state. In so doing it was both a rupture and continuity with what had gone before. While refusing to obey laws of the apartheid state, the ANC nevertheless continued to seek peaceful resolution of its differences with the government, requesting to meet in a national convention or other forum. The 1950s opened a new phase of resistance. The Freedom Volunteers who broke the law were known as *amadel'akufa*, “defiers of death”, because they pledged that they would face any danger, including death. This was the ANC on the offensive. But the organisation followed this campaign with a creative

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<sup>662</sup> See Suttner, “ANC”, 2012.

<sup>663</sup> Hoho was the mountain-forest stronghold where Chief Sandile had been shot and killed.

turn. It advanced an alternative vision of the SA to be, through the mass Congress of the People Campaign leading to adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955. Its broad inclusive message “provoked” the arrest of 156 leaders on high treason. The decade saw increasing violent repression of legal activities, culminating in the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the ANC and PAC [in 1960].<sup>664</sup>

The banning of the political organisations and imprisonment *en-mass* of its leader raised difficult challenges in adapting to illegality and embarking on an armed struggle. Suttner argues that the period that followed saw both setbacks and advances in the fortunes of the ANC and its allies. Significantly, this phase also saw the emergence of a mass popular struggle on an unprecedented level. The combination of activities on a range of fronts, mass popular, underground, military and international support created a situation that made a negotiated settlement possible between 1990 and 1994.

It was on the international front that the Anti-apartheid struggle was mostly fought after 1960 and the Anti-apartheid Movement that emerged in the UK and specifically London in 1959 was a direct result of harsh political realities and repression in South Africa.<sup>665</sup> As the doors for free political activity were quickly being shut-down which for South Africa meant, many political activists were drifting out of the country and mostly settling in the UK even before 1960.<sup>666</sup> There was a stark contrast in terms of political development between what was happening in South Africa and the rest of the world. In 1948, while the United Nations General Assembly was adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, South Africa’s newly elected Nationalist Party government was heading in the opposite direction, implementing a rigid, racist system of laws called apartheid to segregate its people in every aspect of life.<sup>667</sup> The black majority in South Africa, led by the ANC, mounted a non-violent campaign of defiance, attracting the attention of political activists in Britain, Sweden, and the United States, sowing the seeds of an international resistance movement. This was further precipitated by the Sharpeville Massacre, where

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<sup>664</sup> See Suttner, “ANC”, 2012.

<sup>665</sup> Britain, in its unique position as the former colonial power and the major investing country in South Africa, had been one of the main targets of Black South Africans’ diplomatic efforts since the establishment of the Union in 1910, for more information, see Arianna Lissoni, “The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa: Anti-Apartheid Protest vs Real Politik - A history of the AAM and its influence on the British Government’s policy towards South Africa in 1964”, (a dissertation), 15 September 2000.

<sup>666</sup> Since the 1940’s, a growing number of South Africans had been arriving in London, which, after the Sharpeville Massacre and the banning of the ANC and the PAC), became a centre for the exiled liberation movements to continue their struggle from abroad. For more information on this, see J. Barber, *The Uneasy Relationship*, London: Heinemann Educational Books for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1983.

<sup>667</sup> Clarity Films/DVD Series/ “Have You Heard From Johannesburg /Sage/Clarity Films/Berkeley/ Clarity Educational Productions, produced and directed by Connie Field. U.S.A. and Canada/2010 [Clarity Films/Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series/“Have You heard from Johannesburg”: “Hell of A Job”; “Fair Play”; “Road to Resistance”; “The New Generation”; “From Selma to SOWETO”; “The Bottom Line” and “Free at Last”. Also found at: [www.clarityfilms.org](http://www.clarityfilms.org). Clarity Educational Productions, produced and directed by Connie Field. U.S.A. and Canada.]

un-armed protesters were gunned down leaving over sixty people dead and many more injured. Soon after this the entire ANC and the newly formed Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) leadership was forced underground or imprisoned.<sup>668</sup>

Many influential leaders of the Congress Movement, including Nelson Mandela,<sup>669</sup> were imprisoned for life and the Movement in South Africa was effectively shut down as hundreds escaped into exile. The future of the Movement was left on the shoulders of ANC Deputy President Oliver Tambo, who escaped into exile and embarked on what became a 30-year journey to engage the world in the struggle to bring democracy to South Africa.<sup>670</sup> He first found allies in the newly independent countries of Africa and then he approached the UN for support; insisting that the Apartheid government can be forced to the negotiating table if the Security Council will sanction and isolate the regime.<sup>671</sup> The western powers, however, refused to act, forcing Tambo to search for new support. He successfully petitioned the Soviet Union for help in building a guerrilla army, a decision that landed Tambo in the vice of the Cold War and haunted his global efforts for years to come.<sup>672</sup> Tambo did not necessarily regret his decision in this regard, arguing as follows: '[D]oes that matter? Does that matter, where the help is coming from'<sup>673</sup> if everybody agrees that the Apartheid system is flawed and criminal, and as such dehumanises Black people and Africans in particular.<sup>674</sup>

There were two bold and courageous people that nonetheless decided to help Tambo to open crucial doors in the Western world: Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden, and Bishop Trevor Huddleston, whose early support inspired Oliver Tambo to seek out strategic partnerships with faith leaders worldwide.<sup>675</sup> As a new decade dawned, Tambo had financial support from Sweden and from the World Council of Churches which decided to support the National Liberation Movement, and in so doing raised

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<sup>668</sup> Lissoni, "The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa", 2000.

<sup>669</sup> These include Walter Sisulu, Govern Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motswaledi, Wilton Mkwai, Ahmed Kathrada among others, with a number of others from the Communist Party of South African (later simply SACP PAC), the New Unity Movement (UNM), the Azanian People Organisation (AZAPO) and others.

<sup>670</sup> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1994; Clarity Films/DVD Series/ "Have You Heard From Johannesburg /Sage/Clarity Films/Berkeley/ Clarity Educational Productions, produced and directed by Connie Field. U.S.A. and Canada/2010; Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008; Tambo, *Oliver Tambo speaks*, 2014.

<sup>671</sup> For more details on this subject see Oliver Tambo, "The nature of our struggle", in Adelaide Tambo, *Oliver Tambo speaks*, 1987; Suttner, *Inside Apartheid's Prison*, 2001; Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008; Suttner, "ANC", 2012.

<sup>672</sup> Clarity Films/DVD Series/ "Have You Heard From Johannesburg /Sage/Clarity Films/Berkeley/ Clarity Educational Productions, produced and directed by Connie Field. U.S.A. and Canada/2010.

<sup>673</sup> Oliver Reginald Tambo, in a documentary, "Have you heard from Johannesburg, (HYHFJ): Hell of a job", by Clarity Films, 2010, screened on SABC TV, Channel 1, 12 September 2010 at 21h00 -22h00. Also see Clarity Films/DVD Series/ "Have You Heard From Johannesburg /Sage/Clarity Films/Berkeley/ Clarity Educational Productions, produced and directed by Connie Field. U.S.A. and Canada/2010.

<sup>674</sup> Oliver Tambo, "The nature of our struggle", in Adelaide Tambo, *Oliver Tambo speaks*, 1987.

<sup>675</sup> Oliver Tambo, "The nature of our struggle", in Adelaide Tambo, *Oliver Tambo speaks*, 1987.

awareness about and support for the AAM in congregations around the world. With powerful new allies on his side, ‘Tambo had the beginnings of a worldwide movement.’<sup>676</sup>

The same Trevor Huddleston was also present on 26 June 1959, the day that came to signify “South African Freedom Day” during the struggle for liberation, when a group of South African exiles and their British supporters met in London under the umbrella of the Committee of African Organisations to organise a boycott of goods imported from South Africa.<sup>677</sup> The meeting was addressed by Julius Nyerere, then President of the Tanganyika Africa National Union and Father Trevor Huddleston and was held in response to a call from the ANC and the All-African Peoples Conference for an international boycott of South African goods. By the autumn of 1959 the group had evolved into an independent Boycott Movement led by Tennyson Makiwane of the ANC and Patrick van Rensburg of the South African Liberal Party. The group decided to call for a national boycott month in March 1960 as a moral gesture of support for the people of South Africa and gradually won the support of the British Labour and Liberal Parties and the Trades Union Congress.<sup>678</sup>

The month of action began with a rally of 8,000 people in Trafalgar Square on 28 February addressed by the Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell, Liberal MP Jeremy Thorpe and Trevor Huddleston. During the month many local authorities joined the boycott and over five hundred local boycott committees were established all over the country. Leaflets were distributed describing life under apartheid for the black population and three editions of a newspaper, *Boycott News*, were published. When sixty-nine people were brutally killed by the apartheid police, partly using British-made Saracen tanks, on 21 March 1960, otherwise known as Sharpeville Day prior to 1994, the British people were shocked and spurred to action. This led to strong international protest action. In London, specifically, a rally was held in Trafalgar Square and demands for the termination of British arms supplies to South Africa. The members of the Boycott Movement realised that a

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<sup>676</sup> Clarity Films/DVD Series/ “Have You Heard From Johannesburg /Sage/Clarity Films/Berkeley/ Clarity Educational Productions, produced and directed by Connie Field. U.S.A. and Canada/2010.

<sup>677</sup> Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1956-98/Shelf marks: MSS AAM/Organizational History; also see Lissoni, “The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa”, 2000.

<sup>678</sup> See the AAM Archive/Christabel Gurney/List of Anti-Apartheid committees and contacts/ When the Boycott Began to Bite/30 June 1999/ <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5694&ndt=British+Anti-Apartheid+Movement>; also ANC On-line Archives, “The origins of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement”, ANC, n.d. [This paper was authored by Christabel Gurney, and is available and accessible at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5691&ndt=British+Anti-Apartheid+Movement>; also <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4980&ndt=Boycotts+Appeal+by+leaders+of+the+African+Nation+Congress,+the+South+African+Indian+Congress+and+the+Liberal+Party+of+South+Africa+for+a+boycott+of+South+African+produce+by+the+British+people/7+December+1959>; also [http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6901&ndt=Boycotts/Letters/Julius+Nyerere+on+the+Boycott+of+South+Africa/+5+October-December+1959/\[Letter+by+Julius+Nyerere+to+the+editor+of+Africa+South,+October-December+1959\]](http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6901&ndt=Boycotts/Letters/Julius+Nyerere+on+the+Boycott+of+South+Africa/+5+October-December+1959/[Letter+by+Julius+Nyerere+to+the+editor+of+Africa+South,+October-December+1959]); also see <http://www.itvs.org/films/have-you-heard-from-johannesburg/photos-and-press-kit>; also see Lissoni, “The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa”, 2000.

permanent organisation was needed to campaign for the eradication of apartheid and during the summer of 1960 the Movement was restructured and renamed the AAM. It resolved to work for the total isolation of the apartheid system in South Africa and to support those struggling against the apartheid system.

The AAM drew its support from a country-wide network of local AAM groups, some of which had previously been local boycott committees, from individual members and from affiliated organisations such as trade union councils and constituency political parties. Professional and special interest groups arose which worked with the AAM as did Local Authorities against apartheid to co-ordinate local authority action. The AAM co-operated with similar AAM groups which existed in many countries around the world, exchanging information and meeting at international conferences. During the 1980s groups in Europe formed the Liaison Group of National AAMs in the European Community to lobby at the European Parliament and Council of Ministers.

The AAM's campaigning work covered a wide range of areas. The consumer boycott remained a constant element but other economic campaigns became equally prominent, particularly ones concerning investment in South Africa by British and international companies and banks. In the area of economic campaigns the AAM collaborated closely with End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA).<sup>679</sup> The efforts to isolate apartheid South Africa were pursued through lobbying for boycotts of sporting, cultural and academic contacts and for the cessation of military and nuclear links. Campaigning on behalf of political prisoners was an important area of work, organised during the 1960s through the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners and later through SATIS (Southern Africa: the Imprisoned Society). Campaigning on behalf of Nelson Mandela began at the Rivonia trial and was reinvigorated from the time of his 60th birthday in 1978 until his release in February 1990.<sup>680</sup>

The AAM's work did not focus solely on South Africa but also on the Southern African region in which South Africa had so much influence. It supported the struggle for freedom in Namibia, Zimbabwe and the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and, in West Africa, Guinea-Bissau. In this the AAM co-operated with the African liberation movements, particularly the ANC and the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia. Following the first democratic elections in South

<sup>679</sup> For more information on these activities see the ELTSA archive at the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House (MSS Afr. s. 2350).

<sup>680</sup> Lissoni, "The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa", 2000.

Africa in April 1994 an extraordinary general meeting of the AAM decided to dissolve the Movement<sup>681</sup> and create a successor organisation to promote peace and development in the Southern African region. Action for Southern Africa (ACTSA) was launched in October 1994.<sup>682</sup>

### 3.9 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to create an empirical/factual framework to view the broader discussions of the notions and the value attached to and meaning of Olympism and boycotts. The chapter reviews the pertinent literature on Olympism, the struggles to deracialise South African sport, apartheid sport, the Olympic and/or sports boycott between the 1894 and 1970. This is achieved by reviewing the IOC's "Humanist Sport Policy" and/or the philosophy of Olympism, in relation to the efforts within the sport community, fight against apartheid sport and the subsequent sports boycott; assessing the two IOC Presidents' (Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin) approaches and positions towards the apartheid sport problem. The first part outlined and reviewed the 'humanist sport policy', otherwise known as Olympism. This was done to highlight what the IOC and the Olympic Movement stands for and the "values" it purports to hold. Most important in this review is that the Olympic Charter, as some form of constitutional prescript of the Olympic Movement as led by the IOC, asserts that no form of discrimination is permissible in the IOC's activities including the Olympic Games, and thus, racial, religious, creed, gender, and other forms, are not compatible with the Olympic Charter, especially Rule 6, articles 24 and 25.<sup>683</sup> Specifically therefore, this chapter was intended to discuss the second objective of this thesis, namely:

To review the pertinent literature on Olympism between the 1894 and 1980, the Olympic boycotts between 1956 until 2012, and the Anti-apartheid Movement and its role in the Sports boycott and the broader struggle to defeat apartheid. This was achieved by reviewing the

<sup>681</sup> However, in its final meeting of the AAM Executive Committee decided to establish an AAM Archives Committee to support the cataloguing of the Movement's archives.

<sup>682</sup> See the AAM Archive/Christabel Gurney/List of Anti-Apartheid committees and contacts/ When the Boycott Began to Bite/30 June 1999/ <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5694&ndt=British+Anti-Apartheid+Movement>; also ANC On-line Archives, "The origins of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement", ANC, n.d. [This paper was authored by Christabel Gurney, and is available and accessible at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5691&ndt=British+Anti-Apartheid+Movement>]; also <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4980&ndt=Boycotts/Appeal+by+leaders+of+the+African+Nation+Congress,+the+South+African+Indian+Congress+and+the+Liberal+Party+of+South+Africa+for+a+boycott+of+South+African+produce+by+the+British+people/7+December+1959>; also [http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6901&ndt=Boycotts/Letters/Julius+Nyerere+on+the+Boycott+of+South+Africa/+5+October-December+1959/\[Letter+by+Julius+Nyerere+to+the+editor+of+Africa+South,+October-December+1959\]](http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6901&ndt=Boycotts/Letters/Julius+Nyerere+on+the+Boycott+of+South+Africa/+5+October-December+1959/[Letter+by+Julius+Nyerere+to+the+editor+of+Africa+South,+October-December+1959]); also see <http://www.itvs.org/films/have-you-heard-from-johannesburg/photos-and-press-kit>; also see, Lissoni, "The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa", 2000.

<sup>683</sup> IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

IOC's "Humanist Sport Policy" or otherwise the philosophy of Olympism, in relation to apartheid sport and the subsequent Sports boycott and; assessing the two IOC Presidents' (Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin) approaches and positions towards South Africa's racial sport problem.

This chapter analysed the theories and outlined the various types and forms of boycotts, using the work of Ivor Montagu and J.B. Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy."<sup>684</sup> The long history and tradition of using boycotts as a tool to register discontent and protest against various socio-political situations both in South Africa and abroad was discussed. The long tradition of protest politics, petitioning, boycotts, calls for sanctions and mass mobilisation by both the ANC and the Congress Movement is highlighted. The emergence, diffusion and the work of the AAM abroad, specifically in the UK was also discussed. The various incidents and the development of the boycott movement in South Africa and globally were highlighted.

This chapter outlined the supposed close-working-relationship between the non-racial sport movement and the broader AAM, including the Liberation Movement entities. This was so because the struggle for equality in sport and non-discrimination generally. The fight to deracialise the country's sport and the subsequent boycotts were inherently part of the wider Struggle to defeat apartheid. The Struggle to defeat apartheid, and fight for equality and deracialisation of the country's sport and the subsequent Sports boycott were long, complex and dangerous because they were a direct attack on the apartheid system and the application of apartheid policies in sport and other aspects of people's lives in the country.

This chapter created a platform for both the nature of the sports boycott campaigns as is discussed in Chapter Four and their effect as highlighted in Chapter Five.

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<sup>684</sup> Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ‘SPORT IS FAIRNESS’<sup>685</sup> – THE ADVENT OF THE STRUGGLES TO DERACIALISE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT AND THE SPORTS BOYCOTT CAMPAIGNS

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four discusses the emergence of protracted struggles to deracialise South African sport, which involved the fight against the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in sport and the subsequent sports boycott against South Africa’s National Olympic Committee and the whites-only “national” sport federations. To achieve this, the various “non-European” or “non-white” or black and/or the “non-racial national” sport federations initiated a challenge to the racial organisation of sport in South Africa and the system that brought it about. In their action as individuals, the black sport federations unfortunately quickly hit a snag. It became apparent that the struggle they were to lodge was rather complex. It was against this background that the black sport federations decided to establish their respective Coordinating Sub-Committees for International Relations/Recognition.<sup>686</sup> This development followed the formation of the “national” umbrella *ad-hoc* body, named, Coordinating Committee for International Relations/Recognition (CCIR) in sport in 1955.<sup>687</sup> The work of the CCIR culminated in

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<sup>685</sup> Denis Brutus, interviewed in the documentary, “Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series: Fair Play” - Clarity Films/DVD, “Have You Heard From Johannesburg”, Sage/Clarity Films / Berkeley [Clarity Films (2010) / Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series. (2010): “Have You heard from Johannesburg: “Hell of A Job; Fair Play; Road to Resistance; The New Generation; From Selma to SOWETO; The Bottom Line and Free at Last”, 2010. Information about this DVD Series can be obtained on: [www.clarityfilms.org](http://www.clarityfilms.org). Clarity Educational Productions produced and directed by Connie Field in the USA and Canada.]; this argument is also made by See Montagu and Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, [A Paper Presented at the Anti-Apartheid Movement Conference and held by the Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), (UKZN), Durban, South Africa, 2004, n.p. [Also available in: [scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc](http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc)] [<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/18587620/Non-Traditional-Diplomacy>]; also see Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, 2004, p.145-166, in Greg Mills and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (eds.), *New Tools for Reform and Stability: Sanctions, Conditionalities and Conflict Resolutions*, The South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 2004, p.145 – both Montagu and Spector (2004, n.p.) and in Spector (2004, p.145), declare that: ‘Proponents saw the boycotts as efforts based on moral principles.’

<sup>686</sup> See IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/The minutes and/or the Secretary’s Annual Report of the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control (that was formed in 1946), 1957, p.1 and 1958, p.2. The meeting in question was held in Durban in August 10, 1957, under the sub-heading “International Recognition Sub-Committee” the secretary reports that the Annual General Meeting of the Board, a decision to set up an International Recognition Sub-Committee with the purpose of exploring possibilities of securing international recognition. In the minutes of an Annual General Meeting of the SAAA&CBOC held in Club Lotus in Durban on 8 July 1958, it is reported that South African Weight-lifting and Body Building Federation, also had its own Coordinating Sub-Committee for International Relations/Recognition and its International Correspondent was D.A. Brutus, and that the latter was working on, in-line with the SAAA&CBOC, sponsoring a conference of all the leading national sporting bodies in the country, with a view to create a South African Olympic and Empire Games Committee which may work with a concerted effort to secure international recognition [presumably of all these affiliated “national” bodies]; also see Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.190.

<sup>687</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.190.

the formation of the inaugural sport policy in South Africa a year later.<sup>688</sup> The CCIR was a loosely organised structure and was less radical. This consequently called for the formation of the first NRSM structure, the SASA. The move, discussions and preparations to establish the organisation emerged in East London in 1958 and the Association was formally launched in 1959 in Durban.<sup>689</sup>

This chapter outlines the major forces and influences behind the initiation of the struggles to deracialise South African sport, and the growth, development, dynamics and challenges that the NRSM and the broader AAM faced in the fight against the application of colour bar and apartheid policies in sport, throughout the second half of the twentieth century until the late 1980's. The development and diffusion of the "non-racial sport" ideology and its proponents are discussed against the backdrop of the difficulties in mobilising and uniting the apparently fragmented black sport landscape. The early resistance against racial practices in sport and the emergence of non-racial sport ideology and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns are discussed within the context of the country's colonial, imperial and the post-1948 apartheid historical setup, as is discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two demonstrated that South Africa has a long history of international sport participation.<sup>690</sup> The country's sport teams participated in competitions of different international sport federations<sup>691</sup> (IF's), in the Olympic Games and in the International Stoke Mandeville Games.<sup>692</sup> The racially exclusive or whites-only-comprised South African sport teams were also administered and organised on racially exclusive basis, by

<sup>688</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/NCAA and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop" / NCD 12/June 1984; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Guelke, A. (1986) "The Politicisation of South African sport", in Allison, L. (eds.), *The Politics of Sport*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, pp.119-120; Guelke, A. (2012) "Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies" [Paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference, 25-28 June at Ulster University, Northern Ireland, UK, 2012, p.2; Tambo, *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 2014.

<sup>689</sup> Cornelissen, S. (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem," in *TIJHS*, pp. 153-169, p.153; Francois J. Cleophas and Floris J.G. Van Der Merwe, 'Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport Colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape', in *AJPHERD*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March) 2011, pp. 124-140, p.124; Montagu and Spector, 'Non-Traditional Diplomacy', 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, 'Non-Traditional Diplomacy', 2004, p.145.

<sup>690</sup> One of the *earliest* recorded international participation by South Africa was in 1884, when E.L. Williams and E.W. Lewis competed and reached the final of the first men's doubles at Wimbledon Tennis, albeit they lost (Van der Merwe (1997); Nongogo, 'Effect of Sports boycott and social change in South Africa', IOC Report, IOC, Lausanne, 2010). It is also known that in 1893, Laurens S. Meintjes became South Africa's first world record holder, in the sport of cycling. Meintjes won the sixty-two mile international championship at the World's Fair Cycle Meeting in Chicago. In the same year in Springfield, Massachusetts, he set a world record in the hour's race. In the sacred year 1896 when the modern Olympic Games were revived, South Africa won its first rugby test ever, against the British Isles.

<sup>691</sup> The South African teams, generally whites-only (except the 1904 Olympic "participants" and 1981 rugby Springbok team), competed in these International sport Federations until they were permanently suspended, expelled or continued to be recognised even though they could not compete (since the late 1800 (rugby); the Olympic sport competed in the Olympic Games since 1904 ("unofficially) and or 1908 (officially) until suspension in 1960 and eventual expulsion in 1970); and in the International Stoke Mandeville Games, (1962 until expulsion in 1985).

<sup>692</sup> The South African teams, generally whites-only (except the 1904 Olympic "participants" and 1981 rugby Springbok team), competed in these International sport Federations until they were permanently suspended, expelled or continued to be recognised even though they could not compete (since the late 1800 (rugby); the Olympic sport competed in the Olympic Games since 1904 ("unofficially) and or 1908 (officially) until suspension in 1960 and eventual expulsion in 1970); and in the International Stoke Mandeville Games, (1962 until expulsion in 1985).

the white officials of the various national sport federations.<sup>693</sup> Despite their racial nature and character, the SANOC and other national sport federations gained full recognition and membership within the various IFs, including the IOC and the disability sport movement (or otherwise the International Stoke Mandeville Games Committee (ISMGC) and the IPC.<sup>694</sup>

It was this racially exclusive character and organisation of the country's sport that galvanised the black sportspersons and the broader AAM to fight against the racist sport system.<sup>695</sup> Black sport organisations and the AAM petitioned the Olympic Movement (the South Africa's National Olympic Committee (NOC), the IFs and the IOC) since the mid-1940s onwards<sup>696</sup> and from 1959, the SASA, and the South African Non-Racial Olympic/Open Committee, lobbied the IOC to resolve South Africa's racial impasse with little success until the 1960s.<sup>697</sup> It is apparent that South Africa's NOC and all the white or establishment sport federations were practicing racial discrimination against the majority of black sportspersons with impunity for a long time. The long established racial "exclusionary" practice became known as the sport colour bar prior to 1948 and apartheid sport after 1948.<sup>698</sup> During the struggle and resistance to apartheid sport and the pertinent unjust policies that supported it, the non-racial sport movement inside and outside the country, together with the international Anti-apartheid solidarity movement, used the Olympic platform to highlight the value of international norms of "fair play", "democracy", "social justice" and "non-discrimination of any form at all levels", to humanity, as stipulated in the Olympic Charter.<sup>699</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> Christian De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1970; Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real, Hurdle*, 1982; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London, Frank Class, 1998.

<sup>694</sup> See Opperman and Laubscher, 'Africa's First: SANOC Report to the Annual Report', 1987; 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', Sport in Society Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181.

<sup>695</sup> John Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Nongogo, "The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London locations and Mdantsane", 2004.

<sup>696</sup> See the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-Apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Anony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (26 May 1955 and the response on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1955) and the IOC in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>697</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.1-2, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; also see the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1 April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story"; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012.

<sup>698</sup> Following the Nationalist Party's winning of the whites-only elections and immediately adopted the apartheid policy (or of separate race group development).

<sup>699</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; De Broglio, 'SANROC Story', 2009; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*.

The IOC, the IFs and the ISMGC were aware of racial discrimination and the application of the apartheid sport policy against black sportspersons in South Africa, yet did not take action to resolve this problem.<sup>700</sup> This was of serious concern to the non-racial sport movement and the AAM, which argued that the IOC was undermining its constitutional mandate as prescribed in the Olympic Charter. The non-racial sport movement invoked Rules 4 and Rule 6 of the fundamental principles of the Olympic Charter.<sup>701</sup> Specifically, Rule 4 of the Olympic Charter reads:

The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practising sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.<sup>702</sup>

Further, Rule 6 of the Olympic Charter reads:

Any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement.<sup>703</sup>

The status quo remained despite several petitions by the South Africa's Black sportspersons. The IOC appeared, at worst, simply indifferent in its approach and had to be put under severe pressure and sometimes embarrassed for it to respond.<sup>704</sup> The issue of racial discrimination within South African sport was never officially discussed by the IOC until the IOC Session in Rome in 1959.<sup>705</sup> The letters between SANOC and the IOC, specifically its President, Avery Brundage, who blatantly supported and protected the racial practise in South Africa, are indicative of a massive cover-up.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>700</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012.

<sup>701</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; De Broglio, 'The SANROC Story,' 2009; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*.

<sup>702</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*, p.10.

<sup>703</sup> IOC (2011) *Olympic Charter*, p.11.

<sup>704</sup> Mbaye (1995) The International Olympic Committee and South Africa; also see the IOC Archives/ letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1 April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also the IOC President's pronouncements and responses in relation to South Africa and the Mexico City Olympic in 1968.

<sup>705</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; de Broglio, "The Role in NRSM", 2009; Brittain, 'South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee', 2012.

<sup>706</sup> See the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1 April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story"; Brittain, 'South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee', 2012.

The story of South Africa's long racial participation within the Olympic Movement, the ISMG, the Olympic Games; the IOC's apparent "disregard" of the Olympic Charter and 'indifference'<sup>707</sup> in relation to the "exclusion" of the majority black sportspersons and their struggle to fight for equality in sport and against exclusion, is complex with numerous persons, organisations and issues all playing a part. This chapter attempts to highlight some of these critical issues and individuals. Chapter Three described the IOC's and the ISMGC's founding values, fundamental guiding principles and character. Further, the early IOC's quests for absolute sport hegemony, where it positioned itself as the epicentre and custodian of international sport, was also discussed.<sup>708</sup> Consequently, the IOC was projecting itself as an outlet for international norms namely:

...the notions of "respect for universal fundamental ethical principles", "preservation of human dignity", "non-discrimination", "fair play", "sport is a human right" amongst others; its stance towards "sport and politics" and its relations with the National Olympic Committees (and nations), athletes and other organisations...<sup>709</sup>

Chapter Two briefly sketches South Africa's participation in the Olympic Games and the International Disability Movement and described why apartheid and the application of this policy in South African sport became inherently problematic and the impact reactions to it, inside the country and internationally, had on South Africa's involvement in international sport.

Chapter Four therefore uses this background information in an attempt to highlight some of the key reasons for the IOC's and the ISMGC's positions and responses to both the apartheid sport question over the years and the challenge against it by the NRSM and the AAM. The IOC's apparent "disregard" of its Olympic Charter and indifference towards the "exclusion" of the majority black sportspersons in South African teams and the non-racial sport movement's struggle against racial exclusion, are assessed. This is done against the backdrop of a discussion of what the IOC and the Olympics stand for or ought to stand for and what has been their stance towards apartheid sport and challenge

<sup>707</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.14.

<sup>708</sup> Cornelissen, 'Resolving the South Africa problem', 2011; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Opperman and Laubscher, 'Africa's First', 1987; Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story"; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; IOC's *Olympic Charter*, 2011; Chris Berg, 'Politics, not sport, is the purpose of the Olympic Games', IPA Review, July 2008, pp.15-18, [Also available in [www.ipa.org.au](http://www.ipa.org.au)]; John Nauright, "The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport: History of the Present", August 6, 2012 [[http://historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus\\_thread](http://historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus_thread)]. Peacock, "Geographie Sportive", 2011.

<sup>709</sup> See the latest version of the IOC's *Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11.

against it and their inherent nature and character, from inception and as it evolved until present day society? This chapter argues that despite all the noble features that the Olympic Movement lists when it defines itself and what it stands for, strong contradictions between the notions of idealism and reality seem unavoidable. For instance in almost every Olympic Games issues of security, protests and stories of doping have become customary. There is no doubt that these are in direct contrast to, for example, the “Olympic Creed”, “Olympic Spirit” and the supposedly shared “Olympic Values”, which underpins liberal notions of friendship, solidarity, excellence, honesty and respect. It seems apparent that the Olympics seem to have excelled in their ability to highlight clear political and ideological divisions in the international community.<sup>710</sup> That the Olympic Movement has attempted to constitute itself in a manner it believed could effectively fend off political influences does not really mean that it actually succeeded.<sup>711</sup> It seems that it is this very creation that often landed it into complex problems and challenges, such as the issue of apartheid sport in South Africa, which the NRSM fought gallantly against. This chapter therefore discusses and outlines this long, complex and dangerous struggle by the NRSM.

The discussion highlights the significant individuals and early non-racial sport committees, organisations or associations that constituted a critical force and major influence towards the initiation of the sport struggles. The sports boycott campaigns and the general international opposition to South Africa’s colour bar and apartheid policies as applied in sport also receive attention. Internally, the NRSM, which comprised of individuals, the various Sub-Committees or organisations, including Dennis Brutus,<sup>712</sup> the Coordinating Committees<sup>713</sup> for International Relations/Recognition (CCIR, 1955), the SASA (1958), which later gave birth to the SANROC (1962), the SACOS (1973) and the NOSC (1988) is discussed. The NRSM struggle evolution and transition from CCIR to NOSC, between 1955 and 1988, is assessed within the context of the expanded and dynamic mandate and goals of the NRSM; the persistent persecution by the rogue apartheid regime; the inherent contradictions and internal brawls within the NRSM; the

<sup>710</sup> Chris Berg, ‘Politics, not sport, is the purpose of the Olympic Games’, IPA Review, July 2008, pp.15-18, [Also available in [www.ipa.org.au](http://www.ipa.org.au)]; John Nauright, “The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport: History of the Present”, August 6, 2012 [[http://historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus\\_thread](http://historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus_thread)].

<sup>711</sup> Byron Peacock, “Geographie Sportive”, 2011.

<sup>712</sup> And peoples such as E.I Haffejee, R.S. Govender, G. Pumpy Naidoo, Louis Nelson, R. Bijou and R. Munnoo, these were members of the SAAA&CBOC International Recognition Sub-Committee that was established on 10 August 1957; also see Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/NCAA and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984.

<sup>713</sup> Including that of, for instance, coordinating Committee for International Relations/Recognition of the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control (SAAA and CBC), a black organisation that was established in 1946.

ideological differences and other prevailing circumstances and challenges during this long history. Chapter Four, however, specifically discusses these sport struggles from the supposed inception until the early 1970s, before the South African Council on/of Sport (SACOS) was established in 1973. It is in Chapter Five where the circumstances that led to the formation of the SACOS, its work and contribution in the NRSM are discussed.

This chapter also explores the black sportspersons', the NRSM's and the AAM's relationships with the broader Olympic Movement, the IOC, the SANOC and South Africa's establishment sport federations between 1955 and 1970 and the former's interaction with the IPC from 1975 until 1985. The role and contributions of the various wings and forces of the AAM including the NRSM, the OAU; the SCSA; the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA), UN, and other family of global Anti-apartheid partners are discussed briefly discussed here, however, the detailed analysis in under taken in Chapter Five. This chapter assesses pertinent documents of the NRSM, the AAM, the IOC and the UN documents that were produced by the Special Committee against Apartheid in the 1960s and those of the Centre against Apartheid of the 1970s and 1980s.

Chapter Two briefly examines the background that led to the genesis of the struggles to deracialise sport in South Africa. Chapter Four pays specific and special attention to how these different campaigns were undertaken and what form they took, including the sports boycott movement and campaigns against apartheid sport. The rationale to establish the NRSM, the sports boycott movement and the initiation of these sport struggles and specifically the sports boycott campaigns, are discussed. The major forces behind the original calls for the sport struggles against racially organised sport in South Africa and the subsequent proposals to initiate processes to isolate it from the international arena are discussed. This is achieved by outlining and profiling significant role players in this more than forty-year-long of struggle to deracialise South African sport. The initial responses to the sports boycott campaigns by the Olympic Movement, specifically the IOC, and the various NOC's, including SANOC, the IFs and the IPC, are assessed within the context of a resilient NRSM. The positions taken, methods adopted and the boycott calls by the NRSM and AAM to deracialise South African sport are also examined. More critically, however, the analyses of these struggles, particularly the effect of the sports boycott campaigns, in shaping apartheid South Africa's sport policy direction during apartheid and after it, is undertaken in Chapter Five. The assessment of how South

African society responded to or changed subsequent to the initiation of the struggles to deracialise sport in the country in the pre- and post-1948 era is paramount to put this work in a proper historical perspective.

Chapter Four therefore discusses the nature and the processes of the initiation and development of the Anti-apartheid sport movement, simply put, the NRSM and the sports boycott movement. In this discussion, an attempt is made to locate the boycott movement within the context of other forms of resistance and boycotts, namely, the broader liberation Struggle and cultural, economic and academic boycotts. The effect of the struggles to deracialise South African sport and specifically, the sports boycott, in society and country's sport landscape, is briefly assessed in Chapter Five. The general aim of these chapters, Four and Five, therefore is to highlight the cultural significance of sport, in changing societies like South Africa in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, specifically, and in the world order, generally.<sup>714</sup>

## 4.2 THE STRUGGLES TO DERACIALISE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE SPORTS BOYCOTT

### 4.2.1 The role of Black or non-racial “national” sport federations

The application of the colour bar and later apartheid policies in the South African sport teams has a long history. The issue of ‘excluding’<sup>715</sup> the “non-white” people or “non-European”<sup>716</sup> sportspersons has been a problem for South Africa, the IOC and the Olympic Movement for a long time and the challenge to this ‘unfair’<sup>717</sup> practise was observed in the

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<sup>714</sup> See Montagu and Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, n.p.; Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004.

<sup>715</sup> IOC/OM/CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/The Honorary Secretary’s Annual Report/South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control, 1957/58, p.1; IOC/OM/CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/Minutes of an Annual General Meeting SAAA&CBOC, held at Club Lotus, Prince Edward Street, Durban/Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1958, p.2/08h30 p.m.; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; also see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.190.

<sup>716</sup> Black people were called in various ways in South Africa during the different stages of the country’s socio-political and socio-historical development. For more details on this see Bernard Magubane, “The Politics of History in South Africa”, New York: United Nation, 1982, p.1. [This paper, presented by Bernard Magubane, at the time a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Connecticut, was published at the request of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, albeit the views expressed remained those of the author].

<sup>717</sup> Denis Brutus argued that ‘sport begins with fairness...fairness, but most histories of the end of apartheid hardly refer to sport...white South Africa saw sport as its link to the “civilised world”... I went to sport with its sense of fairness, and be fair, play the game you know, don’t be a “cat”, we had all those values, and then you put those values against the behaviour [of apartheid sport leaders], and see the contradiction. That first discrimination in sport is unfair, it’s only later that I begin to see it as a political instrument as well...’ He said this in an interview in the documentary, ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg: “Fair Play”’, Sage/Clarity Films, 2010. This argument is also made by Montagu and Spector in ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, n.p.; also see Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, p.145-166, in Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.), *New Tools for Reform and Stability*, 2004, p.145 – both Montagu and Spector (2004, n.p.) and in Spector (2004, p.145), declare that: ‘Proponents saw the boycotts as efforts based on moral principles.’

1940s.<sup>718</sup> The concept of fair play in relation to the practice of sport was raised sharply by Alan Stewart Paton<sup>719</sup> in the ‘Opening Address in the ‘Conference of National Sporting Bodies’ that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban.<sup>720</sup> Alan Paton declared that:

...This is an historical occasion. This is the first meeting of its kind ever to be held in South Africa, the first Conference of National sporting bodies to consider an entirely new proposition, namely the creation of a non-racial South African Sports Association, which will seek to serve the cause of non-Whites sportsmen in a non-racial manner. I am honoured to be asked to open this first conference... I think I was asked here...because I am thought to have some knowledge of fair play...SASA is determined that it will not practice the colour bar (or race bar for that matter), because it believes that the colour bar has done harm to White sport in South Africa, not harm to the actual records...but to the spirit of fair play that should underlie all sport so that a body like the S.A. Olympic Games Committee thinks it is compatible with the spirit of sportsmanship (sic) [sportsmanship] to bar non-White sportsmen from participating in the Olympic and the Commonwealth Games, both of which festivals specifically outlaw the colour bar...To my mind sportsmanship (sic) and the colour bar are incompatible. Sport is supposed to teach all those virtues that the colour bar destroys. Sport is supposed to teach people to know and respect one another, and to want to see fair play for all...<sup>721</sup>

In the interview for the Anti-apartheid documentary in 2010, Dennis Brutus also raised the centrality of sportsmanship and fair play in sport. He argued that:

...Sport begins with fairness...fairness, but most histories of the end of Apartheid hardly refer to sport...White South Africa saw sport as

<sup>718</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC”, (penned by Christian Dubrel de Broglio, hereunder referred to simply as De Broglio) on 23 November 1967 (for the Commission that set on 25 November 1967), p.1; also see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a life in sport*, Greenhouse: Cape Town, 2004; Adriaan Guelke, ‘The Politicisation of South African sport’, 1986; Mbaya (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies”; Tambo, Oliver Tambo Speaks, 2014; Cornelissen, ‘Resolving the South Africa problem’, 2011; Cleophas and Van Der Merwe, ‘Contradictions and responses concerning the South Africa sport Colour bar’, 2011; Montagu and Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004; also see Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004.

<sup>719</sup> Alan Paton at the time was an internationally acclaimed author, lecturer at the University of Natal and probably the most important of these in this context was his political activism: Having been one of the co-founders of the Liberal Party in 1953 and led it in 1955, succeeding Margaret Ballinger. He remained in this position until the party’s dissolution in 1968 due to new legislation banning multiracial political parties. Paton often felt divided in his calling and said, “My whole life has been a struggle between the writer and the activist, and it has not stopped...”, see: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/alan-stewart-paton>.

<sup>720</sup> IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>721</sup> See Alan Paton’s “Opening Address” in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959, p.1 and p.6, at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban; see the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

its link to the “civilised world”... I went to sport with its sense of fairness, and be fair, play the game you know, don’t be a “cat”, we had all those values, and then you put those values against the behaviour [of Apartheid sport leaders], and see the contradiction. That first discrimination in sport is unfair, it’s only later that I begin to see it as a political instrument as well...<sup>722</sup>

This argument is also made by Ivor Montagu and J.B. Spector in the paper, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, and J.B. Spector, “Non-Traditional Diplomacy”, in Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.), *New Tools for Reform and Stability*, where both Montagu and Spector<sup>723</sup> and Spector<sup>724</sup> declare that, ‘[P]roponents saw the boycotts as efforts based on moral principles.’<sup>725</sup>

The struggles to deracialise South African sport were of course intensified in the 1950s and the 1960s. For instance, in the SANROC submission to the South Africa Commission of the IOC in 1967, De Broglio wrote:

...The problem of racial discrimination in South African sport is no longer an internal national issue but an International problem – the most serious issue facing the International Olympic Committee. We feel that the I.O.C. must bear a large share of the responsibility in having allowed this problem to reach such major proportions. In the history of the Olympic Movement no single issue has been such a threat to the future of the Olympic Games and International sport...<sup>726</sup>

The *early* documented challenge to racial segregation in sport dates back to the 1940s. In 1933 a national weight-lifting federation was formed by a group made up of all sections of the South African population, and held interracial competitions until the fateful 1939,<sup>727</sup> when it started to bar black sportspersons from being members. It was therefore, this reason that Milo Pillay, a famous weight-lifter and physical culturist planned to attend the South African weight-lifting conference in Transvaal in 1945, with the intention to propose that the ban on interracial weight-lifting competitions be abolished.<sup>728</sup> In 1946, T. Rangasamy applied to the British Amateur Weightlifters Association for affiliation on

<sup>722</sup> Brutus said this when interviewed in the documentary, ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg: “Fair Play”’, Sage/Clarity Films, 2010.

<sup>723</sup> See Montagu and Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, n.p.

<sup>724</sup> See Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, p.145-166, in Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.), *New Tools for Reform and Stability*, 2004.

<sup>725</sup> Both Montagu and Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, n.p. and Spector, ‘Non-Traditional Diplomacy’, 2004, p.145.

<sup>726</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, ‘International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC’ on 23 November 1967, p.1.

<sup>727</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.76.

<sup>728</sup> Cape Standard, 1945, p.4; Cleophas and Van der Merwe, ‘Contradictions to the application of the colour bar’, 2011, p.127.

behalf of the “non-white” or black weightlifters.<sup>729</sup> E.S. Reddie, however, writes that the ‘issue of discrimination and segregation in sport was first raised during the Indian passive resistance campaign of 1946-48.’<sup>730</sup> This development was also happening at the United Nations, the first being raised by the Indian representative in the United Nations General Assembly in 1946.<sup>731</sup> Regardless of who and where this challenge was raised, the critical issue is the “when” part and that it was brought before the Olympic Movement and specifically to the IOC before the apartheid government took over reigns in South Africa. Furthering his argument on behalf of SANROC, de Broglio asserts that:

...We feel that the I.O.C. is partly responsible for this state of affairs. As far back as 1947 the non-White sportsmen of South Africa advised the Chancellor of the I.O.C. of the handicaps which were affecting their participation on sport at the National level and the International level. If an investigation had been carried out at that time and solutions found, and we assert that solutions could have been found at that time, we would not be facing a crisis now. It must be realised that in 1947 the present South African Government was not yet in power with its policy of Apartheid and racial discrimination in sport was only a social practise which could have been eliminated if the I.O.C. had demanded the full enforcement of the Olympic Charter. As nothing was done the South African Olympic Games Association did not feel that they had to change their policy and spent the last twenty years making excuses and procrastinating. With the coming to power of the present racialist Government in 1948 they [the South African Olympic Games Association] were strengthened in their determination to keep South African sport White...<sup>732</sup>

It is apparent that the calls for ‘International Action’<sup>733</sup> in 1946 and 1947 marked the realisation by black sportspersons that they were never going to get any redress by and from the internal action alone. In fact, with time passing, South Africa’s internal situation

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<sup>729</sup> See Alan Paton’s ‘Opening Address’, 1959, p.1-2, in the ‘Conference of National Sporting Bodies’ that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, see the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959; see also Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997, p.111; also see De Broglio, ‘The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986’, 2009, n.p.

<sup>730</sup> United Nations Archives / On-line/ United Nations Documents and Reports, 1998.

<sup>731</sup> With regard to the issue of apartheid and apartheid sport, since 1946, numerous resolutions were made against apartheid South Africa and as such in 1974; a proposal to expel the country from the United Nations was presented albeit defeated. In 1970 the United Nations the General Assembly passed Resolution 2627 (XXV), describing apartheid as “a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind” (see United Nations webpage, 1970).

<sup>732</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.1.

<sup>733</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.2.

worsened and the establishment sport leaders' attitudes hardened further.<sup>734</sup> The individual black or "non-white" sport organisations decided to raise their problem with their respective IFs and the IOC.<sup>735</sup> The black sport federations undertook a simultaneous action, raising their challenge with the controlling bodies of the different local whites-only "national" sport and the South African Olympic Games Association.<sup>736</sup> The result however, from both National and International levels, was procrastination or total refusal to take the black sportspersons' grievances seriously. De Broglio describes the general pattern as follows:

...When application was made to the South African Olympic Games Association they replied that they were really [merely?] a Federation of the various White sport organisations and they could not interfere with their membership policies, constitutions etc. When the individual sport organisations were contacted they produced their constitutions which restricted membership to White South Africans. When the International sport Federations were contacted they referred the problem to the I.O.C. who then advised the Non-White organisations that they should contact the S.A. Olympic Committee. In this way the problem was conveniently side-stepped for 15 years by the IOC and ...by numerous International sport Federations...<sup>737</sup>

A specific case of this "merry-go-round" phenomenon is described by Alan Paton in his "Opening Address" in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies".<sup>738</sup> In this address Paton declares that:

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<sup>734</sup> See the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958; April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>735</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.1-2, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

<sup>736</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC's submission, "International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC" on 23 November 1967, p.2; also see the IOC Archives/Report of the IOC Commission on South Africa/IOC Mon-Repos 1005/Lausanne, 1967; See IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations–Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC's submission, "International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC" on 23 November 1967, p.2; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; IOC Archives/ D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986", 2009.

<sup>737</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC's submission, "International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC" on 23 November 1967, p.2.

<sup>738</sup> See the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959, where the details of the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies", which was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959, and held at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, are recorded.

...You are here...to consider how to avoid difficulties such as for example those which confront non-White weightlifters in South Africa, who want to be able to compete internationally, and therefore sought world affiliation. Our weightlifters appealed to the International Olympic Committee, which referred them to the South African Olympic Committee, so they were back where they started. They then appealed to the British Commonwealth Games Federation, which referred them to the International Weightlifting Federation in Paris, which referred them to the International Olympic Committee, which had already referred them back to the S.A. Olympic Committee...It is not only our weightlifters who want international recognition. So do for example our soccer players...<sup>739</sup>

It was observed that in the course of all this “merry-go-round”,<sup>740</sup> many black or “non-white” or non-racial sportspersons generally got frustrated and ditched their sporting endeavours, opting to stay at home and took early retirement from sport activities.<sup>741</sup> Chapter Two detailed the circumstances that led to some black sportspersons deciding leaving South Africa to further their sport careers abroad.<sup>742</sup> Some of these athletes managed to get placements in other countries’ National Olympic Committee teams, while others decided to lead the struggle for non-racial sport, and subsequently were banned, got arrested or exiled from their land of birth and even killed.<sup>743</sup> There is little doubt that this development could have been avoided if proper action by the IOC and the Olympic Movement had been taken earlier in terms of the Olympic Charter, which lays down that ‘...no discrimination is allowed against any person on grounds of colour, religion or politics...’,<sup>744</sup>

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<sup>739</sup> See Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.1-2, in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>740</sup> See the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-Apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Anony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (26 May 1955 and the response on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1955) and the IOC in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/ D.RMO1.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>741</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.190; and for more information in this, also see De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1970; Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real Hurdle*, 1982; also see ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Online Documents/E.S. Reddy, “United Nations, India and Boycott of Apartheid Sport.” [Paper presented at the seminar of the Sport Authority of India and the Arjuna Awardees Association, New Delhi, July 28-29, 1988.

<sup>742</sup> See Christopher Merrett, “Bowl brilliantly, bat badly – and don’t stay for tea”: Political activism and Aurara Cricket Club, Paper, presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference, East London, October 2005; Cleophas and Van der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions to the application of the colour bar,” p.126; also see University of Cape Town, 1954, p.27-128.

<sup>743</sup> See IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations–Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.2; also see De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1970; Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real hurdle*, 1982.

<sup>744</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.2; for more details on this, see the latest version of the IOC’s *Olympic Charter*, 2011.

Some of the early documented direct challenges to racial segregation in sport were observed in 1945 and 1946 and interestingly, both these were weight-lifting related experiences. In 1945, Milo Pillay attempted to attend the South African weight-lifting conference in Transvaal with the intention to propose that the ban on interracial weight-lifting competitions be abolished.<sup>745</sup> In 1946, T. Rangasamy applied to the British Amateur Weightlifters Association for affiliation on behalf of the “non-white” or black weightlifters.<sup>746</sup> Other black or non-racial “national” sport federations followed the example of the South African Amateur Weightlifting and Body Building Federation, which also approached the IOC in 1958.<sup>747</sup> For example, the SASF challenged a Whites-only soccer body, South Africa Football Association’s (SAFA) sole right to represent the country’s football interests in the world body, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA). In fact, like the South African Table Tennis Board, the South African Weightlifting and Body Building Federation, SASF applied for affiliation to the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA) in 1952 and 1954, albeit unsuccessfully. However, through hard work by the non-racial SASF, in 1955 FIFA instructed the whites-only football controlling body in South Africa ‘to form a governing body with the non-white Association and remove the colour bar in soccer. If the White body did not agree, they would be expelled by FIFA’<sup>748</sup>. The whites-only body failed to do this and was duly suspended in September 1961. Consequent to its racial policies, FASA became ineligible to participate in the Football World Cup and other related international football competitions. This move by FIFA effectively pushed FASA into the cold and they therefore could not keep contact with foreign national teams. FASA, however, did extensive groundwork, manoeuvring to convince FIFA that it was making “attempts” to deal with its racial problem. In April 1962, on the eve of the FIFA meeting, FASA, which by this time had managed to absorb the South African Bantu Football Association, which represented a small number of African footballers, within its ranks, albeit on a subservient status; further invited the

<sup>745</sup> Cape Standard, 1945, p.4; Cleophas and Van der Merwe, ‘Contradictions to the application of the colour bar’, 2011, p.127.

<sup>746</sup> See Alan Paton’s ‘Opening Address’, 1959, p.1-2, in the ‘Conference of National Sporting Bodies’ that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959; also see Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997, p.111.

<sup>747</sup> See a letter from the IOC President, Avery Brundage to SANOC’s Ira G. Emery, dated September 27, 1958 in IOC Archives/ D.RMO1.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also see Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.1., in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>748</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe, ‘Contradictions to the application of the colour bar’, 2011, p.126; also see University of Cape Town, 1954, p.27-128.

SASF into a meeting to discuss a proposition for establishing a single federal structure, while maintaining the racial respective entities but with a possibility of coordinating ‘general policy and harmonise relations between the different members.’<sup>749</sup> The SASF rejected this proposal as it believed it was a sham only to create an impression to FIFA that all was well in South Africa’s football fraternity.<sup>750</sup> FIFA confirmed the suspension of the FASA and announced that a commission of enquiry would shortly be sent to South Africa. Between this announcement and Sir Stanley Rous led-FIFA commission’s visit to the country in January 1963, FASA, with assistance from Government managed to create a marvellous yet artificial picture of football unity in South Africa and as such in the same month, FIFA announced that FASA’s suspension was being lifted. FIFA reconsidered its 1963 decision ‘in Tokyo in 1964’<sup>751</sup> and re-imposed a suspension on FASA. FIFA eventually expelled FASA in 1976.<sup>752</sup> Further, the black South African Table Tennis Board (SATTB) was formed in 1948 and applied for affiliation to the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) in 1956 and this was granted at the expense of the White organisation. Similar applications were lodged by black cricketers, athletics and cycling boards as well.<sup>753</sup>

Subsequent to the above development, the ITTF recognised the non-racial SATTB in 1956 and expelled the white body from South Africa. The SATTB team was able to participate in the world championships in Stockholm in 1957. The decision by the International Table Tennis Federation in 1956 became a game-changer in South Africa’s sport policy and history.<sup>754</sup> The NP government had until this period, never enacted specific legislation that generally prohibited mixed sport in South Africa, only sparing the

<sup>749</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.196.

<sup>750</sup> Cleophas and Van der Merwe, ‘Contradictions to the application of the colour bar’, 2011, p.126; also see University of Cape Town, 1954, p.27-128.

<sup>751</sup> De Broglio, ‘The SANROC Story, 1966-1986’, published on the ‘SANROC On-line’, by De Broglio on 10 November 2009 (again in 2011), [also available at: <http://www.sanroc-online.com/>] [Accessed on December 2009].

<sup>752</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, (again in 2011).

<sup>753</sup> See André Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town: Self-published: Odendaal, A, 1977; Andre Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*, Cape Town: Self-published: Odendaal, A, 1984; Andre Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’, in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700–1914*, London: Frank Cass, 1988; Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press: Johannesburg, 1995; Andre Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of one of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850–2003*, Cape Town: David Philip, 2003.

<sup>754</sup> See Alan Paton’s ‘Opening Address’, 1959, p.1-2, in the ‘Conference of National Sporting Bodies’ that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959; also see Adriaan Guelke, “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies” [Paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference, 25-28 June 2012 at Ulster University, Northern Ireland, UK, 2012; see IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/; Juan Klee, ‘Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978: The role of BJ Vorster and PGJ Koornhof’, New Contree, No. 64, July 2012, pp.155-170.

notorious Boxing and Wrestling Control Act of 1954.<sup>755</sup> However, various apartheid laws, such as the Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which actually made playing together virtually impossible. In 27 June 1956, however, South Africa's minister of the interior, T. E. Dönges, issued the regime's first sport policy. In this policy statement Dönges declared among other things that 'whites and blacks would not be allowed to play sport together and the privilege to represent South Africa would be that of Whites only.'<sup>756</sup> He specifically declared that:

...Sport would remain segregated and organised separately. No racially mixed sport was permitted within South Africa nor would mixed teams represent the country abroad. Visiting international teams that competed against White South African sides had to be all White, while Black teams from abroad could play against Black South African teams. Significantly, Black people's sport organisations that sought international recognition and affiliation had to do so under the auspices of the White organisations in South Africa...<sup>757</sup>

Given this socio-cultural and socio-political development, black sportspersons in South Africa had two options, either to accept the policy, which in fact some did<sup>758</sup> or to organise themselves into a formidable force to fight against the extension of the colour bar policy and the application of the apartheid policy into sport.<sup>759</sup> This was going to be the first time

<sup>755</sup> See Bruce Murray and Christopher Merrett, *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2004, p.50; and Tyler Fleming, 'Now the African reigns supreme: The rise of African boxing on the Witwatersrand, 1924-1959', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2011, 28: 1, 47 — 62, p.56-57.

<sup>756</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.; for more information on this and on the subsequent apartheid sport policies see Klee, 'Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978', 2012, p.155 and 156; also see Booth (1998) *The Race Game*, p.58; Guelke, 'The politicisation of South African sport', L Allison (ed.), *The politics of sport*, 1986, p.119; J. Gemmell, 'South African cricket', *Sport in Society*, 10(1), 2007, p.53; Adriaan Guelke, 'Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies', [Paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference, 25-28 June 2012 at Ulster University, Northern Ireland, UK, 2012, p.2].

<sup>757</sup> Klee, 'Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978': The role of BJ Vorster and PGJ Koornhof', *New Contree*, No. 64, July 2012, pp.155-170. See Adriaan Guelke, "Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies" [Paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference, 25-28 June 2012 at Ulster University, Northern Ireland, UK, 2012, p.2; for more information on the subsequent apartheid sport policies see Juan Klee, "Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978": The role of BJ Vorster and PGJ Koornhof", *New Contree*, No. 64, July 2012, pp.155-170, p.155 and 156; also see Booth, D. (1998)*The Race Game, sport and politics in South Africa*, 1998, p.58; Guelke, A. (1986) "The Politicisation of South African sport", L Allison (ed.), *The politics of sport*, 1986, p.119; J. Gemmell, "South African cricket", *Sport in Society*, 10(1), 2007, p.53.

<sup>758</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*.

<sup>759</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/see: SASA a letter (18 January 1960) from G K Rangasamy Pres. SASA to A.S. Frames, Esq-Sec/ Treasurer, SA Cricket Association/JHB/"Selection of SA Cricket Team"/One page/; see: A letter from D. Brutus-10/2/63, writing from 15a Park Road, Fords/to GK Rangasamy: SASA President PE/about the proposed non-racial weightlifting "open world-championship trials to be held in Kimberley as a centre place in SA/one page/; see: A letter from SASA 22 Feb 1963 signed by AE Lutchman/Ass. Sec. SASA to the Hon.Sec: SA Weightlifting and Body Building Federation, Kimberley/one page; see: A letter from A.E. Lutchman, 22 Feb. 1963 Ass Sec. SASA to Mr M Osler, chairman, SA Non-Racial Students Sports Association/one page; see: A letter from GK Rangasamy 12Feb.1963 to the Hon. Sec./Soccer Federation, Cape Town; see: A letter from SA Wand BB, A Journal: Hon Sec to SANROC/SASA – 12 Feb 1963 about non-racial weightlifter/one page; see: SASA letter by its President, from D. Brutus, 1963, February/apparently at the time still in SA-PE mobilizing clubs, unions, sportsman to participate in SASA activities. (One page); see: A letter from A E Lutchman to D.A. (Dennis) Brutus/22-2-63 about SASA activities and disappointment about turn-up at recent SASA meeting/one page; see: A letter by SASA (5<sup>th</sup> May 1963)/fro, GK Rangasamy to Mr Oscar State, General Secretary: International Weightlifting Federation/ about the racialisation of South African sport and to ask Mr State to put this matter (Rio Meeting) or tabled this issue at the International Federation Meeting/one page; also see Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar", p.125-126.

that some form of a cohesive black or “non-racial” structure was to emerge to directly fight apartheid sport,<sup>760</sup> and indeed a large number of black sportspersons, opted to take up the fight for equality in sport. The non-racial sportspersons and leaders who challenged the establishment sport policy and therefore, the government policy, were either barred from travelling abroad to further their sporting interests or persecuted, harassed, arrested, imprisoned or ‘forced into exile permanently.’<sup>761</sup> The sport policy of the government ironically resulted in an increased resistance to apartheid.<sup>762</sup> This was shown by the establishment of the Coordinating Committee for International Relations/Recognition in 1955 and the South African Sports Association in 1958. Further, the zeal with which the Black and non-racial sport federations demonstrated in their attempts to affiliate directly with international sport federations is worth noting. This process, even though it had its roots in the 1940s, was accelerated and ably coordinated by the Coordinating Committee (the various “national” bodies’ respective Coordinating Sub-Committees) for International Relations/Recognition as shown in the discussion below.

The South Africa Amateur Weightlifting and Body Building Federation together with the Amateur Athletics Association and Cycling Board of Control were the apparent leaders in this cause.<sup>763</sup> In fact the SAAWBBF is rather fascinating. As shown above, it was in 1946 that the representative of the “non-white” weightlifters, through T. Rangasamy wrote to the British Empire Games Weightlifting Federation asking that the former be granted some form of recognition, as the officially recognised body for South Africa restricted its membership to only weightlifters of White origin.<sup>764</sup> The Secretary of the British Empire Games Weightlifting Federation at the time, Oscar State, replied:

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<sup>760</sup> See De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Guelke, “The politicisation of South African sport”, L Allison (ed.), *The politics of sport*, 1986; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game, sport and politics in South Africa*, 1998; Gemmell, “South African cricket, *Sport in Society*”, 2007; Klee, “Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa”, 2012.

<sup>761</sup> The apartheid security establishment made Dennis Brutus, De Broglio, Reginald Hlongwane, Isaiah Stein, Sam Ramsamy and many other black or non-racial sportspersons and leaders were made to flee the country, with some of them with “exit permits”, meaning that they should never come back again. See IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.2; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986”, 2009. For more information on this, also see De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1970; Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982; Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real Hurdle*, 1982; Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a Life in Sport*, Cape Town, Greenhouse, 2004; De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986”, 2009.

<sup>762</sup> See Klee, “Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978”, 2012.

<sup>763</sup> See Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.1-2, in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>764</sup> Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997; also see De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986”, 2009.

...I placed the matter before the Central Council. They considered your request with sympathy but it is with regret that I have to inform you that we cannot bring any pressure on the South African Weightlifting Federation to force them to recognise you. Their rules, as with all the national sporting associations in South Africa, will not permit of mixed contests between White and coloured athletes. This is also a condition of the South African Olympic Council; therefore no coloured man could be chosen to represent South Africa in international contests. For these reasons we cannot support your claim against the South African Weightlifting Federation. However, we can suggest an alternative method for you to secure recognition for your lifters. We advise you to form an association of your own with some such like title as 'The Indian (or coloured) Amateur Weightlifters' Association of South Africa'. If you can present us with a properly drawn-up constitution and rules, we are prepared to grant you full recognition as an affiliated association. Your members would then be entitled to our assistance on all lifting matters, your records would then be recognised as South African (coloured) and if high enough, as British Empire records. Please advise me as soon as possible of your intentions in this matter...<sup>765</sup>

De Broglio argues that the response above was 'a classic example of international acceptance of racism in South African sport. It shows the disregard of the Olympic Charter, the Statutes of the International Weightlifting Federation and basic sportsmanship by the officials of an international organisation.'<sup>766</sup> Needless to say, the black Weightlifters did not accept the conditions set by Mr. State for recognition. When SASA was formed, it also unsuccessfully attempted to engage Mr State.<sup>767</sup> In fact, in response to Mr. State and those thinking like him, Alan Paton had this to say:

...I see that some people abroad, in the genuine hope of solving the South African problem, thin (sic) [think] we should have parallel organisations, and that South Africa should be allowed to enter two separate teams, I cannot see how either an Olympic Committee or a Commonwealth Games Committee could accept such a proposal....<sup>768</sup>

It was only in 1966 that things started to alter. For instance, Christian de Broglio and Reginald Hlongwane of SANROC attended the Congress of the International

<sup>765</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986", 2009, n.p. This was also reported by Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>766</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986", 2009, n.p.

<sup>767</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ A letter by SASA (5<sup>th</sup> May 1963)-GK Rangasamy to Mr Oscar state general secretary: International Weightlifting Federation, concerning the racialisation of sport in South Africa and to ask Mr State to (Rio Meeting) table this matter in the International Federation. (One page).

<sup>768</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.4, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

Weightlifting Federation in East Berlin.<sup>769</sup> The pair managed to get the majority of delegates to sign a declaration for the inclusion of South Africa's "Sport and Racism Case" on the Agenda. Nonetheless, Oscar State, the Secretary of the Federation opposed the motion when raised in the Congress. Chris de Broglio and Reginald Hlongwane had earlier contemplated to request one of the East German delegates to raise the matter in the Congress. The delegates, however, turned the request down on the basis that because his Federation was hosting the impending International Weightlifting Federation Championship at the time, this could have left a bad taste and attract unnecessary attention and accusations. He proposed that he would request a delegate from one of other Eastern European countries to raise the matter in the Congress. The delegates from Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia indeed came to approach and engage the SANROC officials on this matter while the meeting was still in progress. Ultimately SANROC settled on requesting one of the African countries' delegates to raise the matter. The Egyptian delegate was then chosen to raise the issue in the Congress. More interestingly, during the same Congress, there were ANC students who had gathered in East Berlin to demonstrate against the South African Team that came to participate in the Championships, and the Congress and Championship organisers approached the SANROC officials with a plea to talk the students out of the protest.<sup>770</sup> De Broglio wrote:

...An official of the Foreign Office arrived to join in the discussions. We finally agreed that if they raised the South African Case at the meeting and we obtained a Commission of Enquiry, we would ask the students to cancel their demonstration. A commission of Enquiry was voted for!<sup>771</sup>

In 1969 the White weightlifting organisation was finally expelled from the international organisation in the face of strong opposition from Mr. State, who was then secretary of the International Federation. In fact, by that time Precious McKenzie, a black South African weightlifter, had already left South Africa and settled in the UK in order further his career.<sup>772</sup> Before he left for exile to the UK, De Broglio, had organised the "Precious

<sup>769</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966-1986", published on "SANROC On-line", 2009.

<sup>770</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966-1986", published on "SANROC On-line", 2009.

<sup>771</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966-1986", published on SANROC On-line, 2009, n.d.

<sup>772</sup> See Arthur Jacobs 'article "McKenzie... The Wonder Weightlifter!" in the South African Amateur Weightlifting and Body Building Federation's 17<sup>th</sup> Annual South African Championships (that were held at Plane Cinema, in Paarl on Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> July 1967 at 7.30 p.m.) Souvenir Programme, 1967, n.p., - this is contained in the IOC/File-Folder 15/D. RMIO AFRIS/055/7776/SD2: liste des membres de SAN-ROC.s.d/South African Sports Association et SANROC/ Correspondance et liste/1959-1968; also in South African Non-Racial Olympic/Open Committee's Testimony to South Africa Commission of the IOC: Lausanne, November 25<sup>th</sup> 1967/IOC/CIO D-RMOI AFRIS/ South African Sports Association/later SANROC Docs/Constitutions, Memorandum, Letters, Information, Appeals/Press Cuttings/Press Releases, Open Letters/1975-1967; IOC/SD5/Declaration, Appeals, Information, Letters, 1963-1967, n.p.;

McKenzie show” in Johannesburg in 1963 and journalists and all the officials from weightlifting in the country, including those of the whites-only establishment sport, were invited.<sup>773</sup> At the time Precious McKenzie was considered the best in his weight division yet he was frequently overlooked by SANOC’s Olympic Team, like all other black sportspersons. The purpose of the “Show” was an attempt to ‘send the message that he should be in the 1964 Olympic team.’<sup>774</sup> Apparently, the South African *Sunday Times* ran a headline, “Precious McKenzie had qualified for the Olympics.”<sup>775</sup> The whites-only South African Weightlifting Association attempted unsuccessfully to lure and convince Precious McKenzie to join their team that was to form part of the country’s Olympic Team, provided that he would join as an affiliate, which meant that he had resign from and denounce the non-racial South Africa Amateur Weightlifting and Body Building Federation of which he was a member. McKenzie flatly refused this “offer” indicating that he would not leave the non-racial body until all black weightlifters could compete on an equal basis with white weightlifters. He consequently missed the opportunity. It was after this ordeal that Precious McKenzie left the country and went on to represent Great Britain at the Commonwealth Games in 1966, 1970 and 1974 and won Gold Medals and set Commonwealth records.<sup>776</sup> It was cases like McKenzie’s that prompted black or non-racial sport federations to review their approach against apartheid sport. These bodies decided to get together to support initiatives to form a more cohesive structure rather than individual initiatives and the result was the birth of the CCIR in 1955.

The establishment of the CCIR was an important step, however, generally it did not succeed in achieving the mandate it set itself to accomplish. This was so partly

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This information is also relayed by Denis Brutus, Sam Ramsamy and Precious McKenzie himself, when interviewed in the documentary, Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series: ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg’: “Fair Play” - Clarity Films, 2010.

<sup>773</sup> See De Broglio’s Testimony (prepared and signed on the 24<sup>th</sup> November 1967 for the 25<sup>th</sup> November 1967 submission date/testimony) as part of the bigger dossier by SANROC to the South Africa Commission of the IOC in 1967. De Broglio shared with the Commission: “[F]rom 1951 onwards I worked with the Non-Racial Natal Amateur Weightlifting Association and organised a Multi-racial Durban Championship in 1954 after trying out the multi-racial idea at a series of exhibitions...” This information is contained in the IOC/File-Folder 15/D. RMIO AFRIS/055/7776/SD2: liste des membres de SAN-ROC.s.d/South African Sports Association et SANROC/ Correspondance et liste/1959-1968; also in South African Non-Racial Olympic/Open Committee’s Testimony to South Africa Commission of the IOC: Lausanne, November 25<sup>th</sup> 1967/IOC/CIO D-RMOI AFRIS/ South African Sports Association/later SANROC Docs/Constitutions, Memorandum, Letters, Information, Appeals/Press Cuttings/Press Releases, Open Letters/1975-1967; IOC/SD5/Declaration, Appeals, Information, Letters, 1963-1967, n.p.

<sup>774</sup> De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966-1986”, 2009, n.d.

<sup>775</sup> This is quoted by De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966-1986”, n.d.

<sup>776</sup> See Arthur Jacobs ‘article “McKenzie... The Wonder Weightlifter!” in the South African Amateur Weightlifting and Body Building Federation’s 17<sup>th</sup> Annual South African Championships (that were held at Plane Cinema, in Paarl on Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> July 1967 at 7.30 p.m.) Souvenir Programme, 1967, n.p., - this is contained in the IOC/File-Folder 15/D. RMIO AFRIS/055/7776/SD2: liste des membres de SAN-ROC.s.d/South African Sports Association et SANROC/ Correspondance et liste/1959-1968; also in South African Non-Racial Olympic/Open Committee’s Testimony to South Africa Commission of the IOC: Lausanne, November 25<sup>th</sup> 1967/IOC/CIO D-RMOI AFRIS/ South African Sports Association/later SANROC Docs/Constitutions, Memorandum, Letters, Information, Appeals/Press Cuttings/Press Releases, Open Letters/1975-1967; IOC/SD5/Declaration, Appeals, Information, Letters, 1963-1967, n.p.; This information is relayed by Denis Brutus, Sam Ramsamy and Precious McKenzie himself, when interviewed in the documentary, Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series: ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg’: “Fair Play” - Clarity Films, 2010; also see De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966-1986”, 2009.

because largely, the colour bar question had a long history and was heavily entrenched. Perhaps, more importantly was that:

...Resistance against this colour bar was not a unified action and sections of the Black community operated within the government organs that promoted it. Throughout all of this, British hegemonic imperialism and culture was not challenged by large sections of South African communities and with time they, particularly the elite amongst them, imitated British discriminatory practices. These practices were extended to the field of sport...<sup>777</sup>

There is also a proposition that black people's or "non-white" or "non-European" population's *early* opposition to the colour bar question, at least in the Cape, was complicated by and 'further fuelled by the emergence of a black petty bourgeoisie'.<sup>778</sup>

Cleophas and Van Der Merwe argue that:

... The dissident voices of Dr Abdullah Abdurrahman, Francis Zacchaeus Santiago Peregrino and others, were beginning to be heard in newspapers and social organisations. The newspaper, *South African Spectator*, with its predominantly Black readership, was first published by Peregrino on 1 December 1900...Its philosophy was equal treatment of every man and fair play to all. In similar vein, Abdurrahman was instrumental in establishing the *A.P.O. Official organ of the African People's Organisation* newspaper. In its very first edition the *A.P.O.* criticised the Cape Colony Amateur Athletic and Cycling Union for forcing athletes to declare whether they were of "European parentage"...<sup>779</sup>

It became apparent that, given the above, the CCIR had its work cut out for itself. It is reported that from 'early in the 20th century, Coloured people differed in their approach to the colour bar'<sup>780</sup>. However, resistance to colour bar policies revealed nuances that are common to nearly all liberation struggles throughout South African history. 'The early

<sup>777</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar", p.125.

<sup>778</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar", p.125; similar experiences were observed in the eastern part of the Cape, where figures like Mpilo Walter Rubusana, John Tengo Jabavu and others, used their publications: *Umtethetheli waBantu*, *Izimvo ZaBantsundu*, *Isigidimi* and others, to set out the African peoples political aspirations, for more information on this, see Andre Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town, Self-published (Odendaal, A.), 1977; Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982; Andre Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protests Politics in South Africa to 1912*, Cape Town: David Phillip, 1984; Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and B. Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and the South African Society*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1995; Andre Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of the Cricket's Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850-2003*, Cape Town: David Phillip, 2003; Philani Nongogo (2004) *The Origins; Hall, Parry and Winch (2009)* "Chapter One: 'More Than a Game.'" In Murray and Vahed (eds.) *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*. Durban: University of South Africa Press; Odendaal, A. (1988) 'South Africa's Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century.' In Mangan, J.A. (eds.) *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*. London: Frank Cass.

<sup>779</sup> A.P.O., 1909, p.5.

<sup>780</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar", p.126.

20th century Coloured' and African 'political parties' main action was submitting petitions against white racism and accepting hand-outs from sympathetic whites.<sup>781</sup> Given this background, it became relatively easy for the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 that gave the government of the day the power to exclude Africans from employment as skilled workers and to erect a statutory barrier against the economic advance of even the most able non-white worker,<sup>782</sup> to serve as an efficient catalyst for the promotion of the colour bar.

It has been shown that the earliest forms of resistance to colour bar policies application in sport and therefore the beginning of the fight for equality in sport, was observed in the 1940s. It was, however, 'in the 1950s when there emerged a powerful movement of non-racial sporting organisations in South Africa in struggling for sporting facilities for the black majority and internal recognition and; it was the British sporting administrators who were the most reliable allies of apartheid sport.<sup>783</sup> By 1955, several other non-racial sport federations made representations to their respective international bodies, some succeeding in securing recognition and at the same time getting the Whites-only bodies either expelled or suspended.<sup>784</sup> Probably the most significant challenge against the application of colour bar policy in sport and apartheid sport in South Africa was launched by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (TIYC), which wrote to the IOC calling 'upon all world organisations, in particular the Olympic Games and Empire Games Committee to debar White South Africa from participating and to demanding a non-colour bar representation.'<sup>785</sup> In its communication to the IOC the TIYC submitted its resolutions on sport from the Tenth Annual General Meeting that was held in Johannesburg on 15 May 1955, which among others included the following:

- (1) Welcoming the stand taken by the International Table Tennis Union to exclude the colour bar South African Table Tennis Union (*sic*); (2) The enquiry into the colour discrimination by the

<sup>781</sup> A.P.O., 1922, p.9; also see Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar", p.126; also for more details on this subject see Oliver Tambo, "The nature of our struggle", in Adelaide Tambo, Oliver Tambo speaks, 1987; Suttner, *Inside Apartheid's Prison*, 2001; Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008; Suttner, "ANC", 2012.

<sup>782</sup> W.H. Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, Cape Town, Balkema, 1968, p.4.

<sup>783</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.1.

<sup>784</sup> United Nations (UN)/UN Archives/United Nations Unit on Apartheid/Notes and Documents/No. 1, 16/71, April 1971/International Boycott of Apartheid Sport/With special reference to the campaign in Britain by the Anti-Apartheid Movement/http://an on-line copy/www.anc.org.za/ancdoc/history/aam/abdu12.html or also available at: http://www.aafla.org/SportLibrary/ISS/ISS2102/ISS2102h.pdf;http://www.la84foundation.org/SportLibrary/ISS/ISS2102/ISS2102c.pdf [Accessed 20 July 2009].

<sup>785</sup> IOC/OML/COI AFRIS/Transvaal Indian Youth Congress Letter to the IOC, dated 26 May 1955, also included as Appendix 2 (a) in Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.271-272.

International Boxing Association and the World Soccer Federation (*sic*), FIFA.<sup>786</sup>

In-line with the early Mahatma Gandhi's boycott calls and initiatives in the country and elsewhere, there is also evidence that some sportspersons of Indian descent in South Africa contributed in making the earliest demands that the black and/or non-Europeans should also be represented in international sport.<sup>787</sup> A Coordinating Committee for International Relation<sup>788</sup>/Recognition (CCIR), later simply, CIR, which was formed by black sportsmen in the 1950s, apparently became a product of this call.

#### **4.2.2 The establishment and the role of the Coordinating Committee for International Recognition/Relations**

In 1955, Dennis Brutus formed the CCIRS to lobby for the recognition of black sports associations by International sport Federations. The various black or non-racial-inspired sport organisations also established their respective International Recognition Sub-Committees (IRSC).<sup>789</sup> For instance, on 10 August 1957 the South African Amateur Athletics Association and Cycling Board of Control (SAAA&CBOC) established its International Recognition Sub-Committee, in-line with Dennis Brutus' CCIR.<sup>790</sup> The minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the SAAA&CBOC, under the sub-heading "International Recognition Sub-Committee", the secretary reports that the Annual General Meeting of the Board, made a decision to set up an International Recognition Sub-Committee with the purpose of exploring possibilities of securing international recognition.<sup>791</sup>

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<sup>786</sup> TIYC Letter to the IOC, dated 26 May 1955, included as Appendix 2 (a) in Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.272.

<sup>787</sup> UN/ ANC/E.S. Reddy, "United Nations, India and the boycott of Apartheid sport", 1988, n.p.

<sup>788</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.4.

<sup>789</sup> Box 31.2/Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ See A letter from SASA's Hon. Sec. D. Brutus to its allies one "Scoop"-Sub-committee for Open Olympics (Planning/Preliminary) = 10 August 1961. (One page)/Box 31.2 – demonstrate that SANROC, STST and the AAM worked very closely to achieve a monumental victory in 1970]; United Nations Archives / UN Unit on Apartheid - Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, 1971; Ramsamy 1982; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>790</sup> International Olympic Committee Archives (IOC)/Olympic Museum (OM)/ CIO/D\_RMO1. AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control/7798/1949-1966/ South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control/ Honorary Secretary's Annual Report – 1957/1958, p.3; also see International Olympic Committee Archives (IOC)/Olympic Museum (OM)/ CIO/D\_RMO1. AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control/7798/1949-1966/ South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control/ Honorary Secretary's Annual Report – 1957/1958, p.1-6; also see Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3.

<sup>791</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/The minutes and/or the Secretary's Annual Report of the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control (that was formed in 1946), 1957, p.1 and 1958, p.2.

The minutes of the SAAA&CBOC's Annual General Meeting held in Club Lotus in Durban on 8 July 1958, on page seven reported that the South African Weight-lifting and Body Building Federation, also had its own Coordinating Sub-Committee for International Relations/Recognition and its International Correspondent was D.A. Brutus.<sup>792</sup> Brutus was working in line with the SAAA and CBOC's goal, namely sponsoring a conference of all the leading "national" sporting bodies in the country, with a view to create a South African Olympic and Empire Games Committee which worked with a concerted effort to secure international recognition.<sup>793</sup> The CCIR undertook many resistant activities against apartheid sport. For example, it campaigned against the SAFA's participation in Africa. The SAFA became the FASA in 1957 and was a founding member of the Confédération Africaine de Football (African Football Confederation, CAF) formed in the same year. In 1960, however, FASA was expelled from CAF and suspended from FIFA in 1961 for failure to stop racism in South African football.<sup>794</sup>

#### 4.2.3 The emergence of the non-racial sport movement - The role of the South African Sports Association

The CCIR<sup>795</sup> was succeeded by the SASA in 1958, which was in turn foiled in favour of the SANROC in 1963. In 1958, Dennis Brutus, at the time a school teacher from Port Elizabeth and an International Correspondent of the South African Weightlifting and Body Building Federation (SAWBBF), together with some officials of the South African Amateur Athletics and Cycling Board of Control (SAAA&CBOC), called a conference of Black sport federations at which they formed the SASA.<sup>796</sup> The establishment of the SASA by these various "national" black sport federations, which by 1958, had committed themselves to organising and playing sport on a non-racial basis. SASA's formation was mooted by the sport leaders who had organised themselves under the auspices of the CCIR since the early to mid-1950s. The "organising conference" meeting in East London gave rise to critical resolutions that were quickly implemented and which set in motion a

<sup>792</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/The minutes and/or the Secretary's Annual Report of the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control (that was formed in 1946), 1957, p.1 and 1958, p.2.

<sup>793</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop" NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; for more information on this matter also see Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982, p.190.

<sup>794</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

<sup>795</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop" NCD 12/June 1984/p.3.

<sup>796</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/The minutes and/or the Secretary's Annual Report of the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control (that was formed in 1946), 1957, p.1 and 1958, p.2.

process that consequently led to the establishment of SASA at the augural meeting in Durban on 13 January 1959. This was the first non-racial sport organisation in South Africa and they immediately lobbied the IFs to withdraw recognition of the whites-only South African member organisation, while at the same time lobbying the IOC to reign in the SANOC to integrate black sport people within its ranks. SASA's main mandate was to fight against racism in sport and press for international recognition of the non-racial sport federations in South Africa.<sup>797</sup>

In fact, SASA was born out of the reality that the South African Government had formulated what has generally accepted as the country's *early* sport policy statements in the form of the notorious Boxing and Wrestling Control Act of 1954 and the overarching policy prohibiting mixed or interracial sport activity in the country since 27 June 1956. These developments heavily discriminated against black sportspersons and left the privilege to represent South Africa solely to the white sportspersons.<sup>798</sup> Following the announcement of this official "sport policy" by the apartheid Government on 27 June 1956, black sportspersons decided to organise themselves more efficiently. This culminated in a "national" non-racial body SASA in East London in 1958 and its formal establishment on 13 January 1959 in Durban.

It is important to note that between the East London meeting and the Durban meeting, the Coordinating Committee made unsuccessful attempts to interact with the Whites-only National Olympic Committee concerning the deracialisation process of the country's sport. The formation of SASA effectively became one of the most significant steps towards the barring and eventual expulsion of the whites-only South Africa's NOC and from the Olympic Games in 1964 and 1970 respectively. This in fact meant that South African sportspersons, both black and white, were to be excluded from the Games of the Olympiads until the country was controversially re-admitted into the Olympic Movement in 1992.

The SASA's main objective was to work for 'the full and direct international recognition of all South African sportsmen and for the right of "non-whites" to represent South Africa if and when qualified to do so.'<sup>799</sup> When SASA was formed in the second half of 1958 and had Dennis Brutus as secretary, G.K. Rangasamy as President and Alan

<sup>797</sup> See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Documents/E.S. Reddy, "Sport and the liberation struggle: a tribute to Sam Ramsamy and others who fought apartheid sport", n.d., n.p. Also available: <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/SPORT/SPORTRAM.htm>.

<sup>798</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

<sup>799</sup> Box 25 / IOC Archives / IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SANROC Files / SASA Memorandum, 1959; Box 25 / IOC Archives / IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SANROC Files/SAN-ROC Memorandum, 1963.

Paton as Vice President it immediately endorsed the principle of non-racialism in South African sport and undertook various activities to undermine racial segregation.<sup>800</sup> Black cricket spectators for example, in Johannesburg booed the South African team in the match against the touring Australians.<sup>801</sup> Such actions were not necessarily new. For instance, Archer and Bouillon<sup>802</sup> report that:

...There had already been other expressions of protest among Black sportsmen. By the early 1950s spectators were beginning systematically to applaud visiting sides and boo the Springboks or their local White teams. In 1949-50, an attempt was made by Black spectators to boycott the football stadiums, and in Durban, where the racecourse was segregated in 1950, ‘pamphlets were distributed in the city urging a non-Europeans boycott of the races, but apparently without result’ ...<sup>803</sup>

This resistance also occurred abroad in 1958 when 500 people demonstrated at the Cardiff Empire Games against the selection of the South African team on the basis of race rather than merit.<sup>804</sup> Again, SASA successfully challenged a planned tour by the West Indies cricket team led by Frank Worrell to play against black South African cricketers, although with difficult opposition.<sup>805</sup> SASA’s first critical mandate therefore was to consolidate and unify the fragmented black sportspersons and their racially formulated “national” bodies within the non-racial fold. There were apparently different views among sportspersons on sport and politics before and during this era of the 1950s and onwards. There were noted differences between black and white sportspersons and even within the black groups as

<sup>800</sup> See Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.1-2, in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>801</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>; Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/see: SASA letter to Australian Cricket Board of Control/31 Dec 1962/ dealing with the upcoming tour of the SA team to Australia in 1963, asking the Australian Cricket Board of Control (ACBC) to reconsider invitation of SA team/one page; also: SASA-Hon Sec. D Brutus’s letter to USA Lawn Tennis Team (Mrs Knode) in connection to the US+SA racial series of Test-racial administration principle/one page; also see: A letter from Bill Fairbairn, 18 Feb 1963 of Rhodesia to D. Brutus on issues of Colour bar in SA or his book that he is writing “through the Colour bar”/one page; also see: SASA, D. Brutus, 10 February 1963 letter to Mr Robert Javier, of Rhodesia, talking cooperation in non-racial sport struggle/one page/; also see: A letter from D. Brutus, 20/02/63, to Bill Fairbairn, communicating on SASA activities/one page.

<sup>802</sup> See Chapter 8: “From Black to Non-Racial Sport”, p.186 in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*.

<sup>803</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.186; and for more information on this see S. Patterson, 1953, p.155.

<sup>804</sup> See the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-Apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Antony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the IOC in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/ D.RMO1.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>805</sup> See Philani Nongogo, “The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane: A Case Study of Selected Clubs – 1911 to 2000”, An unpublished Masters Dissertation, Fort Hare University, Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa, 2004, p.202-203; and for more information on this, see *Imvo Zabantsundu Collection: 1958 – 1959*, held by Amathole Museum (formerly known as Kafferian Museum) in King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape, South Africa: See *Imvo Zabantsundu*, Gordon Sipho Qumza, ‘Why did this politician condemn cricket tour?’, “Mixing Sport with Politics is Bad”, 21 March 1959.

well. In Chapter Five of “Black Rugby’s Response to South African Politics: Rugby Splits - the Springboard to Non-Racialism, the late 1950s to the 1980s”, Nongogo writes:

...They [the establishment sportsleaders] persistently argued that blacks are “mixing sport and politics”, thus spoiling the image of the South African sporting fraternity. However, they failed to understand the inevitable connection between the two within the racially troubled South African society.<sup>806</sup> Ironically, some black people also shared this view in the late 1950s through to the 1980s.<sup>807</sup> Apparently, those who shared it were uneasy with the new developments within black rugby because they threatened their power-base...<sup>808</sup>

This is well illustrated below by Gordon Qumza, who, when responding to the call by the South African Anti-apartheid activists and SASA against the planned West Indies tour to South Africa, organised by the South African Non-European Cricket Board of Control (SANCBC), vehemently opposed the AAM and SASA’s idea out rightly, acknowledging that he was:

...not very much surprised. Some of the leading speakers in this meeting of the South African Sports Association were politicians who have not fulfilled the glib promise they made years back. They failed to get political rights they promised Non-Europeans and now that Non-Europeans have hit on the right path in sport. They tell them that that path is going west. Let politician[’]s hands off from our sport (sic). The tour of the Union by the West Indies Cricket towards the end of this year is now on. Hats off the SANCBC for managing to bring Caribbean cricketers to the Union...<sup>809</sup>

The SANCBC was praised by some, for rejecting the request by thirty “Treason Trial” suspects and the five Congress Organisations, namely, the ANC, South African Coloured Congress (SACC), South African Indian Congress (SAIC), South African Congress of Democrats (SACD) and South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), to abandon the proposed West Indies Tour to South Africa that was to be held at the end 1959, in its meeting in Johannesburg in March 1959.<sup>810</sup> Other observers and SASA condemned<sup>811</sup> the

<sup>806</sup> Interview Mtshizana; see also Grundlingh et al, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995, pp.1-5; p.59.

<sup>807</sup> See *Imvo Zabantsundu*, Gordon Sipho Qumza, ‘Why did this politician condemn cricket tour?’, “Mixing Sport with Politics is Bad”, 21 March 1959.

<sup>808</sup> Nongogo, “The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane”, 2004, p.202.

<sup>809</sup> See *Imvo Zabantsundu*, Gordon Sipho Qumza, ‘Why did this politician condemn cricket tour?’, “Mixing Sport with Politics is Bad”, 21 March 1959; Also quoted by Nongogo, in chapter five: “Black Rugby’s Response to South African Politics: Rugby Splits - the Springboard to Non-racialism, the late 1950s to the 1980s” of *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*, 2004, p.202.

<sup>810</sup> See *Imvo Zabantsundu*, Gordon Sipho Qumza, ‘Why did this politician condemn cricket tour?’, “Mixing Sport with Politics is Bad”, 21 March 1959.

<sup>811</sup> See a letter by G.K. Rangasamy, SASA’s President to ‘The West Indies Cricket Board of Control’, appealing to the latter to cancel Mr. Warrell’s Team tour to South Africa in 1959, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1959, contained in the IOC/CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959; also see Alan Paton’s “Opening

SANCBC together with the collaborating countries and their respective sportspersons, such as the West Indies cricketers and the rugby players of New Zealand, who were enthusiastic about visiting the apartheid land. In his response to the above, Alan Paton asserted in the Conference:

...the whole responsibility does not rest on you. It rests on other countries as well. Take as an example the proposed trip of Mr. Worrell's team from the West Indies to this country. Mr. Worrell is not only accepting the colour bar inside South Africa, he is establishing a colour bar in his own country. Take the example of the New Zealand All Blacks. For half a century they have sent All-White All-Blacks to South Africa. But the world has changed and they know it. They will have to face a great deal of hostile New Zealand opinion if they decided to leave their Maori players at home, indeed they are insulting them by so doing. They are not only accepting the colour bar in South Africa, they are perpetuating a colour bar in New Zealand, and that is against their dearest principles. Their Churches and other bodies have protested strongly against this possible abandonment of principle. Such abandonment would be something of which New Zealand would need to be thoroughly ashamed. It would be imperilling the harmony of the Commonwealth for the sake of a Government that is really indifferent to it...<sup>812</sup>

Given this socio-political and racially polarised background, the popular argument within the progressive forces, was that the formation of SASA in January 1959 was a serious step towards non-racialism in sport in South Africa.<sup>813</sup> This was so because SASA's aims included the coordination of "non-white" sport, to advance the cause of sport and the standards of sport among "non-white" sportsmen, ensuring that they and their organisations receive proper recognition here and abroad, and pursuing these aims on a

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Address", 1959, p.4, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

<sup>812</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.4, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

<sup>813</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.1-2, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; also see Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ SASA: President GK Rangasamy 04Feb. 1960, Coordinating Body for true sportsmanship in SA. A letter to the SA Cricket Association asking it to decline an invitation of trials on the basis of racialisation of sport in SA. (One page); also see: SASA= D A Brutus (Hon. Sec. SASA) 01 June 1960, "Appeal to National Olympic Bodies Sportsmen and Friends, [to support the non-racial sport]; also: SASA 16July 1961 "Operation SONREIS": "Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport", issued by Dennis Brutus –Hon Sec SASA; also see: SASA "A call to all sportsmen" by SASA Press. G.K. Rangasamy and D. Brutus, Hon Sec. no date. (two pages); also see: SASA- GR Rangasamy Press. 18 January 1960 SASA. "Selection of SA cricket team" A letter to SA cricket association, JHB/ (one page).

non-racial basis.<sup>814</sup> Important in SASA's operations was its close link with the progressive liberation movement.<sup>815</sup> Among its patrons were prominent anti-apartheid leaders from the ANC, the Natal Indian Congress and the Liberal Party.<sup>816</sup> Alan Paton in his "Opening Address" however, stressed the issue of SASA's focus on and 'concerning itself with the colour bar only because it is has been forced to do so. Therefore it has to make itself strong as a Sports Association.'<sup>817</sup>

In relation to some black or "non-white" sport federations such as the South African Non-European Cricket Board of Control (SANECBC) and the South African Bantu Amateur Athletics Association (SABAAA), which were keen to accept the subservient affiliation status and recognition from the whites-only sport federations, Alan Paton declared that:

...I think we would be justified in assuming that this sub-servant affiliation of non-White to the White bodies is a pattern wholly acceptable to the Government, and is in a large measure acceptable to White organisations, and further, if it seemed to be the only way out, it might be acceptable to certain non-White associations, such as, for example the S.A. Cricket Control Board, and now, as I read in the *Daily News* on Thursday evening, also the S.A. Bantu Amateur Athletic Association, whose three senior officials, Messrs. Rodseth, Panovka, and Botha, have just issued a statement...The SABAAA has accepted affiliation to the S.A. European Athletics Union, and is prepared to stage separate championships "provided teams are chosen to represent South Africa on merit" ...<sup>818</sup>

By 1960 however, SASA was almost closed down by the police and the apartheid government, who placed a banning order on Dennis Brutus that made it illegal for him to

<sup>814</sup>See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.1-2, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; see also: Box 25 / IOC Archives / IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SANROC Files / SASA Memorandum, 1959; Box 25 / IOC Archives / IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa / SANROC Files/SAN-ROC Memorandum, 1963; also see Grundlingh et al, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995, p.53; Nongogo, *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*, 2004, p.202.

<sup>815</sup>See Box 31.2/Contents: Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169/Sam Ramsamy Collection/[Box 31.2 – demonstrate that SANROC, the Stop the Seventy Tour (STST) campaign and the broader AAM worked very closely to achieve a monumental victory in 1970].

<sup>816</sup>See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; also see Grundlingh et al, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995, p.53.

<sup>817</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.5., in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

<sup>818</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.3, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

belong to any organisation, teach, write or attend any meeting of more than two people. Needless to say that the organisation persevered amidst difficulties and accusations that it was more a political structure than a sport organisation<sup>819</sup> until the non-racial sport leaders decided to foil SASA in 1962 and focus on establishing and strengthening the SANROC. In response to this accusation, however, Alan Paton declared:

...It will be said of course that you as an Association, and I as a speaker, are bringing politics into sport. Mr Chairman and Gentlemen, politics are already in sport, they are already there in the colour bar, they are already there in the policy of the S.A. Olympic Committee to bar non-White athletes from international competition. It was not you Gentlemen, who brought politics into sport, in fact you are trying to get politics out...<sup>820</sup>

Further, on October 14, 1963, Abdul Minty declared among other things in the SANROC's "Urgent Report" to the IOC:

...The accusation appears in the report [by Mr Frank Braun of SANOC] that SANROC and other non-racial sport federations are actuated by political motives; but Mr Braun's report itself shows that it is precisely the NOC of South Africa which raises a barrier of political discrimination, refusing facilities and membership to non-Whites unless they accept the Apartheid principle, involving separate and subordinate status. This means, in fact, the exclusion of a great many of the best non-White sportsmen in South Africa...<sup>821</sup>

It was only realised later in the 1970s that some of the people who readily accepted the sub-ordinate status from the white sport federations and who were previously against challenging the country's apartheid policies, were in fact supporting the NP government long before they went public about their position. For instance, in the South African rugby landscape, in the 1970s many people who preached that sport and politics should not be

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<sup>819</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.182; also see Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.4 and 5, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; also see an "Urgent Submission" by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMO1 AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.

<sup>820</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.4, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

<sup>821</sup> See an "Urgent Submission" by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMO1 AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.

mixed and denounced the work of SASA and non-racial sport movement, branding it as a bunch of ‘politicians in tracksuits,’<sup>822</sup> moved closer to the establishment rugby body, the SARFB, which, under the leadership of Danie Craven, changed its name to the SARB when it assimilated some black rugby structures.<sup>823</sup> This development is discussed in detail in a later part of this chapter. However, for rugby administrators such as Mtshizana, mixing politics with sport was the inevitable result of government politics.<sup>824</sup> He argued that:

...Whites have always said to our sportsmen, don't mix politics with sport and my reply has always been: it is not us who are mixing politics with sport. It is the whites who have dictated that they shall play their sport in the posh sporting grounds of Ellis Park, Newlands...and the like...whilst blacks would be confined to the so-called sporting grounds in the *bundus*, in the locations. Compare our sport grounds with that of the whites...and it is the politics that dictate that, that blacks shall not have stadiums of this posh nature...in the locations...those locations they themselves being in the *bundus*, being in the *rhetus* [ghettos]...is as a result of the policy of the government of the country that dictates that... White sport is governed by the whites with their policy of the country which favours whites...so long as we play as separate entities, with whites in their own sporting grounds and blacks in the *rhetus*...politics shall be the tool. Because we shall always politically agitate to have the sport grounds as good and as posh as those of the whites. Contrary to the policy of the country...we are not...dictating the sport policy...it is coming from above, from the government...<sup>825</sup>

SASA’s other formal action and mandate therefore was to charge the South African National Olympic Committee with acts of racism and to request the IOC to put the item on its agenda of the 1960 meeting of the IOC in Rome.<sup>826</sup> There is evidence that from 1947 onwards the IOC played its full part in the merry-go-round with the whites-only South African sport establishment.<sup>827</sup> Petitions and appeals which were sent by representative

<sup>822</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.6.

<sup>823</sup> See Paul Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, South African Rugby Board: Association, Cape Town, Wim Reinders and Assoc, 1989; See Grundlingh et al, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995; Abdurrahman Mannie Booley, *The Forgotten Heroes: History of Black Rugby – 1889 – 1992*, Cape Town, 1998; Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*”, 2004.

<sup>824</sup> See Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*”, 2004, p.203.

<sup>825</sup> See Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*”, 2004, p.204.

<sup>826</sup> De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966-1986”, 2009; also see Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>827</sup> IOC/OM/CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations–Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/The Honorary Secretary’s Annual Report/South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control, 1957/58, p.1; IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/Minutes of an

organisations of black or non-racial South Africans were referred back to the offending bodies in South Africa, SANOC and the whites-only “national” sport federations. The IOC member in South Africa, Mr Reginald Honey, for instance was not instructed by the IOC to demand that the racist practices by SANOC and the whites-only “national” bodies, be abandoned when the South African problem was first discussed in 1959.<sup>828</sup> In fact as life president of the South African Olympic Committee he was in part responsible for the continuation of these racist practices. The IOC president and the Chancellor simply accepted without reservations all Mr Honey’s declarations that there was no discrimination in South African sport in spite of detailed evidence to the contrary supplied in a memorandum that was submitted to the former by SASA’s Honorary Secretary, Dennis Brutus in 1959.<sup>829</sup> Immense pressure had to be applied to both SANOC and the IOC for South Africa’s racial problem to be placed on the agenda of the IOC in 1959.<sup>830</sup> Actually, when SASA’s Honorary Secretary, Dennis Brutus, applied for a passport to attend and state SASA’s case in the IOC in 1959, the apartheid Government refused the application. This was to mark a very difficult path for the Whites-only South African sport establishment from then onwards. In the “SANROC Story”, de Broglio writes:

...In 1961 I was in my office at UAT French Airlines in Johannesburg and Dennis Brutus...president of the Non-Racial South African Sports Association, entered my office. I had been in touch with Dennis for some time...Dennis was then a Banned Person, which meant that he could not be seen with more than three persons...could not be published...He told me that he had some documents to be printed...I

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Annual General Meeting SAAA&CBOC, held at Club Lotus, Prince Edward Street, Durban/Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1958, p.2/08h30 p.m.; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3; IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959; also see Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.4, in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959, p.2, at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>828</sup> The report of a commission which visited South Africa in 1967 shows that the matter was discussed in 1959, obviously through the pressure of the South African Sports Association, see the IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.1; also see De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”; Francois J. Cleophas and Floris J.G. Van Der Merwe, “Contradictions and responses concerning the South Africa sport Colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape”, in *AJPERHD*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March) 2011, pp. 124-140; Ian Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games”, pp. 97-110: p.2, in J.M. Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge, 2012.

<sup>829</sup> IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>830</sup> See the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-Apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Anony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (26 May 1955 and the response on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1955) and the IOC in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/ D.RMO1.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; See the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMO1.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l’Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

told him I would have it done. This was prior to the International Olympic Committee Meeting that was to be held at Baden-Baden and those documents were in connection with that meeting...<sup>831</sup>

The refusal of travelling documents did not deter Brutus. Fortunately, at the time he had a British passport. Given the travel difficulties and his banned status, he could not therefore use the normal travelling channels. On 18 February 2005, de Broglio wrote in his blog:

...Dennis Brutus attempted to leave South Africa by crossing the border into Moçambique, in order to attend the meeting of the IOC in Baden-Baden. He was arrested by the Portuguese Security police and handed over to the South African Security Police...and was sentenced to two years in prison for leaving the country illegally, although he was in possession of a British Rhodesian passport at the time of his arrest! De Broglio, who worked for an international airline, was able to arrange for the [SANROC] Chairman, John Harris, to leave the country without the knowledge of the Security Police to attend the meeting of the IOC. His mission was successful as South Africa was excluded from the Tokyo Olympics., which was the first real blow to the Apartheid State...<sup>832</sup>

Concomitant to these developments, Brutus and his fellow activists were also planning to establish SANROC. De Broglio writes:

...We were then in continuous contact as he was planning to form SANROC... Dennis planned this new organisation after he had had a meeting with the South African National Olympic Committee and had discussed about the inclusion of wlack South Africans in the Olympic team, which had been refused by the white organisation...He was told that he could go ahead and they laughed at his suggestion. They were not to laugh in 1970 when the IOC...expelled the South African Olympic Association...<sup>833</sup>

It was perhaps the realisation of these developments and other challenges to come that created some uneasiness on the side on SANOC. For instance:

...On 24 April 1962 the South African National Olympic Committee issued a rather nonsensical statement, ["T]his committee stands by the Olympic principle of non-racism in sport . . . but is not waging a war against the South African Government." For objective observers it

<sup>831</sup> De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", p.1

<sup>832</sup> See De Broglio's blog: STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID SPORT: The role of De Broglio in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle/The role of De Broglio in the struggle for Non-Racial Sport in South Africa, [this blog covers the period from 1962 to 2005 about the struggle for non-racial sport in apartheid South Africa and was posted on Friday, February 18, 2005], available on: [<http://nonracialsport.blogspot.com/2005/02/role-of-chris-de-broglio-in-anti.html>] and was accessed on July 25, 2005,

<sup>833</sup> De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", p.1.

became clear that unless South Africa changed its racist policies, the country would soon be expelled from all international sport federations. The South African Olympic Committee had fallen between two chairs...<sup>834</sup>

On 24 May 1962 Dennis Brutus, the Honorary Secretary of SASA, wrote to Otto Mayer for the second time, who was at the time the IOC Chancellor, requesting that the South African National Olympic Committee be expelled from the International Olympic Committee.<sup>835</sup> On a “charge sheet” that accompanied this letter it was stated:

...That the President of the South African National Olympic Committee made it clear that his committee would not oppose racial discrimination as dictated by the government; [T]hat there had been increasing measure of government interference in sport in South Africa; ...and [T]hat nine sportsmen were to appear in court because they had organised a non-racial football match...<sup>836</sup>

Naturally, through the pressure from SASA, individuals, other interests' pressure groups and organisations and some members from within the IOC, the IOC had no choice but to discuss South Africa's racial problem in sport.<sup>837</sup> In his Opening Address to the ‘Conference of National Sporting Bodies’, Alan Paton declared that

...Now I understand that the Draft constitution of SASA will propose to out-law all race discriminations. You must count the cost of adopting such as a constitution, for it will undoubtedly displease the authorities (sic) [authorities], and it may at the outset cause your activities to be hampered. But one thing should be clear to us all. The colour bar in South African sport may last for some time...but the colour bar in international sport is doomed. Pressure from various countries will be exerted on the International Olympic Games Committee (sic) International Olympic Committee] which meets this year [1959] to make preliminary arrangements for the Olympic Games. Representatives have already been made to the President, Mr Avery Brundage, from several countries, not only by individuals but by sporting bodies. These representations will be continued this year,

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<sup>834</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

<sup>835</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>; also see a letter from the IOC President, Avery Brundage to SANOC's Ira G. Emery, dated September 27, 1958 in IOC Archives/ D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also this information is relayed by Denis Brutus himself, when interviewed in the documentary, Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series: ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg’: “Fair Play” - Clarity Films, 2010.

<sup>836</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

<sup>837</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc., Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/see: A letter by G K Rangasamy, President SASA to Mr Brundage: President: IOC (letter also forwarded to the editor of Rand Daily Mail/one page; also see Alan Paton's “Opening Address”, 1959, p.4, in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMOI. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

and it is to be hoped that the Olympic Games Committee will see it as its simple duty, to adhere to its own Charter, which lays down that “no discrimination is allowed against any person on grounds of colour, religion, or politics...” ...<sup>838</sup>

In fact after the Moscow Session in 1962 the IOC wrote to the SANOC:

... if the policy of racial discrimination practise by your Government in this respect does not change before our session in Nairobi takes place in October 1963, the International Olympic Committee will be obliged to suspend your committee...<sup>839</sup>

While SANOC was charged by the IOC at the instigation of SASA, in South Africa last minute attempts were made to get SASA and SANOC at a round table conference. On 16 July 1962 Mr GK Rangasamy, President of SASA, wrote a letter to SANOC and the IOC.<sup>840</sup> In it he invited SANOC to a meeting. On 15 August 1962, Lilian Francey, the Secretary of the SANOC, replied:

...In order to assist us in this matter [the requested meeting], please furnish us with a list of sporting bodies affiliated to you association, so that we may establish the bona fide and status of your association...<sup>841</sup>

There is little doubt that this reply would have seemed strange to any reasonable person. It is apparent that SANOC here was simply trying to avoid the inevitable. On 22 August 1962 the required information was supplied by Mr GK Rangasamy in a letter to SANOC, which SANOC then claimed it never received. Mr GK Rangasamy mailed another copy through to SANOC but could not hide his frustration, when he wrote, ‘...I am inclined to state bluntly that your enquiries are more an attempt to stall ...’<sup>842</sup>

On 7 October 1962 the SASA decided in principle to disband and establish SANROC, following its very last attempt to persuade SANOC to move away from racial sport organisation. By this time it was clear that SASA has done its best but failed to convince or push SANOC and the broader establishment sport to move towards equality in

<sup>838</sup> Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.3, in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>839</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

<sup>840</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc. /Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/see: A letter by G K Rangasamy, President SASA to Mr a Brundage: President: IOC (letter also forwarded to the editor of Rand Daily Mail/one page).

<sup>841</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ See a letter from Mrs L M Francey-Hon Gen. Secretary of South African Olympic and National Games Association, 5 Nov. 1962 to SASA-Mr DA Brutus (JHB) so about misconception between the two bodies and questions of SASA, perhaps to work with SASA. “Serving no useful purpose” (One page).

<sup>842</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

sport and to denounce apartheid sport and move towards inclusive-non-racial sport in South Africa. In 1963, therefore the former SASA officials formed the SANROC whose aim it was to replace SANOC as members of the IOC. Dennis Brutus was appointed president of the pilot committee, with Rev. B. Sigamoney as Chairman and Mr R Hlongwane as Secretary.<sup>843</sup> The mammoth task of attempting to deracialise South African sport and specifically the intensification of the fight against the application of apartheid policies in sport was therefore left on the shoulders of this newly established body, SANROC. SANOC's work and role in the struggle against apartheid sport is discussed below.

#### **4.3 THE ROLE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NON-RACIAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE TO DERACIALISE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT**

##### **4.3.1 The role of the South African Non-Racial Olympic/Open Movement and the Olympic Movement: The advent of the Sports boycott**

The SANROC succeeded the SASA in 1963. The SANROC's main purpose was to fight against racism in sport and press for international recognition of the non-racial sport federations in South Africa.<sup>844</sup> The struggle naturally assumed a political character because generally, the Struggle for equality in South African society, including those of fighting against the colour bar and apartheid sport, were inherently political in nature. Most importantly, however, is the fact that the attempts related to sport specifically were initiated and undertaken by genuine sportspeople.<sup>845</sup> It was apparently this reason Alan Paton in his "Opening Address" during the launching of SASA, stressed that it should focus on and concerns 'itself with the colour bar only because it is has been forced to do so. Therefore it has to make itself strong as a Sports Association,'<sup>846</sup> as possible. The

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<sup>843</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/see: A hand written letter from "PAT" to D Brutus, congratulating him for being elected SANROC president, 24 October 1962/one page.

<sup>844</sup> Box 25 / IOC Archives/Olympic Movement and South Africa/SANROC Files/SASA Memorandum, 1959; De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1970; Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real hurdle*, 1982; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995.

<sup>845</sup> Accusations were made by the Olympic Movement locally and internationally and apartheid regime that leaders of SANROC and the broader black sport movement were political agitators as opposed to genuine and *bona fide* sportspeople. To refute this, see the testimonies of Mr Wilfred. C. Brutus, Precious Patrick McKenzie, Dennis Brutus, Christian de Broglio, Reginald Hlongwane, Omar F. Cassem, witnesses to the IOC Commission on South African in 1967, in IOC/IOC D\_RMO1AFRIS/013/SDI 1959-1968/1968; See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; for more on this also see Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982.

<sup>846</sup> See Alan Paton's "Opening Address", 1959, p.5., in the "Conference of National Sporting Bodies" that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959.

NRSM, comprising of SASA, SANROC and SACOS later on, in their struggles to deracialise South African sport was indeed assisted by some non-sport people because the very nature of this struggle was inherently made political by the conditions unto which sport was organised or administered and supposed to be played.<sup>847</sup> The nature of society was characterised by the colour bar policy and later apartheid system, and apartheid sport became inherently the definitive sport system in South Africa and made the challenge of an undeniable political nature. Hence at a later stage, the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent initiation of the Sports boycott, took on a political nature and character.

Further, a critical point to make is that the non-racial proponent in South African sport apparently made genuine attempts to resolve the country's racial problem in sport internally. For instance on 9 October 1962 Brutus wrote to the SANOC:

...It is proposed to have the formal inauguration of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee...in January next year; if a satisfactory solution can be found it is probable that it would not be necessary to proceed with the development of SANROC. It would, therefore be most fruitful if talks could be arranged before January 1963...<sup>848</sup>

De Broglio also shares this similar piece of information in the "SANROC Story, 1966-1986", declaring that:

... In 1961 I had been in touch with Dennis for some time about the Weightlifting Federation in Port Elizabeth of which he was President...We were then in continuous contact as he was planning to form SANROC. We then had a meeting at the residence of Father Sigamoney with a couple of other members and planned for the Formation Meeting. Dennis planned this new organisation after he had had a meeting with the South African National Olympic Committee and had discussed about the inclusion of Black South Africans in the Olympic team, which had been refused by the White organisation...<sup>849</sup>

The time it took and the difficulty it proved to be in securing the meeting between SANROC and SANOC is telling. Dennis Brutus wrote several letters to SANOC without

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<sup>847</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982.

<sup>848</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>; also see Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc., /Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ See a letter from Mrs L M Francey-Hon Gen. Secretary of South African Olympic and National Games Association, 5 Nov. 1962 to SASA-Mr D A Brutus (JHB) about misconception between the two bodies and questions of SASA, perhaps to work with SASA. "Serving no useful purpose" (One page).

<sup>849</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966-1986", published the SANROC On-line: <http://www.sanroc-online.com/>

success before the two organisations eventually met. For instance on 25 November 1962 Brutus wrote again to the SANOC:

...it is hard not to see the evasiveness of your body as an attempt to impede our work for the removal of racial discrimination and the achievement of true sportsmanship for all South Africans in the Olympic Movement...<sup>850</sup>

The SANOC stalled until 24 December 1962 before it gave an answer to SANROC. They then wrote, among other things: '[I]t would serve no purpose for us to participate in a national convention called by any unofficial organisation.'<sup>851</sup> On 3 January 1963 Dennis Brutus informed General H B Klopper, the chairman of the SANOC that the inauguration of the SANROC will be considered at a meeting on 13 January 1963. The meeting was to be held in the Patidar Hall in Fordsburg. In the letter Brutus wrote among other things that 'I would like to extend a cordial invitation to you to attend . . . we would like you to be a guest speaker and to address the meeting', which General Klopper responded, by simply saying that the only meetings he attended on a Sunday was Church meetings.

A month following the above response, the sport situation in the country further deteriorated, where on 4 February 1963 the apartheid Government apparently slammed the door closed on any hope of a compromise for future participation of South Africa in international sport when the Minister of the Interior, Jan de Klerk, issued a press statement, following what he viewed as misinterpretation of his January Policy Statement.<sup>852</sup> Minister De Klerk, father of F W de Klerk, warned that if the sport federations did not comply with government policy, legislation would be introduced to compel them to do so. The Government's original official position on mixed-race sport participation in South Africa, as outline on 18 January 1963 was that:

... [to the effect that any application for travelling facilities for a non-White for] "inclusion in the South African contingent" would be considered "on its own merit and in the light of government policy"...

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<sup>850</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>.

<sup>851</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>; also see Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc.,/Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ *See a letter from Mrs. L. M. Francey-Hon Gen. Secretary of South African Olympic and National Games Association, 5 Nov. 1962 to SASA-Mr D A Brutus (JHB)* (One page).

<sup>852</sup> See an Urgent Submission by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.

A few days following the above pronouncement, the Minister of the Interior indicated that his letter might have been misinterpreted, and that he stood by his statement of March 1962, which stipulated that the government cannot approve of mixed teams. This led to the IOC's warning, in its meeting 1962,<sup>853</sup> that SANOC might be expelled from the Olympic family if it continued with racial discrimination. On February 4, 1963, in a further full official policy statement by the Minister, Government made it clear that the racist policy will be applied. Among other issues he spelled out, he specifically mentioned the following:

...Participation in international sport tournaments or competitions of mixed teams as representatives of South Africa could not be approved. For example, if Whites took part individually in such tournaments, they must do so as representatives of the Whites of this country. The Non-Whites must take part as representatives of Non-White South Africans...<sup>854</sup>

In fact, in May 1963 the South African Government actually acted on its "promise", when it served Dennis Brutus, the President of SANROC with a banning order. This meant that Brutus was now no longer allowed to attend any meetings where more than two people were present.<sup>855</sup> Yet, on 14 May 1963 the SANOC invited SANROC to a meeting, which meant that Brutus, as the President, also had to attend. The meeting took place two weeks later on 29 May 1963 and indeed Dennis Brutus was among the SANROC delegates. Interestingly, shortly after the meeting began the Security Police barged into the room and arrested Brutus. De Broglio offers some interesting detail of what was discussed in the meeting, the way forward thereof and the subsequent developments:

...He [Dennis Brutus] then told the meeting that he would form SANROC to challenge their membership of the International Olympic Committee...He was told that he could go ahead and they laughed at his suggestion. They were not to laugh in 1970 when the IOC in Amsterdam expelled the South African Olympic Association. SANROC was formed in October 1962 and my Assistant Accountant at UAT, Reg Hlongwane a weightlifter, was elected Secretary. He was

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<sup>853</sup> See an Urgent Submission by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.

<sup>854</sup> See an Urgent Submission by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.

<sup>855</sup> Dennis Brutus was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, which made it illegal for anyone banned under this law to belong to associations, attend meetings, teach, write and be quoted in public, among other restrictions. So, his attendance of the said meeting meant that he contravened his banning order by being at a meeting of more than two people.

then called in front of a judge and given a warning in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. The fact that he was not a communist did not matter! Dennis then left the country illegally by crossing the border into Moçambique. But the Portuguese Security Police arrested him and kept him under interrogation for a couple of days before handing him over to the South African Security Police...<sup>856</sup>

During the period of arrest and before Brutus was sentenced, he attempted to leave South Africa through Swaziland to London, using a Southern Rhodesian-issued (now known as Zimbabwe) British valid passport, but was arrested by the Portuguese East African (now known as Mozambique) security apparatus and handed back to South Africa. In relation to Brutus' matter above, on October 14 1963, Abdul Minty declared among other things to the IOC:

...that the President of SAN-ROC, Mr. Dennis Brutus, was arrested by the South African police when he was endeavouring to meet Mr Balsiger,<sup>857</sup> then subsequently re-arrested and shot while trying to come to Baden-Baden to present to the IOC information which is lacking in Mr Braun's<sup>858</sup> report...<sup>859</sup>

It should be indicated that the IOC under the leadership of Avery Brundage was happy to reject any challenge to the apartheid sport question, branding it a political manoeuvre<sup>860</sup> yet readily accepting any argument that seemed to accept or defend 'the political, social and, by extension, sporting merits of the policy of "apartheid", or separation of races with complete control and domination by the "superior" white group',<sup>861</sup> such as the ones that

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<sup>856</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966-1986", published the SANROC On-line: <http://www.sanroc-online.com/>

<sup>857</sup> Mr Rudolf Balsiger was a Swiss journalist who had written up a report and submitted to both SANOC and the IOC, with regard to the racial problem in South Africa but of course his report was an approval of and supporting the apartheid situation in South Africa and therefore strengthening SANOC's "flawed arguments" and partly understanding of the IOC's indifference towards the plight of the black sportspersons, at least in as far as SANROC was concerned.

<sup>858</sup> It should be remembered that in 1962, the IOC had requested information from SANOC with reference to its June 1962 resolution, which warned the NOC of South Africa against the policy and practice of racial discrimination and Mr Braun at the time was the President of SANOC and there had to submit to the IOC, a report in this regard. SANROC, through Abdul Minty therefore submitted its own report in response to what it viewed as disingenuous and misleading report by SANOC. See the full SANROC Report in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n./"Urgent Submission" by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", October 14, 1963, n.p.

<sup>859</sup> See an "Urgent Submission" by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.

<sup>860</sup> See the letters between the black sport federations (1955) and other Anti-Apartheid structures such as the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (8<sup>th</sup> October 1958/13.10.58, sent by Anony Steel); American Committee on Africa (April 28, 1958) and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (26 May 1955 and the response on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1955) and the IOC and IOC Presidents, Avery Brundage, in the 1950s, in: IOC Archives/ D.RMOLAFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>861</sup> See the full SANROC Report in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n./"Urgent Submission" by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport", October 14, 1963, n.p.

Mr Frank Braun of SANOC<sup>862</sup> and the Swiss journalist, Mr Rudolf Balsiger<sup>863</sup> presented to the IOC.<sup>864</sup> For instance, Avery Brundage wrote this to Rudolf Balsiger:

...Thank you for your long and interesting letter on the South African problem, which troubles us greatly. There is much truth in what you say. I have also studied your pamphlet. We are, of course solely concerned with sport and this case it is very difficult to keep sport questions and political questions separate...<sup>865</sup>

By this time, it was nonetheless a well-established fact that SANOC voluntarily chose to exclude Black sportspersons in South Africa; doing so in direct response and in alignment to the government's racist policy of apartheid.

The IOC and its President were well aware of this reality. The IOC resolutions on its relationship with, attitude and approach towards SANROC as captured in *Annexure V* of the minutes of IOC Executive Board in Munich in 1959, where a decision to totally snub SANROC, albeit using the word "Olympic" in its title and having presented itself and proved to be a sport body representing the majority of sportspersons in South Africa, irrespective of race,<sup>866</sup> is indicative of this hypocrisy and bias towards the racist SANOC. In fact, there is evidence that the Olympic Movement and the IOC did not only tolerate Whites-only South Africa's indifference towards the country's Black sportspersons for a long time, but also sympathised and supported the racist regime.<sup>867</sup> The IOC's Presidents' (both Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin in and after 1972) belief that sport and politics do not mix was not only flawed, within the South African context but mischievous and

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<sup>862</sup> See Frank Braun's Letters to the IOC President, Avery Brundage: See the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association (and to) the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>863</sup> See a Letter/Report by Rudolf Balsiger, 'Betrifft: "Apartheid" und Sport in Südafrika', addressed to Sehr geehrter Herr [Otto] Mayer [and therefore the IOC and its President, Avery Brundage], from Bern, Hochfeldstrasse 3, Bern, den 17. September 1963/found in the IOC/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/7741/Correspondance du CIO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud, 1926-1960/FILE 7/SD2: Correspondance, 1951-1958/ 1959-1968; also see Avery Brundage Letter to Rudolf Balsiger, dated August 22, 1964 [This is perhaps the first letter from Brundage, of the possibly second or more letters between the two, given that the Brundage Letter seems post-dated if indeed is in response to the September letter by Balsiger?]/in the IOC/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/7741/Correspondance du CIO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud, 1926-1960/FILE 7/SD2: Correspondance, 1951-1958/ 1959-1968.

<sup>864</sup> See the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>865</sup> See Avery Brundage Letter to Rudolf Balsiger, dated August 22, 1964 in the IOC/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/7741/Correspondance du CIO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud, 1926-1960/FILE 7/SD2: Correspondance, 1951-1958/ 1959-1968.

<sup>866</sup> See the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; see also the IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC's submission, "International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC", (penned by De Broglie) on 23 November 1967 (for the Commission that set on 25 November 1967).

<sup>867</sup> See Avery Brundage Letter to Rudolf Balsiger, dated August 22, 1964 in the IOC/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/7741/Correspondance du CIO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud, 1926-1960/FILE 7/SD2: Correspondance, 1951-1958/ 1959-1968.

downright bias against the black sportspersons' plight. This approach also furthered the racial divisions in South Africa and promoted the black sportspersons' exclusion from the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. This occurred in the face of strong protestations by the non-racial sport movement and AAM. That the IOC specifically and the Olympic Movement generally, never elected nor co-opted any non-racial South African sportsperson into their midst respectively, is an indictment on their part. The IOC opted to snub SANROC as opposed to giving it an ear. More interestingly, the IOC instead continued to work closely with SANOC, even after it had suspended and later expelled the racist Committee in 1960 and in 1970 respectively. What was bizarre was the fact that SANOC had the audacity to accuse the IOC, after its expulsion from the Olympic Games, in its annual report for 1983/1984 Seasons' report that:

...Morally, it is equally wrong for the IOC to boycott sportspersons in accordance with political acceptability or not...<sup>868</sup>

There is evidence that the IOC Presidents that reigned between the 1940s and the 1970s shared the view and belief that SANROC should be dismissed with contempt because it was led by "politicians" rather than sportspersons; a view also shared by the suspended racist South Africa's NOC.<sup>869</sup> *Annexure V* of the 1959 IOC Session minutes reads:

...The International Olympic Committee resolved that, whilst SANROC uses the word "Olympic" in its title, neither the International Olympic Committee nor any of its officials shall have any communication or dealings with it...<sup>870</sup>

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<sup>868</sup> IOC Archives / IOC Munich Executive Board Minutes, 1959: Annexure V - IOC OSC Archives.

<sup>869</sup> South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) and its apartheid government (IOC Archives/ IOC Sessions: CIO D\_RMOI\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972; Annual Report, 1983/84, 1984, p.3; also see the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960; also see Frank Braun's Letters to the IOC President, Avery Brundage: See the letters (17 February 1955; 25 February 1958, April 07, 1958; 18 April 1958; April 27 1958; 1April 28, 1958; 8 September 1958; September 27, 1958; 14 October 1958; October 24, 1958) from (and to) Mr. Ira G. Emery, who was at the time the General Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association to the IOC President, Avery Brundage and or copied to the IOC Chancellor, Otto Meyer, in: IOC Archives/D.RMOI.AFRIS/023/Correspondance du CNO et Sur l'Afrique du Sud/1926-1960.

<sup>870</sup> See (IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / CIO D\_RMOI\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972 –Extraits des Session:Sur Afrique du Sud, 1959-1972/CIO D\_RMOI\_AFRIS/038/7787/SDI:Extraits des Sessions/Sur Afrique du Sud/1959-1972/ANNEX V; Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/[Box 31.2 – demonstrate that SANROC, STST and the AAM worked very closely to achieve a monumental victory in 1970]/ FILE 3 MCH25 –1 -3-1/ This file contains critical SANROC information, with document letterhead indicating the word OPEN rather than Olympic in the name SANROC; Box 1/MAYIBUYE CENTRE for HISTORY and CULTURE in SOUTH AFRICA/MCH25 PETER HAIN BOX 1 SPORT and APARTHEID/The inventory of the Sam Ramsamy Collection comprising 206 boxes, compiled by Albert Theo Frits, July 1993/This is a big brown envelope written Bertie, containing files from Hain, Peter, Adeline and Walter: papers relating to the Stop Tour campaign, SANROC and the Hain family, presented by Hain family, 1995 – five files from MCH 25 1- 5/ Ruby Tours –Springbok Rugby Tour 1969/70, SANROC (South African Non-Racial Open Committee) for Olympic sport 28 September, Str, London W.I, UK, 11 June 1968. Letter of support-seeking from SAN-RON (in London, asked by SAN-ROC president Dr Brutus to write on his behalf in London-asking this letter [be sent] to the BBC [this tour was eventually cancelled with amazing work by the AAM, SANROC and STST of Peter Hain].

The IOC “forced” SANROC to change its original name and John Nauright’s analysis of the IOC and the Olympic Games is helpful in explaining how and why such a position was taken:

...The Games are run by an elite private organisation, the IOC, which has succeeded in stamping out all other “Olympic” games and movements as it is the self-proclaimed great unifier of the world through “Olympic” sport. The IOC owns the rights to use the word “Olympic” and no event beyond of its control can use the word without permission due to its licensing agreements and penchant for using legal systems to protect the name. The IOC has a long history of using its power to marginalise others and has been faced with numerous scandals over the past twenty years...<sup>871</sup>

This stance by the IOC did not only serve as a bullying tactic on SANROC into removing the word “Olympic” in its name and replaced it rather with the word “Open” but this also delayed the liberalisation of South African sport from apartheid and thus, denied a multitude of South Africa’s youth from taking its rightful place within the Olympic Movement.<sup>872</sup> Most critically, the IOC position somehow contributed to the pain and suffering that the non-racial sportspersons and the non-racial sport movement leaders endured during the struggle times. The IOC and the broader Olympic Movement’s stance also played a critical role in the persecution of leaders of SANROC and the organisation itself, which ended up being crushed inside South Africa and forced to operate in London. For instance, de Broglio shares some detail with regard to this matter, where it becomes apparent that Brutus’ attempted to escape from South Africa, which was also similar to that of many other activists, was a direct result of this persecution. De Broglio declares that:

...Dennis...left the country illegally by crossing the border into Moçambique. But the Portuguese Security Police arrested him and kept him under interrogation for a couple of days before handing him

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<sup>871</sup> John Nauright , ‘The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport’, Histories of the Present, August 6, 2012, n.p., available at: [http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus\\_thread](http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus_thread).

<sup>872</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.1; also see (IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / CIO D\_RMO1\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972 –Extraits des Session:Sur Afrique du Sud, 1959-1972/CIO D\_RMO1\_AFRIS/038/7787/SDI:Extraits des Sessions/Sur Afrique du Sud/1959-1972/ANNEX V; Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc./Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/[Box 31.2 – demonstrate that SANROC, STST and the AAM worked very closely to achieve a monumental victory in 1970]/ FILE 3 MCH25 –1 -3-1/ This file contains critical SANROC information, with document letterhead indicating the word OPEN rather than Olympic in the name SANROC.

over to the South African Security Police. He realised that nobody would be aware of his detention and he would be a pawn in their hands; when they arrived in front of Vorster Square in Johannesburg he was asked to take his bag, and as he bent in the boot of the car to take it, he tried a bold escape. He tried to get on a bus and as the Police was giving chase the bus conductor pushed him off and the policeman shot him in the stomach at point blank range. As he lay on the pavement bleeding an ambulance arrived and was turned away as it was for Whites Only. He was finally taken to a Black Hospital, where he refused treatment until an Official from the British Embassy was given access to him, as he had a British Passport from Rhodesia. Finally the British Consul saw him and he accepted treatment. When he appeared in Court he was sentenced to 18 months for leaving the country illegally. He served his sentence in Robben Island where Nelson Mandela was being held...<sup>873</sup>

Patrick Bond is succinct in his description of Dennis Brutus' life, which epitomised the general life of the non-racial sport activists at the time. He declares that:

...Brutus received deep battlefield scars, suffering bannings (sic) (both personal in 1961 and affecting most of his poetry until 1994), a 1963 police kidnapping in Maputo, followed by a near-fatal shooting outside Anglo American's central Joburg (sic) headquarters during an escape attempt, imprisonment and torture at the Hillbrow Fort Prison and on Robben Island from 1963 to 1966, and alienating times in exile from 1966 to 1991...<sup>874</sup>

It is interestingly that de Broglio himself, together with the SANROC's Secretary, who was also his assistant at French Airlines, Reginald Hlongwane, was also harassed by the apartheid security establishment. De Broglio states that:

...Why I left South Africa...I left South Africa in March 1964 after a lot of pressure from the Security police who often came to my office to interview me but each time my boss Serge Combard would call me on the interphone and tell me to leave, whilst he talked to them. In July 1963 I left South Africa for a short trip to Europe. Later that day the Security Police wanted to search my office, he told them they would have to have a letter from the Prime Minister or the Minister of Transport because we were an International Airline and The French Security Police could also search the offices of South African Airways in Paris. They told him that I would probably not come back...The

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<sup>873</sup>De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966-1986", published on the "SANROC On-line", by De Broglio on 10 November 2009 [and 2012]; <http://www.sanroc-online.com/> [Accessed on December 2009].

<sup>874</sup> See *Sunday Independent*, January 03, 2010 Edition 1, by Patrick Bond [*POETRY and Protest: A Dennis Brutus Reader* is the title of the autobiographical sketches and verse published in 2006 by Haymarket of Chicago and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. [Reviewed by Patrick Bond, who directs the UKZN Centre for Civil Society, and like thousands of US students during the 1980s, was politicised by Brutus.]

South African Security also knew about my relations with Dennis Brutus...<sup>875</sup>

Interestingly, Sam Ramsamy shares similar information in his *Reflections on a Life in Sport* with Edward Griffiths:

...Towards the end of 1971, I was encouraged to apply for a vacant position of full-time lecturer at Springfield. Most of the senior staff at the college were white, even though the students were Indian and Coloured, but my Head of Department, Adrian Liversage, said I was best qualified for the job and made a personal recommendation on my behalf. Everyone knew that, in his long tenure, his advice had never been overruled. [However this time, it was and] Someone else got the job. Most people were surprised, but Mr. Liversage was so amazed he arranged to visit the Indian Education Department and find out what had happened. He returned...and called me to a meeting that would change the course of my life...Adrian Liversage was a soft-spoken man, generally to be found sitting on his own, content with his own company. He and I never discussed politics but, somehow, in his facial expressions and gestures, I sensed he was sympathetic to the suffering of people who were not White. I liked him... “Sam...I need to tell you...but I do need you to promise you will keep it secret until after I am dead. I am sorry to ask you this, but it’s very important.” OK, I said...“you are under investigation by the Special Branch, and the only reason you did not get the full-time position was the authorities believe you were heavily involved in the campaign to sabotage the Republic Celebration Games earlier this year...I don’t think they have very much evidence against you at the moment, but they certainly think they will get to you before long...This is my advice: quietly resign.” ...<sup>876</sup>

It was situations like these in South Africa that forced SANROC to the ground. ‘When SANROC started scoring victories against apartheid South Africa in 1963, with their suspension from World football and the Olympics, the Security Police started a campaign of harassment against all those involved with SAN-ROC.’<sup>877</sup> For instance, John Harris, who was at the time the SANROC Chairman, on his way back from mobilising support for SANROC during the IOC meeting in Baden-Baden ahead of the Tokyo Olympics was jailed for leaving the country illegally and sentenced the death penalty.<sup>878</sup> Following a

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<sup>875</sup>De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966-1986”, published on the “SANROC On-line”, by De Broglio on 10 November 2009 [and 2012]: <http://www.sanroc-online.com/> [Accessed on December 2009].

<sup>876</sup>Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.32-33.

<sup>877</sup>De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>878</sup>See De Broglio’s blog: STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID SPORT: The role of De Broglio in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle/The role of De Broglio in the struggle for Non-Racial Sport in South Africa, [this blog covers the period from 1962 to 2005 about the struggle for non-racial sport in apartheid South Africa and was posted on Friday, February 18, 2005], available on: <http://nonracialsport.blogspot.com/2005/02/role-of-chris-de-broglio-in-anti.html> and was accessed on July 25, 2005.

string of such incidents: with Dennis Brutus (President) in jail, John Harris (Chairman) killed, de Broglio (an influential member of the SANROC inner-circle) and Reginald Hlongwane (Secretary) forced into exile, SANROC was effectively closed-down in South Africa and it emerged in London through the initial efforts of De Broglio, apparently, with Dennis Brutus' blessings:

...I decided to form a SANROC committee in exile...the London Apartheid Movement of Abdul Minty was representing SANROC...I managed to get a message to Dennis [Brutus] who was out of Robben Island and asked him for his blessing to attend the Meeting of the International Olympic Committee in Rome. He gave me his OK. I contacted Canon Collins of the International Defence and Aid Fund for an air ticket to go to Rome. He agreed and told me to report to him on my return...<sup>879</sup>

In actual fact, the apartheid government formally banned SANROC and its activities inside South Africa in 1965,<sup>880</sup> and this was not necessarily an isolated case. As early as 1960, the political organisations were banned (the ANC and the PAC), following the Sharpeville Massacre and 'the general strikes that it inspired,' which gravely shocked British public opinion<sup>881</sup> Shortly after these developments, a wave of persecution and imprisonment of all those who opposed the apartheid regime ensued. It became apparent that 'ANC members would find it very difficult to escape police surveillance after the Rivonia trial of Nelson Mandela and other leaders in 1963-64.'<sup>882</sup> By this time, the racist regime's repression had virtually dismembered the underground and as such by the mid-1960s a sizeable South African community has established itself in Britain and, concentrated around London. These South African exiles actively mobilised support for the struggle back home by becoming involved in the work of the AAM.<sup>883</sup> The 1960s South Africa was generally a very difficult decade politically and otherwise, and as such the persecution of SANROC was a reflection of the broader political temperature in the country. Many political activists from across the political divide, including the sport

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<sup>879</sup>See De Broglio's blog: 'Struggle against apartheid sport: The role of De Broglio in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle/The role of De Broglio in the struggle for Non-Racial Sport in South Africa', [this blog covers the period from 1962 to 2005 about the struggle for non-racial sport in apartheid South Africa and was posted on Friday, February 18, 2005], available at: [<http://nonracialsport.blogspot.com/2005/02/role-of-chris-de-broglio-in-anti.html>] and was accessed on July 25, 2005, Posted by NON-RACIAL SPORT, at 5h38 p.m.: De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>880</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>881</sup> Zweledinga Pallo Jordan, 'Foreword', 2011, p.xi, in Ken Keable, eds., *London Recruits: The Secret War Against Apartheid*, UK, Merlin Press, 2012.

<sup>882</sup> Ken Keable, eds., *London Recruits: The Secret War Against Apartheid*, UK, Merlin Press, 2012, n.p.

<sup>883</sup> Ronnie Kasrils, 'Introduction', in Ken Keable, eds., *London Recruits: The Secret War Against Apartheid*, UK, Merlin Press, 2012.

leaders like De Broglio, Dennis Brutus, Omar Cassem, Samat Dhiraj, Isiah Stein, Sam Ramsamy and many others, escaped for exile abroad, and furthered the struggle and, more directly, initiated a Sports boycott against apartheid sport. For instance, whilst collaborating with SANROC, de Broglio was also involved with the ANC underground movement.<sup>884</sup> ‘Sporting events, from the South African favourite, rugby, cricket and other sporting codes were also subjected to disruption as spectators demanded an end to sporting links with Apartheid South Africa.’<sup>885</sup> SANROC in exile together with the AAM worked tirelessly to intensify the efforts and accelerated the sports boycott. At the early stages of the newly invigorated struggle abroad, the three men that were central in SANROC’s work, included:

... [In August 1966] Dennis Brutus...joined Christian de Broglio in London. Together with Reginald Hlongwane, their three men team intensified their action. SAN-ROC met with FIFA delegates in London, travelled to the Commonwealth Games in Jamaica, attended the IAAF congress in Budapest, the Weightlifting Congress in Berlin, Inaugural meeting of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) at Bamako, the IOC meeting in Teheran in 1967...<sup>886</sup>

However, SANROC and its leaders was never short of detractors. For example, Jarvie and Reid claim the strength of SANROC was their refusal to separate sporting demands from the broader demands of social change.<sup>887</sup> Consequently, Miller, an IOC historian, believed that ‘SANROC had no serious connection to sport’<sup>888</sup> and was ‘in fact a political arm of the black African protest movement, funded by Czechoslovakia and other Communist sources.’<sup>889</sup> It is no exaggeration to believe that this view ‘must have added fuel to western nations’ claims that the anti-Apartheid apartheid movement was a communist plot.<sup>890</sup>

#### 4.3.2 The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and the Anti-apartheid Movement in exile: The Sports boycott campaigns were accelerated

In London, SANROC effectively started a long and complex campaign that lasted all through the 1960s and onwards. It reconstituted itself into a committed executive team consisting of Dennis Brutus, De Broglio, Reginald Hlongwane, Jasmat Dhiraj, Wilfred

<sup>884</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>885</sup> Jordan, ‘Foreword’, 2011, p.xi, in Ken Keable, eds., *London Recruits*, 2012.

<sup>886</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005, n.p.

<sup>887</sup> Jarvie and Reid, ‘Sport in South Africa’, quoted in Brittain, “South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee”, 2012.

<sup>888</sup> Miller, *The Official History*, p.167, quoted in Brittain, “South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee”, 2012.

<sup>889</sup> Miller, *The Official History*, p.167.

<sup>890</sup> Miller, *The Official History*, p.167.

Brutus, Omar Cassem and Isaiah Stein. During this period, the struggle to deracialise South African sport took another turn: the sports boycott by the NRSM and the AAM became the main drivers of the processes to liberalise the country's sport. It is, however, apparent that as the prime propellants behind these sport campaigns during the initial stages, specifically the sports boycott, they were not always without controversy and friction. De Broglio reveals that when he decided to re-establish SANROC in London he shared this idea with Mannie Brown, a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, who told him 'that the London AAM of Abdul Minty was representing SANROC and...would not have a chance...nevertheless decided to go on with the idea.'<sup>891</sup> Following Brutus' blessings and having secured some reasonable funding from Father Canon John Collins<sup>892</sup> of the AAM's and the International Defence and Aid Fund,<sup>893</sup> de Broglio started SANROC's campaigns in exile. His first initiative after he arrived in London in 1964 was to make critical contact with those significant international sport individuals he could manage to meet. De Broglio states that:

...When I arrived in Britain where I was working for UTA temporarily I contacted Mr. Guirandou N'Dyaye, an Executive member of the International Judo Federation, who was the First Secretary at the Ivory Coast Embassy and was going to the Olympics at Tokyo as Executive of the Judo Federation, and asked him to distribute a SANROC document about Dennis Brutus having been shot by the South African police and calling for the expulsion of the South African Olympic Association...<sup>894</sup>

It was during his second major initiative that de Broglio realised that the sport struggles in exile will also have its own challenges, even though he might not have anticipated that these challenges would emerge from within the Struggle movement circles. In his plan to travel to the 1966 Rome Session of the IOC with both Brutus' and Collin's blessings and support, de Broglio was confronted by opposition from the AAM leader, Abdul Minty,

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<sup>891</sup>De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; Klee, 'Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport', 2012; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>892</sup> Canon John Collins 'served at St Paul's Cathedral in London for 33 years and was the catalyst for several of Britain's most significant post-war social movements. He is best known for his work in creating the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Christian Action and the Anti-Apartheid Movement', see: <http://www.canoncollins.org.uk/johncollins.html>

<sup>893</sup> C.J. Collins 'visited South Africa for the first time in 1954. In response to the Treason Trial and the apartheid government's increasingly repressive regime, Collins established the Defence and Aid Fund to pay activists' legal expenses and care for their families. His initiative soon became an international network, secretly channelling legal aid to activists including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu,' see: <http://www.canoncollins.org.uk/johncollins.html>

<sup>894</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; Klee, 'Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport', 2012; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

who had been the SANROC ‘representative’<sup>895</sup> in Britain before it re-emerged abroad. Before he could leave for Rome, de Broglio states that:

...I...received a call from his [Canon Collin’s] secretary who said that Abdul Minty had contacted Canon Collins to object to my going to Rome. I went to see Cannon Collins and explained that the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Abdul Minty had represented SANROC in the past but I had been a Founder member of SANROC and would be installing SANROC in London. He told me to go ahead with my trip and contact him afterwards...<sup>896</sup>

This was not going to be the last of such controversy or disagreement and even confusion between the NRSM and the AAM and/or within the NRSM or the AAM in this long struggle history.<sup>897</sup> These controversies are discussed in this work in specific areas given their relevancy however, the issue of challenges within the NRSM and eventually its ‘demise’<sup>898</sup> discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Given that some members and leaders of the AAM and/or the leaders of the broader Liberation Movement (LM) had done some work on behalf of SANROC earlier, it is not over-optimistic to expect the former to assist the leaders of the NRSM when they arrived in Britain. It however, became apparent that instead of complementing each other, some level of not only unexpected rivalry but a senseless opposition stance, was evident between the AAM and the NRSM during this period. Some level of mistrust and territorial guarding is noticeable and this seemingly did not only spill over into the LM and party-political divide, but the latter might have been the root cause? De Broglio’s early experiences and revelations when he started SANROC work in Europe are telling:

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<sup>895</sup> Box 31.2 Contents Correspondents, etc., /Mayibuye Centre Historical Archives/MCH 63-169-Sam Ramsamy/ [Box 31.2 – demonstrate that SANROC, STST and the AAM worked very closely to achieve a monumental victory in 1970] /United Nations (71/06578) Unite Apartheid-Dept. of Political and Security Council Affairs-No.16171-notes and documents paper 71: Reference to the campaigns in Britain by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, by S. Abdul Minty, Honorary Secretary, Anti-apartheid Movement, London – this document indicate that ‘Abdul Samad Minty, lobbied delegates at the meeting of the International Olympic Committee in Baden in October 1963 on behalf of SAN-ROC’; also see an “Urgent Submission” by Abdul Minty, on behalf of SANROC to the IOC, entitled: ‘A Replay to the Report of the NOC of South Africa Regarding racial Discrimination in South African Sport’, found in the IOC/CIO.D\_RMOI AFRIS/057/FILE SD4/Presentations by SANROC to The IOC Executive Board in Paris/May 1963, p.n.; also see the See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Documents/E.S. Reddy, “Sport and the liberation struggle: a tribute to Sam Ramsamy and others who fought apartheid sport”, n.d., n.p. Also available: <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/SPORT/SPORTRAM.htm>. Sport and the liberation struggle: a tribute to Sam Ramsamy and others who fought apartheid sport by E.S. Reddy (Former Director, United Nations Centre against Apartheid), also available at: <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/SPORT/SPORTRAM.htm>; Abdul Minty interview in the documentary, ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg: “Fair Play”’, Sage/Clarity Films, 2010.

<sup>896</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>897</sup> For more information on this see, *The Telegraph*, UK, “Dennis Brutus”, Published, 05 Mar 2010, also available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/sport-obituaries/7377841/Dennis-Brutus.html>

<sup>898</sup> Basil Brown, ‘The destruction of non-racial sport: A consequence of the negotiated settlement’, a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference, organised by the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre of the University of Fort Hare and Sport Recreation South Africa, in East London on 14-16 October 2005.

...I had little information about the IOC meeting and went to the Foro Italico, the headquarters of the Italian Olympic Committee and met with the Secretary of the Italian Committee. He informed me that the IOC members were staying at the Excelsior hotel in Rome where the IOC Session would be held. I then went to the Excelsior and met with Jean-Claude Ganga and the Cuban Olympic member; Ganga asked me if I was part of the Chinese group of SANROC. I asked him why and the [he] sic said [Gora] Ibrahim Gora (sic) had been in Brazzaville from China and said he represented SANROC! I later met with [Gora] Ibrahim, who had been a member of the SANROC Executive in Johannesburg. We had a long discussion and agreed to work together and as he was a member of the Pan African Congress of SA he agreed that I should Form the SANROC Committee in London free from the ANC and the PAC as a pure sporting movement...<sup>899</sup>

The non-political party position was similarly held and espoused by Alan Paton when he delivered his “Opening Address” on the occasion of launching SASA in 1959.<sup>900</sup> This issue of party-political non-alignment was critical in the sport struggles, within the wider NRSMS and specifically when the SACOS was established in 1973 and throughout until the late 1980s.<sup>901</sup> Dennis Brutus seemed to have at best grasped the notion of a party-political non-alliance stance as well. In 2005, the UK *Telegraph* reported that:

...After the historic transition from rule by the National Party (NP) to the...ANC, Brutus was virtually written out of the history of the period, because he had only for a time, while living in England, been a paid-up member of the ANC. Though he had worked closely with Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders, he prided himself on his independent base in Sanroc...<sup>902</sup>

It is, however, apparent that these early challenges within the sport opposition circles would make or break the effectiveness of the campaign. There were problems within the NRSMS and specifically between SANROC and SACOS. Generally there were conflict

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<sup>899</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>900</sup> See Alan Paton’s “Opening Address”, 1959, p.5., in the “Conference of National Sporting Bodies” that was convened by the Steering Committee of the South African Sports Association in January 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 1959 at the Tamil-Vedic Hall in Carlisle Street in Durban, in the IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au cio* “Sport in South Africa”, mai 1959.

<sup>901</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Cheryl Roberts, eds., *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates On South African Sport*, 1989, Township Publishing Cooperation, 1989; Cheryl Roberts, eds., *Challenges Facing South African sport*:

*Challenges facing Non-racial sport*, V.S. Tshwete, Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, Cape Town, South Africa, 1990; Mihir

Bose, *Sporting Colours: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, Robson Book Ltd, 1994; Grundlingh, “The new politics of rugby”, 1995; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Culture and Identities in South Africa*”, 1997; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Basil Brown, “The Destruction of the

Non-Racial Sport”, 2005.

<sup>902</sup> *The Telegraph*, “Dennis Brutus”, 05 Mar 2010.

between the NRSM and the AAM or the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM),<sup>903</sup> which drove the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)<sup>904</sup> agenda within South Africa and from outside. Problems within the NRSM-AAM complex became apparent in the 1970s and became more overt in the 1980s.<sup>905</sup> Detailed discussion of this development is undertaken in Chapter Five. At this point in time, the discussion of the work of SANROC and the various units within the AAM is undertaken, which entails the continuation of the struggles to deracialise South African sport and specifically, the acceleration of the sports boycott campaigns against apartheid sport. The work or the ultimate purpose and mandate of the SANROC-AAM interface during this period can be best described as follows:

...to persuade the International Olympic Committee(IOC) to withdraw recognition from the National Olympic Committee of South Africa, and to this end in 1962 SASA spawned Sanroc. Brutus's memorandum of May 4 1959 to the IOC, setting out the situation in South African sport, was the founding document in the struggle to isolate the Apartheid state<sup>906</sup>

In this mission to isolate the racist SANOC, SANROC's work in exile was spearheaded by Christian de Broglio as indicated earlier; even though the latter at the time did not hold an official position within the non-racial body. It is apparent, however, that de Broglio made immense sacrifices for SANROC during this *early* period in exile. It is against this background that he features prominently in the discussion in this section, where his role and contribution in SANROC's work in exile between 1964 and the late 1970s was at its peak. During this period, he had to take up an official position as the General Secretary of SANROC at huge cost and personal sacrifice. De Broglio reveals that before he took up an official position in the SANROC Executive committee, he had a full-time job and a

<sup>903</sup> For more information regarding the MDM, which was the conglomeration of various community-based, civic, sport and labour organisation in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, see Cheryl Roberts, eds., *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*, 1989; Township Publishing Cooperation, 1989; Cheryl Roberts, eds., *Challenges Facing South African sport: Challenges facing Non-racial sport* by V.S. Tshwete, Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, Cape Town, South Africa, 1990; Brown, 'The Destruction of non-racial sport', 2005; Mihir Bose, *Sporting Colours: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, Robson Book Ltd, 1994.

<sup>904</sup> For more information and discussion of the NDR see the ANC Online Archives, where there are various 'ANC Discussion Documents', which include: 'Tasks of the NDR and the Mobilisation of the Motive Forces', <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2356>; more related documents include: 'Strategy and Tactics of the ANC. Mafeking. 1997'; 'The State and Social Transformation', September 1996'; 'Why workers should vote ANC', COSATU election pamphlet, 1999; 'From Resistance to Reconstruction: Tasks of the ANC in the new epoch of the Democratic Transformation, Unmandated reflections, August 9, 1994; 'ANC 1999 Elections Manifesto'; 'The challenge of building a popular movement for transformation', David Makhura, Umrabulo, No. 7 1st Quarter 1999; 'Accelerating change: The balance of forces in 1999', Umrabulo, No. 7 1st Quarter 1999; 'Speech of President Mbeki closing the debate at the opening of Parliament', 30 June 1999; 'Strategy and Tactics of the ANC', Morogoro Conference, 1969, also available at: <http://www.anc.org.za>.

<sup>905</sup> The Telegraph, UK, "Dennis Brutus", 05 Mar 2010.

<sup>906</sup> *The Telegraph*, UK, “Dennis Brutus”, 05 Mar 2010.

thriving business, which made him leave Britain for France. It was, however, not long before he came back to London. De Broglio shares that:

...I then went to work in Paris with Serge Combard, my former boss at UTA in South Africa. And we formed a French company with Anglo American, the Banque de Paris and Rothschild Bank as shareholders. But a year later our company started doing business with South Africa and I decided to resign my post, as it was in conflict with my ideas and go back to the UK with my wife and five children. I stayed for one year without a job until I bought a small hotel near Marble Arch, which became the headquarters of SANROC...<sup>907</sup>

It is no exaggeration to claim that De Broglio's stance was not only a demonstration of impeccable commitment to the sport struggle for equality, but he practically experienced and lived a life of commitment to this cause. In the IOC Session in Rome in 1966, de Broglio bumped into the IOC President, Avery Brundage, in a hotel. This, however, proved to be an unpleasant meeting, as he was flatly rejected by Brundage, upon identifying himself as SANROC representative. He declares that:

...I approached him [Brundage] and said I would like to have a talk with him as the representative of SANROC. He told me that he had no intention to talk to me. I thanked him and walked away. I swore I would never talk to him! ...<sup>908</sup>

The IOC President's rejection of SANROC did not come as a shock to any NRSM leader, including De Broglio, given the IOC's well-established positive relation with the racist SANOC. The IOC as the highest authority in global sporting world does not necessarily control the IF; the relationship is best described as "interdependence" and De Broglio's analysis of this relationship with the apartheid South Africa is interesting:

...It is obvious that there is a moral responsibility on IOC Executive members to ensure that the Olympic Charter is respected that fair play is upheld and that all are guaranteed unhindered participation in the Olympic Games and International Sport. This duty was not discharged by the IOC members towards black South African sportsmen who have been discriminated against from the time South Africa became a member at the turn of the twentieth century. It appears that South

<sup>907</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>908</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

Africa never gave the guarantees which are required of all new members. It appears that older members of the IOC have long persisted in covering up for Apartheid South African in full knowledge of the extent of racism in South African sport. From 1948 onwards the IOC played its full part in the merry-go-round with White South Africans. Petitions and appeals which were sent by representative organisations of black South Africans were referred back to the offending body in South Africa, the South African Olympic Committee. The IOC member, Mr Reginald Honey, was not instructed by the IOC to demand that these racist practices be abandoned. As life president of the South African Olympic Committee he was in fact responsible for the continuation of these racist practices. The report of a commission which visited South Africa in 1967 shows that the matter was discussed in 1959, obviously through the pressure of the South African Sports Association. At this meeting the president of the IOC accepted without reserve the declarations of Mr Honey that there is no discrimination in South African sport in spite of detailed evidence to the contrary supplied in a memorandum by Dennis Brutus as secretary of SASA [in 1959]...<sup>909</sup>

The sport struggles were therefore not only about deracialising South African sport, but also about and sport being successful. This meant that they had to fight for a mind-set change within the IOC and the IFs. This was a very complex task and it meant that all available tools and medium at the activists' disposition had to be effectively utilised, including propaganda tactics. De Broglio shares that:

... [In Rome in 1966]...One evening I ...was recognised by Fred Labuschagne, a reporter for the SA Sunday Times. He asked me whether I was on Holiday, which I confirmed. The next day he saw me at the Excelsior and he realised I was working for SANROC, which I confirmed. The next Sunday Times had a banner headline about SANROC being in Rome, represented by De Broglio. When Dennis saw the paper in Port Elizabeth he was thrilled and all the people he knew were congratulating him! ...<sup>910</sup>

By 1966, the IOC had discussed the apartheid question several times since it was tabled for the first in the 1959 IOC Session in Rome.<sup>911</sup> This discussion took place after Dennis Brutus' SASA submitted a detailed Memorandum to the IOC, which formally brought the issue of discrimination of and exclusion of black athletes in sport to the attention of the

<sup>909</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>910</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>911</sup> IOC Website, 2010, 'Rome 1960: All Facts: Consequences of Apartheid'. <http://www.olympic.org/en/content/Olympic-Games/All-Past-Olympic-Games/Summer/Rome-1960/Rome-1960/>

Olympic Movement by the non-racial body, and consequently black sportspersons. This prompted the IOC to seek answers from the South African NOC on the matter and the following discussion took place in 1962 as a consequence.

Subsequently, South Africa's racist problem was discussed at an executive meeting in 1962, at the instigation of the IOC member in the USSR. Following this meeting, the IOC President, Mr Brundage declared that there yet 'no progress has been registered in South Africa despite of the promises which were made by our Johannesburg (SANOC) member.'<sup>912</sup> Consequently, the IOC decided to write to SANOC seeking explanations thereof. Due lack of positive response and o rather any sensible response from SANOC, at the Moscow Session later in 1962, the IOC threatened to suspend the South African Olympic Committee if 'the policy of racial discrimination enforced by its government is not changed before the October 1963 Session.'<sup>913</sup> In actual fact, in 1963, Dennis Brutus submitted a memorandum to the IOC, requesting it and its members to join the struggle against racist sport, with little success. For instance, Arthur Porritt, the IOC member in New Zealand dismissed SANROC and Brutus personally, branding him 'a well-known trouble maker.'<sup>914</sup> However, that there was nothing forthcoming from SANOC in terms of racial policy changes, at its Baden-Baden Session in 1963, the IOC reached a conclusion that in as much as there has been some important progress made in the South African sport, much was still to be done. The IOC therefore adopted the following resolution:

...the South African National Olympic Committee must declare formally that it understands and submits to the Spirit of the Olympic Charter and particularly articles 1 and 24. It must also obtain from its government, before December 31, 1963, modification of its policy of racial discrimination in sport and competitions in its territory, failing which the South Africans will be forced to withdraw from the Olympic Games...<sup>915</sup>

This was the most significant decision by the IOC at the time and it should be understood against the background of growing pressure both from outside the Olympic Movement and more importantly, from within the IOC, specifically from the Afro-Asian and East European blocks and the collective influence these had on the IOC on the turn of the

<sup>912</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>913</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>914</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1167; also see Booth (1998) *The Race Game*.

<sup>915</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

1960s.<sup>916</sup> It might have been this realisation that South Africa decided to totally change its line of defence, recognising that denying the presence of racism in the country's sport was no longer going to be acceptable. The IOC member in South Africa, Reginald Honey argued that '[A]partheid was an internal matter which did not concern the IOC. Non-White athletes can train among themselves and competitions with Whites can take place outside South Africa.'<sup>917</sup> When it became clear that the latter argument was flawed and would be rejected in the future, SANOC arranged separate trials for White athletes from that of Black athletes early in 1964, with the purpose of selecting, on "merit performance" a team for the Tokyo City Summer Olympic Games later the same year. There is a belief in some quarters that 'the team, comprising seven black members,'<sup>918</sup> was going to be allowed passport by the apartheid Government, provided that black and white athletes do not fly in the same airplane nor stay in the same quarters at the Olympic Games. This 'absurd proposal' was predictably rejected and South Africa was debarred from participating in the Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964.<sup>919</sup> However, the decision was not reached unanimously and with ease as one should expect given the standing Baden-Baden Resolution in 1963 and given that South Africa's problem of race discrimination in sport was yet to be addressed and resolved.

The South African problem was discussed in another IOC Session in Rome in 1966. Given that South Africa was excluded from the Tokyo Summer Olympic Games, SANOC and its supporters within the IOC attempted to argue a case for the former's return in the 1968 Games in Mexico City. In order to achieve their goal, in the 1966 IOC Session, the defenders of South Africa argued that the 1963's Baden-Baden resolution only applied to the Tokyo Olympics, even though the latter was never specifically mentioned in the resolution. This was an important strategy to get SANOC reinstated, even though by 1967 South Africa was yet to comply with the 1963 resolution. In keeping with the plan, Reginald Alexander, the IOC member in Kenya and a long standing friends of racist South Africa, reported favourably on South Africa's racial situation in the 1966

<sup>916</sup> Cornelissen (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", 2011.

<sup>917</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

<sup>918</sup> <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>919</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; IOC Website, 2010, 'Rome 1960: All Facts: Consequences of Apartheid'. <http://www.olympic.org/en/content/Olympic-Games/All-Past-Olympic-Games/Summer/Rome-1960/Rome-1960/>; Reginald Honey, 'South Africa and the Olympic Movement' in the Olympic Review, 'About the South African Team', also available at: <http://www.la84foundation.org/OlympicInformationCenter/OlympicReview/1968/ore05/ore051.pdf>; Ian Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', Sport in Society Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181; Ian Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games", pp. 97-110: p.2, in J.M. Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge, 2012.

IOC Session in Rome. At the time, Alexander had recently visited South Africa, and presented himself as a reliable witness and his opinion and testimony should be trusted. The former declared that ‘much was being done for non-white sport and that the South African sporting authorities were not responsible for any shortcomings,’<sup>920</sup> and in actual fact, ‘Apartheid was an internal matter which did not concern the IOC,’<sup>921</sup> he argued. Interestingly:

...During his visit Mr Alexander had extended invitations to two African athletes to compete in Kenya, to the great embarrassment and anger of the Kenya sport authorities, who immediately cancelled the invitation of a racial team from South Africa, even though it was a Black one...<sup>922</sup>

Subsequent to the earlier failed promise to make amends to the apartheid sport policy by SANOC, their later attempt to abdicate this responsibility to the government of the day and Reginald Alexander’s bold support in the 1966 IOC Session, in 1967 South Africa formulated a new sport policy. This policy determined that all South Africans outside the borders of the country could compete with and against each other. Inside the country the racial bar, though, would remain. It is apparent some level of confusion happened at the IOC Session in Teheran in 1967, where the latter decided to accept yet another South Africa’s problematic proposal. SANOC had suggested that a mixed committee would be set up, composed of three white officials and three black officials under the Chairmanship of Mr Frank Braun. This committee was to be ‘responsible for the selection of a multi-racial team for the Mexico Olympics on the understanding that the South African NOC continued to fight against all forms of racial discrimination in amateur sport.’<sup>923</sup>

In actual fact, in accepting this proposal the IOC was turning its back on its own decision at Baden-Baden that there must be ‘a modification of the policy of racial discrimination in sport and competitions in its territory.’<sup>924</sup> The IOC also decided that a

<sup>920</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.; IOC Website, 2010, ‘Rome 1960: All Facts: Consequences of Apartheid’, available at: <http://www.olympic.org/en/content/Olympic-Games/All-Past-Olympic-Games/Summer/Rome-1960/Rome-1960/>; Reginald Honey, ‘South Africa and the Olympic Movement’ in the Olympic Review, ‘About the South African Team’, also available at: <http://www.la84foundation.org/OlympicInformationCenter/OlympicReview/1968/ore05/ore05l.pdf>; Ian Brittain, ‘South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games’, Sport in Society Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181; Ian Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games”, pp. 97-110, 2012, p.2, in J.M. Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge, 2012.

<sup>921</sup> Brittain, ‘South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games’, 2011, p. 1167.

<sup>922</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>923</sup> Olympic Review, ‘About the South African Team,’ available at:<http://www.la84foundation.org/OlympicInformationCenter/OlympicReview/1968/ore05/ore05l.pdf>.

<sup>924</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

three-man Commission, comprising of Lord Killanin, at the time the Vice-President of the IOC, Judge Ademola of Nigeria and Reginald Alexander of Kenya, who were to visit South Africa to investigate the situation and report back in the 1968 IOC Session in Grenoble. According to de Broglio, the 1967 IOC Commission Report on the South African situation:

...was very confusing' in that 'it neither condemned Apartheid nor cleared SA of racism in sport. On the basis of that report and organising a postal vote from absent members...which was unconstitutional...SA was invited to the 1968 Mexico Olympics...<sup>925</sup>

By this time, however, the international community was generally irritated by the attempts of the South African government to window-dress. The Lord Killanin led-Commission report on South Africa's racial problem, 'gave qualified support for the IOC to issue an invitation to South Africa to the Olympic Games in 1968. Such an invitation was issued, but when the Mexican government warned the IOC that they could not guarantee the safety of a South African team, the invitation [in the final analysis] was [“] never issued [”].'<sup>926</sup> What became an even bigger problem was that South Africa's "invitation" to the Mexico Games 'led to the newly emerging African States threatening a boycott and this was followed by boycott threats from the Soviet Union and black American athletes.'<sup>927</sup>

De Broglio writes that:

...When the decision was announced SAN-ROC, in close cooperation with the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, organised a massive boycott of the Games if SA was allowed to participate. Most African and Asian countries joined the boycott which forced the IOC to withdraw the invitation. That was the most important victory of SAN-ROC which led to the final expulsion of [A]partheid SA from the Olympic Movement at Amsterdam in 1970...<sup>928</sup>

<sup>925</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

<sup>926</sup> Olympic Review, 'About the South African Team,' available at:<http://www.la84foundation.org/OlympicInformationCenter/OlympicReview/1968/ore05/ore05l.pdf>;

<sup>927</sup> <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture %20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p.

<sup>927</sup> Lord Killanin and John Rodda, *My Olympic Years: Lord Killanin, President of the International Olympic Committee, 1972-1972*, Secker and Warburg Ltd, London, 1983, p.46.

<sup>928</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

Clearly, '[U]nder pressure from the Mexican organising committee, the IOC finally withdrew the invitation to the South African team in May 1968.'<sup>929</sup> In 1970 at the IOC meeting in Amsterdam the recognition of South Africa's NOC was withdrawn. With this action South Africa's NOC association with the IOC and the Olympic Games participation came to an end, but not necessarily that of the broader Olympic Movement or the IFs.<sup>930</sup> The year 1970 proved to be a very important year in the struggles to deracialise South African sport, especially the Sports boycott against apartheid sport. De Broglio declares that:

...This [by the IOC's to expel SANOC] decision was a great blow to the friends of [A]partheid South Africa at the IOC and International sport Federations. After massive demonstrations organised by SANROC (with Peter Hain as Chairman of Stop the Seventy Tour) in opposition to the 1969-70 Rugby tour of Britain, Rugby tours to and from SA were cancelled. The cancellation of the 1970 Cricket tour of England followed. SANROC amplified its activities in close collaboration with the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, the Anti-Apartheid movements in Australia, New-Zealand, France, Holland [and] the US... which led to the expulsion of South Africa from most international sport...<sup>931</sup>

The establishment sport and the apartheid government inside South Africa did not fold their arms when IOC expelled SANOC, they responded in a two-pronged manner: the apartheid regime introduced "new" sport policy together with some limited social reforms,<sup>932</sup> while at the same time spending millions of rands in organising rebel tours,<sup>933</sup> Republic Celebration Games,<sup>934</sup> National Games<sup>935</sup> and/or "mini-Olympics,"<sup>936</sup> with the

<sup>929</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; Killanin and Rodda, *My Olympic Years*, 1983, p.46; also see Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>930</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

<sup>931</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

<sup>932</sup> For more information in this development see De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Guelke, 'The politicisation of South African sport', in Allison (ed.), *The politics of sport*, 1986; Gemmell, 'South African cricket', *Sport in Society*, 2007; Guelke, 'Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies', 2012; Klee, 'Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978', 2012.

<sup>933</sup> In his autobiography, [*Die Laaste Trek – n Nuwe Begin*] *The Last Trek – A New Beginning*, former President FW de Klerk wrote about 'how deeply white South Africans loved international sport' (de Klerk, 1998, p.55; also see this in Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.x). De Klerk also stated that: '... (A)s the sporting net closed more tightly around us, all we could do was to provide financial aid to help sport organisations to continue their struggle and sometimes, even to arrange rebel tours...' (De Klerk, 1998, p.55). For more information on rebel tours, see F.W. Klerk. *Die Laaste Trek – n Nuwe Begin: Die Outobiografie*. Human and Rousseau (Edms) Bpk: Cape Town, South Africa (or De Klerk, F.W. (1999) *F.W. De Klerk: The Last Trek – A New Beginning, The Autobiography*, Macmillan Publishers (Ltd), London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, London, UK, 1998; also see Ramsamy, and Griffiths, *Reflections*; also watch interviews by: Dennis Brutus, Les de Villiers, Abdul Minty, Syd Nomis, Salim Ahmed Salim, Ibrahim Ordia, Sam Ramsamy, Kenneth Kaunda, Gerrie Germishuys, Peter Hain, David Kenwyn, Mike Terry, Barend du Plessis and, Trevor Richards, in the documentary, "Anti-Apartheid DVD Video Series: Fair Play" - Clarity Films/DVD, "Have You Heard From Johannesburg", Sage/Clarity Films / Berkeley [Clarity Films, 2010].

<sup>934</sup> Ramsamy, and Griffiths, *Reflections*.

<sup>935</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*.

purpose of keeping South African sport in the radar or international sport. The inauguration of the “mini-Olympics” was held in Bloemfontein in 1969, ‘with invited athletes from friendly countries – England, France, Germany, Italy and others - to participate.’<sup>937</sup> This development prompted Dennis Brutus to protest to Avery Brundage of the IOC, albeit in vain, questioning: ‘Who gave South Africa the right to use the Olympic symbols on its stamp marking the opening of an all-white “mini-Olympics”, Bloemfontein, March-April 1969’, notwithstanding the latter, the stamp was issued.<sup>938</sup> The struggles to deracialise sport in South Africa were clearly not won when the IOC expelled SANOC in 1970. Situations like the one above clearly needed serious attention. The recommendations of the 1967 IOC Session, the subsequent results from the ‘unconstitutional’ virtual or postal voting of the IOC with regard to South Africa’s participation in the 1968 Games, and the delay and often refusal by the broader Olympic Movement to follow the IOC’s cue after 1970, was an apparent indication that the racist South Africa had some friends both within the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement.<sup>939</sup> Most importantly, notwithstanding SANOC’s expulsion by the IOC, the broader Olympic Movement was yet to fully exclude racist sport, in fact many IFs were dragging their feet and at worst using more tricks like weighted voting systems with the purpose of keeping the Whites-only sport organisation within the Olympic Movement.<sup>940</sup> To achieve this mammoth task that was further compounded by the challenge posed by the two non-Olympic, yet critically dominant sporting codes in South Africa, rugby and cricket, which were at the time fully recognised members of their respective International sport Federations. The NRSM and the role of the broader AAM within the country and abroad were paramount in furthering the sport struggles that were continued until they were ended in the early 1990s.<sup>941</sup> The details of this *second phase* of the sport struggle are outlined in Chapter Five.

<sup>936</sup> BOX 1/FILE 3 MCH25 –1 -3-1/ This file contains critical SANROC information, with document letterhead indicating the word OPEN rather than Olympic in the name SANROC/ MAYIBUYE CENTRE for HISTORY and CULTURE in SOUTH AFRICA/MCH25 PETER HAIN BOX 1 SPORT and APARTHEID/The inventory of the Sam Ramsamy Collection comprising 206 boxes, compiled by Albert Theo Frits, July 1993 /This is a big brown envelope written Bertie, containing files from Hain, Peter, Adeline and Walter: papers relating to the Stop Tour campaign, SANROC and the Hain family, presented by Hain family, 1995 – five files from MCH 25 1- 5/; IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC’s submission, “International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC” on 23 November 1967, p.1.

<sup>937</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>938</sup> BOX 1/FILE 3 MCH25 –1 -3-1/ This file contains critical SANROC information, with document letterhead indicating the word OPEN rather than Olympic in the name SANROC/ MAYIBUYE CENTRE for HISTORY and CULTURE in SOUTH AFRICA/MCH25 PETER HAIN BOX 1 SPORT and APARTHEID/The inventory of the Sam Ramsamy Collection/

<sup>939</sup> For instance, in 1970, representatives from “non-white” countries had only 33% of the IOC voting power, for more information on this matter, see Brittain, ‘South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games’, 2011; Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games”, 2012, in Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena*, 2012.

<sup>940</sup> Ian Brittain, ‘South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games’, Sport in Society Vol. 14, No. 9, November 2011, 1165–1181; Ian Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games”, pp. 97-110, 2012, p.2, in J.M. Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge, 2012.

<sup>941</sup> For more information in this development see De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Guelke, ‘The politicisation of South African sport’, in Allison (ed.), *The*

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the struggles for equality in sport and the fight to deracialise the country's sport through sports boycott campaigns inside South Africa and globally. This discussion outlined the stages and the processes involved in black and later non-racial sportspersons in undertaking this effort to oppose racialised sport. This chapter revealed that the fight against the application of the colour bar and later apartheid policies in the country's sport was initiated by individuals and/or individual black and/or non-racial sport federation and later, the first non-racial sport organisation, SASA and SANROC. Most vital in this discussion is the revelation that non-racial sport leaders were genuine sportspersons as opposed to the 'politicians in tracksuits'<sup>942</sup> as SANOC, its whites-only "national" sport federations, the apartheid government and its Western allies and most interestingly, the IOC under the stewardship of Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin, and the broader *early* Western dominant leadership of the IFs, would have liked the world to believe.<sup>943</sup> The sportspersons later got together in the form of the Coordinating Committees within the various black/non-racial sport federations. SASA therefore was born out of these several meetings by the various black and non-racial sportspersons and bodies and their respective Coordinating Committees. In 1955 the overall Coordinating Committee for International Recognition was established by, among others, 'a young Port Elizabeth teacher, Dennis Brutus'<sup>944</sup> and a number of other non-racial sport leaders.<sup>945</sup> The coordination work of the CCIR led to the formation of SASA in 1958 in East London, which was launched formally on 13 January 1959 in Durban. The role, the goals, success and challenges of the SASA and later those of SANROC have been outlined. Critical to these was the broader struggles to deracialise the country's sport and to do this as a contribution to the bigger struggle to defeat the apartheid system in the country.

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*politics of sport*, 1986; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Gemmell, 'South African cricket', Sport in Society, 2007; De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio, 'The SANROC Story, 2009, n.p.; Guelke, 'Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies', 2012.

<sup>942</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.6.

<sup>943</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The African Games*, 1982, p.202; De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986", 2009; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/NCAA and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984.

<sup>944</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The African Games*, 1982, p.180.

<sup>945</sup> Who included peoples such as E.I Haffejee, R.S. Govender, G. Pumpy Naidoo, Louis Nelson, R. Bijou and R. Munnoo and others.

This chapter also reviewed apartheid and apartheid sport discussion from chapter two and analysed how the former was applied, affected sport and most importantly, how it was challenged. It also showed how the minority white government determined ‘how the South African people were to live’, especially after 1948 and the apartheid policy of separate development and/or lack thereof, was central in or defined this racist plan. Most importantly, the establishment sport federations enthusiastically supported government’s colour bar and apartheid policies and even voluntary applied racist policies within the domain of sport at a time when there was even “no law” that forced or obliged sportspersons to do so. Some form of resistance and challenge to this situation was observed in the 1940s.

The situation was taken to the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement, which seemed oblivious and at worst indifferent towards the plight of the majority Black sportspersons in South Africa who were “excluded” from international sport participation and the Olympic Games. The IOC seemed to have disregarded its own “constitutional prescript”, the Olympic Charter and this was pointed out by black athletes, sportspersons or sport leaders that espoused non-racialism in sport. These individuals or organisations later organised themselves as the NRSM and worked closely with the broader AAM and initiated and intensified the efforts to liberate sport, with special focus on the sports boycott campaigns, until 1970, after the IOC expelled SANOC. With the latter development, the struggles to deracialise South African sport had to take another turn and focus on the mostly non-Olympic sport, the most important of these being rugby and cricket. The NRSM together with the broader AAM accelerated the opposition within sport after the 1970 IOC breakthrough. Chapter Five discusses how the efforts to deracialise sport continued from 1970 onwards until the 1990s. The chapter also evaluated their effect, successes, challenges and failures.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ‘THE £35 SECOND-HAND ELECTRIC TYPEWRITER’<sup>946</sup>: THE OUTCOME OF THE STRUGGLES TO DERACIALISE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five outlines the outcome of the struggles to deracialise South African sport after 1970. This Chapter also highlights the role and contributions of various partners within the NRSM and the AAM, including the UN, Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA), SCSA, and the broader international community of states to sport struggles during the post-1970 era. The role of some sections of the Olympic Movement, specifically the IFs and the IOC, from 1970 until the early 1990s, is highlighted.

Inside South Africa, successes, failures and challenges faced by the NRSM, which included the Coordinating Committee for International Recognition (CCIR)<sup>947</sup> and/or later simple known as the CIR, the SASA, and the SANROC, between 1946 and 1970 were discussed in Chapter Four. Chapter Five therefore assesses the *new* challenges and *new* opportunities that were available to SANROC in exile, and the broader NRSM inside South Africa, from 1970 onwards, especially after the formation of the South African Council on/of Sport (SACOS) in 1973 and the establishment of the National Sport and Olympic Committee/Council<sup>948</sup> in 1988. The outcome of the sport struggles by CIR, SASA and SANROC pre-1970 are briefly outlined. The discussion in this chapter shifts to the work, contribution and role of the NRSM inside the country and in exile, specifically that of SACOS, SANROC and the NSC. This long historical transition is discussed and assessed within the context of inherent contradictions that characterised the non-racial movement; the ideological differences and other complex situations that characterised the sport struggles and the broader liberation Struggle dynamics during this era. Chapter Five, also explores the *changed* and *new* positions of and/or relationship between the Olympic

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<sup>946</sup> In the SANROC Story, Christian de Broglio, writes that he was in continuous contact with Dennis Brutus ‘as he was planning to form SANROC... We then had a meeting at the residence of Father Sigamoney with a couple of other members and planned for the Formation Meeting. Dennis planned this new organisation after he had had a meeting with the South African National Olympic Committee and had discussed about the inclusion of Black South Africans in the Olympic team, which had been refused... He then told the meeting that he would form SANROC to challenge their membership of the International Olympic Committee... He was told that he could go ahead and they laughed at his suggestion. They were not to laugh in 1970 when the IOC in Amsterdam expelled the SANOC ... I contacted Canon Collins of the International Defence and Aid Fund for an air ticket to go to Rome... He agreed and told me to report to him on my return... when I returned to London and he asked me if I needed some funds to continue. I said £50 would be useful. He offered me £200 for a start. I bought a second-hand Electric typewriter for £ 35, and that typewriter was responsible for all the damage against the South African racists.’

<sup>947</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3.

<sup>948</sup> The NSC was later known as simple the NSOC and back to NSC again.

Movement, the expelled SANOC, the broader establishment sport and the NRSM inside South Africa; and the position held by and relationships between and within the NRSM units, the IOC and the IFs, from 1970<sup>949</sup> to 1992. Special attention is paid to discussing the role played by the IOC and the Olympic Movement in the post-1970 anti-apartheid struggle and their respective responses, together with those of the NRSM, the wider AAM, the UN, ANOCA and the SCSA, the broader international community of states, after February 2, 1990<sup>950</sup> South Africa and 1992.<sup>951</sup>

This chapter also evaluates the influences behind and the rationale for holding the IOC's extraordinary "Apartheid and Olympism" meeting in 1988; the establishment of Judge Kéba Mbaye's "Apartheid and Olympism Commission" thereof and; the effect this has had not only on South Africa's sport landscape but possibly on the country's socio-political landscape. The activities of the United Nations' International Convention on Apartheid in Sport (UNICAS) around the same period until 1992 are also discussed. This analysis takes into cognisance of and evaluates the position and actions of President F.W. de Klerk's Government towards South Africa's political future, sports boycott and international sport moratorium, from the time of his election as the President of the Republic of South Africa in 1989 until 1992.

In short, this chapter outlines the NRSM's and AAM's claims that they worked hard for '[W]inning the argument.'<sup>952</sup> This is achieved by briefly reviewing and highlighting the important moments in the Avery Brundage (1952-1972) and Lord Killanin reigns as IOC Presidents (1972-1980), which demonstrated a level of indifference to the plight of Black sportsperson in South Africa.<sup>953</sup> It further discusses the Juan Antonio Samaranch's era from 1980 until 1991, when the IOC welcomed and recognised South Africa's newly established National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA). The developments towards the Barcelona Olympics in 1992, the post-1992 South Africa's sport landscape until the beginning of the country's 'social democratic sport'<sup>954</sup>

<sup>949</sup> The year South Africa's racist National Olympic Committee was expelled by the IOC in its Session in Amsterdam.

<sup>950</sup> The date and year that the last apartheid State President, F.W. de Klerk announced in parliament, the release of Nelson Mandela.

<sup>951</sup> The South Africa was formally re-admitted into the Olympic family since its expulsion in 1970 and that the country's racially-mixed team participated in the Olympic Games in Barcelona City.

<sup>952</sup> Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, Greenhouse: Cape Town, 2004, p.i and pp.71-98. In his book, entitled *South Africa: Racism in sport*, Christian Action Publishers (Ltd), London 1971, p.34-73, in chapter five: "Arguments answered", De Broglio also discusses this idea of 'winning the argument.'

<sup>953</sup> The Games are run by an elite private organisation, the IOC, which has succeeded in stamping out all other "Olympic" games and movements as it is the self-proclaimed great unifier of the world through "Olympic" sport. The IOC owns the rights to use the word "Olympic" and no event beyond of its control can use the word without permission due to its licensing agreements and penchant for using legal systems to protect the name. The IOC has a long history of using its power to marginalise others and has been faced with numerous scandals over the past twenty years.

<sup>954</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, 'Sport Perspectives 1988': "Planning is Vital", in THE

dispensation and the background developments to the election of Sam Ramsamy as a member of the IOC in 1995<sup>955</sup> are briefly highlighted. The latter is not necessarily part of this study, but is used as a prism to view the results of the long struggles to deracialise South Africa's sport.

This chapter aims to illuminate the potential power and influence of mass movements including the NRSM and the AAM, in South Africa and in the world, in the twentieth century and beyond. Chapter Five also sheds some light in the possible role that the people's movements can play in achieving pertinent action, where there is unity of purpose, as it was demonstrated during the struggles to deracialise South African sport, through the use of petitions and memoranda submissions and the subversive actions and campaigns, including the sports boycott for socio-political change in South Africa.

This chapter also outlines the ANC's role in the sport transition from the late 1980s and early 1990s. The ANC's direct or indirect role in the struggles to deracialise sport in the country, including the sports boycott (and the<sup>956</sup> general boycotts and/or sanctions against apartheid South Africa, which its details are discussed in chapter three above), is outlined. Throughout this study and specifically in this chapter, an argument is made for the involvement of the Liberation Movement in the efforts to liberate sport, led by the ANC alongside the NRSM and the AAM (see Chapters Two, Three and Four). The

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LEADER, 23 December 1988; again others also refer to this concept, see Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002, pp.527; Sampie Terreblanche narrates this thesis in a Canadian film, *Madiba: The Life and Times of Nelson Mandela*, CBC, 2004 [Sampie Terreblanche has the erudition and unique insights into both sides of the political divide in South Africa to make him an excellent choice to attempt this ambitious book. A leading South African economist, he was until 1987 a member of the ruling National Party, the party of apartheid, but later became one of their fierce critics, becoming a founding member and economic adviser of the Democratic Party, while also being involved in clandestine meetings with the ANC in the 1980s.]; Peter Limb, (Michigan State University), *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8, Issue 3, spring 2006 [*African Studies Quarterly* <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i3a14.htm> Spring 2006]; also see, Adam Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14; see Ebrahim Patel's argument in Albert Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby," in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.5-6; Ebrahim Patel, main speaker on behalf of the former SACOS officials or administrators, to honour these non-racial sport leaders, hosted by SASCOC, at the Olympic House, at Melrose in Johannesburg, 08 May 2014; see interviews: Hassan Howa in 1977 (originally cited in Andre Odendaal, *Crickey in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town, Self-published (Odendaal, A.), 1977, pp.269-270 and pp.276-277) and that of Jasmat Dhiraj (in 1980 in London), both cited in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.iv-viii and p.1.

<sup>955</sup> Sam Ramsamy is the first black South African to be elected and serve in the IOC and the IOC Executive Board, since the inception of the modern Olympics. For more information on this see Sam Ramsamy and Edwards Griffiths, *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, 2004, p.xiv; IOC Archives, *The Olympic Members Biographies*, 2011; *Sunday Independent*, January 03, 2010 Edition 1, by Patrick Bond [*POETRY and Protest: A Dennis Brutus Reader* is the title of the autobiographical sketches and verse published in 2006 by Haymarket of Chicago and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. [Reviewed by Patrick Bond, who directs the UKZN Centre for Civil Society, and like thousands of US students during the 1980s, was politicised by Brutus.]; also see, *The Telegraph*, UK, "Dennis Brutus", Published, 05 Mar 2010, also available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/sport-obituaries/7377841/Dennis-Brutus.html>; also see Andrew Jennings and Nikki Dryden, *Look Who's Coming to London: Meet the real International Olympic Committee*, July 8, 2012 [These biographies have been compiled by a global group of students, athletes, academics, Olympians, and journalists who seek the truth about the International Olympic Committee. Some of our contributors are anonymous, others are listed below.] Also available at: [www.transparencybooks.com](http://www.transparencybooks.com) and at: <http://www.sportkeeda.com/general-sport/the-real-ioc>; John Nauright , 'The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport', Histories of the Present, August 6, 2012, available at: [http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus\\_thread](http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/#disqus_thread).

<sup>956</sup> See Cheryl Roberts, eds., *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*, 1989, Township Publishing Cooperation, 1989; Cheryl Roberts, eds., *Challenges Facing South African sport: Challenges facing Non-racial sport*, V.S. Tshwete, Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, Cape Town, South Africa, 1990; Mihir Bose, *Sporting Colours: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, Robson Book Ltd, 1994.

struggle for equality in sport, was undertaken by genuine sportspeople. They were ably assisted by non-sport people because the very nature of these struggles was inherently made political by the conditions into which sport was organised or administered and supposed to be played. The nature of South African society was for a long time characterised by the colour bar policies and later on the apartheid system, and apartheid sport became the definitive sport system in South Africa. This made the challenge to apartheid sport undeniably political in nature. Hence at the later stage, the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott, took on an overt political tone, nature and character.

Accordingly, Chapter Five assesses the pertinent documents of the NRSM, AAM, IOC and those of the UN and its units, including the Special Committee against Apartheid (UNSCAA)<sup>957</sup> and the UN Centre against Apartheid (UNCAA). These bodies are crucial in studying the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott.

A proper assessment of the newly democratically elected government's sports policy is a critical recommendation of this thesis. The accusations levelled at the new government of meddling into sport by some of the former 'establishment'<sup>958</sup> sport forces; and that of having presided of 'sham-unity'<sup>959</sup>, having sold out or betrayed the non-racial sport struggle, the non-racial sport or the non-racial sport ideal for political expediency by the former non-racial sport leaders,<sup>960</sup> are briefly outlined and discussed in Chapter Six. This takes into account the context the new government's position and initiatives towards nation building, reconciliation and the deliverance of South Africa's constitutional mandate.<sup>961</sup>

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<sup>957</sup> The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid (UNSCAA) was created in 1964 in response to the growing challenge and the problem posed by apartheid in South Africa and in the global community of states. The former's work was complemented by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid (UNCAA).

<sup>958</sup> See Robert Archer and Antione Bouillon, *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982, p.202; Annelise Goslin, 'Human Resource Management as a Fundamental Aspect of a Sport Development Strategy in South African Communities', *Journal of Sport Management*, 10, 207-217, 1996, p.1; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p.xi; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.20.

<sup>959</sup> See, Albert Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby", p.1-23, in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, p.7; John Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1997.

<sup>960</sup> See Basil Brown, "The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport—A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement", pp.138-150 in Cornelius Thomas, (eds.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, Alice, 2006.

<sup>961</sup> Booth, D. (1998) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa, University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999.

## 5.2 THE OUTCOMES OF THE STRUGGLES TO DERACIALISE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT: ‘WINNING THE ARGUMENT’<sup>962</sup>, HIGHLIGHTS, CHALLENGES AND “FAILURES”

...The effectiveness of the international solidarity was more than vindicated in the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa. What was once remarked as “the South African Miracle” owes much to the knitting together of a number of interconnected and related threads of that struggle among these, the solidarity that the South African liberation movement was able to mobilise, amongst virtually every sector of society, was decisive at a moment when the Apartheid regime desperately required credit to survive...The strength of the international solidarity movement was that it relied on the cumulative impact of thousands of individual and collective actions...<sup>963</sup>

Some anecdotes of these ‘thousands of individuals’<sup>964</sup> are shared later in this Chapter. In the analysis of the effect of the *early* struggles to deracialise apartheid sport and the subsequent sports boycott, recalling the primary aims and objectives for the initiation of these efforts by the concerned individuals and later the NRSM is paramount. This is particularly essential and comes from the understanding that the sport struggle generally, and the sports boycott specifically, arose from concerns over a precise colour bar and later apartheid policies, but eventually became part of a much larger, multi-textured effort to achieve far-reaching alterations in South Africa’s political dispensation, including the sport landscape.<sup>965</sup> Daxita Ishwarlal Rajput asserts:

...Under apartheid, sport was played separately by the different race groups and only persons from the white race group were recognised for their achievement in sport and allowed to represent their country at international events. The campaign by the majority of the citizens of South Africa through international boycotts led to the country’s isolation from international sport. sports boycott played a crucial and influential role in turning the course of politics in the country. Change was inevitable and 1994 heralded a new era in the history of South Africa. South Africa’s successful struggle for freedom and democracy began the process of transforming the once highly stratified society

<sup>962</sup> Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections on a life in sport*, Greenhouse: Cape Town, p.71.

<sup>963</sup> Zweledinga Pallo Jordan, ‘Foreword’, 2011, p.ix and p.xiii, in Ken Keable, eds., *London Recruits: The Secret War Against Apartheid*, UK, Merlin Press, 2012.

<sup>964</sup> Jordan, ‘Foreword’, 2011, p.xiii.

<sup>965</sup> See, See Montagu and Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, [A Paper Presented at the Anti-Apartheid Movement Conference and held by the Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), (UKZN), Durban, South Africa, 2004, n.p. [Also available in: [scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc](http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/AAMwebsite/AAMCONFpapers/Spector,JB.doc)] [<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/18587620/Non-Traditional-Diplomacy>]; also see Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa”, 2004, p.145-166, in Greg Mills and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (eds.), *New Tools for Reform and Stability: Sanctions, Conditionalities and Conflict Resolutions*, The South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 2004, p.145.

into one that is uniting in its diversity. The political landscape has changed...<sup>966</sup>

The preceding chapters of this thesis demonstrate that the struggles to deracialise South African sport as part of the broader struggle to liberate South African society from the bondage of colonialism and apartheid, involved many people and many communities within the country and across the world. It has been noted that:

...the struggle came to so many surprising venues: it was carried out in sport arenas and cathedrals, in embassies and corporate boardrooms, at fruit stands and beaches, at rock concerts and gas stations alike. And it involved not only political leaders but ordinary people - athletes, students, ministers, workers, artists, and entertainers. This was not just a political battle; it was economic, cultural, moral, and spiritual. Many call the downfall of Apartheid a “miracle.” But actually it was the result of an unstoppable rebellion inside South Africa - combined with the success of an international grassroots effort to isolate the Apartheid regime from its allies in the West - that brought South Africa to the negotiating table in an astonishing nonviolent transition of power.<sup>967</sup>

Chapter Four detailed the sport struggles until 1970 and the current chapter continues this discussion until these struggles and specifically the sports boycott ended in 1991 and attempts to specifically outline and aggregate their outcomes thereof. A central question therefore is whether the struggles to deracialise South African sport, especially the sports boycott campaigns, achieved the goal they aimed for, as Rajput and the *Independent Lens* declared above<sup>968</sup>. This is critical, particularly following the socio-political watershed developments after ‘the historic speech’ made by the incumbent State President, F.W. de Klerk in the last white parliament on 2 February 1990, where he announced the unbanning of the ANC and other proscribed organisations.<sup>969</sup> Inherently, De Klerk’s speech signalled the end of apartheid as an official state policy and that the apartheid measures were to be scrapped from the statute books. This therefore set in motion a series of processes that eventually led to, among others, the review of and later controversial cessation of the

<sup>966</sup> Daxita Ishwarlal Rajput, “Tracking sporting excellence in a transforming society,” an unpublished Doctor Degree (D. Lit et Phil), submitted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2012, p.1.

<sup>967</sup> *Independent Lens* (2012). *Have You Heard From Johannesburg: ‘Director’s Statement’* - a Landmark Five-Part Series About the Global Anti-Apartheid Movement, Premieres on *Independent Lens* in January 2012 [Also available: <http://www.itvs.org/films/have-you-heard-from-johannesburg/photos-and-press-kit>].

<sup>968</sup> Rajput, “Tracking sporting excellence in a transforming society,” 2012; *Independent Lens*, *Have You Heard From Johannesburg*, 2012.

<sup>969</sup> Cheryl Roberts, ed., *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*, Township Publishing Cooperation, 1989; Cheryl Roberts, ed., *Challenges Facing South African Sport*, Cape Town: Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, 1990; Keba Mbaya, *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa: Analysis and Illustration of a Humanist Sport Policy*. International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, 1995, p.56; Grundlingh, “The new politics of rugby”, p.1-23.

sports boycott.<sup>970</sup> The most significant development after De Klerk's speech was the response of the IOC and the broader international community of states, especially the super powers such as the United States of America and Britain. A number of factors are attributed to this watershed decision by Mr. de Klerk, and one of these, was the issue of international sanctions, which were generally perceived then and this view is also held in retrospect, to have had a dilapidating effect on 'economy and restricted room for manoeuvring on the part of the apartheid state.'<sup>971</sup> This discussion is extended later in the chapter, with a specific focus on Antonio Samaranch's IOC Executive Boards repositioning and watershed<sup>972</sup> decision to send the IOC delegation in the form of the apartheid and Olympism Commission to South Africa<sup>973</sup>, the first since the IOC three men Commission in 1967, under Avery Brundage.<sup>974</sup>

Given the above challenges, realities and issues, it is important to remember, for instance, that the apartheid policy affected all aspects of South African life, including sport<sup>975</sup>; and therefore even before the CCIR/CIR, was formed, some non-racial sport federations had realised the problem of racism in sport and initiated a challenge against inequality in sport and other actions towards achieving their respective non-racial goals. These initiatives were outlined in Chapter Four and their outcomes are hereunder listed.

### **5.2.1 The apartheid sport question on the IOC agenda and various IFs either suspending or expelling apartheid sport federations**

Chapter Four revealed that some form of resistance to the application of the colour bar policies in sport was apparently observed in 1946, when 'T. Rangasamy applied to the British Amateur Weightlifters Association for affiliation on behalf of the non-White weightlifters.'<sup>976</sup> E.S. Reddie, on the other hand, writes that '[T]he issue of discrimination and segregation in sport was first raised during the Indian passive resistance campaign of 1946-48.'<sup>977</sup> It is known, however, that a radical challenge to deracialise South African

<sup>970</sup> Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby", 199, p.1.

<sup>971</sup> Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby", 1995, p.1.

<sup>972</sup> Cornelissen, S. (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem," in *TIJHS*, 28, 2011.

<sup>973</sup> Mbaye (1995) The International Olympic Committee and South Africa; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; IOC, 'post-graduate Reports: "Philani Nongogo-The effect of the Sports boycott in South Africa and social change, 1955-1992"', 2011.

<sup>974</sup> De Broglie (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

<sup>975</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.1.

<sup>976</sup> See Van der Merwe (1997) *Sport History*, p.111.

<sup>977</sup> United Nations Archives (UNA)/ United Nations Archives / On-line/ United Nations Documents and Reports, 1998, p.3; also see E.S. Reddy, "United Nations and Apartheid – A Chronology", UN: United Nations Centre against Apartheid, available on-line: <http://www.anc.org.za/un/un-chron.html>; 22 June 1946 -The Government of India requested that the question of the treatment of Indians in the UoSA be included in the agenda of second part of the first session of the General Assembly.

sport was observed in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>978</sup> The CCIR/CIR was succeeded by the SASA in 1958, which succeeded in forcing South Africa's racial problem into the agenda of the IOC in 1959.<sup>979</sup> The NRSM, led by SASA decided to form SANROC in 1963. It should be remembered that Dennis Brutus, at the time an Honorary Secretary of SASA, planned this after he had had a meeting with SANOC and discussed the inclusion of black athletes in the South African Olympic team. SANOC refused his request. Consequently, Brutus informed the SANOC leadership that he would establish an organisation in the form of SANROC with the purpose to challenge SANOC's membership of the IOC.

...He was told that he could go ahead and they laughed at his suggestion. [However] [T]hey were not to laugh in 1970 when the IOC in Amsterdam expelled the South African [National] Olympic Association (sic) [Committee]...<sup>980</sup>

SANROC took up SASA's work further and incorporated *new* goals, with the purpose of fighting against racism in sport and to press for international recognition of non-racial sport federations in South Africa.<sup>981</sup> They also fought for the exclusion of the racist SANOC and the Whites-only "national" sport federations from the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement. The international action against apartheid sport, ably led by SANROC, won many victories, which includes the whites-only SANOC's suspension by the IOC from the 1964 and 1968 Olympics and eventually expelled from the Olympic movement in 1970. There is consensus that the latter was a significant victory towards deracialisation of South African sport. De Broglio attributes the watershed decision by the IOC to expel SANOC in 1970 to the long and hard work by the NRSM, specifically the advocacy work by SANROC and third world and/or Afro-Asian, Latin American, Caribbean and East European members of the IOC.<sup>982</sup> In relation to SANROC's work in exile, de Broglio shares that:

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<sup>978</sup> United Nations Archives / United Nations Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984; Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real Hurdle*, 1982; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>979</sup> IOC/ CIO D. RMO1. AFRIS/ 057 310986 (5)/ SD3 Memorandum de South African Sports Association/ *adene au ciò* "Sport in South Africa", mai 1959; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*; Ian Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games", pp. 97-110: p.2, in J.M. Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge, 2012.

<sup>980</sup> De Broglio, "The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986", 2009.

<sup>981</sup> IOC Archives/SANROC Files; SASA Memorandum, 1959; De Broglio, *South Africa: Sport and Racism*, 1970; Ramsamy, *Reflections*, 1982; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>982</sup> Cornelissen, 'Resolving the South Africa problem', 2011.

...I went to report to Cannon Collins when I returned to London [in 1964] and he asked me if I needed some funds to continue. I said £ 50 would be useful. He offered me £ 200 for a start. I bought a second-hand Electric typewriter for £ 35, and that typewriter was responsible for all the damage against the South African racists...<sup>983</sup>

In the main, however, from the 1940s until 1970, and specifically between 1966 and 1970, a ‘£ 35...second-hand Electric typewriter...’<sup>984</sup> had done ‘all the damage against the South African racists.’<sup>985</sup> These included the watershed decision by the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF), to recognise a non-racial South African Table Tennis Board (SATTB) in 1956 and expel the whites-only body from South Africa. Soon thereafter, several other IFs also either suspended or expelled the apartheid sport federations. By the turn of the 1950s, the apartheid sport question was placed for the first time on the IOC agenda. Consequently, the South African National Olympic Committee and the South African Olympic team were suspended and barred from the 1964 Games and again in the 1968 Mexico Games. Then the watershed decision followed these developments in the IOC Session held in the Netherlands in 1970. In the same year, the sports boycott scored another significant victory, this time for the non-Olympic sport of rugby and Cricket. The ‘effectiveness’<sup>986</sup> of the Sports boycott in New Zealand and the “Stop The Seventy Tour” campaign in Great Britain were critical in the struggles to deracialise South African sport. More specifically, these sport struggles achieved the following important successes:

... Table-Tennis – white body expelled and Non-Racial body recognised 1956...IOC- International Olympic Committee- South Africa expelled May 1970...Basketball – South Africa barred from the World Championships. Boxing – South Africa expelled 1968. Cycling – South Africa barred from World Championships April 1970. Fencing – South Africa suspended 1964. Gymnastics –South Africa barred from World Championships 1970. Judo – South Africa refused membership 1969. Netball – South Africa Excluded from 1970 World Netball Tournament. Pentathlon – South Africa barred from World Championships in 1969. Football – South Africa suspended 1964 and expelled 1976...Tennis – South Africa suspended from Davis Cup 1970. Weightlifting — South Africa expelled 1969. Wrestling – South Africa expelled 1970. Cricket- Tour of Britain 1970- Cancelled.

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<sup>983</sup> De Broglio, “The SANROC Story, 1966 to 1986”, 2009.

<sup>984</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>985</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>986</sup> Peter Hain recognised this in the interview in Clarity Film: ‘Have You Heard From Johannesburg: “Fair Play”’, Clarity Film, 2010.

Rugby – After 1970 Stop the Seventy Tour was responsible for stopping all further tours...<sup>987</sup>

Despite SANOC's expulsion in 1970, the broader Olympic Movement was yet to completely isolate other whites-only “national” sport federations, and as such the sport struggles continued after this period. De Broglio asserts:

...At that time I felt that I could not work almost single handed with the IOC and about 25 sport federations and that Sam [Ramsamy] should be employed as Chairman. He resigned his post and we paid him the same salary as a school teacher. When Sam Ramsamy joined Sanroc most of the hard work [however] had been done...<sup>988</sup>

It is worth noting that while de Broglio acknowledges the hard work that Sam Ramsamy was doing since he joined SANROC and what he did beyond this period, the former appears to, at the same time, downplay the latter’s role. It is difficult to conclude the cause of this dichotomous position? Surface to indicated that these two sportsleaders were to find themselves on the two opposing side of the NRSM, in the early 1990s. This development is discussed in detail later in the Chapter.

### **5.3 THE SPORT STRUGGLES AFTER 1970: THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT, SOUTH AFRICAN NON-RACIAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND THE SPORTS BOYCOTT**

#### **5.3.1 Background to the Sports boycott campaigns after the 1970 “breakthrough”—The challenge of the non-Olympic sporting codes**

In the mid-1970s, the SANROC executive changed personnel as Dennis Brutus, who was a co-founder, a great source inspiration and motivator of SANROC since 1962, left the UK for the US to take up a position as Professor at Northwestern University. This somehow coincided with Sam Ramsamy’s joining the SANROC Executive Committee in 1973, and then quickly became Chairman in 1976, with Christian de Broglio as Secretary General and Isaiah Stein, Omar Cassem, and Jasmat Dhiraj, making up the rest of the Committee. The new SANROC team had its work cut out as there was still a need to further the Sports boycott campaigns against apartheid sport and to increase SANROC’s international contacts, especially with the UN’s Special Committee Against Apartheid and the SCSA and IFs. For instance, SANROC, represented by Christian de Broglio and Isaia

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<sup>987</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>988</sup> De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

Stein, was recognised as a full member of the SCSA at its Rabat, Morocco Congress in 1967.<sup>989</sup> SANROC's affiliation to the SCSA meant that 'the fate of [A]partheid sport was sealed,' and that South Africa's participation in international sport was now going to be the prerogative of SCSA and SANROC.<sup>990</sup> This was believed to be so, because the global world was rapidly changing, and as such, there was a strong observation that:

...In a modern world no country can conduct its affairs in isolation. The problems we face are beyond the capacity of any one nation to solve on its own. What happens in any one country impacts on its neighbours and further afield...<sup>991</sup>

The struggles to deracialise South Africa's sport, especially the Sports boycott, took another turn in terms of pace and intensity, in the late 1960s and a totally different trajectory in the *second phase* post-1970, with many countries and societies joining the Anti-apartheid struggle. The latter was a vital development given that if one takes a brief look at:

...the global history of relations between 'white' and 'non-white' people...For more than four hundred years, White people ruled most of the world. For more than half of that period, whites inflicted on Africans the scarcely imaginable horrors of slave trade and chattel slavery. But even after Britain abolished the slave trade at the end of the eighteen century, and even after Abraham Lincoln abolished chattel slavery in America, over a hundred years ago, systematic humiliation of non-white people at the hands of Whites continued and was turned, especially at the end of the nineteenth century, into a pseudo-scientific ideology. The doctrine that Whites were biologically and intellectually superior to non-whites was asserted, and to a great extent enforced in practice, throughout the world. Six main factors weakened this system from the end of the nineteenth century on...<sup>992</sup>

Many countries throughout the world, particularly Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and those of the Commonwealth were galvanised into playing important roles in the acceleration of the sport struggles against apartheid sport. This was specifically demonstrated by the signing of the "The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) Agreement," popularly known as the "Gleneagles Agreement" by the Commonwealth

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<sup>989</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio, '[The SANROC Story](#)', 2009, n.p.

<sup>990</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio, '[The SANROC Story](#)', 2009, n.p.

<sup>991</sup> Nelson Mandela at the Summit of the Gulf Cooperation Council, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, 7 December 1998, shared by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, and found in the documentary: '[Have You Heard From Johannesburg](#)', Sage/Clarity Films, 2010.

<sup>992</sup> Conor Cruise O'Brien, 'Foreword', p.10, in Donald Woods, *Black and White*, Ward River Press, Dublin, 1981.

countries in 1977.<sup>993</sup> Most importantly, the Gleneagles Agreement ‘reaffirmed the opposition of Commonwealth leaders to Apartheid sport’ and in fact, became a vital ‘benchmark in the fight against Apartheid, as South African whites were rather more affronted by their exclusion from Commonwealth-dominated sport, such as rugby and cricket, than their ejection from the Olympic Games.’<sup>994</sup> More details on the CHOGM Agreement are outlined later in the current chapter.

African countries in the 1960s, especially after the 1963 establishment of the OAU, in turn took a decision to support the African protest against apartheid and the AAM campaign, specifically the struggles to deracialise South African sport.<sup>995</sup> To achieve the latter goal, the newly independent African states, through the work of the OAU decided to establish the SCSA in 1966,<sup>996</sup> which in turn quickly began to try to convince and mobilise the rest of the world’s sporting organisations to expel racist South Africa.<sup>997</sup> Since its establishment and throughout the late 1960s until the late 1980s, SCSA proved to be a major player in the non-racial sport struggle.

The UN also adopted a plethora of Resolutions against apartheid and thus, also the apartheid sport during this period, through its two units: the Special Committee against apartheid and the Centre against apartheid. One of the most important UN General Assembly’s Resolutions was in actual fact, its Declaration of the apartheid system as “Crime Against Humanity” in 1971,<sup>998</sup> together with the Resolution 2922 (XXVII) of November 1972, which the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that apartheid constituted ‘a total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the UN and is

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<sup>993</sup> In June 1977, the CHOGM produced the Gleneagles Agreement, which was possibly the most famous incident CHOGM, see more details in Richard Cashman, ‘Australia’s role in the apartheid Sports boycott in 1977: RG Neale Lecture Series [on behalf of The National Archives of Australia and the Department of foreign Affairs and Trade: Commonwealth of Australia, 2008], a Lecture delivered at the National Archives of Australia on 30 October 2008; also see UNA/UN Library/Geneva Office/UN Centre Against Apartheid: Department of Political and Security Studies Council Affairs/The Gleneagles Agreement/ Text of statement issued by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, H.E. Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, on 9 March 1981, UNCAA/1981; Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1956-98/ Bodleian Library: Rhodes House, Oxford University/BOX: MSS AAM 1429 – FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/A second important letter is from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982, to Mr Neil Macfarlane M.P. Minister of Sport, Department of Environment at 2 Marshal Str., London SW1.

<sup>994</sup> Cashman, ‘Australia’s role in the apartheid Sports boycott in 1977’, p.8.

<sup>995</sup> Cornelissen, Resolving the South African problem, 2011.

<sup>996</sup> De Broglio, ‘Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport’, 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”, n.p.

<sup>997</sup> See Brittain, “South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games”, 2011; Brittain, “South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee”, 2012; also see Ellis Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*, Taylor and Francis, 2010.

<sup>998</sup> See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Documents/E.S. Reddy, “Sport and the liberation struggle: a tribute to Sam Ramsamy and others who fought apartheid sport”, n.d., n.p. Also available: <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/SPORT/SPORTRAM.htm>; also see ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Online Documents/E.S. Reddy, “United Nations, India and Boycott of Apartheid Sport.” [Paper presented at the seminar of the Sport Authority of India and the Arjuna Awarders Association, New Delhi, July 28-29, 1988. This paper is published as a pamphlet on 28 July 1988]. It is also available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6895&ndt=Boycotts>. E.S. Reddy writes that he present this paper in the hope that it will help India in making its rightful contribution in the next phase of the struggle against apartheid sport and its collaborators; also see United Nations Archives/UN Library/Geneva Office/Edwin Ogbu’s (Chairman of UN Special Committee), “Introduction”, 1973, pp.3-4, in the Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Apartheid: A Crime Against Humanity; - International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (Resolution 3069 (XXVIII), Adopted by the General Assembly on 30 November 1973).

a crimes against humanity.<sup>999</sup> A detailed discussion of the role and contribution of the SCSA and the UN is undertaken later in the Chapter.

Post 1970 apartheid South Africa's 'internal matter' was apparently no longer an 'internal matter which did not concern the IOC,'<sup>1000</sup> but had rather became a global topical issue.<sup>1001</sup> This was emphatically shown by SCSA's impact in the African boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976 in protest at a New Zealand All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa. However, often the White countries and nations found ways to negate the demands of organisations such as SANROC and SCSA by the adoption of tactics such as the weighted voting system. For example:

...At the International Association of Athletics Federations...meeting in Budapest in 1966 they adopted a weighted voting system that gave 37 predominantly White nations 244 votes and 99 predominantly non-White nations only 195 votes, possibly in reaction to mounting pressure from African nations calling for the banning of the South African member organisation from the IAAF.<sup>1002</sup> In 1970, representatives from non-White countries had only 33% of the IOC voting power...<sup>1003</sup>

By the 1970s, several IFs had either suspended or expelled South Africa's Whites-only "national" sporting bodies, especially those that were within the Olympic Games programme.<sup>1004</sup> The biggest challenge remained rugby, cricket, and the disability sports.<sup>1005</sup> Sport administrators in countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the UK,

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<sup>999</sup> See UNA/UN Library/Geneva Office/Edwin Ogbu, "Introduction", 1973, p.5, in the Information Centre of the World Peace Council, *Apartheid: A Crime Against Humanity; - International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid*, 30 November 1973.

<sup>1000</sup> See Reginald Alexander's and Reginald Honey's arguments in the IOC Session meetings with regard to the apartheid sport problem: "...that apartheid was an internal matter and does not concern the IOC. For more information in this matter, see De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio, *'The SANROC Story'*, 2009, n.p.; Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p. 1167.

<sup>1001</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio, *'The SANROC Story'*, 2009, n.p.; The report of a commission which visited South Africa in 1967 shows that the matter was discussed in 1959, obviously through the pressure of the South African Sports Association, see the IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966/SANROC's submission, "International aspects of South African sport situation: A study presented to the South African Commission of the IOC" on 23 November 1967, p.1; also see Cleophas and Van Der Merwe, "Contradictions and responses concerning the South Africa sport Colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape", 2011, pp. 124-140; Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games", p.2, in Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena*, 2012.

<sup>1002</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', Sport in Society Vol. 14, No. 9, November, 2011, 1165–1181; Ian Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games", pp. 97-110, 2012, p.2, in J.M. Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena: A Sporting Chance*, London: Routledge, 2012; also see De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio, *'The SANROC Story'*, 2009, n.p.

<sup>1003</sup> See Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1165; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012, p.97; also see Richard Lapchick, *The Politics of Race and International Sport: The Case of South Africa*, 1975.

<sup>1004</sup> De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.

<sup>1005</sup> For more information on this development see, Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011; Brittain, "South Africa, apartheid, and the Paralympic Games", 2012, in Le Clair, (eds), *Disability in the Global Sport Arena*, 2012; also see De Broglio, 'Blog: Struggle against apartheid sport', 2005, n.p.; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story", n.p.; interviews: Dennis Brutus and Peter Hain acknowledged this in the documentary, 'Have You Heard From Johannesburg: "Fair Play"', Sage/Clarity Films, 2010.

remained on excellent terms with their White counterparts in South Africa, notwithstanding the exclusion of the majority of South African Black sportspersons from international competition. This continued well-beyond the 1970's, after the IOC had expelled South Africa from the Olympic Games. Throughout the Sports boycott campaigns, the "ignorant" observers or apartheid apologists within these countries and elsewhere frequently asked, ['W]hat's so special about South Africa?<sup>1006</sup> What they were actually arguing was that:

...a great number, perhaps a majority, of the world's governments are tyrannical, and that if international sport were confined to the democracies alone, the range over which it could be practised would be quite restricted...<sup>1007</sup>

Chapter Two deals with South Africa's long history of colour bar policies and apartheid system as argued above, and it demonstrates that the country was indeed a special case within the community of state the world over. Conor Cruise O'Brien is helpful in summarising South Africa's 'special' race position in the world. In 1981, O'Brien wrote:

...the fact is that there *is* something very special about South Africa. Since the defeat and death of Adolf Hitler, South Africa is the only avowedly and systematically racist country remaining in the world. Its laws, policies and practices are not only crushingly oppressive to the four fifths of its own citizens; they also constitute a standing insult to the majority of the population of the world...<sup>1008</sup>

It was apparently this reality that led to the birth of several movements such as the British AAM, Halt All Racist Tours (HART) in New Zealand, Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) in Australia, and the Irish AAM, which Kader Asmal was an important member, played crucial roles in ostracising apartheid sport. By 1981, O'Brien writes:

...the process of decolonisation is complete, as regards the peoples who earlier were ruled from Western Europe, South Africa stands out as the one country in which racism, far from having been swept away, has been entrenched to an extent never known before, codified with almost insane pedantry, and brutally enforced. Africans, Asians, and people of mixed race throughout the world know what South African law means in respect of their status as human beings, and they regard

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<sup>1006</sup> O'Brien, 'Foreword', p.9, 1981.

<sup>1007</sup> O'Brien, 'Foreword', p.9, 1981, p.9.

<sup>1008</sup> O'Brien, 'Foreword', p.9, 1981, p.9.

it therefore not – as so many White people are apt to do – as regrettable aberration practised in a particular place, but as the continued systematic affirmation of a principle under which their ancestors had known manifold forms of oppression and humiliation. That's why South Africa is a special case, and that is why a sporting visit to South Africa is seen by most of the inhabitants of the world, not as a sporting event, but as a political and social manifestation implying contempt for ‘non-White’ people...<sup>1009</sup>

Throughout the late 1960s and the greater part of the 1970s and 1980s, parallel developments within the wider South African society witnessed a cycle of protest in townships, schools, and factories. The apartheid state instituted various “window dressing” strategies to assuage protest, but to no avail. Throughout the 1970s the Black Consciousness Movement, on the political front and SACOS on the socio-cultural and sporting front, made their presence felt and filled the political and the sporting void that was left by the LM and SANROC respectively, in the 1960s. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, SACOS had in fact, established itself nationally and internationally as the “authentic representative of non-racial sport” in the country. A detailed discussion on SACOS is undertaken later in the current chapter. Another demoralising blow for apartheid sport came after the UN and Commonwealth reaffirmed support for the Sports boycott in 1977. The *early* Anti-apartheid campaigners and bodies in the United States of America (USA) were also on the rise again and re-energising the Civil Rights Movement. Among these, for instance, there was the Council on African Affairs (CAA) in the USA. This was:

The earliest anti-activities in the USA date back to 1946 with a rally and picket by Indian students (protesting against Smuts’ speech at the UN) at the South African Embassy organised by the *Council on African Affairs (CAA)*. Actions followed in 1952 to support the Defiance Campaign of the ANC in South Africa. Hundreds of organisations became involved over the years; many independent and local but working with national organisations. African-American entities played an important role in the national movement and linked the Civil Rights Movement in the USA with anti-Apartheid...<sup>1010</sup>

There was also the AAM Organisations and/or People, which A. Philip Randolph became a prominent figure.

...A. Philip Randolph, an African American labour and civil rights activist (1889-1979) was a member of the Committee of Americans

<sup>1009</sup> O’Brien, ‘Foreword’, p.9, 1981, p.12.

<sup>1010</sup> See, [http://www.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/aama/country/category/united\\_states\\_of\\_america/](http://www.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/aama/country/category/united_states_of_america/)

for South African Resistance (AFSAR), founded in 1952 to support the Defiance Campaign. He was also a member of ACOA and headed the *Committee on Conscience against Apartheid*, formed by ACOA. He was very active in the End Loans campaigns...<sup>1011</sup>

There was also the Africa Fund:

The *Africa Fund* was founded in 1966 by the *American Committee on Africa*. They shared offices and staff but had separate boards and budgets. It supported health and educational projects of the liberations (sic) movements. It also supported the South African Council of Churches to aid political prisoners and their families. It researched American corporations and their ties with South Africa. It merged in 2001 with *APIC* and *ACO* to form *Africa Action*.<sup>1012</sup>

Probably the most crucial of these AAM bodies, was the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS):

*ACCESS* was founded in 1976 by Richard Lapchick and focussed on the Sports boycott. It led the boycott actions against the Davis Cup tennis match between the USA and South Africa and was also involved in the campaign against the Springbok Rugby Tour to the USA. The organisation dissolved around 1991.<sup>1013</sup>

One of the most crucial role-players in the Sports boycott has been Richard Lapchick and his *Centre for Study of Sport in Society (CSSS)*, which was probably the first organisation of its kind connecting sport with society.<sup>1014</sup>

The sections of Chapter Five below explore the sport struggles in the 1970s, following a decade of relative political “lull” within South Africa. The country exploded in the early 1970s, the period of political activism renewal leading up to the 1980s, the bloodiest decade in the country’s history, with protest in the workplace, educational institutions, the community, and sport fields.<sup>1015</sup> The non-racial sport movement was also

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<sup>1011</sup> This is information is available at The Library of Congress, which has a collection of Philip Randolph's Africa related materials covering the period 1949-1969. See <http://www.loc.gov>

<sup>1012</sup> The Amistad Research Centre at Tulane University holds the archive of the organisation covering the period 1949-2001. This information is also available at, <http://www.amistadresearchcenter.org/>. The Yale University Library holds the collection of *Globalvision, South Africa Now*. The TV programme *South Africa Now* was produced in cooperation with *The Africa Fund* and the archive contains video tapes, around 150 newscasts, some transcripts and footage and tapes of interviews. It also documents the activities of the international AAMs. It covers the period 1978-1991 but the bulk of the collections are from 1988 onwards; also available at, <http://www.library.yale.edu>; also the Law Faculty at Florida State University holds a collection covering the period 1980-1998 and contains publications, pamphlets and press releases. For more information on this see, <http://www.law.fsu.edu>.

<sup>1013</sup> Michigan State University Library holds a small collection covering the period ca 1969-ca1991. <http://www.lib.msu.edu>, also see information and material held by the Law Faculty of the Michigan State University, which covers the 1980-1981 period. See, <http://www.law.msu.edu>

<sup>1014</sup> The Northeastern University Libraries holds the records of the *Centre for Study of Sport in Society (CSSS)*. The former also contains materials from *ACCESS* and other AAMs, also internationally. The bulk of the collection covers the period 1985-1998, for more information in this see, <http://www.lib.neu.edu>.

<sup>1015</sup> International Olympic Committee (2011) Final Report: The Effect of the Sports boycott and Social Change in South Africa, 1955 – 1994[1] [online]. The International Olympic Committee [also published in IOC Research date tank in April 2011 (Available from:

rekindled within South Africa during this period. This was marked by the establishment of the SACOS, which adopted the slogan “No normal sport in an abnormal society.” SACOS was the non-racial sport movements’ umbrella body (with its initial subsidiaries of eight sport organisations including SARU, SASF, SACBOC, SAAAF, SAASA, SAAW&B&A and SAATTB) that operated on an *ad hoc* basis in 1970 and was constituted formally in 1973. Key figures included Hassan Howa and Errol Vawda.<sup>1016</sup> It is apparent that the relationship between SACOS and SANROC in the initial stages after the former’s establishment was not necessarily rosy even though this relationship improved in the later years, then to later collapse in the late 1980s and early 1990s. For instance SACOS worked closely with SANROC and the SCSA to coordinate the campaigns against apartheid sport from within the country and the continent. Further, SACOS was the key organisation around which opposition to white sport coalesced within South Africa. It refused to negotiate or make compromises until apartheid had been dismantled, a stance that was to haunt it in the later years of its existence. The non-racial sport movement operated in this manner until the late 1980s, when SACOS’ “rival” body, the National Olympic Sport Congress (NOSC), which soon dropped the “O” to simply NSC, was established under controversial circumstances by a group of leaders within SACOS. This discussion is extended further hereunder.

#### 5.4 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL ON/OF SPORT IN 1973

There is evidence that, contrary to the popular view that the establishment of SACOS was somehow a predominantly local and internal idea, SANROC activists were also cognisant of the vacuum that was created after 1965 soon after they went into exile. Sam Ramsamy asserts that it was actually De Broglio, one of the mainstays within the NRSM, who apparently raised the issue of a non-racial sport leadership *void* inside South Africa. Christian de Broglio apparently raised this concern in London and interestingly, soon after SANROC was forced to the ground inside South Africa. The latter apparently came about when many non-racial sportsperson were severely persecuted by the apartheid regime. Chapter Four discussed the harassment of the leaders of the NRSM and sportspersons, where in fact in 1965 the apartheid regime had managed to close down SANROC inside

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<http://doc.repo.ch/search.py?author=Nongogo+Philani> [also available from: [www.olympic.org/OSC/documents](http://www.olympic.org/OSC/documents)], under the title: The effect of Sports boycott and social change in South Africa: a historical perspective, 1955-2005,Nongogo,Philani- Rapport de recherche. 2011, 38 p.] [Accessed 10 May 2011].

<sup>1016</sup> Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, ‘Sport Perspectives 1988’: “Planning is Vital,” in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988.

South Africa. Many NRSM people were gaoled, exiled and even killed. From this period, SANORC sportspersons and leaders were left to operate abroad.

After he came back to South Africa from the UK in 1969, Ramsamy became involved in several non-racial sport activities, including coaching one of the soccer clubs, Aces United, which played under the auspices of the SASF and achieved a Mainstay Cup win. It was the SASF's premier knockout competition at the time.<sup>1017</sup> In 1970, he also lead a delegation of the non-racial South African Swimming Federation (SASF) following a plethora of letters to the racial swimming body, the South African Swimming Union (SASU), insistently requesting a meeting to discuss the establishment of a unified swimming body. They were ignored in the beginning, but ultimately a meeting was arranged. Ramsamy shares that:

...I was appointed to lead our delegation...Both sides affirmed their desire to unite and administer the sport as one..."The principle of merit selection is important," said Roy Clegg, the SASU president.... "Agreed," we replied. This response prompted some members of our delegation to take a sharp intake of breath, but we didn't want to waste time arguing this issue, even though realised it meant our swimmers would probably not have a chance to swim at international level. We wanted to see how far SASU was prepared to go... "For us, the principle of open participation in most important. Every South African must have a fair and equal opportunity to swim, and they must be allowed to swim together, from the highest level to grass roots." In blunt terms, we were demanding the end of segregation in swimming, nothing more, nothing less...<sup>1018</sup>

These efforts and even bending over-backwards by black swimming leaders bore no fruit. Following their consultation with the government, SASU came back with the expected outcome that the latter indicated that it could not against government policies and law of apartheid, given the situation in the country. The whole exercise of negotiation therefore proved to be futile. It became obvious that Ramsamy was indeed 'carried away by optimism'<sup>1019</sup> to believe that in 1970, South African sport could have achieved some form of unity. It was during situations like these, however, that it dawned on the liberal

<sup>1017</sup> See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Documents/E.S. Reddy, "Sport and the liberation struggle: a tribute to Sam Ramsamy and others who fought apartheid sport", n.d., n.p. Also available: <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/SPORT/SPORTRAM.htm>; See ANC On-line Archives/United Nations Online Documents/E.S. Reddy, "United Nations, India and Boycott of Apartheid Sport." [Paper presented at the seminar of the Sport Authority of India and the Arjuna Awardees Association, New Delhi, July 28-29, 1988. This paper is published as a pamphlet on 28 July 1988]. It is also available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6895&ndt=Boycotts>. E.S. Reddy writes that he present this paper in the hope that it will help India in making its rightful contribution in the next phase of the struggle against apartheid sport and its collaborators.

<sup>1018</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, 2014, p.27.

<sup>1019</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, 2014, p.29.

sportspersons that critical decisions needed to be taken to further the struggles to deracialise South African sport. The main challenge was the lack of a vehicle to drive this process. There was a void and at worst there was a view within the NRSM that the former was beginning to be used by the racist establishment sport federations in their quest to push propaganda that black sportspersons were not participating or interested in sport, were not organised and no umbrella body coordinating their sporting activities. Given the void that Christian de Broglio raised in London, and the realities on the ground during this period, such arguments could have convinced some naïve and ignorant people. In attempt to address this matter, Sam Ramsamy shares that:

...“Are you eating with us tonight” my aunt always used to ask. “Sorry,” I would reply. “I’m going to a committee”...Most evenings, every weekend: there was always something to be done...Aside from my responsibilities as a teacher and soccer coach, I also accepted a position of both President of non-racial Natal High Schools Athletics Association and the national coach of the non-racial swimming Federation. My services were also required in the boardroom...<sup>1020</sup> So, I continued to attend meetings, and take an interest in the political sport agenda. During one such informal gathering, at the home of a friend in Chatsworth, the conversation had drifted to a problem initially identified by Christian de Broglio in London, specifically that, ever since SANROC was forced overseas, there had been no macro-sport, umbrella body for ‘non-White’ sport in South Africa...<sup>1021</sup>

This observation is also raised and discussed at length by Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon in 1982.<sup>1022</sup> By the end of 1970 South Africa had been expelled from the Olympic Movement and generally ‘White South African sport was effectively isolated.’<sup>1023</sup> To add salt to the wound, the NRSM within South Africa was busy making plans to make the situation more untenable for the establishment sport and the application the “Multi-national” sport policy in the country. The NRSM inside South Africa, however, had to first reorganise itself as there has not been any macro-sport federations since the SANROC days. Archer and Bouillon report that in September 1970, eight non-racial sport federations met in Durban and formed the South African Non-Racial Sport Organisation (SASPO), which was later reconfigured as simply: SACOS. Interestingly, Ramsamy shares similar information, adding that the void left by SANROC was problematic in that

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<sup>1020</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, 2014, p.27.

<sup>1021</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, 2014, p.30.

<sup>1022</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, 1982.

<sup>1023</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.228.

it enabled the ‘establishment ‘White’ Olympic Committee to gain credibility by projecting itself to the international community as South Africa’s only macro-sport body.’<sup>1024</sup> Ramsamy goes on to say:

...That night at Chatsworth, everyone accepted the need for a new organisation to oversee the non-racial sport codes. I discussed the concept with Farouk Khan, a journalist in Durban, who still works for the *Daily News* today, and with MN Pather, then Secretary of the SA Non-Racial Lawn Tennis Association; together, we developed a strategy and canvassed support from the non-racial sport movement. We were sowing the seeds of the South African Council on Sport...a body destined to play a major role in the evolution of a national sport structure. We eventually arranged a round-table conference, which I attended as a member of the delegation from the swimming federation, and an ad hoc committee was formed to advance the process. MN Pather was appointed as Secretary of the committee, and Norman Middleton, then President of the South African Soccer Federation, was elected as Chairman. Out of this committee, in 1973, emerged SACOS....<sup>1025</sup>

It is apparent that Sam Ramsamy has been heavily involved in the establishment of non-racial sport structures in one way or another, since the 1960s. The Mayibuye Centre of the Robben Island at the University of the Western Cape is housing the SANROC Archives and in these there is an important piece of information that proves the statement above.<sup>1026</sup> Specifically, there is a nineteen-paged article entitled “*White Union Out in the Cold*” that reads:

...It was the Easter weekend of 1966 – April, 6 to be exact – when several persons, representing Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Griqualand West and Natal, met at the David Landau Community Centre in Asheville, Durban. Their purpose? To consider whether a national body to control swimming in South Africa should be established (sic). Under the chairmanship of Mr W.A. Paulse, then pro-tem chairman of the steering committee established s year earlier, the Durban meeting adopted a constitution and formally resolved to form the South African Amateur Swimming Federation. The first set of officials were (sic), (was): WA Paulse (President), EJ Barlow (secretary), AL van Breda (treasurer), R. Abrahams, (records clerk). Present at the inaugural meeting were the late Y Solomon, S Johnson, Miss F

<sup>1024</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, 2014, p.30.

<sup>1025</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, 2014, p.30.

<sup>1026</sup> See the SANROC ARCHIVES OR SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-8/BOX 1.8/File name: Gymnastics / Miscellaneous/swimming booklets/these are loosely packed booklets with no specific file/The 19 paged article entitled “*White Union Out in the Cold*.”

Nackerdien, Miss M Bowers (Eastern Cape), W Rhoda, the late J Myers (Griqualand West), R Abrahams, D Deppa and Edgar Welff (Western Cape), R Hansraj, S Nadsen, the late SV Reddy and Morgan Naidoo (Natal), WA PULSE and EJ Barlow. The minutes of that meeting also reflect that Messrs Pat Bandulalla, Bob Pather, Willie Swami and the present Sanroc chairman, Samba Ramsamy, attended as observers...<sup>1027</sup>

The information above is critical in explaining some issues in the upcoming sections, where the former non-racial sport leaders seem to differ about specific issues that they were involved in with whom and when? This is important because this sometimes in the literature that discusses non-racial sport, certain pertinent opinions and perceptions seem to be recorded as facts. Coming to the early formation of SACOS, it is interesting to note that the latter was not as radical and as it developed to be in the late 1970s and 1980s. Archer and Bouillon declare that even though SACOS's predecessor, SASPO was moderate and a far cry to what it came to be in the later years. SASPO denounced and rejected the Multi-national sport policy of the apartheid government yet the former did not only indicate its intentions to meet and negotiate with the White sportspersons over their differences but did meet with the establishment sport leaders, including the Frank Braun, who was a senior member of the expelled South Africa's NOC and took the initiative to meet up with other establishment sport federations.<sup>1028</sup> For instance, there was a botched plan to meet with the racist South African Rugby Board of Danie Craven as well.

These developments should be viewed within the prevailing socio-cultural climate within the country at the time. For example, the "non-racial" South African Rugby Union (SARU), also declared itself a non-racial body and denounced the government's "Multi-national" sport policy yet it went on to play several "test" matches<sup>1029</sup> with the racial South African Rugby Football Board (an African people's nation rugby federation) and the South African Rugby Football Federation (which solely catered for the coloured people and was unashamedly aligned to the racist SARU) in the late 1960s and 1970s, until it matured into the idea of non-racial sport as an ideology and principled position.

<sup>1027</sup> See the SANROC ARCHIVES OR SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-8/BOX 1.8/File name: Gymnastics / Miscellaneous/swimming booklets/these are loosely packed booklets with no specific file/The 19 paged article entitled "White Union Out in the Cold."

<sup>1028</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.228.

<sup>1029</sup> In truth and "commitment" to "Multi-national" sport policy of Government, racially exclusive African rugby players played against the racially organised coloured rugby players, and they dubbed these encounters, "test matches" because apparently their understanding was that they were playing each other not only as apartheid separated entities but to their conviction, they were, it seems, indeed deferent "nations." It is of course true that these "test" matches between groups commenced in 1950 in Cape Town, far before, at least, the "Multi-national" sport policy of Government was applied. For more information on this history, see Philani Nongogo, 'Origins and Development of Black rugby in east London and its Response to South Africa's Rugby Unity, 1896-2000: A study of selected clubs', University of Fort Hare, an unpublished MA Dissertation: University of Fort Hare, 2004.

On a broad socio-political front, SASPO's *early* policies were somewhat perplexing because this was the era of the strong wave of Steven Bantu Biko of the Black Consciousness Movement. This situation becomes even worse when considering the hard work and victories won by the NRSM by 1970, which one might have thought that this could have catapulted this newly formed non-racial sport body onto a high pedestal of power and good ground to dictate terms of the course of the struggle then on. But what then? SASPO opted to somewhat collaborate with the establishment sport federations.

SASPO quickly regretted the policies and approach it adopted, especially when it was given some baptism of fire. It was rejected by the establishment sport federations in favour of the racially open sport federations of both African and coloured sportspersons.<sup>1030</sup> More importantly, however, would be to evaluate SASPO's early policies within the realm of the NRSM broadly, both inside and outside the country. In this, it could be suggested that the leaders of SASPO at the time seemed to have either failed to comprehend the work that was already done by the NRSM, specifically SANROC, which was operating outside the country during this period. If this argument is accepted, then it could also be added that possibly it might have been that there was a lack of communication and coherence within the NRSM forces outside and inside the country.

In Chapter Four, there was very little reported on in terms of some working relationship between SANROC and the national non-racial sport federations inside the country beyond 1965. Could it have been possible that by 1970, partly because of lack of communication or unhealthy relations between the inside and outside forces, the NRSM in South Africa felt some level of disconnect from the work of SANROC? Even worse, could it be that the newly-established body did not view SANROC as party to their cause, an indication of some brewing tensions between the inside and outside NRSM? This is critical to interrogate especially that Hassan Howa was once quoted in the SACOS Minutes distances himself and SACOS from the international demonstrations overseas.<sup>1031</sup> Chapter Four, however, reports a very busy and externally focused SANROC. It was also revealed that in fact by 1970s the NRSM was beginning to reap the fruits of its long hard work. Archer and Bouillon declared that:

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<sup>1030</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.228; Nongogo, 'Origins and Development of Black rugby in East London, 2004.

<sup>1031</sup> See Minutes of National Bodies controlling cricket in South Africa held at Jan Smuts (now O.R. Tambo) Airport (in Kempton Park, Johannesburg East), Holiday Inn on 30 April 1972, p.2, where Hassan Howa distanced himself (he did this at once) from the overseas demonstrators.

...the international support was at a peak, providing some guarantee against repression. The boycott of South African sport had weakened the bargaining position of both the White Sports Association and the Government....<sup>1032</sup>

It took SASPO three years to actually comprehend the difficulties of wanting to play sport within the apartheid “Multi-national” sport. By this time those who were within SASPO and the NRSM inside South Africa got together to establish SACOS on March 13, 1973 and moved to the far end of the continuum, and adopted aggressively steadfast policies against apartheid sport and conditions which even its members had to contend with and abide by. Archer and Bouillon declare:

... the intransigence of some SACOS policies has caused concern even among its members, many of whom fear that, under the artificial and totalitarian conditions created by Apartheid, the inflexible application of radical policies may sever the movement from its base, and in particular from the mass of African sportsmen and women...<sup>1033</sup>

Besides these early SACOS in-house challenges, more work needed to be done to complete the project of total isolation of Whites-only South African sport. Granted the substantial progress that has been achieved by SANROC and the AAM, by the early 1970s, apart from the obvious Rugby Union, several other IFs were yet to suspend or expel the apartheid South African sport federations. For example, by 1972, the latter was still a full, albeit inactive, member of the world bodies controlling football, swimming and athletics, FIFA, FINA and IAAF, respectively. This situation prompted De Broglio to apparently say: ‘It’s a totally unacceptable situation.’<sup>1034</sup> This sentiment is shared by Morgan Naidoo:

...South Africa rates among the leading sport conscious countries in the world. Its athletes have brought the country fame; in cricket they regard themselves as the unofficial world champions. They top the world at rugby; the country has produced world swimming stars; at tennis, the players have brought South Africa much honour and in golf, the country has earned a name for itself. The list can go on and on. This is an achievement to be proud of – except for one thing: South Africa only considers Whites for all its sporting events. The overwhelming majority of South Africans are totally ignored. The Blacks do not begrudge the Whites such

<sup>1032</sup>Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.228.

<sup>1033</sup>Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.229.

<sup>1034</sup>Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.38.

achievements. We should have been happy to have shared in the successes of this country. We should have been...<sup>1035</sup>

The second phase of the struggles to deracialise South African sport was going to be long and difficult. More so if SANROC was to continue “alone” and no assistance from within the country. Fortunately, the emergence of SACOS in 1973 came handy. Archer and Bouillon have this to say about the inroads and the critical work SACOS was to make and made in its short existence:

...The name SACOS has...become so closely associated with the struggle for non-racial sport, both within South Africa and outside it, that the two have almost become confounded...<sup>1036</sup>

Indeed, there is evidence that demonstrates and backs up the above claim but more importantly, is the SANROC’s role in assisting SACOS got where it did. For instance, a quick read from the booklet documenting the Preceding of the SACOS’ 2<sup>nd</sup> Biennial Congress, reveals a plethora of congratulatory messages to the organisation from various international bodies. Critical in these, is Sam Ramsamy’s SANROC to SACOS and the news it carries:

...In January [1977<sup>1037</sup>], the *Supreme Council for Sport in Africa* paid its highest Accolade (sic) [Accolade] to the South African sportsmen and women and to its very gallant men of sport administrators by accepting SACOS as its Associate Member. We are now fully aware that the demise of racist sport is inevitable and only the policy of SACOS and its affiliated units of genuine non-racialism in sport will re-open the doors of South Africa to International participation. May I inform all participants that what you read and hear in the White media about White sport beginning to receive sympathetic hearing is just a Whitewash to deceive our non-racial units. *The recent suspension of the SA Chess Federation from International participation is enough proof of the big White lie.* Non-racialism is making inroads and therefore may I earnestly appeal to all sportsmen and women of South Africa to join the ranks of our non-racial units and SACOS and not to be lured by finance and vocational inducements of the racial sport organizations...<sup>1038</sup>

<sup>1035</sup> SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-8/BOX 1.8/File name: Miscellaneous (swimming booklets)/these are loosely packed booklets with no specific file/Naidoo, Morgan [President of the South African Amateur Swimming Federation], “*Problems Confronting our Sport*”, A paper presented at a Conference of national Sport Organizations held in Durban on Sunday, September 6, 1970, p.1-24, p.1-2.

<sup>1036</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, p.229.

<sup>1037</sup> BOX 7/2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC, p.114.

<sup>1038</sup> MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HISTORICAL PAPERS DEPARTMENT - SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-7/SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION/BOX 7/A message from SANROC through its Chairman, Samba Ramsamy, 27 September 1977, found in p.13 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Congress [held on 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977] booklet.

Further, there are other important messages in this SACOS 2<sup>nd</sup> Biennial booklet and among these, include the United Nation's Special Committee against Apartheid, through its Acting Chairman, Vladimir Martynenko, who wrote:

...One behalf of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid... The Special Committee attaches greatest importance to the International Campaign against Apartheid in sport and determined efforts for non-racial sport in South Africa. Many governments and international sport federations have given wide support and have taken effective action against exchanges with racially selected South African sport teams. Special Committee condemns guise of multi-national sport. South Africa cannot succeed in deceiving [the] world in spite of its stepped up propaganda and Special Committee will spare no efforts until the Olympic Principle of non discrimination in sport is fully implemented...<sup>1039</sup>

The United Nation's Special Committee against Apartheid in South Africa also sent another message on 12 September 1977, through its Chairman, Leslie Harriman, who wrote:

...On behalf of United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid... Your courageous struggle against racialism in sport in accordance with the Olympic principles of non-discrimination, despite all attacks and hindrances by racists, is significant contribution to world wide struggle against racism. You have thereby earned respect and recognition from the International Community and you (sic) [your] cause will doubtlessly prevail...<sup>1040</sup>

These messages clearly demonstrate not only the importance of SACOS within the realm of NRSM but also as a recognised player in the liberation of the South African people, in a very short time of existence. This is a critical point to note as one of the achievement of not only SACOS, but that of the NRSM, AAM and the advancement of the Struggle against apartheid, generally. The message from Abraham Ordia, the then President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, 28, September 1977, seems to capture this important point when he, wrote:

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<sup>1039</sup> MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HPD/SRC: MCH63-7/SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION/BOX 7/This message was sent to SACOS in its inaugural Biennial Conference in Durban on Sunday October 12, 1975, it also formed part of the minutes to be approved in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Biennial Conference on 9 September 1977, p.8.

<sup>1040</sup> See a message from the United Nation's Special Committee Against Apartheid in South Africa (UN SCAASA)/12 September 1977, Leslie Harriman, Chairman/ UN SCAASA /MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HISTORICAL PAPERS DEPARTMENT - SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-7/SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION/BOX 7/2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC, p.11.

...I wish to convey to the Conference of the South African Council on Sport my active and uncompromising solidarity with your brave and determined struggle for the total elimination of racialism in the sport of your country. You must know that you are an integral part of African sport and we look forward to the day when you will take your rightful place in sport in Africa and in the Olympic Movement. Fight on! ...<sup>1041</sup>

The same can be said about the message from the General Secretary of the SCSA, Jean Claude Ganga on 27, September 1977:

... “Fellow Sportsmen and Sportswomen of South Africa” – ‘Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, on behalf of the entire African Sport family, is noting with great pleasure and unqualified interest the holding of your Second Biennial Conference. SCSA knows that the....SACOS has had to pass through thick and thin in its dire struggle against Apartheid and racial discrimination in sport. When in January 1977 the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, granted SACOS Observer Status, it was to demonstrate its strong support for the militancy of its brothers and sisters of South Africa. The entire African sport world has not turned its back to your struggles. You should bear in mind that SCSA is very strongly behind you and it is prepared to do anything in its power to make sure that the war SACOS is waging against Apartheid and racial discrimination is won within the shortest time possible. The fight will continue until South African leaders understand that in sport all men are equal irrespective of the colour of their skin. The fight will go until each sportsman and sportswoman in South Africa has the possibility of practising the sport of his/her choice in the club of his/her choice... There will be no rest until that monster which is known as discrimination in sport is totally vanquished and crushed to rise no more...<sup>1042</sup>

Like many struggles, things are not always rosy. With time, the SACOS’s honeymoon was to also end. The root of the “problem” SACOS was facing apparently laid on its founding aims and policies from inception as noted earlier above. It was significant and critical that from the onset, SACOS declared that it was recognising the Fundamental and Universal Principles of the Olympic Charter, the Olympic Movement’s “Constitutional” prescript, which was discharged by the IOC. In fact, SACOS also claimed that its “national” affiliates, which were the major sport codes in the country, were the only sport federations

<sup>1041</sup> See a message from Abraham Ordia, the then President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, 28, September 1977, p.12 /MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HISTORICAL PAPERS DEPARTMENT - SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-7/SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION/BOX 7/2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC.

<sup>1042</sup> Message from the General Secretary of the SCSA, Jean Claude Ganga on 27, September 1977, p.14/MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HISTORICAL PAPERS DEPARTMENT - SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-7/SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION/BOX 7/2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC.

in the country to do so.<sup>1043</sup> There were key differences between SACOS's position and that of SASA earlier and SANROC later. In fact, the major challenge seemed to be the SACOS' aims, which were a fundamental departure from the earlier routes taken by both SASA and SANROC.

SASA-SANROC's aims and objectives were two-pronged in approach to the struggles to deracialise South African sport: to fight for the exclusion of the racist South African sport from the Olympic Movement and specifically from the IFs and sought international recognition and to replace the racial sport federations the non-racial ones. SACOS, however, did not make any attempt to fulfil the technical requirements for recognition by the IOC, which particularly included having at least five of its Olympic affiliated sport federations already recognised by their respective IFs. In fact SACOS declared that it was never going to seek official recognition from the IOC nor do its affiliated sport federations seek to affiliate to their respective international bodies. This was so because both SACOS and its affiliates believed that:

...under the laws of Apartheid sport cannot be organized in a non-racial fashion, and that no organization can therefore claim to fulfil the twin requirements of representativity and non-racialism. SACOS members nevertheless claim that, unlike the racial federations, they are actively working towards a non-racial future for sport, and that when Apartheid legislation has been repealed and the country freed from racial exploitation, their affiliates will legitimately be able to claim recognition. A number of international organizations [such as Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, which granted SACOS membership in January 1977] agree with this argument...<sup>1044</sup>

This early position of SACOS became very important in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the debates were about South Africa's sport "unification" process and re-entry into international sporting arena. More importantly, the issues raised by Archer and Bouillon in 1982, with regard to the stern and almost inflexible policies of this organisation came to also haunt SACOS, especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The complexity and the level of frustration in this regard are apparently depicted in Yusuf Joe Ebrahim's message to SACOS people in its Biennial Meeting on March 1989 in Cape Town. That the discussion points in the agenda included among others: 'to discuss the position of SACOS

<sup>1043</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC, p.114; also see Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982, p.229.

<sup>1044</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982, p.229; also see 2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC, p.114.

on non-alignment and its relationship with the progressive political tendencies...to discuss proposals of the Restructuring of SACOS; to consider Amendments to the Constitution and Rules...<sup>1045</sup> is somewhat indicating that indeed there is trouble in paradise. There is little doubt that this meeting was a very difficult one, especially if consideration is taken of the fact that at the time, SACOS had lost one of its stalwarts, Morgan Naidoo, its standing President Frank van der Horst had recently resigned and SACOS as an organisation was facing probably the most difficult challenge, only second to the non-racial fight itself: the birth of a rival organisation, that was not only question the bona fides of SACOS as an authentic sport wing of the Liberation Movement but to threaten its very existence. The disarray of the NRSM was apparently at its height and Ebrahim was trying to calm the waters when he pleaded:

...We ought to ensure that we did (sic) not create divisions within our ranks. We had to recognise that in the broad liberatory (sic) movement the validity of various tactics and strategies were constantly under discussion and review. Those developments affected us directly as we were part of that liberatory movement. Yet a review of our position did not necessarily mean a change that would negate the gains we had made...The issue alignment was on the agenda. The discussion should be on the basis that we create an understanding of whatever our final standpoint would be and not to lead to antagonistic approaches within our own ranks. We ought not to overlook the fact that we have a common enemy which we have to oppose. We may well disagree on the means we employ but that itself should not lead to a situation where we oppose one another. It is important that at the completion of the conference we set into practice those ideas and viewpoints we had propagated at the meeting, and confront the enemy as a unified force...<sup>1046</sup>

It was ironic that when many non-racial sport federations that originally formed part of SACOS as a Federation, were severing their ties, in this meeting ‘a new netball Body was welcomed within the ranks of SACOS’ and even more strange, ‘the motion by Frank van der Horst [to welcome the new body] even though its members were not present.’ It was a difficult time in the NRSM inside and outside South Africa and situations like the latter, even though ordinarily, would be normal, but given the situation, one is only left to wonder? What is clearly known, however, is that during this period, both the NRSM and

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<sup>1045</sup> See the minutes of SACOS Biennial Meeting on March 1989 in Cape Town/ MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HISTORICAL PAPERS DEPARTMENT - SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-7/SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION/BOX 7/2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS Biennial Conference: SACOS, 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS BC.

<sup>1046</sup> Yusof Ebrahim, addressing the SACOS Biennial in 1989 in Cape Town, p.14.

the broader AAM, together with the LM led by the ANC, were undergoing a review of its major policies? This is discussed in detail in the paper by Ivor Montagu and JB Spector.<sup>1047</sup> The latter apparently had been going on since the mid-1980s, with specific focus being the continued relevance and efficacy of the boycotts? Within the NRSM, a mild discussion was also taking place, while there was no real question of the need to continue with the sports boycott, there was a certainly a question raised about SACOS's continuation with the rigid policies. SACOS was famous for its guiding principle, which stated that there could be "no normal sport in an abnormal society" and it set out, as one of its objectives, to fight against apartheid sport alongside the national liberation movement, as its contribution to destroy apartheid broadly. By the late 1980s, however, these hardened positions were being scrutinised and mild suggestions made. For example, in his message to SOCOS's 7<sup>th</sup> Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, Sam Ramsamy asserted:

South Africa's international sport isolation has given rise to the murky, but misleading, position prevailing in South African sport today. It is important that SACOS, which is the anti-Apartheid sport coordinating (sic) body in South Africa remains on top of the situation by regularly evaluating the antics of the government and its sport administration. The present period needs a careful assessment and I believe that we have to re-adjust our tactics and strategies if we are going to play in future, as we have done in the past, a major role in accelerating the demise of Apartheid. Certain influences which have always undermined our cause are now beginning to divide our ranks and therefore we should handle the present maneuvers (sic) with utmost circumspections. There is a tremendous amount of goodwill and support for SACOS. We can harness this wide-raging goodwill and support into a positive front if we try to seek ways and means of accommodating, albeit reluctantly, followers of the anti-Apartheid policy who are themselves forced by circumstances to accept certain trappings of Apartheid. This should not, in any way, mean that SACOS is accepting these trappings. My appeal is for SACOS to give consideration to this aspect: otherwise, I fear that opportunists and con-men, Black and White, backed by huge sponsorship deals, will engulf the aspirations of our sportsmen and women and retard the progress towards our final goal. We can accelerate the demise of Apartheid by mass mobilization...<sup>1048</sup>

<sup>1047</sup> Montagu and Spector, 'Non-Traditional Diplomacy', 2004.

<sup>1048</sup> See Sam Ramsamy's message in the booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1986.

Ramsamy's language and "persuasion" is worth noting. What is not really apparent is whom he is referring to when he talks about '[C]ertain influences which have always undermined our cause are now beginning to divide our ranks'<sup>1049</sup> and the 'opportunists and con-men, black and white'<sup>1050</sup>? Could he have been referring to some individuals within the NRSM and perhaps more specifically, to Dennis Brutus, with whom, at the time, it was apparent that there were tensions between the two men and/or at worst, there was a split within SANROC.<sup>1051</sup> Dennis Brutus, it was reported, was at the time also not only accused of flirting with establishment sport, but had made successful attempts to meet up with the Whites-only cricket leaders in London<sup>1052</sup>? This is revisited later in this section.

It is also interesting that Ramsamy uttered the above words at this stage of the non-racial sport struggle because he and some members and former members of SACOS that formed part of the NSC were the ones accused of 'divide[ing] our [non-racial sport movement] ranks'<sup>1053</sup> in the later part of the struggle.<sup>1054</sup> This is critical and is explored further later in this section. The latter however, might not necessarily matter more than the actual message Ramsamy is passing to SACOS at least at this stage of the discussion, especially the issues of re-adjusting tactics and the infusion of mass mobilisation as a tool to accelerate the demise of Apartheid.<sup>1055</sup>

Further, another critical point to consider is 'a tremendous amount of goodwill and support for SACOS' that Ramsamy talks about above. There is indeed ample evidence to demonstrate this accuracy of this state. For example, the minutes of the 2<sup>nd</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference on 08<sup>th</sup> October 1977, SACOS received a plethora of messages of good-will from several various local and international (sport and politics) personalities and sport organisations such as the UN's Special Committee Against Apartheid and its Acting Chairman, Vladimir Martynenko; Leslie Harriman, Chairman of the UN's Special Committee Against Apartheid in South Africa; SANROC also sent a message through its

<sup>1049</sup> Sam Ramsamy's message in the booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1985/6.

<sup>1050</sup> Sam Ramsamy's message in the booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1985/6.

<sup>1051</sup> The Telegraph, UK, "Dennis Brutus", published: 05 Mar 2010, also available on: [<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/sport-obituaries/7377841/Dennis-Brutus.html>]; See *Sunday Independent*, January 03, 2010 Edition 1, by Patrick Bond [POETRY and Protest: A Dennis Brutus Reader is the title of the autobiographical sketches and verse published in 2006 by Haymarket of Chicago and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. [Reviewed by Patrick Bond, who directs the UKZN Centre for Civil Society, and like thousands of US students during the 1980s, was politicised by Brutus.]

<sup>1052</sup><sup>1052</sup> See [www.sundayindependent.co.za](http://www.sundayindependent.co.za) – Sunday Independent, "Et tu, Brute?", December 2007 [Accessed on 23/01/2008]

<sup>1053</sup> Sam Ramsamy's message in the booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1985/6.

<sup>1054</sup> Basil Brown, 'The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport–A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement' in Cornelius Thomas, (ed.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2006; Cornelius Thomas, (ed.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2006; Frank A. Van Der Horst, 'The South African Council on Sport (SACOS): The sport wing of the liberation movement', a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference, hosted by University of Fort Hare and the Sport and Recreation South Africa (Department of Sport), in East London, in October 14-16, 2005.

<sup>1055</sup> Sam Ramsamy's message in the booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1985/6.

Chairman, Samba Ramsamy, 27 September 1977; the International Tennis Federation also sent a message through its Secretary, David Gray on , 25 July 1977; Abraham Ordia, at the time a President – Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, sent a message to SACOS on 28, September 1977; the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa's General Secretary, Jean Claude Ganga, , also sent a message to SACOS on 27, September 1977; *The Observer Limited*, London also sent a message to SACOS through, Colin Legum, 23 July 1977; the HART, Wellington, 1 August 1977 sent a message through Michel G Law, who was its Acting national Chairperson; The South African Sportsmen Abroad, USA also sent a message on 10 July 1977; Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, Christchurch, New Zealand, through Bishop B.P. Ashby, sent a message on 19 August 1977; the National Council of Churches in New Zealand, through Angus H MacLead, General Secretary also sent a message on 18 August 1977; the AAM of Foxrock in Dublin sent a message through Bill Meek, its Honorary Secretary in 18 July 1977; Brigadier Raj Bir Chopra, of the Past President of Asia Golf Confederation and the Indian Golf Union sent a message to SACOS on 22 July 1977; the National Association of Priests, through Rev. Jim Consedine, its Chairman sent a message to SACOS on; Tom Newnham of "Citizen Association For Racial Equality", Donald Woods, sent a message entitled, "Contribution-SACOS is the key", Frank van der Horst of Hockey Board and Trevor Richards of "HALT All Racial TOURS" also sent messages of goodwill to SACOS.

This above trend was to continue way into the 7<sup>th</sup> SACOS Biennial Conference. In the early 1980s down to the mid-to-late-1980s, South Africa's trade union movement also joined-in, not only to support SACOS but placed it in a serious position of trust. Gwede Mantashe of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) declared:

...The question we are presently trying to answer is: "Where do we start?" Education on SACOS has been the only answer. NUM is an affiliate of COSATU. It is a non-racial union. Our (sic) members are members of multi-racial (sic) [multi-national] sport federations. There is a growing feeling that this is betraying our struggle. We therefore need to correct the situation...<sup>1056</sup> ... Comrades, I hope it is clear that we will depend on SACOS for literature and information on non-racial sport, that SACOS should be prepared to send people to conduct the necessary seminars when we as NUM cannot. I hope it is clear that it will be a difficult programme resisted strongly by the bosses. It is also important for our struggle to destroy the bases for the [Danie] Cravens

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<sup>1056</sup> Gwede Mantashe, "National Unions of Mineworkers: Sport in South African Mines – An area of concern", p.67, in the Minute booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1985/6.

[of the predominantly White South Africa Rugby Board], Sonos,<sup>1057</sup> Niewoudts, and others in the mines. That will isolate them further. Let us make Ntakas [in reference to Dolly Ntaka, who played for the racial “Leopards” “national” rugby team for African-only rugby players on a subservient status within the impetus of the SARB], Ngobenisi, Singes feel guilty when wearing springbok [“Leopards”] blazers. If we can win, it will be a breakthrough for non-racial sport...<sup>1058</sup>

Despite this demonstrated goodwill, support, endorsement and even confidence in SACOS, the situation changed in the late 1980s. The impact of the struggles to deracialise SA sport and specifically the sports boycott are assessed and analysed beyond. Here the arguments by Ivor Montago and J.B. Spector<sup>1059</sup> are used as a fundamental base for these discussions in analysing the non-racial sport repositioning during this period. The messages of support<sup>1060</sup> from various quarters within the NRSM (SACOS affiliates such as the SA Swimming Amateur Association, SA Hockey Federation SARU and others; and SANROC and its leaders such as Dennis Brutus and Sam Ramsamy), the various units of the AAM (HARL from New Zealand, John Minto, Trevor Richards and many others;<sup>1061</sup> the Stop All Racist Tours from Australia; the STST of Great Britain (from Peter Hain, John Perry, John Collins and others), the SCSA, and, the wider Liberation Movement and the Mass Democratic Movement (Jay Naidoo of COSATU and Dalluh Ormar of the Mass Democratic Movement, Gwede Mantashe of NUM),<sup>1062</sup> that were often contained in the Biennial Meeting Minute Booklets and in the SACOC sport Festivals booklets between 1973 and early 1990s.

In the early years these messages seemed to support SACOS and the “national” non-racial sport federations wholeheartedly, yet they seemed to be a mixed bag in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Some of course continued to show unqualified support for SACOS in the late 1980s while others offered and showed qualified support for SACOS and the

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<sup>1057</sup> In reference to Jomo Sono, who at the time seemed to support the apartheid government’s Multi-National sport policy during this period?

<sup>1058</sup> See Gwede Mantashe, “National Unions of Mineworkers: Sport in South African Mines – An area of concern”, p.68, in the Minute booklet of the 7<sup>th</sup> SOCOS Biennial General Meeting in Johannesburg, 1985/6.

<sup>1059</sup> See Ivor Montago and Spector, “Non-Traditional diplomacy”, 2004; Spector, “Non-Traditional diplomacy”, 2004 – where people such as Albie Sachs, Ahmed Dangor and others, initiated a discussion of the possibility of re-assessing the boycotts.

<sup>1060</sup> Boxes: Mayibuye Centre’s SANROC Archives; the ANC Archives (Australian, London and Lusaka Missions) and the Sport and Liberation Archives (specifically of Reginald Fieldman’s, Yusuf Joe Ibrahim’s and others’ papers) at NAHECS, UFH.

<sup>1061</sup> John Minto – URL, Boxes: Mayibuye Centre’s SANROC Archives, Clarity Films; Trevor Richards’ *Dancing on my bones*, 1999.

<sup>1062</sup> Boxes: Mayibuye Centre’s SANROC Archives; the ANC Archives (Australian, London and Lusaka Missions) and the Sport and Liberation Archives at NAHECS, UFH.

NRSM inside the country, with some hinting that some level doubt in SACOS's "stubborn stance" – 'no normal sport in an abnormal society.'<sup>1063</sup>

It should be remembered that SACOS's ideology was to some degree grounded on total non-collaboration of the Black Consciousness of the time and in fact brought about the "no Double Standard" resolution to enforce the latter and curb collaboration of any form. Archer and Bouillon revealed that members of SACOS were severely punished when perceived to be collaborators, the issue that sometimes pushed some sportspersons into the racial sport or retirement.<sup>1064</sup> The talk of a possible need for re-positioning of strategy in as far as the sport struggle is concerned, and the need to re-assess the old positions in the late 1980s<sup>1065</sup> with the possibility to re-open talks with the whites-only bodies for the possibility of forging sport unity inside the country, apparently caused a strain to and within SACOS and the broader NRSM.

Interestingly, even the different "faction" of SANROC seemed to take a relatively similar view on the issue of sport unity and negotiation with the establishment sport federations. In fact, Dennis Brutus went as far as even suggesting the possibility of "outshining" the latter and 'negotiating on "our terms"', in the process.<sup>1066</sup> The debates of re-assessing the boycott movement tactics, their relevance and even effectiveness in the 1980s, were also ensuing within the wider Liberation Movement political space during this period.<sup>1067</sup>

It should be remembered that when SACOS was formed, it totally rejected any possible engagement the racist sport federations and the consideration of seeking international recognition by the non-racial sport federations to international sporting federations.<sup>1068</sup> The stark contrast to the previously held positions by the CCIR, SASA and SANROC, and in fact the brain child of Dennis Brutus and his contemporaries throughout

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<sup>1063</sup> See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982; Booth, D. (1998)*Sport, Race*, 1998; Andre Odendaal, "The thing that is not round", in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burradge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1995, Philani Nongogo, *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*, (unpublished MA Degree), UFH, Alice, 2004; Basil Brown, "The destruction of the Non-Racial sport as a consequence of the Negotiated Settlement", 2005; Frank van der Horst, "The role and contribution of SACOS", 2005.

<sup>1064</sup> See Richard Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, 1982, p.220.  
See Richard Archer and Antione Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, 1982, p.220.

<sup>1065</sup> Sam Ramsamy, Dullah Ormar, also see Ivor Montago and Spector, 2004; Spector, 2004.

<sup>1066</sup> BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ LUSAKA MISSION-ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC Denis Brutus / President SAN-ROC/Presentation: "Action Against Apartheid: The Cultural and Sports boycott", Sep 1988, pp.1-11/Wally Serote Copy of the report: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens, Greece, 2-4, September 1988.

<sup>1067</sup> See Ivor Montago and Spector, "Non-Traditional diplomacy: The effect of the boycott," 2004; Spector, "Non-Traditional diplomacy," 2004 – Albie Sachs, Dangor, etc...discussing the possibility of re-assessing the boycotts...

<sup>1068</sup> See Richard Archer and Antione Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, 1982, p.220; Errol Vadwa, "Social Democratic sport dispensation," 1988; Nongogo, "Origins and Development of Black Rugby," 2004.

the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>1069</sup> In fact, in 1988 Dennis Brutus had this to say in the Symposium on Culture against Apartheid in Athens, Greece:

...The discussion is taking place at a time when a great deal of re-examination is taking place inside South Africa. The Apartheid regime is being compelled to re-examine its mechanism of oppression. At the same time, the liberation movement is re-defining (sic) its own position – the most significant example being the implication and re-examination of the Freedom Charter currently being undertaken. And, of course, there is the lively debate involving the re-examination of a Call for a Boycott in Culture, in Sport, and in Academia. It is to the issue of the Cultural Boycott, with special reference to sport, that I wish to direct my attention at this stage. By way of preface, let me say that I firmly support the position adopted by the United Nations which has been fully supported by the ...SAN-ROC, and by the ...SACOS...Guidelines were issued by the Special Committee Against Apartheid who have “the responsibility for monitoring and implementing cultural boycotts”...I was directly associated with the actions taken by the Special Committee and General Assembly [of UN] from 1967 onwards; and with activities in South Africa from 1958 when the forerunner of SAN-ROC...SASA was formed. Notwithstanding the important progress that has been made in the field of the Sports boycott, much remains to be done. Our most important achievement to date has been our exclusion of Apartheid South Africa from the Olympic Games from 1970 onwards. In fact, Apartheid South African has been excluded from the Olympics ever since the Rome Olympic in 1960...But more remains to be done. Indeed I believe the time is appropriate for a new and powerful thrust in this field; and one which will inject a new dynamism into the fight against racism and Apartheid. Notwithstanding our major successes, we have still suffered a number of minor defeats, because the racists and their allies have been able to find loopholes in the Cordon Sanitaire which we have thrown around the evil system...they have been able to break through it, often by bringing others to collaborate with them...a period of comparative stagnation has set in subsequent to 1976. It will be remembered that in 1976, at the Montreal Olympics, we saw a most impressive demonstration of solidarity with our struggle by the countries of Africa which sent a message across the world. I believe that the minor defeats we have suffered...may have been a consequence of insufficient forward movement of those of us who are opposed to Apartheid. I believe that it is time to go on the attack...I believe it is possible to do so by a very specific initiative, which I now wish to propose...<sup>1070</sup>

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<sup>1069</sup> See Richard Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, 1982, p.220.

<sup>1070</sup> BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ LUSAKA MISSION-ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC Denis Brutus / President SAN-ROC/Presentation: “Action Against Apartheid: The Cultural and Sports boycott”, Sep 1988, pp.1-11/Wally Serote Copy of the report: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens, Greece, 2-4, September 1988, pp.1-2

There are three critical issues about this Symposium generally and about the comments Dennis Brutus made, specifically. The first question that arises is that how did the organisers choose who to attend the Symposium, between the “President” of SANROC and the Executive Chairman of SANROC? It is also worth noting that, like Ramsamy, Brutus also talks in codes, and resist naming the people he blames for “stagnation” and lack of “insufficient forward movement of those of us who are opposed to apartheid.” Could he have been referring to Sam Ramsamy who at the time, since 1976 has been at the helm of SANR-ROC and apparently wrestled power from Brutus since the *early* days of the NRSM and birth of SANROC, and as such, the latter could have been somehow retaliating? There is evidence that there has been tension within SANROC and specifically between these two SANROC’s apparently very powerful personalities. Part of the challenge between these two personalities apparently has been the contested space within which they were operating. For example, in a letter to Yusuf Joe Ebrahim, the SACOS president, Sam Ramsamy stated:

...I had met with Dennis Brutus while he was in London last month. He has not been involved in SAN-ROC’s activities for many years now. However, we agreed that he can work on the sport campaign in the USA **only** [bolded to denote emphasis]. SAN-Roc headquarters in London will continue to work on all international campaigns in close collaboration with appropriate groups and individuals in the various countries. I will, of course, also keep in touch with groups and individuals in the USA with whom I have developed close working relations over the years but he [Brutus] would be kept informed so as to avoid confusion and misunderstanding. Therefore I was most surprised to learn that he had sent SACOS a telegram about SACOS/SAN-ROC matter relating to the IOC. Besides I cannot understand the motivation of the contents of the telegram especially as I had mailed him a copy of the IOC communique regarding apartheid and sport... the outcome of the one-day conference in which SAN-ROC also participated. I have over the years managed to build very cordial relations with the IOC...<sup>1071</sup>

Indeed these differences might have been both personal and/or character related? What becomes critical to note here is that since SANROC’s inception, it remained with its original President, and there is never a talk of democratic elections held to elect new leaders. It seems that SANROC and Dennis Brutus personally adopted the ANC’s or O.R.

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<sup>1071</sup> See a letter from Sam Ramsamy to Yusuf Ebrahim, 28 August 1988, found in: BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ LUSAKA MISSION-ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC.

Tambo's approach of "suspending" the Constitution throughout the political Struggle period, perhaps to make sure that decisions are taken centrally and the normal constitutional imperatives were limited for better and total control of the organisations they were leading. The ANC held several "Consultative" Conferences, but SANROC seems to have held regular Executive Meetings, but not necessarily to elect new leaders. Maybe the latter was handled through appointment of the SANROC Chairman and later an Executive Chairman and the specific reasons thereof. The critical question therefore becomes, what then was to be the specific role of the Executive Chairman?

Coming back to Dennis Brutus' proposals to the Symposium on Culture against Apartheid, which it seemed is also what Ramsamy is referring to above when he talks about 'a telegram about SACOS/SAN-ROC matter relating to the IOC'? In the Symposium, Brutus argued:

...I believe the time has come for the non-racial bodies in South Africa, and particularly SACOS, in association with SAN-ROC, to initiate an application for membership of the International Olympic Committee...I realize that two objections may well be offered to this proposal; and I therefore wish to consider them now. One is the question of whether such an action will not be in violation of the new Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of a Cultural Boycott. The second is the policy as enunciated in South Africa of "no normal sport in an abnormal society". I submit that to initiate action, to explore membership of the IOC would be in violation of neither of these two positions. It is necessary to think carefully of what we propose to do, and also to think carefully of what precisely is meant by the two positions that I have enunciated. To understand them better, it is important to recall the twin principles on which the fight for international recognition was launched in October 1958 at the first meeting which gave rise to the ...SASA in east London and to its inaugural meeting in Durban, in January of 1959. We understood very well that our attack was a two-pronged one: (1) we would seek membership of the existing South African Olympic Committee which was exclusively White and (2) seek international recognition for all South Africans through the existing bodies. If that failed, we would appeal to the international sporting bodies, both for the expulsion of the existing racist bodies and for admission to the international sporting community for non-racial South African bodies open to all South Africans. We need to re-assert that strategy. By seeking membership of the IOC for SACOS/SANROC, we will be doing precisely what we set out to do thirty years ago. Nor will we be contravening the principle of "no normal sport in an abnormal society". For it is not participation we are seeking at this stage, but membership. An application for membership

will do two important things: (1) it will assert the right of the non-racial bodies to take their rightful place in the international sporting community and (2) it will compel all other national sport federations to take a position either in support of or against non-racial sport. I believe this will be an important challenge to international sport community...At the same time, it will have two important internal effects inside South Africa: (1) it will generate greater effort to unify sport federations in South Africa and their demand for recognition, and (2) it will compel a large number of South Africans currently allied with racist sport federations to recognize that their only hope for participation in international sport is to take a clear stand against racism, and in support of non-racial sport. I predict that this challenge will send a powerful thrust through the entire South African society and will contribute to black and white uniting in an increasingly strong challenge to Apartheid in sport...<sup>1072</sup>

Clearly it was radical proposals like this that might have irked Sam Ramsamy when it came to Dennis Brutus. In 2007, the South African *Sunday Independent* reported that Dennis Brutus:

...says he later received a letter from Ramsamy notifying him that the Sanroc executive had voted to expel him. "I asked to see their minutes of their meeting, and I am still waiting", he says wishfully. In any event, it probably did not improve Brutus' mood when, he saw Ramsamy embracing Barcher in the dawn of democracy...What might have puzzled...however, is this perverse fact: when Brutus was expelled from Sanroc, one of the reasons put forward was that he had been talking to Ali Barcher in the early 1980s – before the ANC deemed this appropriate. Brutus laughs now at this bitter irony, without actually answering my question, but he did, indeed, meet Barcher and Joe Pamensky, the then South African Cricket Union president, in London, and that the two cricket officials found him to be "a most conciliatory man." ...<sup>1073</sup>

There is evidence that Brutus did not only share his thrusting forward proposal with Symposium attendees, but also with SACOS back home in South Africa.<sup>1074</sup> It is also apparent that this matter became one big divisive element not only within the NRSMP, but even within the broader AAM. Worse affected was seemingly SACOS, which with lack of "accurate" version of information and better information to believe became a casualty and a political football in the process.

<sup>1072</sup> BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ LUSAKA MISSION-ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC Denis Brutus / President SAN-ROC/ Presentation: "Action Against Apartheid: The Cultural and Sports boycott", Sep 1988, pp.1-11/Wally Serote Copy of the report: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens, Greece, 2-4, September 1988, pp.4-5.

<sup>1073</sup> *Sunday Independent*, "Et tu Brute?" scene at the Palace has its history', 2007, also available on-line: [[www.sundayindependent.co.za](http://www.sundayindependent.co.za)].

<sup>1074</sup> See a letter from Sam Ramsamy to Yusuf Ebrahim, 28 August 1988, found in: BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ LUSAKA MISSION-ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC.

#### 5.4.1 The non-racial sport movement and Anti-apartheid Movement consolidate the fight against apartheid sport

It is apparent from above that indeed SACOS was formed after a decade of political “lull” in South Africa, the country exploded in the early 1970s, the period of political activism renewal leading up to the 1980s, the bloodiest decade in the country’s history, with protest in the workplace, educational institutions, the community, and sport fields. The non-racial sport movement was also rekindled within South Africa during this period. This was marked by the establishment of the South Africa Council on Sport (SACOS), which adopted the slogan “No normal sport in an abnormal society.” SACOS was the non-racial sport movements’ umbrella body (with its initial subsidiaries of eight sport organisations including SARU and others) that operated on an *ad hoc* basis in 1970 and was constituted formally in 1973. Key figures included Hassan Howa and Errol Vawda.<sup>1075</sup> SACOS worked closely with SANROC and the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa to coordinate the campaigns against apartheid sport from within the country.

The paralleled developments within wider society witnessed a cycle of protest in townships, schools, and factories. Another demoralising blow for apartheid sport was that the UN and Commonwealth supported the Sports boycott imposed in 1977. The apartheid state instituted various “window dressing” strategies to assuage protest, but to no avail. SACOS established itself nationally and internationally as the “authentic representative of non-racial sport” in the country. Internationally, movements such as the British AAM , Halt All Racist Tours (HART) in New Zealand, Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) in Australia, and the Irish AAM of which Kader Asmal was an important member, all played crucial roles in ostracising apartheid sport.

SACOS was the key organisation around which opposition to White sport coalesced. It refused to negotiate or make compromises until apartheid had been dismantled. The non-racial sport movement operated in this manner until the late 1980s, when SACOS’ “rival” body, the National Olympic Sport Congress (NOSC), which soon dropped the “O” to simply NSC, was established under controversial circumstances by a group of leaders within SACOS. There was a change in emphasis by the mid-1980s as negotiations between the National Party and liberation movements were initiated. The mass democratic movement (MDM) and trades union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), supported the formation of the NSC in July 1989, with ANC stalwarts such as Mluleki George prominent. The formation of the NSC was seen as necessary because SACOS refused to abandon its principle that the Sports boycott should

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<sup>1075</sup> Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, ‘Sport Perspectives 1988’: “Planning is Vital,” in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988.

continue until a “normal” society was achieved. The NSC enjoyed mass support as the unofficial sport wing of the MDM. It was more flexible than SACOS and open to negotiations, as sport was seen as the “glue” to mend a divided nation into a collective entity. Many in the liberation movements felt that there would be a “ripple-down” effect. Aside from appeasing Whites, income generated from international participation would be used to develop facilities and coaching in previously disadvantaged areas. The result was the progressive integration of South African sport into global sport networks even before the country’s first non-racial election.

During the late 1980s the political situation in South Africa and abroad was indicative of the struggle; scales tilted squarely toward the anti-apartheid majority, albeit with some degree of caution and vigilance against deception and manipulation by the adversaries. In fact, the rebel tours within the country were yet to subside. This motivated the AAM to be always on guard. Speaking at the Conference on Apartheid and Sport at the Olympic House in Lausanne in 1989, the then IOC president, Juan Antonio Samaranch, recalled the fight of the IOC since 1955 to abolish apartheid in sport, the major consequence of which was the banning of the South African National Olympic Committee (NOC) in 1970 from the Olympic movement, and declared that the IOC considered it useful and necessary to reaffirm vigorously its position against apartheid in sport. On its “last initiatives” on South Africa’s apartheid and sport, the IOC held a conference, “Against Apartheid in Sport,” at Olympic House on June 21, 1988. This meeting was geared toward enabling Apartheid sport and the fight to abolish them to be examined in detail together with the means of aiding sport in Africa to maintain and reinforce dignity and independence. Among other things, the conference declared that the IOC, as the leader of the Olympic movement, reaffirmed its position against apartheid in sport, asserting that the practice of apartheid violates the fundamental principles of the Olympic Charter, which governs the entire Olympic movement.

As the first international organisation to exclude South Africa because of apartheid, the IOC urged all members of the Olympic movement, particularly the international sport federations, the sport of which are included on the Olympic program, to consider further action to implement its recommendations to isolate or suspend the South African national sport federations and to discourage strongly sport contact with the country and its people until the abolition of apartheid. The IOC reiterated its appeal to all sport organisations to oppose firmly apartheid in sport by refusing to enter into any contact, official or otherwise, of a sporting nature with official South African organisations or South African sportsmen and women. The IOC also noted and welcomed the position adopted by several other international organisations, for example, the Gleneagles Agreement for Commonwealth countries that coincided with its own. It

denounced “all actions designed to disrupt the unity of the Olympic movement, particularly those efforts made at regular intervals to organize sport contacts with South Africa”; it also exhorted all forces that fought against apartheid in sport to be on guard against such actions and to refuse to be manipulated by the adversaries of true sport in Africa. Most critically, the IOC and the entire Olympic movement maintained their commitment and conviction that no non-African entity could purport to impose a solution to resolve this specifically African problem, and that a solution would only be found if it was based on proposals made by, and satisfactory to, Africans. In this conference, the IOC also reaffirmed its determination to observe the principle of a resolute opposition to apartheid in sport, urging all members of the Olympic movement to stand firm in the struggle in defence of the Olympic ideals, thereby promoting peace in a spirit of friendship and fraternity. Interestingly, in this conference the IOC promised to establish a coordination commission that was to study and follow up on all matters concerning apartheid in sport.

In his response, the African representative Bayo Hamed Lawal indicated that Africa was grateful for the conference, that the continent spoke with one voice in its determination to rid the world of the obscenity of institutionalised racism represented by apartheid, and that they looked forward to continuing work with the Olympic movement on this issue. By the 1970s and 1980s, the apartheid government was under enormous pressure from various forces and it eventually succumbed in the early 1990s, with then president F. W. De Klerk announcing the processes to end apartheid. The changes in world politics and in the country saw dramatic shifts in political positions by the apartheid government and in a short period the political and the sport landscapes were miraculously taking another shape. Little did the world, Africa, and South Africa itself know at the time that the country would by 1992 be readmitted into the Olympic movement, not to mention participating in the Olympic Games? The circumstances that led to this dramatic and controversial “about-turn” by a section of the non-racial sport movement, led by SANROC to end the sports boycott in the early 1990s (before the 1994 democratic elections), were closely related to the establishment of the NSC and the newly found marriage between SANROC and the NSC, led by Sam Ramsamy and Mluleki George, respectively; the prevailing country’s political developments; and the collapse of the new unity movement (formerly simply the unity movement), to the detriment and death of SACOS and the end of the long-held relationship between SANROC and SACOS.

The interesting observation during this period was that the “SANROC-NSC clique” disregarded and countermanaged SACOS and its “No normal sport in an abnormal society” principle and went ahead to permanently halt the AAM’s program—the sports boycott—and to negotiate for sport unity with the establishment sport counterparts before

apartheid was dismantled in the country, which was a secondary yet equally central objective of the struggle against apartheid. This caused ill will and permanently divided the non-racial sport movement (in South Africa and the AAM elsewhere in the world), ideologically and otherwise. A fierce debate among scholars is also noticed during the aftermath of the 1992 South African sport “breakthrough” in the international fold.

The non-racial sport movement and the broader principles of the AAM were characteristic of a non-collaborationist stance toward the apartheid system, government, and its supporters. This was supported by the IOC and the Olympic movement. On several occasions, the IOC warned the AAM to be on guard for sophisticated forms of deceit and “bodyguard of lies” by the apartheid government inside South Africa and its apologists from various parts of the world.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Black consciousness movement, led by Steven Bantu Biko, emerged in South Africa to raise political awareness and consciousness and urge Black people to remove the shackles of inferiority and dependency engendered by generations of White oppression and paternalism. However, the National Party government twisted this message, claiming that it was an endorsement of and consistent with its policy of separate development. It seems that the Black Consciousness philosophy also fostered the AAM’s stance of non-collaboration. It is known that many of the leaders of the unity movement were also leaders of SACOS and the initial proponents of the principle of non-collaboration starting in the 1940s.

Non-collaboration underpinned international sanctions against apartheid South Africa, including the sports boycott. However, the literature suggests that in fact this non-collaborationist stance neither transformed the state nor empowered the victims of apartheid. It is argued that non-collaboration actually served as an obstacle to the resolution of apartheid, as it was only after confronting the realities of a South Africa staggering on the edge of an economic and political chasm that the AAM eventually, albeit under controversial circumstances, abandoned non-collaboration and agreed to negotiate with the apartheid regime.

The sports boycott campaigns’ long and complex history leaves their effect open to scrutiny. It was after they were abandoned and the politically negotiated settlement reached that the historically and inherently “Africanist-leaning” ANC emerged within itself as a “multicultural-leaning entity” that was to lead a government of pluralistic policies to create a multicultural society. This transition, although initially observed in the late 1980s, confirmed the ANC’s commitment to official recognition of the “linguistic and cultural diversity of the people.” Similarly, its election policy, “a better life for all,” for the 1994 elections referred to development of different cultures, beliefs, and languages as a source of common national strength. This was congruent with the post-1994 democratic

government's stance. The latter tried to justify the development of the early 1990s sport era and advocated for sport unification under the auspices of the NSC. The crux of its argument centred on the perceived vital role sport can play in the process of nation building with little empirical evidence to substantiate this within the South African context, drawing huge criticism from its detractors.

The story of South Africa in the late 1980s and after 1992 is crucial. Even now, critics, especially old SACOS members, point to the continued dominance of whites in sport such as cricket and rugby and arguments over the (racial) composition of the South African team as proof that the ANC's strategy was a failure. It is becoming clear to those in power that the "burden of the past" will have to be redressed through planning, policy, and contestation. It is evident that currently reconciliation is giving way to affirmative action, quotas, redistribution, and black empowerment. The debate over black representation in sport marks the latest phase in this long contestation and confrontation in sport policy.

This became more apparent in the struggle to isolate the ever stubborn whites-only Rugby Union. The white South African cricket body had been long isolated but the country enjoyed cordial relationship with the white commonwealth countries irrespective of the Gleneagles Agreement. Below is the discussion of the relationship between South Africa and New Zealand.

#### 5.4.2 The Rugby Union: South Africa, New Zealand and Anti-Apartheid Movement

...Huddlestone claimed sport may have been South Africa's Achilles' heel, in the sense that its national teams were so obviously good in certain sport, particularly rugby union, and so to deny South Africa the opportunity to demonstrate its excellence would shake its self-assurance very severely.<sup>1076</sup> This appears to be borne out in a statement by the Broederbond in which they admitted that sport is important in international affairs for the prestige of countries and the promotion of a cause.<sup>1077</sup> The eventual and almost total international sporting boycott of South Africa by the rest of the world played a major part in the downfall of the Apartheid regime...<sup>1078</sup>

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<sup>1076</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1165; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012, p.97; also see Trevor Huddlestone in Richard Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*.

<sup>1077</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1165; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012, p.97; also see Douglas Booth, *Sport and Politics*.

<sup>30</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1165; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012, p.97; also see Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs*.

<sup>31</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1165; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012, p.97; also see Seedat, *Crippling a Nation*.

<sup>1078</sup> Brittain, 'South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games', 2011, p.1165; Brittain, "South Africa, Apartheid and Paralympic Committee", 2012, p.97.

Studying the anti-apartheid struggle outside South Africa, one discovers stories that carry with them, the passion and excitement, drama, challenge and at times, the fear of activism in the AAM.<sup>1079</sup> In the analysis of the anti-apartheid struggle in New Zealand in particular, three aspects come to the fore as key similarities, which ‘are the understated centrality of rugby union, the focus on New Zealand-South Africa relations, and a renunciation of Apartheid.’<sup>1080</sup> One key figure in this struggle was Trevor Richards. Similarly to Dennis Brutus, De Broglio, Sam Ramsamy and several South African NRSM activists,<sup>1081</sup> Richards was so critical in the AAM in New Zealand such that he was on the Prime Minister Robert Muldoon’s list of enemies for several years because of the ‘position he shared with trade union leaders and others who disrupted Muldoon’s conservative populist politics.’<sup>1082</sup> Consequently, in the similar there was Peter Hain who was framed in the UK,<sup>1083</sup> in 1976 Muldoon accused Richards of treason, ‘not because he sought the revolutionary overthrow of the state, but because he sought the complete isolation of South Africa.’<sup>1084</sup> This was so because:

...Apartheid sport was one of the major political, social and cultural issues that confronted New Zealand in the latter half of the twentieth century. It put New Zealand at the centre of multilateral international sporting boycotts (in 1976) produced near civil war and the largest sustained anti-Apartheid demonstrations outside South Africa (in 1981), and made New Zealand the pariah of the Commonwealth (from 1976 to 1984)...<sup>1085</sup>

Paramount to the major work and contribution of the New Zealand’s AAM was the intensity of the protests against the 1981 Springbok tour, which ought to be placed within the historical context of discontent traceable since at least the 1920s.<sup>1086</sup> In doing so, and similarly to South Africa’s colonial or imperial conquest and rule of the application of the

<sup>1079</sup> See MacLean, M. (2001) “Reviews: Apartheid, Sport and New Zealand,” International Sport Studies, vol. 21, no. 1, p.74, also available at: Trevor Richards Book: *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism*. Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1999. pp. 300. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. [Malcolm Templeton, *Human Rights and Sporting Contacts: New Zealand Attitudes to Race Relations in South Africa 1921-94*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1998. p.374. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index]; Apartheid, Sport and New Zealand, Reviews, available at: <http://www.la84foundation.org/SportLibrary/ISS/ISS2201/ISS2201h.pdf>; Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism*. Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1999; Malcolm Templeton, *Human Rights and Sporting Contacts: New Zealand Attitudes to Race Relations in South Africa 1921-94*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1998.

<sup>1080</sup> See MacLean (2001) “Reviews”, p.74.

<sup>1081</sup> See Mbaye, Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; De Broglio (1970) *South African Sport*, De Broglio, ‘The SANROC Story’, 2009.

<sup>1082</sup> MacLean (2001) “Review”, p.74.

<sup>1083</sup> Peter Hain recognised this in the interview in Clarity Film: ‘Have Year Heard From Johannesburg: “Fair Play”’, Clarity Film, 2010; Gordon Winter, the notorious spy, also confessed this in his interview in the documentary by Clarity Film: ‘Have Year Heard From Johannesburg: “Fair Play”’, Clarity Film, 2010.

<sup>1084</sup> See MacLean (2001) Review, p.73.

<sup>1085</sup> See MacLean (2001) “Review”, p.73.

<sup>1086</sup> MacLean (2001) “Review”.

colour bar policies and racial sport problem and the long struggle against the latter until the 1994 “political breakthrough”, offers an historical context, and the need to undermine the nostalgic tendency, where the period is seen as a difficult one-off time, a burst of activity the country went through to blow out the cobwebs and become something new.<sup>1087</sup> Looking at the amazing commitment and personal cost thereof during the anti-apartheid campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s throughout the world, it would seem that the activists of the era were generally in the struggle because something needed to be done and they perhaps felt well-placed to do it.<sup>1088</sup> During this specific phase of the struggle, the rugby game and the rugby fields almost became a key focus and bloodiest platform into which the sports boycott centred and intensified. Equally, the extent of the resistance against the sport struggles and specifically the Sports boycott by the Rugby Unions, rugby administrators and even rugby fans in New Zealand, Australia, Britain and South Africa was extraordinary.<sup>1089</sup>

The key question becomes, ‘Why rugby union?’<sup>1090</sup> What was the significance of rugby in these countries and especially in relation to these countries’ relations with apartheid. It is shown later in this chapter that South African rugby became more complex to deal with, to achieve unity, cohesion and inclusion.<sup>1091</sup> In fact, there is evidence that this sense of resistance and stubbornness was perpetuated even in post-1992 South Africa.<sup>1092</sup>

MacLean asserts:

...It just so happens that the primary relationship was through rugby. That rugby was so significant in both New Zealand and South Africa meant that the trauma of the 1981 anti-tour campaign and the final exclusion of South Africa from international rugby after 1985 cut to the core of relationships between and within the countries... There have been some recent forays into the international relationship questions, but the 1981 tour campaign remains largely unexamined in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Rugby’s centrality in the cultural politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the unarticulated contest to depict the nation, and the core significance of colonial relationships in those politics, make the question of rugby and Apartheid one of the fundamental

<sup>1087</sup> See MacLean (2001) “Review”, p.74; also see Cornelissen, ‘Resolving the South Africa problem’, 2011.

<sup>1088</sup> See MacLean (2001) “Review”, p.74.

<sup>1089</sup> See Thabo Mbeki, ‘Foreword’, in Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, 1999; Templeton, *Human Rights and Sporting Contacts*, 1998.

<sup>1090</sup> MacLean (2001) “Review”, p.74.

<sup>1091</sup> See Ebrahim Patel’s argument in Albert Grundlingh, “The new politics of rugby,” in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.5-6; also see Andre Odendaal, ‘The thing that is not round’, in Grundlingh, Odendaal, Spies, *Beyond the tryline*, 1995; Philani Nongogo, *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby* in East London and Mdantsane, (unpublished MA Degree), UFH, Alice, 2004.

<sup>1092</sup> See Grundlingh, Odendaal, Spies, *Beyond the tryline*, 1995; Nongogo, ‘*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby* in East London and Mdantsane’, 2004.

questions of late twentieth century New Zealand. The ways in which that debate was articulated has profoundly influenced the shape of politics since the mid-1980s. Although Apartheid has disappeared from the debate, the legacy of its politics continues in the emerging post colonising Aotearoa/New Zealand and the shape of its political culture. At the heart of rugby's role in New Zealand's cultural politics is the significance and meaning of Maori rugby...<sup>1093</sup>

Chapter Two outlines one critical aspect that relates to the Maori rugby and/or players, especially when it comes to the New Zealand-South Africa relationship and the sports boycott. It is not only the long history of racial exclusion that matters most here, but how these two countries resisted and subverted the sport struggles and the isolation in the face of immense pressure from within and outside each time these two countries met during the apartheid era. There were even accusations that in the quest to maintain their rugby relationship, these two countries were even ready to compromise the spirit of rugby and sport in general.<sup>1094</sup> *The Smart News Source* reported that:

...Maori rugby team was instructed by a [New Zealand] government minister to throw a game against South Africa in 1956 to prevent All Blacks sides from being banned from touring the country, a former player has said. Muru Walters, a fullback in the 1956 team, said the then Minister of Maori Affairs Ernest Corbett had visited players of the team in their dressing room and told them to lose the match "for the future of rugby." The directive...had "ripped the guts out of the spirits of our team," Muru told local radio, and the Springboks went on to win 37-0 at Auckland's Eden Park. "What he said was: 'You must not win this game or we will never be invited to South Africa again,'" ... "I thought he was joking, but then another official came in and said the same thing ... 'For the future of rugby, don't beat the South Africans...'"<sup>1095</sup> "Maori groups...have also requested an apology from the union for bowing to South African directives and omitting non-white players from touring teams to the country in 1928, 1949 and 1960."<sup>1096</sup>

#### 5.4.3 South Africa, New Zealand and the Anti-Apartheid Movement: The significance and value of sport

The literature on South African sport did not only confirm that sport has played a pivotal role in shaping society but also demonstrates that sport can be manipulated to bring about

<sup>1093</sup> MacLean (2001) "Review", p.74-75.

<sup>1094</sup> See, *The Smart News Source*, 'Sport: Rugby', April 13, 2010, 'We were told to lose to Boks, says 1956 Maori player', WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, Apr 13 2010 07:19 [last updated and accessed in April 13, 2010 – 10h18].

<sup>1095</sup> *The Smart News Source*, 'Sport: Rugby', April 13, 2010, 'We were told to lose to Boks', 2010.

<sup>1096</sup> This was reported by the Reuters, 2010.

any desired world order, be it a “just cause” or an “unjust cause”, alike.<sup>1097</sup> The use and misuse of sport for social-political ends is neither limited to South African society nor a new phenomenon. The latter has been observed for many years in the country just it has been elsewhere in the world.

The history of White rugby in South Africa, for instance has been closely linked to the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism.<sup>1098</sup> Since the 1930s, rugby became part of a cluster of cultural symbols closely associated with a resurgent Afrikanerdom. Whether this development was “just cause” or not, is debatable. The English identity, on the other hand, coalesced around cricket. Thus, over time, these groups formed a white “South Africanness”<sup>1099</sup> based on racial exclusion, one which created institutional racism to restrict access to socially valued opportunities for the black population. In the *Last White Parliament*, in 1985, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said:

...For white South Africans generally, sport is much more than mere escapism or an opportunity to demonstrate individual or team excellence. It is more than a religion, it is a total strategy against a total onslaught; it is the guardian of our national character; the barometer of our despair or hope...<sup>1100</sup>

This, therefore, might be justifying the White population’s strategic dominance of the sport discourse in the country throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.

The dominance together with the political, economic, and social domination of South African society by the White population resulted in the development of separate sporting structures, traditions, cultures and even heroes.<sup>1101</sup> White supremacy was applied in sport as much as other arenas of life. The white population dominated the discourse in

<sup>1097</sup> See Shepherd, *Lovedale: The Story of the Century*, 1942; Thompson, 1964; Thompson, 1975; De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; United Nations Unit on Apartheid, “International Campaign Against Apartheid”, 1971; Hain, *Don’t Play with Apartheid: The Background to the Stop The Seventy Tour Campaign*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1971; S. Harris, *Political Football: The Springbok Tour of Australia*, 1971, Melbourne, Gold Star Publications, 1972; Lapchick, *The Politics of Race and International Sport: The Case of South Africa*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975; Newnham, 1975; Thompson, 1975; Peires, “Facta Non Verba”, 1981; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nedbank Group, *The History of Sport in South Africa*, 1987; Kidd, “The Campaign against South Africa”, *International Journal*, 43 (4), 1988, pp.643-664; Nauright and Black, 1994; M. Bose, *Sporting Colours: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London, Robson Books, 1994; Nauright and Black, 1995; Nauright and Black, 1996; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Woods, *Black and White*, 1981; Roberts, *Sport and Transformation*, 1989; Roberts, *Challenges Facing South African Sport*, 1990; Grundlingh et al., *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995; Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997; Van Der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1098</sup> Odendaal, *The Cricket Victorians*, 1977; Peires, “Facta Non Verba”, 1981; Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa: A History, 1861-1988*, Cape Town, South Africa Rugby Board, 1989; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; A. Grundlingh, “Playing for power? Rugby, Afrikaner nationalism and masculinity in South Africa, c.1990-c1970”, 1996, in J. Nauright and T. Chandler (eds), *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identities*, London, Frank Cass; A. Grundlingh, “Rugby and Change in South Africa during the 1995 Rugby World Cup and its aftermath”, 2006; Grundlingh et al., *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995 and Van Der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997.

<sup>1099</sup> Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.3.

<sup>1100</sup> Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.5.

<sup>1101</sup> A.E. Goslin, 1996, p.180; J. Nauright, 1997, p.15; M. Booley, *The forgotten Heroes*, 1998, p.7.

South African sport, and represented the country in international competitions, since sport across the colour lines was forbidden.

The relationship between sport and society is fascinating yet complex. These two influence and affect each other in various ways. At any given time and place, sport has always reflected the nature of a society it existed in. Sport is an active and sometimes strategic force in social transformation. Also, it can be manipulated to deliver specific chosen social norms and this phenomenon has been observed in many societies in the world for many years. For instance, in his book *The Murdoch Archipelago*, Bruce Page<sup>1102</sup> stated that the English novelist Anthony Trollope visited Australia in 1871 and wrote:

...Trollope may be thought a reliable witness, for he noticed, in addition to the urge to publish, other durable national attributes, such as an addiction to competitive sport and a collective, hair-trigger resentment of alien criticism, however modestly offered...<sup>1103</sup>

Thabo Mbeki, in the ‘Foreword’ to Sam Ramsamy’s autobiography, *Reflections on a Life in Sport*, writes:

...Had Trollope come to South Africa a hundred years after he had visited Australia, he would have said the same about white South Africa, that among other things, its durable national attributes were “addiction to competitive sport and a collective, hair-trigger resentment of alien criticism, however modestly offered”...<sup>1104</sup>

This shared addiction to competitive sport experience noted by Trollope in Australia and that Mbeki extrapolated to White South Africa, was to turn into an intense area of international conflict, as the non-racial sport movement, both in South Africa and overseas, led a global struggle against apartheid sport. Considering that the initial resistance to racial segregation was observed in the second half of the 1940s.<sup>1105</sup> It is probably correct to postulate that before this particular struggle assumed the intensity and international prominence it did as the world escalated its campaigns against apartheid South Africa, many South Africans and people in the world did not fully appreciate the role and place of sport in human society. The struggle that the non-racial sport movement

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<sup>1102</sup> Page, 2003, p.60.

<sup>1103</sup> Page, 2003; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1104</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.v.

<sup>1105</sup> Van der Merwe, 1997:80; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Identities and Cultures*, 1997, p.45; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1994, p.35; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.10.

led to deracialise sport in South Africa and more generally to defeat the apartheid system, ended the age of ignorance about what is clearly an important area of human activity: sport. The knowledge of what this process helped South Africans to acquire has stood the country in good stead as it worked to build a new South Africa whose birth SANROC and the broad non-racial sport movement contributed to.

In 1999, an inspiring New Zealand leader and activist against apartheid, Trevor Richards, published a fascinating book entitled *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa and Racism*. The title of the book is based on what Henderson Tapela said in New Zealand in 1970 where he was a student and President of the South African Students' Association.<sup>1106</sup> Reflecting the intensity of feeling against playing sport with racist South Africa, he advised New Zealanders, 'Don't go to South Africa to play the white teams, for if you do, you will be dancing on our bones.'<sup>1107</sup>

In his book entitled, *Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of the Century, 1841 - 1941*, the then Principal of the Institution Reverend Shepherd discusses the role of sport in the "civilising" mission that the Scottish Presbyterians had set themselves to achieve when they established Lovedale Missionary Institution in 1841. He also acknowledged that recreation is a matter of supreme importance in the eyes of those responsible for Lovedale.

...Browsing over Lovedale's "Annual Report" in any year, is to see a network of activities on the sport' field, such as athletics, rugby, soccer, cricket, netball, and tennis. 'A missionary of long experience recently declared... "We look to Lovedale to send out students who will do much to create and encourage healthier and better forms of social fellowship, including games."<sup>1108</sup> Such considerations emphasise the importance of sport in (sic) Lovedale...' (Ramsamy, 2004: v).

As Frederick van Zyl Slabbert (1985) and Jeff Peires (1981) reported, all this communicated, the message that sport in South Africa amounted to much more than playing games.<sup>1109</sup> Seemingly, the very success of the "civilising mission" of imperial Europe depended on the 'addiction to competitive sport.'<sup>1110</sup> This is probably truer in South African society than any other society elsewhere in the world. Both the apartheid Government and post 1994 South African societies held sport in high regard as can be

<sup>1106</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflection*, 2004, p.i.

<sup>1107</sup> Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa and Racism*, 1999, p.19.

<sup>1108</sup> Shepherd, *Lovedale*, 1942, p.88.

<sup>1109</sup> Van Zyl Slabbert, *The Last Parliament*, 1985; Peires, "Facta non Verba", 1981.

<sup>1110</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.vii.

seen from the statements of Van Zyl Slabbert, Peires and Mandela. Van Zyl Slabbert (1985) declared that to white South Africans, sport ‘is a total strategy against a total onslaught; it is the guardian of our national character; the barometer of our despair or hope.’<sup>1111</sup> In 1981, a well-known historian, Jeffrey Peires reported that ‘rugby in particular had, for a long time, played an important role in the lives of Black people, particularly in the Eastern Cape.’<sup>1112</sup> President Nelson Mandela pledged during the 1995 World Rugby Cup, that ‘... (T)he Springboks are our boys, I ask every one of you to stand behind them because they are our pride, they are my pride, they are your pride...’<sup>1113</sup> Van Zyl Slabbert’s tone however, displayed a level of militancy, egotism and racial prejudice that characterised the Apartheid government policy of the time.

Chapter Four of this thesis noted that the apartheid Government never formally banned SANROC, although its leaders were banned, arrested and harassed. When black sportspersons and/or non-racial sport proponents initiated the challenge and the struggles to deracialise South African sport, the sporting situation within the country and globally were complex and not welcoming.<sup>1114</sup> The conservative nature of international sporting bodies, and the greater significance of team sport played against old imperial rivals, apparently meant that the Apartheid government initially did not perceive SANROC as a major threat.<sup>1115</sup> Apartheid sport was also naïve enough to share and adopt this government’s arrogant and complacent stance. For instance, Trevor Richards<sup>1116</sup> states that when the long-standing leader of the South African Rugby Board, Danie Craven, was told of the extent of opposition from New Zealand to the then forthcoming 1981 tour of the Springboks, he stubbornly said:

...I can hardly believe it of New Zealand. To me it is incredible that the nation I know so well has succumbed to that... You know, in 1937 and again in 1956, I preached from the pulpits in New Zealand, not once but dozens of times... I believe – I really believe in my soul I believe - that their love of rugby will triumph over their love of

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<sup>1111</sup> Van Zyl Slabbert, *The Last Parliament*, 1985; Nauright (1997) Sport, Cultures and Identities, 1997.

<sup>1112</sup> See Jeff Peires, “*Facta Non Verba*”, unpublished paper presented in a workshop at Wits University, 1981, p.3. Cape in this case refers to the old Cape Colony that included both what are referred to as the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape following 1996 constitution and 1994 democratic demarcations. Border region therefore falls under this new Eastern Cape Province even though sport wise it is a Province on its own also incorporating the Transkei region.

<sup>1113</sup> Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.12.

<sup>1114</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; United Nations Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1115</sup> United Nations Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997.

<sup>1116</sup> Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p.20.

demonstrating. There may be demonstrations at the start, but they will soon peter out...<sup>1117</sup>

Danie Craven was however, certainly wrong. The demonstrations did not peter out. Even the love of rugby could not stop thousands of New Zealanders from demonstrating in favour of non-racial sport in South Africa and freedom for the oppressed black majority. This struggle, in the eyes of the New Zealanders, was a noble and a just cause as opposed to cheap propaganda that the likes of Craven and the apartheid Government wanted the world to believe. Despite the latter's' innate love for rugby, as Craven "believed in his soul", New Zealanders could not dare compromise their own "soul beliefs".

Craven seemed to have failed to appreciate and predict the intense opposition experienced on the 1981 New Zealand –Springbok tour because he was clouded by his firm belief and knowledge of the bonds that existed among the White Dominions of the British Empire – Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. André Odendaal in his fascinating book *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketer and the Unmasking of one of Cricket's Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850–2003*, illustrated this bond. Odendaal wrote in reference to apartheid sport, that only whites could play official test cricket, and in the 172 tests between 1888 and 1970, they played against 'White' countries only – England, Australia and New Zealand. This was in keeping with the logic of colonialism and apartheid.<sup>1118</sup> Perhaps another reason for Craven's failure to foresee the 1981 New Zealand upheaval can be attributed to the nature of the "preaching" that he 'in 1937 and again in 1956...[I] preached from the pulpits in New Zealand, not once but dozens of times...'<sup>1119</sup> In their series of documentaries, on the role of prayer and faith as sources of strength to the anti-apartheid activists in South Africa during the liberation struggle, Seth Mazibuko and Farugia<sup>1120</sup> argued and concluded, that, many individuals and or groups of people, especially the clergy, got involved in the struggle because of, among other things, their religious convictions (be they Christian, Hindu, Islamic and or the others) and or spiritual beliefs. This seems to be consistent with the clergy in the UK and elsewhere in the world. There were many men of the cloth within the British AAM and almost all of them put Christianity and their Christian values in the centre of their cause. For example, in 1960, when a South African White team toured England, an English Test cricketer, the Reverend David Shepherd, refused to play against the tourists. He said at the time:

<sup>1117</sup>Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p.35.

<sup>1118</sup> Odendaal, *The African Game*, 2003, p.25.

<sup>1119</sup> Richards, *Dancing in our bones*, 1999, p.20; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.vi.

<sup>1120</sup> SABC Documentaries, 2008.

...I do not regard cricket in South Africa as a non-political game. South Africa has never yet played against the West Indies, or against India or Pakistan. There are 20,000 non-White cricketers in South Africa. Because they are non-White, they will have no opportunity of playing in a club side, in a province side or in a Test match. I believe at this moment that cricket is touching on the most important single issue in the world. And I believe that as a cricketer and a Christian, I would be wrong to keep silent...<sup>1121</sup>

Resistance to Apartheid sport by the clergy was again observed in 1970. Members of country clubs called on them not to play against the white South African team and many resigned their membership when clubs refused. For example, the Archbishop of Wales, Dr Glyn Simon, a cricket supporter for more than 40 years, informed the Glamorgan Cricket Club that he would terminate his membership if the club played the apartheid team. It does not seem unreasonable to question Craven's and/or the apartheid's religious basis and convictions in justifying their discriminatory deeds and policies. Judging by their dogma, the Apartheid's convictions were not necessarily Christian-based as the world knows it but twisted lies. One of Mazibuko and Farugia's informants<sup>1122</sup> testified that she forbade and deliberately discouraged everyone from referring to her as a "comrade" lest she is branded a communist or a victim of "communist conspiracy" – the old tired apartheid lie. The informant in question was therefore quite aware that the former could have easily undermined and discredited her fight for justice as it was the case with many other freedom-fighters.

As the campaign for isolation of apartheid South Africa gathered pace in Australia and the world, a future Australian Federal Member of Parliament, Robert Fenton, formed an organisation called *War Against Recreational Disruptions* (WARD). He angrily proclaimed that:

... (I)n the abuse and debasement of sport and culture by disruptions, encouragement is given to subversive elements working for the overthrow of democratic government. The danger is accelerated by the inroads of a spurious morality designed to appeal to the disenchanted members of Western Society... A doomsday faces our culture if apathy is not overcome. The unremitting propaganda campaign against European Africa is harnessing innocent people to agitate for the situation that offers them no opportunity to endure as free men.

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<sup>1121</sup> United Nations Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971, p.13.

<sup>1122</sup> SABC Documentaries, 2008.

Manipulative forces are persuading the Free World to betray principle, abandon Law and make concessions in the face of coercion...<sup>1123</sup>

It is apparent that this is how Danie Craven also saw the world, and this is of course what he knew of the other White Dominions – together they represented “western society,” which was determined to protect “European Africa” from “subversive elements” that threatened the “culture” of the “Free world”. Yet, what was to follow, despite the Fentons and the Cravens, was reflected in the comments of Morné du Plessis, an outstanding Springbok rugby player and captain. He is reported to have said:

...Going to New Zealand and Australia in 1971 as a 21-year-old and seeing the demonstrations against us and wondering quietly – but not seriously because life is fantastic and you’re on tour and you’re being feted and dined and you’re a Springbok and you’re playing rugby and that’s all you want to do. But you’re thinking, can so many people so far away from us be so angry with us? Can it be that they’re all wrong? Because we were told that they were all wrong...<sup>1124</sup>

Morné du Plessis’ experience here is consistent with other apartheid South African sportspersons. In the height of his career as a top golfer in the world, Gary Player, also one of the most celebrated golfers in the country was reported to have said that it is alright for whites and blacks in South Africa to organise and play their sport separately.<sup>1125</sup> When this statement was put to him, Gary Player did not only confirm this assertion but went further to explain the circumstances in which he uttered this.<sup>1126</sup> Player acknowledged that he ‘was brain-washed like many other young sportspeople during apartheid, into believing in and embracing the policy of separate development during his playing days.’<sup>1127</sup> Gary Player here, unlike Morné du Plessis, seemed to have been failed by not only his apparent naiveté but also by his conscience as a young adult at the time. Unlike Morné du Plessis, it did not dawn upon him to question: ‘can so many people so far away from us be so angry with us? Can it be that they’re all wrong?’ Gary Player seemed gullible into believing that ‘[B]ecause [they] we were told that they were all wrong’. It seemed that apartheid’s propaganda was quite effective to people like Player. To various foreigners all over the world, however, the situation was simply unacceptable and that ‘[N]o human being with

<sup>1123</sup> *The Star*, 31.3.1962; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflection*, 2004, p.vii; Klee, ‘Multi-National Policy and Political Reforms’, 2006, p.20.

<sup>1124</sup> Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p.20; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.vii.

<sup>1125</sup> SABC1 Show: *People of the South*, 2003.

<sup>1126</sup> In Dali Tambo’s SABC1 Show: *People of the South*, 2003.

<sup>1127</sup> Gary Player, interviewed in Dali Tambo’s SABC1 Show: *People of the South*, 2003.

any conscience could fail to ask themselves the question whether they were willing to enter into this grotesque compromise.<sup>1128</sup>

#### 5.4.4 Government and establishment sport federations organise rebel tours: The sport struggles' response to this development

A leading activist against the 1971 Springbok tour to Australia, Meredith Burgman stated:

... [The campaign against the tour] certainly changed Australians' attitude towards South Africa and apartheid, and we stopped being seen as South Africa's white brother across the sea, which really was how we were looked on by the world, and how we really looked at ourselves. So it changed that attitude...<sup>1129</sup>

This demonstrates the power and influence of sport in the process of socialisation especially when handled strategically and appropriately. The above-mentioned Australian episode confirmed how sport manifested itself in societies it operated and existed in at a given time.

Maybe Morné du Plessis's trouble stemmed from the observation that "South Africa's brother across the sea" was turning his back on "European Africa". Danie Craven, however, was far from seeing the light. He continued to entertain the illusion that the opposite is true. That this was impossible, it could never happen given that White South Africa, White Australia, White New Zealand saw one another as "brothers across the sea." Possibly it was because of this, he convinced himself that the demonstrations that troubled Morné du Plessis reflected nothing more than a "peculiar love of demonstrating".

In his autobiography, [*Die Laaste Trek – 'n Nuwe Begin*] *The Last Trek – A New Beginning*, former President FW de Klerk wrote about 'how deeply White South Africans loved international sport.'<sup>1130</sup> De Klerk states that:

... (A)s the sporting net closed more tightly around us, all we could do was to provide financial aid to help sport organisations to continue their struggle and sometimes, even to arrange rebel tours...<sup>1131</sup>

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<sup>1128</sup> Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p50.

<sup>1129</sup> Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p.85; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.viii.

<sup>1130</sup> F.W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek – A New Beginning*, 1998, p.55; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.x.

<sup>1131</sup> De Klerk, *The Last Trek*, 1998, p.55.

Some of the New Zealand All Blacks got together and called themselves Cavaliers, and undertook a rebel tour in 1986 which de Klerk referred to<sup>1132</sup>, and won just one of the four matches against South Africa, although it won seven of its eight other games on tour. This unofficial or rebel team, comprised of 28 of the 30 players who had been selected for the All Blacks tour, coached by Colin Meads and captained by Andy Dalton, following lies and deceit, sneaked out of New Zealand in 1986.

It was generally known that this rebel team had received large secret payments, a controversial issue at a time when rugby was still an amateur sport. This deceit is congruent to de Klerk's revelation, mentioned above.<sup>1133</sup> In fact, speaking at the "Olympism and Apartheid meeting" or otherwise, the "Lausanne 'States General' Conference" in 1988, Bayo Hamad Lawal, President-in-Office of the SCSA and the Minister of Sport and Social Development of Youth, declared:

...Because of its enormous popular impact, sport provides a useful vehicle for South African propaganda. And for the same reason, we [SCSA] consider boycotting to be a determining factor in the overall strategy of the struggle against Apartheid. We all know that South Africa has been suffocating in its isolation since its eviction from the Olympic family; and it has launched a costly and obtrusive propaganda campaign to break out of that isolation. That is why South Africa always manages to set the cat among the pigeons by regularly organizing tailor –made tours or tournaments just before the great world sporting events...<sup>1134</sup>

The rebel tour occurred after the official All Blacks tour planned for 1985 was cancelled due to a legal ruling that it would be incompatible with the NZRFU's legally stated purpose: '*...the fostering and encouragement of the game of rugby...*'<sup>1135</sup> Apartheid sport however, resorted to underhand methods that characterised the system.

It is evident that the non-racial sport movement understood 'how deeply white South Africans loved international sport'<sup>1136</sup> even to the point of relying on lies and deceit to achieve their goals. It understood that if they cut off white South Africa from international sport, the message would get through to the Whites who "loved international sport", that apartheid sport and the apartheid system they saw as their guarantee for the defence and perpetuation of "European Africa", were precisely the things that threatened

<sup>1132</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.xi; also see Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997.

<sup>1133</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South African*, 1995, p.131; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.x; Sampie Terreblanche, 2005; Les de Villiers, 2005; De Klerk, *The Last Trek*, 1998.

<sup>1134</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South African*, 1995, p.131.

<sup>1135</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths, *Reflections*, p.x.

<sup>1136</sup> De Klerk, *The Last Trek*, 1998, p.55; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.x.

their survival. The non-racial sport movements' campaign to isolate apartheid sport was focussed on cutting the South African European outpost from the Europe of which it was itself an extension. This was to plant a seed in the minds of young Afrikaners such as Morné du Plessis, even at the height of the arrogant confidence of white power, that, perhaps, not all was well with the South Africa that prided itself on the prowess of the Springboks. It was with this background that the apartheid Government did all in its power to avert this type of thinking. To illustrate this behaviour, Mbaye states that:

...1988 was the year of Seoul Olympic Games. Typically, at the approach of an event of that nature, the Government of South Africa stepped up its activities considerably, particularly at international level. A number of people were invited, in an individual capacity, to visit South Africa, first as tourists, then as participants in sporting events. Courtesy passport were delivered to certain South African athletes in order to permit them to participate in international competitions. The most famous of these cases was Zola Budd, a great South African athlete. Her case was taken up by the IAAF, which ultimately took the decision to debar her from participation in international competitions under its patronage...<sup>1137</sup>

Beyond this however, the international campaign led by SANROC shook up especially the countries and sport communities with which "European Africa" felt a close affinity. It deeply affected those who had been accustomed and pleased to welcome "on our tour, fête, dine and commune" with white South Africa rugby and cricket players as friends and members of one family. As the "European Africa" and the "big brother across the sea" sought to protect a comfortable relationship informed by notions of kith and kin, and a shared obligation to defend themselves against the "subversive elements" that were noted by Fenton, white South Africa and the "brother across the seas", did things that were out of the ordinary. The story of Zola Budd and her family's shenanigans and quest for British "citizenship," for the former, is a classical case demonstrating how South African-British governments could go to defend and sustain apartheid.<sup>1138</sup> This story is told in detail later in this thesis.

Commenting on what happened as she and other Australians demonstrated in 1971 against the touring Springbok team, Verity Burgman, sister to Meredith, stated:

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<sup>1137</sup>Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South African*, 1995, p.127-128.

<sup>1138</sup> See, Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1956-98/ BORDLIEAN LIBRARY: RHODES HOUSE OXFORD UNIVERSITY/CourtrO. Campaigns, 1956-95/International Conferences on Sanctions Against Apartheid Sport, 1983-90/Shelfmark: MSS AAM 1453/ Zola Budd, 1984-9/ Shelfmark: BOX-MSS AAM 1454; also see Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South African*, 1995, p.127-128.

... [The police] dragged us [spectators] off the ground. The crowd [of spectators] shouted, yelled, screamed abuses at us. I was very nervous. The police were frightening, but perhaps not as frightening as the rugby supporters. This was intensely polarised time in Australian history, when the old-fashioned forces of the world as it used to be were ranged behind their love of rugby, against the new forces of anti-Apartheid, anti-racism, what you could generally term the new social movements that were developing then. Although we appeared to be a beleaguered minority, we were the ones that won out...<sup>1139</sup>

The Premier of Queensland at the time, Bjelke-Peterson, declared a state of emergency to protect the touring Springboks. The trade unions immediately organised a 24-hour strike. With extended emergency powers, the police dealt harshly with anti-Apartheid activists described as “long-haired” protesters. Trevor Richards writes that commentators said because of the Springbok tour, Australia had become a country ‘pitted against itself’.<sup>1140</sup> Similar actions occurred when the people of New Zealand stood up to oppose the 1981 Springbok tour. Government deployed the army and the air force to confront anti-Apartheid demonstrators. Police were issued with long batons, which they used to assault demonstrators after one match was abandoned. New Zealand had never experienced such overwhelming use of force against peaceful protests. A Presbyterian Church leader, John Murray, remarked: ‘This is not New Zealand – this is a nightmare.’<sup>1141</sup>

Despite all this, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union nevertheless decided that the All Blacks should tour South Africa in 1985. In the end, this tour was prohibited by the courts which responded to an injunction that was sought by two New Zealand lawyers, with the support from SANROC, with Sam Ramsamy, personally putting his flat on the line as collateral to secure legal fees. In his judgement, Justice Casey stated:

...Those opposed [to the tour] cannot be brushed aside as irresponsible trouble makers or publicity seekers, as some of the evidence and opinions from the [Rugby] Union suggest... Most of the reasons [for opposing the tour] may have no direct connection with benefiting local rugby. But taken together, they must result in a groundswell of public opinion exasperated or angry with the Union’s stance, and very concerned about re-opening the scars of 1981... The interest of the public and of the nation in not having the tour go ahead is a most

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<sup>1139</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.x.

<sup>1140</sup> Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p.80.

<sup>1141</sup> Richards, *Dancing on our bones*, 1999, p.85.

potent factor... There is also the risk of violence and bloodshed – even loss of life – to black Africans...<sup>1142</sup>

This seen together with Henderson Tapela, Justice Casey's ruling on this matter. Here, sport finds itself at the centre of what constituted the heart-and-soul and the livewire of any society, humanity. Trevor Richards reported that even in 1996, fifteen years after the events of 1981, which had proved to be deeply traumatic for New Zealand society, 'the ghost of 1981 had not been laid to rest.'<sup>1143</sup> He observed that it was perhaps 'too soon for a spectre of such significance to twentieth-century New Zealand to find its peace'. Given the nature and magnitude of atrocities that were experienced by the oppressed majority during apartheid South Africa over several decades, it is not unreasonable to envisage a life-long traumatic effect thereof. It seems necessary to analyse the aftermath of this development for post-apartheid South African society and its sport landscape.

In an effort to lay the ghost of 1981 to rest, to heal "the scars of 1981", the future Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark, herself an anti-apartheid activist, moved a resolution in the New Zealand parliament, which, fortunately, was approved unanimously. In part the resolution declared:

...The House acknowledges the importance of the contribution made by New Zealand citizens and organisations over the period 1948–1990 to national and internal campaigns against Apartheid; recognises that their contribution not only gave great encouragement and support to those in South Africa campaigning against Apartheid, but was also responsible for earning New Zealand enduring international respect; resolves to close this chapter of our history relating to the old South Africa and to move forward together to a new, positive, practical and compassionate relationship with the new South Africa...<sup>1144</sup>

Here New Zealand demonstrated commendable political maturity and progressive thinking. This was in part complemented by an interesting body of literature documenting this history. The latter is yet to be realised in South Africa and invaluable lessons from New Zealand's approach and experience, can be beneficial. It remains to be seen whether the country can rise to the occasion and deal with this matter constructively and compassionately in the near future.

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<sup>1142</sup>Richards, *Dancing on our bones* 1999, p.87; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.45.

<sup>1143</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.xi.

<sup>1144</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.x; also see Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South African*, 1995, p.127-128.

#### 5.5.4 South Africa, Zola Budd and Britain

The story of Zola Budd's arrival at Heathrow airport in 1984,<sup>1145</sup> flanked by representatives of the *Daily Mail* and her 'ambitious' father, Frank, for her planned running for the British Olympic team, was seen as a bizarre "fiction."<sup>1146</sup> Reading the UK's *The Guardian*, apparently Zola Budd was a relatively reserved person: 'Shy and modest, she says little, often leaving her parents to deal with reporters. She merely says she runs because she enjoys it.'<sup>1147</sup> There is also evidence that she might have been very famous and successful financially and in sport, should it have been "her" reported relative quiet disposition. In accordance with the *usual* International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) rules of the time, Zola Budd had about £30,000 in trust and there was potential of more with an offer from the International Management Group agency.<sup>1148</sup> *The Guardian* also reported that at least nine American universities demonstrated serious interest to sign her to a track and field scholarship. Despite the latter Zola Budd chose to stay put in South Africa and attended the University of the Free State so that she could continue to live on her parents' farm near Bloemfontein.<sup>1149</sup> Given this and her reported reserved disposition, it becomes apparent that Zola Budd was an unlikely candidate for international limelight and controversy, at least at this time. It is apparent that her life generally and the sporting controversy it came to be might have been a footnote in the country's historiography. Possible and more importantly, she might have lived her life and enjoyed her sporting experiences, leaving many to continue viewing her as either an apartheid sport "victim" even though she, like all other white athletes, ironically benefited from it while being an Anti-Apartheid sport "victim", obviously due to isolation and sports boycott. However, her life turned out to be something totally differently from the above postulations and of course there are plausible reasons for this development.

Then the question becomes who was exactly responsible for the drama that followed her since the mid-1980s? Could it have been she herself, or rather her parents'

<sup>1145</sup> See Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1956-98/ BORDLIEAN LIBRARY: RHODES HOUSE OXFORD UNIVERSITY/CourtrO. Campagns, 1956-95/International Conferences on Sanctions Against Apartheid Sport, 1983-90/Shelfmark: MSS AAM 1453/ Zola Budd, 1984-9/ Shelfmark: BOX-MSS AAM 1454; Also see, BOX 146: Zola Budd Docs/ MAYIBUYE CENTRE: HISTORICAL PAPERS DEPARTMENT - SAM RAMSAMY COLLECTION: MCH63-7/FILES: File: Athletics – General -1986; File: Athletics – 1987; File: South African Amateur Athletics Board Biennial General Meeting, (est.1946), Friday, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1987, 10h00, Alabama Hotel, Port Elizabeth.

<sup>1146</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.30.

<sup>1147</sup> *The Guardian*, 3 March 1984.

<sup>1148</sup> *The Guardian*, 3 March 1984.

<sup>1149</sup> *The Guardian*, 3 March 1984.

“bullying tendencies”, especially her father’s reported ‘ambitious attitude?<sup>1150</sup> What became clear is that Budd was destined to be a successful athlete or at least would have been were she not South African, an issue that restricted her opportunities.

It could be argued that Zola Budd’s “insistence” or her parents’ instigation to this effect should be viewed in the same light as many other South African athletes that went overseas to further their sporting careers.<sup>1151</sup> There is indeed a plethora of examples that can be put on the table when it comes to latter point is concerned.<sup>1152</sup> Chapter Two and Chapter Four briefly outlined and discussed some of these cases and in fact built up an argument to for the initiation of the sport struggles to deracialise South African sport. In fact it was revealed in these chapters that almost all these athletes did not leave South Africa by choice, it was the lack of opportunities for them solely because they were black athletes. The world will remember the case of Basil D’Oliveira. The apartheid Government had categorised him as a coloured person and therefore, good as he was in his sport, he could not represent his country. He opted for exile in the UK and even made it to the English test team. It was his selection for this team when touring South Africa in 1968 that catapulted him into world controversy. This is different from the actions of Zola Budd in the 1986/7 international athletics season. Furthermore, the case of a Natal golfer, Sewsunker “Papwa” Sewgolum, is almost legendary in the South African historiography. There are less known cases that are very critical. For instance, the story of a Natal weight-lifter, Precious McKenzie is one of these critical cases because it should have made the headlines that Budd did in the 1980s. It was not to be with McKenzie, partly because he was a black athlete. He went into exile as well and represented Great Britain in Weight-lifting and won several medals in the 1960s.

It can therefore be argued that Budd as a South African should have been easily welcomed in the UK, like all the athletes in the past years. The major difference with her or her case, however, was that while the other athletes mentioned above and many unnamed ones here, had been established residents within their countries of exile, she had never stayed in the UK where she was suddenly so desperate to reside. In fact, even within South Africa, she was reportedly more comfortable not only in the Free State, but specifically in Bloemfontein where she stayed with her parents.

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<sup>1150</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.30.

<sup>1151</sup> *Observer*, 10 June 1984.

<sup>1152</sup> *Guardian*, 28 March 1984; *Africa News*, 14 May 1984, pp. 6-8.

Further, Zola Budd was a white privileged athlete as opposed the majority marginalised black athletes. It is apparent that should she have been a black athlete, she might not have aroused controversy given the realities of apartheid sport. In fact, Gary Player, a widely celebrated golfer who resided in the United States of America for a long time, did not arouse any controversy. It is apparent that both Player and Budd were never exiled into the countries that they resided in and wanted to participate for in their respective sports. The difference between the two is that Budd wanted a quick fix for the situation at the time.

There is evidence that there is a more plausible, if not more routine, solution to Budd's predicament. She might have simply went on like everybody else, to apply for British residency because her paternal grandfather was born in Britain. The question becomes, why they did the Budds not take this route? In fact, there was an even more interesting route that was presented to the young lady, even though the latter demonstrated an apparent level of desperation if not ludicrous. A 65-year-old Henry Allen of Birmingham unsuccessfully offered to conveniently marry Zola Budd so that she could represent Great Britain in time for the Olympic Game that were to be held in Los Angeles that year. His explanation was: 'I would just like to offer her the chance she deserves so much to compete in the Olympics and other international events.' It was apparent the Budd situation was indeed, a desperate one and as they saying goes: a desperate situation calls for desperate measures. It seems as that though his marriage "proposal" was turned down, Henry Allen of Birmingham's public stance was, however, enough to create the hype and gathered the troops around the Budd issue in the UK at least. It is reported that the Right-wing Britons predictable indifference to Apartheid and perhaps also hostile to the South African sport ban grabbed Budd's plight with both hands and made it their own. Tabloids in Britain, especially the *Daily Mail*, panted and supported Budd's application for a passport and even sponsored by their own estimation hundreds of thousands of dollars on her case.<sup>1153</sup> Subsequently, when Zola Budd arrived in the Britain in March, the *Daily Mail* openly claimed credit for delivering her to UK soil.<sup>1154</sup> The *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*'s biggest rival newspaper responded with a headline reading 'Zola Go Home!'<sup>1155</sup> At this point it became clear that Budd, one of the world's great women's middle distance runners, had suddenly turned out to be the most controversial sportsperson

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<sup>1153</sup> *Washington Post*, 11 April 1984.

<sup>1154</sup> *Daily Mail*, 17 March 1984.

<sup>1155</sup> *Daily Express*, 28 March 1984.

globally. Yet she was never short of sympathisers, who often quickly made her a victim of the moment.

Indeed, as it has been shown early, for lack of information or sheer ignorance, it may have been easy to create a victim out of a seventeen year old girl in Zola Budd. What was profound in all of this drama as it was unfolding, Budd herself, continued to insist that she was apolitical. However, it was apparent that her very presence in this turmoil was by nature and character very political. Yes it might have been not a direct fault of her own but certainly this was a direct result of Apartheid politics through which she profited so greatly from as a white South African and a white sportsperson of the time. Her insistence and declaration to be apolitical was not only questionable but rather quite bizarre. There are several reasons why she could not necessarily be believed. One was that she and her family attended the conservative Dutch Reformed Church. The latter is known for its critical role in the development of the apartheid political system. Further, Zola Budd disclosed in her profile article by one hugely esteemed USA magazine *Sport Illustrated* that she was studying at the University of the Free State, an institution that has long gained a reputation of being quite conservative in nature, and worse her courses included among others, political science and history. This she went on to share that she took the latter courses with a goal of pursuing a career in international diplomacy. Clearly, this was quite a revelation for a person who was insisting to be apolitical and with entirely no interest in politics.<sup>1156</sup> This would have incensed any reasonable person who was following her story at the time, so as anyone reading it or listening to her say all these things even in this very day. The editors of *The Guardian* also saw this as such when they registered their disgust upon receiving these revelations and published the following:

...The Daily Mail is, needless to say, keen to impress upon us that its hot investment, Ms Zola Budd, is not interested in politics. Interestingly, the American magazine Sport Illustrated, has just carried a profile on Ms Budd, based on research before she left her native South Africa. The magazine discloses that the apolitical Ms B was in fact studying politics – as well as history – at the University of the Orange Free State. She envisaged a career in international diplomacy...<sup>1157</sup>

In the surveyed literature for this study, no evidence was found demonstrating that indeed Zola Budd ever spoke a word in favour of the system of neither Apartheid nor Apartheid

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<sup>1156</sup> Peter Hawthorne and Kenny Moore, "A Flight to a Stormy Haven," *Sport Illustrated*, 9 April, 1984

<sup>1157</sup> *The Guardian*, 28 April 1984. See also Anthony Larusso's opinion piece *The Washington Post*, 30 August 1984.

sport for that matter. One might therefore be tempted to accept that she might have been apolitical in a sense. The irony for her though, given the facts as presented in the *Sport Illustrated*, in her life and a young Bloemfontein sportsperson, her “apolitical” public stance may have well have been a liability rather than being a virtue. In fact, even though she never spoke out in favour of the Apartheid policy of her country or even worse, the latter’s application in sport, she never spoke out against Apartheid either. It is possible that if she had spoken against Apartheid and quietly ‘GO HOME,’<sup>1158</sup> as the *Daily Express* proclaimed, even if it was in the few weeks of her arrival, she might have won some hearts, including those of her critics. June Peter Pitt, Chairperson of the Arts and Recreation Committee of the County Hall in London in a letter to the editors of *The Guardian* newspaper, gave an intense analysis of the role he believed Budd played in this whole sage and beyond:

... Yet the real issue is not whether or not Zola Budd runs for Britain. This whole cynical affair is part of a wider strategy of bringing respectability to the South African regime. Add the tour by the English rugby team to South Africa and the visit of Botha to Britain and all the pieces of this disgraceful jigsaw fall into place. In the struggle against Apartheid there can be no neutrality: the system is either supported or opposed...<sup>1159</sup>

It is apparent that the editors of *The Guardian* and June Peter Pitt were not the only ones in this line of thinking. Taking from Pitt’s letter, Andrew Bridgewater of the London Liberal Party, also wrote to *The Guardian*, and affirmed that:

As she so rightly says, she is an athlete, not a politician. But she does need to appreciate the genuine concerns of many British people that the South African government will do its utmost to secure the maximum possible propaganda for its country for any medal which she wins on behalf of Britain in Los Angeles. She has to consider whether a black South African would have been given the same opportunities as she clearly had to train as an athlete in South Africa, and then to jump the queue to obtain British citizenship, while still retaining her South African passport.<sup>1160</sup>

It became apparent that the Zola Budd saga was going to rage on, and it also implicated the government authorities both in Britain and South African. Indeed, it became clear that she was not short of supporters in this complex period of her life. It is interesting to note

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<sup>1158</sup> *Daily Express*, 28 March 1984.

<sup>1159</sup> *The Guardian*, 14 June 1984.

<sup>1160</sup> *The Guardian*, 19 June 1984.

the comment and revelation by the South African Minister of Interior, Mr. F.W. de Klerk,<sup>1161</sup> in his and Apartheid Government's quest to support their wonder girl, Zola Budd. He indicated that, albeit strange as a South African at the time, Budd would be allowed a special dispensation where she would retain her South African citizenship together with her new British one, offering her an opportunity to maintain dual citizenship until she was twenty-one years old.<sup>1162</sup> Further, argued almost sarcastically in Johannesburg *The Citizen*:

Don't blame Zola for taking her chance. Unfortunately for South Africa, its sportsmen are barred from competing overseas, so the only chance some of them have lies in switching their allegiance to another country. . . Legally Zola will be running for Britain, but in her heart and soul she will be running for South Africa, since a rubber stamp, a new passport, a new citizenship cannot change her.<sup>1163</sup>

Elsewhere in this thesis, a debate is raised on the role of Mr de Klerk, not only in the broader South African politics, but also directly in sport as well. It is hoped that the conclusions reached are going to be read in conjunction with his stance on this Zola Budd issue.

## 5.5 INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE UNDER SAMARANCH: “AFRICA FOR AFRICANS AND BY AFRICANS APPROACH” TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA’S APARTHEID SPORT PROBLEM

### 5.5.1 The International Olympic Committee’s ‘Humanist Sport Policy’ on South Africa’s Apartheid sport problem

Chapter Two revealed that South Africa’s *early* formal contacts with the Olympic Movement and the IOC were made by White male bourgeoisie and this was undertaken on a racist and capitalist basis. This was contrary to the philosophy of Olympism that governs the Olympic Movement.<sup>1164</sup> The latter might thus, explain Black people’s exclusion on the basis of race from this early period? It is apparent that this development was from the onset set-out initiated on an imperialist, capitalist and class-and-racial exclusionary path.

<sup>1161</sup> Frederik Willem de Klerk would come in as the last State President in the last apartheid Parliament, in a few year following this scandal.

<sup>1162</sup> *The Guardian*, 12 May 1984.

<sup>1163</sup> Quoted in Tom Callahan, *et al*, “Barefoot in the Park,” *Time*, 18 June 1984, p. 56.

<sup>1164</sup> See IOC Archives/IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa, 1907, where Opperman and Laubscher, *The Africa’s First Olympians*, 1987, p. 3; - documenting that: Following the social difficulties of the South African war (also known as Anglo Boer War that ended in 1902); ‘rich men including Abe Bailey, Sir Leander, Starr Jameson and Henry Nourse, with close and strategic contacts in London’; decided to use sport to promote harmony and peace between the English and the Afrikaners. Significantly, as in the formation if the UoSA around this period; no mention of black people is made in this equation. It is also interesting to note that Abe Bailey personally financed a cricket tour by a whites-only “South African team” to England.

These early contacts therefore initiated strong social-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political polarised sporting nature in the country. The “official 1908” South African Olympic team in the London Games was accepted by the IOC even though it was racist in nature and composition. Chapter Three discusses and examines the IOC and its *Constitutional* prescript, the Olympic Charter and how the former ought to apply and interpret. Chapter Two demonstrates that the IOC accepted the racially comprised South Africa’s National Olympic Committee<sup>1165</sup> and its subsequent teams, disregarding its own constitutional prescript, the Olympic Charter, Rule 3, Articles 24 and 25, which forbade discrimination of any form. Chapter Two also argues that imperialism and politics of class-differential and racial segregation underpinned the *early* Olympic sport organisation in South African. In fact politics and political representatives played a major role in formalising the contacts and getting the country closer to the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games.<sup>1166</sup>

There is evidence that the Olympic Movement and the IOC did not only tolerate whites-only South Africa’ indifference towards the country’s black sportspersons for a long time, but also sympathised and supported the racist regime. The IOC’s President’s (both Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin) belief that sport and politics do not mix was not only flawed, within the South African context but downright bias against the black sportspersons plight. This approach also furthered the racial divisions in South Africa and; promoted the black population’s exclusion from the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. The latter occurred in the face of strong protestations by the non-racial sport movement and the AAM. That the IOC specifically and the Olympic Movement generally, never co-opted nor elected a black South African sportsperson into their midst respectively, is an indictment on their part. That the IOC opted to snub SANROC as opposed to giving it an ear and more importantly, working closely with it, even after it had suspended and later expelled the racist SANOC in 1960 and in 1970 respectively, is bizarre.

In Chapter Two and further in Chapter Three, there is evidence that both the IOC Presidents, who reigned between 1952 and 1980, shared the view and belief that even

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<sup>1165</sup> There is evidence that in its meeting in The Hague in May 23, 1907, the IOC unanimously carried a motion that the four British Colonies, the Cape Province, Natal, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, for more information on this subject, see (*Africa’s First Olympians*, 1987:3; IOC Archives/IOC-Olympic Movement and South Africa, 1907), notwithstanding that the latter excluded the country’ black sportspersons population.

<sup>1166</sup> It is known that it was through the influence of the Office of Sir Starr Jameson, who at the time was the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, that the British National Olympic Committee was mobilised that an invitation be extended to “South Africa” to take part in the fourth Olympiad, which the city of London was to host. See, IOC Archives, *Africa’s First Olympians*, 1987:3.

though SANROC used the appellation “Olympic” in its name; it should be dismissed with contempt because it was led by “politicians” rather than sportspersons; a view also shared by the suspended racist South Africa’s NOC (South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) and its Apartheid government.<sup>1167</sup> *Annexure V* in one of the IOC Session in 1959 reads:

...The International Olympic Committee resolved that, whilst SANROC uses the word “Olympic” in its title, neither the International Olympic Committee nor any of its officials shall have any communication or dealings with it...<sup>1168</sup>

This stance delayed the liberalisation of South African sport from apartheid and thus, denied a multitude of South Africa’s youth from taking its rightful place within the Olympic Movement.

Available literature on sports boycott shown that SANROC and AAM were not inherently boycott-enthusiasts but sport-loving non-racialist individuals that were in fact reconciliatory driven. A body of knowledge illustrates that to the non-racial sport movement; boycotts were a potent weapon and yet the last resort.<sup>1169</sup> It was only after considerable efforts to persuade the establishment sport structures to organise the country’s sport on a non-racial basis that black sportspersons contemplated and eventually initiated sports boycott campaigns against the ejection of apartheid sport from the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement. In the process the non-racial sport movement outlined its primary objectives to campaign for the total eradication of the colour bar in the country’s sport; that it should be organised on non-racial basis; replacement of whites-only racist sport from the international federation with the non-racial sport organisation and ‘expulsion of South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association (SAOCGA) from the Olympic Games.’<sup>1170</sup>

There is evidence that it was the apartheid system; grounded on the notion of white supremacy; that subsequently gave birth to the AAM, SASA, SANROC, and subsequently, the sports boycott campaigns against apartheid sport. It is known that in

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<sup>1167</sup> IOC Archives/ IOC Sessions: CIO D\_RMOL\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972; Annual Report, 1983/84, p.3.

<sup>1168</sup> IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / CIO D\_RMOL\_AFRIS/0387787-IOC SESSIONS 1959-1972 –Extraits des Session: Sur Afrique du Sud, 1959-1972.

<sup>1169</sup> IOC Archives / IOC-SANROC Files/SASA Memorandum, 1959; IOC Archives / Apartheid and Olympism Conference, 1988; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995.

<sup>1170</sup> IOC Archives/IOC-SANROC Files/SASA Memorandum, 1959; for more information on this see, De Broglio, *South African Game*, 1970; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

South Africa under apartheid, both the sport administrators, who controlled all official sport and the Government jointly, took measures deliberately to exclude the country's black population from participating in representative sport. For the greater part of the country's history, racial segregation in sport was not legislated and in fact the first known sport policy pronouncement by the apartheid Government was made on 27 June 1956. Before this period, the country's sport structures deliberately chose to exclude the majority of Black sportspersons, without due pressure from government. This development preceded apartheid. The imposition of apartheid in sport meant in effect that no "mixed" sport is permitted under the auspices of the official organisations which were accorded international recognition and bore the responsibility for selecting representative teams for international competitions. There were no open trials to permit the selection of the best sportspersons in each class from the entire sporting community. Competition in sport was instead limited to whites only and it is from them that national teams are selected. The Olympic Movement was well-aware of this situation, yet it granted unqualified recognition to the racialist "official" sport organisations in South Africa. Just as the South African white sport federations were responsible for enforcing racial discrimination in domestic sport, so the Olympic Movement or IFs which granted them membership were responsible for bestowing respectability upon such practices.<sup>1171</sup>

The sports boycott campaigns were therefore aimed at challenging this status quo, both internally and internationally. The non-racial sport movement fought for the organisation of the country's sport on non-racial basis and more critically, that the latter, get racially organised sport structures expelled by the respective IFs and be replaced by the non-racially organised ones. This thesis evaluates this long and complex relationship between South Africa's Olympic sport participation; the IOC and its Olympic Movement. It assesses the nature of Olympic sport during the period 1904 to 1994; examines the influences and proponents of racist sport and their adversaries; and the IOC position, role and response to this struggle.<sup>1172</sup>

It is known that albeit favoured the Whites-only SAOCGA during the 1950's down to the 1970s, the IOC President, Avery Brundage, due to growing pressure from the AAM and SANROC, was forced to review his and the IOC's approach towards the South

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<sup>1171</sup> UN Archives / UN Unit on Apartheid - Notes and Documents, No. 16/71:1971.

<sup>1172</sup> IOC Archives/IOC-SANROC Files/SASA Memorandum, 1959; UN Archives / UN Unit on Apartheid - Notes and Documents, No. 16/71:1971; De Broglie (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

African racial question in sport. In Chapter Four, it was revealed that in December 1966, African countries came together at Mamaki in Mali, and established the SCSA. The latter agreed that the SCSA would use any means possible to fight for the exclusion of the racist South African sport organisation from the Olympic movement,<sup>1173</sup> and naturally, literature shows that this decision was evoked in 1968.<sup>1174</sup>

It is interesting that when the African countries initially decided to boycott the Mexico Games, Brundage announced that ‘the Games must go on’ and he opposed the idea of calling a special IOC Session to investigate the problem. It was, however, only after the boycott movement escalated and integrated the Caribbean nations, the Islamic world and the Communist bloc, led by USSR and all threatened to stay away if the racist South Africans came to the Mexico Games.<sup>1175</sup> The decision concerning South Africa’s exclusion was put to vote, and the verdict was 47-16, with 8 abstentions. It also established that South Africa’s friends came mainly from America, Australia, Germany and Scandinavia.<sup>1176</sup> There is evidence showing this longstanding relationship between the racist South Africa and/or ‘European Africa’ and the ‘brothers across the seas.’<sup>1177</sup>

It took a long time and hard work on the side of the non-racial sportspersons to engage and convince the IOC around the racism in South African sport. When the non-racial or non-white South African Amateur Weight-Lifting and Bodybuilding Federation (SAAWBF), for example, approached the IOC for it to be allowed to participate in the 1956 Melbourne Games, the IOC referred it to the whites-only SAOCGA because the President did not want to interfere in the local affairs of the country; yet through pressure it eventually did four years later in the Rome Games.<sup>1178</sup> Noteworthy in the President’s response was his bold and suggestive view on the question of recognising the non-white sport organisation that:

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<sup>1173</sup> Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 1984, p.232.

<sup>1174</sup> See Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 1984, p.232 – arguing that: ...when thirty two nations came together and announced the decision to boycott the Mexico City Games, it is at this time that ‘... Brundage and Exeter, fearing that the African countries might desert the Olympic movement en bloc to join Sukarno’s Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (GANEFO), reluctantly acquiesced in the exclusion of South African and Rhodesia from the African Games, but they were not ready yet to recommend the final expulsion of either country from the international sport community...’; For more information concerning the GANEFO, see Al-Tauqi, *Olympic Solidarity*, 2003, p.102.

<sup>1175</sup> IOC Archives/IOC Files/Mexico Games Press Cuttings, 1968; Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 1984, p.232; Al-Tauqi, ‘Olympic Solidarity’, 2003, p.102.

<sup>1176</sup> Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, 1984; Al-Tauqi, ‘Olympic Solidarity’, 2003, p.102.

<sup>1177</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.vi.

<sup>1178</sup> IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / Rome Session, 1960.

...the sole question was whether the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association could continue to be recognised by the IOC? ...<sup>1179</sup>

The IOC President, Avery Brundage, again made a telling statement to the SAOCGA in 1958 that '[P]ressure is mounting, and I am receiving many protests and requests for official statement from all over the world.'<sup>1180</sup> He further warned that sooner rather than later, the apartheid question would be placed on the IOC agenda and when that time came, 'there could only be one result' because the Rules of the Olympic Charter were clear.<sup>1181</sup> The IOC President here seemed to imply that South African National Olympic Committee would be sanctioned given the that the Charter unequivocally prohibited any racial discrimination albeit doing very little to action this, taking twelve years for the IOC to ultimately expel South Africa from the Games. There is, however, evidence that, ironically, in 1958, SANOC initially threatened the IOC of withdrawing itself from the activities of the IOC and Olympic Movement. This SANOC's threat came even before the boycott campaigns to expel it the IOC and the Olympic Movement were initiated and explored by the non-racial sport movement and the AAM. This is observed in Emery's (the Secretary-General of the SACGA) response to the solemn warning about the country's apartheid question, from the highest echelons of power on the IOC, the President Brundage himself, who wrote not only a threatening letter but quite chauvinistic one too, stating that:

... [I]t is to us a tragedy that through a few political agitators in two Non-European sport – Weight-lifting and Football – from all the sport on the Olympic programme should place the European population of this country [SA] in such a predicament that it may have to withdraw from the Olympic Games...<sup>1182</sup>

When the IOC suspended the racist SANOC in 1964 and 1968 and eventually expelled it from the Olympic Games in 1970, the South African Government worked tirelessly to keep the racist sport' contacts afloat on international front albeit through propaganda and at exorbitant price. In fact in its Annual Report for the 1983/4 season, SAONGA

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<sup>1179</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.76

<sup>1180</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.80.

<sup>1181</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.80.

<sup>1182</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.80.

complained about being “boycotted” by the IOC.<sup>1183</sup> There is evidence that the “relative progressive” stance by IOC towards South Africa’s racist sport came solely due to mounting pressure. Signs of this “relative changed” were observed during Avery Brundage’s Presidency and Lord Killanin seemed to have maintained a similar approach to the racial question in South African sport. Interestingly, however, signs of “bending-over-backwards” to satisfy and keeping the racist SANOC at bay by sending controversial “fact-finding-commissions” to South Africa were witnessed. This approach was adopted in conjunction with AAM and SANROC snubbing. A case in point is Avery Brundage’s view to Lord Killanin led IOC “Fact Finding Commission” to South Africa in 1967, that:

... If we were to judge Apartheid *per se*, it is not necessary to send a commission at all. Our concern is with the National Olympic Committee and what it is doing to comply with Olympic regulations, especially Articles 24 and 25. ...We must not become involved in political issues, nor permit the Olympic Games to be used as a tool or as a weapon for extraneous causes...<sup>1184</sup>

It seems that the IOC President here is oblivious of the Apartheid system as it was carried out in the country’s sport or failed to appreciate that South Africa’s NOC and its Government were actually sharing the same view, which was to exclude the black population in sport based on the colour of their skin. Interestingly, during Lord Killanin’s reign in 1972 to 1980, SANOC was not given the space to meet up with the IOC and within its structures, as its recognition had been withdrawn in 1970, so from the President and the IOC’s point of view, South Africa’s NOC was non-existent.<sup>1185</sup>

It was in the 1980s that the IOC’s and the Olympic Movement’s attitudes and response towards South Africa’s non-racial sport movement started to alter dramatically; with Juan Antonio Samaranch reigning as President. The latter’s “African Doctrine” towards the South Africa question did not only prove to be progressive but highly strategic and thoughtful towards abolishing apartheid in sport; creating a climate of vigilance within the IOC and Olympic Movement; the non-racial sport movement, AAM, UN and African countries.

There is evidence that SANOC with the help of its Government and its sympathisers continued to fight to return to the Olympic Movement long after its

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<sup>1183</sup> SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4, p.3.

<sup>1184</sup> IOC Archives/IOC Commissions/SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4, p5.

<sup>1185</sup> IOC Archives/IOC Commissions/SAONGA Annual Report, 1983/4, p.5.

recognition by the IOC was withdrawn. SANOC and the Apartheid Government never attempted to create an environment to genuinely organise sport on non-racial basis. They instead seemed satisfied with and committed to cosmetic “reforms” of the Apartheid system, illustrated by the introduction of the “multi-national or otherwise multi-racial sport policy”, and; concomitantly unleashing its expensive propaganda machinery. This created a complex environment within the Olympic Movement, with the SANROC and the broader AAM continuing to maintain vigilance to safe-guard their gains. The battle lines were drawn between the Apartheid apologists and the AAM. This also caused the IOC to not fault in its commitment and responsibility to mobilise and galvanise the Olympic Movement around the goal of maintaining coherent support for the fight against Apartheid in sport. That in 1984, ahead of the Seoul Games, the IOC Executive Board did not foresee the impending challenge by African countries when it considered approving Tennis as an Olympic sport, with the IOC Executive Board keen on the idea to prepare it to make it to the Olympic programme whilst the International Tennis Union was yet to either suspend and/or expel the racist South African Tennis Association; appears not only suspect but rather clumsy. This IOC’s “mishap” disgusted the Africans and fuelled suspicions and; this is worth-noting.<sup>1186</sup> This occurred against the backdrop of the well-coordinated apartheid Government’s propaganda machinery that is often evident around the Games or any major event. This practice continued well into the early 1990s. Solace is drawn from the outstanding leadership and foresight of the IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, who convened a controversial yet important gathering of the African sport leaders on the question of Apartheid sport in Lausanne in 1988.

It is developments such as these that seemed to justify the African sportspersons’ vigilance around South Africa’s Apartheid question between 1970 and 1992. During the IOC’s “States General” Conference in Lausanne in 1988, Africans tabled their significant positions on the question of apartheid South African sport.<sup>1187</sup> In fact around the period of this conference and beyond it, several platforms were created by Africans; indicative of cautious manner and vigilance towards the apartheid Government and expelled SANOC. Specifically, between 1986 and 1988, with the 1984 Zola Budd’s saga<sup>1188</sup> also not helping

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<sup>1186</sup> IOC Archives/IOC Commissions/ Apartheid and Olympism Conference Report, 1988; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.86.

<sup>1187</sup> IOC Archives/IOC Commissions/Apartheid and Olympism Conference Report, 1988; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.127.

<sup>1188</sup> See, Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1956-98/ BORDLIEAN LIBRARY: RHODES HOUSE OXFORD UNIVERSITY/CourtrO. Campagns, 1956-95/International Conferences on Sanctions Against Apartheid Sport, 1983-90/Shelfmark:

the situation, the world witnessed a flurry of activities aimed at reversing the sanction of withdrawal or recognition against SANOC ahead of the Seoul Games. This crusade was led among others by South Africa's influential Whites-only sport leader and Kenya's ever-forceful Reggie Alexander.<sup>1189</sup> The latter, several times campaigned for a delegation to be sent to South Africa to view "progress" and "non-application" of Apartheid in sport in the country. In any event this initiative was shot down by the IOC, Africans and African sport leaders within OAU, the ANOCA and SCSA, assisted by numerous journalists, including David Miller.<sup>1190</sup>

It was this background that strengthened Africa and Africans' vigilance and zeal to oppose apartheid sport during the period of the 1980s. In fact between 1983 and 1988 several conferences were held by Africans. For example, three (in London in 1983, in Paris in 1985 and in Harare in 1987) International conferences against apartheid in sport were organised and held by the SCSA, the ANOCA, the Union of African Sport Confederations (UASC) and the SANROC, with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid often assisting and lending its support.<sup>1191</sup> In fact the UN International Convention Against Apartheid in Sport came into force around this time, and specifically in April 03, 1988. These developments should be seen in the broad context of the coherent work by the AAM in Africa, with the help of the IOC and UN. The South African question here should be seen in context with other sport struggles and world programmes. The latter includes Olympic Solidarity programmes; the revival of the Olympic Truce, seems to justify the long-overdue, closer and coordinated working relationship between the IOC and UN; that was only realised in in the Copenhagen Olympic Congress in October, 21, 2009.<sup>1192</sup> That the IOC was granted an observer status by the UN and; this quickly followed a landmark address by the UN General Secretary, Mr Ban Ki-moon, in the 2009 Copenhagen Olympic Congress.

This in fact is in line with the main humanistic goal of the IOC and the Olympic Movement and; that from inception the modern Olympic Games and the IOC had humanism as the foundation of a sport policy.<sup>1193</sup> This approach can be traced back to the

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MSS AAM 1453/ Zola Budd, 1984-9/ Shelfmark: BOX-MSS AAM 1454; also see Mbaya, *South African and the Olympic Movement*, 1995, p.127-128.

<sup>1189</sup> Mbaya (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.128; De Broglio (2009) "The SANROC Story".

<sup>1190</sup> Mbaya (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.128.

<sup>1191</sup> Mbaya (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>1192</sup> IOC Webpage, 2009.

<sup>1193</sup> Mbaya, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.21.

Pierre de Coubertin era.<sup>1194</sup> Critical here is the “father” of the modern Olympics’ firm view that sport should ‘be understood not simply as a game or a physical activity, but as a way of being, that is, a philosophy’. <sup>1195</sup> The spirit that shaped and steered de Coubertin’s intellectual approach and action is well documented and that is humanism as the basis for all sport theory and policy. In fact, de Coubertin’s ideas constructed the foundation of Olympism, which culminated in philosophy based on the cult of best man, regarded as the centre of the universe. Mbaye states that this philosophy of Olympism ‘made the human person, in the totality of his very being, the centre of interest for Coubertin, who sought remedies for world “weariness”’ and; which is also ‘the origin of the creation of the IOC and today continues to be a driving force behind all the policies and activities of that institution.’<sup>1196</sup>

It is apparent that throughout its history, the Olympic Movement and the IOC have never, at least, at the level of policy framework and therefore legally, abandoned the positions that were espoused by de Coubertin at its inception. The same, however, cannot always be said about the IOC’s operations, especially in the period between 1952 and 1980. Mbaye is helpful in articulating the nature of the modern Olympism, stating that the IOC is, as the head of the modern Olympism:

...from which the Olympic Movement stems, a dynamic catalyst for understanding among peoples, a force for respect for fundamental human rights. It is a pillar of humanism, of inter-cultural dialogue of cooperation and peace...<sup>1197</sup>

It is, thus, worth noting that for several years, the IOC appeared to have reneged in this regard, in relation to the exclusion of Black sportspersons in South Africa and maybe elsewhere in the world.

The leadership of Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin inherently seemed to be at fault for the dereliction of duty and they failed to act on the South African apartheid question; and only to do so, when heavily pressured by the SANROC and the AAM. The Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter, however, have always been clear in relation to anti-discrimination of any form; upholding human dignity; cultivating understanding among peoples and being a force for respect for fundamental human rights.

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<sup>1194</sup> Rioux, 1889; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, pp.21-22.

<sup>1195</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, pp.21-22.

<sup>1196</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.22.

<sup>1197</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.22.

For instance, Paragraph 6 of the Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter is helpful here, as it reads:

...The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practised without discriminating of any kind in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with spirit of friendship solidarity and fair play' and its 'activity is permanent and universal...<sup>1198</sup>

Paragraph 3 of the Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter is even more eloquent in understanding and defining the goal of Olympism, which is the capacity,

...[To place everywhere sport at the services of the harmonious development of man, with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity...<sup>1199</sup>

It is apparent that the latter was not seriously considered by the IOC leadership and by some sections of the Olympic Movement since the mid-1950s, in relation to South Africa's Apartheid question. The IOC was aware of Apartheid sport and the subsequent subjugation, oppression and discrimination of the majority Black South African population and specifically, its sportspersons.

It has been shown that in broad terms, the goal of the IOC, is to lead the Olympic Movement in accordance with the Olympic Charter, which its reading, evidently illustrates the foundation of the humanist and pacifist goals assigned to the IOC. These include leading the Olympic Movement, 'whose objectives coincide with those of the United Nations, namely to bring about peace and ensure respect for human dignity' and; the other twelve ways the Olympic Charter lists in which the IOC directs the promotion of Olympism.<sup>1200</sup> To address specific objectives of the topic at hand and for the purpose of this report, the following are worth mentioning:

...The IOC assigns for itself the task, within the framework of the role that it has defined for itself, of collaborating with the competent public or private organisations in endeavour to place sport at the service of

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<sup>1198</sup> IOC Archives / *Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11; Mbeye, 1995, p.22.

<sup>1199</sup> IOC Archives / *Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11; Mbeye, 1995, p.22.

<sup>1200</sup> IOC Archives / *Olympic Charter* / Rule 2 of the *Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11; Mbeye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.31.

humanity. It fights against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement. It supports and encourages the promotion of sport ethics. It opposes any political and commercial use of sport and athletes...<sup>1201</sup>

It is apparent that through its Olympic Charter, the IOC had long set itself critical objectives, which can be summarised as follows, among others:

...international cooperation, the development of sport, the implementation and defence of the principle of non-discrimination, the promotion of sport ethics, the defence of fair play, etc...<sup>1202</sup>

Reading the Olympic Charter, it becomes apparent that the IOC sees itself as the guardian of an ideal that has withstood over a century and which is rooted in respect for a humanist mission that uses education as a lever to implement the principles that are at the foundation of a society based on understanding, solidarity, fraternity and peace. It has been indicated that these ideas developed by Coubertin, however, did not find prominence within the Olympic Charter and/or the clarity and precision in wording until the seventh IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, ordered, in the mid-1980s, a revision of what might be called the basic law of the IOC.<sup>1203</sup> The special place enjoyed by the first principles of the Olympic Movement and the force that the new wording of the Charter gives them goes together with a synchronising effort between the IOC and the other members of the Olympic family which places the IOC among the major international organisations working to bring about world peace through fraternity, that is, through solidarity and cooperation in strict equality.<sup>1204</sup> This work of the IOC and the strengthening of its underlying Rule are new, and they are due without any question to the policy that Samaranch has introduced in the Olympic Movement. It is apparent that President Samaranch firmly believed that the IOC and the Olympic Movement wielded power to influence the world greatly. In 1990 he declared that:

...Alone, we can reform neither man nor society... The Olympic Movement has possibly a unique opportunity, amidst the present disarray, to show through deeds that it is one of the great and beneficent social forces of our time; that in all places,

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<sup>1201</sup> IOC Archives / *Olympic Charter*, 2011, p.11; Mbaye, 1995, p.31.

<sup>1202</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.32.

<sup>1203</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.42.

<sup>1204</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995.

and in all times, it places sport, such as we conceive it, at the service of the human community...<sup>1205</sup>

It is with this background that when President Samaranch entered the fray and the IOC, whose work is to be defined unequivocally in terms of a clear humanist policy, could not coexist indefinitely with Apartheid, to which the IOC played a critical role in eradication between the early 1980s to mid-1990s. In fact, in his own words, President Samaranch argued in 1988:

... The social and political phenomenon of Apartheid cannot be reconciled with the Olympic ideal, and is a source of concern for the entire world. We must all fight to eradicate it, while listening carefully to the Africans who, once this objective is achieved, will tell us when and how South Africa can be reinstated in the international sport community, from which the International Olympic Committee was the first organisation to exclude it.<sup>1206</sup>

The stance and the decision by the IOC President, Samaranch in the late 1980s through to the early 1990s, proved possible to be a defining moment for not only “resolving” the South African apartheid sport question but in effecting a radical socio-political change within South Africa? It should be mentioned however, that the latter was achieved from the background of some intuitive initiative by the IOC President and the IOC as opposed to the initiative of Africans as he purports above; and more significantly, this process somehow saw the “obliteration” of one major traditional force of the liberation movement, SACOS and its principle of: “No normal sport in an abnormal society”; in favour of NSC and its pragmatic stance towards “sport unity.”<sup>1207</sup> Here, even though the IOC cannot be seen to be directly or entirely responsible for this but it can be argued that it contributed greatly to this processes and these developments.

There is evidence, however, that the IOC, through its extra-ordinary Apartheid and Olympism Commission, led by the late Judge Kéba Mbaye, at the time the Vice-President of the IOC, while attempting to resolve the question of Apartheid sport, primarily listened and took its tune and direction more from the politicians, largely the ANC and the NP,

<sup>1205</sup> IOC Archives / Olympic Media, 2010.

<sup>1206</sup> IOC Archives / Presidents/Samaranch, 1988; IOC Archives / IOC Media, 2010, p.3.

<sup>1207</sup> Cheryl Roberts, C. (eds), *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*. Township Publishing Cooperation, 1989; Cheryl Roberts, (eds.), *Challenges Facing South African Sport*: Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, Cape Town, South Africa, 1990.

Roberts, *Sport and Transformation*, 1989, Roberts, *Challenges Facing South African Sport*, 1989; Booth, ‘United sport: an alternative hegemony in South Africa,’ *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12 (3), 1995, pp.105-124; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154; Thomas, *Sport and Liberation*, 2006; Brown, “The Destruction of Non-Racial Sport”, 2006.

rather than from the sportspersons and their respective sport federations, both the NRSM and establishment sport side collectively.<sup>1208</sup>

In fact, some of those who were in the *front row seat* of this process, Sam Ramsamy and Jean-Claude Ganga believed that the Mbaye commission and some of its members were more interested in listening to the establishment sport side, even more interesting, to the Apartheid government, rather than to the NRSM.<sup>1209</sup> In his book, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa: An Analysis of Humanist Sport Policy*, Mbaye reveals that when his Commission was busy meeting with the various political leaders in South Africa, in a meeting with the State President De Klerk, the latter could not hide the hatred and annoyance he had of the person of Ramsamy. With reference to sport moratorium, Government would respect the decision taken in this regards but if this is pressed ‘upon us by someone like Ramsamy’, they will take exception.<sup>1210</sup>

In *Reflections on a Life in Sport*, Sam Ramsamy shares that following his one man-commission ANOCA sponsored visit to South Africa, for the purpose of assessing the situation in the country then report the findings back to ANOCA and the IOC Commission. The brief for this “one-man commission” from ANOCA President, Jean-Claude Ganga was rather strangely and short: ‘Talk to as many people as you can,’<sup>1211</sup> but possible the assumption the read of this can make is that obviously more was said and most importantly, sport people would have been the key focus? Following this visit Ramsamy reported to ANOCA and the IOC Commission, that among other things, there were four umbrella sport federations in South Africa. Samaranch ordered: ‘Well, we should get them all together.’<sup>1212</sup>

Consequent to this, a meeting of almost all the four umbrella sport federations “controlling” sport in South Africa (“...SANOC, COSAS...NOSC, SACOS...”<sup>1213</sup>) together with SANROC, was held in Harare, in an attempt ‘to get them all together’, as the IOC President Antonio Samaranch instigated. More importantly, the latter’s organisation, the IOC also sponsored the Harare meeting that agreed to form a new body that came to be known as the Co-ordinating Committee for Sport in South Africa (CCSSA), which comprised of two representatives from the five sport federations. In its first meeting in

<sup>1208</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, pp.200-201 and pp. 214-217; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154.

<sup>1209</sup> See Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1210</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.210.

<sup>1211</sup> See Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.114.

<sup>1212</sup> See Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.116.

<sup>1213</sup> See Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.116.

Johannesburg on January 12, 1991 Sam Ramsamy was elected Chairman of CCSSA. The purpose of this new organisation was to plot the way forward. Ramsamy asserts:

...Certainly, I had not campaigned or lobbied for any leadership role. It had been offered to me and I had accepted...Maybe people believed that, having been a London-based outsider for so long, I was well placed to arrive back in town and preside over the rival local bodies. Perhaps, my strong association with the IOC also weighed significantly in my favour.

Whatever reason that made the CCSSA Committee to elect Ramsamy, it became apparent that either some members of the Committee or some other forces outside had other plans and their own different motives. Naturally, the latter was to come out and Ramsamy writes:

...Almost 30 years after we first met... Jean-Claude Ganga was still watching my back. "Sam," he said softly. "I smell something [a rat]...I smell something. Something is not right. People are working against you, Sam." ...It did not surprise either my friend from the Congo or me that certain people would be working hard to prevent me from becoming the leader of South Africa's new Olympic body. Our information suggested certain officials of the National Party government, and its paid representative at the South African embassy in Switzerland, were trying to persuade the IOC leaders that I was simply not the right man to be Chairman...Their argument was purely racial: they argued I would not be an acceptable Chairman for either the blacks or the whites because I was of Indian origin, and represented minority. Their motivation was purely personal: they could not bear the idea that the individual who had campaigned for the Sports boycott should return and take a prominent leadership role. It was to be expected that remnants of the departing regime should have harboured a grudge against me, but I was surprised they had been able to poison certain IOC officials, notably, Francois Carrard, the Director-General, against me...<sup>1214</sup>

In any event, around this time, the traditional and sometimes considered the "authentic" non-racial sport movement, led by SACOS. During this period SACOC was strongly challenged by the 1989-established National Sport and Olympic Congress/Council (NSOC); which did not hide its affiliation to the broad Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), with a core objective to push for national liberation and national democratic revolution (NDR), including its sport. In the early 1990s, sporting officials were well

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<sup>1214</sup> See Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.116.

ahead of politicians in negotiating for a new non-racial order, albeit, not all non-racial sportspersons agreed with the negotiation strategy. SACOS continued to hold on to its stubborn stance that there could be ‘no normal sport in an abnormal society’ yet, it quickly lost ground to the NSC. At this point and with this in mind, an interesting observation is made: SACOS that had long claimed non-political affiliation died a natural death, just as the New Unity Movement (NUM) did. Some SACOS leaders claimed some association and affiliation the latter. Basil Brown for instance, would later confess that indeed SACOS found its expression in the NUM policies.<sup>1215</sup>

The country’s sport transition from apartheid to “non-racialism” and, more specifically, in an extra-ordinarily short period of a year, between 1991 and 1992, South Africa went from sporting divisions at home and isolation abroad, to “unity” at home and ‘full international interaction in global sporting competitions.’<sup>1216</sup> This transition is discussed within the backdrop of the last apartheid President, FW de Klerk’s watershed announcement to release all the imprisoned political leaders, including the iconic Nelson Mandela; unbanning political organisations and allowing free political activity in the country; and it is found that the IOC acted pragmatically, creatively and boldly, yet, in the process, seemed to have relayed more on politicians rather than, sport leaders. The study summarises the dynamics of South Africa’s transition from a segregationist entity to “non-racialism” and observes that the IOC, with the ANC-and-the-NP seemed to have been the critical players and custodian of the process, with SANROC-SACOS-NSC, playing secondary roles. In the final analysis, during the deliberation with the sport movement in South Africa, the IOC seemed to have downplayed and ignored some level of opposition to the process and suggestions not only to lower the pace of the process but also to reconsider its position to re-integrate South African sport; and that of recognising the newly formed National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA); first from within its ranks and, by some members of the IOC in its Sessions<sup>1217</sup> and by SACOS, some members of SANROC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). In fact the PAC even went further to argue that:

...[I]t was up to the oppressed peoples of occupied Azania, and up to them only, to set the date for the removal of the cultural boycott. With all due respect, athletes

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<sup>1215</sup> Thomas, *Sport and Liberation*, 2006, p.40; Brown, “The Destruction of Non-Racial Sport”, 2006.

<sup>1216</sup> Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154.

<sup>1217</sup> IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / 95<sup>th</sup> IOC Session, 1989:7; IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / 96<sup>th</sup> IOC Session, 1990:4-5; IOC Archives / IOC Sessions / 97<sup>th</sup> IOC Session, 1991:3-9; Mbeye, 219.

were in no position to take such an important decision alone; they could do so in conjunction with the progressive political organisations inside occupied Azania...<sup>1218</sup>

The positions held by both the PAC and SACOS, which apparently shared closed semblance positions, thus, contributed to the general belief (irrespective of its merit) that the ANC “used” sport as a critical bait during the political negotiated settlement with the NP, with the IOC, offering strategic assistance to this project.<sup>1219</sup> In fact, up until this day, in some quarters of the sport movement in South Africa, especially the disgruntled former SACOS and SANROC members such as Douglas Brown, Van De Horst, Reginald Feldman, Denis Brutus, De Broglio, to mention but a few, accuse the ANC of “selling out” non-racial sport for political expediency.<sup>1220</sup> Booth argued that the unity the NSC managed did not mean the real empowerment of black sportspersons, so it was a sham unity.

...In many cases, black sport officials became ceremonial figureheads, often on large salaries, alongside a core of old establishment officials who called on their supposed expertise to maintain key administrative positions...<sup>1221</sup>

Notwithstanding the apparent generalisation and that while the above statement might have merit in some sport codes and might be appealing to the ear, it is worth investigating. This thesis submits that change and progress in transformation processes or lack thereof, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, were characterised by various complex process and at times had little to do with the calibre of former non-racial or black sport leaders nor the kind sport “unity” that was “achieved “or “unity process” that were undertaken. There is evidence that some peripheral issues or *side-shows* by some former establishment sport leaders and former whites-only sport federations made concerted efforts to resist change, especially in sport such as rugby and cricket. The latter is succinctly explained by one of the few White cricketers to have moved over from white-only cricket fold to the play in the non-racial cricket fold, Archer Henderson. In his “No Boundaries: Take quota out of thine own eye” column, Archie Henderson declared that:

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<sup>1218</sup> IOC Archives / Apartheid and Olympism Commission Report / PAC’s Presentation to the IOC’s Apartheid and Olympism Commission, 1991; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.219.

<sup>1219</sup> Booth, ‘United sport’, 1995, p.45; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154.

<sup>1220</sup> Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Thomas, *Sport and Liberation*, 2006.

<sup>1221</sup> Booth, ‘United sport’, 1995 also quoted in Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154-155.

...By and large, White people, who have never had it so good in South Africa, and including the cricket players' association, don't really give stuff for transformation. They can't (won't?) accept need for affirmative action, which is why we need people like (Norman) Arendse. Black people, on the other hand, will exaggerate the claims of themselves ... or of some players because they are not white.... The biggest stumbling block towards transformation... could be black players themselves. They need to start taking responsibility for themselves – instead of succumbing to white pressures that they are "quota" players...<sup>1222</sup>

There is a view that this situation has led to difficulties in advancing a transformation agenda, because beneficiaries of apartheid resisted transformation as they saw it as undermining reconciliation. Jody Kollapen, at the time serving as the Human Rights Commissioner argued, apparently sharing Archie Henderson's sentiments above, in his view, "critiquing early democracy's 'overemphasis' on reconciliation. While he was quick to clarify that his views were not necessarily a personal attack on Nelson Mandela. He declared that:

...it was necessary to have such reconciliatory policies. However, with the benefit of hindsight, perhaps reconciliation was pushed too far... The response of the white community in post-apartheid South Africa was disappointing...They did not come to the party and contribute to the transformation of the country...<sup>1223</sup>

Further, there is evidence that many sport leaders post "unity" were credible former non-racial sport activists and sportspersons.<sup>1224</sup> It would be interesting for anyone to convince South African black sport people or former non-racial sportspersons that people such as Percy Sonn, Norman Arendse, Silas Nkanunu, Mveleli Ncula, the Majola Brothers in Khaya and Gerald, Danny Jordan, Raymond Uren, accepted that they be mere "figureheads", who suddenly chose fat cheques above the cause and commitment to real transformation? Taking this discussion further, John Nauright writes:

...ANC officials supported the moves to sporting unity, as they quickly identified a return to international sport as a key arena from which to reach out to Whites who were afraid of some kind of cultural swamping in a non-racial South Africa where everyone had the vote.

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<sup>1222</sup> *The Times*, Tuesday, April 1, 2008, p.38.

<sup>1223</sup> Jody Kollapen on reconciliation, see *Mail and Guardian*, 27 February 2008.

<sup>1224</sup> See Archer Henderson's comment in his "No Boundaries: Take quota out of thine own eye" column in *The Times*, Tuesday, April 1, 2008, p.38.

While negotiations for unity were difficult, and a long process involving the efforts of hundreds of sporting officials, many sporting organizations agreed on unity by the end of 1991...<sup>1225</sup>

It is therefore critical to realise that whenever these accusations come up, irrespective of their merit, somehow, have a potential to bring the IOC and the Olympic Movement, into disrepute and undue criticism. For instance, in 1997, prominent scholars of South African sport history, André Odendaal, Douglas Booth, and John Nauright wrote extensively on this matter, and the latter would specifically declare:

... After the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and the release of long-term political prisoners, the international Sports boycott was speedily (and some would argue unjustifiably) abandoned. In his rush to get all the (sic) world to his hometown Olympic Games in Barcelona, for 1992, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch announced the recognition of the new National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) in July 1991. With NOCSA and the South Africa officially back in the Olympic movement, it was difficult for other international associations to resist the urge to re-establish links with South Africa...<sup>1226</sup>

That there was no law and/or official apartheid policy that banned inter-racial or non-racial sport in South Africa is well-documented.<sup>1227</sup> While master of the ambivalent statement of policy of variable interpretation, the apartheid Government position on this matter was ever consistently in rejecting mixed racial trials, insisting that sport had to follow the wider policies of apartheid. Similarly, the apartheid Government never formally banned neither SASA nor SANROC, albeit its respective leaders were banned, arrested and harassed.<sup>1228</sup> Both whites-only sport organisations and the apartheid Government opposed the calls to organise the country's sport on non-racial basis throughout history and way into the early 1990s. It is therefore difficult to comprehend the fact that they suddenly changed their beliefs and custom of racial exclusion and developed authentic affinity for non-racism by the late 1980s and early 1990s; especially amidst comments by Craven and Wynand Claassen in 1987 and 1991, respectively:

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<sup>1225</sup> Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154.

<sup>1226</sup> Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.154.

<sup>1227</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Roberts, *Challenges Facing South African Sport Transformation*, 1988; Merrett, *Caught Behind*, 1996.

<sup>1228</sup> Roberts, *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*. Township Publishing Cooperation, 1989, p.15.; Grundlingh et al., *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995, p.45; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.129.

...We need overseas tours to maintain our high ceiling. ...We are losing out on international competition and it has affected our rugby...<sup>1229</sup> We simply cannot afford to wait one day longer to get our rugby house in order...<sup>1230</sup>

It is equally true that to the whites-only sport and apartheid Government, unity was never seen as a mechanism to effect genuine social change in South African and South African sport that had to be transformed from apartheid to democratic and on non-racial basis. It is known that Whites-only sport, in collaboration with big business (Anglo-American, South African Breweries and other companies), solicited and poured massive amounts of money into 'rebel' tours. These companies received massive tax breaks from government for their efforts and this meant that a semblance of high class international competition could be maintained and/or legitimated to the country's white population starved of sporting links.<sup>1231</sup>

Similarly, the NP government, throughout history until 1991, did all in its power to ensure that there would be no mixing in sport in South Africa. One of the earliest official, government position and/or policy statements on the topic is by the Minister of the Interior, Theophilus Dönges, who declared in *Die Burger* that:

...whites and non-whites should organize their sporting activities separately, there should be no inter-racial competition within South Africa, the mixing of races in teams should be avoided, and sportsmen from other countries should respect South Africa's customs and she respects theirs...<sup>1232</sup>

This position was maintained and continued until the postponement of the 1967 All Blacks tour which precipitated the first reforms to apartheid and unleashed a slow, but ever increasing flow of government superficial reforms.<sup>1233</sup> Nauright further writes that it was the cancellation of the 1985 All Blacks tour, the victory over the rebel New Zealand 'Cavaliers' in 1986, and the barring of South Africa from the inaugural Rugby World Cup in 1987 combined that forced the rugby officials to seek negotiations with the non-racial South African Rugby Union and the ANC in Harare in 1988. It contributed to a massive public outcry at exclusion. Although the apartheid Government through F.W. de Klerk

<sup>1229</sup> Craven in *Cape Times*, June 22, 1987.

<sup>1230</sup> IOC Archives/ IOC and Olympic Movement/Star, October 06, 1991.

<sup>1231</sup> Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.153.

<sup>1232</sup> This was initially quoted in Race Relations Survey, 1958, p.9; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.126.

<sup>1233</sup> Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.153.

branded the rugby officials, Danie Craven and Louis Luyt, traitors to White South Africa for speaking to the IOC's Apartheid and Olympism Commission in 1991, President de Klerk expressed enthusiasm for the country's sport organised on a non-racial basis. Yet, he showed a calculated and conditional support for maintaining moratorium on international sport:

...if the [sport] moratorium were imposed upon us by someone like Ramsamy, we would regard it as unacceptable. But if the moratorium were the result of a consensus, we would be prepared to go along with it, as we believe it is not in the interests of South African sport to be in a state of conflict with the rest of the world...<sup>1234</sup>

It is apparent that de Klerk, here, had been irritated by the battle which the SANROC leader was engaged in fighting against Apartheid sport. In fact, he also seemed agitated by the entire AAM and specifically the IOC response to this. Responding to the Kéba Mbaye Commission presentation, President F.W. de Klerk stated among other things:

... Concerning the moratorium, if the problem can be settled as you suggested, all the better. However, I wish to underscore the need for you to honour your commitments. In the past, we have been told that if we did A, B and C, we would be readmitted. We did this but readmission never occurred... We were told we would be readmitted if we modified the fundamental laws on which Apartheid rested. We are currently seeing to this and we very much hope that, this time at least, the "goal sport" will not be moved. What I am trying to say is that, if we respect the moratorium, we want to be sure that you will not come with yet another condition. If this were to happen, you would be strengthening the case of those who are still reluctant, of those who claim we misjudged the situation and who believe that they have been right all along... As you know, there are some countries which go unpunished although they do not systematically respect individual freedoms... In other countries, dictatorship rages; these countries are not punished either. Why should there be double standards? ...<sup>1235</sup>

The above comments seem to suggest that to some white South Africans, including the political and sport leaders the fight against apartheid was not justified and therefore unfair. Further, in the eyes of the last leader of the apartheid State, the IOC has treated the apartheid youth and population unfairly by excluding apartheid sport and supporting the fight against apartheid. This could have opened the eyes of the IOC and specifically the

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<sup>1234</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.210.

<sup>1235</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995, p.209-210.

Mbaye Commission that the de Klerk's government was not really sincere, in bringing about genuine non-racial sport into the country.

In the final analysis, however, this report concludes that the Sports boycott campaigns were a success and a just cause and the apartheid sport and apartheid Government were all along not only found to be off-step, but were proven by the international community, including the IOC, the Olympic Movement, the AAM and the United Nations.<sup>1236</sup> In fact Harvey and Houle declares that the 'anti-Apartheid movement had been the most effective social movement in sport to date.'<sup>1237</sup> In 1998, E.S. Reddy, former Director, United Nations Centre against Apartheid, concurs that in South Africa, as nowhere else, the sports boycott made a great contribution to liberation.<sup>1238</sup> This research, thus, leads to the conclusion that solely blaming the NSC-ANC-IOC trio is not only unfair but simplistic. Close analyses of the period, with hindsight reveals much more than meets the eye. Proper understanding of and the power of the international community and the pressure that the ANC and IOC found themselves in the early 1990s, can only make the analysis of this period deeper and richer. Proper understanding of the intentions and role of the big business and its interests, the influence of the powerful western countries at the time, the international and the community of state's opinion following the De Klerk's Parliamentary Speech in February 02, 1990, whites-only sport leaders, the White population and the apartheid Government in this transition is critical. More critically, is the appreciation of the work and capacity of the IOC and the Olympic Movement. In 1999, President Samaranch argued that:

...No organisation can find a single universal answer to all the contradictions and oppositions that affect our planet... Faced with the development of society and the vicissitudes of politics, the International Olympic Committee cannot remain unmoved and has a duty to react – and does react – in the right way, committing itself to culture, peace and the well-being of society...<sup>1239</sup>

This view is also shared by the current IOC President, Jacques Rogge. Rendering forewords to the First International Forum on Sport, Peace and Development (2009), President Rogge somehow illustrates the general misconceptions some people have on the

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<sup>1236</sup> Harvey and Houle, 1994, p.348; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p. 135; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.1-5.

<sup>1237</sup> Harvey and Houle (1994, p.348.

<sup>1238</sup> UN Archives / UN Files/Docs and Reports, 1998.

<sup>1239</sup> IOC Archives / Presidents/Samaranch, 1999; IOC Archives/ IOC Media, 2010, p.5.

IOC and its work. More critically to the topic at hand; the IOC President outlines the capacity, limits of the IOC and the difficulties that Keba Mbaye might have faced in adequately responding to the proposals and the demands put forth by SACOS, PAC, COSAS and President de Klerk himself, during the IOC's Apartheid and Olympism Commission visit to South Africa in 1991. President Rogge declared that:

...Indeed, today there is no longer any doubt that the IOC and the sport movement have a social responsibility – namely to enable the largest number of people to have access to the practice of sport, and to make this a key element of sustainable social and human well-being for individuals and society. At the same time, as I have often said, sport is not a cure for all the ills of our society. The IOC and the sport movement on their own cannot solve all the socio-economic problems which constantly threaten peace in the world. This is the role of the competent authorities, such as governments<sup>1240</sup> or the United Nations. What sport can do, however, and what it has been doing up to now, is to work with partners capable of supporting its vast network, encouraging sport practice among young people, expanding its reach and providing it with resources. For this reason, the IOC is involved in various development initiatives in cooperation with numerous organisations active in this area, both within and outside the sport family, which recognise the value of sport as a development tool and a means of establishing peace around the world...<sup>1241</sup>

It was therefore, with this background, that the non-racial sport movement approached the IOC and the Olympic Movement about the colour bar and apartheid sport problem and, that the former was forced to duly oblige, albeit taking decades to do so, leading to the 1992 “breakthrough”, when South Africa’s youth participated in the Olympic Games in Barcelona; a deed that was celebrated by the many throughout the entire world, yet unfortunately, a reasonable number of South African sportsperson, did not.

## 5.6 UNDERSTANDING THE CONTROVERSY OF LIFTING THE SPORTS BOYCOTT IN THE EARLY 1990'S

There is relative consensus in literature that the ANC played a major role in mobilising, leading and shaping the anti-apartheid struggle inside the country and abroad.<sup>1242</sup> The meaning and value attached to one of its celebrated historical documents, namely the

<sup>1240</sup> See The National Archives of Australia and the Australian Government (NAAAG)/ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: Canberra/Commonwealth of Australia, *Robert George Neale Lecture Series: Cashman, Richard - Australia's Role in the Apartheid Sports boycott in 1977*, 2008.

<sup>1241</sup> IOC Archives / IOC Reports/ International Cooperation and Development report, 2009, p5.

<sup>1242</sup> HYHFJ, 2010, Sam Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) 2004.

Freedom Charter, by its broad multifaceted membership, is helpful in understanding the controversial lifting of the boycotts and sanctions by the ANC and more broadly, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), when a slight possibility for democratisation emerged in the early 1990s. This view is expressed by one of the longest serving National Executive Committee (NEC) members of the ANC, Zolile Pallo Jordan, in his contribution in the second issue of Growth<sup>1243</sup> magazine, where he argues that the Freedom Charter, given its nature, must be viewed dialectically, as a minimum and a maximum, depending on a particular section of the ANC's "broad church". For the socialists, communists and others from the left, [it] (Freedom Charter) 'was a minimum programme, similar to that proposed by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. The realisation of its objectives, it was assumed, would create political conditions in which an advance to socialism would be possible. Equally, for those who sought only to remove the racial barriers to their advancement and bring about democracy, the Freedom Charter embraced all they sought – it was a maximum programme.'<sup>1244</sup>

It is no exaggeration to argue that this long held contradiction that many others within the ANC and the MDM, which some once went as far as causing a rift in the ANC in the late 1950s, giving birth to the PAC, were at the centre of the controversy of the lifting of the (economic, cultural and sport) boycotts and sanctions in the early 1990s. The left's sharp stance, within the ANC and on the extreme end of the continuum, sit the "nationalists", mainstream and perhaps even "the right-leaning" group, of this so-called "broad church" challenge, finds clear articulation in Joe Slovo's penned discussion pamphlet in 1988, in which he says: "The South African Communist Party (SACP), in 1984 constitution, declares that its aim is to lead the working class towards the strategic goal of establishing a socialist republic 'and the more immediate aim of winning the objectives of the national democratic revolution which is inseparably linked to it.'<sup>1245</sup> The 1983 SACP Constitution describes the main content of the national democratic revolution as

...the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general, the destruction of the economic and political power of the racist ruling class, and the establishment of one united state of people's power in which the working class will be the dominant force and which will move uninterruptedly towards social emancipation and the total abolition of exploitation of man by man'.

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<sup>1243</sup> Growth, 2008, p.16.

<sup>1244</sup> Growth, 2008, p.16.

<sup>1245</sup> South African Communist Party (SACP), 1988, p.2; Growth, 2008, p.16.

The national democratic revolution - the present stage of struggle in our country is a revolution of the whole oppressed people. This does not mean that the oppressed 'people' can be regarded as a single or homogeneous entity. The main revolutionary camp in the immediate struggle is made up of different classes and strata (overwhelmingly black) which suffer varying forms and degrees of national oppression and economic exploitation...<sup>1246</sup>

Jordan<sup>1247</sup> argues that the Marxist tradition of the MDM generally and the ANC specifically, regarded the white racist state as both the product and the agency of a path of capitalist accumulation that entailed the colonial conquest and dispossession of the African people of their land and its wealth. Apartheid was not merely a system of segregation, but rather a comprehensive system of colonial domination. In its 1987 document, the ANC explains this position declaring that: 'This is why the ANC has always considered the two economic clauses of the Freedom Charter: "The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth" and "The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It," to be the very core of its programme. However, in a strategy document that served before the Kabwe Consultative Conference in 1985, the ANC unambiguously stated that: 'Though the Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism, it must, nevertheless, be distinguished from conventional bourgeois-democratic programmes...'<sup>1248</sup> This is in line with Slovo's argument that the immediate goal of socialism and communism is the liberation of Africans to throw open the road to an uninterrupted march to socialism. Despite the fact that the ANC like the SACP, also speaks of the seizure of economic assets in order '...to strip the present ruling class of the actual substance of its power, by seizing hold of the commanding heights of the economy', it [ANC] does not regard these measures as preparing the ground for socialism.<sup>1249</sup> It is contradictions like these; the lack of appreciation and management thereof that often brews inherent conflict. There is no doubt that the controversial decision to lift the boycotts in the early 1990s can be partly attributed to these "ideological landmines" Jordan is referring to above.

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<sup>1246</sup> South African Communist Party (SACP), 1988, p.2; Growth, p.16.

<sup>1247</sup> Growth, 2008, p.16; ANC(ANC), "Freedom Charter", 1955, also accessible on the ANC Webpage: [www.anc.org.za](http://www.anc.org.za).

<sup>1248</sup> Growth, 2008, p.16.

<sup>1249</sup> Growth, 2008, p.16.

## 5.7 CONCLUSION

Chapter Five outlined the outcomes of the long fight against apartheid sport that was led by the NRSM and highlights the role and contributions of various partners within the AAM. This chapter assessed the internally or in-country and the global, successes, failures and challenges that the NRSM-AAM complex enjoyed, experienced and suffered from the 1970s until the early 1990s. This long transition is discussed and assessed within the context of inherent contradictions that characterised the non-racial movement; ideological differences and other complex situations and struggle dynamics during this long history. The Chapter also explores the *changed* or new relationship between the NRSM, the IOC and the Olympic Movement, after the South Africa's NOC was expelled by the IOC, from 1970 to 1992.

This chapter outlined the NRSM's and AAM's claims in terms of 'Winning the argument.'<sup>1250</sup> This is achieved by briefly reviewing and highlighting important moments in the Avery Brundage (1952-1972) and Lord Killanin reigns as IOC Presidents (1972-1980). It further discusses the Juan Antonio Samaranch's era from 1980, including South Africa's re-entry into the Olympic Movement in 1991. Chapter Five recommends that South Africa's Barcelona Olympics participation in 1992 and the post-1992 South Africa's sport landscape until the beginning of the country's 'social democratic sport'<sup>1251</sup> dispensation and the election of Sam Ramsamy as a member of the IOC in 1995,<sup>1252</sup> are critical areas that deserve research attention. The latter is not within the scope of this thesis.

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<sup>1250</sup> Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, Greenhouse: Cape Town, 2004, p.i and pp.71-98. In his book, entitled *South Africa: Racism in sport*, Christian Action Publishers (Ltd), London 1971, p.34-73, in chapter five: "Arguments answered", De Broglio also discusses this idea of 'winning the argument.'

<sup>1251</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, 'Sport Perspectives 1988': "Planning is Vital", in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988; again others also refer to this concept, see Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002, pp.527; Sampie Terreblanche narrates this thesis in a Canadian film, *Madiba: The Life and Times of Nelson Mandela*, CBC, 2004 [Sampie Terreblanche has the erudition and unique insight into both sides of the political divide in South Africa and makes him an excellent choice to attempt this ambitious book. A leading South African economist, he was until 1987 a member of the ruling National Party, the party of apartheid, but later became one of their fierce critics, becoming a founding member and economic adviser of the Democratic Party, while also being involved in clandestine meetings with the ANC in the 1980s.]; Peter Limb, (Michigan State University), *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8, Issue 3, spring 2006 [*African Studies Quarterly* <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i3a14.htm> Spring 2006]; also see, Adam Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14; see Ebrahim Patel's argument in Albert Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby," in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.5-6; Ebrahim Patel, main speaker on behalf of the former SACOS officials or administrators, to honour these non-racial sport leaders, hosted by SASCOC, at the Olympic House, at Melrose in Johannesburg, 08 May 2014; see interviews: Hassan Howa in 1977 (originally cited in Andre Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town, Self-published (Odendaal, A.), 1977, pp.269-270 and pp.276-277) and that of Jasmat Dhiraj (in 1980 in London), both cited in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.iv-viii and p.1.

<sup>1252</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, 2004, p.xiv.

An assessment of the newly-democratically-elected government's sport policy between 1994 and 1999 is also recommended, albeit not part of the scope of this thesis. The new governments' challenge and accusations, of meddling in sport, by some of the former 'establishment'<sup>1253</sup> sport forces; and that of "having presided" over 'sham-unity'<sup>1254</sup>, therefore having sold out or betrayed the non-racial sport struggle, non-racial sport or the non-racial sport ideal; for political expediency, by the former non-racial sport leaders,<sup>1255</sup> are discussed in the context of the new government's position and initiatives towards nation building, reconciliation and the deliverance of South Africa's constitutional mandate.<sup>1256</sup> It would seem therefore that an analysis of this development is paramount.

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<sup>1253</sup>See Robert Archer and Antione Bouillon, *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982, p.202; Annelise Goslin, 'Human Resource Management as a Fundamental Aspect of a Sport Development Strategy in South African Communities', *Journal of Sport Management*, 10, 207-217, 1996, p.1; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p.xi; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.20.

<sup>1254</sup> See, Albert Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby", p.1-23, in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, p.7; John Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1997.

<sup>1255</sup> See Basil Brown, "The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport—A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement", pp.138-150 in Cornelius Thomas, (eds.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, Alice, 2006.

<sup>1256</sup> Booth, D. (1998) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa, University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six provides a summary of the major discussion points in this thesis and contextualises the “reported” findings. The purpose of the current chapter is to report the main findings of this thesis, make recommendations and concluding remarks on the entire research. This chapter offers a brief overview of the critical points from the preceding chapters against the backdrop of a broader study of the struggles to deracialise South African sport. “Findings” on the early influences of South Africa’s Olympic sporting interactions; a brief outline of the reported history and development of bigotry in the country’s sport is undertaken. A summary of the IOC and the Olympic Movement’s position on South African sport’ racial question is given. This process begins by outlining the *early* racially exclusive nature and character of South African sport; the country’s early Olympic participation since 1904 until 1960, and international interaction and participation in non-Olympic sports of cricket, association football and rugby in the late 1890s. This thesis revealed that South African sport was, at least officially, exclusively whites-only since colonial or imperial times and this continued through to the apartheid era.

This thesis reported that one critical inheritance of the colonial or imperial era sport in South Africa was colour bar practices or racism, and this predated the emergence of apartheid as a political system and thus, apartheid sport. The latter therefore precipitated a challenge to reverse and fight against racial and class inequality in South African sport from the mid-1940s. This was initiated even before the NP won the election in 1948 and introduced the apartheid political system and thus apartheid sport. This thesis further outlines the impact of the struggles to deracialise South African sport, including the sports boycott, on South African society and the transforming sport landscape. This chapter, however, starts by reviewing the significance of this research and outlines the apparent gaps in South Africa’s historiography, as it was explored in chapter one. The latter also includes the summary of the main repositories with which the data and sources for this thesis were drawn. Part of the latter process was to discuss the methodological questions, the problem statement and the general outline of the thesis.

## 6.2 REVIEWING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This thesis reported that the academic study of sport as a social phenomenon in South Africa is relatively underdeveloped, and this is particularly true with respect to all-round black people's sport, including cricket, rugby and football.<sup>1257</sup> Cricket traditionally received the most attention, followed by rugby. André Odendaal declares that the history of black people's sport is largely undocumented and his research dispelled the myth that the black population has no real sport history.<sup>1258</sup> There is a growing body of work that focuses on black sport.<sup>1259</sup> The sports boycott has been discussed in a handful of publications.<sup>1260</sup> Few, however, have explored the IOC Archives held by the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland. The same can be said about the use of the Non-Racial Sport Movement (NRSM) Archives held by the Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape in Belville, in the Western Cape. The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) Archives that are housed in Rhodes House within the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford in the United Kingdom (UK) also seemed to virgin territory. The same is true with British Library sources in London and the United Nations (UN) documents (specifically the anti-apartheid sport files and reports) held by the UN Library in Geneva.

Inside South Africa, the "official" SANROC and the broader non-racial sport movement (SACOS, NSOC, SARU, SACBOC, etc.) records were critical for this research. Similarly with the IOC archives, the former were until recently, inaccessible due to a long and indefinite "embargo" that was placed on some of them. Some of the important AAM documents and the Liberation Movement's (ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), later New Unity Movement (NUM) Archives held by both the Mayibuye Centre in the University of the Western Cape and NAHECS of the University

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<sup>1257</sup> Peires, “‘Fact non Verba’”, 1981, p.5; Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1988, p.7; Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995, p.35; Odendaal, *The African Game*, 2003, p.10; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.10; Philani Nongogo, “The origins of black rugby in East London”, 2004, p.15; Cornelius Thomas, *Sport and Liberation*, 2006, p.5; Peter Alegi, *Laduma*, 2010, p.viii.

<sup>1258</sup> Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1988, p.7.

<sup>1259</sup> These include De Broglio, *South African Sport: Politics and Racism*, 1970, Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982, Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real Hurdle*, 1982; Peires (1981); Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1988; Woods, *Black and White*, 1988; Paul Dobson, *The History of Rugby in South Africa*, 1989; Grundlingh et al., (1995); Nauright (1997); Mannie Abduramann Booley, *The Forgotten Heroes*, 1998; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1998; Odendaal, *The African Game*, 2003; Alegi, *Laduma*, 2010; Nongogo, “The origins of black rugby” 2004; Sam Ramsamy and Edwards Griffiths, *Reflections on a Life in Sport*, 2004; Thomas, *Sport and Liberation*, 2006; Alegi, *Laduma*, 2010; John Nauright, *The Long Run to Freedom: Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 2010.

<sup>1260</sup> De Broglio (1970) *South Africa*, Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 1982, Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Peires, “Facta Non Verba”, 1981; Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1988; Woods, *Black and White*, 1981; Dobson, *The History of South African Rugby*, 1989; Grundlingh et al., *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995; Nauright (1997) Sport, *Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Booley, *The Forgotten Heroes*, 1998; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Odendaal (2003) *The Story of an African Game*; Alegi, *Laduma*, 2010; Nongogo, “The Origins of Black Rugby in East London”, 2004; Ramsamy and Griffiths, *Reflections*.

of Fort Hare, also were useful for this research. This thesis was an attempt to build on the available body of literature of South African sport history and argues a case for the significance of the accessed documents and the stories they carry, as a critical historical resource in general and for the enrichment of South African sport historiography in particular.

This thesis discussed the struggles to deracialise South African sport and analysed the related social changes that emanated from the former and lack thereof. Sport in South Africa has been administered under a dichotomous system under apartheid. There was the establishment side (whites-only sport) and the non-establishment side (or the black sportspersons' sport).<sup>1261</sup> The latter was deprived of proper facilities, resources and sporting opportunities compared to their white counterparts. In fact, in some areas, the sporting amenities were totally non-existent. The advent of democracy and majority rule, that the IOC played a significant role in bringing about, sought to change this longstanding spatial development and past disparities. This thesis however concludes that facility provision, lack of sport playing opportunities and lack of quality coaches among the majority of South Africa's communities and young people still persists. There are still huge backlocks in addressing these historical challenges.

The role and the value of sport in the globalised and commercialised world, is well-documented. With the continued inequalities of opportunities (to participate), facilities and the adequate training and coaching, young black sportspersons in South Africa is left mainly with football as their main sport, while the elite and richest sport: rugby, cricket and golf remains predominantly white. This thesis also attempted to highlight this skewed development and ambitiously hopes to influence policy shifts, in the united, democratic and "supposed" non-racial South Africa, so that every young person in the country benefits equitably and fairly.

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<sup>1261</sup> Goslin, E.A. "Human Resource Management as a Fundamental Aspect of a Sport Development Strategy in South African Communities", Journal of Sport Management, 10, 207-217.

## 6.3 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN DISCUSSION POINTS OF THE THESIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.3.1 The *early* South Africa's sporting landscape and precursors to the struggles against racially segregating sport environment

Chapter One among other things, outlined the available literature on this topic and concluded that the latter is relatively thin. It also demonstrated that racial segregation in sport was not necessarily inherent in South African sport but was systematically introduced, consciously. Literature demonstrated that the history of racist sport is complex and long; and that various settlers, played their respective roles in this development. It was after a considerable effort to persuade the established sport structures for organising sport on a non-racial basis that black sportspersons contemplated and eventually initiated the struggles to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott campaigns against racist sport's ejection from the Olympic Games, the Paralympic Games and the Olympic Movement. In this process the NRSM outlined its primary objectives to campaign for the total eradication of the colour bar and apartheid in the country's sport; that sport should be organised on a non-racial basis and; to fight for the replacement of whites-only sport federations from the IFs with non-racial sport organisations and the expulsion of South Africa's National Olympic Committee from the IOC and the Olympics.<sup>1262</sup>

Chapter One also shown that the apartheid political system, which was grounded on the notion of white supremacy in South Africa, was applied in the field of sport as much as in all other aspects of life. It demonstrated that South Africa under apartheid, both the sport administrators, who control all official sport and the apartheid Government jointly, took measures deliberately to exclude the country's black population from participating in representative sport, *albeit*, no specific law or policy was enacted to this effect until the mid-to-late 1950's, where a group of laws were evoked to achieve this purpose and a specific policy on sport segregation was only espoused on 27 June 1956, following the Boxing Act on 1954.

The imposition of colour bar and apartheid policies in sport meant in effect that no 'mixed' sport was permitted under the auspices of the "official" or established sport federations, which were accorded international recognition and bore the responsibility for

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<sup>1262</sup> Games (SASA Memorandum, 1958; IOC SANROC Files; de Broglio, *South African Sport*, 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

selecting representative teams for international competitions. There were no open trials to permit the selection of the best sportspersons in each class from the entire sporting community. Competition in sport was instead limited to whites-only and it is from them that national teams were selected. This situation was well-known to all the international sport federations who granted unqualified recognition to the racialist, official organisations in South Africa. Just as the South African white sport federations were responsible for enforcing racial discrimination in domestic sport, so the international bodies which granted them membership are responsible for bestowing respectability upon such practices.<sup>1263</sup> The various efforts to deracialise South African sport and the challenge to the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in the country's sport and the subsequent sports boycott were therefore aimed at changing this status quo, both internally and internationally.

Chapter Two evaluated the long and complex relationship between whites-only South Africa's Olympic sport participation and the IOC and its Olympic Movement. It assessed the nature and controversies of the South Africa's Olympic interaction and participation from inception in 1904 until the 1940s and the *early* struggles to keep racist sport out of the Olympic Movement; within the context of examining the influences and proponents of racist sport and their adversaries. The purpose of Chapter Two was to address the stated objective to trace, document and analyse the early colonial or imperial colour bar sporting experiences in the country and the transition to apartheid sport. In an attempt to put this study in the proper historical context and on a 'situational analysis'<sup>1264</sup> imperative and pathway, this chapter further outlined South Africa's Olympic sporting experiences since 1904 and the international sporting participation from late nineteenth century and the *early* twentieth century until the mid-1950's.

In Chapter Two, the pertinent sport federations and leaders of this era; the country's whites-only sport federations and their participation in international competitions and their relationship with the commonwealth counterparts, were outlined. Chapter Two also revealed that the history of bigotry in the country generally and in South African sport is long. It was shown that the application of colour bar policies in the country's sport, which preceded apartheid sport were actually grounded on old colonial and imperial influences. Critical therefore, was that the history of inequality and racism in

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<sup>1263</sup> UN/UN Unit on Apartheid/Notes and Documents/No. 16/71/April 1971.

<sup>1264</sup> Habib (2013) *South Africa's Suspended Revolution*, p.14.

sport predated the post-1948 Nationalist Party's central policy of apartheid. In fact it has been revealed black sportspersons initiated the challenge to racist sport in South Africa pre-1948. A brief socio-cultural and socio-political dispensation of the country was discussed to set the scene for the emergence of the struggles to deracialise South African sport.

Chapter Three served as an empirical/factual framework and a prism into which the broader discussion of the thesis is taking place and viewed from and conclusions or findings, drawn and based. Chapter Three discussed the nature, meaning and the historical development of the notions of "*Olympism*" as "a way of life philosophy" and 'humanist sport policy' of the Olympic Movement<sup>1265</sup> and *boycotts*, specifically the Olympic boycotts, as tools used by various countries and groupings as propaganda machinery or to expose or project some pertinent issues in various societies and countries.

Chapter Three also reviewed literature on the emergence and dynamics of the protest actions against the apartheid system by the oppressed peoples of South Africa as individuals and within political organisations and, the theories of boycotts in society. Chapter Three revealed that the use of boycotts, petitions and mass-mobilisation have a long history both internationally and more critically for this thesis, also here inside South Africa. This Chapter outlines a long history of (bus, mine, shop and other forms) boycotts, by the early Indian peoples and the African National Congress (ANC), especially in the 1940s. It must be remembered in the sport front, during this period, the issue of boycotts was not yet on the cards. It was in the mid or second half of the 1940s that some challenge to the racist sport was initiated by the black Weightlifting and Body Building body and some individuals.<sup>1266</sup>

The discussion of the opposition to apartheid sport by the individual sportspersons, the Coordinating Committees on International Relations/Recognition (CCIR)<sup>1267</sup> and the broader NRSM, including the contribution of the SCSA, UN and its Units, was undertaken in Chapter Four. In Chapter Three however, the work of the wider AAM, which included the progressive forces or political organisations within the Liberation Movement and sympathetic individuals and international associations and organisations, was highlighted

<sup>1265</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*.

<sup>1266</sup> See Cleophas and Van der Merwe, "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape", *AJPERD*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March), pp.124-140, 2011, p.127, where it is reported that Milo Pillay, a famous weight-lifter and physical culturist planned to attend the South African weight-lifting conference in Transvaal in 1945, with the intention to propose that the ban on inter-racial weight-lifting competitions be abolished; also see, *The Cape Standard*, 1945, p.4.

<sup>1267</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, "Background note to for Sports boycott workshop"/ NCD 12/June 1984, p.3; also see Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.202.

with the purpose of demonstrating that the efforts to deracialise South African sport was comprehensive, with many forces coming together, not only to liberalise the country's sport, but also to contribute to the broader struggles to defeat the apartheid regime and its apartheid system.

Chapter Four discussed the emergence of the protracted struggles to deracialise South African sport, which involved the fight against the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in sport and the subsequent sports boycott against South Africa's National Olympic Committee and the whites-only "national" sport federations. To achieve this, the various "non-European" or "non-white" or black and/or "non-racial national" sport federations initiated a challenge to the racial organisation of sport in South African sport and the system that brought it about.

Chapter Four outlined the major forces and influences behind the sports struggles and the emergence of the NRSM that cohesively coordinated the campaign to deracialise South African sport and the challenge against the application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in the country's sport. Growth and development of and the dynamics and challenges that the NRSM and the broader AAM faced in the fight against apartheid sport in South Africa and worldwide, throughout the second half of the twentieth century, were also highlighted. The development and diffusion of the "non-racial sport" ideology and its proponents were discussed against the backdrop of the difficulties in mobilising and uniting the apparently fragmented black sport landscape. This was so because the apartheid Government and the whites-only sport federations effectively applied the "divide-and-rule" policy on black populations, waging and sowing divisions among them.

Chapter Four further discussed the nature and the processes of the initiation and development of the NRSM, which also incorporated the "sports boycott movement" within its mandate and locating the latter within the context of other forms of boycotts, namely, the cultural, economic and academic boycotts and their impact on the South African sport landscape and broader society. The aim of this Chapter therefore was to discuss the struggles to deracialise South African sport from the late 1940s until the early 1960 and assessed the subsequent sports boycott from the *early* 1960s until 1970. In the process, this chapter aimed to highlight the cultural significance of sport, in changing

societies like South Africa in the twentieth century specifically, and in the world order generally.<sup>1268</sup>

Chapter Five outlined the outcome of the long fight against apartheid sport that was led by the NRSM and highlighted the role and contributions of various partners within the NRSM and AAM. This Chapter assessed the internal and global impact of the sports struggles: successes, failures and challenges that the NRSM-AAM complex enjoyed, experienced and suffered from the 1970s until the early 1990s. This long transition is discussed and assessed within the context of inherent contradictions that characterised the non-racial movement; ideological differences and other complex situations and struggle dynamics during this long history. Chapter Five also explored the *changed* and *new* relationship, after the South Africa's NOC was expelled by the IOC, between the NRSM, the IOC and the Olympic Movement from 1970 to 1992.

Chapter Four and Chapter Five, collective outlined the NRSM's and AAM's claims in terms of '[W]inning the argument'.<sup>1269</sup> This is achieved by briefly reviewing and highlighting the important moments in the Avery Brundage (1952-1972) and Lord Killanin reigns as IOC Presidents (1970-1980). It further discusses the Juan Antonio Samaranch's era from 1980, including South Africa's re-entry into the Olympic Movement in 1991.

One of the primary recommendations in this chapter is that South Africa's Barcelona Olympics participation in 1992 and the post-1992 South Africa's sport landscape until the beginning of the country's 'social democratic sport'<sup>1270</sup> dispensation and the election of Sam Ramsamy as a member of the IOC in 1995,<sup>1271</sup> are critical areas

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<sup>1268</sup> See Montagu and Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004, n.p.; Spector, "Non-Traditional Diplomacy", 2004.

<sup>1269</sup> Ramsamy, S. and Griffiths, E (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, Greenhouse: Cape Town, 2004, p.i and pp.71-98. In his book, entitled *South Africa: Racism in sport*, Christian Action Publishers (Ltd), London 1971, p.34-73, in chapter five: "Arguments answered", De Broglio also discusses this idea of 'winning the argument.'

<sup>1270</sup> This phrase was used by Dr Errol Vawda in 1988, see Box 40 Folder 155/London Mission (LM)/SANROC/ANCA/at the NAHECS/located at the UFH/Alice in the Eastern Cape/See Dr Errol Vawda, 'Sport Perspectives 1988': "Planning is Vital", in THE LEADER, 23 December 1988; again others also refer to this concept, see Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002, pp.527; Sampie Terreblanche narrates this thesis in a Canadian film, *Madiba: The Life and Times of Nelson Mandela*, CBC, 2004 [Sampie Terreblanche has the erudition and unique insight into both sides of the political divide in South Africa and makes him an excellent choice to attempt this ambitious book. A leading South African economist, he was until 1987 a member of the ruling National Party, the party of apartheid, but later became one of their fierce critics, becoming a founding member and economic adviser of the Democratic Party, while also being involved in clandestine meetings with the ANC in the 1980s.]; Peter Limb, (Michigan State University), *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8, Issue 3, spring 2006 [*African Studies Quarterly* <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i3a14.htm> Spring 2006]; also see, Adam Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2013, p.14; see Ebrahim Patel's argument in Albert Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby," in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.5-6; Ebrahim Patel, main speaker on behalf of the former SACOS officials or administrators, to honour these non-racial sport leaders, hosted by SASCOC, at the Olympic House, at Melrose in Johannesburg, 08 May 2014; see interviews: Hassan Howa in 1977 (originally cited in Andre Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Sport in South Africa*, Cape Town, Self-published (Odendaal, A.), 1977, pp.269-270 and pp.276-277) and that of Jasmat Dhiraj (in 1980 in London), both cited in Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.iv-viii and p.1.

<sup>1271</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections On A Life In Sport*, 2004, p.xiv.

that deserve research attention. This is not, however, within the scope of this thesis. Further, an assessment of the newly-democratically-elected government's sport policy between 1994 and 1999 is also recommended, as it felt outside the scope of this thesis. The new governments' challenge and accusations, of meddling in sport, by some of the former 'established'<sup>1272</sup> sport forces; and that of "having presided" over 'sham-unity'<sup>1273</sup>, having sold out or betrayed the non-racial sport struggle, non-racial sport or the non-racial sport ideal; for political expediency, by the former non-racial sport leaders,<sup>1274</sup> should be discussed in the context of the new government's position and initiatives towards nation building, reconciliation and the deliverance of South Africa's constitutional mandate.<sup>1275</sup> It is apparent that an analysis of this development is paramount.

### 6.3.2 The Olympic Movement and IOC move from indifference to commitment against the fight against apartheid sport

It is hoped that this thesis will add to the body of literature that relates to the work of the IOC and the Olympic Movement, and thus assist in bringing about peace and global understanding; particularly when other vital organs of the international community and partners such as the UN (with its subsidiaries, that include UNESCO, Olympic Truce Foundation, etc.), and sport organisations within countries and transnational and multinational sport federations, which form part of the Olympic Movement and those outside it. With the IOC currently enjoying an observer status of the UN, the lesson and details from this research might be a helpful guide to the IOC in this critical role. This thesis was aimed at contributing to the IOC's and the broader Olympic Movement's work, particularly, how best to handle crisis situations like boycotts and other forms of protest in the future. Critical lessons can be learnt from this work on how to deal with conflicts within and between countries and their respective NOCs and or IFs, to avoid plunging the Olympic Movement into disrepute and thus unnecessary crisis.

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<sup>1272</sup>See Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game: sport and racism*, London, Zed Press, 1982, p.202; Anneliese Goslin, 'Human Resource Management as a Fundamental Aspect of a Sport Development Strategy in South African Communities', *Journal of Sport Management*, 10, 207-217, 1996, p.1; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p.xi; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.20.

<sup>1273</sup> See, Albert Grundlingh, "The new politics of rugby", p.1-23, in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1995, p.7; John Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1997.

<sup>1274</sup>See Basil Brown, "The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport—A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement", pp.138-150 in Cornelius Thomas, (eds.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, Alice, 2006.

<sup>1275</sup> Booth, D. (1999) "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa, University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999.

More importantly, this work attempted to isolate South Africa's apartheid sport question as a peculiar case in the history of the IOC and the Olympic Movement, and; highlight its significant difference from the other reported specific and general human rights violations the world over. There is no event in Olympic history to beat the 2008 Beijing Games in demonstrating a cloud of judgement and sowing confusion on the real meaning of the struggle against apartheid sport.<sup>1276</sup> This thesis discussed South Africa's black sportspersons' initiatives to challenge and approaching the IOC and the Olympic Movement solely basing their argument precisely and purely on sporting reasons and unfair discrimination in sport as it is outlined in the Olympic Charter, as opposed to some general blanket plethora of human rights abuses by the apartheid regime in the country against the black population. This is one of the fundamental observations this thesis has made. The black sportspersons as opposed to politicians and civil rights campaigners evoked a specific Rule (3) and articles (1 and 3) of the fundamental principles of the Olympism, as listed in the Olympic Charter, in building their case.

It should be remembered that in 2008, a very important year in Olympic history, it saw the Summer Games being organised in Asia for the third time. Ana Adi declares that the 2008 Beijing Games will be remembered for achieving the highest ever audiences; the highest numbers of broadcast hours ever produced both online and offline; the highest figure for TV rights revenue; yet, also brought, as the IOC President, Jacques Rogge referred to them as, an 'Olympic crisis'<sup>1277</sup>, when the international leg of the Torch Relay was transformed into an arena of protest around China's role as an Olympic host.<sup>1278</sup> Adi recalls that the protests were reminiscent of Beijing's previous bid for the 2000 Games; moreover, the way in which the discourse was played out in the media reminded of the Cold War, when the ideological dispute between East and West was transformed into a boycott of the Games themselves. The rhetoric in 2008 was however, considerably dissimilar, as were the politics close to the Games:

... Advocates of Beijing 2008 would refer to the cases of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Summer Games and that of anti-Apartheid campaigns around South Africa when the Olympic Movement has acted as a catalyst for positive social and political change. On such a view, locating the Olympic Games in a country that would give rise to

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<sup>1276</sup> Anna Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism", IOC's Olympic Studies Centre: Post Graduate Research Report, 2010. This article is also available at: [www.olympic.org.com](http://www.olympic.org.com).

<sup>1277</sup> Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism, 2010, p.10

<sup>1278</sup> Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism, 2010, 9.

controversy can be seen as a mechanism to advance social causes. Alternatively, anti-Beijing voices argued that the high values promoted through the fundamental principles of Olympism - listed in the Olympic Charter – are incompatible with China's human rights record...<sup>1279</sup>

It is, however, interesting to observe that advocates from each side of the argument appealed to the Olympic Charter to make their case. However, none of the above positions seem squarely comparable or congruent to South Africa's apartheid sport saga. There is some evidence to show that by 2008, the IOC's scope of work had been broadened, to include among other things, its commitment to contribute to the fight against human rights abuses. It is therefore worth noting that the latter was not necessarily in place in the 1950s and 1960s when the South African black sportspersons approached the IOC and the Olympic Movement. This therefore renders any comparison of or reference to the apartheid Struggle, to that of the other sports struggles, not only misplaced but utterly mischievous.

To fully appreciate and contextualise the IOC's strategic role, as a catalyst for positive social and political change in South Africa, history is paramount. It is known that in the 115-year history of the modern Olympic Games the charter numbers fifty editions, with yearly updates to rules and bylaws being reviewed almost every year since the mid-1970s. Adi observes that the fundamental principles have gone through only three major changes and, on each occasion, the alteration has broadened the goals of Olympism.<sup>1280</sup> In addition, this extension of their aspirations has led to them overlapping, in parts, with those of human rights promotion. For instance, the Charter's first equality clause was introduced in 1923. Shortly after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed, the Olympic Charter also included its first non-discrimination article in 1948. It is quite ironic that this is the year the Nationalist Party of South Africa was elected to rule the country and therefore the birth of apartheid as the country's political system and thus ushered in apartheid sport. The latter quickly crossed swords with the excluded black sportspersons, some sections of the Olympic Movement and later the IOC itself, with its philosophy of Olympism. Finally, in 1996 the Olympic Charter recognised participation in sport as a human right and; with this, Olympic ideals turned into a commitment through the fundamental principles of the charter, aiming to promote a peaceful and better world

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<sup>1279</sup> Anna Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism", IOC's Olympic Studies Centre: Post Graduate Research Report, 2010, p.10. This article is also available at: [www.olympic.org.com](http://www.olympic.org.com).

<sup>1280</sup> Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism", 2010.

concerned with the preservation of human dignity, which is clearly incompatible with any form of human rights abuses.

This thesis therefore submits that it is apparent that there are critical lessons to be learnt from South Africa's apartheid experience and other discriminatory and human rights abuses throughout the world. Paramount to this, however, would essentially, require, among other things, 'more transparency from the IOC and an active dialogue with critics and supporters of the Olympic Movement alike.'<sup>1281</sup> In this regard, the IOC should be commended for the significant steps it took prior-during-and-after the IOC's XIII Congress in Copenhagen; where, for the first time, it solicited input from the public via the virtual congress. This approach definitely contributed towards furthering transparency and an active dialogue, as did setting up a YouTube channel and having a live webcast from the congress. With regard to human rights, the IOC's XIII 2009 Congress was historical in the sense that it not only restored IOC's humanitarian discourse but also made the IOC publicly assume its mission while also acknowledging its limits: addressing the Congress, the IOC President, recalled that:

...We are going to study what the best way is how to handle this important aspect where we have the responsibility to work for the respect of human dignity within the sphere of sport. We cannot be held responsible for everything that happens in the world, but when it comes within the sphere of sport, of course we have that responsibility. And we are going to see how first of all we can get the best possible objective unbiased information. The IOC is not expert in human rights. We will rely on the advice of human rights organizations. It can be Amnesty International. It can be Human Rights Watch. It can be others. It can be the United Nations Human Rights Council. And we want to gather information from these organizations, and we are going to see how we can best act upon that within the organization...<sup>1282</sup>

The first tangible steps towards realising the above vision were observed during the IOC's XIII 2009 Congress in Copenhagen. The birth of the Youth Olympic Games in 2010 and some efforts to deal with issues of environmental degradation and protection are important and surely encouraging. Yet, a lot remains to be done.

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<sup>1281</sup> Adi, "Olympic Humanitarianism", 2010, p.3.

<sup>1282</sup> IOC Archives / Olympic Congress report/Rogge, "Introductory Welcome Statement to the Olympic Congress", 2009.

### 6.3.3 The apartheid sport crumbles: apartheid sport defeated? Capital influences and big business won?<sup>1283</sup>

The idea of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, with space to initiate programmes to redress the imbalances of the past is enshrined in the country's Constitution, Act No 108 of 1996, which was agreed upon by all the political parties representing the South African people.<sup>1284</sup> The process of integrating various sporting structures and cultures within the ambit of democracy, multiculturalism and non-racialism proved to be a challenge. The dynamics and complexities that led to the cessation of the struggles to deracialise South African sport and relaxation of non-collaboration stance in the early 1990s, including abandoning the sports boycott and reviewing moratorium on international tours by the country's teams, were essential to investigate. This thesis has revealed that the change in approach was undertaken in favour of "national unity", nation building and social cohesion, in the "new South Africa", within the framework of multiculturalism in the pre-and-post-1994 South African sport and society.

This thesis also reported that the apartheid political system was a well-engineered system where government played a pivotal role. Similarly, and logically, it is concluded that the proper and efficient creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, united and democratic multicultural South African sport and society to be achieved effectively means adopting systematic methods. The country's constitution that was agreed upon by the representatives of the country's populace should be evoked in addressing the concerns of the apartheid apologists that resist and contest the transformation mechanism post 1991 South Africa's Olympic "breakthrough."

The main research question for this thesis was: What was the impact of the struggles to deracialise South African sport in South African society and its transforming sport landscape and what were the roles and position of the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement in these sports struggles? There is evidence that to counter the sport struggles and sport isolation, the apartheid Government and the country's established sport federations organised rebel tours.<sup>1285</sup> It is also known that the latter involved large secret sums of money, a controversial issue at a time when both rugby and cricket were still amateur sport. Tracing and documenting the history of sports boycott against apartheid sport by a non-racial sport movement, within the framework of the broad AAM were also

<sup>1283</sup> This was a rough sentiment by Ebrahim Patel in Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995.

<sup>1284</sup> See the South African Government Webpage, 1996: <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96explan.htm>

<sup>1285</sup> F.W. de Klerk, *The Autobiography*, 1998, p.40; Ramsamy, *Reflections*, p. vi.

undertaken. It was therefore fundamental, for the purpose of fulfilling this aim, that these lies and any form of deceit, illustrated by rebel tours discussed above, be examined. The examination of the post-1994 sport landscape, albeit outside the scope of this work, is one of the recommendations of this thesis.

This thesis reported evidence that racism in South African sport and society predates the National Party's apartheid political system. It is also known however, that it was the policies of the apartheid system and thus, apartheid sport that inevitably sowed the seeds of the political Struggle; the sports specific struggles and the subsequent sport (economic and cultural) boycotts. This thesis examined the impact of the sport struggles, including the sports boycott on South Africa, which this, to some degree, inevitably meant, also discussing the practice and application of the colour bar and apartheid policies in sport.

Fundamental conclusion reached and thus recommendation made in this thesis is that: both colour bar and the apartheid political systems, more the latter, were inherently systemic in nature, character and application, and as such a systemic approach to the analysis and deal with their in sport and on the South African society, is compelling. This is particularly so if the *truth is to triumph* over the apartheid propaganda and the inherent ‘bodyguard of lies’<sup>1286</sup> thereof. The latter were prevalent in pre- and post-1992 South Africa.

A systematic approach in dealing with the South African sport during the transitional period from apartheid to egalitarian dispensation, particularly, following the lifting of the sports boycott and “sport moratorium”<sup>1287</sup> in the *early* 1990s, an attempt has to be made to assess the dynamics and challenges of stopping the sports boycott campaigns. The “gains” and “losses” should be evaluated, and why these campaigns were abandoned; which forces were at play; what was the role of the IOC and the UN in this process; why things went as fast as they did. Was it a worthy move to abandon the leverage that the NRSM had at the time “accomplished” to truly and positively transform and deliver the fundamental goals of the long and complex sport struggle and specifically the sports boycott campaigns? And thus, this leverage was lost, perhaps for good, and the moment was missed as opposed to being seized by all South Africans to deliver the country with equal opportunities, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic and truly “normal

<sup>1286</sup> Thabo Mbeki, ‘Foreword’, p.ix, in Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.35.

<sup>1287</sup> The NRSM insisted that there be a period where international tours were to be frozen, even though some of the “unified” national sport federations were in place. Reference to this was more in cricket and rugby.

society” and therefore a realisation of an egalitarian and “normal sport in a normal society”? What was going to be the future the black sportsperson beyond this point? All these questions are pertinent, if this study is to add value as a living document.

In his autobiography with Edward Griffiths, Sam Ramsamy writes:

...The reconciliation that has taken place within South Africa over the past 15 years has been truly remarkable, and the highly successful 2003 Cricket World Cup offered another opportunity for the country to show its rainbow face to the world. Attending the final, I sat beside one of the legends of West Indian cricket, Sir Evaton Weekes, and he told me how he had once worked with the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Caribbean. He recalled the situation that arose in 1981, when Guyana refused entry to Robin Jackman, a member of the English touring squad, because he had played in South Africa. ‘Matches had to be cancelled... So it is strange for me to visit South Africa all these years, later and find that the self-same Robin Jackman is now one of your TV commentators. Good luck to him. It just strikes me as strange.’<sup>1288</sup> Ramsamy continued: ‘His comments prompted me to wonder whether there ought to be any limit to reconciliation, any process by which those people who fought [A]partheid are given priority over those who collaborated. On the other hand, perhaps the essence of reconciliation is that there is no limit that nobody is ever beyond the pale, whatever they have done...’<sup>1289</sup>

The sentiments shared by Sir Evaton Weekes becomes very important particular if one considers what happened to the lives of the West Indian rebel cricketers that toured South Africa in 1983, in the hight of apartheid sport. The disappointment that was felt by the black people and those who fought against apartheid sport in South Africa was similar to that felt by the Caribbean people, and as such, when the rebel cricket tour ended, many of the players that participated in this controversial tour were rejected and totally ostracised. The Sri Lankens had toured South Africa a few years before the West Indian cricketers landed in South African shores. However, the hurt and disappointment that was illicited by the latter ran just too deep.

A black team walking into the field against the South Africa’s white-only cricket team, in South Africa in the hight of sports boycott against apartheid sport was unthinkable at the time. It was in this background that the lives of these cricketers,

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<sup>1288</sup> Ramsamy, *Reflections*, p.35.

<sup>1289</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.42.

although they had large sums of money, were never going to be the same. The various Caribbean islands of course varied in their response to these rebel cricketers but it was clear that they were generally rejected and ostracised because by and large, the former had embarrassed the entire region that had a rich history of fighting against apartheid.<sup>1290</sup> This is the context unto which Sir Evaton Weekes' views should be seen. In an informal communication with the researcher, a West Indian Sports Sociologist, Anand Rampersand had this to say about the video that discussed the Rebel Tour by West Indian players in 1983:

... I cannot come to terms with these West Indian players accepting the title of 'Honorary White' and not being bothered deeply. Franklyn Stephensons comment about the kid who wanted him to have some snow cone "as being enough to say that the crowds accepted them wholeheartedly and accepted that blacks could have been superior in cricket." In your opinion do you think this tour played any role as the [West Indies rebel] players believe [that it assisted] in the dismantling of the apartheid system? ...<sup>1291</sup>

The rebel tours were discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. How they emerged, the aim and ideology behind them, planning and implementation were outlined. This thesis concludes that: when the establishment sport and the NP Government realized that their back was on the wall and have been totally isolated from the world sport arena, they had to devise mechanisms to get the white players competitors and also of the general population some sporting experiences. The answer became the rebel tours. It was therefore against this background that the Sri Lankan and West Indies rebel tours were organized in the 1980s. Rampersand further argues that:

...As much as I was just a youngster during this period I recall persons vehemently opposed to the tour especially when the images from what was taking place in South Africa was shown in the daily news. Even after the rebel tour, I remembered the then President of Guyana, Forbes Burnham preventing South African Robin Jackman entering Guyana as part of the touring English team. The test was shifted to Trinidad and although it was played there was protest against Jackman. Graham Gooch suffered the same fate in 1990 when there was protest his playing in Trinidad after leading an English Rebel team earlier. I remembered when he suffered a broken elbow at the

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<sup>1290</sup> See the video "Branded A Rebel - Cricket's Forgotten Men: An in-depth and revealing documentary about the West Indies rebel cricket tours of South Africa in 1982/83 and 1983/84" - Published on Mar 31, 2015] that shows the life of the rebel cricketers of West Indies following their return to the Caribbean in 1983 here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xj5JjHeLd9o>

<sup>1291</sup> See Anand Rampersand's email "RE: West Indies Cricket", dated 23 December 2015 01:39 AM.

hands of Ezra Mosley who had played in South Africa, the crowd celebrated as a victory for the anti-apartheid movement. Its unfortunate what happened to those players on returning to the Caribbean but I believe the decision taken by the Caribbean governments and the WICBC at the time was the best. Jamaica has been even firmer as after naming a stand after the very touch player Lawrence Rowe, they removed his name. In fact what the video did not state is that Rowe refused to apologise when asked if he will on a radio programme subsequent to which his name was removed...<sup>1292</sup>

The “Honorary” white status that was offered to black rebel touring teams was one of the low points of the struggles against apartheid sport. It is apparent that this WI rebel touring side was not really privy and in fact might have been totally shielded from viewing the realities of black people’s lives under apartheid when they came down. Croft’s humiliation in the train might have been the closest feel he could get to actually understand and appreciate the real SA at the time. Franklyn Stephensons appeared to be an angry man and indeed “a rebel” in the true sense even before the rebel tour came about and I guess his decision to final jump into that airplane should be viewed as such.

However, that their playing cricket in South Africa, watched by predominately whites-only crowds, in whites-only stadiums, where the majority of black people in the country, had very limited opportunities to see them play, admire and enjoy their cricket, clearly cut out any possibility that they were to assist in undermining apartheid let alone the possibility of contributing in eradicating apartheid as a political system and thus, apartheid sport. If the WI rebel cricketers had the idea of undermining the apartheid thinking – by showing off their skills and demonstrate to white South Africans that other black people elsewhere, were equal or could even be superior, in cricket in comparison to white South Africans, then that was flawed and mistaken. They were simply played, abused and actually the whole exercise was tantamount to racism. The SACU President’s comments in the video give away all the details and aims of the rebel tour for what it was and for. The WI players were there to act out a big show for white people in South Africa, at a huge fee and yet equally huge personal cost then they returned home.

Yes, the English did the same, so as the Sri Lankans, the SACU’s aims and purposes were the same, yet with different consequences. The English for instance did not have to be granted the “Honorary white” status as the West Indies and the Sri Lankan teams. To prove that South Africa’s establishment sportsleaders were malicious, by 1980,

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<sup>1292</sup> See Anand Rampersand’s email “RE: West Indies Cricket”, dated 23 December 2015 01:39 AM.

the white South Africa teams, both rugby and cricket, were yet to play other rugby and cricket playing nations other than – the European nations (England or British Lions, French, Welsh etc.) and the two Australasian nations of New Zealand and Australia. South African team were yet to play India, Pakistan, West Indies and many other non-European nations, even before the AAM commenced its work. The WICB took an important and principled decision and with that lost much invaluable cricketing talent and depth – after the 1983 rebel tour. In as far as the AAM and the NRSM is concerned, it would be assumed that the West Indies people and communities served as inspiration and deserved salute from the NRSM and the AAM for supporting South Africa's sport struggles, even doing so at their expense.

It would however seem that South Africans were very quick to forget all this troubled and painful history. It was however in the twenty-first century South Africa that questions were asked and concerns were raised about the role of the former rebel tour organisers and collaborators surfaced. The issue of sport's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has been talked about by a few people, especially when the national teams of rugby and cricket are announced and playing. The apparent lack of transformation and country's demographic representativity often take centre-stage. The plight of the previously disadvantaged sportspersons and naturally, majority of these happen to be black, becomes topical. Therefore, it appears that there is a need to interrogate these questions rather than avoiding them. This might also involve asking question about the role and nature of leaders, important officials and personnel within South Africa's umbrella sport body – the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA), the predecessor to the South African Sport Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) and the three main sport federations – South African Rugby Union, Cricket South Africa and South African Football Association, in the sport transformation agenda.

Granted that South Africa's sports federations like many others in the world are autonomous and they ought to be. Yet, it would seem that the role and responsibilities of all the spheres of Government (local, provincial and national) are also important in the agenda of developing sport and intervening in creating more sport playing opportunities in for young in many South African communities. One of the challenges that are raised earlier in this thesis includes, among others, the lack of sport facilities in many areas in the country, especially those where black people reside.

Provision of facilities is not necessarily the role of the sport federations but that of Government and of course, in ideal situation, with some strategic partnership with the private sector. In fact, harnessing public-and-private partnerships are, to a greater degree, already in place and working well in other areas of the South African society, including those in education, labour and health. The same could be explored more creatively and in mutually beneficial way for sport sector. The recently adopted National Development Plan (NDP) of South African recommended that Physical Education (PE) should be brought to all South Africa schools and that every school should have a PE teacher so that all children can have access to quality sports coaching and mentoring from the early age.<sup>1293</sup> The National Sport and Recreation Plan (NSRP), which was officially approved at the National Sport and Recreation Indaba attended by 693 in 2012 is also inline with the fundamental goals of the NDP. The NSRP was developed in consultation with various stake holders of interests which included amongst others: the Public entities and sports federations (on 8 November 2011); the Civil society groups (on 12 November 2011); the former sport leaders (on 16 November 2011), the Executive Board of SASCOC (18 November 2011), the Editors Forum (media on 27 October 2011) and the Business sector (on 11 November 2011).<sup>1294</sup> The inclusion of the latter two stakeholders was very important given the vital role they play in sport in the 21<sup>st</sup> century society.

This therefore brings us to the role of the role played by media and big business in South African sport, which are more often, seen as controversial and complex. Examples that spring to mind and those that might irk the likes of Sir Evaton Weekes, include the employment of John Robbie, the former Irish rugby rebel tour leader is now one of the leading radio (702) personalities in the country. There are many of these examples in South Africa, as demonstrated by the likes of Robbin Jackman above. This development has also come with some appetite to go as far as blatantly celebrating the “heroes” of apartheid sport, both administrators or officials and the apartheid ambassadors in tracksuit. The latter is confirmed in the positions held by both Gary Player and Zola Budd as discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

The hypercommercialisation of sport in the twenty-first century has done much damage to sport, at least in the eyes of those who advocate for mass sport and recreation participation. In the bigger scheme of things, there is less criticism seen in the mainstream

<sup>1293</sup> See the National Development Plan of South Africa, 2012.

<sup>1294</sup> See the National Sport and Recreation Plan of South Africa, a document of the Sport Recreation South Africa (Department of Sport), 2012, p.13.

against the role of media and big business. Yet, one figure that fails to avoid public comment, scrutiny and criticism is Nelson Mandela. His role in the transition of South African sport, from racial and class segregation to “unity” in the 1990s is worth analysis. These issues have been discussed in this thesis, specifically in Chapter Five, and are also further synthesised later in this Chapter.

#### 6.3.4 Tensions in post 1992 South African sport landscape: Former non-racial sport movement forces, the newly formed “united” sport federations the National Olympic Committee of South Africa

In the second decade of democratic rule, the South African government and the country’s sport leadership have been criticised by former AAM leaders such as John Minto and the NRSM activists, such as Dennis Brutus, Basil Brown, Frank van der Horst and Leonard Chuene for drifting away from the objectives of the anti-Apartheid struggle.<sup>1295</sup> It is important to examine these criticisms with foresight of the role that these individuals played in and their purpose in engaging in the struggle to destroy the apartheid system and subsequently demolishing apartheid sport, in South Africa.

It is no exaggeration to believe that Sir Evaton’s point echoes the sentiments of many people within the former non-racial sport movement who still maintain that ‘far too much was conceded too quickly...’<sup>1296</sup> ‘We endured so much for so long...and now, to a large extent we sit back and allow most of the sportspeople who oppressed us to carry on as if nothing ever happened. What has really changed?’<sup>1297</sup> ‘What have the black, Coloured and Indian sport communities gained from unification except a few seats on the board and the odd facility?’<sup>1298</sup> The rationale behind and the consequences of “conceding too much too quickly” after “enduring so much” yet later feeling “left stranded and helpless” apparently has to be analysed. Ramsamy writes that ‘I understand such opinions but I do not share them because, in my view, the end justifies the means.’<sup>1299</sup> It seemed that these divergent views on this very important matter need to be noted and carefully analysed if a proper assessment of the relative successes of the efforts to deracialise South

<sup>1295</sup> Sunday Times, 13 March 2008; Mail and Guardian, December 2007, January, 2008 and 11-17 April 2008; Basil Brown, ‘The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport–A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement’ in Thomas, C. (ed.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2006, p.20.; Frank van der Horst, ‘The Role and Contribution of the South African Council on Sport’, in Thomas, C. (ed.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2006, p.20.

<sup>1296</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1296</sup> Booth (1998) *The Race Game*, p. 33.

<sup>1297</sup> Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997, p.45.

<sup>1298</sup> Brown, ‘The Destruction f the Non-racial Sport’, 2006, p.20.

<sup>1299</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.53.

African sport and the succeeding Sports boycott is to be determined and established. The fact is that these issues are topical and have been fiercely contested for a long time in the history of South African sport. The current research therefore, in its modest way, hopes to contribute in part to uncovering some facts concerning sport opposition and specifically the early attempts to deracialise South African sport and the subsequent sports boycott.

### 6.3.5 From colour bar to apartheid sport: Toward an egalitarian South African sporting landscape

Chapter Four presented evidence that it was in the 1940s that some form of resistance against the application of the colour bar polices in sport in South Africa, was initiated in 1940s.<sup>1300</sup> It appears that by 1940, a number of “national” sport federations for various sporting codes, representing the different racial groups in the colour bar ridden South Africa were already in existence. In fact, the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB), which represented all Black rugby players in the country, without ethnic or tribal discrimination, was proposed and established by the all-racial-inclusive Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Board (GWCRFB),<sup>1301</sup> formed in Kimberly 1897, only a few years after the Whites-only body, the South African Rugby Board in 1889.

The inclusive SACRFB experienced difficult challenges during the years between the two World Wars during which black sport underwent notable changes that were to have a big impact on the development of sport in black communities. Growing segregation, nationalism, internal dissension and growing numbers of players and clubs resulted in the emergence of new “provincial” and “national” sport organisations based specifically on racial lines. The SACRFB was therefore influenced by these developments and the broader political changes that were transforming sport. For example the African players within the Board broke away to form a separate South African Bantu Rugby Football Board (SABRFB), which was established in Kimberly in 1936, following the

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<sup>1300</sup> See De Broglio, *South Africa*, 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Floris van der Merwe, *Sport History: A Textbook for South African Students*, Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies, 2004. [see also Van Der Merwe, F.J.G. (1994/9), *Sportgeschiedenis: 'n Handleiding Vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies].

<sup>1301</sup> The GWCRFB was formed by the comprised coloured, “Malay” (Moslem) and African clubs in Kimberly in 1894 and was one of the very first sport federations to declare themselves and practised non-racialism in South Africa. In the IsiXhosa columns of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, it was reported that GWCRFB did not discriminate on the basis of ‘*bala, luhlanga, lulwimi, nalunqulo*’ (i.e., colour, race/ethnicity/nationality, language and religion); see *Imvo Zabantsundu*, “*Ibala labadlala*”, 26 August 1897; Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, p.37.

formation of the South African Bantu Cricket Board (SABCB) in 1932, also along racial lines.<sup>1302</sup>

In the 1940s, however, the situation was beginning to change. For instance, in Chapter Four above, it was shown that in 1946, the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control (SAAA&CBC), which predominantly catered for people of “mixed-race” or at the time referred to as coloured sportspersons and those of Indian descent, was formed and a few years later initiated moves to unify athletics and cycling in the country,<sup>1303</sup> approaching the sister athletic and cycling “national” umbrella bodies for the African and White sportspersons’, which were the South African Bantu Amateur Athletics Association (SABAAA) and; the South African Amateur Athletic Union (SAAAU) and the South African Cycling Federation (SACF), respectively. Similar action was undertaken by other “national” umbrella bodies such as the South African African Rugby Football Board (SAARFB), the South African Rugby Union (SARU), the South African Rugby Football Federation (SARFF)<sup>1304</sup>; the South African National Football Association;<sup>1305</sup> the South African National Football Association (SANFA), Football Association of South Africa (FASA), SASF; the South African Weightlifting and Body Building Federation; the National Boxing Federation, South African Boxing Union;<sup>1306</sup> the South African Lawn Tennis Union (SALTU), South African Table Tennis Board (SATTB); the South African Bantu Cricket Board (SABCB), the South African Non-European Cricket Board of Control (SANCBOC);<sup>1307</sup> and the South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC). Some of these endeavours were successful while others bore little or no fruit at all until ‘the Coordinating Committee for International Relations in Sport,’<sup>1308</sup> the first organised sport protest group in South Africa,<sup>1309</sup> was established by a young Port Elizabeth based school teacher, Dennis Brutus in 1955. Interestingly, it was the

<sup>1302</sup> Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, p.39 and p.45; Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*”, 2004, p.102.

<sup>1303</sup> International Olympic Committee Archives (IOC)/Olympic Museum (OM)/ CIO/D\_RMO1. AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control/7798/1949-1966/ South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control/ Honorary Secretary’s Annual Report – 1957/1958, p.1-6; also see Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.3.

<sup>1304</sup> Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*”, 2004, p.212.

<sup>1305</sup> Box 2.4/MCH630-12/Ramsamy, Sam Collection/SAN-ROC Official Archives/See the speech of the SANFA President George Thabe at the Annual General Meeting on August 27, 1983/published in *SANFA’S GOAL – DEN JUBILEE, 1933-1983*, as “It’s a goal - 50 years of sweet tears and drama in black soccer”, compiled George, Andries Lesitsi, assisted by M. Mutloatse, Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg, 1983; see also Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, 202; Tim Couzens, “Introduction” in Belinda Bozzoli (ed.), *The history of football in South Africa*, Ravan Press, 1983.

<sup>1306</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.202.

<sup>1307</sup> Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane: A Case Study of Selected Clubs – 1911 to 2000*”, An unpublished Masters Dissertation, Fort Hare University, Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa, 2004, p.202.

<sup>1308</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984.

<sup>1309</sup> Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, pp.51-52.

political organisation, the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (TIYC) that appears to have approached the IOC in 1955, ahead of SASA's Memorandum in 1959.<sup>1310</sup> Several other black or non-racial “national” sport federations such as the SAAA&CBC also established their respective Coordinating Committees for International Relations. The SAAA&CBC’s CCIR was formed at its Annual General Meeting held in Durban on 10 August 1957 and its officials were E.I Haffejee, (chairperson), R.S. Govender (as the international correspondence), G. Pumpy Naidoo, Louis Nelson, R. Bijou and R. Munnoo.<sup>1311</sup>

Andre Odendaal declares that sport in South Africa ‘has always been linked to the social and political situation and, once again, both the application of apartheid and the intensification of the struggle against it had a direct bearing on the developments in sport.’

<sup>1312</sup> Consequently, from the late 1940s various racially compartmentalised black sport federations sought to establish unity among themselves. They also began to seek international contacts, and to protest discrimination much more forcefully than before. For example, between 1948 and 1958 the various black rugby, athletic, cricket and soccer bodies started playing inter-racial matches and either succeeded or failed in their attempts to establish new inter-racial “national” umbrella organisations. From these attempts, the *new* South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC), and the *newly-revived* SASF were formed.<sup>1313</sup>

The SASA played a pivotal role unifying the heavily racialised black “national” sport federations during this period.<sup>1314</sup> Richard Thompson asserts that in its short life, the SASA played a very important role in equalising sport participation and administration in South Africa and it achieved this ‘by constant negotiation, eliminated many of the racial barriers among non-white South African sport federations so that in most sport it became normal for Africans, Indians and Coloured to play together and to share the administration.’<sup>1315</sup> In creating a unified “non-racial” or “non-white” sport front against the apartheid whites-only sport participation and administration the foundations were laid

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<sup>1310</sup> IOC/OML/COI AFRIS/Transvaal Indian Youth Congress Letter to the IOC, dated 26 May 1955, also included as Appendix 2 (a) in Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.271-272; Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/National Convention Against Apartheid and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984/p.4; Transvaal Indian Youth Congress’ Letter to the IOC, dated 26 May 1955, included as Appendix 2 (a) in Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.272.

<sup>1311</sup> IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966.

<sup>1312</sup> Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, p.55; also see, IOC/OM/ CIO/D\_RMO1/AFRIS/030/GF1/National Federations – Federations Nationales/SAAA and CBOC/7798/1949-1966.

<sup>1313</sup> See Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, 202; Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, p.51 and p.55.

<sup>1314</sup> See Richard Thompson, *Retreat from apartheid: New Zealand’s sporting contacts with South Africa*, London, 1975, p. 6; Juan Klee, “Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978”: The role of BJ Vorster and PGJ Koornhof, New Contree, No. 64, July 2012, pp.155-170, p.160.

<sup>1315</sup> Thompson, *Retreat from apartheid*, 1975, p. 6.

for gradually increasing pressure on the NP Government to accept integrated sport participation in South Africa.<sup>1316</sup> These moves were ‘in many ways similar to the multi-racial cooperation happening on a political level in the Congress Alliance during the 1950s,’<sup>1317</sup> particularly the latter’s adoption of the Freedom Charter in the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955 on June 25-26, 1955.<sup>1318</sup>

It was in 1946 that the South African Black or “non-white” weight-lifters, following the representation by T. Rangasamy, who applied to the British Amateur Weightlifters Association for affiliation because at the time, the only body which enjoyed official recognition was only reserved for white sportspersons.<sup>1319</sup> 1946 is important in the fight against racial discrimination in South Africa and it was the first time this issue was raised at the United Nations General Assembly, which ‘inscribed in its agenda an item concerning the treatment of *non-whites* in South Africa for the first time in 1946.’<sup>1320</sup> Following this development was the adoption, by the General Assembly, of a number of important United Nation Resolutions, amounting to hundreds of them, stipulating recommended action, resolutions and commissions. Paramount to these was the 1973 Commission on Human Rights, which drafted what became the penultimate action, holding the convention on the prevention and suppression of apartheid, which was declared to be a crime against humanity.<sup>1321</sup>

In the literature review for this thesis, it has been shown that there has been a resolute attempt in post-apartheid South Africa to “recover” and “rewrite” the history of black South Africans, so that the narrative of the past is more inclusive and representative. Given the central role of sport in broader struggles against the apartheid state, and the importance of sport in the present globalised era, the arena of sport and specifically sport history and the sociology of sport, not surprisingly, remain highly contested.

This thesis has demonstrated that sport has always played an important role in South African society. The history of white rugby, for example, is closely linked to the

<sup>1316</sup> Klee, “‘Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978’”, 2012, p.161.

<sup>1317</sup> Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, p.51.

<sup>1318</sup> Oliver Tambo, “Fight to be free”, p.70, in Adelaide Tambo (Ed.), *Oliver Tambo Speaks: Speeches, Letters and Transcripts*, Cape Town, Kwela Books (an imprint of NB Publishers, a division of Media24 Boeke (Pty) Ltd), 2014 (reprinted and published by arrangement of with Pearson Education Limited). This book was first published as Adelaide Tambo, Preparing for Power: *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, by Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1987.

<sup>1319</sup> Box 1/MCH25/Sam Ramsamy Collection/FILE 3 MCH25 -1-3-6e/NCAA and for Freedom in Namibia and South Africa document, “Background note to for Sports boycott workshop”/ NCD 12/June 1984; De Broglio, *South Africa*, 1971; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*; Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, pp.271-273; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, 1997; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; Nongogo, “*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane*, 2004; 2006; Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 2004.

<sup>1320</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.68.

<sup>1321</sup> Mbaye (1995) *The International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, p.68.

emergence of Afrikaner nationalism. From the 1930s, rugby became part of a cluster of cultural symbols closely associated with a resurgent Afrikanerdom. English identity, on the other hand, coalesced around cricket. Over time, these groups formed a white “South Africanness” based on racial exclusion, one which created institutional racism to restrict access to socially valued opportunities for black people. The political, economic, and social domination of South African society by whites resulted in the development of separate sporting structures, traditions, cultures, even heroes. White supremacy was applied in sport as much as other arenas of life. Whites dominated the discourse in South African sport, and represented the country in international competitions, since sport across the colour lines was proscribed.

In an attempt to arrest the *status quo*, beginning in earnest in the 1950s, black sportspersons and organisations waged a concerted campaign to exclude white South Africa from international competition. This followed the coming into power of the National Party, and its building of an elaborate racial edifice to systematically segregate South African society. At that stage, white sporting bodies were participating in rugby, cricket, soccer, table tennis, tennis, athletics, boxing, wrestling, and weightlifting at an international level. The all-white South Africa’s National Olympic Committee was a full member of the International Olympic Committee. Sport administrators in countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the UK, remained on excellent terms with their white counterparts in South Africa, notwithstanding the exclusion of the majority of black South Africans from international competition.

The NRSM scored a significant victory in 1956, when the International Table Tennis Federation removed the all-white South African Table Tennis Union from membership, and recognised the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board; 1961 saw another victory with the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) suspending the (white) Football Association of South Africa (FASA), a ban that was lifted in 1963, but re-imposed in 1964. Anti-apartheid organisations struggled against both the influence that white administrators wielded in majority-white countries overseas, and the systematic state repression of those who advocated a boycott of South African sport.

To be constructive, rather than simply reactionary, SASA was formed in 1959 with Dennis Brutus as the honorary secretary. SASA’s aim was to not only get whites-only sport federations thrown out of International sport Federations and the IOC, but to get recognition for non-racial sport federations. Olympic sports were the first target. The racist

NOC of South Africa was a member of the IOC. SAOGA refused to give recognition to black athletes. When SASA's negotiations with South Africa's NOC failed, the SANROC was formed in January 1963 with Dennis Brutus as president. The organisation was to make representations at an IOC meeting in October 1963, but Dennis Brutus was shot and imprisoned, while chairman, John Harris was refused a passport to travel. Dennis Brutus' persecution by the state, which included being banned from teaching or working as a journalist, forced him into exile. SANROC opened offices in London in 1966 and worked closely with the emerging anti-apartheid movement, especially the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, to coordinate an international campaign to boycott apartheid sport. Although white South Africa had important friends overseas, pressure from Afro-Asian and Socialist countries, and the AAM, which had offices in countries like Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and the UK, resulted in South Africa's eventual expulsion from the IOC in 1970.

South Africa's expulsion from the Olympic Movement did not necessarily complete the project of deracialising the country's sport. The non-Olympic sport of rugby and cricket remained a major headache to the NRSM. Rugby and cricket teams from Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, France, and Britain continued to play with white South African teams even though there was growing pressure within these countries to stop the tours. The all-white South African Cricket Association (SACA) had long lost its membership of the Imperial Cricket Conference (ICC) when South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961. Yet South African cricket flourished beyond this point, amid growing international pressure. White South Africa did not help its cause when it prohibited an English team from touring in 1968 because it contained Basil D' Oliveira, a coloured South African who had settled in England and played for that country.

Pressure within these countries did lead to the cancellation of the 1970 all-white South African cricket tour of Britain. This followed the protests, demonstrations, and violence that marred a tour of Britain by an all-white South African rugby tour of Britain and Ireland began in 1969. As important was the formation of strong non-racial sport federations like the South African Rugby Union (SARU) and the South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) within South Africa.

After a decade of political "lull" in South Africa, the country exploded in the early 1970s with protest in the workplace, educational institutions, the community, and sport fields. In this context, the South African Council of Sport (SACOS) was formed in March

1973, adopting the slogan “No Normal Sport in and Abnormal Society.” Key figures included Hassan Howa and Errol Vawda. SACOS was the key organisation around which opposition to white sport coalesced. It refused to negotiate or make compromises until apartheid had been dismantled. This paralleled developments within wider society, which witnessed a cycle of protest in townships, schools, and factories. Another demoralising blow for apartheid sport was that the United Nations and Commonwealth supported the sports boycott imposed in 1977. The apartheid state instituted various “window dressing” strategies to assuage protest, but to no avail. SACOS established itself nationally and internationally as the “authentic representative of non-racial sport” in the country. Internationally, movements like the British AAM, Halt All Racist Tours (HART) in New Zealand, Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) in Australia, and the Irish AAM, of which Kader Asmal was an important member, all played crucial roles.

There was a change in emphasis by the mid-1980s as negotiations between the National Party Government and liberation movements were initiated. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and trades union COSATU supported the formation of the National Sport Council (NSC) in July 1989, with ANC stalwarts like Mluleki George prominent. The formation of the NSC was seen as necessary because SACOS refused to abandon its principle that the Sports boycott should continue until a “normal” society was achieved. The NSC enjoyed mass support as the unofficial sport wing of the MDM. It was more flexible than SACOS and open to negotiation, as sport was seen as the “glue” to mend a divided nation into a collective entity. Many in the liberation movements felt that there would be a “ripple-down” effect. Aside from appeasing whites, income generated from international participation would be used to develop facilities and coaching in previously disadvantaged areas. The result was the progressive integration of South African sport into global sport networks even before the country’s first democratic an all-race inclusive election.

The story of the late 1980s is crucial. The critics, especially old SACOS members, up until this day, still point to the continued dominance of sport like cricket and rugby by whites, and arguments over the racial composition of the South African team as proof that the ANC’s strategy was a failure. It is becoming clear to those in power that the ‘burden of the past’ would have to be redressed through planning, policy, and contestation. Reconciliation gave way to affirmative action, quotas, redistribution, and back empowerment policies. As this thesis demonstrates, the debate over black representation in

sport and of course in some aspects of post 1994 South Africa society, marks the latest phase in a long confrontation and therefore, this thesis recommends further research on these aspects of South African historiography.

The pared down version of the sport struggles of black sportspersons does not capture the intensity of the struggle, the enormous personal sacrifices of individuals, and courage in the face of state oppression. For this, one has to consult the documents that are readily available in the public domain. The contested nature of the discourse around sport has continued into the post-apartheid period. While the majority were barred in the past on the basis of race and skin colour; now it is because of merit; they are not “good enough.” Debates around merit and representativity fail to take into account historical imbalances which this thesis elucidates.

#### **6.3.6 The non-racial sport movement finds itself in disarray and weakened: The early controversies, mistrust and challenges**

This thesis asserts that any discussion of non-racial sport should consider that the struggles based on deception, ethnic or even race dominance and/or racial exclusion in particular, is not only paradoxical, but rather cultivates fertile ground for future implosion. This thesis therefore concludes that the problems, challenges and differences within the NRSM did not start with the emergence of NSC/NSOC in 1988. They have a long history and in fact can be traced back to colonial or imperial times and influences. These challenges were rather noticeable from the onset, when black athletes re-organised themselves into the NRSM force in 1950. The NRSM’s foundation blocks apparently were not strong enough and as such, susceptible to cracks in the future. In the early stages of its conception, the NRSM was, not necessarily a “problem” and fault of their own, predominantly and initially led by “coloured” people. This situation persisted and as such apparently proved to be a problem as the majority of the black population was beginning to feel systematically excluded from decision making and “marginalised” by default?

In fact, it can also be argued that the root of these problems lay outside the control of black athletes but lay squarely on the very nature of the society South Africa had become since imperial and colonial influences, a situation which was carried over to the Apartheid era. It can therefore be argued that the challenges that the NRSM had to contend with so overtly in the late 1980s apparently surfaced way before the sport struggles began. Chapter Two discusses and briefly profiles South African society during imperial and

colonial times as well as the apartheid era, and demonstrates that the application of the colour bar policies predates the apartheid system and apartheid sport. During colonial times and the apartheid era, ‘sport was played separately by the different race groups’<sup>1322</sup> and administered in a dichotomous system, where the white population played separately from the black population. The latter was further divided into three main groupings, comprising of the people of mixed origins or under apartheid classified as Coloured people, then there was people of Indian descent and African people.

The African was not only further divided or categorised into various tribal or ethnic groups and called various things over time,<sup>1323</sup> but was actually the least important in the eyes of the authorities and as such benefited almost nothing in terms of socio-economic benefits and socio-political rights.<sup>1324</sup> It is submitted that the racial classification was systemically planned to achieve total control of the oppressed people, which became known as the “divide and rule policy” by the oppressed people.<sup>1325</sup>

This led to a situation where the majority of the African people, especially those in the hinterlands of the country, could not participate, *en masse*, in sport such as Cycling, Body Building, Hockey, Tennis, Table Tennis, Wrestling and other sport that needed sophisticated equipment, appropriate facilities and coaching. It should be remembered that these were the sport that were in the forefront and generally led the NRSM crusade. The African people’s *early* access to several sporting codes was mainly through schools, training institutions and later in the mines and other related employment centres. Many black locations and villages were not provided with the sport facilities that were available to the white population and to a lesser degree to the coloured and Indian people. In fact, the African people were a severely conquered population and generally suffered dearly under oppressive regimes.<sup>1326</sup> Those in the mines experienced an even far worse situation, exacerbated by their general illiteracy and harsh conditions, and as such, it could have possibly been easier to control and manipulate them into cooperation with official or established sport.<sup>1327</sup>

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<sup>1322</sup> Rajput, “Tracking sporting excellence in a transforming society,” 2012, p.1.

<sup>1323</sup> Bernard Magubane, “The Politics of History”, 1982.

<sup>1324</sup> Archer and Bouillon, *The African Game*, 1982.

<sup>1325</sup> Tambo, *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, 2014.

<sup>1326</sup> Raymond Suttner, “The ANC: The long and difficult journey” 2012; Magubane, “The Politics of History”, 1982.

<sup>1327</sup> Justice Mbadama asserts that because there was generally limited political awareness, especially with regard to non-racial sport, within the black workforce in the mines at the time, and that there were also appealing for support and relatively good facilities offered by the mines, they played within the established sport and multi-national and multi-racial sport set-up and as such, when the non-racial sport leader approached them and politicised them, there was little resistance and the black mine rugby playing fraternity moved *en masse* to the non-racial sport platforms, see details of this in P. Nongogo, ‘*The Origins and Development of Black Rugby in East London and Mdantsane: A Case Study of Selected Clubs – 1911 to 2000*’, An unpublished Masters Dissertation, Fort Hare University, Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa, 2004; also see the SACOS, ‘*SACOS sport Festivals*’, 1988.

Chapter Two detailed this dynamic and this thesis concludes that this was partly the root-cause of many challenges that the NRSM had to contend with in their 1950s' quest and strive for unity of black sportspersons under the umbrella of non-racial sport and the NRSM. The moves to establish the CIR in 1955, which paved the way for the emergence of the NRSM, led by SASA in 1958, were not only coincidentally similar to those of the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955. The political climate at the time was fertile for and dictated that these moves and developments take place the way they did. In fact, there is evidence that Dennis Brutus who was the prime mover within the NRSM in the 1950s had some close relations with the ANC and at least its leaders during this period and the 1960s when he was in London,<sup>1328</sup> were he was a paid up member of the ANC.

There is no denying that apart from the colour bar and apartheid policies, the individual non-racial sport leaders also had their own short comings. The NRSM found itself operating in a politically charged and highly contested terrain. As such, possibilities for the emergence of intra-and-inter clashes within the NRSM would have escalated. Personal differences, mistrust and sometimes paranoia, which were reported in Chapter Four, should be understood within this context.

It will also be incorrect to think that the coloured and Indian people were monolithic or homogeneous. There is a history of difference and sometimes conflict within the coloured people and within the Indian people as separate groups or as one big group, which suggests that these groups of people were heterogeneous in several ways including culturally and religiously. Andre Odendaal<sup>1329</sup> and Cleophas and Van der Merwe<sup>1330</sup> detailed these differences and it is no exaggeration to suggest that these might have affected how the sport leaders related both at professional and personal levels. The major challenge that the NRSM faced, especially in the late 1980s, included the issue of striving for international recognition and participation; the notion of collaboration and party-political affiliation. This apparently broke the back of the NRSM. The strife within SACOS in the late 1980s and between SACOS and the newly formed NSC in 1989 through to 1992 bares testimony to this dynamic and is indicative of not only the raised

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<sup>1328</sup> Patrick Bond, 'Dennis Brutus', 2007.

<sup>1329</sup> Odendaal, "The thing that is not round", 1995.

<sup>1330</sup> Cleophas and F.G.J. van der Merwe, 'Contradiction and responses concerning the South African sport Colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape', 2011.

question of ethnic dominance of one group over the other within SACOS but of a deep level of deception within the broader NRSM.

Further, it would seem that the argument that the ANC-NSC complex obliterated the non-racial sport movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s needs thorough investigation. Further, and even worse, the accusation that the ANC and its leaders, through the MDM structures suddenly developed an appetite for sport and when this happened, they *abused* sport for political expediency.<sup>1331</sup> The allegation that the ANC had attempted to capture and hijack SACOS in the 1980s and when these attempts failed proceeded to destroy non-racial sport in the late 1980s and 1990's, should be understood within a proper historical context. Chapter Three revealed that at the turn of the nineteenth century, black people generally, and the African people in particular, as a conquered and broken people, with limited or no political rights or expression<sup>1332</sup>; sport became a form of escapism and *displacement* to fill the void and even more, satisfy their ambition to lead and for expression. Chapter Two also noted that sport has been central and always been linked to the socio-political life of South Africans,<sup>1333</sup> both black and white.

#### 6.4 THE MAIN “FINDINGS” AND CONCLUSIONS

There is also evidence that during colonial and apartheid times, middle class and mostly teachers in the Cape adopted imperial symbols such as sport and roles and customised them to suite their life experiences.<sup>1334</sup> There is evidence that the ANC and other political formations and their respective leaders such as Mpilo Walter Benson Rubusana, John Tengo Jabavu, Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, have throughout the twentieth century, demonstrated interest and were involved in the leadership, administration and organisation of sport of choice.<sup>1335</sup> Similar, Chapter Two also revealed that rich business men and

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<sup>1331</sup> Basil Brown, ‘The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport—A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement’ in Thomas, C. (ed.) (2006) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2005.

<sup>1332</sup> See Raymond Suttner, “ANC: a long and difficult journey”, January 9 2012; Raymond Suttner, *Inside Apartheid’s Prison*, 2001; Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground*, 2008.

<sup>1333</sup> J. Peires, “*Facta non Verba!*”: Toward a History of Black Rugby in the Eastern Cape’, Johannesburg, (unpublished paper), 1981, pp.1-25.

<sup>1334</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport Colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape”, *AJPERD*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March), pp.124-140.

<sup>1335</sup> Jeff Peires, “*Facta non Verba!*”, 1981; Odendaal, ‘The thing that is not round’ 1995, Odendaal, *The African Game*, 2009, P. Mayer and I. Mayer, *Tribesmen or Townsmen: A Study of Bantu Family in East London*, London, Oxford University press, 1968; B.A. Pauw, BA, *The Second Generation: A Study of the Family Among the Urbanised Bantu in East London*, London, Oxford University Press, 1972; Nongogo, ‘The Origins of Black Rugby in East London ’, 2004 (here the interests and the role of ANC with in the Gompo Rugby Board in the 1930s and 1940s is discussed, also it is also revealed that Rubusana (Swallows Rugby Football Club and Cricket in Pelton and East London ), Jabavu’s interest in cricket is also discussed and Luthuli’s role in football administration in the 1930s; also see Luthuli’s contribution in football in P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa*, Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-

politicians such as Cecil John Rhodes, Abe Bailey, used sport to unite the white population groups of Afrikaans and English speakers, especially after the end of the South African War<sup>1336</sup>, widely referred to as the “Anglo-Boer War.” In fact, an argument has been made that the colour bar was used to both create black peril and to unite or consolidate the white population at the exclusion of black people in South Africa.<sup>1337</sup> Consequently, in the efforts to challenge racial exclusion, some members of the ANC and the organisation itself, participated in some form in the fight against apartheid sport, within the AAM and along the NRSM.<sup>1338</sup> The argument therefore that the ANC, together with NSC and their respective leaders *suddenly* developed an interest in sport and were therefore involved in an orchestrated attack and hijack of non-racial sport and used sport as a political bargaining chip in the 1990s, to clinch a negotiated settlement deal appears to be an over-simplification of this rather complex transition.

Notwithstanding the challenges, the NRSM and the AAM fought a difficult and long struggle gallantly and achieved many victories. The pertinent literature that discusses the history of South African sport is wide-ranging. The country’s sport history and experiences cover two predominant focal points, which are also racially and almost totally exclusive or separate, comprising those of the white sportspersons and those of the black sportspersons. The former is relatively available and accessible while the latter however, still remains underdeveloped.<sup>1339</sup> The specific literature that was surveyed for this thesis revolves around, *sport and racism*,<sup>1340</sup> *sport and apartheid*,<sup>1341</sup> *politics, sport and racism*,<sup>1342</sup> *South Africa and the Olympic Movement*,<sup>1343</sup> *sport, cultures and identities*,<sup>1344</sup>

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Natal Press, 2004; P. Alegi and C. Bolsmann (eds), *South Africa and the Global Game: Football, Apartheid and Beyond*, London:

<sup>1336</sup> Odendaal, ‘Foreword’, 2009 in Empire and Cricket, by Murray and Merrett, 2009; Nongogo, ‘The effect of the Sports boycott on South Africa and social change, 1955-1992’, 2011; IOC, ‘post-Grand Report: The effect of the Sports boycott on South Africa and social change, 1955-1992’, 2011.

<sup>1337</sup> Floris van der Merwe, *Sport History*, 1997; F. Cleophas and F.G.J. van der Merwe, ‘Contradiction and responses concerning the South African sport Colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape’, 2011.

<sup>1338</sup> Nongogo, ‘The effect of the Sports boycott on South Africa and social change, 1955-1992’, 2011; IOC, ‘Post-Grand Report: The effect of the Sports boycott on South Africa and social change, 1955-1992’, 2011.

<sup>1339</sup> Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995; A. Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’, in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, London, Frank Cass, 1988; see also A. Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of one of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850–2003*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2003; C. Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, University of Fort Hare National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre; and Department of Sport and Recreation, 2006; Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, 1995; Nongogo, ‘The origins of black rugby in East London’, 2004; C. Bolsmann, ‘The 1899 Orange Free State football team tour of Europe: ‘Race’, imperial loyalty and sporting contest’, 3<sup>rd</sup> Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference: Beyond Boundaries: Race and Ethnicity in Modern Sport, Cave Hill, Barbados 15-18 July 2010.

<sup>1340</sup> De Broglio, *South African Game*, 1970.

<sup>1341</sup> Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; Archer and Bouillon, *The Race Game*, 1982.

<sup>1342</sup> Booth (1998) *The Race Game*.

<sup>1343</sup> Heinz Schobel, The Four Dimensions of Avery Brundage, Germany, Edition Leipzig, 1968; Mbeye, 1995; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) 2004; Kevin Gosper and Glenda Korporaal, *An Olympic Life: Melbourne 1956 to Sydney 2000*, 2000; Allen Guttmann, *The Games must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*, 1984.

<sup>1344</sup> Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997.

sport history, sports boycott and sport and transformation in South Africa,<sup>1345</sup> and other aspects of the history that covers the struggles to deracialise South African sport. Similarly, here as well, two dominant and mutually exclusive views are emerging.

One view takes the stance that almost demonises the sport processes and the sport leaders that were involved in the developments that led to the cessation of sport struggles, ending the sports boycott campaigns and therefore lifting the sport moratoriums, the encouragement of the racially divided sport federations to *unite* into *new non-racial and democratic* structures. Key culprits and perceived prime-movers that are identified here include, among others, the ANC, the MDM structures, the NSC, the individual non-racial sport leaders and some non-racial sport federations that they led. The names that come up in literature include, among other, Nelson Mandela, Steven “Mr Fix It” Tshwete, Sam Ramsamy, Mluleki George, Mthobi Tyamzashe, Cheryl Roberts, Krish Naidoo, Krish Macherdhuj, Ebrahim Patel. This view generally sympathises with SACOS and its demise<sup>1346</sup> and goes further to take a stance that the unification process that saw former whites-only, the black and the non-racial sport federations coming together to form *new* sport federations in 1991 and 1992, was a *sham*.<sup>1347</sup>

This view, however, does not necessarily take into account the following critical stakeholders in the South African sport transitional period, especially between 1988 and 1990 and 1990 and 1992:

The power and the strategic role played by the President of the IOC at the time, Antonia Samaranch and his Executive Board. The latter’s role as an important tool and vehicle to discharge almost all the strategic and even personal decision and wishes of the President of the IOC. The manner in which the President of the IOC and the IOC Executive Board treated the IOC Sessions during this period (where it became apparent that the latter was bullied, not accorded its usual etiquette, respect, and almost used as a tool to rubber stamp the President’s and the Executive Board’s decisions). The extraordinary executive powers that were bestowed on the Apartheid and Olympism Commission that the President of the

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<sup>1345</sup> Roberts, C. (eds) (1989) *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*. Cape Town, Township Publishing Cooperation; Tshwete, V.S. (1990) ‘Challenges facing Non-racial sport’ in Roberts, C. (eds.) (1990) *Challenges Facing South African Sport*, Cape Town: Township Publishing Co-operative Editions.

<sup>1346</sup> Booth, *The Race Game. Sport and Politics in South Africa*, 1998; C. Thomas, (ed.) (2006) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2005; B. Brown, ‘The Destruction f the Non-racial Sport–A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement’ in Thomas, C. (ed.) (2006) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, Sport and Recreation, South Africa and University of Fort Hare, 2005.

<sup>1347</sup> Odendaal, “The thing that is not round”, 1995, p.45.

IOC, Antonio Samaranch, created<sup>1348</sup> immediately after President de Klerk's February 2, 1990 watershed Parliamentary Speech. The amount of power and the significant role played by the Chairperson of the Apartheid and Olympism Commission was extraordinary and this development apparently needs further interrogation. The role played by the latter Commission in its entirety, when it discharged its work publicly and privately; the manner and pace in which the Commission worked and reached critical decisions; how it carried itself in the broad consultation meeting with the various political and the sporting groupings; the Commissions' general approach on whose views to listen consider and chose to ignore? The role played by SCSA, especially its General Secretary, Claude Ganga, and his clandestine manoeuvres with SANROC or at least SANROC's Executive Chairman, Sam Ramsamy.<sup>1349</sup> The role played by Dennis Brutus is also worth noting, especially between 1984 onward.<sup>1350</sup>

What comes clearly at this point is that, granted the ANC and the NSC played a role in the transition that saw South African sport re-admitted prematurely, as it is argued in the literature. However, this thesis submits that the former are often given too much credit, with very little due recognition and credit accorded to the people and entities that were in fact in the whole and broader scheme of things. Those who were actually in charge of this entire process of South Africa's transition from apartheid sport to whatever it became in the post-1992 dispensation. These significant role players clearly were: the IOC and the Olympic Movement in general; the President of the IOC in his personal and professional capacity, with his personal and professional goals, wishes and vision taking a centre stage; the IOC Executive Board, Judge Mbaye and the Apartheid and Olympism Commission he led.

Another key player that this thesis recognised is the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), led by Ganga, and the critical role the latter played in his personal capacity in this entire transition. In fact, this thesis revealed that Ganga together with Sam Ramsamy contributed to the hastening the pace of this already high speeding sport

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<sup>1348</sup> Samaranch of course tabled the proposal to create the *Apartheid and Olympism Commission* for formal noting and getting a buy-in by the IOC Executive Board and later the IOC Session, as it was his prerogative to establish Commissions when he deems fit to do so, according the IOC, *Olympic Charter*, 2011; for more details on this see, IOC Archives, IOC Sessions/ IOC Session, 1990, IOC; Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; IOC, IOC Post-Graduate Reports: Philani Nongogo's Report – 'The effect of the Sports boycott on South African and social change, 1955-1992', IOC, 2011.

<sup>1349</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1350</sup> *Sunday Independent*, "Et tu Brute?" scene at the Palace has its history', 2007, also available on-line: [www.sundayindependant.co.za]; Dennis Brutus Paper in the Cultural and Sport Body Symposium in Athens Greece, 1986/ ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ANC Lusaka Mission/LUSAKA MISSION Housed at UFH-NAHECS/ p.22/ Box 76-78/Wally Serote: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens 1988, Sept.2-4./Action against apartheid: the culture and Sports boycott-Denis Brutus-President JAN-ROC-Sep 1988, p.11.

transition.<sup>1351</sup> In fact, the literature on this subject generally assumes that at least within the IOC, SCSA, SANROC, NSC, there was this harmony and understanding. That there were clandestine processes and serious tensions and disagreements that could have possibly derailed the entire process have not found expression in literature.

There is evidence that the IOC Session was not unanimous to the re-admitting of South Africa and there were heated debates on this question.<sup>1352</sup> That there were tensions within the Apartheid and Olympism Commission and that there were tensions as well within the NSC-SANROC *clique*. The latter were not always *comradely-comrades* all the time as the world was made to believe.<sup>1353</sup> These developments, however, often eluded the available literature on this subject. Most importantly, as is argued in Chapter Two of this thesis, the nature of the struggles to deracialise South African sport was inherently made political in character by the apartheid situation. Similarly, when these sport struggles were foiled, it was political consideration and not so much sporting consideration, which found more expression in the transitional processes. In general, these factors however, are apparently not accorded the necessary space, recognition and importance in the literature.

The other view is generally problematic and offers a relatively balanced approach in critiquing the period of sport transition from apartheid sport to the new dispensation that was supposedly legally racially-inclusive.<sup>1354</sup> This literature, while it does not overtly condone the processes that led to South Africa's re-entry into the Olympic Movement and the global sporting arena; while recognising the important role and contribution of the some sections of the NRSM, IOC, ANC, MDM, and NSC, it does not necessarily praise these in their respective roles either. This thesis therefore, also attempted to adopt the above approach, but taking it further by delving deep into the primary sources in an attempt to establish common ground between these two divergent views. In an attempt to specifically fulfil the latter goal, the current chapter used the information drawn from the various chapters of this thesis, to reach the following conclusion:

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<sup>1351</sup> See Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*.

<sup>1352</sup> For more details on this see, IOC Archives, IOC Sessions, 1988-1992/ IOC Session, 1990, IOC; Mbeye, South African and the Olympic Movement, 1995; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*; IOC, IOC Post-Graduate Reports: Philani Nongogo's Report – 'The effect of the Sports boycott on South African and social change, 1955-1992', IOC, 2011.

<sup>1353</sup> Mvuzo Mbebe, one of those who were in the front-row seat in the transformation train, within the NSC, revealed this in the South Africa's *Sport Indaba* that was organised by the Sport Recreation South Africa in Durban in October 10, 2010; for more information about the view that the ANC-NSC clique almost ganged-up on SACOS, derailed and destructed the non-racial sport movement, see Booth (1998) *The Race Game*; C. Thomas, (ed.) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*, 2006; Brown, 'The Destruction f the Non-racial Sport' in Thomas, C. (ed.) (2006) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*, 2006.

<sup>1354</sup> D. Booth, 'The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa, Otago, NZ: University of Otago, 1999; Odendaal, "The thing that is not round", 1995; C. Roberts, (eds) (1989) *Sport and Transformation*, 1989; V.S. Tshwete, 'Challenges facing Non-racial sport' in Roberts, C. (eds.) (1990) *Challenges Facing South African Sport*, 1990; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*, 1997; Odendaal, "The thing that is not round", 1995.

#### 6.4.1 Understanding and contextualising the end of the sport struggles: Discussion Summary of “finding” and conclusions

This thesis submits that the often held view: that the NSC-ANC complex and the crisis the latter “caused” within the NRSMS, destroyed<sup>1355</sup> the latter, for political expediency, and as such were solely responsible and to blame for the nature of transition and the shape South Africa’s sport landscape took post-1992 Olympic breakthrough is simplistic and an exaggeration.<sup>1356</sup> This is particularly so if Dennis Brutus’s Paper in the Cultural and Sport Body Symposium in Athens Greece, 1986; the discussion put forth by Vukile Steven Tshwete in both Mihir Bose’s *Sporting Colours: South Africa’s Return to International Sport* (1993), and in Cheryl Roberts’ (1989 & 1990),<sup>1357</sup> Sunday Independent’s (2007) article on Dennis Brutus; Dennis Brutus Paper in the Symposium on Culture against Apartheid, held in Athens in 1986,<sup>1358</sup> and in Ramsamy & Griffiths (2004) as discussed in Chapter Five.<sup>1359</sup>

Equally, the argument that SACOS was too stubborn and rigid that it played itself out the contest is somewhat flawed, simplistic and calls for thorough interrogation.<sup>1360</sup> SACOS raised sensible points. To a greater degree, the broader sport struggles were a product of their time and context and this should be taken into consideration as well.<sup>1361</sup> The issues of communication, miss-information and at worst, some level of espionage cannot be discounted here,<sup>1362</sup> as was discussed in detail in Chapter Three and Four. The assumptions that the earlier SACOS-SANROC “tension” was left unattended and

<sup>1355</sup> Basil Brown, ‘The destruction of non-racial sport: A consequence of the negotiated political settlement’, a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference in East London, 14-16 October 2005; Frank van der Horst, ‘The piece by Frank van der Horst’, written for a conference: a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference in East London, 14-16 October 2005; Booth (1998) *The Race Game*.

<sup>1356</sup> see Dennis Brutus’s submission in the Athens Symposium in 1988; Steven Tshwete in Sporting Colours (1995), and in Cheryl Roberts (1989 and 1990) and Sam Ramsamy in Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) 2004.

<sup>1357</sup> Roberts, C, eds., *Sport and Transformation: Contemporary Debates on South African Sport*, 1989, Township Publishing Co-operation, 1989; Roberts, C, eds., *Challenges Facing South African sport: Challenges facing Nonracial sport* by Tshwete, VS, Township Publishing Co-operative Editions, Cape Town, South Africa, 1990.

<sup>1358</sup> Sunday Independent, “Et tu Brute?”, 2007; Brutus Paper in the Cultural and Sport Body Symposium in Athens Greece, 1986/ ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ANC Lusaka Mission/LUSAKA MISSION Housed at UFH-NAHECS/ p.22/ Box 76-78/Wally Serote: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens 1988, Sept.2-4./Action against apartheid: the culture and Sports boycott-Denis Brutus-President JAN-ROC-Sep 1988, p.11.

<sup>1359</sup> See Sunday Independent, “Et tu Brute?” scene at the Palace has its history’, 2007, also available on-line: [www.sundayindepent.co.za]; Dennis Brutus Paper in the Cultural and Sport Body Symposium in Athens Greece, 1986/ ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ANC Lusaka Mission/LUSAKA MISSION Housed at UFH-NAHECS/ p.22/ Box 76-78/Wally Serote: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens 1988, Sept.2-4./Action against apartheid: the culture and Sports boycott-Denis Brutus-President JAN-ROC-Sep 1988, p.11.

<sup>1360</sup> Mbaye, *International Olympic Committee and South Africa*, 1995.

<sup>1361</sup> IOC, IOC Post Graduate Report: Philani-Nongogo, 2011, IOC; also see Basil Brown, ‘The destruction of non-racial sport: A consequence of the negotiated political settlement’, a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference in East London, 14-16 October 2005; Frank van der Horst, ‘The piece by Frank van der Horst’, written for a conference: a paper presented at the Sport and Liberation Conference in East London, 14-16 October 2005; Booth, *The Race Game*, 1998.

<sup>1362</sup> see Chapter Three

therefore unresolved, perhaps haunted the NRSM in later years. This becomes clearly evident when SANROC's Chairman, Sam Ramsamy declared in 1989 that the latter was never SACOS's international representative;<sup>1363</sup> a position that did not necessarily shook the NRSM, specifically SACOS, but brought the movement into disrepute. Reading this letter, two things come up: it becomes apparent that there was a good relationship and respect between the two sport leaders and their respective organisation they were lead.

Second, it also becomes apparent that with time, perhaps some external forces, came in-between these two organisations and persons leading them, and therefore serious trouble ensued. Reading these letters, it seems that Dennis Brutus was viewed or assumed at least, perhaps correctly so, by both sides that he might have been in the centre of this fracas.<sup>1364</sup> It is clear that part of the problem could have been misinformation, or inherent and even understandable mistrust stemming from whatever source or reason, but it become clear that there was growing frustration and mistrust, bordering to paranoia on the side of SACOS leaders, especially at the back of the newly-formed and much talked about NSC during this period. It is clear in the literature that there was a bitter strife between the NSC and SACOS during this period, and this was exacerbated by the fact that SACOS perceived the situation, perhaps correctly, in that it was being corroded from within and found itself somewhat stranded in terms of properly dealing with this situation. In the final analysis it was how this situation was handled by both parties that made it deteriorate. Clearly, something or someone had to give but unfortunately in this case, none did as no side seemed to be pragmatic and attempted to resolve this challenge, especially given the long and apparently healthy relationship between SACOS and SANROC. There is evidence<sup>1365</sup> that SANROC had supported and worked closely with SACOS for many years, the both the internal sport struggles inside South Africa and the latter's international interests. For example, it was SANROC that organised that SACOS be a member of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa and that SACOS managed to participate within the various UN Units that worked to defeat apartheid. The fallout between SACOS and

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<sup>1363</sup> See a number of letter exchanges between Y. Ebrahim [YE] (SACOS President ) and Sam Ramsamy [SR] (SANROC): Letter dated 28 August 1988 from SR to YE; Letter dated 14 October 1988, from SR to YE; Letter dated 28 June 1989 from SR to YE; Letter dated 11 May 1990, from YE to SR; Letter dated 18 June 1990 from SR to YE; Letter dated 30 July 1990, from SANROC's R. Saigal, copied to Gabu Tugwana on behalf of SR to YE [These Letters are found in the ANC Archives at UFH/London Mission/Box 40/Folder 155/SANROC].

<sup>1364</sup> See a Letter from Sam Ramsamy to Y Ebrahim, dated 28 August 1988, responding to an earlier Letter from YE to RS dated on 03 August 1988; and more importantly, see *Sunday Independent*, “Et tu Brute?”, 2007; Brutus Paper in the Cultural and Sport Body Symposium in Athens Greece, 1986/ ANC ARCHIVES SPORT 1983-1990 DAC BOX 7, FOLDER 76/ANC Lusaka Mission/LUSAKA MISSION Housed at UFH-NAHECS/ p.22/ Box 76-78/Wally Serote: Symposium on Culture Against Apartheid, Athens 1988, Sept.2-4./Action against apartheid: the culture and Sports boycott-Denis Brutus-President JAN-ROC-Sep 1988.

<sup>1365</sup> See ANCA/UFH/London Mission/Box 40/Folder 155/SANROC]/number of letter exchanges between Y. Ebrahim [YE] (SACOS President ) and Sam Ramsamy [SR] (SANROC)

SANROC should be viewed as one unfortunate development within the NRSM, especially since, as discussed in Chapter Five, Sam Ramsamy was among the non-racial sport leaders that mooted and established SACOS. The latter therefore should also be taken into consideration, for the argument that for instance, some decisions or agreements or special arrangement that SACOS made with SANROC, might have eluded Ramsamy, will not suffice. In fact, Ramsamy was SACOS patron for many years from the 1970s until the late 1980s, when he was replaced by Dennis Brutus after the fallout discussed above.

There is also evidence, as discussed in Chapter Five that to some degree, Ramsamy has always been part of the non-racial sport in one role or another (football, swimming and athletics), at least since the late 1960s and 1970s in Natal.<sup>1366</sup> Then, why would De Broglio<sup>1367</sup> argue otherwise? Why would the latter even write confidently that Ramsamy ‘did not know’ many non-racial sport leaders in Natal in the 1960s and 1970s? Why was there apparently some doubt and question on another bona fide non-racialism and non-racial sport involvement, which also seemed similar in the case of SACOS-SANROC situation in the late 1980s? Further, was there was this disjuncture within the two major NRSM super-units?

This thesis suggests that some plausible responses to these questions might be found in the exploration of roles of specific NRSM leaders, their background and relationships as was discussed in Chapter Five. The latter is critical, especially those of Dennis Brutus, De Broglio, Hassan Howa and Sam Ramsamy. This thesis submits that there were many people that were involved in the NRSM struggle and as such it would be impossible to list and discuss them one by one. For the purposes of specifically addressing the question raised above: why there was this disjuncture within the two major NRSM super-units – SANROC and SACOS in the late 1980s and early 1990s?

The role of and the decisions by the apartheid state led by President de Klerk in the late 1980s and 1990s, especially the February 02, 1990 Parliamentary Speech, and the immediate responses role and watershed decisions by the IOC, under Antonio Samaranch, as discussed in Chapter Five might be helpful here.<sup>1368</sup> The international community of

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<sup>1366</sup> Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, pp.27; 29 and 30.

<sup>1367</sup> See De Broglio (2009 “The SANROC Story.”

<sup>1368</sup> See the details of this development in the IOC archives: IOC Session between 1980 and 1992; also see the SANROC Archives at Mayibuye Centre, between the 1980s and 1992; ANROC Archives at Mayibuye Centre, between the 1980s and 1992; Keba Mbaye, 1995; Gosper, K. (1998); Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflection*; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Cultures and Identities*; Booth (1998) *The Politics of Sport*; Nongogo (2004) *The Origins*; Peacock, B. (2008); Peacock, B. (2011); Cornelisen (2011) “Resolving the apartheid Problem.”

state's reaction, especially the USA and UK,<sup>1369</sup> created an unstoppable tsunami that even the world's beloved Mandela could not arrest.<sup>1370</sup> Irvin Montagu and J.B. Spector<sup>1371</sup> in their discussion of boycotts reports of Mandela's failed attempt to call for the re-boycotting of the Apartheid government, following a string of disappointments within and during the CODESA negotiations. In the Annual Thabo Mbeki Africa Day Lecture in 2011, when he was introducing Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, Thabo Mbeki commented on the critical role that Tanzania and specifically, Julius Nyerere, who prevailed on Mandela and the ANC to go back to CODESA following the unfortunate death of many people in Boipatong.<sup>1372</sup>

The changing geo-political landscape generally in the late 1980s and early 1990s meant that there were new emerging forces in the world, especially after the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet bloc just about the same time. Interestingly, there was for a reasonable amount of time, a new tone and new proposals that were being put forth by the anti-apartheid activist, with the ANC and the NRSM. The central theme here was apparently the need to re-look and properly analysis the effectiveness of the boycott movement generally.<sup>1373</sup> The 1980s were in fact littered with divergent views in as far as the boycott movement is concerned and this development seems to have emerged within the NRSM. The LM started these debates in a relatively subtle manner but came strongly as the years progressed towards in the late 1980s and 1990s. People such as Achmed Dongar, Albie Sachs Barbara Masekela, and Van Graan took the bull by the horn.<sup>1374</sup> In the discussion on "The New Politics of Rugby", Albert Grundlingh, in *Beyond the Tryline*, argues and succinctly explaining the South African situation in the 1980s and early 1990s:

...A number of factors led to the landmark decision (F.W. de Klerk's decision to unban the ANC "and other proscribed organisation"): international sanctions had debilitated the economy and restricted

<sup>1369</sup> Especially the US and UK – see the discussion on this matter by Montagu and Spector (2004) "The Non-Traditional Diplomacy."

<sup>1370</sup> See IOC, IOC Post Graduate Report: Philani-Nongogo, 2011, IOC, here is reported that after the death of several people at Biopatong in the south of Johannesburg, Madela led his ANC-SACP delegation out of the CODESA negotiations in protest and even called for re-imposition of the boycotts on the apartheid government, albeit on deaf ears.

<sup>1371</sup> See Montagu and Spector (2004) "Non-Traditional Diplomacy: Cultural, Academic and Sports boycott and Change in South Africa", [A Paper Presented at the Anti-Apartheid Movement Conference and held by the Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), (UKZN), Durban, South Africa, 2004, n.p.]

<sup>1372</sup> See the Thabo Mbeki Foundation DVD/Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute/Investing in Though Leaders for Africa's Renewal/ Annual Thabo Mbeki Africa day Lecture, 2011/ Thabo Mbeki, "Introductions", 2011/"Consolidating Political Independence with Economic Transformation", H.E. Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, 2011a DVD; IOC, Pot Graduate Grant Research Reports/Philani-Nongogo Report, "The effect of the Sports boycott in South Africa and Social Change, 1955 to 1992.

<sup>1373</sup> See the SANROC Archives and the ANC London Mission Archives, showing a change in tone and position within the NRSM, especially Sam Ramsamy, Jay Naidoo, Dullah Ormah, to mention but a few, as far back as in 1986. Much of this commentary is found in the SACOS and various non-racial sport body's congratulatory messages; also see Montagu and Spector, 2004.

<sup>1374</sup> Odendaal, 1995, in the Thing that is not round, in *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995)

room for manoeuvring on the part of the state; internal insurrections placed further strain on the state as a recurring cycle of repression and resistance shaped the contours of South African society; armed attacks by the ANC, though never seriously extending the military, added to increased instability; and the international order had changed with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, leading the state to realise that it could no longer play the West off against the East...<sup>1375</sup>

The developments of post February 1990 was of serious interest to the NRSM<sup>1376</sup> as demonstrated in Chapter Five. The propaganda machinery within South Africa caused an appetite to continue with the boycotts further. For example, within days after the De Klerk's announcement, Chris Stals, the then Governor of the Reserve Bank issued outrageous statements about the "recovery" and the sudden increased value of the rand and improved economy.<sup>1377</sup> Here it mattered less if these comments and statements were true or false, what mattered most were their impact and the perceptions they created in many people's minds. They created "hope" and therefore the talk of continued boycotts was getting distasteful and generally unfavourable, especially from the quarters that never supported them or believed in their effectiveness and necessity. Given this background, this thesis submits that any analysis of the struggles to deracialise South African sport and specifically, the transition from Apartheid sport to what was hoped for post 1992.

#### 6.4.2 Historical Overview and Themes

In this study, the thematic content analysis was done on the sampled documents. Out of this process, specific and major themes emerged over this long history. It becomes prudent to look at the historical overview in relation to these emerging themes and thus the thematic overview undertaken. Moreover, the interplay between these the historical and the thematic overview become paramount.

##### 6.4.2.1 The colonial/imperial era: 1800s- 1940s

The major issue in the colonial era was colonialism itself, colour bar policies and practises. These were primarily due to the imperial and colonial influences, which were

<sup>1375</sup> Albert Grundlingh, 'Chapter One: "The New Politics of Rugby"', p.1, in Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, Burridge Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*, 1995.

<sup>1376</sup> The unbanning of political parties in South Africa and Mandela's "release" featured prominently in Cheryl Roberts, books in 1989 and 1990, where non-racial sports activist such as Vukile Steve Tshwete, Denver Hendricks, John Perlman, contributed insightful chapters

<sup>1377</sup> See Montagu and Spector, 'Non-Traditional Diplomacy', 2004.

inherently racist, again the non-European populations. The challenges experienced by Malay cricketers in the Cape, as demonstrated by Armien ‘Krom’ Hendricks’ exclusion case, are generally to be understood on this background. Chapter One and Chapter Two of this thesis discussed both the question of colour politics in South African society and sport. In this, the story of Armien ‘Krom’ Hendricks’s systemic hounding and exclusion from provincial and international cricket, just because he was a Malay or non-white yet talented cricketer, ‘over a period of several years in the 1890s.’<sup>1378</sup> These practices were directly related to the colour policies. With reference to the latter, in 1976, Nelson Mandela declared that: ‘[We] have consistently condemned the colour bar and maintained no man of principle could surrender his dignity and submit to it.’<sup>1379</sup> The latter statement bodes well with the struggles to deracialise South African sport since the 1940s.

Racism and racial exclusion therefore, in all aspects of socio-political life, including sport during this period, were not necessarily a South African problem solely. This was a global problem. The indifference and hypocrisy shown by the IOC towards the NRSM, in the earlier years covering the reign of Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin represent this phenomenon. In fact, the issue of racial and gender exclusion within the IOC can be traced from the late 1800s, when the Baron Pierre de Coubertin revived the modern Olympic Games in 1896. Chapter Two and Three of this thesis discussed this development in details. During this period, global sport and or the Olympic Movement was almost and generally all-white and all-male led and racially exclusive phenomenon. This spread out from Europe and Americas to the far-away lands where the settlers touched, including South Africa, the then Rhodesia and many countries in Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand and South America.

In general themes that emerged in relation to this era include and not limited to the challenges of colour bar policies and practices; the issue of racialism as opposed to the espoused ideal – an egalitarian society and in sport; the question of equality versus the exclusivity policies and practices, within the socio-political space. This period witnessed the era where the black population was under colonial siege and the African people in particular were a conquered nation. The capturing African Kings and sent to Robben Island and thus the obliteration of their respective kingdoms ensued. The socio-economic domination (demonstrated by the cattle killing saga), exhibited exacerbated by continued

<sup>1378</sup> Odendaal (2009) “Foreword.” In Murray and Vahed (eds.) *Empire and Cricket*, p.xvi-xvii.

<sup>1379</sup> In an essay entitled “Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy,” written on Robben Island, in 1976.

wars of land dispossession for colonial expansion (the military domination), the cultural assimilation (modern sport in school and some societies) and social-cultural Darwinism (demining African ways of life, including cultural or traditional games) and religious recruitment and conversion (missionary work), limited liberal or hesitant liberalism (relations and experiences of Malays in cricket in the Cape, a case of Armien Krom Hendricks – who albeit gained some support from the white liberals but also was opposed by the powerful figures of Cecil John Rhodes and the likes – opposing his inclusion in the country's cricket teams.

There were also elements of limited and exclusive “reconciliation” drives (reconciliation of a special type – to the total inclusion of the black populations), within and among the while warring races – the English and the Afrikaans communities, especially following the brutal South African War in 1902. These are discussed in this thesis, especially in Chapter Two, to indicate the long historical background of bigotry in South Africa, and the extent of how far deep the roots racialism are in this country. More importantly, is how systematic these endeavours were from this early period, predating apartheid political system. It is therefore no exaggeration to understand the currently twenty first century sport transformation challenges on the backdrop of these themes – colour, racialism, segregation, depravation, race and economic domination.

#### **6.4.2.2 Era of awakening and consciousness – 1940s – 1955**

Throughout the colonial or imperial era as discussed above, black population's resistance and struggles to challenge and fight for change of the status quo, were meek and disorganised. There had to be a major change in tactic – from military forms to morden political ways. The birth of the African People's Organisation and the African National Native Congress signalled this development and departure from olds ways. Chapter Three discussed this political development and transition in detail. Emphasis is put on more coherent ways of conducting the Struggle for political change.

The long lull in the initiation of the efforts and struggles to deracialise South African sport should therefore be understood within this broader socio-political setup and state. The black sportspersons had to organised and re-organise themselves as a united force, if they stood any chance of influencing the racial colour bar sport policy and practices. It was against this back drop that the various black sport federations, as

discussed in Chapter Four, endeavoured to come together across racial and political lines. This phenomenon came to be known as non-racialism in the 1950s.

This was apparently going to be a mammoth task to achieve given that at a political level, even the ANC was still grappling with gender and race issues itself; and perhaps more critical was that the world had moved towards the positive side when it came to abolishment of slavery and improved race relations within and between countries, yet South Africa, like the Germans in the 1930s, had taken a totally different direction, and elected an overtly racist regime, the NP government that quickly adopted apartheid as its major political system. During this period, the United Nations was in place and the IOC and the Olympic Movement were in broad terms, open to other populations as opposed to what they were in the first half of the twentieth century. Further, several regional blocks had emerged and the West's dominance was not as strong as it was. In fact, some strong democracies were coming through, which set the scene for the birth of the AAM, of course starting in the UK, the South Africa's major investor and strategic ally. There is no where were the latter was demonstrated than in the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council voting patterns. Chapter One and Chapter Five discusses this matter in detail.

The period between the mid-1940s and mid-1950s is characteristic of some form of re-awakening and consciousness to the wrongs and challenges of the status quo. The calls for and the challenging of the racial status situation in sport were seen in this era. Further, the calls for unity in sport among the black athletes were initiated during this period as well, if the establishment sport were to be challenged effectively. The diffusion of the non-racial ideology among black sportspersons was witnessed during this period. The important factor was that the black athletes were showing themselves up, proving to the internationally recognised South African establishment and whites-only sport federations that they are available for selection for the country's teams. It was when these endeavours failed that the NRSM led by SASA and later, SANROC, fought directly with the IOC and the broader Olympic Movement for International Recognition and opportunity.

#### 6.4.2.3 Radical challenges to the racial sport set up - consciousness – 1950s – 1960s

Throughout the late 1950s and the 1960s, a full-blown protest by the proponents of the NRSM, in close association with the AAM and the South Africa's National Liberation Movement sport desks. Key, in these struggles was the issue of organising South Africa's sport on non-racial basis, the elimination of racism in sport and defeating the application of apartheid policies in sport and replacing it with equal opportunity, on merit as opposed to race, as a measure of team selection. Further, the issue of internal or local recognition of the existence of black athletes became topical. Efforts to gain international recognition and the struggles against apartheid sport – that is the fight again application of apartheid policies in sport became fierce.

South Africa's establishment sport federation and thus the white athletes were slowly getting isolated from international arena. Ironically, the first direct apartheid sport policy statements came to the fore: The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and the T. E. Dönges' Statement of 27 June 1956. In this policy statement Dönges declared among other things that 'whites and blacks would not be allowed to play sport together and the privilege to represent South Africa would be that of whites only.'<sup>1380</sup> This approach however was not going to remain the same. The 1970s became very difficult for the establishment sport and the apartheid regime had to act. New sport policies were enacted, with the Multi-Nation sport policy being the critical, in masking the apartheid practices in South African sport and this attempting to fool the international community and avert the sport boycott, albeit with little success.

#### 6.4.2.4 International focus: from sports boycott to back to Olympic Games again- 1960s – 1990s

Chapter Four and Five discussed the outcomes of the struggles to deracialise South African sport. The sports boycott campaigns that became popular and prominent throughout the 1970s were discussed. The latter was undertaken in collaborations with the broader AAM, the African connection led by the Supreme Council on Sport in Africa,

<sup>1380</sup> See: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/culture%20and%20heritage/sport/index.php?id=12>, n.d., n.p; for more information on this and on the subsequent apartheid sport policies see Klee, 'Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978', 2012, p.155 and 156; also see Booth (1998) *The Race Game*, p.58; Guelke, 'The politicisation of South African sport', L Allison (ed.), *The politics of sport*, 1986, p.119; J. Gemmell, 'South African cricket', *Sport in Society*, 10(1), 2007, p.53; Adriaan Guelke, 'Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies', [Paper presented at the Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference, 25-28 June 2012 at Ulster University, Northern Ireland, UK, 2012, p.2.

which was formed by the OAU after 1963. The United Nations became a thorn in the flesh of the South African apartheid regime, and its sport system. The IOC was forced to take action from 1964 Tokyo Games, where the whites-only South African was suspended from taking part. Similarly in 1968 Mexico Games, with the eventual expulsion in 1970. The South African National Olympic Committee made history as the only NOC to be expelled by the IOC during this period.

These were the results of hard work by the NRSM and AAM activists, which applied the “Direct Protest Action,” conceived and led by Peter Hain of the Labour Party and a former South African, throughout the 1970s. The 1976 Montreal Games, where 26 African Countries boycotted the Games, also played a critical role in putting the apartheid sport question on the global agenda, especially in New Zealand. This New Zealand - South Africa relations, particularly in rugby, were discussed in detail in Chapter Two and Five. All these struggles together, were geared towards bringing about a non-racial sport setup in South Africa.

These struggles of course were not without the internal challenges within the NRSM and between the NRSM, AAM and the National Liberation. These dynamics were discussed in detail in Chapter Five. With the establishment of SACOS in 1973, the stage was set for some form of contestation with the NRSM. These dynamics and challenges apparently spilled-over the 1990s. In fact during this period, the NRSM appeared heavily weakened and comprised, for various logistical and political reasons. The latter emanated from both local and international sources. This as well was discussed in detail in Chapter Four and Five. By the end of the sports boycott, the newly “unified” non-racial sport federation emerged and the IOC, United Nations, the NSC and Nelson Mandela and the ANC he led, played a pivotal role in taking South Africa back to the Olympic Movement, for good or bad reasons. It depends on who you are and where you stand.

The advent of democratic rule and end of apartheid in 1994 marked another form and beginning of re-introducing sport as a tool for reconciliation by the Mandela Administration. The latter, as the first democratic Administration, carried with it a huge responsibility, the reconciliation mandate of the warring races in the country, with a long history of bigotry, discriminations, segregation and lack of opportunity by the masses of the population. The second Administration had the added responsibility to develop the economy and thus take in the majority of the previously disadvantaged and marginalised communities, the black people and African people in particular. This meant that there

would be some form of Affirmative Action policies to be enacted to address these challenges, as per the South African Constitution. The South Africa's National Development Plan 2030<sup>1381</sup> (popularly known as simple the NDP) concurs with the above sentiments in its declaration that:

...South Africa has made remarkable progress in the transition from apartheid to democracy. This transition has been peaceful despite the country's history of violent conflict and dispossession. In nearly every facet of life, advances are being made in building an inclusive society, rolling back the shadow of history and broadening opportunities for all. South Africa has been able to build the institutions necessary for a democratic and transformative state. The Constitution enshrines a rights-based approach and envisions a prosperous, non-racial, non-sexist democracy that belongs to all its people. Healing the wounds of the past and redressing the inequities caused by centuries of racial exclusion are constitutional imperatives...<sup>1382</sup>

This thesis suggest that young black people in South Africa, especially when it come to sporting expreinces, do not necessarily need hand-outs or pushed through racial quotas but need opportunities and affirmation or affirmative approaches, sometimes referred to as “selection with bias.” The latter suggest that the sport federations, the sport officials and coaches need to take cogniscence of the fact that the majority of children did not, as their parents, have proper early childhood development opportunities as their white counterparts. This has been a long circle and to break it, pragmatic approaches would need to be adopted. The NDP diagnostic report also made similar recommendations on this matter in the section on: “Improving education, training and innovation,” where “Basic education – sports arts and culture,” the “2030 vision,” “Early childhood development,”<sup>1383</sup> and “Post-school”<sup>1384</sup> are discussed, among other matters. The NDP suggest that Government and communities need to:

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<sup>1381</sup> President Jacob Zuma appointed the National Planning Commission in May 2010 to draft a vision and national development plan. The Commission is an advisory body consisting of 26 people drawn largely from outside government, chosen for their expertise in key areas. The Commission's *Diagnostic Report*, released in June 2011, set out South Africa's achievements and shortcomings since 1994. It identified a failure to implement policies and an absence of broad partnerships as the main reasons for slow progress, and set out nine primary challenges.

<sup>1382</sup> Government of South Africa – National Planning Commission, “National Development Plan 2030: Our Future, make it work,” found on: <http://www.poa.gov.za/news/Documents/NPC%20National%20Development%20Plan%20Vision%202030%20-lo-res.pdf>

<sup>1383</sup> Some information on “Early Childhood Development” can be accessed on the *Diagnostic Review of Early Childhood Development, 2012 & various DBE reports*,

<sup>1384</sup> See the “Introduction” of the Government of South Africa’s National Planning Commission Report: “National Development Plan 2030, p.294-328.

...Encourage sports and physical education. They are an integral part of the holistic development of learner. Schools are where talent is identified, career choices made (including careers in sport) and habits learnt. Given the growing problem of obesity, the habit of leading an active life-style can be developed at a young age through participation in sport. Working with the Department of Sport and Recreation, the Department of Basic Education has reintroduced school sport. This positive initiative needs to be expanded. Expose learners to history, heritage and culture. History, heritage and culture are important for understanding the past, analysing the present and planning for the future. They foster social understanding and cohesion, which is important for social and economic stability and growth. The arts inspire creativity and innovation and also build social cohesion...<sup>1385</sup>

The work of Ashwin Desai<sup>1386</sup> is critical in understanding the proposals and conclusions reached in the NDP 2030 diagnostic Report released in June 2011<sup>1387</sup> and in the present study. The NOCSA and now SASCOC – emerged and appeared quite weakened and more so, self-weakening sport entities. Self-weakening because of the matter in which they carry themselves, the nature of the personnel and leadership they possess. They have from inception, been dominated by one population of the rest and hell bent on keeping it that way. This is done by elevating and giving more power to small federations and relatively less broad-based and popular played sport in the country, in an effort to gain votes and keeping the status quo unchallenged and changed. Consequence thereof, SASCOC loses credibility, respect and general acceptance in the eyes of the some sportspersons, some federations, media and the broader public that love sport.<sup>1388</sup>

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

The current Chapter served to provide a summary of the major discussion that has taken place in this thesis and gives life and meaning to the “reported” finding thereof. “Findings” on the early influences of South Africa’s Olympic sporting interactions; the

<sup>1385</sup> See NDP 2013, “Basic Education: Sport, Arts and Culture,” p. 304.

<sup>1386</sup> Desai, A. (eds.) (2011) *The Race To Transform: Sport in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Pretoria: Human Research Council.

<sup>1387</sup> See the “Introduction” of the Government of South Africa’s National Planning Commission Report: “National Development Plan 2030, p.24.

<sup>1388</sup> See Sowetan/[ by Ramatsiyi Moholoa], “suspended-as-a-board-has-a-strong-case-against-sascoc – lawyer, October 11, 2010, also available on <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/sport/2010/10/11/suspended-as-a-board-has-a-strong-case-against-sascoc-lawyer>; also see <http://mg.co.za/article/2008-04-11-athletics-boss-wins-latest-battle>; SABC / [Harry Olivier] “Storm brewing at SASCOC,” Tuesday 17 January 2012 17:24, also available on <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/9039e78049d403799354bf73f92a0f3c/Storm-brewing-at-SASCOC-20120117>; Graeme Joffe, No reply from Sports Minister, 2013-02-13 11:55, also available on <http://www.sport24.co.za/Columnists/GraemeJoffe/No-reply-from-Sports-Minister-2013-02-13>; Graeme Joffe, SASCOC is sicker than sick, 2013-01-30 08:57, also available on <http://www.sport24.co.za/Columnists/GraemeJoffe/SASCOC-is-sicker-than-sick-2013-01-30>.

assessment of the development of bigotry in the country's sport is undertaken, and the outline of the IOC and the Olympic Movement position towards the complexities of organising racist-free sport in South Africa, were examined. This Chapter reported the main findings and made concluding remarks regarding the entire research and briefly covering the section under study against the backdrop of analysing the struggles to deracialise South African sport, the challenge against racial and class inequality in sport and the impact and effect of the subsequent sports boycott on South African society and transforming sport landscape.

In the final analysis, the struggles to deracialise South African sport was initiated by South Africans inside the country as internal endeavours to challenge the racial status quo in sport, they however grew to be one of the largest transnational struggles and resistant movements in the world. Inside South Africa, the sports struggles were continued as waged by SACOS to a large extent and the NSC (with the broader Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which comprised of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the broader labour movement, with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) playing a critical role) later, played their respective roles, however varied and in competition to each other.

The more strategic role in these struggles however, was largely in the hands of SANROC and the AAM, with SCSA, OAU, IOC and UN playing very influential roles. This effectively placed the struggles to deracialise South African sport firmly on the hands of the transnational bodies and thus made the former wholly transnational in nature and character. The transnational bodies, especially the IOC and the UN therefore, effectively dictating not only the terms of the South Africa's sports struggles in the late 1980s and early 1990s but also charting the direction and influenced its logical conclusion. There is no better way to explain the influence of the external role players than the haste at which the processes that lead to the transition from racially fragmented South African sports bodies to the "unified" bodies in the early 1990s. It is believed that Claude Ganga, at the time a Secretary General of SCSA, was central in these processes and apparently the phrase: "the bus is already at the station, you either board it or you are left behind," was some form of a mantra during this period. This study concludes that it was perhaps against this background that external forces, specifically the IOC and UN, which played an influential role in the cessation of the sports struggles against apartheid sport and thus the return of South African sport into the international sport arena, and the Olympic Games

since 1960. More importantly, it was the political consideration as opposed to sporting consideration that lead to the end of the sports boycott campaigns in the early 1990s. The final outcomes of the struggles to deracialise South African sport therefore were not necessarily what were initially envisaged by the broader NRSM and the AAM and as such, their impact was, in the broader scheme of things, rather minimal.

An assessment of the newly-democratically-elected government's sport policy between 1994 and 1999 is however recommended, albeit not part of the scope of this thesis. The new governments' challenge and accusations, of meddling in sport, by some of the former 'establishment'<sup>1389</sup> sport forces; and that of "having presided" over 'sham-unity,'<sup>1390</sup> having sold out or betrayed the non-racial sport struggle, non-racial sport or the non-racial sport ideal; for political expediency, by the former non-racial sport leaders,<sup>1391</sup> were discussed in the context of the new Government's position and initiatives towards nation building, reconciliation and the deliverance of South Africa's constitutional mandate.<sup>1392</sup> It would seem therefore that an analysis of this development is paramount.

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<sup>1389</sup> See Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982), *The South Africa game*, p.202; Goslin, A. (1996) "Human Resource Management as a Fundamental Aspect of a Sport Development Strategy in South African Communities," *Journal of Sport Management*, 10, 207-217, p.1; Booth, D. (1998) *The Race Game*, p.xi; Ramsamy and Griffiths (2004) *Reflections*, p.20.

<sup>1390</sup> See, Grundlingh (1995) "The new politics of rugby", p.1-23, in Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*, p.7; Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities*, 1997.

<sup>1391</sup> See Brown (2006), "The Destruction of the Non-racial Sport," pp.138-150, in Thomas (eds.) *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*, 2006.

<sup>1392</sup> Douglas Booth, "The Antinomies of Multicultural Sporting Nationalism: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa, University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999.

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BOX: MSS AAM 1429 – FILE: General Correspondence on sport, 1962-1982/Letter from Mike Terry, the Executive Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, dated 26 July 1982,

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## Appendix 1

### EDITORIAL PROOF LETTER(S)

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To whom it may concern

My name is Sandra Duncan and I wish to verify that I have corrected the English and the grammar in the thesis of Philani Nongogo titled,

"THE STRUGGLES TO DERACIALISE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW"

If further information is required please do not hesitate to contact me at the above contact information.

Best wishes

Sandra Duncan

## Appendix 2

### GLOSSARY OF TERMS

## 1.1 CLARIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY / GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The phenomenon of political oppression, racism and apartheid that mystified the world throughout the twentieth century offered much impetus to the current study. Nonetheless, in order to comprehend the study in the context of ethnicity and/or race, a definition of South Africa's socio-political racial lexicon and terminology is essential. The study of sport, globally as well as in the South African context, has proven to be as complex as other socio-political topical domains.<sup>1</sup> During the early South Africa's historical development, the language used apparently became archaic and problematic. Consequently, for some readers, references to groups like whites or Europeans, non-whites or non-Europeans and/or blacks, Coloureds, Indians, Africans or "natives", "kaffir" and/or "bantus", can be viewed as politically incorrect and re-igniting South Africa's apartheid experience. While sensitive, historically these appellations have a certain cohesion, which cannot be summarily wished away. Thus, conflating them in the name of politeness or in the quest for political correctness could be *ahistorical* and this poses a danger in the development of this section of South African historiography.<sup>2</sup> This thesis also makes use of these various politically "incorrect" terms that need clarification in order to put this study in a proper socio-historical context. Amongst many of these that need clarification, the following is essential:

### 1.2.1 Administrative Boards

These were the appointed Executive authorities and were directly responsible to the Minister of Bantu Affairs. The latter changed later to be known as Minister of Plural Relations, then Minister of Co-operation and Development, which administered and controlled the movement, employment and housing of Africans outside the bantustans. The Administration Boards were established in 1971 and in 1979 the number of these boards was reduced from 22 to 14. The Administration Boards were renamed Development Boards in 1982 and between 1982 and 1984, some powers of urban administration (including the administration of urban sport) were delegated to community councils. In 1986 the Regional Service Councils were created in the place of the Boards.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cornelissen, S. (2011) "Resolving the South Africa problem", in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Odendaal, (1995) "The Thing that is not round: The untold story of black rugby in South Africa" in by Grundlingh, A. Odendaal, A. and Spies, B. *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, p.5; Nongogo, P. (2004) *The Origins and Development of Black Rugby*, p.xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982) *The South African Game: Sport and Racism and Racism*. London: Zed Press, p.148.

### 1.2.2 African

According to Cleophas and Van der Merwe, the appellation, “African” ‘referred to the original inhabitants living east of the Kei River,’<sup>4</sup> within the Cape Colony of South Africa. Throughout the colonial and apartheid eras, as Anthropologist, Bernard Magubane observes:

... In pursuance of twisted historical logic, [the] African[s people] have been called many things [the white political ruling elite]: at one time they were called “Kaffirs” – which simply means unbelievers; then when this preposterous and insulting designation was dropped; they became simply “natives”, which classifies them with the fauna and vegetation of the land; then when it was realised that “native” had other connotations, that it conferred originality to the land, “Bantu” was used – a word meaning “people”. ...the word Bantu [also later came]... into disuse and the “Department of Bantu Administration” ... [became] called “Department of Plural Relations” and the country itself ...called a “Plural democracy”. The rulers refuse to use the word “African” because of its political connotations...<sup>5</sup>

The “African” population however often used the latter terms when referring to itself but, with the passage of time, these appellations fell into disparagement. This development was similar to that in the African-American community in the United States of America, where once “accepted” terms such as “Negro” and “Coloured”, acquired “new” racial connotations of ridicule and thus abandonment.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.2.3 Apartheid (Political System/Ideology)

Apartheid means “apartness” or “separateness” in Afrikaans. It was a system of racial segregation enforced in South Africa from 1948 to 1994. South Africa had long been ruled by white people for a period of three-hundred-odd years, on a racial segregation basis against black people and the apartheid system was designed to form a legal framework to perpetuate this socio-economic and socio-political dominance by people of European descent. Under apartheid people were legally classified into racial groups: white, Coloured, Indian and black, and were geographically and forcibly separated from each other on the basis of this legal classification.<sup>7</sup> Alfred Tokollo Moleah declares that ‘[A]partheid existed much, much longer

<sup>4</sup> Cleophas, F.J. and Van Der Merwe, F.J.G. (2011) “Contradictions and responses concerning the South Africa sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape”, in *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPERD)*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March), pp. 124-140, p.124.

<sup>5</sup> Magubane, B. (1982) “The Politics of History in South Africa,” New York: United Nation, p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Cleophas, F.J. and Van Der Merwe, F.J.G. (2011) “Contradictions and responses,” p.124.

<sup>7</sup> For more detailed explanation see Martin, M. (1988) *In the name of apartheid: South Africa in the post-war period*. New York: Hamish Hamilton; Irving, H. (1981) *The Irony of apartheid: The struggle for national independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British imperialism*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press and Louw, E.P. (2004) *The rise, fall and legacy of apartheid*. Wesport, Connecticut: Praeger.

and before apartheid there was colonialism, there was a colour bar, all kinds of “segregatory” devices in place. Racism is still a fact of lie in South Africa...<sup>8</sup> In his paper on the “Politics of History in South Africa,” Bernard Magubane also argues that ‘the doctrine of apartheid is nothing but an affirmation of primordial loyalties which emerged 300 years ago.’<sup>9</sup>

#### 1.2.4 Apartheid Policies

The election in 1948 of the Nationalist Party to government in South Africa resulted in a rapid codification of the country’s racial order so that by 1954 the component pieces of apartheid as a legal system of law were all in place.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the 1950s and 1960s internal and international political pressures saw South Africa increasingly isolated from international sport. To the newly emerging international forces, apartheid was a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965). One manifestation of this opposition may be seen in the 1972 United Nations General Assembly resolution 2922 describing apartheid as a total negation of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and more significantly describes apartheid as “a crime against humanity.” The resulting 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid pointed in article III to the “international criminal responsibility” of those who ‘directly abet, encourage or cooperate in the commission of the crime of apartheid.<sup>11</sup>

#### 1.2.5 Apartheid Sport

Apartheid sport has been generally described as the application of the apartheid policies in South African sport. This implied that all the discriminatory laws and practices were voluntarily adopted and applied by the white-only sport organisations in South Africa, from school sports to national organisations and teams. The policy of apartheid was voluntarily applied and adhered to by the sport bodies even though there was no direct legislation that

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This was also discussed in the interview by Birgit Englert (Stichproben), interviewing Alfred Tokollo Moleah, interview entitled, “Racism in South Africa Ten Years After Apartheid: *Apartheid was about the geographical separation of people defined through laws,*” (The interview was carried out and edited by Birgit Englert. Concept and questions were developed together with Bea Gomes. The interview itself was made together with Veronika Bilger). ‘Racism in South Africa Ten Years After Apartheid’, Interview with Prof. Alfred Tokollo Moleah, South African Ambassador to Vienna Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien Nr. 6/2004, 4. Jg.

<sup>8</sup> Moleah (2004), “Racism in South Africa Ten Years After Apartheid.”

<sup>9</sup> Magubane (1982) “The Politics of History in South Africa”, p.1.

<sup>10</sup> MacLean, M. (2010) “Anti-apartheid boycotts and the affective economies of struggle: the case of Aotearoa New Zealand”, *Sport in Society*, 13:1, 72 – 91.

<sup>11</sup> In 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, United Nations General Assembly 30 November 1973, see MacLean, “Anti-apartheid boycotts,” *Sport in Society*, 13:1, pp.72 – 91.

enforced this practice.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the case of the apartheid sports bodies was untenable. For instance, the position of the South African Olympic Games Association (SAOGA) was that the white controlling body had to obey the laws of the country which prohibited mixed sport. But this was clearly not true.

### 1.2.6 Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM)

The AAM emerged on 26 June 1959, South African Freedom Day, when a group of South African exiles and their British supporters met in London under the umbrella of the Committee of African Organisations to organise a boycott of goods imported from South Africa. The meeting was addressed by Julius Nyerere, then President of the Tanganyika Africa National Union, and Father Trevor Huddleston and was held in response to a call from the African National Congress (ANC) and the All-African Peoples Conference for an international boycott of South African goods. The boycotts of course with time, were extended beyond the goods to include a comprehensive boycott on economic, education or academic, cultural and sport. By the autumn of 1959 the group had evolved into an independent Boycott Movement led by Tennyson Makiwane of the ANC and Patrick van Rensburg of the South African Liberal Party. The group decided to call for a national boycott month in March 1960 as a moral gesture of support for the people of South Africa and gradually won the support of the British Labour and Liberal Parties and the Trades Union Congress. It resolved to work for the total isolation of the apartheid system in South Africa and to support those struggling against the apartheid system, including the apartheid sport. The AAM drew its support from a country-wide network of local anti-apartheid groups, some of which had previously been local boycott committees, from individual members and from affiliated organisations such as trades union councils and constituency political parties. Professional and special interest groups arose which worked with the AAM as did Local Authorities against apartheid to co-ordinate local authority action. The AAM co-operated with similar anti-apartheid groups which existed in many countries around the world, exchanging information and meeting at international conferences. During the 1980s groups in Europe formed the Liaison Group of National AAMs in the European Community in order to lobby the European Parliament and Council of Ministers<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> SASA, 1959, SANROC, 1968, De Broglio (1970) *South African Sport*; Ramsamy (1982) *Apartheid*; De Broglio (2009) “The SANROC Story”; Guelke (2012) “Sport and Politics in Deeply Divided Societies.”

<sup>13</sup> For which see the ELTSA archive at the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House/MSS Afris. 2350. The final meeting of the AAM Executive Committee decided to establish an AAM Archives Committee to support the cataloguing of the Movement's archives (AAM/AAM Archives, 1956-1998/ Shelfmarks: MSS AAM/ Bodleian Library: Rhodes House Oxford University).

### 1.2.7 Anti-Imperialism

In political science and international relations, anti-imperialism is the opposition to colonialism, colonial empire, and imperialism. As such, anti-imperialism includes opposition to wars of conquest, especially wars meant to conquer and colonise countries whose territories do not border the imperial power, and wars meant to subjugate peoples of different cultures; the term also comprises political opposition to the territorial expansion of a country beyond its established borders.<sup>14</sup> Fred Harrington states that ‘the anti-imperialist's did not oppose expansion because of commercial, religious, constitutional, or humanitarian reasons but instead because they thought that an imperialist policy ran counter to the political doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.’<sup>15</sup> The revolutionary, Ché Guevara however made the following suggestion about the nature of imperialism, and how to oppose and defeat it:

We must bear in mind that imperialism is a world system, the last stage of capitalism — and it must be defeated in a world confrontation. The strategic end of this struggle should be the destruction of imperialism. Our share, the responsibility of the exploited and underdeveloped of the world, is to eliminate the foundations of imperialism: our oppressed nations, from where they extract capitals, raw materials, technicians, and cheap labor, and to which they export new capitals — instruments of domination — arms and all kinds of articles; thus submerging us in an absolute dependence.<sup>16</sup>

However, to the Russian revolutionary Lenin, imperialism was the highest, but degenerate, stage of capitalism. In the mid-19th century, in *Das Kapital* (1867–94), Karl Marx mentioned imperialism to be part of the prehistory of the capitalist mode of production. Much more important was Lenin, who defined imperialism as “the highest stage of capitalism”, the economic stage in which the monopoly of finance capital becomes the dominant application of capital.<sup>17</sup> As such, said financial and economic circumstances impelled national governments and private business corporations to world-wide competition for control of natural resources and human labour by means of colonialism.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Koechner, R. and Schmidt, H. (2010) *Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840–1960*.

<sup>15</sup> Harrington, F.H. (1935) “The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898–1900,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Sep.), pp. 211–230., pp 211-12 (also accessed in [www.jstor.org/stable/1898547](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1898547)); Welch, R.E. Jr. (1978) *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899–1902*; Tompkins, E.B. (1970) *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890–1920*.

<sup>16</sup> Che Guevara: Message to the Tricontinental Spring of 1967. Also seen in [www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1967/04/16.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1967/04/16.htm).

<sup>17</sup> Evans, G. and Newnham, J. (1998) “Imperialism.” *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, p.244.

<sup>18</sup> Evans, G. and Newnham, J. (1998) “Colonialism,” *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, p. 79.

### 1.2.8 Bantu Affairs Department

This was the principal section of the civil service that was dealing with the administrative control of the African people outside the bantustans. The Bantu Affairs Department was headed by a Minister from the Cabinet elected by Whites only. In 1978 this Department was renamed the Department of Plural Relations and in 1980 it became the Department of Co-operation and Development. It was reorganised in 1986, its functions were divided between it and the Department of Education and Development Aid and the Provincial Executives.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.2.9 Bantustans

During the Apartheid era, ten areas were designated by the regime as “national states” to one of which all the African peoples were deemed to belong, irrespective of where they lived. These bantustans were generally made up of widely scattered pieces of often barren land and normally “self-governing” while overall military and foreign policy was decided by the Apartheid regime in Pretoria.<sup>20</sup>

### 1.2.10 Black sportspersons and non-racial sportspersons

The use of the appellation “black” in this study is used to refer to all the peoples of South Africa who would have otherwise been classified as, “non-white” or “non-European” during the imperial/colonial rule and under apartheid. However, the term non-racial sports rather than black sports became mostly preferred in later years. Conflating these terms would undoubtedly be problematic especially when dealing with a more than a century long country’s sports history. Further although non-racialism was a goal from the start amongst progressive forces within the South African rugby enthusiasts, there were periods in which black sportspersons did not practise it. This was observed even when non-racialism was assertively promoted from the 1950s and beyond many black sportspersons continued to support racial and “multinational” sport.

### 1.2.11 Black or black people

The term “black” was the widely preferred appellation of the non-racial sportsperson and/or the mass democratic movement, and it denotes those groups collectively referred to by the Union governments as *non-European* and later *non-white*.<sup>21</sup> In this work, therefore, the term black or non-racial share the broad inclusive meaning. The apartheid government re-

<sup>19</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.148.

<sup>20</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.148.

<sup>21</sup> Booth (1998) *The Race Game*, p.xi.

classified the South African population into four principal racial groups, namely, “African” (later “*bantu*”), “Coloured” (including Chinese) and Asian or Indian”. The latter terms and the term “white” are used as such in this work because the organisation and practice of sport in apartheid South Africa cannot be understood without reference to them.<sup>22</sup>

### 1.2.12 Boer people or Boers

The term “Boer”<sup>23</sup> has since become a derogatory term and its use in this thesis is avoided except where the work of others is used. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica the Boer people were of:

...Dutch “husbandman,” or “farmer”, a South African of Dutch, German, or Huguenot descent, especially one of the early settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Today, descendants of the Boers are commonly referred to as Afrikaners. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company charged Jan van Riebeeck with establishing a shipping station on the Cape of Good Hope. Immigration was encouraged for many years, and in 1707 the European population of Cape Colony stood at 1,779 individuals. For the most part, modern Afrikaners have descended from this group. The Dutch colony prospered to the extent that the Cape Town market for agricultural produce became glutted. With market stagnation and with slaves providing most of the manual labour in the colony, there were few economic opportunities for the burgeoning white population. Eventually more than half of these people turned to the self-sufficient life of the *trekboeren* (literally “wandering farmers” but perhaps better translated as “dispersed ranchers”). The Boers were hostile toward indigenous African peoples, with whom they fought frequent range wars, and toward the government of the Cape, which was attempting to control Boer movements and commerce...<sup>24</sup>

### 1.2.13 Community Councils

These were the elected councils and were established in 1977 as part of the system of administration of non-bantustan African people. In 1982 the legislation governing the Community Councils extended the latter’s functions from being chiefly consultative to municipal administration, which included setting and collecting revenue sources from rentals, levying services charges, allocating housing and business sites.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, n.p.

<sup>23</sup> For more information about the “Boer” People, see <http://www.history.co.uk/study-topics/history-of-south-africa/the-boers>; <http://www.anglo-boer.co.za/>; <http://www.sahistory.org.za/node/16629>

<sup>24</sup> See <http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/71276/Boer>

<sup>25</sup> Archer and Bouillon (1982) *The South Africa game*, p.149.

## 1.214 “Customs and Policies – not Law”<sup>26</sup>

Mary Draper of the South African Institute of Race Relations, in an article entitled, “Custom and policy - not law - bar mixed sport” in the Johannesburg *Star* of January 31, 1963, summarised the position in the following way:

...Sportsmen of different races may lawfully compete with one another provided (a) members of the “wrong” race groups do not make use of club facilities, and (b) the body or person controlling a “public” sports ground has not laid down conditions restricting its use on racial lines...<sup>27</sup>

It was not illegal for teams composed of “mixed” races to play against each other or to hold matches between teams or individuals of different races. However, persons of one racial group may not enter club buildings in an area zoned for persons of a different colour. That is why, in 1963, the golfer of Indian decent; Sewsunker (Papwa) Sewgolum was awarded his prize for winning the South African Open Golf competition in the pouring rain outside the club-house while the white competitors celebrated inside. In October 1962, the Natal Supreme Court ruled that it was not illegal for persons of different races to play football together. In other words, the provision excluding mixing across the colour-line did not extend to the playing fields themselves. As Mary Draper concluded in her article:

...It is true that the policy of the present Government is hostile to inter-racial sport. There is, however, a big distinction between law and policy. Laws have to be observed, and are enforceable by the courts. Compliance with policy is a matter for choice on the part of individual citizens and organisations...<sup>28</sup>

An examination of South African sports history shows clearly that the official controlling bodies in each branch of sport have *voluntarily* practised racial discrimination over the years. Several of them, including the white Football Association, even had colour bar clauses in their constitutions. In this particular case the all-white body deleted this clause in 1956 when representatives of FIFA visited South Africa, but maintained that they would continue to follow the laws and customs of South Africa.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Klee, J. (2012) “Multinational sport participation replaces apartheid sport in South Africa – 1967-1978”: The role of BJ Vorster and PGJ Koornhof’, *New Contree*, No. 64, July, pp.155-170; and also Draper, M. (1963) “Custom and policy”, in the JHB *Star* of January 31, p.155 & p.156; Klee, J. (2012) “Multinational sport participation”, pp.155-170 , p.155 & 156; also see Booth, D. (1998) *The race game*, p.58; Guelke “The politicisation of South African sport”, in Allison, L. (ed.), *The politics of sport*, p.119; Gemmell, J. (2007) “South African cricket,” *Sport in Society*, 10(1), p.53.

<sup>27</sup> Mary Draper of the South African Institute of Race Relations, in an article entitled, “Custom and policy - not law - bar mixed sport,” in the Johannesburg *Star* of January 31, 1963.

<sup>28</sup> Draper, (1963) “Custom and policy”, in the JHB *Star* of January 31, p.3.

<sup>29</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, June 7, 1958; also see [http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/aam/ubdul-2.htm\(3\)#\(3\)##](http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/aam/ubdul-2.htm(3)#(3)##)

### 1.2.15 Colour bar Phenomenon in South Africa

The colour bar phenomenon as was practiced in the Cape Colony was ‘oppressive restrictions placed upon non-white peoples.’<sup>30</sup> However, with the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, comprising only of the white population, a colour bar was incorporated in its constitution and this gave status to a racial divide that had developed and permeated South African society during colonial rule, which both British and Boer ‘were equally responsible.’<sup>31</sup> This development included all activities of South African life, including the political, economic and social spheres. The South African colour bar policies therefore were as used as tools to counteract a perceived “black peril” (sometimes referred to as *swart gevaar* in Afrikaans) and to unite the white English and Afrikaans speaking sections of the country. Legislation was passed to protect white interests, resulting in the marginalisation of black people in education and industry. Resistance against the colour bar phenomenon was not a unified action and sections of the black community operated within the government organs that promoted it. Throughout history, British hegemonic imperialism and culture was not challenged by large sections of South African communities and with time they, especially the elite, imitated and British discriminatory practices, which were invariably extended to the field of sport.<sup>32</sup>

### 1.2.16 Colour bar in South African sport

This was the application of the colour bar policies and practices in South Africa’s sporting landscape, which unfolded in a two-pronged process. It initially emerged as a result of the social, economic and political defeat of the Afrikaner nation during the “Anglo-Boer War” (correctly known as the South African War), together with the grand plan of creating the “black peril” phenomenon. Then, a complex and fluid development of the “colour bar-class-religious-ethnic-tribal exclusive” practices, as were observed to be exercised by the Black population and/or the “non-European” or “non-whites” sport participating population, to themselves and by themselves. The various sections of the black population, at least until the 1950s, maintained sport contact with each other albeit on racial lines.

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<sup>30</sup> Macmillan, W.H. (1968) *Cape Colour Question*, Cape Town: Balkema, p.288.

<sup>31</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses,” p.125.

<sup>32</sup> Odendaal, A. (1984) *Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town: David Phillip; Grundlingh, A. Odendaal, A. and Spies, B. (1995) *Beyond the tryline: Rugby and the South African Society*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Odendaal, A. (2003) *The story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of the Cricket's Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850-2003*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

### 1.2.17 Cape “Coloured” Population

This population is considered to be ‘a distinct group of descendants of the indigenous Khoisan, slave and Europeans.’<sup>33</sup> The Chinese immigrants of the nineteenth century were also included in this population. Like with the “African” people, it was common to refer to the “Coloured” population as non-white or non-European.

### 1.2.18 The establishment or Official or Racially Organised sport

The term “establishment” referred to the white administration or government linked and “officially recognised” sports and/or other pro-apartheid forces and the “non-establishment” sports referred to the anti-apartheid or non-racial sport administration, which was generally unrecognised and/or unofficial sports association. The South African rugby however, has a long troubled history, dating back to the time black rugby, incorporating the appellations, “African”, “Coloured” and the Indian population within the South African Coloured Rugby Board (SACRB), split into three “national” bodies: SABRB; SARU and SARFF. All these “national bodies practised multiracial and/or multinational sports although SARU adopted the non-racial stance, with the African body and the Federation supporting Craven’s and Piet Koornhof’s multinational sports policy until rugby unity in 1991.

### 1.2.19 Eugenics

Eugenics was a late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomena. Its influences and aftermath relates creating a racialised society. The efforts to deracialise South African sport were some form of a response to the eugenic view. Although not related to this research, reflection on how the eugenics movement developed and impacted on South Africa and how ‘eugenics thinking’ facilitated the establishment of a foundation of racists thinking in the minds of white South Africans which left the policy of segregation and the ideology of apartheid unquestioned and accepted as scientific fact, could be invaluable.

### 1.2.20 Internationalism or Transnational

The struggles to deracialise South African sport took many forms, including representations internally and externally, lobbying individuals, clubs and/or teams, civic organisations locally and internationally, governments and multilateral and/or transnational organisations, that believed in equality, socio-political freedom, democracy, egalitarianism and to a broad non-

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<sup>33</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) “Contradictions and responses,” p.124.

discrimination position in sport and in society. In this study, considering the effects of the sports boycott, the above clearly multifaceted strategy epitomise the phenomenon of internationalism, where a local grievance was escalated beyond the borders of South Africa. These struggles collectively came to be generally known as the Anti-Apartheid Movement for economic, cultural, academic and/or education and sports boycotts. Speaking in December 1998, his last full year as the President of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela declared: ‘With the exception of the atrocities against the Jews during World War II, there is no evil that has been as condemned by the entire world as apartheid.’<sup>34</sup> The roles of these boycotts were recognised in the South African post-apartheid Parliament with the purpose to initiate a healthy and constructive debate about the country’s and the regions past. The response to the international community and solidarity forces can be best demonstrated by what is attributed to the young Cubans below:

...What price are you willing to pay for someone else's freedom? In answer to this, tens of thousands of young men and women from the small Caribbean Island of Cuba answered “Whatever is required!” For more than twenty years, during a time when most African countries were still under the yoke of colonialism, Cuban revolutionaries were actively involved in liberation wars across Africa...<sup>35</sup>

### 1.2.21 Liberation Struggle

Raymond Suttner argues that ‘a struggle for liberation is a journey, for it does not happen at one place at a single moment. The route is not always along a straight line and there may be disagreements about the best way to move, and even about the destination. One may also argue that, unlike most journeys, freedom is never finally realised. It may be deepened and broadened. There may also be setbacks and even reversals...’<sup>36</sup>

### 1.2.22 A Movement

The world has seen several forms of movements, which inherently comprised of various individuals and/or groupings of similar or different backgrounds, with however similar interests. These movements could include the National Liberation Movement, the Liberation Movement, the Workers Movement, Non-racial Sports Movement, Anti-Apartheid

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Crwys-Williams, J. (eds.) (2007) *In The Words of Nelson Mandela: A Little Pocketbook*. Johannesburg: Penguin Books, p.17.

<sup>35</sup> El-Tahri, J. (2010) “A DVD” - CUBA: An African Odyssey, A FILM BY JIHAN EL-TAHRI, (The Parliamentary Millennium Programme & Encounters [Encounters: The South African International Documentary Film Festival is the foremost documentary film festival in Africa, promoting documentaries through distribution and special screenings]).

<sup>36</sup> Suttner, R. (2012) “ANC: a long and difficult journey,” [On-line] INLSA: January 9 (Accessed at 03:30pm, 09/01/2012 [also found in: <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/anc-a-long-and-difficult-journey-1.1210053>].

Movement, Anti-Imperialism Movement and others. A liberation movement for instance is generally believed to be an organisation leading a rebellion against a colonial power or national government, often seeking independence based on a nationalist identity and an anti-imperialist outlook. The National Liberation Movement however, ‘was a world-wide movement which began between the first two world wars, growing to massive proportions after 1945, in favour of national self-determination for the colonies of the imperialist powers.’<sup>37</sup> In South Africa however, the Liberation Movement (LM) comprised of various anti-Apartheid political structures and organisation, dating back from the era of emergence of modern political struggle against colonial rule – and this include the *Imbumba* of Mpilo Walter Benson Rubusana in the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the African Native National Congress of 1912 (later simply known as the ANC), the All African Convention (AAM), the Non-European Unity Movement (later simple known as New Unity Movement of South Africa of 1934, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) formed in 1959; the Black Conscious Movement (BCM), which inspired the formation of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) in the late 1970s), and various labour, social and church organisations. The ANC and PAC has their respective military wings, which inherently formed an integral part of the LM, uMkhonto weSizwe popularly knows was the MK and the Azanian People’s Liberation Army or simply, APLA.

#### **1.2.24 Multi-racial Sport and Multi-racial Sport Policy**

The multiracial sports referred to the sports activities of competitions which different racial groups partook together. It attained negative connotations and political incorrectness, implying that South Africa was a confederation of national racial groups.

#### **1.2.25 Multi-national Sport and Multi-national Sport Policy**

The multinational sports denoted those sporting activities that different racial groups, organised in their “nationalities” that, according to the government sport policy, that had to organise and play sport separately. This term and policy also carried negative connotations as well, like the multiracial sports organisation and policy above.

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<sup>37</sup> <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/events/n/a.htm>

### 1.2.26 National Liberation

In 1966 Amilcar Cabral defined the national liberation as a phenomenon in which a given socio-economic whole rejects the negation of its historical process. In other words, the national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected. Therefore a conclusion can be made that national liberation exists only when the national productive forces have been completely freed from every kind of foreign domination. Further, the basis of national liberation is thus the inalienable right of every people to have its own history, and the objective of national liberation is to regain this right usurped by imperialism, that is to say, to free the process of development of the national productive forces. Accordingly, any national liberation movement which does not take into consideration this basis and this objective may certainly struggle against imperialism, but will surely not be struggling for national liberation. In a nutshell, bearing in mind the essential characteristics of the present world economy, as well as experiences already gained in the liberation struggle, the principal aspect of a national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.2.27 Non-racial

The term non-racial or non-racial sport was a colour-blind term and recognised South Africa as a unitary state, and because in South Africa, the officially excluded group in sport and in other aspects of life under apartheid, the former was often used interchangeably with black sports. This term gained much currency in South Africa in the 1950s, even though it was in use in the 1940's as well.

### 1.2.28 Olympism

The “philosophy of Olympism” is as long as the Olympic Movement itself. It was adopted as a philosophy that was to guide the Olympic Movement in the inaugural Olympic Congress in 1894, which amongst other things, included the *rebirth* of the modern Games of the Olympiad or the Olympic Games; a humanist sport policy and the Olympic Charter. This came to be known as the Olympic Charter, that the entire structure of the Olympic Movement had to conform to and is bound by its provisions. The IOC views Olympism as “a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind.

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<sup>38</sup> This is the extract from “The Weapon of Theory,” an address delivered by Amilcar Cabral to the first Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana, Cuba in January, 1966.

Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles. 2. The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity”<sup>39</sup>.

### 1.2.29 Olympic Charter

The IOC<sup>40</sup> describes the Olympic Charter (OC) as ‘the codification of the Fundamental Principles of Olympism, Rules and Bye-Laws adopted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). It governs the organisation, action and operation of the Olympic Movement and sets forth the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games. In essence, the Olympic Charter serves three main purposes: a) The Olympic Charter, as a basic instrument of a constitutional nature, sets forth and recalls the Fundamental Principles and essential values of Olympism. b) The Olympic Charter also serves as statutes for the International Olympic Committee. c) In addition, the Olympic Charter defines the main reciprocal rights and obligations of the three main constituents of the Olympic Movement, namely the International Olympic Committee, the International Federations and the National Olympic Committees, as well as the Organising Committees for the Olympic Games, all of which are required to comply with the Olympic Charter’.<sup>41</sup>

### 1.2.30 Olympic Games or Games of the Olympiad

The *Games of the Olympiad* or the Summer Olympic Games, which together with the Winter Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games, are paramount to the work of the Olympic Movement, particularly, their special role of mirroring and promotion of Olympic values. The Games of the Olympiad are indeed vital and famous; they however remain one component of the “Olympic Movement tripod”. Given their popularity and influence the Olympic Games are organised by the IOC, amongst its other various important functions.

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<sup>39</sup>©International Olympic Committee (IOC)/2011, p.10/Château de Vidy/C.P. 356/CH-1007/Lausanne/Switzerland/www.olympic.org/Published by the IOC /July 2011/Lausanne/Switzerland.

<sup>40</sup>©IOC/2011, p.8/Château de Vidy/C.P.356/CH-1007/Lausanne/Switzerland/www.olympic.org/Published by the IOC/July 2011/Lausanne/Switzerland.

<sup>41</sup>©IOC/Château de Vidy/C.P.356/CH-1007/Lausanne/Switzerland/www.olympic.org/Published by the IOC/July 2011/Lausanne/Switzerland.

### 1.2.31 The Olympic Ideal

The *Olympic Ideal* embodies amongst other things, the “humanist sports policy” and/or the “philosophy Olympism”. The latter finds expression through the “fundamental principles of Olympism”, which underscores the “core Olympic values” of respect, excellence and friendship and the “central pillars of the Olympic Movement” sport, education, culture and environment.

### 1.2.32 Olympic Movement

In this work the appellation “Olympic Movement” is used in a dual sense. First it refers to the set of values around humanity, goodwill, progress and international cooperation through sport which was espoused by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games. These ideas underpin – at least rhetorically – the games and the various activities towards sport development that are undertaken by the IOC and its affiliates. The promotion of these ideas is a key goal of the Olympic family. The term second is used in accordance to the IOC’s Olympic Charter, to refer to the various organisations and federations that constitute the governing structure of Olympic-recognised sport, which includes the IOC as the leader of the Olympic Movement and; the 202 national Olympic committees [which in this case, the South Africa’s NOCs that includes SAOEGA, 1908-1961, SAONGA, 1961-1971 then South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) from 1971 until 1990] of sovereign states and independent territories that are allied to the IOC; the local (i.e. national) organising committees of Olympic host cities; and international sport federations with affiliation to the IOC; and the International Paralympic Committee [and Paralympic Games] (IPC).

The Olympic Movement was of course born out of the inaugural Olympic Congress that was organised at the instigation of Pierre de Coubertin of France in 1894.<sup>42</sup> This Olympic Congress did not only result in the *rebirth* of the modern Games of the Olympiad as we know them today, but also ushered in a humanist sport policy, a philosophy of Olympism and the constitutional prescript and/or the Olympic Letter, which came to be known as the Olympic Charter that the entire structure of the Olympic Movement have to conform to and is bound by its provisions. The “Olympic Movement” together with the “Games of the Olympiad” and the “Olympic Ideal” are an equally important components that make up and complete the *whole*. The Olympic Movement is therefore “the concerted, organised, universal and

<sup>42</sup> IOC (2011); Nauright (1997) *Sport, Culture and Identities*; Nauright (2010) *Long Run to Freedom*.

permanent action, carried out under the supreme authority of the IOC, of all individuals and entities who are inspired by the values of Olympism. It covers the five continents. It reaches its peak with the bringing together of the world's athletes at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games. Its symbol is five interlaced rings.<sup>43</sup> The *Olympic Movement* is, under the supreme authority and leadership of the IOC, comprised of the three main constituents, namely the IOC itself; the International sports Federations (IFs) and the National Olympic Committees (NOC's), as well as the Organising Committees of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (OCOGs) and other Olympic Organisations (such as the Olympic Solidarity, Olympic Truce Commission; the World Anti-Doping Agency and others).

#### 1.2.33 Population Registration Act

Population Registration Act no.30 of 1950, legislated racial designations of white, Coloured, Indian, African; and other racially classified groups. The responsibility to discharge this registration process and more critically, 'to decide on doubtful cases,'<sup>44</sup> and thus, prevent the Coloured people being classified as white, was given to a racial classification board.

#### 1.2.34 Rebel (cricket/rugby) sport Tours

These were un-official tours, which were not approved by the respective international controlling federations or the national controlling associations to which the rebelling teams were affiliated.

#### 1.2.35 Sanctions

Sanctions are measures that various counties, groups of countries, regional organisations, continental organisations and the international forums such as the UN use to pressure one country or some countries to respect international norms and more specifically to coerce countries into resolving pertinent conflict or conflicts (like the apartheid question in South Africa) within themselves and/or with others. There have been many attempts and processes to deal with these conflicts, but their outcome is by no means certain. Understanding the logic of this contemporary conflict is essential in identifying the most appropriate tools for resolving them. These tools may vary, depending on the country and the phase of any particular conflict. They also range from the softer forms of persuasion such as political and economic conditionalities to the more extreme forms of military involvement. However, the

<sup>43</sup> IOC, (2011) *Olympic Charter*, p.10; PASO (2012), p.1.

<sup>44</sup> Cleophas and Van Der Merwe (2011) "Contradictions and responses.", p.125: also see Coetzer, P.W. (1991) "Die era van apartheid," p.278, in Cameron, T. (Ed.) *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, pp.271-289.

general trend in international norms over the last century has been away from force to the use of other instruments to enforce compliance with acceptable international state practice. Sanctions and conditionalities are two such tools, whose currency has grown in this debate, but whose impact on bringing about change of behaviour in the target state has had mixed outcomes.<sup>45</sup>

#### 1.2.36 The sports boycott

The sports boycott was one of the major manifestations of the sport-centred activist political struggles in the latter half of the twentieth century. These were centred on the demand for the sporting and broader cultural, social, economic and political isolation of South Africa during the apartheid era.<sup>46</sup> The struggle saw apartheid-endorsed South African sports organisations expelled from international bodies beginning in the 1950s, with South Africa's National Olympic Committee being the only one ever to be expelled from the IOC. The sports boycott was one of the major successes of the international anti-apartheid campaign, yet the existing literature on boycotts is only marginally relevant to cultural (including sports) boycotts.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Mills, G. and Sidiropoulos, E. (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability: Sanctions, Conditionalities and Conflict Resolution*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).

<sup>46</sup> Montagu and Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy, n.p.; Spector (2004) “Non-Traditional Diplomacy, pp.145-166; Mills and Sidiropoulos (eds.) (2004) *New Tools for Reform and Stability*.

<sup>47</sup> MacLean, M. (2010) “Anti-apartheid boycotts and the affective economies of struggle: the case of Aotearoa New Zealand”, Sport in Society, 13:1, 72 – 91.

# cumlaude

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### **DECLARATION OF LANGUAGE EDITING**

I, Christina Maria Etrecia Terblanche, hereby declare that I edited the research study titled:

#### **The struggles to deracialise South African sport: A historical overview**

for Philani Nongogo for the purpose of submission as a postgraduate dissertation. Changes were suggested and implementation was left to the discretion of the author.

Regards,

CME Terblanche

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