

# Reconstruction of South African Sport

From Sports Activism to Post-Apartheid Policy Planning  
and Implementation



Edited by  
**Cheryl Roberts**

community organization

# Reconstruction of South African Sport

**From Sports Activism to Post-Apartheid Policy Planning  
and Implementation**

Edited by  
**Cheryl Roberts**

# **Reconstruction of South African Sport**

From Sports Activism to Post-Apartheid Policy Planning  
and Implementation

*Edited by Cheryl Roberts*



Copyright 1992 National and Olympic Sports Congress

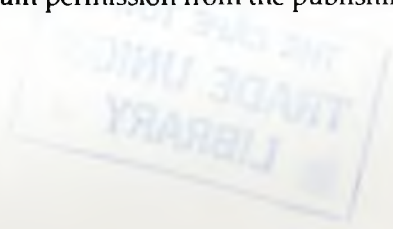
Published by National and Olympic Sports Congress  
P.O. Box 1907, East London 5200

Cover photograph by Yunus Mohamed

Layout and Design by Stephanie de la Cruz of TalkingTEXT

ISBN 0-620-16332-1

Permission is granted to those who wish to reproduce sections or all of the book, provided it is for non-profit, educational and community purposes. But please do acknowledge the source. Others wishing to reproduce parts of the publication must obtain permission from the publishing co-operative.



---

## Contents

<i>Preface</i> .....	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	iii
 Towards a National Sports Policy <b>Steve Tshwete</b> .....	 1
 Relationship between Sport and Education <b>John Samuels</b> .....	 7
 International Sport and Development: Contradictory or Complimentary? <b>Danny Jordaan</b> .....	 11
 Sport: The Cuban Experience <b>Ester Armenteros</b> .....	 17
 Reconstruction of South African Sport: Some Options Considered <b>Cheryl Roberts</b> .....	 23
 The Role of Local Government in the Provision of Sport and Recreational Facilities in a Future South Africa <b>Mathole Motshekga</b> .....	 48

---

---

## Preface

The six papers which appear in this publication were delivered at a consultative conference of the National and Olympic Sports Congress which was held in Johannesburg from 1-3 November 1991.

There is no doubt that this conference on development could not have been held at a more critical juncture in South Africa's history, particularly at a time when the country stands on the threshold of an era which is expected to usher in a non-racial, democratic society.

Given the legacy of apartheid, development and preparation have become priorities for the National and Olympic Sports Congress. It was against the background of the inequalities and future projections for transformation of the sports network which brought delegates together from across South Africa and from all codes of sport and co-ordinating regional councils.

A central theme of the papers is that the reconstruction of South African sport demands a national programme, one that would ensure progress towards an equitable sports structure but also one that would set realistic goals without raising expectations that are unlikely to be realised. A central challenge of the conference was the search for a suitable combination of high performance sport and mass participation.

The gender question in sport also came under the spotlight. Sport's male-dominated, hierarchical and sexist structure was mandated for urgent review. Conference was told that black women have very few opportunities to participate in sport unlike white sportswomen and sports people overall.

Five resolutions, aimed at transforming the present state of South African sport, were adopted at the conference. After exhaustive discussions delegates identified the broad themes to be: national development and planning, national sports policy, building one sports federation, sponsorship, rural areas, affirmative action and empowerment.

Conference noted the absence of a co-ordinated national sports policy, the heavy commercialisation of sport together with the lack of vision and planning for the future of sport. In this regard it was resolved to initiate the acceptance and development of a national sports policy which would emphasise development, national identity and patriotism, democracy, accountability, non-racialism and non-sexism.

If the conference deliberations are to be seriously implemented then the apartheid sports network will undergo structural changes which will develop the historically disadvantaged and unleash the suppressed talents of millions of people who are trapped in an unequal and resourceless system.

*Cheryl Roberts*

**The Development Conference was made possible through funding from APHEDA and to whom the NOSC is grateful for their support given to non-racial sport over the years.**

---

## **Acknowledgements**

ESTER ARMENTEROS is a Diplomat in the Cuban Government and works in the Foreign Department.

JOHN SAMUELS is Head of the Education Department of the African National Congress.

ADVOCATE MATHOLE MOTSHEKGA is vice-president of the PWV region of the ANC and serves on the ANC's Local Government Commission.

STEVE TSHWETE serves on the National Executive Committee of the ANC and heads the Organising Department.

DANNY JORDAAN is an executive member of the South African Football Association (SAFA)

CHERYL ROBERTS is the Publications Secretary of the National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC).



---

# TOWARDS A NATIONAL SPORTS POLICY

*Steve Tshwete*

The last time I addressed a gathering of this nature was at the launch of the NOSC in Cape Town on the 1st July 1990. The body was small and the teething problems which confronted it a legion. Quite a lot of changes have taken place since then. Today the NOSC has grown both in size and social standing in the eyes not only of the oppressed and democratic sports-loving people of this country, but also in the eyes and perceptions of its detractors.

Your conference takes place against the backdrop of fascinating developments in the political fortunes of our country and our people. The changes that are occurring did not come about because of a sudden change of heart on the part of the high priests of apartheid colonialism and racist domination. It was the struggle of the oppressed and democratic masses of our people - a struggle that was reinforced by the international community - that ushered the present scenario. The ANC would like to put on record today that the sports people of our country, organised under the auspices of the NOSC played a crucial role in determining the pace of our overall effort for a democratic dispensation.

Against extremely difficult odds you stood your ground and injected a new content for the first time in our history, taking sport and recreation to the ordinary men and women in the street. The concept of non-racialism and the democratisation of sport ramified, through your tireless and courageous efforts, to the grassroots. This was an altogether new phenomenon in the history of sport in this country. It was precisely because of this approach that the ANC discerned an ally in the NOSC. Contrary to speculative thinking by our detractors, we did not rally behind you because we wanted you to be a sports wing of the ANC. That has never been our aim and even in a future dispensation the ANC will never aspire towards controlling sport for party political loyalty.

What we would, however, strive for, is to ensure the accessibility of sport and recreation to all South Africans as their own right and not a privilege. Your endeavours even at this early stage are commendable. In your own way and with the full backing of our people you have already begun to chart the way forward to a post-apartheid sports ethos. Very few people today doubt the capacity of this organisation to direct the fortunes of non-racial sport in a responsible and dignified manner.

Your growth within the masses of our people and the degree of respectability that you now command across the face of the globe was not given out free, waiting to



---

be picked up at random. It was on the contrary, a direct product of hard work and struggle - both outstanding qualities which were inspired by the love you have for our country and the people you serve.

On behalf of the ANC, and indeed the oppressed and democratic masses of South Africa, I must take the privilege of commending you for the sterling work you have done and which history compels you to pursue even beyond the dawn of a People's Day of South Africa. Even though my presentation here today is not necessarily reflecting the official viewpoint of the ANC, I do want to register that movement's appreciation of your pioneering efforts and your readiness to advise it whenever you deemed it fit to do so.

## **Brief Overview of Apartheid Sport**

It is no exaggeration at all to say that sport and recreation in this country has always been the exclusive preserve of the white people. Throughout the years blacks have always been relegated to total oblivion in so far as this aspect of life is concerned. One might argue that such a posture was not essentially the official policy of the successive governments who lost power to the National party in 1948 precisely because parliament had not legislated in favour of white athletes against black sports people.

But certainly, the norms and values that dominate the social, political and economic, even sport, life of any society reside in the hands of the ruling classes. In various ways such norms and values become the ingredients that colour the national position in relation to who should vote, who should reside where and who should go to which schools and play in what ground. It was not an accident, for instance, that even before the ascendancy of the Nats to power, black sports people played separately in their own parched pitches away from the greens that churned out the so-called Springboks of the teens and subsequent years of this century. The understanding, on the contrary, was that this is how this should be in so far as the white minority regimes were concerned. And, indeed, that is how things were! That was the national state of mind, the policy situation, therefore, of the ruling white South Africa vis-a-vis the oppressed majority.

On the 27th June 1956 the first open, explicit state intervention in sport crystallised in the words of the then Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, when he stated in Die Burger:

*"Whites and non-Whites should organise their sporting activities separately, there should be no inter-racial competition within South Africa, the mixing of*

*racers in teams should be avoided, and sportsmen (sic) from their countries should respect South Africa's customs as she respects theirs. Within that framework non-White sportsmen from the outside world would not be debarred from entering South Africa to compete with non-Whites."* (Cited in S.A.I.R.R., 1958-9).

This statement came as no shock at all to the broad mass of white sports people and sports administrators in the country since the content was understood to have been no departure at all from what was in fact in practice.

Between 1956 and 1985 the South African sports apparatus was consistently redeployed to parry the blows of resistance from below to racist sport and of the growing isolation of South Africa from international sports arenas. The "changes" brought about in official sports policy were always done within the nationalist framework of divide and rule. Multinationalism became the official sports policy in 1976. The final enunciation of the policy followed much internal debate and dissension within the National Party as the Verkrampste and the Verligte components battled to reach consensus on the choice between limited sports reform and complete international isolation. From 1976 this multinationalism took root within establishment circles, the principles of which were re-affirmed throughout the late 70s by successive sports ministers. The embarrassment caused by this multinational sports policy is now history.

From 1979 the state began to advocate for so-called sports autonomy, a position which spelt out that individual sports had the power to decide on how their sport should be played. But of course, the underlying criterion was that this should be done within the framework of the country's law.

Sports autonomy laid the groundwork for the next phase which came to be known as de-politicisation of sport which it never was. The government still had direct control over sport when it brought under the firm hold of the Department of National Education, all school sport. At the same time it continued to channel huge funds to sports organisations that are supportive of the establishment like SANOC and COSAS. Whilst continuing to lavish unlimited patronage to puppet sports bodies, the regime simultaneously unleashed a vicious campaign of terror against the alternative, non-racial, democratic sports bodies. If this scenario is not a revelation of the state's manipulation of establishment bodies for the advancement of its racist policies, then we must all of us be blind.

---

## Role of Sport – ANC Viewpoint

The ANC, on the contrary, has never aspired to have a sports wing of its own. What we have cherished and continue to espouse is the philosophy that the transformation of this country into a democratic state cannot be the exclusive responsibility of political organisations.

It is, therefore, our firm belief that practically every sector has a role to play in this process. The nature and character of that role will derive from the peculiarities that define each one of those sectors. Such an understanding obviously implies that strategies and tactics towards depoliticisation and deracialisation of sport might differ from sector to sector but at the same time complement each other towards the realisation of the popular goal, namely, ridding this country and the world of the scourge of apartheid tyranny in all its manifestations, including sport.

Our interest in the progressive direction that sport is taking is reinforced by the knowledge that theirs is in no way inimical to the greatest demand of all South Africans outside a mental asylum: that South Africa must be free, that sports people engage in sport not as racial or ethnic entities but as South African athletes in the broadest sense of the concept.

Proceeding from this premise, I venture to say that a future ANC government will not seek any control of sport. The administration of sport, its organisation etc, will be the exclusive responsibility of sports persons themselves, within, of course, the four corners of a democratic constitution.

But that ANC government cannot behave as if there was no apartheid before it came to power. It cannot say with any sense of responsibility: "Sports people you are on your own" as if there was no sad legacy from apartheid tyranny - a legacy of utter destitution, want and deprivation in terms of all else that goes into the making of an athlete. Call it affirmative action or what you will, the new democratic government will have to assist in the process of the liquidation of the imbalances that it shall have inherited from the racist past.

The main thrust of such intervention will not be motivated by any desire to manipulate and control in the interests of a party political ideology but by a disposition to address an injustice, an injury that has been inflicted upon the entire South African sports system for decades and decades because of mismanagement and warped thinking.

---

A Commonwealth Working Party's Final Report on strengthening Commonwealth sport speaks along similar lines when it urges governments' interests in sport as follows:

*"We call upon developing and developed Commonwealth governments to do their part. It is time that the integral role which sport plays in the process of nation-building is fully recognised. Sport is an investment. It is first an investment in health, vitality and productivity of one's people. It is secondly an investment in their future. The social benefits include an overall improvement in the quality of life and physical, mental and moral well-being of a population. Improved health care and advances in social policies are part of the result. Sport can provide the bridge to the classroom, acting as a very effective educational and socialising instrument ..... successful athletes serve as role models for the youth of their countries - as achievers, as unofficial ambassadors, as individuals committed to equality and fairness in competition. Because of its visibility, sport can play an enormous part in redressing gender inequalities and discrimination against the disabled and minorities.*

*Perhaps most important of all is the role of sport in fostering national unity. Sport has an unequal ability to bring people together and, in pluralistic societies, to transcend cultural, linguistic and racial barriers ..."*

Given this definition of the role of sport in any society you can now see why the National Party government was so ruthless in its drive to keep the youth of our country apart. With sjamboks, rubber bullets, live ammunition, detention and imprisonment they spurned this delineation of the role of sport precisely because it undermined the basic philosophy of their day.

Unfortunately for our country, not only the National Party government was sinful in this respect. Big business was also wrong. Sports sponsorship, development and marketing were their concern only in so far as these had a bearing on establishment sport. Non-racial sport existed as an entity out there in the periphery, something very much unconventional and very much best left there to forage for itself and hopefully die on those fringes without contaminating the value system on which establishment sport revelled and lolled. But now the situation has changed in terms of business' concern with non-racial sport, thanks to the steadfastness of the non-racial ethos and the support it commanded from civilised nations and sports persons outside the borders of our country.

---

## **Formulation of a National Sports Policy**

Having said all this, the salient points that I think underscore the central drive of this intervention are:

1. The relative autonomy of sport in the sense of it being not an instrument in the hands of any single political party for the advancement of that party's political and ideological outlook.
2. Affirmative action by the democratic government in recognition of imbalances that have been foisted by apartheid and also in recognition of the dynamic role that sport can play in uniting and reconciling a divided and violently polarised society like ours.
3. Increasing big business sponsorship and marketing which in turn should be boosted by forthcoming incentives from the democratic government in the form of removing restrictions on the entry of sporting goods and services and eliminating taxation which has the effect of restricting accessibility of sporting goods and services to the general public.

## **Conclusion**

There are many other factors which must come into play to lend momentum to the evolution of a sports policy in the new society. Of cardinal importance, however, is that such a policy should set the framework for development and reconstruction. At the same time that policy will derive much credibility and vigour if it does not work in isolation from other policies. It would be imperative, therefore, for all such sectors as housing, health, education and sport to work together in the interests of national reconstruction. Whatever development occurs in the area of a national sport policy will depend on development in other sectors.



---

# RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPORT AND EDUCATION

*John Samuel*

**T**he significance of this conference, taking place as it does at a crucial moment in the history of sport in this country, cannot be understated. With the lifting of people-to-people sanctions, including the sports and cultural boycott, and as South African sport sprints headlong into the international arena, it is necessary for progressive sportsmen and women to ponder the future of sport and to develop a policy framework for sport in a post-apartheid South Africa. The deliberations of this conference focusing on the development and reconstruction of South African sport, with particular emphasis on policy planning and implementation, is evidence of your awareness of, and the resolve with which you approach, the task that lies ahead.

## **Sport and Transformation**

The development of a sports policy for a post-apartheid South Africa cannot be separated from the development of social, economic and political policies in general. It is not necessary for me to remind you of the importance of this point as it was the touchstone of progressive sports organisations in the struggle against apartheid. This was captured in the well-worn, if sometimes controversial, slogan: "No normal sport in an abnormal society". Indeed the (successful) struggle to isolate South African sport from the international arena (led by SANROC and SACOS) has been a crucial component of the liberation struggle and has contributed to the political crises of the present regime.

Thus in this transitional period to a democratic society it is imperative that the development of a sports policy is located within the broader context of the social, economic and political policies of the liberation movement. The latter will impact, and indeed define the constraints, on sports policies. This can be illustrated in the case of economic policy where, for example, policies such as the electrification of the townships, the redistribution of land, the reduction of the working day, etc. is likely to have a crucial impact on the opportunity for, and access to, sport and leisure in general.

Similarly, in the social and cultural sphere, the development of a sports policy needs to resonate with the norms and values likely to characterise a democratic South Africa - these are, amongst others, non-racialism, non-sexism, co-operation



---

as against competition, equality of opportunity, the all-round development of human potential, including the social and physical well-being of the individual, etc. The latter, that is, the intellectual and physical development of each individual to the full extent of his/her capacity should be the central goal of the social and political policies of a democratic South Africa - it is the pre-condition for the ability of individuals to contribute to, and participate in, the decision-making and productive structures of society.

And in the development and nurturing of this potential, education and sport have a crucial role to play. It goes without saying that the implementation of these policies cannot be taken for granted - they are likely to be the source of intense struggles. Thus it is vital for sports organisations to link the struggle for a progressive sports policy to these broader struggles, and in particular, to develop links with mass-based organisations such as community, student, and trade union organisations that are at the forefront of these struggles.

## **Democratisation of Sport**

Given this link between the development of a sports policy with the development of social, economic, and political policies in general, it is necessary to ask, in the context of this conference, what is the minimum required for the development and reconstruction of South African sport. Although I am not an expert on sport, I would like to suggest, as a contribution to the debate, that two issues, namely, the democratisation and financing of sport constitute the key starting point for the development of a sports policy for a democratic South Africa.

By the democratisation of sport I mean two things: first, the democratisation of the decision-making structures of the different sports codes and organisations: second, and more importantly, the redressing of the (racial) inequalities that presently characterise the provision of, and access to, sporting opportunities and facilities.

In the first case, it is essential if sport is to contribute to the creation of a democratic society, that the decision-making structures of sports codes and organisations are themselves democratic and in line with the practice of accountability and report-backs which are characteristic of the democratic movement. The latter requires that power be shifted away from big business (as the major sponsors of sport) and government, as well as unmandated sport bureaucracies, to sportsmen and women and popular organisations such as civics, student organisations, and trade unions, etc.

---

In the second case, although the democratisation of the decision-making structures of sports codes and organisations is a necessary condition, it is not a sufficient condition for the creation of a democratic sports policy. The pre-condition for the latter is the redressing of the (racial) inequalities that presently characterise the provision of, and access to, sporting opportunities and facilities.

This is crucial. For unless there is a redistribution of resources away from the white community and into the black community, thus allowing for (real) equality of opportunity, the democratisation of sport (as indeed of other sectors of South African society) is likely to be meaningless for the mass of the people. It is worth recalling the words of Jasmat Dhiraj - a former South African non-racial tennis champion in exile, who explained his inability to reach his full potential thus: "There is no way I can be equal to a white man who has more facilities, better housing, better jobs, just because he is white. It is impossible. That is why when we talk of non-racial sport we are also talking of social and economic changes."

The importance of redress cannot be emphasised strongly enough, especially in the present climate where, with the lifting of the sports and cultural boycott, South African sport is being allowed back into international competition. Unless the latter is firmly linked to the development of sporting opportunities and facilities in the black community, the past struggles and sacrifices of black sportsmen and women in the cause of liberation would have been in vain.

## **Development through Redistribution**

The creation of (real) equality of opportunity through the redistribution of resources and the development of sporting opportunities and facilities in the black community requires that a major part of this effort be directed at the schools. The latter is vital for not only does school sport provide the foundation of which to build a (lifelong) sporting infrastructure, it is also the arena in which talent and potential is first nurtured and developed.

It is thus crucial that the development of educational policies is closely linked to the development of sports policies. The importance of this symbiotic relationship between education and sport is clearly brought out in the fact that the full development of the intellectual and physical capacity of each individual is a pre-condition for the development of society as a whole.

With regard to the second issue, that is, the financing of sport, its significance is clear, given the need to redistribute resources to the black community in order to redress the (racial) inequalities that presently characterise the provision of, and

---

access to, sporting opportunities and facilities. A pre-condition for the redistribution of resources to the black community is the uniting of the different non-racial sporting codes and organisations. The emergence of a united sports organisation would be advantageous for two reasons: first, it would allow for the efficient and rational allocation of resources between and within the different sports codes in line with the principles of a democratic sports policy, thus averting the competition and conflict for funds that presently characterise these codes: second, it would be a powerful force in negotiating the basis for sport sponsorship with big business, thus shifting the balance of power away from the latter.

The state in a democratic society will also have a crucial role to play in the development and financing of sport. Although it is not desirable that the state be the predominant player in the field, its role would be to ensure that sports policy is firmly linked to the redistribution of resources to redress the racial inequalities that presently characterise the system to the Black community. In this respect the state would be eminently placed to influence the direction of sports sponsorship given its former role in providing tax concessions to big business for sport sponsorship.

## **Conclusion**

I want to reiterate that the development of a sports policy for a post-apartheid South Africa cannot be separated from the development of social, economic and political policies in general. A pre-condition for the successful development and implementation of such a policy is the creation of a united and democratic sports organisation. This conference represents the beginnings of this process. I am confident of your ability and commitment to carry the process through to its successful conclusion.

---

# **INTERNATIONAL SPORT AND DEVELOPMENT – CONTRADICTIONARY OR COMPLEMENTARY?**

**Danny Jordaan**

## **Introduction**

**T**his paper will attempt to raise some of the challenges facing sport in South Africa, this as we move towards the end of the second year since the scrapping of legislative apartheid. Sports organisations will have to consider the implications of their policies and strategies in an attempt to address the inequalities and historical imbalances during the period of transition.

Attention will be given to the issues of development and international participation as the two priorities, as well as policy options which have often caused tension and conflict within the unification process or within unified codes of sport.

## **Pillars of the National and Olympic Sports Congress**

The National and Olympic Sports Congress was established to pursue unity, development and preparation in sport - these principles serve as the operational pillars providing specific focus and thrust in the period of transition. This approach is essential because the NOSC constituency is a disadvantaged one and lacks a grassroots infrastructure in terms of coaching, facilities and resources.

It is obvious that, if any national team chosen for international duty is to be selected on merit, such a team will consist of a majority of players from the advantaged or establishment bloc.

This raises the question of the priority of sport in this period of transition. Is the priority on development or international participation? Is it both or are they mutually exclusive?

## **Development is a Priority**

*There are those who argue that:*

- an intensive and successful programme of development must precede any form of international participation.

- 
- all available resources must be directed at addressing inequalities encountered by the disadvantaged sports persons.
  - international participation will not only graphically demonstrate the huge gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged sports persons - it will in fact only serve as a measure to widen that gap.

## **International participation assists Development**

*A second group of sports persons and administrators argue that:*

- international participation is an obvious, essential and very logical extension of development.
- international participation will provide the necessary experience and expertise, as well as the funds required to embark on a comprehensive development programme.
- there is no contradiction between international participation and development - in fact they are complementary, they are two sides of the same coin.
- international exposure for players and officials form an essential element of development.

The NOSC has a declared commitment to development and is therefore called upon to respond coherently to these challenges in this period. South Africa's impending participation in international events introduces new challenges for the NOSC because:

- the majority of its members will not be able to participate internationally.
- its emphasis is on the developmental aspects of sport rather than on international participation. Nevertheless, the NOSC understands that their policies and approaches must reflect a truly national and non-racial character which is guided by realism. This requires measures to be considered and implemented which will ensure that the demand for international participation on the one hand truly becomes inextricably bound with the demand for development on the other. (Two sides of a coin!).

If we fail to do this, sports persons previously disqualified from international participation on the basis of race, will not be disqualified as a result of having been disadvantaged over many years.



---

## International Participation and Transformation

We must pursue the most important aim of the Olympic Movement: to promote the development of those fine physical and moral qualities which bring the athletes together in a festival of sport. This in turn will create international respect and goodwill and thereby hopefully construct a better and more peaceful world in general, and a harmonious and democratic South Africa in particular.

International participation will have implications for the transformation of South African sport and society. South Africa's sports isolation was the result of a decision by the international community to demonstrate their rejection of South Africa's policies of apartheid on the one hand and their support for the forces of non-racialism and democracy on the other. South Africa was singled out because it was unique in excluding sports persons on the basis of the colour of their skin. (If a person is excluded on the basis of her/his political views - he/she can change his/her views but if a person is excluded because he/she is black - he/she has no chance of becoming white). Any country's inclusion or exclusion from international sports events often serves as a means to demonstrate international acceptance or rejection of the policies or conduct of that country. Consider the following examples:

- Germany and Austria were not invited to the 1920 Olympic Games after their defeat in the First World War (1914 - 1919). The Treaty of Versailles demanded that they accept full responsibility for the war.
- In 1960, the U.S.A. refused to grant visas to the East German team on the basis that such admission was not in the best interest of the U.S.A. (Tension as a result of the Cold War!) International sport has innumerable examples of such reactions.

The outside world now believes that they should respond to or reward the process of transition in South Africa which they perceive to be irreversibly under way. They do not share the same understanding as to what post-apartheid South Africa means - but this does not prevent them from taking policy initiatives. Sport serves as a useful tool of international diplomacy. The sending of teams to compete overseas provides the first step for the resumption of diplomatic relations. In 1971 a U.S.A. table tennis delegation initiated the resumption of long severed diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

Sport can therefore be used as a "softening up" device or as a reward or encouragement to any country.



---

The National and Olympic Sports Congress has inherited the responsibility to ensure that development is not sacrificed in the pursuit of diplomatic interests.

## International Sport and Business

International events, including the Olympic Games, is always a serious proposition for athletes, the state, business organisations, the print and electronic media and spectators. Business regards such events as ideal vehicles for the promotion of their interests. Respective state's (politicians) often regard these events as a means of re-enforcing a national identity. This raises a few questions with regard to South Africa's participation:

- Will South Africa's participation in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics promote a national identity? Will it promote the concept of a single nation?
- What about the existing national identities like the flag, the national colours, the national anthem and the national emblem?
- Couldn't the South African regime also attempt to use international events as justification for a prevailing system?

A U.S.A. coach once said to his team: "The United States must prove conclusively that a free society produces better athletes than a socialist one". The U.S.S.R. in Pravda (1959) stated that:

*"An important factor in our foreign policy is the international relations of our sports persons. A successful trip by the sports persons of the U.S.S.R. of the people's democratic countries is an excellent vehicle of propaganda in capitalist countries."*

The perception is that sports persons exhibit a state's relative sense of political and economic strength through its prowess as a competitor on the playing field.

These forces (business, the state and the media) will become stronger as we move into the arena of international competitions because sport in modern times has become something exploitable in economic, political and even academic circles to achieve certain desired results. International participation will provide opportunities for the pursuit of their interests.

Emphasis on the achievements of sports persons, on effective competition with or against the best, has led to much time and effort being invested in sport. The time and effort involved in training and competition requires a great deal of

---

funds. These days it is virtually impossible for an individual or individuals to reach national or international standards without the financial support of the business or the state.

It is clear that the NOSC's programme of development may well address the challenges facing sport at the grassroots or basic levels - but the achievement of international standards will provide tremendous challenges to the NOSC. We have to consider the following:

- If the NOSC cannot control the interests of the state or business in sport (and clearly it cannot!) can it then influence or direct these forces to ensure that their development programme fulfils its ultimate goal - to produce sports persons of international standard?
- Does it mean that business and/or the state has gained a decisive influence over sport?
- What is the role of sponsorship and/or sports marketing companies in this regard?
- Will sports organisations merely become bureaucratic administrative structures in which the administrative apparatus is the real organisation?

## Conclusion

Finally, the lack of clarity over some key issues in the period of transition makes it difficult to arrive at a national development strategy because:

- There is perceptual discord with regard to the time frame and to what will truly constitute a post-apartheid South Africa.
- There is no commonly shared view of the role of business, the state and the international community.
- There is no commonly shared view of the relationship between the state and sports organisations or between the opponents of the regime and respective sports organisations.
- Opponents of the present situation in sport often blame the unresolved problems of transition on the NOSC or individuals within the NOSC.

Sport's development and the demand for international participation have become part of the dynamics of our sport's transition. It is our historical responsibility to

---

take it into consideration when developing a response. Secondly, we must also note that governments and international sports bodies have a desire to promote their own interests. They may be sending conflicting signals to South Africa but they are certainly also receiving conflicting signals from within South Africa. These countries and bodies have also become part of the dynamics of our transition.

We will have to take these questions seriously and try to find adequate responses to these challenges - otherwise we may destroy the promises delivered prior to and during the unification of our fragmented sports system.

---

# SPORT: THE CUBAN EXPERIENCE

**Ester Armenteros**

*(This was a keynote address delivered at the conference)*

## Introduction

**T**he advances of Cuban sport over the last three decades have won considerable praise worldwide.

It would be inaccurate to describe such advances as a mere "miracle". The results obtained can be summarised in three objective facts: national priority, hard work and national pride.

During the pre-revolutionary years professionalism was prevalent in our sporting activities. In particular, boxing and baseball were the principal sources of "talent" for respective scouts and promoters.

Most of and the best sports facilities were in private hands. For most of the children of that time the open sea along the sea shore line, full of piercing reefs, was the only swimming pool available.

One traditional scene of those years was that of North American tourists throwing one cent coins into the sea to watch in amusement dozens of deprived children diving for them.

It is calculated that prior to 1959 only about 15,000 persons engaged in the practice of sport in an organised way.

Sport was not promoted, except for the so-called fortune games which were widespread. Physical education at schools was practically non-existent.

Racial discrimination was also prevalent. The Amateur Athletic Union of Cuba grouped the National Amateur Sports Federations according to race. The Union consisted of about 20 clubs organised along racial lines: black, mulatto and white clubs.

One of the first measures adopted after the triumphant Revolution was to declare all sports and recreation facilities open to the public free of charge. This policy of free entrance to sports and recreational facilities as well as to sports events has been maintained till the present and that includes events of international participation like, for instance, the recent Pan American Games.

---

A national effort was carried out to develop the practice of sport that started with the creation of the body responsible for the implementation of such policy; the massive training of teachers and coaches, the construction of hundreds of new sports installations, the promotion of mass oriented sports activities and the establishment of a sports equipment industry.

This national effort started to yield results. Between 1904 and 1959 Cuba obtained only one medal in Olympic competitions. Cuba finished eighth at the Munich Games.

Cuba moved to first place in the Caribbean region in 1966 and most recently - August of 1991 - displaced the United States as the sports leader in the Pan American region.

The Cuban sports policy has not been exempt of mistakes. In the early eighties some concerns were raised about the lack of new talent in some disciplines. This was due to the fact that the line of real mass participation had not always been followed, there having prevailed a tendency of "championism" which emphasised victory ahead of the development of new figures.

These mistakes were corrected in time, as the results of the recent Pan American Games have shown.

At this point it must be stressed that the success of the efforts made towards diversification of sports practice, as can also be appreciated in the Pan American Games, where Cuba came first not only in its traditional strong disciplines of athletics, boxing, volleyball but also in water polo, gymnastics, rowing, cycling, judo and fencing, just to mention some.

In weightlifting Cuba won 29 gold medals out of a possible 30. For the first time in the history of the Pan American Games a Cuban swimmer had won a gold medal.

For many years there has prevailed a question of public debate and bewilderment about Cuba, a country surrounded by water, who has not produced good swimmers. The debate is still on.

In Cuba, physical education, sports and recreation are considered as instruments of comprehensive development, alongside health and happiness as basic human rights of the Cuban people and indeed of any people in the world. But these rights cannot be addressed in isolation of other human rights as employment, education, social security, health, etc. An uneducated, hungry or sick child will

never become an athlete, except for one of those cases that prove an exception to the rule.

Cuba remains committed to amateurism and views with grave concern the way the spirit of Olympism is drifting toward professional sport, succumbing to the promises of fabulous gains and businesses that have nothing to do with sport.

## **The Facts Behind "The Miracle"**

One third of Cuba's almost 11 million citizens are engaged in sport of some sort or the other. Starting with the two million children at school (this represents nearly 100 percent of children of primary school age and about 90 percent of those of high school age), and including about 130,000 elderly people, another 100,000 are involved in aerobic groups.

The institution responsible for implementing Cuban sports policy is the National Institute for Physical Education, Sports and Recreation (INDER) which was created in 1962, three years after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution.

INDER has as one of its basic goals the organisation of participatory sport in the country, programming physical education for all education levels, training specialists, coaches and teachers and creating an industry permitting access to all of the basic sporting goods.

In elementary or primary schools, sport is not only taught the five to seven hours of weekly classes as part of the school programme. It is also expressed in interschool competitions and later through municipal and provincial competitions all the way to the National School Games.

Eighty percent of the country's major teams in the different disciplines are composed of young people who have attended sports schools.

Each of the 14 provinces has a sports school for children and adolescents who have demonstrated outstanding levels of skills during their primary school years. There are two national schools, one for young people and another for adults. There is also an Institute of Sports Medicine, where more than 60 top medical specialists work.

During its 31 years of existence, INDER has trained 26,000 instructors, 10,000 of which are university graduates. Another 60,000 activists assist during their free time in the practice and training of sport. There also exists the Voluntary Sports



---

Council which is composed of clubs in which individuals interested in specific sports get together.

The sports industry, whose principal installations are in Havana and Santiago de Cuba, produces more than 80 percent of the sporting equipment used in the country.

Compared with other spheres of the society Cuba does not have a Ministry of Sport, a fact that in our opinion has contributed to major flexibility and professionalism in the handling of the sports policy. It is also important to stress the fact that in nominating candidates to posts in the Sport Institute, preference has been given to individuals who have an historical background in sport.

The most recent case has been the appointment of Alberto Juantorena, Olympic champion in the 400m and 800m at Montreal, as Vice President of INDER.

At present Cuba has a sports exchange agreement with 29 countries and neighbouring Namibia will be added shortly to the list of countries which will receive Cuban co-operation in the field of sport.

It can be categorically said that, at the right time, a democratic and non-racial South Africa can count on Cuban assistance in the field of sport, if so requested.

This, of course, will mean an exchange of mutual benefit.

## **The Pan American Games**

The 11th Pan American Games held in Cuba last August were described by the President of the Pan American Sports Organisation, the Mexican Mario Vazquez Rana, as the best Games in Pan American history.

At a meeting with the press to discuss the outcome of the event the Pan American sports official said that the problems that had arisen were minimal and congratulated the Cuban people and the Organising Committee for their success and efforts.

The 39 members of the Pan American Sports Organisation participated in the 11th Pan American Games with a record number of athletes which consisted of 4,519 and 1,762 officials. They competed in 31 sports and there was one exhibition sport, that of jai alai.

---

Out of the 349 events, 357 gold medals were distributed among 14 countries, and another 12 countries went home with silver and bronze medals. These Games had also the widest and best publicity through more than 1,000 journalists present there.

The drug testing laboratory, described by competent authorities as the best ever during any Pan American or Olympic Games, did more than 1,000 tests.

Cuba won 140 gold medals to take the first place, this being the first time in 41 years that the United States delegation was displaced from this position. If we look at the performance of Cuba as compared to the previous Games in Indianapolis (75 gold medals) it is obvious that the advancement of Cuban sport in the last few years is indeed impressive.

The sports policy applied in Cuba is one of extending health and recreation across the country and not merely seeking regional or international medals.

Cuba's outstanding performance in the Pan American Games was inspired by this philosophy. The continued development of sport in and for Cuba was the main beneficiary after having fulfilled this sizeable commitment and putting on a show that Cubans have been anticipating for many years.

By organising these Games Cuba also defended the right of small nations to organise sports events.

The Cuban Pan American Games were modest but also very successful because of the record participation, suitable facilities, good work on the part of referees, the athletes performances and the fans' warmth and enthusiasm.

At any given moment, 192,000 seats were available at the different sports facilities and in some cases the arenas would fill up even during practice sessions.

It is important at this point to remark that the attendance to all events of the Games was free - except for tourists - of charge and thousands of fans had to be turned away every day because of the stands being full.

Some people have tried to link Cuba's performance and successes with a supposed polarisation or sports confrontation between Cuba and the United States. There is no dispute with the U.S. athletes or Sports Federations of the United States. The U.S. athletes were received as warmly as everybody else and were applauded when they deserved it.

---

Some people abroad wondered why the 11th Pan American Games were being held in Cuba at a time when a very serious economic crisis was afflicting the country.

The fact is that Cuba wanted to organise these Games since many years ago. In 1987 a commitment was made for 1991 and the Cuban people and government felt this commitment had to be fulfilled.

There were some sceptics who thought the Cubans would not be able to finish the works that were indispensable to hold the Games. Thousands of Cubans from all stratas of society volunteered to work in their free time on weekends and evenings to join the permanent peoplepower in charge of construction.

It was truly a national effort, a question of national pride.

Close to 60 new facilities were built, including a wonderful stadium, and a magnificent Villa for the athletes and Cuba, for the first time got a velodrome.

Cuba did not receive, nor did it request, a single loan in order to cover the cost.

Apart from the facilities constructed - some of which were necessary even without the Pan American Games - the event produced a modest but favourable economic outcome.

Cuba, I must add, did not host the Games in order to make profits, but in order to meet sports goals: health, friendship, exchange and recreation and in this regard all the peoples of the American continent were the winners.

---

# RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT: SOME OPTIONS CONSIDERED

*Cheryl Roberts*

## Introduction

**A**s we become increasingly aware of the crucial significance of the current decade, attention is being focused on development strategies. Sport, as a microcosm of the wider society, is an integral component of the national reconstruction programme.

When the idea of the National and Olympic Sports Congress was conceived some four years ago, its premise, though challenging, perceived a limited and small agenda. But now the NOSC has grown into an organisation which was never envisaged during its infancy. Such has been the broadening and sharpening of the dynamics around South African sport that the NOSC has reached the stage where it must shape the framework within which national reconstruction should occur.

Reconstruction and empowerment are two key issues which are receiving urgent attention within the democratic movement. Policy options are being considered for virtually every sector of South African society. Unity initiatives have grasped the centre stage in the battle for sports hegemony. But the non-racial sports movement is only too aware that sports unification, unaccompanied by a redeployment of the sports apparatus which will be tilted in favour of the historically disadvantaged, will be meaningless in terms of national liberation and transformation of South African society.

## Reconstruction of Sport must Begin Now

Despite the granting of official recognition to South African sport (via the National and Olympic Committee of South Africa) by the International Olympic Committee, the "sports struggle" is far from over. If anything, South African sport has arrived at yet another turning point, and it is one which requires sharp evaluation and one which will impact severely on the post-unity era. Representatives of both establishment and non-racial sport have for the past 18 months been held together by a rather delicate rope which threatened to break at various points.

---

Whilst representatives of sport have reached common ground on some deliberations, the most urgent and serious of them have yet to be thrashed out. For the past year or more we have spoken about "redressing the imbalances". But to date no concrete sports policy has emerged from any four of the umbrella co-ordinating sports bodies (this includes NOSC, SANOC, COSAS, SACOS and NOCSA).

It has become clear that the rhetoric and polemic is now saturated and certainly has no place in present day happenings. What is urgently needed is the formulation of national and regional policies, however applicable, to be accompanied by a programme of reconstruction. Anything short of reconstruction will be of detriment to the disadvantaged in the post-unity era.

The task of creating a democratic, equitable sports structure is enormous and so is the challenge of integrating all the disparate sport groupings so as to create a semblance of national identity.

The post-unity period is already in motion. This is bound to be one of the most difficult as former enemies begin to work together in the interests of their particular code of sport and South African sport in general. Although much concentration will in all probability delve upon the upliftment of standards and technical advancement if the sports network does not undergo serious change, then the winners in this unified era will surely be those from the establishment mould.

## **State of South African Sport**

In reviewing the pre-unity era some distinct features emerge about sport in South Africa:

- 1) In the absence of a national sports strategy, sport has developed in a very disorganised manner with no solid planning and direction as to the country's future needs. This has occurred particularly after 1983 when the Minister of Sport portfolio was dissolved and sport was brought under the control of the Department of National Education.
- 2) The establishment sector has a virtual monopolisation on a solid infrastructural system and resource base which allowed a minority grouping to enjoy its diverse privileges. Consider the following finances which COSAS has attained over a two year period.

<b>Income</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1990</b>
Sponsorships, grants, donations	944 280	820 000
Interest received	143 935	103 160
Affiliation fees	9 320	9 000
Other income	182 118	69 056
Internal and external contact programmes		88 250
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 279 653</b>	<b>1 089 466</b>

Non-racial sport has existed largely on affiliation fees and capitation tax accrued from its members. One can see that COSAS' smallest income is from affiliation fees and even so, its members pay a very small amount to play sport.

- 3) Sport in South Africa has been a privilege for the oppressed and not a right. This system has been unjust, unfair, unequal and inaccessible to the majority of people.
- 4) Two broad ideological components contest the sports terrain with the one being representative of the South African establishment and the other using sport at every opportunity to advance the anti-apartheid struggle. A characteristic difference of these two groupings is that the establishment sector is largely propped up by authoritarian and almost oligarchical control whilst the non-racial component is advancing on the path of organisational democracy.
- 5) With a thrust of financial support from the private sector sport is slowly becoming highly commercialised. There also appears a significant growth of the leisure industry and privatisation of amenities. The private sector has contributed significantly to the growth of establishment sport and has consciously ignored non-racial sport.

Present debates in South Africa are focused on the major issues of reconstruction and national development programmes within applicable policy frameworks. The reconstruction of sport demands a national programme, one that would ensure progress towards an equitable sports structure but also one that would set realistic goals without raising expectations that are unlikely to be realised. By emphasising development The National and Olympic Sports Congress will be placing essential priority on the question of national liberation and national



---

democracy. During the transition towards a democratic society it is important that the non-racial sports movement, as an essential component of the democratic movement, be in charge of the transition to ensure that the transformation which has already begun, serves the interests of our constituency, which is the oppressed majority.

## **Unlocking South Africa's Sports Wealth - Where is it Located?**

### **Infrastructure and Facilities**

The state has played a central role in the differential allocation of facilities and public funds which are heavily skewed in favour of whites. The provision of facilities and overall development of sport was entrusted to the Ministry of Sport. Funding for the oppressed was provided by public funds which was co-ordinated on an ad hoc basis and dependent on the good favours - which occurred very seldom - of the private sector. Non-racial sport has been largely ignored and funding for sport in the townships has been provided by public funds, the South African Bantu Trust and the Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund which was an initiative of capital.

Apartheid sport was developed extensively from the 1960's onwards. The nursery of apartheid sport lay in the schools which are equipped with modern facilities. The 1982 report of the Human Sciences Research Council confirmed the following about facilities at school level: 72 % of all sports facilities were in white schools, 23% of the schools investigated had no sports facilities, while only 40% had athletics tracks. Whites owned 73 of all athletics tracks, 93% of all swimming pools and 82% of rugby fields. Formerly whites-only tertiary institutions were equally well equipped with modern facilities.

Local government and local authorities provided facilities in the white residential areas. Additionally, the private sector contributed substantially to the provision of facilities in white areas which resulted in the private ownership of facilities instead of amenities being owned for the benefit of the whole community, for example the growth of country clubs which were for the exclusive use of a minority elite.

Characteristic of the present situation is the fact that facilities are largely existent in white areas, are individually or privately owned and charge exorbitant fees which means they are inaccessible to the majority of people. For instance if an aspirant golfer endeavoured to join the Clovelly Golf Club (situated in Cape Town) she/he would pay the following subscription - R264, entrance fee - R165, affiliation fee - R22, Total - R451. Another example: to join the Glen Country Club

---

as a tennis player a total of R160-50 is payable before becoming a member. How many of the disadvantaged can afford to pay these amounts in full?

Unlike the white schools, facilities at schools designated for Africans are under-supplied. Sports facilities are a luxury where there exists an ongoing struggle to be provided with sufficient classrooms and educational materials. In a media statement issued two years ago, Ben Vorster of the DET tried to explain the backlog in sports facilities by offering the following explanation:

- "a) the tremendous influx of black people from the rural areas and*
- b) the late start and initial slow progress of the participation in sport by Black people. For many centuries the Black people showed very little interest in the organised sports codes of the White man (sic). They found their recreation in traditional activities such as hunting and tribal dances. It was the White nation with its European background and traditions that played the established sports .... It was only comparatively recently that the non-white peoples, more particularly Blacks, began to show an interest in the well-known sporting codes."*

This explanation is loaded with deficiencies and inaccuracies. How could the oppressed participate in sport if the means to do so were not provided? Did opportunities open for all after the multinational policy began to crumble and clubs adopted open policies albeit under the degrading permit system?

Over the ten-year period ending in December 1989, the Department of Education and Development Aid (DET) established the following sports and recreation facilities for Africans in South Africa (excluding the "independent" homelands)

### **Provision of facilities for Africans: 1980-1989**

Athletics tracks	21
Basketball courts	22
Bowling greens	6
Boxing gymnasiums	3
Boxing rings	42
Community centres	5
Cricket fields	16
Cycling tracks	1
Dancing arenas	4
Deck tennis courts	5
Golf courses	12
Golf courses with clubhouses	3
Gymnasiums	3

Halls	3
Multipurpose courts	129
Netball courts	21
Playgrounds	389
Rugby fields	2
Softball courts	96
Soccer fields	37
Sports centres	728
Sports centres for the physically disabled	3
Stadiums and sports complexes	1
Swimming pools	40
Tennis courts (with clubhouses and practice halls)	403
Training centres	6
Trimparks	5
Volleyball courts	521

Between 1981 and 1990 the following amounts were budgeted by the Department of Education and Development Aid, out of its central sports and recreation fund, and from the national budget, for the establishment of sports facilities for Africans in South Africa (excluding the 'independent' homelands).

### Expenditure on sports facilities for Africans: 1981-1990

	Amount allocated from central sports and recreation fund	Amount allocated from budget
	<i>Rands</i>	<i>Rands</i>
1981/82	3 804 474	—
1982/83	4 209 686	—
1983/84	3 406 388	—
1984/85	5 373 440	—
1985/86	4 870 515	—
1986/87	6 267 841	—
1987/88	1 133 879	14 000 000
1988/89	2 144 752	989 240
1989/90		1 293 214
<b>Total</b>	<b>31 210 975</b>	<b>16 282 454</b>

---

Black participation in sport has been on the increase over the past decade. A feature of this participation is that numbers are increasing in those sports where sophisticated equipment and facilities are not necessary. Without facilities, township dwellers use initiative by making use of any available land to play sport. How often have we seen makeshift goal posts on the sandy patches of land being enjoyed as a soccer field by jubilant youngsters? Blacks participate mainly in sports such as soccer, road running, boxing, netball and karate because it is easier to participate in them as far as resources are concerned. It is not that we do not have an interest in sports such as motor racing, show jumping, gymnastics, surfing, hockey, etc but rather because the opportunity to play such sports and realise our potential has not yet been given to us regarding most sports.

Since sport was 'depoliticised' much of the responsibility of provision of facilities was shifted to that of the private sector who were called upon to redress the backlog in the wake of government being unable to do so because of scarce finances. Motivated by profitable returns, the involvement of capital was increased. However, capital's contribution was centred on the financing of rebel sports tours and prestige competitions and tournaments with a small percentage on infrastructural development. Whatever infrastructural development did occur, was yet again heavily skewed in favour of white areas and erected with no proper foresight, e.g., Ellis Park, Centurion Park, Standard Bank Arena, Loftus Versfeld. The result is that large amounts of capital expenditure have been used to establish huge sports complexes, all in close proximity of each other and immediately accessible to white sports people.

## **Reconstruction of South African Sport: Where do we begin and what are the available options?**

Development must be understood as a process not whereby we strive to reach the standards of the advantaged but where we change the power relations in favour of the oppressed majority. What we really mean by development is the gaining of access to the highest apparatus which will allow for democratic control by the majority. This control will enable the majority to be involved fully in the planning and implementation of policy decisions which will empower communities to take and implement decisions that affect the community as a whole. For instance it will take us no further if the present state bureaucracy were to propose a modern athletics stadium in a township against the wishes of the resident who may desire a multipurpose sports centre. Such implementation against the wishes of the community will only take place when the people have no access to highest policy-making forums. Involvement and participation by rank and file is an important tradition which has been nurtured in the democratic

---

movement and will have to become institutionalised as firm guarantees in the reconstruction of sport.

We must be honest with ourselves in defining and developing our priorities and what we would like to have. Success in sport, and therefore its worth in political terms, is dependent on large-scale investment to develop facilities and mass participation, and on positive efforts to make its organisational structure more responsive to the real needs of sports people. An holistic approach to development is important together with community participation and control.

## **Features of a National Sports Policy**

We must try to understand what we mean by a national sports policy and who is responsible for it. A policy is a general framework which sets out the conditions under which we achieve our goals. It involves the making and taking of decisions about the broad direction in which development and change should occur. For instance, a NOSC policy might result in a decision to reduce the facility backlog by building 100 multipurpose sports centres. National reconstruction and development would then take place within the policy framework.

When we formulate policy we must be bold enough to make challenging choices. This is not to say that we must be over-ambitious. We must take account of our available resources and material conditions and make sure that they inform our material conditions. Our sports policy must complement the policies related to other aspects of society, for example, housing, education, health. It is essential that we plan for the long term in a co-ordinated way, but allowing for flexibility. Short term programmes of action would be a necessary path of development to lay the foundation for the longer term.

## **What are the features of a National Sports Policy?**

**Some of the goals of a national sports policy should be:-**

- to make provision for a national sports structure,
- to create an equitable sports structure,
- to promote sport at both the mass participation and advanced levels,
- to empower those who play the sport to become more involved in the decision-making issues regarding sport and for the sports people to control and direct their destiny.



---

We must be realistic and accept what our available resources are in considering any reconstruction programme. At the same time there must be acceptance of the fact that any post-apartheid government will be faced with limited resources which will have to be appropriately used and distributed. Sport will not feature amongst the most important priorities. Control over and access to resources will be an integral element and hence empowerment must become a real objective and be ensured via constitutional or structural mechanisms. Empowerment will ensure that the sports people themselves will be given the control which they can use to effect a redistribution of resources/amenities/facilities and guarantee that development takes place according to our needs.

## **Where do we begin?**

Sport has several components to it but the two most important must remain that of performance and participation. The NOSC recognises both components as integral aspects in the promotion and development of sport. The advanced sports people need those who participate for pleasure whilst the lower league players need the advanced sports people whom they can follow and learn from.

A suggestion is that we should consider adopting the "Double P Approach" which will prioritise both performance and participation. At this juncture there is a ready made advanced structure, perhaps not world beaters, but certainly able to perform reasonably well at international level. During the boycott years, although isolated, establishment sport found the gaps to play at international level, e.g., cricket, rugby, golf. Development of the base, that is, making available facilities and giving people the opportunity to play sport must be prioritised above performance. We are not saying that improvement in performance standards must be neglected but are saying that this must not be over-emphasised.

## **Issues affecting short-term Development**

In a recent article titled "Former Pariahs Gain Legitimacy" (see Sports Perspectives, Vol1.no.2, 1992), Errol Vawda pointed out some of the issues which are of utmost importance during this transitional stage and because of their importance they are tabled here:

- we must be made part of the decision-making process, for example, in the negotiation for the establishment of a single city where we must be able to impact on the questions of resources in sport and recreation,



- 
- the immediate task is to see the formation of an interim body that supervises these particular tasks,
  - there must be no further capital expenditure of sports facilities in the privileged areas and this applies to all recreation facilities,
  - mechanisms must be found to ensure that all the people in the city have equal access to existing facilities,
  - there must be no duplications of high level sport facilities at metropolitan level, for example, Johannesburg where we do not want to see another indoor sport centre at this stage,
  - we do not want a continuation of separate but equal apartheid style program. We would rather see access to major sports events in stadiums that are dislocated from the dormitory cities.

## **Slogan of the 90's: "Sport is a Right, not a Privilege"**

In reviewing various development models it appears that the type of development which was pronounced by the communist countries are the ones which we can learn from, for example, post-revolution Cuba developed the slogan that sport "is the right of the people" and this was practically implemented with mass implementation at every level. In our pursuit of an appropriate sports system it is important that we do not ask too much from those we attempt to transform and by this I mean that we must not implement what we cannot possibly achieve.

It is not the stock of resources, but the way they are used that would appear to contribute most to a country's sports performance. Examples of various models employed by countries throughout the world, the example of the "communist countries", for example, Cuba and the USSR will show us how these developing countries, based at least initially on an illiterate backward peasantry, used their available minimal resources and put them to good use. The advanced Western countries have a far more superior resource base and spend more money on sport than the communist countries yet it is the communist countries who are more successful both in terms of making sport accessible as well as in international performance.

## **Funding: Where will the funds come from?**

One mistake we must not make is to think that money will be forthcoming whenever we request it. The amount of funding which sport is able to attract will

---

depend upon the overall growth of the economy. Whose responsibility is the national reconstruction programme and where will the funds come from?

## **Involvement of the State**

Development of sport and recreation cannot take place in isolation of other goings on in South Africa. As a first priority we must demand intervention from the state vis-a-vis the reconstruction of post-apartheid sport. When we decide that the provision of leisure and sport is a right and not a privilege there must be massive government intervention at both the national and local government levels if the demand is to become an actuality. The following are some of the reasons why state intervention must be emphasised:

- the state together with the private sector is a major provider of funds,
- in a post-apartheid society the role of the future state must be to oversee the process of transformation and to give guidance and direction but certainly not to impose a top-down approach. What would be important for the state is to seek distributive justice and this means that leisure/sport services should be available to all, irrespective of whether people can afford to pay for them or not, or whether the community/suburb appears in the upper or lower economic bracket,
- the state must play as central a role in providing leadership in the provision of leisure services as it does in other areas of society. As the private sector is not concerned to ensure that an adequate range and location of facilities is available, the state would need to react responsibly to the gaps left by private enterprise and to remedy the deficiencies in the provision of leisure services. For the future growth of sport, a working relationship between the state and business would need to be encouraged.

## **Local Government**

Local government must become one of the major public sector providers of leisure resources. This means that they must be turned into instruments of development. We must avoid a situation where you have several governing bodies, each managing its own affairs and competing for resources and facilities. Emphasis must be placed on a strong and central co-ordinating structure, for example, a National Sports Council, to resolve the problem. But a key feature of the public sector must be the role played by legitimate local governments who are closer to the people, whose demands call for their assistance and they are able to

---

respond to local conditions. A legal obligation should be imposed on local authorities to provide leisure and recreation facilities.

A crucial point is that the involvement of the central state and local government does not mean that planning and development should occur from a top-down approach. In fact, grassroots involvement, decision-making and implementation of programmes of action must be encouraged as part of policy. Here we can learn from the experiences of what was formerly known as East Germany and Hungary. In East Germany the strength of the sports system was its foundation in a municipally based system built around local enterprises and town and village communities. Most of the funding for leisure services in Hungary (at least 68%) came from local councils which is a very important intervening unit in the administration of leisure and sport services. Advisory committees were set up and mandated to oversee leisure activities at local level. Additionally, the state did not initiate leisure programmes for these had to originate in a plan of operation drawn up at the grassroots level.

The civics are integral agents of the transformation process and are consistently reviewing and proposing local government structures. Once established, the sports councils should form an alliance/working relationship with our civic associations so that our requirements for an improved social infrastructure are taken account of. Any local government has to find the finances if they are to fund any project. One proposal is for the rates which are paid by residents in the advantaged areas to be used to fund development in those areas which have been neglected over the decades. There is bound to be an uproar should this form of redistribution be implemented. But the reality is that the formerly whites only suburbs have always been on the receiving end with the townships being left in states of virtual impoverishment. Linked up with this proposal is the demand for a single tax base for each region. A single tax base opens the scope for revenue from the richer areas to be used to fund development in the poorer areas. (These issues are dealt with in the paper on Local Government).

## **Business and Sponsorship**

It is estimated that about R190 million per annum is spent on sponsorship of sport with an additional R170 million going into back-up. Research shows that a large percentage of the allocated sponsorship is concentrated in some four sports codes, namely horse racing, golf, motor racing, soccer. The current situation reveals that approximately 42% of sponsorship available goes to only four out of the approximately 140 sport and recreation activities practised in the country. Another six sport types account for 27% of the approximately eighty five sport

---

types that benefited from sponsorships, acquired 70% of the total amount (151 million) available in 1989/90" (COSAS' Annual Report, 1990/91, p.30).

### SPONSORSHIP TABLE

Year	R x 1000
1985	63 000
1986	84 000
1987	107 000
1988	124 000
1989	151 000
1990	170 000

*(Source: COSAS Annual Report, 1990/91, p.29)*

Very little is spent on actual development of sport. Sponsorship is used mainly to fund lucrative and prestige competitions, for example, Bankfin Currie Cup and JPS Knockout Cup. Now nothing is wrong with the sponsorship being used for competitions because it is a central component for the growth of sport. But something is wrong when the sponsorship finances a minority component, like the advanced grouping, within the sport and forgets the responsibility of developing the base. For the past 8 years the private sector has increased their influence over sport and leisure, albeit in an uncoordinated way. And there exists every likelihood that the private sector will play a vital role in the production and reproduction of sport and if they are not controlled there may well arise a situation where sport is played according to the needs and desires of capital instead of according to how the sports people want sport to develop.

A sponsorship collective should be formed and ideally should have broad representation from all sports groupings including the labour movement. The brief of the sponsorship collective could include:-

- 1) to guide and direct potential as to how the sponsorship should be appropriately allocated,
- 2) to act as a watchdog over the allocation of the sponsorship and make sure that as many sports as possible receive funding and not just a few sports,
- 3) to make representation for tax rebates to be offered in favour of sponsorships given to development instead of to international/national sports events,

- 
- 4) the labour component would form an integral part of the collective and can pressurise business to allocate a certain amount of profits to providing adequate leisure and recreational facilities.

Collective representation should demand that tax rebates be granted to those businesses who prioritise the sponsoring of development projects ahead of a single sports event.

## **Moratorium on funds allocated to SANOC and COSAS**

Another major funder of recreation and sport is still the apartheid regime who allocates a large amount of funding to both SANOC and COSAS. Now this proposal may not go down very well with the establishment sector but I want to urge that it be closely looked at. We have seen how facilities and funding are heavily stacked in the advantaged areas. By virtue of the good faith of non-racial sport, we have made establishment sport acceptable. Now they must act in a practical manner and the first phase of their commitment can be shown by them declaring a moratorium on the funding received from the state and instead to demand that this money be given to non-racial sport.

## **Print and Electronic Media**

Contemporary South African sport is heavily commercialised and the mass media such as television, radio and newspapers have contributed significantly to this commercialisation of sport. The mass media have realised the potential benefits of sport in a sports-crazy country like South Africa. Almost like a religion amongst the whites, sport is a hotly contested domain. The fanaticism of sports participation - be they players or spectators - is clearly reflected in the mass media which places a central emphasis on sports coverage. A significant proportion of readers buy a newspaper to check the sports results only. Back pages are read without even browsing through other news.

Over the decades the commercial press (and this applies to both the Afrikaans and English press) has supported and sustained establishment sport and gave little coverage to the events of non-racial. The growth of specific sports was coupled with increased depth in sports coverage. Soccer, rugby, cricket and boxing are the sports which attract large numbers of spectators and at least 70% of the sports coverage in both the print and electronic media are allocated to them. The alternative media has also fallen into the trap of saturating their sports pages with these particular sport types.



---

Our aim is to build a mass sports movement and the media must be expected to play a responsible role in this regard. Shouldn't all sports be given the same amount of coverage so that they may grow in popularity and organisational strength? Contemporary sport as played by both the non-racial and establishment group portray the dominant characteristics of capitalism, for example, competition, oligarchy, bureaucracy, hierarchical structures. The competitive aspect is heavily emphasised. The champions are prominently publicised with the losers given but a mere mention. What about the hundreds of others who made the competition possible?

We in the NOSC have experienced a not too good relationship with the establishment media. Particular newspapers and journalists have sought to publicise mostly negative portraits of the NOSC. At this stage I must say that the NOSC is the first to admit its weaknesses and limitations and the areas in which we have come short.

Because publicity is vital to all codes of sport it is imperative that the NOSC is able to ensure an undertaking that our codes will receive publicity. The media must bear in mind that just as much as we need them, they also need us. What would the sports pages look like if there was no sport played for at least a month in South Africa?

If we stand together, the more powerful are we organisationally and our bargaining power is considerably enhanced. One consideration is for all television coverage, for whatever sport, to be co-ordinated through a media committee. Again we do not want to dominate our sport. At least one national and regional event of every code of sport must receive significant coverage on television. If this cannot be granted then the media collective must make representation for television to be denied those sports which they want to concentrate upon. A common argument is that only certain sports are popular. If viewers are given the chance to be exposed to all sports then they will decide what they like instead of being fed the same diet each week and having no alternative.

With the print media, the NOSC must pressurise the newspapers to change their present policies regarding coverage. Here we must work with and encourage progressive journalists to reflect the changing milieu and the responsible role of the press which is required in these conditions.



---

## Facilities and Amenities

From its inception the NOSC has stressed that one of its objectives is the development of a mass sports movement which will make sport accessible to all who want to be involved in the sport of their choice. To lay the foundations for a mass sports movement, material conditions must be reviewed, after which a national reconstruction programme must be set in motion.

Facilities and playing equipment are needed if people are to be given the opportunity to play sport. We have argued that there exists a 90% concentration of amenities and facilities in white areas, particularly in the schools. As the nursery of future participants is in the schools, ways and means will have to be mapped out so that the schools under the control of the Department of National Education be made accessible to all school students. This is all the more important in view of the fact that facilities are not going to be provided overnight. Fixtures would need to be arranged and played at the schools where the facilities exist. A campaign must be embarked upon to make all tertiary institutions available to all who want to use them. Tertiary institutions are under-utilised and cater for a small section of sports people. The sports centres at all these institutions can be turned into central venues for several communities especially in the rural areas where facilities are scarce.

Priority in the provision of facilities must be allocated first to the rural areas and to those townships that are in desperate need and ahead of those who already have facilities. It is highly improbable that any significant and new development will be able to be undertaken within the next five years given the constraints of resources, finance and in terms of national priorities. The disadvantaged communities will need to take over those facilities already existing, for example, the Ellis Park sports complex. But this can only be done with improved transportation and overall improvement in accessibility. Municipal venues and halls are presently too costly for sports clubs who are demanding that the city councils lower the charges on municipal hire. Whilst aware that maintenance and upkeep of venues is important, the sports people maintain that the council should not extract the major responsibility out of the disadvantaged but rather by raising the rates in the more wealthier suburbs.

A key feature of the unity process has been the presentation and implementation of development programmes. There has been no mention of redistribution of resources. So the reality is that the advantaged and privileged still have control over and access to the facilities whilst the majority of people are still in the same position as in the pre-unity period. We may well ask what has changed? At the same time we are aware that overnight reconstruction is impossible and the road

---

of narrowing the inequalities is a long and hard one. Now the issue of facilities and accessibility is a crucial issue and demands immediate attention.

## **What are some of the options?**

- Provision of facilities is not the sole preserve of sports organisations. If anything, sport structures do not have the capacity to work on their own in their demand for leisure and recreational facilities. The issue is also a civic issue which means that it must be taken up with the support of the local government structures. Whatever the type of facility, much planning will have to be done and, realistically speaking, this will in all probability only take shape in about 3-5 years time. All NOSC regions must pressurise their local city councils to set up sports commissions, for example, the one which has been established by the Cape Town council. These sports commissions must direct and guide development in the region.
- Let us consider the potential for nationalisation and redistribution of resources. Establishment sport has a developed and sophisticated resource base which remains the property of the advantaged sector even in the post-unity period. I want to strongly argue that some form of redistribution must be undertaken. Buildings and properties cannot be removed but sports equipment, wherever it is possible, must be redistributed. It has become distinctly noticeable during the unification process that establishment sports were very keen to get sports unity off the ground and although some offered use of facilities, a more pronounced commitment coupled with practical demonstration has been lacking. The disadvantaged cannot be used as cattle fodder where they must still await facilities whilst the advantaged sports person has this luxury and is able to enjoy international competition. Nationalisation is a very sensitive issue to the owners of property and indications are that accumulated property will not be given up without a hard struggle.
- If we are to leave existing facilities intact, e.g., the Wanderers in the hands of their present owners, then income from these properties must be used to finance facilities in those areas where they are non-existent.
- Given that a national facility and amenities project will take some time to get off the ground we must make do with our available resources and use them to our advantage. Facilities out of our reach and presently located in white areas would have to be made much more accessible to the people, for instance, the Wanderers sports complex is situated near to Alexandra. When will the elite Wanderers become a people's complex? Existing facilities would have to be adapted to meet new requirements. This of course does not mean that the plush facilities in the suburbs would be upgraded for international competitions.

- A disturbing trend of late has been the privatisation of sports amenities which is in line with attempts to privatise the economy. Privatisation means that a conglomerate/business enterprise/syndicate buys a particular amenity and the main aim is to use the property as an investment which will secure profits for the owners. A characteristic of privatisation is that sport and leisure are individual pursuits which require consumer sovereignty. Privatisation must be opposed as this means that business will use facilities to increase overall profits and only those who have and can afford to do so will have access to such privatised facilities. Having access to sports amenities is also linked to one's standing on the economic and social ladder.
- By its very name privatisation means access to sport for an elite minority which directly contradicts the NOSC's position of mass sport. Privatisation has the capacity to perpetuate the class, race and gender inequalities found in our society.
- We must agree with Errol Vawda when he says that there should be no expenditure on facilities in white areas. All further development must take place in those areas where it is non-existent and special emphasis must be placed on the rural areas. An interesting development is an initiative by the Johannesburg City Council to develop Johannesburg in such a way that it becomes the continent's premier city in hosting sports events.

Earlier on we recognised that development has many facets and phases but if we do not prioritise development in terms of people's needs then we may well find ourselves in a situation where high-level development, which attracts specialised and highly profitable events, is prioritised ahead of basic provision. In the short term a national construction programme to improve sports facilities only in the disadvantaged areas must be undertaken.

### **Its time for action: Post-conference programme of action**

Proceedings at this conference is unlikely to be able to compile a final blueprint on sports development in the post-apartheid period. At best we must try to identify what are the problems and deficiencies with the South African sports system and subsequently must outline priority areas which demand urgent attention as well as long term planning. Planning, implementation of the plans and affirmative action are integral to the development process. So where do we go from here? The following are proposals which must be discussed:-

- A national planning and development collective must be established. The NOSC cannot act in isolation as we do not have the resources to take on

---

development alone. Whilst the collective must remain a NOSC initiative it must be representative of sports groupings. At least one development officer from each code of sport must comprise the collective together with a full-time co-ordinator and/or fund raiser.

- Within the development collective, some form of monitoring mechanism must be set up whose brief will be to closely monitor development programmes to ensure that they are ongoing, successful and prioritising the needs of the people they were intended to develop. At this stage most sports are talking about development but all attention is focused on the international arenas. Developing the talented and advanced sports person must be encouraged but it cannot be done at the expense of neglecting the development aspect. Assessments by an independent group must be undertaken and weaknesses must be improved upon.

Last year the NOSC decided to lift the moratorium. The task of the national development collective must be to recommend to the NOSC whether development is being prioritised after an international event has taken place. National codes are to be advised when their development priorities are seen to be fading and be called to order. Additionally, the development collective is to provide guidelines on how affirmative action is to take place within sport. A sport's leadership must reflect the sport's constituency and the disadvantaged must be empowered to fill leadership roles. Without wanting to single out any particular sport, road running is a good example of a sport being dominated by advantaged administrators with the black member being confined to running and setting the records on the road.

- Each code of sport should consider sending at least three development officers to various parts of the world - one to the west, another into Africa and the other to Eastern Europe - where different sports models may be studied. The idea here is not to impose a particular model on a uniquely South African situation but to discover how situations were used to develop sport.
- By our own admission, the level of our administration is not on the standard that we would like it to be. Because we are involved in sport during our after work hours and lack of administrative resources, it has proven difficult to maintain professional standards. Sound administration affects the overall growth and organisational capacity of any structure and nobody knows this better than we in the NOSC. As a priority, and this task I would like to allocate to the development collective, administrative courses at both national and regional level must be planned and practically implemented. As sport enters a new era additional and changing demands have surfaced and these need to be taken account of. At the same time old and archaic methods of organisation



---

must be reviewed and replaced with what is required to organise post-apartheid sport within the legacy of apartheid.

- The gap in playing standards between establishment sports people and the non-racial sports person is very big and the one obvious reason for this is the unequal sports structure which is heavily in favour of the establishment component. A sound proposal would be for the NOSC, via the development collective, to implement a national coaching programme in the short term. The programme could have two aspects: at least ten disadvantaged players from each code of sport must be posted around the world and undergo intensive and advanced training and on the domestic front, coaching must be carried out for the disadvantaged. This would be an opportune time for establishment sport to share their skills and resources. Whilst recognising the autonomy of all sports codes, nothing prohibits the NOSC for taking on the project which must be centred on the development of the disadvantaged sports person. This can occur whilst codes are still awaiting funds for their respective development programmes.
- Several sports codes are united and new look executives have emerged but very little, if anything at all, has changed at the base. Would we lose out or gain more if we encouraged our clubs to merge on a fifty-fifty basis? This does not mean that the clubs from the disadvantaged areas must dissolve their clubs but that establishment players must be encouraged to join township clubs. Development will take a long time to get off the ground and will require much skill for any development programme to survive. A further advantage is that the crossover will see a quicker dissemination of techniques and over time the gap in strength should be narrowed considerably.

This brings us to an important component about development which centres around advancement of technical standards.

## Technical Development

The following is a quote about Chinese sports policy during the era of Mao Tse-Tung which promoted both mass participation and sophisticated training of the highly talented sports person.

*"Popularisation of sports for the masses must exist alongside high level training for the few. Mass advancement on the upper levels provides incentives for the masses and in turn raises the entire national level of performance. In terms of professional training, the phrase 'walking on two legs' means that physical culture training courses should be offered on the highest planes in universities."*

---

*level physical education institutes and normal universities for some, on a spare time or short-course basis for others. Athletics meets should be held on a local small-scale basis as well as on a grand national scale. Traditional sports should coexist with modern sports... In short, the policy of 'walking on two legs' commits the Chinese to pursue a policy of sports for everybody." (John Wilson, Politics and leisure, 1988, p.127).*

We must acknowledge the two emerging trends in South African sport: one is the desire to play sport and to be given the opportunity and encouragement to do so (amateur and lower league sport) and the other is the top sports brass which is characterised by high performance behaviour and increasing professionalisation. Our policy must be to promote mass participation and to develop the skills of the talented. But the two aspects must not exist in isolation of each other and neither should the one be encouraged at the expense of the other.

How development policies are carried out will have a significant bearing on the growth and future patterns of South African sport. In time to come specific schools would need to be proposed where talented sports people are schooled and their potential developed to the highest level. Mass sport and top performance (highly competitive) sport are not incompatible objectives if handled in a positive manner. Both levels of sport need each other. Advanced sports people must be encouraged to assist in coaching and training schemes at lower stages of development.

South Africa can learn a lot from the experiences of Africa particularly with regard to leading sports people, especially athletes. Most of Africa's leading athletes are lost to domestic competitions as they are 'scooped' during their formative athletic years and given scholarships where they compete on the lucrative American circuits. Top athletes are role models and they set the standards for the next generation. With our abundance of talent there is no guarantee that our top sports people will not be taken from us in a similar way unless we have some mechanism which will ensure that sports people are committed to competing at home and honour domestic events.

## **Towards one controlling national sports body**

Presently there exist four national controlling bodies of sport in South Africa (this excludes SANROC and NOCSA). The four bodies are: South African Council on Sport (SACOS), Confederation of South African Sport (COSAS), National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC), South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC). All four contest the sports terrain. They also have few similarities and several differences.



---

To have four sports bodies existing is detrimental to the overall development of South African sports. Initiatives must be made to begin building one sports federation. The NOSC should take the initiative in this regard.

## **Features of a national sports body**

- All codes of sport would be autonomous but all affiliates must respect and abide by national policy,
- The federation must concentrate on the development of sport at the base level as well as at the level of advancement,
- Regional affiliates must be part of the structure of the national federation for they will act as co-ordinating mechanisms in all areas, particularly the rural areas,
- Some form of mechanisms will have to guarantee the active participation by all affiliates and to guard against a top down approach,
- The federation must focus on affirmative action with regard to the disadvantaged and black women and redressing of the imbalances as a major part of its contribution,
- The federation, although being an autonomous body, would work closely with the post-apartheid government, particularly the sports ministry,
- Although we would be linked to a world system it does not mean that the structure and emphasis of the federation must be in accordance with international designs. We are committed to national reconstruction and eradication of inequalities which are the legacy of apartheid South Africa. The structure and design of the federation must reflect our commitment to transformation.

## **Sport and the gender question**

The gender question must be placed on our agenda of reconstruction because reconstruction which does not review gender discrimination and offer concrete policies on how to eradicate discrimination will be meaningless.

Contemporary sport in South Africa is gender biased, male dominated and sexist. OWomen's overall participation in sport is very small. Amongst whites, participation is about 20% of the sports population whilst few black women participate in sport. Black women have severe restrictions when it comes to the

---

playing of sport. Because of the triple oppression suffered by black women opportunities for leisure and recreation are few. One needs to look at the social structure if we are to have an adequate picture of the reasons why so few black women take part in one sport or the other. If national Olympic teams are chosen it is quite likely that not one black woman (Indian, Coloured or African) would be selected for a national team.

Within our ranks we need to review our male dominated sports structures. When asked why so few women hold national or provincial executive positions some answers obtained are that "women do not deserve the places on merit." But how many women have actually been given the chance to develop their leadership skills in sport? How often do we think that a male is the best person for the presidency? If women are elected to executive positions they are usually nominated for the post of secretary because "they can type and take minutes."

### **Eradicating the gender imbalance: Issues to be considered**

- women are victims of sexual harassment and assault. Both the state and local government must provide protective environments for women to allow them to participate in sport on the same terms as men.
- In the longer term the patriarchal system must change. Both men and women must share household labour to allow both free time for recreation.
- More often than not our competitions are designed for tough male competition. This means that sponsorship is allocated largely to sport played by men. If women's sport is neglected by sponsors and has few resources how can it be developed?
- We must have particular sports festivals for women so that their sport can be prioritised and more women encouraged to participate in sport. How often are potential women sports people intimidated by hyped up sport activity? (Frith van der Merwe is one of the few exceptions).
- Affirmative action programmes must prioritise the woman's question. We must have a code of conduct which does not allow for sexist language, sexist remarks and sexism. Ways and means must be found whereby all women are given the same opportunities to participate in sport on both a competitive and recreational level.

---

## Conclusion

There is no doubt that a gigantic task awaits the National and Olympic Sports Congress. As one of our prioritised objectives development must receive our urgent attention. We must be careful to develop a pragmatic approach and to project over-ambitious demands which cannot be realised. We must remember that the decades before us have been littered with numerous mistakes and false hopes. Our programme must be co-ordinated and carried out within the guidelines of our proposed national sports policy. The following are proposals which should be considered in the short-term:-

1. The establishment of a national development collective. All codes of sport must be represented on the development council whose brief is to ensure that development does occur.
2. Formalisation of a national development trust fund.
3. Establishment of a sponsorship and fundraising collective .
4. Pressure must be placed on the government to have the proposed allocation of funds for development released to those organisations, in this case the NOSC, who are actively involved in development but do not have access to the resources. Additionally, ways must be sought to have the funds which are allocated to COSAS and SANOC redirected to the non-racial sports movement.
5. A study which will examine how to redistribute present ownership of sports facilities and to make them accessible to the people must be undertaken. This must be done in conjunction with relevant organisations, e.g., civics and the trade unions.
6. Administration courses for all levels of administration must be devised and held in the near future. Training for empowerment is an essential aspect of development.
7. We must have a policy regarding development and international sport. At this stage I recommend that the development aspect must be prioritised ahead of the international aspect.
8. The fee structure of clubs and entrance fees must also be reviewed and revised in terms of what spectators can pay. A particular example is the price

---

of tickets for cricket and rugby matches. How many blacks do we actually see at these matches?

9. Coaching courses are a must and the hosting of such courses must be prioritised in favour of the disadvantaged sports people.
10. Emphasis must be placed on the development of women's participation in sport.
11. Ways and means must be found of sharing and/or redistributing the administrative resources from the establishment controlling bodies like COSAS and SANOC.
12. School sport demands priority attention. Coupled with our demand for one education department must be our demand to use those facilities at the white schools for the same amount (if not more) of time that is used by the children who attend those schools.
13. Affirmative action at all levels must be emphasised. Because of the inequalities in provision of facilities merit selection cannot be considered in South Africa. When teams are selected consideration must be given to the sports persons' potential and ability to develop her/his skills instead of them being selected under the same consideration as that of the advantaged sports persons who have been given all the opportunities to develop.

---

# THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROVISION OF SPORTS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

***Mathole Motshekga***

## 1. Introduction

I feel truly honoured and privileged to be invited to your National Conference to share with you the perspectives of the ANC on "The Role of Local Government in the provision of sports and recreational facilities". We propose to address two key issues around this topic. First, the question of accessibility of sports and recreational facilities under and after apartheid, and secondly the right of cultural self-determination and the empowerment of the disadvantaged majority. The question of cultural, like political and economic self-determination is dealt with in the Freedom Charter and related documents. It is therefore appropriate that we base our discussion on these documents.

The ANC vision of government (including local, regional and national) is informed by universal constitutional principles including:

- the right of the people of South Africa as a whole to determine their own political, social, cultural and economic destiny
- the equality of all South Africans regardless of race, colour, creed or religion (including the equality of men and women)
- the territorial integrity of South Africa
- the right of all South Africans to participate in the government of the country
- access to the public service for all South Africans.

The Freedom Charter does not only deal with constitutional principles for a post-apartheid South Africa, but also social and economic rights including:

- the duty of the government to discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of cultural life
- provision of free, compulsory, universal and equal opportunities for all.



Furthermore, and perhaps more significantly for your historic conference, the Freedom Charter demands:

- the abolition of the colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education
- the right to live where one chooses, to be decently housed, and to bring up one's family in comfort and security
- the demolition of slums and building of new suburbs where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playfields, creches and social centres
- the right to rest, leisure and recreation for all.

The National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC), like the ANC, recognises the urgent need to destroy apartheid and create a new non-racial, non-sexist South Africa in which:

*"All people shall be equal before the law. There shall be no oppressive or gratuitous interference with the rights of individuals. The respect and dignity of all people shall be upheld. All people shall have access to relevant, compulsory and equal education, adequate housing in particular and a universal franchise in a system determined by the will of the people. The principles of democracy, accountability and consultation shall be upheld. All people shall enjoy the freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of domicile, freedom of ownership of land, freedom to participate fully in the economy of the country and share in its wealth".*

Furthermore, the NOSC does not recognise only the urgent need to end apartheid but also to participate in the struggle to abolish apartheid, to work with communities in their struggles to obtain sporting and recreational facilities, and to encourage the development of non-racial sport at primary, secondary, tertiary education institutions, factory level and other places of work.

Comrade Chairperson, there can be no doubt in anyone's mind, therefore, that NOSC is an integral part of the National Liberation Movement. This means, therefore, that there is a community (or identity) of interests between the ANC and NOSC. Perhaps, even more significantly, the ANC and NOSC, as it appears from the clauses of the Freedom Charter and the Constitution of the NOSC, share the same strategic objective - namely the transfer of power to the people of South Africa as a whole, regardless of colour, race or creed.

In examining the role that local government could play in the provision of sports and recreational facilities we need therefore to depart from this strategic



---

objective. But this point of departure immediately poses problems in that there are contending strategic objectives in the current democratisation process. The other strategic objective is contained in the National Party Constitutional proposals which advocates a power-sharing formula which will reduce the democratic majority to a minority and devolve poverty to the oppressed majority. It is therefore proposed to examine and compare the ANC and NP Constitutional proposals on local government and identify the impact of each set of proposals on the prospects for the provision of sports and recreational facilities in a future South Africa.

## **2. Neo-Apartheid Local Government System and Sports and Culture**

The form which local government takes in any country is the result of a political choice. A country usually chooses a local government system that suits its political aims. South Africa has begun a process of moving away from an apartheid local government structure to a new system. The major questions which arise in this connection include:

- which local government system has South Africa chosen?
- who has the right to choose?
- what procedures and principles should inform such a choice?
- what prospects do these choices hold for sport and recreation in a future South Africa?

To answer the first two questions it is necessary to briefly examine the history and purpose for local government in South Africa and the current local government reforms.

### **2.1 A brief history of local government in South Africa**

In South Africa the system of local government has developed to reflect the policies of indirect rule, apartheid colonialism and goals of successive apartheid regimes. Before 1948 South Africa had a system of "one city, one municipality" which the masses of our people are demanding today. Furthermore, local government had some of the powers that the regime seek to devolve to local authorities. For instance, before 1948, influx control was applied (or not applied) by the local government, not by the central government.

---

However, South Africa did not have democratic municipalities. Also, the voting system was qualified by property rights and colour. When the National Party came to power in 1948, it institutionalised racial segregation and assumed control over local government affairs to ensure strict implementation of its apartheid policies. This resulted in the development of apartheid cities and an apartheid system of local government.

After the proclamation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, the Apartheid regime introduced Urban Bantu Councils which, like their predecessors, remained essentially advisory and consultative forums. Thus the whole system failed, forcing the regime to shift its focus from the establishment of administrative structures to forced removals. The policy of the regime during this period was to concentrate on the forced removals of the growing numbers of urban Blacks away from the so-called White areas, rather than on the transformation of locations (or townships) into liveable areas with sports and recreational facilities. The regime did not see any point in upgrading the infrastructure of Black townships or building more houses as it believed that as from 1978 onwards Blacks would start streaming back to the Bantustans where they would exercise their political rights in terms of its homeland policy.

The dismal failure of Black local government forced the regime to transfer the control and administration of urban Blacks to the central government under the Administration of Black Affairs Act 45 of 1971. This Act sought to solve the problems regarding urban Black local government by establishing administration boards and transferring the running of Black communities to these boards. The activities of these boards were co-ordinated by the Department of Co-operation and Development which exercised overall control over Black communities.

In 1973 the Administration Boards took over the running of Black affairs from neighbouring White municipalities. In the same year apartheid was declared a crime against humanity, while the National Liberation Movement (ANC and PAC) were declared the authentic representatives of the majority of the people. These Boards were so badly run and under-financed, that from the outset, deficit mounted and the inadequate infrastructure decayed and exacerbated the growing political tensions between the oppressed and the regime resulting in the Soweto uprising of 1976.

This crisis forced the regime to embark on a reform process aimed at the "internal" decolonisation of Black local government. First, the regime separated Black townships from the metropolitan areas and constituted them as separate local authorities which were in theory autonomous but which suffered from a disastrous lack of financial resources even for day-to-day management.

---

Furthermore, funds for improving the inadequate and run-down infrastructure were totally lacking. Thus the Apartheid system fragmented the metropolitan areas and impoverished Black townships by denying them a share in the wealth that they produced in the cities.

The fragmentation of the metropolitan areas was consolidated in terms of the Black Community Councils Act 125 of 1977. Although these Community Councils were supposed to form the basis for political participation of Black communities at the local level they were subject to the overall control of Administration Boards. The introduction of Community Councils unleashed vehement opposition from Black communities which resulted in the formation of civic organisations and other community organisations.

Popular resistance against Black local authorities forced the government to introduce a number of reform initiatives which resulted in the relaxation of the influx control laws and recognition that Blacks were no longer temporary sojourners in the urban areas. Thus Africans were divided into urban insiders and rural outsiders. The latter would exercise their political rights in the Bantustans whilst the former would exercise their political rights through Community Councils. To lend credibility to these Councils, the government introduced three Bills - generally known as the Koornhof Bills. Popular resistance against these Koornhof bills forced the regime to withdraw them, but the same Bills were re-introduced in new forms as the Black Communities Development Bill, the Black Local Authorities Bill, and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. These Bills dealt with various aspects of Black local government. All three Bills were passed by Parliament.

The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 provided for a mechanism to replace the discredited Community Councils with a Black Local Authorities (BLAs) modelled on the White Local Authorities. But the BLAs, unlike the White Local Authorities (WLAs) were not given any financial resources to enable them to deliver affordable municipal services. The Black Communities Development Act of 1984 established Development Boards. The Act transferred the powers of Development Boards (which replaced Administration Boards) to Black Local Authorities. Thus the Black Local Authorities Act completed the "internal" decolonisation of Black local government by devolving powers to the BLA's. The devolution of fiscal powers to BLA's, in particular, created serious problems as these bodies were henceforth required to raise their own revenue. In the meanwhile, however, the Provincial Authorities (e.g. Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA)) took away levies on employers and sold sources of income such as beer halls and bottle stores. To generate income, therefore, the BLAs were

---

forced to increase rentals and service charges and impose levies on township residents.

The devolution of powers to the BLA's was based on a consolidated (i.e. group) political theory which requires local government structures to guarantee group rights and prevent democratic majority rule. No wonder that elections for the BLAs were scheduled for the latter part of 1983 to coincide with the introduction of the tricameral parliament.

The lack of financial resources and the inadequate and run-down infrastructure of the BLAs deepened their crisis and gave further impetus for popular resistance against the BLA's and the tricameral parliament. This resistance culminated in the formation of the United Democratic Front (1983) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) (1985) which challenged the legitimacy of the regime and its right to rule the country in the old way.

Partly as a result of the State of ungovernability of the first half of the 80s and as part of the efforts to prop up the BLAs, the government introduced the Regional Services Councils (RSC) system.

An RSC comprises members representing all local bodies - White, Black, Coloured and Indian - in the region for which the RSC is established. The members are not themselves elected by popular vote, but are designated by councils whose members are directly elected.

All local bodies of the region - whether municipalities or town councils, town committees, management committees, local affairs committees or rural councils - are entitled to nominate members to represent them on the RSC.

These local bodies nominate representatives to the RSC according to the percentage of the RSC's total services which they purchase. Thus, they have one representative for every 10 per cent (or part thereof) of the total service which they purchase with a maximum of five members for any one local body.

For each RSC the Administrator of the province appoints a chairman, a salaried official without a vote in the council. This appointment needs the approval of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and the Minister of Local Government in each of the three houses of Parliament. Each RSC also has a vice-chairman - elected from among its own ranks.

The initiators of the RSC concept resolved at the outset that a neutral and colour-blind criterion had as far as possible to be found for the allocation of membership

---

and voting power. Here non-racialism is used to limit the impact of democratic majority rule within the framework of consolidational (power-sharing) race-based democracy.

*The functions of the RSCs include:*

- to develop urban infrastructure in areas of greatest need (obviously Black areas) through the collection of new sources of revenue.
- to act as financial agencies that raise money through a double tax levied on employers (turnover and wage taxing) and then allocate money in the form of grants into various townships for capital development projects.

*The RSCs also support short and long-term projects which are particularly relevant to this conference. They include:*

- development of sports and recreation facilities, parks and playgrounds
- erection of community halls
- libraries
- health services
- land usage.

The chairpersons of the RSCs are appointed by the provincial (i.e. regional) administrators who are in turn appointed by the State President. This links the RSCs directly to the illegal and discredited BLAs and the provincial and Central Governments.

Although the RSCs derive their income from wage taxation of Black employees who form the majority of the work force, representation on the RSCs reduce the Black majority who produce the wealth of the metropolitan areas to a minority.

The RSCs make financial allocations to participating local authorities and management committees. They are in fact designed as a kind of mechanism for redistribution of wealth at the regional level. But the participating Black local authorities hardly benefit anything from the RSCs. In other words, the RSCs are not able to make the BLAs and management committees economically viable because the determination of representation and voting power of local authorities on the RSCs, by the extent of bulk services bought from the Councils, reduces Blacks to a minority. Thus the developed White local authority, enriched by Black labour, holds the balance of power. This means that if White councils refuse to spend the money in a particular way then the Black local authorities



---

have no power to force it to do so. In other words the economic viability of Black townships depends on the goodwill of White local authorities. If they withhold their financial assistance, as they apparently have been doing, the BLAs must depend on rentals and service charges paid by township residents.

Consequently the BLAs increased rentals and service charges which were so high, and in most cases unaffordable, that township residents embarked on rent boycotts which started as early as 1985. These rent boycotts and other popular struggles virtually rendered the country ungovernable forcing the regime to impose successive states of emergency.

## **2.2 Local government reforms**

In May 1990 Mr F W de Klerk addressed a meeting and said that the present local government system would have to go and would be replaced by a new system not based solely on race. Mr de Klerk's government now wants a new system of local government to be negotiated at the local level between the white city councils and other residents of the area and devolution of power to local government. The current local government reforms are based on the Interim Measures Act of 1991 which is in turn based on the Thornhill Report. This report says that South Africa needs a new system of local government. There should be negotiations in each city where all local interest groups will negotiate and choose a form of local government. All local interest groups, including those operating outside the present system, must be part of the negotiation process.

The Thornhill report exercised a profound influence on the NP constitutional proposals. The regime is using the recommendations of the Thornhill report to prevent democratic majority rule at local level. To this end the regime adopted the Interim Measures Act 1991 which encourages Local authorities and civic organisations to enter into formal negotiations with a view to agreeing on any one of the four models. The agreements reached in such negotiations will constitute local charters or local constitutions which will be promulgated under a National Local Government Act. In other words, at the local level the regime seeks to manage the process and product of negotiations. The underlying principle of the regimes local level reforms is the maximum devolution of powers to local authorities and entrenchment of such powers in the national constitution. The underlying idea here is to give local authorities original powers which even the central government cannot take away, however, they are abused. The purpose of this devolution of powers is to enable the white minority communities to privatise apartheid if they so wish. In other words, white local authorities would be legally entitled to remain segregated. The devolution of power

(including fiscal powers) will also mean that the black local authorities which are cut off from the main sources of revenue such as levies and wage taxes will remain poor. In other words, in the case of black municipalities, this would mean devolution of poverty. All in all, the principle of devolution will prevent the desegregation of our country and empower whites to preserve economic domination and privilege. To illustrate the negative effects of the principle of devolution let us examine the implementation of the notion of "own community life" which underpin the principle of devolution of powers. To implement this notion the NP proposes to reduce the existing BLAs, WLAs and Management Committees to neighbourhood councils elected by all the residents on a non-partisan basis. The neighbourhood council system is designed to enable geographical neighbourhoods (which are racially-based in the context of South Africa) to exercise their right of self-determination over "own community life". In essence, therefore, this means either tribal, ethnic or racial local self-determination which is a perfect recipe for the privatisation of apartheid.

*More specifically the system of neighbourhood councils involves that:*

- a geographical area,
- a municipal area may decide on a voluntary basis to institute a neighbourhood council,
- a neighbourhood council may be elected by the residents of the neighbourhood,
- autonomous (i.e. original) power may be entrusted to the neighbourhood council over neighbourhood matters.

*The matter over which original powers may be granted include:*

- the regulation of norms and standards for the residential environment,
- the granting of licenses/permits in regard to the use of property,
- the provision of communal facilities,
- education and welfare levy on special projects.

These powers would not only be original but also entrenched in the national constitution.

Consequently, any rich white neighbourhood with communal facilities and amenities which are not available in other neighbourhoods could deny persons from other neighbourhoods access to its communal facilities and amenities, reserve its schools and hospitals for its residents, refuse to share its income with

the poor neighbourhoods, impose prohibitive levies on its projects. All in all, the neighbourhood council would make the desegregation of sports facilities and amenities very hard, if not impossible. Furthermore, it will deny the disadvantaged majority a say in the provision of sports facilities and amenities, let alone the land for building new ones. Also, the system would effectively freeze the effects of the land and Group Areas Acts by introducing non-statutory apartheid.

## **2.3 Non-racial and democratic local government**

The ANC, like the NP, proposes a three-tier system of government consisting of the local, regional and central level. But the ANC, unlike the NP, believes in a unitary South Africa (including both dependent and independent Bantustans) and a strong and effective Parliament capable of dealing with the great tasks of reconstruction, of overcoming the legacy of apartheid and nation building. At the same time, however, the ANC believes in a strong and effective regional government to deal with the tasks of the region, and strong and effective local government to ensure active local involvement in handling local issues. The ANC seeks to achieve this through decentralisation and delegation of powers to regional and local governments.

To ensure that the policy of maximum devolution of powers prevails the regime adopted the Interim Measures Act (1991) and is encouraging local authorities to enter into urgent negotiations with civic associations.

In the last couple of years serious attempts were made by the State to privatise many major national assets. Now it is trying to devolve as many functions as possible to local level. The implications of this strategy, as shown above, is to leave a democratic majority government without power to provide any meaningful services such as land, sports and recreational facilities which are of critical importance to your organisation and the masses in general. In the light of this it is necessary to review the on-going local level negotiations and their purposes.

At the National Consultative Conference on local government organised by the ANC in October 1990 (Johannesburg) delegates (including civics from all regions of the country) it was noted that:

- the State is trying to pre-empt negotiations at the national level by pressurising civics to enter into agreements about structures at the local level before anything has been concluded at the national level,

- 
- negotiation at local level would be to the State's advantage as our people were weak on technical issues,
  - the State appears prepared to make compromises at the local level as an incentive to make people agree to structures which in the long run would be to people's disadvantage.

In the light of this State strategy, Conference recognised the State's attempts to separate local negotiations from national negotiations with the aim, as shown above, of entrenching racial privilege at local level and thus resolved that:

1. An elected interim body at local level should restructure the apartheid city and make proposals to a constituent assembly in order to protect the interests of all communities and to ensure uniformity. The interim body should be elected in accordance with the rules of the electoral system adopted nationally by the negotiating parties. The pre-conditions for the setting up of an elected local interim body are as follows: -
  - the scrapping of all discriminatory laws which include the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, Black Administration Act of 1930, Black Communities Development Act of 1984, etc,
  - the dissolution of all existing local authorities, including the white municipalities,
  - Government to stop any enactment of laws affecting local authorities during this transition period.
2. In the event of community councils collapsing before the establishment of the interim body, the civic associations are to fully examine the appropriate form of creative action to be taken under those circumstances. Should the civics deem it necessary to take over a community council structure they should make sure that:
  - the decision to do so derives from the constituency they represent,
  - the legal space should be used if it is to enhance the position of the civics and to advance the struggle of the transfer of power,
  - it is to transform the institution politically ideologically and culturally to serve the interests of the people and the struggle for total emancipation,
  - it is aimed at weakening the state's institution while at the same time strengthening the forces of change,



- it is to expose the regime's strategy of co-option,
  - it is aimed at the total seizure of power by the democratic majority.
3. Civics should engage in negotiations with local, regional and Provincial Administrations on issues which concern the delivery of services and while maintaining pressure for constitutional changes they should not enter into formal agreement on matters which have constitutional implications.

### **3. Toward a non-racial and democratic local government system**

The ANC National consultative Conference on Local Government held in Johannesburg from 4 - 6 October 1990 laid a solid foundation for the democratisation of local government. The Conference resolved that interim local government structures should be elected in accordance with the rules of the electoral system adopted nationally by the negotiating parties. The resolution laid down pre-conditions for the establishment of elected interim bodies, namely:

- the abolition of racially discriminatory laws,
- the dissolution of all existing local authorities, including white municipalities,
- government to stop any enactment of laws affecting local authorities during the transitional period.

### **Conclusion**

It emerges from this paper that the local government system in South Africa has been used to exclude blacks from the central political power system and to deny them access to land, social amenities and opportunities. Black resistance forced the apartheid regime to reform or amend itself, particularly at the local level. These local level reforms are designed to give credibility and legitimacy to a neo-apartheid local government system which privatises apartheid, freezes social and economic inequalities and injustices and which also denies the black majority access to land and its resources. The present local level negotiations are not merely interim arrangements, as the regime claims. It seeks to secure our consent to an amendment or reform of apartheid in violation of our own right of self-determination as embodied in the Harare Declaration and the UN Charter.



---

Consequently, the black majority will not only fail to achieve their inalienable right to political and economic self-determination but will forever remain landlocked in the reserves without access to sports and recreational facilities, opportunities for development and genuine freedom and independence.

