International Boycott of Apartheid Sports


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# International Boycott of Apartheid Sports

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS*

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Contents
Page
I. SPORTS HEARING
A. Opening remarks by H.E. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule,
Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid . . . . . . . 1
B. Statements by athletes
1. Boxing
Mr. John Conteh (United Kingdom), former British Commonwealth
and World Light-Heavyweight Boxing Champion . . . . . . . 1
2. Cricket
Mr. Bishen Bedi Singh (India), Cricketer and Spin bowler, former
Indian Test Cricket Captain . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 2
Mr. Clive Lloyd (Guyana), Cricketer and Captain, West Indies
Cricket Team . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 6
3. Discus-throwing
Ms. Evelyn Herberg-Jahl (German Democratic Republic), Field Athlete
and Gold Medalist, 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games . . . . . . . 6
4o RugbyX
Mr. Richard Logan (United States), Rugby Player . . . . . . . 8
5. Track and field
Mr. Noel Carroll (Ireland), Top-ranking Athlete, 800 meter-run . 10
C. Statements by representatives of sports organizations . . . . . . 13
1. Mr. Paul Stephenson, former member of the British Sports
Council and Chairman of the Muhammad Ali Sports Development
I am glad we have with us today a number of athletes and representatives of sporting organizations who are well-known for their contribution to the struggle against apartheid sports. The Special Committee has maintained close and fruitful co-operation with sports persons and sports organizations all over the world. We are determined to press for the isolation of the racist regime of South Africa in the field of sport. We are determined to expose those sports personalities and organizations that are yielding to South Africa's financial inducements. Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals must act without any further delay. There is an attempt to negate the concerted efforts made by the noble sports persons all over the world to isolate South Africa.

I am glad to welcome Mr. Paul Stephenson, sports administrator from the United Kingdom, who was a member of the British Sports Council until his resignation in March in protest against the British Prime Minister's refusal to condemn the recent rebel tour to South Africa; Ms. Evelyn Herberg-Jahl, field athlete from the German Democratic Republic and gold medal winner in discus in the 1976 and 1980 Olympic games; Mr. Sam Ramsammy, Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, who has been co-operating with the Special Committee for a long time; Mr. Bishen Singh Bedi, a cricketer from India who is one of the finest spin bowlers in the world; Mr. Noel Carroll from Ireland, one of the finest 800 meter runners in the world; Mr. Clive Lloyd from Guyana, captain of the world's most powerful cricket team; Mr. John Conteh from the United Kingdom, a former world light heavyweight champion and Dr. Richard Logan, rugby player from the United States.

Before giving the floor to the first speaker on my list, I wish to inform the Members that I have received a telegramme from Mr. Larry Holmes, Heavyweight Champion of the world, expressing his regret for not being able to
come because of previous engagements and his full support to the Special
Committee.
B. Statement by athletes
1. Boxing
Mr. John Conteh (United Kingdom), former British Commonwealth and
World Light-Heavyweight Boxing Champion
I am honoured to be here in New York as a guest of the Special
Committee against Apartheid together with so many sportsmen who have stood
against the repressive racial measures in that sad country of South Africa. Man's
inhumanity to man cannot be measured in dollars and cents. A system such as
apartheid has put a top price on getting the world's top sportsmen to their country
in an effort to break their isolation from world sport that is being correctly
enforced by right-thinking international organizations. I am proud to have
contributed my tiny bit to the pressure that has been put on South Africa to end its
apartheid policies.
There are those who believe that sport should be isolated from politics but this is
impossible. There comes a time when one must make a stand or lose all
semblance of credibility. As a sportsman who achieved world championship
status in my sport, I was certain I would not betray the unstinting support of
my family, my friends and the sports enthusiasts everywhere, so I could not sell
my standing for more money than has ever been offered to me for a contest in
South Africa.
The struggle against repressive measures in South Africa, which has taken on
itself the right to differentiate between human beings must continue until this
travesty of justice and freedom is squashed. No one has the right to subjugate
another on the lines of race or colour. Sport has shown what can be done
effectively against such a regime as exists in South Africa and with the support of
SANROC and the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, one can look forward
to an end to this pernicious system.
As a former world boxing champion I am proud to have been associated with the
World Boxing Council, which through its President in Mexico, Seffor
José Sulaiman, has made a steadfast stand against apartheid and does not permit
its champions to undertake contests in South Africa.
I would therefore like to urge even more support for the efforts of the United
Nations Committee and SANROC on a broader basis to speed up the change that
must come in South Africa and I am ready to help in any way I can.
2. Cricket
Mr. Bishen Singh Bedi (India), Cricket and Spin bowler, former
Indian Test Cricket Captain
At the outset, I would like to express my deep sense of
gratitude to you and to the distinguished members of the Special Committee
against Apartheid for the honour they have done me in inviting me to participate
in the meeting of the Special Committee this morning. I do realize that this
honour has been done to me as a representative of Indian sports and, above all, as
a citizen of a country which has been in the vanguard of the international movement against the evil system of apartheid in South Africa for several decades.

I bring to you and to the distinguished members of the Special Committee, greetings and good wishes from the sportsmen and sportswomen of India. We have been following with keen interest the commendable work which is being done by the Special Committee under your able and dynamic leadership. India's total commitment to the struggle against apartheid is too well-known to need any elaboration on my part. I take this opportunity to assure you, Sir, and the distinguished members of the Special Committee, of the unstinted co-operation of the sportsmen and sportswomen of India in the accomplishment of our ultimate objective, namely, the total eradication of the scourge of apartheid from our civilized world. India firmly believes that Sport is an important vehicle for bringing peoples together and for developing and fostering understanding among them, especially by the impact it can make on the younger generation of the world. It is, therefore, natural that we would wish that sport would be rid of all discrimination. We consider apartheid in sports, as in other fields, a negation of the principles of human dignity and individual freedom.

In this context, India attaches great importance to the Gleneagles Agreement of 12 June 1977 to which member countries of the Commonwealth are a party and which considers apartheid in sports as an "abomination". India has been following the Gleneagles Agreement in its letter and spirit and will continue to do so in keeping with her traditional support for and solidarity with the cause of the black majority of South Africa.

It is hardly necessary for me to recall India's involvement in the struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa. In fact, as is well-known, the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was the initiator of the anti-apartheid resistance in South Africa before he returned to India to lead the people of India in their struggle to overthrow the yoke of foreign domination. To Mahatma Gandhi, a kind of discrimination based on race, religion, caste or creed was an affront to humankind. In fact, his ultimate ambition was to have a world without any barriers. He once said and I quote:

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible".

I am proud to belong to the country of Mahatma Gandhi and, if I may say so, to have represented India with some distinction at many international sports gatherings.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid, on behalf of the sportsmen and sportswomen of India and, on my own behalf, for their commendation of the action taken by the Government of India, in general, and the Indian Board of Control for Cricket, in particular, in regard to the
inclusion during the English cricket tour, last year, of two players who have had association with South Africa. As the Special Committee against Apartheid has rightly stated in its Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa for the period April-December 1981 (Notes and Documents 7/82) the Government of India was able to get a public assurance from the English cricket authorities that they do not permit representative tours of South Africa to take place, that they are quite specific in their opposition to apartheid and their aim is to promote multiracial cricket throughout the world. In fact, it is the first instance in the history of English cricket that such an assurance was given by the English cricket authorities. We, therefore, believe that this action by India has further strengthened the international campaign against apartheid in sports.

The Indian cricket team is at the moment in England playing against that country's teams after having demanded and having succeeded in obtaining assurances that the unscrupulous cricketers who surreptitiously played in South Africa recently would be excluded from the fixtures against India.

The question of eradication of apartheid in sports is closely linked with the elimination of the inhuman system itself from the earth. As long as this system is allowed to continue in South Africa, the playgrounds in that country are bound to be polluted by racial hatred and prejudice: sport in that country will increase tension and strife rather than contribute to harmony and togetherness.

The South African Government claims that official apartheid prohibition on integrated sport has been lifted. This is not true: black and white teams tend to play against each other rather than as players in mixed teams. Some teams have made token efforts towards integration by including one or two members of another race group. But the basic apartheid laws still apply to all individuals and clubs, and in such circumstances no truly integrated sport can exist.

These apartheid restrictions affect black children very directly, as the laws exclude them from sharing the superior white facilities. White and black school teams must apply for permits if they wish to play each other at football, cricket, etc. Some outstanding black children have been given good training and coaching, just as some black sportsmen have represented South Africa abroad. But, this is only a subterfuge because the Government wants the outside world to accept its sports teams without changing its own basic policy of apartheid.

The time has come when the international community has to act and act quickly to rectify the miserable plight of a large number of black children of South Africa, which affects their very growth. The only effective weapon in this direction is for the countries of the world to sever sporting contacts between their nationals and the nationals of South Africa. I consider it the bounden duty of the sportsmen and sportswomen of the world who cherish freedom and human dignity to co-operate with their Governments in making such a weapon effective, thereby bringing about an early end to the oppression and indignity perpetrated by the racist regime of South Africa on the black majority. In this context, it would be pertinent to stress the need for the early completion of
an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, as requested by the United Nations General Assembly.

I would like to conclude by wishing the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports good luck and Godspeed.

Mr. Clive Lloyd (Guyana), Cricketer and Captain of the West Indies

The Charter of the United Nations envisages a world where humanity is united with no distinction among human beings on the basis of race, religion or on any basis whatsoever. Guyana as a signatory to that Charter, is committed to the attainment of that goal. The apartheid system of South Africa represents a negation of that goal in that this system cruelly separates human beings on the basis of skin colour even seeking to determine by law the heights to which blacks can aspire in South Africa severely limiting inter-personal contact among the inhabitants of the country and generally dehumanizing all of its inhabitants. The system of apartheid has been rightly described as a crime against humanity and it is appropriate that the Special Committee against Apartheid should have dedicated this series of meetings to dealing with the question of apartheid in sports.

The ancient Greeks well realized the importance of sport not only as a moulder of bodily and spiritual discipline, but also as a means of strengthening and intensifying contact among human beings. This essential value of sport is universally recognized and the nations today are dedicating increasingly greater portions of their budgets towards creating and improving conditions within which their sportsmen and sportswomen can flourish and through which athletic competition can thrive. I myself am a product of such a conception of sport and of such a commitment to the assertion of sport as an ideal human endeavour for developing the principles of justice and equality and also for improving relations between nations and peoples thereby contributing to the cause of international peace.

The commitment of the President and of the Government of Guyana to the eradication of apartheid in general is well-known. Likewise, there is no need for me to detail to this Committee the unequivocal position of my President and my Government on the question of apartheid in sport. This for us is a matter of principle. It is our minimum duty towards the millions of brothers and sisters in South Africa who suffer daily under the cruel and inhuman system of apartheid.

I myself personally adhere to the principle of non-discrimination in sport. I cannot compromise on it for any financial gain or for any other consideration. Racism is contrary to the United Nations Charter; it is contrary to humanity. To the extent that black people of South Africa and of Namibia are debased by the racist Pretoria regime, to that extent all humanity is debased. It is my personal conviction that to the extent that I play before separate audiences and separate spectators, to that extent I make a direct contribution to the strengthening of the system of apartheid. My own personal conviction compels me instead to fight for
the elimination of that system and this is why it gives me so much pleasure and why I consider it such a duty, not only to the Government and people of Guyana, but also to the black people of South Africa to be here today to add my voice, from the perspective of the captaincy of the West Indies cricket team, to the chorus of condemnation of the system of apartheid. I strongly believe that there is only one race in this world, and that is the human race.

Accordingly, I cannot condone or lend support to any system of Government which elevates racism into an ethos about which society evolves. It is from this perspective that I have made my observations and it is this perspective that will continue to guide me as I make my contribution on the cricket field to strengthening human solidarity.

It seems to me, that while the Gleneagles Agreement has served a useful purpose in the world's continuing struggle for the elimination of apartheid in sport, it nevertheless is not without its deficiencies, which Governments and sportsmen have been able to exploit to their own advantage but at the same time to the detriment of struggle against apartheid. It seems to me that our efforts could benefit from a more clear-cut categorical statement regarding sporting contacts whether direct or indirect with South Africa. In this way we reduce a number of loopholes and make very clear the obligations on individual sportsmen.

It is also my view that there should be a greater involvement by sportsmen in international efforts against apartheid in sports. Perhaps we need to envisage the formation of a world-wide forum of representatives of all sporting bodies perhaps under the aegis of the United Nations which would directly address the question of elimination of apartheid in sports and which would commit itself to specific lines of action for such elimination. It seems to me, that such an idea would have the advantage of a more direct and more meaningful involvement of sportsmen in the struggle against apartheid since they will be fully aware of the import or thrust of the decisions made and of the goals which are sought.

On behalf of sportsmen in Guyana, the West Indies and other parts of the world, I feel privileged to be able to be afforded this opportunity to address you. When men don their sporting apparel, to contest in the field of sport, when men choose freely to replace the violence of man with the healthy organization of athletic competition then the true victors are the human spirit and human brotherhood.

3. Discus-throwing
Ms Evelyn Herberg-Jahl (German Democratic Republic), Field Athlete and Gold Medalist, 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games

Permit me to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid through you for being given the opportunity to address this important United Nations body. Being able to speak here is both a great honour for me and a mark of appreciation for the unambiguous position taken by all sportsmen of my country on such issues as
colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. We stand up without reservation for their final elimination.
The sportsmen of my country do not maintain any sports contact with the apartheid regime, or did they in the past or will they in the future take part in sports contests involving sportsmen or teams from racist South African sports federation. This attitude of ours is in full harmony with the consistent stand taken by our State, the German Democratic Republic, in the struggle against apartheid. In our country there is no room for racial discrimination and racism. Fortunately, we know of such manifestations only from history books. With us every citizen has the opportunity to achieve his full potential. This holds true for all fields of activity, including sports.
I have been a participant in many international sports contests, winning medals at the Olympic Games in Montreal in 1976 and in Moscow in 1980. I have often experienced sports as a peoples-uniting factor. It is a precious thing that sports is particularly capable of bringing people of different colour, regions or world outlook closer together and of promoting their quest for peace and a happy life. This is fully in line with the objective laid down in the Olympic Charter-to educate the youth through sports in the spirit of better mutual understanding and friendship and thus to help create a better and more peaceful world. We, sportswomen and sportsmen of the GDR, like millions of sportsmen all over the world, feel committed to this goal.
Let me, at this point, relate a personal experience. I was among those who represented my country at the Olympic Games in Moscow in 1980. Apart from my striving for Olympic victory, I considered it an important concern to develop friendly contacts with the other competitors. This applied in particular to such sportswomen who were for the first time competing in such a big contest and who as yet had no international experience. For instance, we trained jointly with sportswomen from the African continent, standing by them with help and advice. This is the GDR sportsmen's understanding of the Olympic idea and of the humanist traditions of sports.
In addressing this body I can be certain that all of us assembled here are linked by a common task. Apartheid is one of the most atrocious crimes against humanity. Millions of people in South Africa and Namibia are being oppressed and exploited by a white minority. Sovereign neighbouring States of the apartheid regime are victims of its cruel acts of aggression. That regime cannot be reformed, it must be removed. It is not only with words that we condemn Pretoria's policy of apartheid, we also actively support each step that serves to isolate that anti-human regime and to pave the way for a peaceful development on humanist lines. Our solidarity goes out to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia fighting for their legitimate rights and to their national liberation movements.
The United Nations has proclaimed 1982, the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. This decision was received with world-wide approval. Regrettably, there are, now as before, influential quarters who in defiance of these decisions, not only continue their collaboration with
South Africa in all fields undiminished, but even activate it. These are the same people whose plans the basic humanist concern of the Olympic movement does not suit, who are bent on falsifying the Olympic idea and on abusing it for their egotistic political designs. Let me recall here only the fortunately vain attempts to prevent the holding of the Olympic Games of 1980 in Moscow. Through their policy these forces encourage Pretoria to carry on with its inhuman practices. This must be resolutely checked.

In our country and among its sportsmen the activities of the Special Committee against Apartheid are highly appreciated. We are aware of the great contribution being made by the Committee to mobilize the international public against the racist regime and thus, for its isolation. Of course, we have, with special interest, followed those of the Committee's activities that are designed to eliminate apartheid in the field of sports.

I wish to recall here only one of the Committee's most recent initiatives in publishing a list of sportsmen and sports organizations maintaining sports relations with the racists contrary to the relevant United Nations decisions. It was very illuminating for everyone to have in black and white the States which maintain sports contacts with the apartheid regime. Significantly, they are mainly those States which grant South Africa large loans, supply it with arms and whose transnational corporations extract millions in profits from South Africa and Namibia. For the sake of profiteering, these forces break all basic rules of international law, abusing even sports for these purposes.

Let me assure you again that the sportswomen and sportsmen of the GDR, as in the past, will continue to make their contribution in the struggle against apartheid. In so doing, we will be acting in conformity with the GDR's policy of peace and international understanding, to the benefit of the continued fruitful development of the Olympic movement.

- 74-

-8-

Permit me, in this connexion, to conclude with an observation on the drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. In view of the recurrent violations of relevant United Nations resolutions, the elaboration of such a binding international legal instrument is of great importance. That Convention should serve the common aspiration of the Olympic sports movement to isolate the apartheid regime and should promote united and cohesive action by that movement.

I wish you, dear Mr. Chairman, and the members of this Committee much success in the further pursuit of your responsible duties.

Rugby
Dr. Richard Logan (United States), Rugby Player

I wish to extend my warmest greetings to you and the other members of the Committee and to thank you for inviting me to address this group. I feel quite honoured to be a part of those athletes present here today who represent all athletes against apartheid. The athletic mystique must be discarded when dealing
with South Africa. Apartheid is not a political problem, it is a human problem and as such we must address it not as athletes, not as politicians but as human beings. Athletes are especially vulnerable to fantasies one of which is that an athletic event is the highest reality apart and removed from the existential reality of the time and place of that event. This is a cruel fantasy when it allows people to ignore the suffering of others so that their own needs of personal ambition and popular recognition may be satisfied. I know very well the pressures and drives which compel athletes to escape the real world of human feelings and compassions. Those same pressures and drives often blinded me when I was an Olympic athlete and alternate on the United States wrestling team. This happens because competitive athletes are taught first to ignore their own bodies and minds. From that it is only a short step to ignoring the bodies and minds of others. My involvement in athletics covers several sports. On a national level I have competed in judo and track and field. On the international level I have competed in rugby and wrestling. I was runner-up in the national championships in wrestling in 1972 and an Olympic alternate in free-style and Greco-Roman that same year. Our entrant at my weight won the gold medal. I have also made several tours of Great Britain with rugby clubs and have been selected several times to ERU select sides. When I was seriously injured in the finals of the national wrestling championships in 1973, I was forced to give up the sport which gave me pain and pleasure. I have continued to play rugby and have played for about 10 different teams on the East Coast, usually integrating whichever one I joined. I am now President of Ten Good Men, a rugby club based in the Boston area. All during my international wrestling career, I was quite vocal about the racism that pervaded the sport then. I appeared in the New York Times and the Sunday London Times in major articles chronicling the injustices visited upon me and other black wrestlers on the Olympic squad. The United States coaches were all well aware of my feelings on the subject of racism in wrestling. However, I never said much in rugby. Perhaps that was because rugby is a team sport and usually the teams I played for tried to be fair. Perhaps I was selfish enough not to want to bring unrest to a sport I quietly enjoyed. Who knows? But last year when my rugby union invited the South African Springboks to visit, I could stand the arrogance of rugby officials no longer. I, along with other rugby athletes, was responsible for founding a rugby players association organized to stop the tour. Although we were not successful in preventing the Springboks from playing, we did manage to raise the consciousness of many rugby players and alert them to the evils of apartheid. We also were able to expose the closet racists who populate rugby as well as other sports. The lines are now drawn although many rugby players like people in general, would prefer to ignore them. This is why this Committee is so important. We must not allow the issue of apartheid to be pushed aside or ignored, especially in rugby. The Special Committee has already sanctioned the Detroit Rugby Club for visiting South Africa. That is a positive step in our struggle. But
is not enough to sanction just one club, for the greatest travesties occur due to
officially sanctioned regional and national select side contact with South Africa.
Despite the overwhelming outpouring of protest against the Eastern Rugby
Union's sponsorship of the South African Springbok tour last fall, Eastern Rugby
Union officials are now considering a return tour to South Africa in the fall of
1983. We must all pool together our efforts to prevent this from happening. Also
in the forefront of problems in the rugby community is the fact that there are
many privately sponsored tours of South Africa originating in the United States
which must also be stopped, Rugby in this country must open its doors to black
people who would give our national side better quality players as well as enrich
the other side of rugby, the party.
Many rugby players think of rugby in South Africa as not really
connected to the apartheid system. The South African clubs that visit our country
are all white due to the racist apartheid system in South Africa where, very much
like the rugby clubs that are present in our country, rugby clubs are all white
because very few black people are involved in rugby. So therefore South African
teams that are all white racists ftise few eyebrows among the uninformed rugby
people in this country.
It is also true that rugby has not been in the forefront of the
anti-apartheid effort in this country because rugby is a loosely-formed sport.
There are national and territorial unions but the real organization of the sport is at
the club level. Most players never make a territorial or national select side so
the issue of South African apartheid as manifested in visiting clubs never comes
up.
Also one of the problems we face is that most rugby players are interested only in
the game and the party afterwards. International considerations are virtually non-
existent. So although we must make every effort to inform individual rugby
players of the evils of apartheid, we must make a concerted effort to pressure the
rugby unions of this country and other countries to avoid all contact with racist
South Africa and those

Mr. Noel Carroll. (Ireland) top-ranking athlete, 800-meter run
I want first of all to state what a privilege and pleasure it is to have this
opportunity to contribute to this hearing on South African sport. The United
Nations Special Committee is to be commended on its persistent work in
highlighting the injustices in South Africa, - injustices that simply cannot be
ignored by the people of the world, in general, and
the sports people of the world, in particular.
I come from Ireland where, I am glad to say, successive governments have
repeatedly condemned South African apartheid policies. So, too, have
the vast majority of Irish sportsmen and sportswomen. There are many examples, particularly among Irish international rugby players, of those who have had the courage to refuse the opportunity to play in South Africa. Such players deserve our highest praise and admiration as they put their conscience before their sport. They are men of honour. We also have a very active anti-Apartheid Movement which has consistently campaigned on this issue. I have a personal reason for being here for as long ago as 1967. I was invited to participate in some track and field meetings in South Africa. I had absolutely no hesitation in refusing this invitation, as I felt strongly then, and still feel strongly today, that the sporting fields of South Africa are no place for a person deeply concerned about the dignity of man. There was not a single reason why I should, in any way, support those who use sport to further wicked ends. On the contrary, I was determined, by my refusal to go, to highlight the grave crime against mankind being committed by the rulers of South Africa and, to no lesser degree, by the rulers of South African sport. The issues involved in participating in sports events with South Africa are quite clear. They are not just political or legal or commercial, as those who collaborate with South African sports bodies would wish us to believe. The real issues in South African sport are moral, ethical and humanitarian. Nor sports person or sports administrator can hide from the obligations and duties imposed on him or her by morality, ethics and human decency. We must be quite emphatic here, there is no room for hazy generalizations. What's wrong is wrong. It is wrong for any sporting set-up to tolerate anything other than selection on merit. It is wrong for sportspeople to deny facilities for coaching and competitive opportunities to some people while making them available to others. It is wrong to segregate people who go to watch sports events on the basis of racial origin. It is wrong to establish different sporting bodies for different ethnic classes of people who take part in the same sport. It is wrong for a government to provide sporting bodies with grants on the basis of their racial composition. And it is doubly wrong to create an illusion that such is not the case, when the truth is totally different.

-11-

The countless wrongs that are practised in South African sport cannot be denied. Even those who continue to associate with South African sport concede all is not right. They even allow those who are selected to participate with South Africa to withdraw on grounds of conscience, without fear of repercussions, thus recognizing that association with racist South Africa touches on a moral issue. So the corrupt nature of South African sport is almost universally recognized. In spite of this, there are many sports associations and sportsmen and sportswomen who willingly take part in sporting events with South Africa. Why? Perhaps it is simply selfishness and greed. Or maybe it is an innocent belief that continued contact with South Africa will some day bring real reform. Whatever the reason or the Justification, it cannot be sustained. You cannot sidestep the reality of wholesale discrimination on the sports fields of South Africa. It is a fact...
of sporting life there that the system is based on racial inequality in a manner not paralleled anywhere else.

Just because a person calls himself or herself a sportsman or sportswoman does not absolve him or her from morality and common justice. Just because you put on a sports kit and step onto a sports field, you are not free from the absolute necessity to adhere to ethical standards. There is no code of human relations specially drafted for sportspeople. They are like everybody else, and must answer to the same moral principles.

Not only are sportspeople without immunity from moral judgement, they are also bearers of the burden of example-setters. They are, by virtue of their talents and skills, a privileged and elite group, - they are the people our children look up to and try to imitate. Sportspeople set standards. They are appreciated, applauded and respected.

This is another reason why the sportspeople who support contact with apartheid South Africa sport are failing in their duty. And it is a duty. The young and impressionable, those amongst us who look to their peers for guidance, the ordinary sports lover and humanity in general are all influenced by the behavior of sports stars. No sports star can dismiss his duties to those for whom he is an example.

Let there be no ambiguity in pointing out what is involved in South African sport. The very ethos of sport - the concept of fair play is violated by South Africa's apartheid policies and practices. The very definition of sport and all the pillars that sustain it are undermined by the South African system. The freedom to prepare for, participate and excel in sport, which all sports-loving people take for granted, are all denied in South Africa. No explanations or theatrical presentations labelled as "progress" can evade these central truths. The central argument is not, therefore, whether South Africa should be rehabilitated in international competition because it is making efforts ID meet the alleged conditions set by sporting administrators who have been supporters of racist sport in

- 12 -

South Africa from the beginning. "Multiracialism" and special training schemes for blacks are subterfuges for the maintenance of the special privileges of the racists who control power in South Africa, and in sport in particular.

While this sorry state exists in South African sport the sports world has only one option, and that is to refuse to play with them. I lay the greatest burden of responsibility on the individuals concerned. Most sports bodies and associations and administrators will evade what is right because they lack a conscience; they lack a soul. The individual sportsperson, on the other hand, cannot hide behind pragmatic policies and political manoeuvring. Morality is a person's own business.

We must elevate the debate on South African sport to the level of individual morality. We must point the finger directly at those who have personally taken the wrong step. We must say it is wrong. We must have no ifs and buts. It is not a
debateable issue. South Africans must not be allowed to use sport to further their evil ways and we must assert that, loud and clear.

Through national organizations like the United Nations, and national bodies like the anti-apartheid movements, the principles on which honest and honourable sport are founded, must be promoted. Sportspeople in doubt must be guided by the clear principles established by the United Nations. We must never cease from our mission of ridding mankind of practices unworthy of man. We must never cease from pointing the way to fair play for all. And we must never cease from encouraging, persuading and directing those who fail to support our call. Our Governments must not aid or provide support for, directly or indirectly, sports bodies which continue to flout the sporting conscience of the world by collaborating with apartheid sport.

In doing this, we are responding to the call not only of our consciences, but also the appeal of sportsmen and women in South Africa who through their own courage and determination have shown that they reject the trickery and deceit which passes for the "new" policy in sport in South Africa. We must salute these truly non-racial sportspeople.

It is my sincere hope that this debate will spread goodwill and understanding, and through our efforts, will bring forward the day when all the sportspeople of South Africa will enjoy the freedom to exploit their God-given talents and aspirations.

I thank you for this opportunity to speak to the Special Committee on behalf of the sporting public of Ireland who remain committed to the principles of fair-play in sport.

- 13 -

C. Statements by representatives of sports organizations

1. Mr. Paul Stephenson, former member of the British Sports Council and Chairman of the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association

May I thank the Special Committee for this great honour of having the opportunity to address you and to convey to you the warm greetings and support of Britain's black community for the great strides the Special Committee has made and is making in securing the isolation of apartheid South Africa by the civilized and progressive peoples of the world.

As Chairman of the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association, based in Brixton, London, it gave our organization and the community tremendous encouragement to have His Excellency, Mr. Victor Gbeho, Ghana's Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Chairman of the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions on Collaboration with South Africa as our guest of honour when we launched our upholding of the United Nations Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Equally, we were extremely pleased to have with us Mr. Reddy, the Director of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid and leading members of the Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement, together with eight distinguished members of the Diplomatic Corps.

We are particularly pleased to have the active support of Sam Ramsammy, Chairman of SANROC, in our venture.
His association with us has enabled our youth to understand the global issue of apartheid and racial discrimination. It was an historic day in the history of Britain's black community living in Brixton, whose community has become a symbol and a barometer the state of race relations currently in Britain. This historic episode was widely publicized in the black press but received scant mention in any of the leading Fleet Street papers. There appears almost to be a conspiracy of silence in the British media on events concerning the special United Nations resolution making this year as the year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. Black British citizens are deeply disappointed that the British Government found itself unable to support the majority of the world's Governments in signing the resolution.

On 9 March last, I felt compelled to resign my membership of the British Sports Council because of the British Prime Minister's refusal to condemn the Gooch cricket tour of South Africa. It was a difficult decision for me to take since having spent the last six years on the Sports Council, I have vigorously called my colleagues' attention to the importance of the Gleneagles Agreement and its consequences for British sport if Britain's sporting authorities only pay lip service to its provisions. The act of resigning from the Sports Council in these circumstances however, whilst difficult I placed my confidence in the large reservoir of feelings in Britain's black community, in joining the cause, in identifying their hopes with the struggle of their brothers and sisters in South Africa.

- 14 -

The British public have little knowledge of the true meaning of apartheid practised in South Africa and I believe it has now become the duty of Britain's black community to open up this debate. I do not wish, Mr. President, to indulge in platitudes on the evils of apartheid but would rather wish to inform you of the steps my organization, together with other individuals and black organizations in Britain, dedicated to attacking and exposing this evil, particularly the youth in Britain, black and white alike, are taking in order that they can gain a better appreciation of the effects and consequences that apartheid in South Africa has on the black people living in that country and the world at large.

My organization, the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association, will be convening, during the month of September, the Black British Sports Standing Conference against Apartheid. The purpose of this organization will be principally to: 1. promote and strengthen the principles of the Gleneagles Agreement; 2. to support in the British Parliament and, outside the United Kingdom, the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid; 5. to provide educational programmes principally aimed at the British sporting community on the evils of apartheid in South Africa. The objective of the Standing Conference is to mobilize and rally the British sporting youth community from being enticed to play sport in South Africa end to gather their support for the principles of the Gleneagles Agreement.
I am pleased to inform you that Lord Pitt of Hampstead, Britain's only Afro-Caribbean black peer, has agreed to serve on the Standing Conference as its President. I have no doubt that the Standing Conference will be able to attract some of the leading black political and sporting personalities in the United Kingdom.

I am also happy to announce that the Muhammad Ali Sports Development Association in association with other black organizations in Britain will be holding a special commemorative evening in honour of the United Nations resolution at the Commonwealth Institute, London on Saturday, 11 December 1982.

We hope that this will provide an opportunity for all ambassadors and high commissioners of those countries that support the United Nations Year, to join with us in providing a setting in which the black community of Britain will collectively bind their hearts and minds in supporting further struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

I thank you for the opportunity of expressing these sentiments and informing you of our future work in isolating South Africa from all forms of sport. We, as black people, are facing daily in our lives, white racism and therefore appreciate and identify with the feelings and indignity that institutionalized racism in South Africa has over its non-white population.

I should like to pledge before this Assembly, that in spite of my resignation from the British Sports Council, I shall go on with added strength and commitment in joining with you and civilized people throughout the world who believe in the fundamental dignity of mankind to influence, persuade, campaign and mobilize an effective black British response in support of your cause because it has become ours too.

- 15 -

2. Mr. Sam Ramsamy, Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee

In the last five years sport has become a very important facet of apartheid South Africa's international propaganda machine. The regime's former Minister of Sport amply substantiated the value of international sport when he stated: *we want to compete internationally and we are going to compete internationally... Let us admit here this afternoon that play and sport are strong enough to cause political and economic relations to flourish or collapse. We are not holding on to it just because we fear expulsion, but also and especially because of the value of sport on the international level."

The importance the South African regime places on international sport can be gauged by the fact that its previous administrative dispensations for the government-recognized mixed sports events have now been incorporated into the statutes giving one the rather erroneous impression that sport is outside the confines of apartheid. Only for sport has the regime gone right out of its way in adjusting the laws and updating apartheid by a veneer.
Since the international sports boycott campaign against South Africa has been taking effect, the apartheid regime has discovered that the mass ambassadorial functions of its sportsmen and women have been largely curtailed. South Africa cannot now use the medium of international sport to mislead the world about its atrocious policies. White South Africa's ostracism in international sport also began undermining the morale of its white electorate while at the same time it boosted the resolve of the blacks in opposing South Africa's repressive policies. Even the South Africa Defence Force is considering doing everything it can to enable top white sportsmen to continue their careers while on military service. One former white conscript and now a Springbok rugby player stated that sportsmen "act as ambassadors for South Africa and that is one window we have on the world which we must not close." (Rand Daily Mail. 25 March 1982)

Having veneered over apartheid sport by providing a degree of mixing at certain sports events and formalizing this mixing by legislative adjustments, South Africa made several attempts to gain re-admittance to international sport. Their attempts were thwarted by African, other Third World and socialist countries.


The regime, realizing that it has sympathetic administrations in the United States and Britain and that the present political climate in the world is favourable, is now going on an offensive by simultaneously:
1. creating further adjustments to its apartheid sports policy; 2. enlisting the support of several international agents; 3. evoking sympathy for its cause in Western countries; 4. forcing blacks into succumbing to the apartheid sports policy and at the same time suppressing all opposition inside the country and 5. attracting individual players, sports clubs and pirate teams to the country by offering astronomical sums of money.

Western sympathy
South Africa's whites are sparing no efforts in seeking justification for their cause among Western countries and sportsmen and women. The regime is evoking sympathy by portraying the anti-apartheid campaign as communist-inspired as if we, blacks, are not aware of the day-to-day humiliation of apartheid by the South African minority racist regime. White South Africa emphasizes the strategic importance of its position to the West and any loosening of its grip would mean insecurity for the West and the so-called "free-world". The prejudice of the westerners are further fanned by the explanation that handing the country over to the blacks would result in the destruction of Western standards and "Western civilization".

By injecting these prejudices white South Africa has a ready-made support for everything it does. Most Westerners, although completely aware of the atrocities of apartheid, nevertheless, out of sheer sympathy for white South Africans, fabricate all types of excuses for apartheid. These prejudices motivate ,people to utilize the well-worn cliché of not wishing to mix sport and politics in their
defence of apartheid. Also, by over-simplifying this cliché, sportsmen and
women, who by and large, are apolitical, are innocently drawn into giving
unconscious support for apartheid.

Cover-Ups and Repression

South Africa's latest manoeuvre in providing a further veneer
over apartheid sport consisted of amending three of the myriad discriminatory
laws which humiliate the daily lives of South Africa's Blacks: The Liquor Act;
Group Areas Act; and the Black Urban Areas Act. The amendments to these laws,
which formalize previous administrative dispensations, allows for the mixing of
 races at only "bona fide" sports events. The "bona fide" events are government-
authorized sports events. Reports, photographs and movie films of these events
are extensively used as international propaganda exercises to gain respectability
for apartheid. For instance, a black might be given permission to take part in a
swimming competition in a white pool, but he cannot use the pool for training and
definitely not for recreational swimming. A black trampolinist was chosen to
represent South Africa at an international contest in the United States in May, but
has been prevented from using the only recreation centre for training. Adverse
publicity has forced the authorities to allow the black to use the centre once a
week for training. The general manager of Johannesburg's Parks and Recreational
Department said:
"The centre's facilities are reserved for white only, but
we would be able to make the necessary arrangement to have
him practise on his own." (Rand Daily Mail, 25 March 1982).

The amendment of the three laws was recommended by a
government commissioned council, the Human Science Research Council, which
formulated that:
"Sports autonomy includes the right to differentiate on
the basis of factors such as race, culture, religion,
language, etc.; differentiation as opposed to discrimination means distinction on
the basis of a factor that is socially
and culturally relevant in the particular circumstances."

Two years ago white South Africa, by administratively changing the word
"permit" to "consultation", lied to the world that "permits" were no longer
required to arrange mixed sports meetings. Now the regime by administratively
substituting the term "differentiation" for "discrimination", hopes to con the world
into believing that race discrimination does not exist in sport any more. South
Africa's white sports administrators defend race discrimination by stating that
they cannot interfere with club autonomy. When two Coloured athletes were
barred from athletics clubs on grounds of race, the secretary of the South African
Amateur Athletic Union said:
"It's up to the clubs to decide for themselves who to accept
and who to reject. Because they are autonomous, we can't force them to take on
anybody." (The Star(Johannesburg),
The inhumanity of South Africa's latest manoeuvres in amending some laws is aptly summarized by a member of the white South African Parliament: "It gives sportsmen - here we are only dealing with sportsmen a licence to be white for a short time they are engaged in sporting activities, but reduces them to a lower status at:

..hey leave the club premises. They cannot go with their team-mates to the movies and they cannot ride with their team-mates in the public transport in most cities in this country. They cannot go with their team-mates in the same train unless some special arrangements have been made. Unless an hotel in South Africa has been given special permission they cannot stay in such an hotel either. They cannot stay in such hotels, in fact, unless somebody telephones the Honourable Minister and gets special permission for them to do so."

(Mr. D.J. Dalling, Republic of South Africa House of Assembly Debates Liquor Amendment Bill, 2 October 1981.)

"Many black South Africans have refused to co-operate in this farce to provide apartheid with respectability, when after such events blacks have to return to the humiliation of apartheid and being like second-class citizens. Blacks demand equality every day of the week and every week of the year. Not just during a sports event when white South Africa wishes to put on a display for the world. This type of an antic by the apartheid regime should be denounced by every human being, whether sportsmen, administrator or not. But the ordinary human aspiration of blacks for equality and justice - is defined by supporters of white South Africa as "politically motivated". Blacks are even inserted into certain official positions giving the impression that there is parity all round. These blacks have even been trained to say that all is well in South African sport. Only people who understand the repressive nature of the apartheid laws and the implications of being banished to the "bantustans" have a fuller picture of why such blacks succumb to becoming willing stooges.

Any opposition to the apartheid sports policy is very sophisticatedly-suppressed. Blacks of different race groups are even prevented from playing together. In August last year, the Coloured captain of the KWARU rugby team was prevented from entering a rugby ground in an African township. He was stopped at a police roadblock and charged for entering an African area with a permit. (The Sowetan (Johannesburg), 5 August 1981). Blacks are forced to apply to government-controlled administration or management boards for use of facilities, thus tactfully discouraging them from opposing the apartheid sports policy. In other instances facilities are handed over to government-recognized sports bodies for control thus disqualifying opposition groups from using such facilities. Blacks who wish to leave the country to explain their cause overseas are deprived travel documents.

Buying respectability
Having failed to impress the world with its so-called "changes" and becoming desperate for international competition the racist regime has employed international entities to sell its policy overseas and spares no finance in inviting overseas observers and sports teams to the land of apartheid. The regime's sports teams invite themselves to participate in "friendly" countries and smuggle sports teams and individuals into South Africa - all to pride itself that it is not isolated from international sport. In all cases the regime prostitutes itself by offering astronomical sums of money to play with apartheid. An organization calling itself Freedom in Sport was recently formed with a Britisher Lord Chalfont, as its Chairman. This organization's sole purpose, it seems is to propagate links with apartheid sport. The racist South African Rugby Board has donated $20,000 to this organization.

Last year the regime's Springbok rugby team, with the help of the New Zealand rugby authorities and the covert support of the New Zealand Government, forced its way into New Zealand. Mass demonstrations by supporters of the anti-apartheid cause indicated how unwelcome the regime's team was. After the tour ended, South Africa's rugby administration returned to New Zealand offering large gifts to their counterparts in appreciation of their resolve in persevering with the tour despite all the disturbances. The regime even considered inviting to their country members of the New Zealand police force which protected the Springboks and beat up and charged anti-apartheid demonstrators. The South African rugby authorities paid the Eastern Rugby Union well in the excess of $75,000 to arrange matches for the Springboks in the United States of America. The Committee is aware of the cloak and dagger approach to the matches following mass protests organized in this country. Last weekend teams from England, Wales, Northern Ireland and the United States of America were invited on an all-expenses paid trip to participate in a rugby tournament in Pretoria, the world's capital of racism. Last month swimmers from the United States, Canada and West Germany were invited, again with all costs paid, to participate in a so-called "international" with South Africa. In March of this year the regime smuggled a cricket team into their country believed at a cost of over $2 million. The fact that this was the only way to secure a cricket tour indicates the extent of South Africa's sports isolation. Unfortunately, by using highly inflated performance fees, to lure the English cricketers, and in their desperation for international competition it might have damaged, maybe for good, the careers of the English cricketers.

It is rather sad that we have in the world unscrupulous sportsmen and women, who are prepared to sell their soul and dignity, in return for a fat bank balance. Fortunately not all sportsmen and women consider laundered money more important than their dignity. Many have refused to compete in South Africa. We have some of them here with us today. May I appeal to all sportsmen and women that if they believe in the sports sense of fair play and justice they should refrain from competing in South Africa. South Africa does not play fair and there is no justice for blacks in South Africa.
D. Concluding statement by H.E. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, Chairman. Special Committee against Apartheid

I would like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to express our great appreciation to all the sportsmen who have appeared at this meeting. The Special Committee has heard today declarations of conscience and commitment by some of the most outstanding sportsmen and women of our time from various regions of the world and various codes of sport. We know that they speak for the millions of sportsmen and women and sports fans.

Sport represents not only physical prowess and dexterity, but a spirit of brotherhood and fair play. The policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, imposed by a minority regime in South Africa is a negation of sportsmanship and the Olympic principle of non-discrimination. No true sportsman can in any way condone or co-operate with apartheid.

I would like, on this occasion, to pay tribute to all sportsmen and sportswomen who have boycotted apartheid sport and thereby showed their attachment to the Olympic principle and their solidarity with the great majority of the people of South Africa. I would also like to pay tribute to the many sportsmen and sports administrators in South Africa who have upheld the principle of non-racialism in sport, despite intimidation and brutal persecution. The South African regime is now spreading deceitful propaganda about so-called "reforms" in apartheid sport and trying to entice sportsmen from abroad by offering fabulous amounts of money. I pay tribute to many sportsmen - from Muhammed Ali to John McEnroe to Ian Botham - who have rejected such offers of bribes.

We are aware of the so-called "reforms". In 1963, when the Special Committee began its work, Papwa Sewgoolam, a golfer of Asian origin, won the Natal Open Championship. He was presented the trophy in the rain as he could not be allowed to enter the club. That was reported all over the world and now the trophies can be given under shelter. In 1966, South Africa refused to accept Maoris in a New Zealand rugby team. The New Zealand Government then declared: "No Maoris, no tour." Since then, South Africa allows Maoris and treats them as "honorary whites." South Africa has been tinkering with various discriminatory laws to allow, under permit, sportsmen of different racial origins to compete in some sports events. Soon after the events, the sportsmen go back to ghettos and are subject to all types of humiliating laws. These so-called "reforms" are meant solely to deceive the world and enable the white sports bodies - the official sports bodies recognized by the racist regime to maintain international contacts, and to entertain a privileged white community.

There can be no true sportsmanship under apartheid. The black child is subject to deprivation from birth, and has to attend segregated schools with hardly any facilities. The black youth is forced to live under poverty and constant insecurity in the ghettos, or forcibly moved to impoverished bantustans.
How then can there be equality in sports under such circumstances? Unless apartheid is abolished, unless all the people enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities in the economic, social and political fields there can be no equality in sport and no collaboration with South Africa. Some people speak of “improvements” in South Africa - the changes brought about by the international sports boycott - and tell us that we should now encourage the apartheid sports bodies by resuming sports exchanges. We declare that what we seek is not mere superficial improvements. We will not, we cannot, accept even a little discrimination, a little humiliation, on the basis of colour or racial origin. The sports boycott must be intensified and must be continued until apartheid is totally abolished.

The statements we have heard today are of great importance in our struggle against apartheid. I thank all those sportsmen and women that have made these statements this morning. I congratulate them for the stand which they have taken. I salute them. We all have tremendous respect for them. I would request the United Nations Centre against Apartheid and the Department of Public Information to publish and widely disseminate the statements of our guests today, and of many other eminent sportsmen who could not join us today. If I hear no objection from the members of the Committee I take it that it is so decided. I hear no objection and it is so decided.

- 21 -

II. STAT 1.1, ‘BY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA

A. Mr. David Ndaba, Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)

Firstly, allow our delegation to join the Special Committee through you in extending our sincere condolences to the Algerian delegation in their bereavement over the loss of the staunch fighter against apartheid.

We would also like to thank the sportsmen and women who have given testimony today for strengthening our campaign for the sports boycott of racist South Africa. We are happy that the Committee has endorsed the decision to distribute their testimonies as widely as possible. This is of crucial importance. As you all know the apartheid regime of South Africa has taken the issue of sports as their main weapon in order to undermine and discredit all international campaigns and particularly this year, the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. We view this as an ongoing struggle to be waged by all sportsmen and women all over the world. It is also an indispensable part of our struggle towards not only the reforming, as we have stated, but also the destruction of the apartheid system and the establishment of a government of the will of all the people in South Africa, irrespective of their race, colour, sex or belief.

We would also like to associate ourselves with a suggestion by the representative of SAENROC, Mr. Ramsammy, that the Special Committee should take urgent measures towards preventing the Harlem Globetrotters from going to South Africa.

Our delegation has also learned with disbelief from the South African newspaper, the Daily News of 14 April, that the former World Heavyweight Boxing
Champion, Muhammad Ali, may be coming to South Africa. His Chief Executive Officer, Mr. Jamil Shabas, was in South Africa last month to investigate the possibility of such a visit. We call upon the Special Committee to inquire about the status of this report. It is our belief that, as before, we will be able to ensure that Muhammad Ali will remain in the frontline of our struggle against the apartheid system.

B. Mr. Gora Ibrahim, Representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

I thank you for giving me this opportunity of presenting the views of my organization, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, on this important subject of sports and the sports boycott of South Africa. This is the first meeting of the Special Committee that I am attending as the newly-appointed representative of the Pan Africanist Congress.

It is indeed a coincidence that the very first meeting that I attended when I left my country was that of the International Olympic Committee held in Baden-Baden at which South Africa was suspended.

We are discussing an issue which has been raised from time to time as to whether we are interfering or whether politics is interfering with sports. Our argument has always been that you cannot separate politics from sports not because we say so, because that is how it has been in apartheid South Africa. South Africa was a member of the International Olympic Committee from 1908 until it was suspended in 1963. It is on record that not a single person who did not have white skin ever participated in the South African team. The team was chosen purely on the basis of colour and that was not because we did not have international sportsmen or sportsmen of international calibre. We can name them. But because of the apartheid policies, because of the laws of the South African racist regime, these people were denied participation. A few had to go and seek sponsorship outside. They had to get countries to adopt them in order that they may play in international sports.

However, Mr. Chairman, the point that we want to raise here is that in 1963, the International Olympic Committee took the step to suspend the South African regime. It has taken the decision to suspend, in fact, the South African Olympic Committee. What has happened since 1963? It is true that the racist body from South Africa was prevented from sending teams to international games. But what has happened to those millions of blacks who in the country have also been deprived of participating? What we are saying here is this that - it is important for the Committed, while it is calling for the total boycott of the racist bodies in South Africa, at the same time it should see to it that the non-racial bodies in the country are given recognition by international bodies, that they go and participate in international tournaments. Because while the black people of that country were deprived participation in international sports, for many years, by the policies of the South African racist regime, now we are told by these international bodies that until and unless the regime changes
in the country, there can be no sportsmen from South Africa. If that is the position then it is introducing politics into sports. But in our view one effective way of fighting the total exclusion of racist bodies is to bring in the bodies that are non-racial in South Africa and get them to be accepted by the international sports committees. With these few words, `r. Chairman, I take this opportunity of thanking you for the work you have done in this Committee. The very fact that you have taken a keen interest in our struggle shows that you are a man of sheer dignity and a man who understands what justice is. And I am sure that I shall receive from the Committee in the pursuance of my work will be forthcoming as it was to my predecessor.

Annex
Statement issued by the Special General Assembly of the Commonwealth Games Federation, London, 5 May 1982
A Special General Assembly of the Commonwealth Games Federation at Marlborough House, London, on 5 May 1982, reviewed preparation for and developments affecting the forthcoming Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia. Representatives at the meeting unanimously reaffirmed the support of their Commonwealth Games Association for the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977. They acknowledged that the full realization of its objectives involves the understanding, support and active participation of national sporting organizations, authorities and sportsmen. Pledging their own understanding, support and active participation, they proclaimed their collective and individual determination to uphold the principles, fulfil the obligations and advance the objectives of the Agreement as part of the international campaign against apartheid. The meeting unanimously condemned all sporting contacts with South Africa which had taken place contrary to the expectations of the Gleneagles Agreement. In particular, it unanimously condemned the tour of New Zealand in 1981 by the Springbok rugby team of South Africa and noted with satisfaction the strong and prompt reaction of Commonwealth Governments in demonstrating their disapproval of the tour. In this context representatives also recognized the opportunity later provided by the meeting of Heads of Governments in Melbourne in October 1981 for a further expression of the Commonwealth's disapproval of the tour and they welcomed the fact that after face to face discussion at the highest level Commonwealth Heads of Government reaffirmed the Gleneagles Agreement and reiterated their commitment to fulfilling effectively the obligations arising under it. Representatives recognized that there was need for continuous vigilance and a firm adherence to principle on the part of sporting authorities if these objectives were to be fulfilled and they committed their associations to pursuing all practical measures to this end. In the specific context of the Commonwealth Games and with a view to ensuring that their future was not impaired by the actions of individual countries through
the meeting decided that the Constitution of the Commonwealth Games should be amended to facilitate pursuance of the objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement. It decided that there should be a thorough review of the Constitution, and that this should include incorporation of a code of conduct and provision for the convening of special general assemblies. It directed that provisions be drafted for consideration of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth Games Federation at Brisbane in September 1982 designed to empower the Federation by due process and for good cause arising from gross non-fulfilment by any country of the objectives of the Gleneagles Agreement to suspend the right to participate in future Commonwealth Games of that country's constituent association.

In conclusion, representatives, reassured and strengthened by their consultations and by the many notable contributions of Australia, looked forward to the full participation and success of the forthcoming Commonwealth Games at Brisbane and to their meeting together again in September.

Speech by Mr. Les Martyn, President of the Commonwealth Games Association
At the outset of let me say how delighted I am that democracy has prevailed and that this important meeting of the General Assembly has been called. This meeting is about New Zealand and the South African rugby tour of that nation and its implications for the future of the Commonwealth Games. I wish to speak on this crucial and most difficult matter.

However as a prelude I believe it is necessary to emphasize the important fact that the Games are the most successful public manifestation of the Commonwealth in the entire calendar and have until now been virtually free of the troubles that have beset the Olympics. Because this is so then we must be prepared to fight, to work hard to seek solutions to preserve that position. And so our decisions and actions are uniquely important; they must be weighed and judged most carefully. Indeed our actions today here in London and in five-months' time in Brisbane could well have profound effects that may, and probably will, reverberate beyond even the Commonwealth around the entire world in every nation where sport is played and is that not every single nation on earth? And so, dear colleagues, we have a very grave responsibility. And what is the cause for this grave responsibility? The cause is contained in one only - a solitary, detestable word apartheid.

It is absolutely correct to say that there are people who have died in its path and even today there are many in detention where treatment is so dreadful that some will commit suicide and others die mysteriously. There are those who have been made nonpersons in their own country, to a point where they are practically nobody, unable to move from place to place, not even be quoted or mentioned in newspapers. There are those who are not allowed to vote because of the colour of their skins, who are subjected to pass laws which may not allow them to live with their own families and who would commit a crime by sleeping with those of another colour.

Apologists for South Africa will ask you "Is South Africa
the only country with an unfair minority government?" Of course it is not. But where South Africa is unenviably unique is that it is the only country on God's earth where such unfairness is written into the constitution - inequality on a racial basis is actually written into the South African constitution. This is the evil of apartheid - apartheid cannot be condoned nor can it be reformed - like slavery it can only be abolished. Therefore, bearing in mind the high international profile of international sport, it must be so that until the system of apartheid is no longer part of the constitution of South Africa, let no team play against them. It is a pity that sport has to be used politically to rectify the loss of human rights. However, to my mind, we have no option. And herein is our problem. How do we act? What do we do to re-inforce the clear moral intention of the Gleneagles Agreement and the re-affirmation at Lusaka? Every Government of the Commonwealth, without exception, is pledged to take "every practical step to discourage sport contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa". And yet recent history shows us that this is not sufficient. Since being in London I have heard of three assertions firstly, that the New Zealand Government did not take any decisive stand or action to dissuade the New Zealand Rugby Football Union to withdraw its invitation to the South African Rugby Association to tour New Zealand. Secondly, that the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth Games association failed "to exert all their powers of persuasion and protest" and "to exert all possible pressure to nullify the tour and, in particular, to make known to the New Zealand Government the views of the Federation" in accordance with the instruction of Sir Alexander Ross in his communication to the N.Z.O. & C.G.A. of September 1980. Thirdly, that the C.G.F. itself failed to take the necessary decisive action to ensure that the strongest possible universal denunciation and condemnation of the Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand took place. I believe these three assertions contain more than an element of truth. Nevertheless it is not my intention nor frankly can any benefit be gained by pursuing, in this forum, an attitude of recrimination as a result of the ill-fated Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand.

So what must we do?
Firstly, we must recall some of what happened because the tour took place. Commonwealth Governments decided that as a result the Commonwealth Finance Ministers should not hold their 1931 meeting in New Zealand. Secondly, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, meeting in Melbourne not long after the tour, decided that the proper action was for them strongly to re-affirm the Gleneagles Agreement. In other words Commonwealth Heads of Government decided that their appropriate course was not to engage in recriminations and punishment but to look to the future.
I suggest we should follow their example. I believe that at this meeting and again in Brisbane, Commonwealth Games Association should solemnly affirm their
condemnation of apartheid, their total support for the spirit and letter of the
Gleneagles Agreement and their
determination in the future to do all in their power to prevent and oppose contacts
between their national non-C.G.A. sports and South Africa. I earnestly hope at this
meeting that we can agree on a declaration or communiqué which will erabocr
these points and firmly commit every one of us to upholding them.
If there is a need to go beyond this, then the AC.G.A. is
prepared to look sympathetically at proposals to miend the constitution

- 26 -
of the Commonwealth Games Federation to allow for the suspension or exclusion
of a member when it can be clearly shown to be in breach of the Gleneagles
Agreement. Such an amendment would have to be written most carefully with
safeguards and applied only on flagrant and open breaches of Gleneagles.
I would add, however, that in my view, and bearing in mind the
CHOGM example, and the need for all of us to look to the future and to ask
ourselves what is best for the Commonwealth and the best to enable it to promote
the anti-apartheid cause, that the best outcome could well be for us to resolutely
commit ourselves in a solemn declaration to the principles I have referred to.
In this context I think it is important to add that the Australian Government's firm
opposition to apartheid and support for the Gleneagles principles are well-known.
What is not so well-known is that there are groups in Australia, including
members of the Government parties, who oppose the Government's policies
towards South Africa. I know the Australian Government is concerned, as am I,
that a refusal by African and other members to
participate in the Brisbane Games will be used by those groups to further their
attack on the Government's policies. Because of the popularity of sport in
Australia such attacks could do some damage to the strong community support for
those anti-apartheid policies.
On this theme I would like to take the opportunity to issue to
every nation of the Commonwealth my personal invitation, as host Chairman,
together with the invitation from the Prime Minister of Australia, Malcolm Fraser,
to attend the XIIth Commonwealth Games. Let it be said that Prime Minister
Fraser, the undoubted champion of the Commonwealth and the noncompromising
defender of equality for all peoples and all nations of the Commonwealth, and the
Prl.Ld Minister who, when the Springboks went to New Zealand would not even
allow the team to transit Australia, is of the view that the XIIth Commonwealth
Games must be an unqualified success. It is in the interests of, and important for,
every nation: including those of Africa, to be in attendance at Brisbane. We must
make certain that the
very fabric of our Commonwealth is preserved and that the Games continue to be
the most successful public manifestation of the Commonwealth in the entire
calendar.
Colleagues, I do greatly appreciate the opportunity to speak to you and I conclude
with the express wish and indeed hopeful expectation that as a result of this
meeting we are able to positively re-inforce our unanimous and unqualified stand
against the abhorrent evil of apartheid and that we are able to reach a dignified solution, which will, with honour, enable the youth of our nations to come together in the friendly competition of the XIIth Commonwealth Games.