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REPORT ON THE MEETING OF THE ANC AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN**SOCCER FEDERATION LUSAKA, 5 -6 NOVEMBER 1988****1. DELEGATION**

The **ANC** delegation was composed of SG, STEVE TSHWETE, THABO MBEKI, PALLO JORDAN, JAMES STUART, J. ZUMA, TRINITY, TERENCE FEBRUARY, BARBARA MASEKELA.

SASF: RAMA REDDY, D.JORDAAN, A. ABERCROMBIE, MERRIMAN ZUMA, ZOLA DUNJWA, VINCENT BAARTJIES, MOHAMED SIBDA.

2. INTRODUCTION/OPENING REMARKS

The Meeting was opened by the Secretary-General of the ANC who welcomed the SASF delegation on behalf of the NEC and the PRESIDENT, Comrade O.R. Tambo. He commended the SASF for their contribution as part of the Mass Democratic Movement which has made apartheid unworkable. A case in point was the recent massive boycott of the fake elections which were supposed to have demonstrated "power sharing" and the so called "right to vote". He stressed the ANC's commitment to a non-racial democratic and united South Africa and in this context emphasised the importance of united effort to achieve this objective. The ANC regards the sporting sector as a very important site of struggle. In this regard he lauded the SASF for developing talents which would have otherwise lain dormant, both in sport and politics, stressing that SASF is part of the emergent alternative forces against apartheid working on the ground. He expressed confidence that this meeting would be successful and provide a perspective for future actions.

2.1 SASF RESPONSE

The president of the SASF, Mr Rama Reddy responded that this is their first meeting with the ANC, a key factor in the struggle, a historical occasion for the SASF. He thanked the ANC for its involvement in the question of sport. In presenting a brief history of the SASF, he touched on their representations in 1964 for the suspension of the white South African Football Association, and the SASF refusal to be part of the racist stratagems to break the sports boycott. In spite of the banning and detention of their leaders they still continued to make representations to

FIFA about S.A. soccer violations. In 1986 at another FIFA hearing only SASF stood out, arguing that unless apartheid ceased in law and practice the case did not merit any reviewal.

He then recounted the structure of the Football Council of South Africa formed in 1976, with George Thabe as part of the executive, explaining how it was compartmentalised ethnically, so that essentially it projected apartheid "multi-nationalism". SASF had rejected participation in this apartheid structure.

3. BRIEF ON SASF

Mr Danny Jordaan presented the briefing on SASF under the heading HISTORY OF UNITY AND DIVISION. (Please refer to pamphlet SOUTH AFRICAN SOCCER FEDERATION - PUBLIC RELATIONS for more details)

3.1 The bodies were formed in division:

FASA the white body formed 1892.

South African Indian Football Association 1903.

South African Bantu Football Association 1933.

South African Coloured Football Board 1933.

3.2 Between 1935 and 1950 although there was no law against mixed sport, whites did not participate in the inter-race matches controlled by the inter-race Board.

3.3 In 1951 - S.A.F.A., SACFB and SAIFA merged to form SASF.

3.4 In 1959 - Their professional league, SASF was formed.

3.5 In May S.A. became republic, broke ties with British Football League.

In September FIFA suspended FASA (white). Threat posed by SASF resulted in initiatives by FASA in collusion with the regime to support racial bodies.

3.6 1961 NPSL formed.

3.7 1961 FASA proposed unity with SASF on "own affairs" basis and promised SASF participation in 1966 World Cup. They rejected initiative and the municipalities closed the grounds to Federation teams. Moroka Swallows defected to the NPSL.

3.8 1962 3,000 SASF players defected to the African Association.

3.9 1964 FIFA suspension reimposed on FASA
SASF leadership banned/or arrested.

3.10 1970 South Africa expelled from olympic movement.

3.11 1976 S.A. expelled from FIFA

Football Council of S.A. formed with George Thabe as President. It consisted of FASA(white), SASA (indians), SANFA, NPSL (African) SAFA (coloured) Football Council rejected by SASF

3.12 July 1985 SASF Council meeting laid down five Points as precondition for unity.

" (1) Sport cannot be viewed in isolation from society. Therefore the removal of all forms of discrimination from the sport field cannot in itself be a basis for claims that South African sport is non racial.

(ii) A non-racial sports structure must address itself to a South African Society which is non-racial in all walks of life.

(iii) In acknowledging the need for fundamental changes in the structure of the society, sports organisation must accept ipso facto, that as a prerequisite for non-racial sports to be played at all levels, no tours shall take place to and from South Africa until the goal of broader struggle for non-racialism is achieved.

(iv) It would be necessary for bodies who presently shelter under government policy to denounce apartheid as an obstacle to a free sports society before overtures for talks are acceptable.

(v) Soccer bodies committed to a free sports society cannot, because of that very commitment, operate within the state structures of any of its agencies".

3.13 ANC delegation requested clarification on (iii) Response was that perception is that the regime needs International Tours and education of whites in non-racialism is through sports, thus non-participation internationally is important leverage, necessary to keep pressure and maintain ability to manouvre, thus boycott strictures must remain

inviolable.

3.14 Relaxation of boycott will have domino effect and result in collapse of tactics.

3.15 Sponsorship is used as a stick to punish artists, and it is only available to those who agree to "mix" in phony integrated teams.

3.16 Conscientisation of masses presupposes an element of harsh measures.

4 FUNDING

4.1 Administration of SASF - entirely honorary executive and general funding is from levies on players. Units of federations fund themselves.

4.2 Professional League of SASF has only one staff person on salary.

4.3 Strongly committed membership but officials unable to respond to needs of constituency since they have to pay their way for all organisational work.

4.4 Have been unable to respond to appeals from KwaNoqaba, Uppington and Mdantsane.

4.5 Increase in affiliates is attributable to rise in political consciousness.

4.6 Acute need for funding to expand operations and become more effective political.

4.7 1985 split in SANFA is indication that transformation is taking place on the ground.

5. ON PRESENT SOCCER SCENE

5.1 In NSL it is the management that determines professional status.

5.2 There is lack of and threat to democracy as mass membership has lost control and black elite is in control and entrenched.

5.3 State machinery and media has popularised hierarchy of NSL. Support they seemingly hold is not necessarily measure of their actual acceptance

by masses e.g. same kids who play with soldiers will throw stones at them when chance is availed.

5.4 NSL has inherited mass support of Swallows and Pirates

5.5 It is not standard of play, but established sponsorship that draws crowds.

5.5.1 Clarified and agreed that though role of controlling body was of great influence, football fans will not necessarily follow their teams blindly. Example cited that Chiefs did not play in Centenary Celebrations because they chose to heed perspective of democratic movement and masses.

5.5.2 Even before T.V. sponsorship, masses supported teams like Swallows and Pirates.

5.5.3. Elements of reliability, training and administration also a factor in drawing crowds.

6. EVALUATION OF SPORTS IN GENERAL (SACOS)

6.1 There is a vacuum in sports organisations in direct contrast to workers, students, churches, etc. who have surmounted central problem of apartheid through the building of non-racial unity.

6.2 In its 14 years of existence SACOS has maintained clear non-racial position. But the problem is that their leadership is not representative.

6.3 SACOS have not penetrated townships and dominate only in Western Cape. They have no mass following.

6.4 Structural problems in SACOS leadership have blocked progress so that unlike Trade Union Movement, Sport has not emerged as a major force in the mass democratic movement.

6.5 SACOS leadership is entrenched, but ethnically based, thus of 21 national organisations who are affiliated; 16 have their headquarters in Cape Town.

6.6 Even SASF is weak in black townships.

6.7 SACOS position e.g. recent Press Statements, does not reflect entire SACOS position e.g. SASF. Further, UWC students defied SACOS regarding

the use of campus (govt.) facilities and SACOS had to back down.

6.8 There is deep rift within SACOS leadership.

6.9. SACOS have dragged their feet re: National Campaigns like UNBAN ANC, WELCOME MBELI.

6.9.1 Necessary to acknowledge SACOS achievement in 14 years of existence.

6.9.2 ANC has never interfered negatively with SACOS but fact is masses of our people hold a dominant position and Unity Movement is controlling an important structure.

6.9.3 Some action must be taken to correct organisation imbalances that have entrenched SACOS leadership.

7. NATIONAL SPORTS COUNCIL

7.1 National Sports Council an arm of the MDM.

7.2 Was viewed with suspicion by SACOS which feared usurpation of their position:

- (i) They will work through mobilising Youth Structures in the black townships.
- (ii) Will redress problem of neglected Black population and resulting ascendancy of Coloured and Indian organisations which have tended to take the lead.

7.4 Acknowledgement of problem of parallel structures but generally accepted that it is important that NSC would emerge as an alternative force as it will work more broadly for the achievement of non-racial sports and build up organisation.

8 SINGLE NON-RACIAL SOCCER BODY.

ANC opened discussions stating that:

8.1 Unity of all sectors sacred in ANC and coalition of anti-apartheid forces essential to overall struggle

8.2.1 SASF responded that preconditions for unity based on five principles (1985) basically that "the society must be free for the sport to be free".

8.2.2 There are basic policy differences in soccer bodies, financially corrupt leadership in some and affiliation to organisations such as Inkatha in others.

8.2.3 NSL lacks democratic principles, has no accountability and last year held no elections claiming nominations came too late.

8.2.4 Some NSL officials had insulted SANROC and United Nations.

8.3 Agreed that democratic practice could be engendered through links and closer working relationship with mass democratic movement and Trade unions.

8.4 Explained and accepted that ANC code is broadest possible unity meaning inclusion of all our people even in the Bantustans who must be mobilised and organised to participate in all fronts of struggle.

8.5 Agreed that Sam Ramsaamy of SANROC will be invited by ANC to discuss and explore developments on Sports front.

8.5.1 Discussed and agreed SASF get acquainted with NSL so that when NSL - SASF meeting occurs they do not meet as strangers.

8.6 Acknowledged that SASF has been participant in long struggle and given laudable service, while NSL still has to determine role in MDM. However, NSL commitment to participate in banned October national Convention is a good sign.

8.7 NSL not so locked into state structures to undercut dialogue with them.

8.8 Conceded, difficulties exist in part due to NSL showmanship, emotional appeal, Mr. B. and foreign players.

8.9 ANC undertook to use its good offices to intervene with:
(i) Chris Ball on matter of funding and
(ii) Sweden who had refused to assist SASF.

8.10 Issue of Bhamjee and Anglo-American Fund raised and documentations tabled.

8.10.1 Agreed that matter would be raised in pre-meetings with NSL.

8.11 Agreed that illegitimate state courts should not be invited to adjudicate matter. Possibility of refund must be explored and it should be taken into account that state courts might use opportunity to scrutinise activities of SASF to detriment of total struggle.

8.12 Agreed that issue of tradition of embezzlement of money must be addressed.

9 SPORTS CULTURAL BOYCOTT

9.1 ANC Cultural Policy will be unveiled Jan. 8th but must be infiltrated to MDM beforehand to ensure positive reception and dissemination.

9.2 ANC policy explained in terms of recognition of emergence of democratic alternative forces which are representative of struggling oppressed and in turn also a product and achievement of mass struggles which are liberation South Africa.

9.3 Acknowledged that there are complexities which may result in loopholes for opportunists and the enemy.

9.4 Need to guard against use of certain terms such as "selective", "flexible" that can be misconstrued.

9.5 Essentials, purpose, objectives are the same. Movement is not shifting away from boycott which is not strategy or principle but a tactic.

9.6 Targets are the same, but when situation changes, application should also change.

9.7 We must strengthen democratic forces and enable them to be recognised as the democratic alternative to the regime.

9.8 They must become infrastructure for Post Apartheid South Africa.

9.9 United Nations International Convention Against Apartheid Sport clearly acknowledges the need for the support development, and international recognition of alternative sports bodies.

9.10 Distinction must be made between apartheid and anti-apartheid forces and have courage to move forward in stride with achievements of

mass struggles. Evolving struggle demands concomitant attitudes and positive actions.

9.11 Control of changing developments in Boycott is at door of the liberation movement which must discharge that onus.

9.12 Sport has lagged behind Trade Unions, Churches and other sectors. Historical problem is that SASF perception of sport has always been linked to SACOS who have had control and provide no other perspective. There is recognition difficulties ahead as membership is schooled in this position.

9.13 Situation needs dynamic leadership as this change in direction is what followers are expecting. Reception thus far accorded forces abroad has been a great incentive to masses at home, and it has been enthusiastically discussed in sports circles, who clearly desire the same opportunity.

9.14 Unity is a prerequisite particularly in sports, because unlike in culture, sport has codes and every code has several organisations.

10 WAY FORWARD

10.1 Unity must be achieved in following stages:

10.1.1 Central and historical political role of SASF dictates that all efforts should be directed at meeting between SASF and NSL.

10.1.2 New administration in SANFA and their strength at amateur level augurs well for a tripartite meeting which would be conducted with ANC mediation.

10.1.3 In view of our non-racial stand, excluding FASA may seem contradictory. However, we must initiate unity with the non-racial bodies first. This tactic will expose and/or dislodge FASA.

10.1.4 Issue of Bhamjee is not merely a personality conflict, but raises strong issues of justice and ethics which must be addressed.

10.1.5 Unity will ensure the creation of the infrastructure in soccer and sports in general and accelerate the transformation towards PASA society.

10.1.7 ANC will extend invitations to other sports organisations and

discuss with them at an appropriate time the mechanisms to unite soccer.

10.2 ANC will assist SASF with TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES so that they can establish the desired structures and consolidate functioning ones. SASF must present project proposals to this end.

10.3 Efforts to democratise SACOS on the ground should proceed in earnest. Care should be taken not to prejudice the process by raising suspicions of usurpation in the anti-apartheid struggle. March '89 SACOS election should proceed and will yield tactical options.

10.4 NSC should be encouraged to proceed in declared course and fears harboured by SACOS should be taken into account. NSC declaration of intent has already allayed SACOS fears. NSC main aim is to reach out where SACOS has no credibility and/or access.

10.5 ANC will invite SANROC, Sam Ramsaamy for briefing and discussion on current developments.

10.6 ANC will announce Cultural and Sports Boycott in stages laid out in 9.1